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TOWARDS A DYNAMIC ROLE CONCEPTION OF LIAISON INTERPRETERS:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF SELF-DESCRIPTIONS OF PRACTISING LIAISON INTERPRETERS IN ESTONIA

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A doctoral thesis can and probably should not solve all problems ever encountered or fully reconcile the many existing schools of thought in a discipline. However, many have probably started in an attempt to do so. A doctoral thesis should sum up one's earlier studies, enable us to embark on a trip of conceptualising the world around us proceeding from the experience gained in professional life. Writing this thesis has given me this opportunity.

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ABSTRACT

Our research on practising liaison interpreters in Estonia has offered interesting insights into a specific translation culture (Prunč 1997) and the interdependence of the developing of a professional role with the societal processes at the macro and micro levels. Our data suggests that the 15 year time-span in Estonia after the collapse of the Soviet Union has offered favourable conditions for the development of some principles and strategies that might not have been possible in more rule-governed contexts.

Using the methodological framework of ethnography and the principles of chaining (cf. e.g. http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/ethno.htm) we have found and interviewed 14 practising liaison interpreters. We used convergent interviewing (see principles at http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/gcm/ar/ arp/iview.html), the recorded interviews were transcribed and are used as examples in our analysis. The study was carried out in three main stages:

1) preliminary interviews (7) and initial questionnaires (5) (2003–2004),
2) in-depth interviews (14) (2005–2006),
3) follow-up questionnaires (8) (2006).

We discuss the results concerning the role of liaison interpreters, and view them in the context of a quickly changing society and changes in the profession. All excerpts from the initial questionnaires, in-depth interviews and follow-up questionnaires used as examples (altogether 217) are numbered, full transcripts of interviews are available on the Internet, the questionnaires and the interview questions are presented in the Appendix.

The results of the study have provided answers to our initial research questions and demonstrated that the answers to the hypotheses have been affirmative:

1. There is a group of interpreters who specialise in liaison interpreting in Estonia.
2. Their self-descriptions yield an interesting picture of increased interpreter interaction, where at the same time neutrality is observed in the interests of the clients. Differently from some other reports on dialogue or liaison interpreters (Wadensjö 1998, Pöllabauer 2003, 2006, Angelelli 2004), the interpreter's *self* does not come strongly to the fore.
3. The more dynamic role of our liaison interpreters can be viewed in the light of individualisation and democratisation processes. Our informants conceptualise their role through mediating between societies, different mindsets, values.
4. The notions of *"professional self"* and *"personal self"* help to analyse the interpreter's role. The interpreters often resort to their personal and professional self when scrutinising their role implications. Thus, we suggest, it may be useful to introduce these notions for the theoretical

analysis, for pedagogical purposes and also as a support for practitioners for analysing their work.

The methodological framework of ethnography, and the methodological tools of micro-ethnography have proved to be effective for studying the role perception and the specific translation culture in this specific group, and can hopefully be used in future research projects.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIIC – International Association of Conference Interpreters
CEE – Central and Eastern Europe
ETV – Eesti Televisioon
ex. – example

IR – Interpreting Research
IS – Interpreting Studies
TS – Translation Studies
PM – *Postimees*

I= Interviewer; P1= Participant 1, P2= Participant 2, etc.
Q1 = Question 1, Q2 = Question 2, etc.
FQ1 -Follow-up question 1, etc.

INTRODUCTION –
The context and aim of the research

Researchers of translation processes have become interested in the joint performance of the socio-cultural as well as the ideological and political in interaction with translators and interpreters, their work and products. Traditionally, Translation Studies (TS) has analysed texts or *the translator* as an anonymous, abstract tool for producing texts (Pym 2004). This has also been the case in Interpreting Studies (IS). Even many of the latest studies in sociologically focused interpreting research tend to focus only on *transcripts* from the interpreting situation, which researchers then analyse through their conceptual framework (cf. Wadensjö 1992, Pöllabauer 2003, 2006). There are relatively few studies focusing on the views of *interpreters themselves*. Some examples include Wadensjö (1998, 2001); Pöchhacker (2004), who asks how the institutional framework (hospitals) influences interpreters; Tate and Turner (1997/2002) who present *hypothetical* problematic interpreting situations to interpreters and ask how they *would have acted*. Angelelli (2004) administeres a questionnaire to interpreters in North America. Also Diriker (2004) and Vik-Tuovinen (2006) bring us closer to understanding the role of interpreters. However, there are still relatively few studies where interpreters themselves get the floor and can tell us more about how they perceive their role and specify the most important and problematic aspects of the profession. In the present study we would like to give them this opportunity.

We are going to study the role of liaison interpreters in Estonia as a representative of a post-soviet transition society. Currently, our official training courses only educate interpreters for the conference domain. They follow the Euromasters programme and aim at educating interpreters mainly for the EU institutions (cf. http://www.fl.ut.ee/93587). There is no specific information on the liaison mode of interpreting on the web-site of the Association of Translators and Interpreters (www.ettl.ee). We wonder what has been happening on the local market. We suggest that the interpreting situations may have changed in tune with the socio-political and economic changes of the last 15 years. We also suggest that there could be a need for interpreters for the liaison situations. At the same time, we suggest that the more relaxed communication patterns in the society may have influenced the interpreting triad, and the role of the interpreter.

We use a two-tiered approach. Part I: To find answers to our suggestions we will take a look at the socio-cultural and political changes as related to the role of the interpreter in the world and in Estonia. Part II: To find empirical answers to our questions, we use the methodological framework of ethnography and analyse the transcripts of interviews we have made with practising liaison interpreters in Estonia. Even if the self-descriptions of participants may be influenced by the specific socio-cultural context, we hope that some aspects of

their role descriptions can add to the information we have of liaison interpreters throughout the world which can possibly be relevant for the discussion on the interpreter's role in general.

In our thesis, we want to find an answer to the following questions:
1) Is liaison interpreting practised in Estonia?
2) If yes, what are the modalities of this mode of interpreting according to the practitioners?
3) What do self-descriptions of practising liaison interpreters in Estonia tell us about their role?
4) Do the findings on the role of our liaison interpreters have implications for the communication model in interpreting as such and for the role of interpreters in general?
5) Do the findings of this study have implications for interpreter training?

To find the answers, we test the following hypotheses:
1) Liaison interpreting is practised in Estonia.
2) The role of liaison interpreters here often entails more interaction than the Code (cf. Wadensjö 1998, Linell 1997, 1998) and training prescribed "machine" model (cf. Tate and Turner 1997/2002).
3) The notions of *"professional self"* and *"personal self"* help to analyse the interpreter's role. They can thus be introduced for theoretical and pedagogical purposes.
4) The dynamic role of liaison interpreters in Estonia has developed in tune with the individualisation and democratisation processes in our society.

The thesis will be structured in the following way:
Part 1: In ***Chapter 1*** we take a look at the development of TS and IS paradigms (Pöchhacker, 2004) and give a brief overview of the central issues in the current discussion of translation processes (Pym 1997, 2004, Lambert 1991, 2004, Toury 1995, 2004, Cronin 2002) as relevant to the aims of our work. ***Chapter 2*** will introduce the discussion on the development of the interpreter's role and view the possible implications the changes in society may have had on it. We will explore some key notions of society and individualisation in Western democracies (Van Deth, Scarbrough 1995) and in Estonia (Lauristin 1997) and zoom in on the context and role of interpreters in Estonia. We will also give a brief overview of the development of the profession in Estonia. ***Chapter 3.1.*** gives the literature review on the role of interpreter (Anderson 1976/ 2002, Wadensjö 1998, Linnell 1997, 1998). ***Chapter 3.2.*** focuses on the more contentious issues still open for debate (Tate and Turner 1997/2002, Cronin 2002, Jones 2004). ***Chapter 4*** introduces the sociological implications of analysing professional roles (Goffman 1959), and role adaptations (Ibarra 1999), which we relate to the discussion on the role of interpreters in general, and in the context of Estonia more specifically.

Part 2: Part 2 gives the empirical results of our study on the self-descriptions of interpreters in Estonia. In ***Chapter 5*** we introduce the general methodological framework (ethnography) and discuss its advantages and disadvantages, we introduce our methods, participants and research material. ***Chapter 6*** will give the background for the interview results. In ***Chapter 7*** we present the analysis. In ***Chapter 8*** we give an evaluation of the methodology used and present the outcome of our research and results. ***Chapter 9*** concludes the work.

PART I
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1. The socio-cultural background of the interpreted event and the role of the interpreter

1.1. Paradigms "going social" – a synopsis of relevant developments in Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies

1.1.1. Translation, Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies

Even though we have chosen to present certain developments in Translation Studies (TS) and Interpreting Studies (IS) together in this thesis, it is by far not unanimously agreed to which extent they are perceived as common in the TS and IS community. Sometimes the notion of *Translation* (with the German pronunciation, cf. Nord 1997: 106) is used as an umbrella term which covers both TS and IS. Sometimes, IS is seen as a sub-field of TS without reference to the general notion of *Translation*. A third way has been to view TS and IS as different disciplines. Below, we will take a brief look at these approaches.

a) *Translation* **– translation and interpreting as "twins"**

Nord (1997: 106) suggests we could use the notion of *Translation* (with the German pronunciation), introduced already by Otto Kade, as an umbrella term to refer to processes that are common for translation and interpreting. Ideally, paraphrasing Chesterman and Arrojo (2000), we could map the "shared ground" for TS and IS, where specialists in each respective field can accumulate knowledge for studying the translation processes at a more holistic level. Establishing shared ground would hopefully be beneficial for both disciplines. To further mutual understanding, a common general term may help us see the processes we share. It could also help us realise that translation and interpreting may be seen as "two varieties of the same intercultural communicative inter-action based on a source text" (Nord 1997: 104) – and that the meta-processes of the two activities are in their essence very similar. Thus, in theoretical discussions, referring to these processes, '*Translation'* as a generic term may be useful. Also, many authors believe that translation processes have a lot in common or that they are even identical. For example Hatim and Mason (1997: 1) see translators as "trying to assist in the negotiation of meaning". For them, translators are "seeking insights [...] towards the whole relationship between language activity and the social context in which it takes place". If we see texts the way they do, as "evidence of communicative transaction taking place within a social framework", and translating as "not restricted to any particular field",

so that it includes for example "film subtitling and dubbing, simultaneous interpreting, cartoon translating, abstracting, summarising, etc." (1997: 2), we can develop a broader view on translational phenomena and be able to understand and better cooperate with our colleagues across the discipline.

In a similar line, Franz Pöchhacker points to the similarities between interpreting and translation. Pöchhacker (1995: 42) conceptualises the two activities through the notion of *Skopos*. He sees interpreting and translating as 'twins' and brings out the similarities between the two activities: both "seek to achieve a communicative purpose (*Skopos* rule)" (ibid.). Further, Pöchhacker (ibid.) points out that the results can in both cases "be defined as a target-culture offer of information about a source-culture offer of information; both kinds of target text must conform to the standard of intratextual coherence" and "be coherent with their respective source texts (fidelity rule)". In this paper we will be using the term "translation" to include both written translation and interpreting at a more general level, and the term "interpreting" to speak about the interpreting activity more specifically. We agree with Pöchhacker and see translation and interpreting as twins. At the same time we know that research in TS and IS does not always focus on identical issues (see below). We refer to relevant research in IS and TS when we speak about the interpreter's or translator's role. We will speak about relevant developments and establish a background for our empirical research referring to both TS and IS.

b) Translation and interpreting

At the same time, the peculiarities of each sub-discipline cannot be neglected. Despite the similarities in translation processes at the abstract level, the more specific issues can arguably best be addressed in the frameworks of the respective "sub-branches". For the same reason, for example at conferences, plenary sessions often entail the discussion on the general trends, movements, metamorphoses and foci of the general translation processes, while the more specific issues of research tend to be discussed in the different workshops separately for IS and TS.

Nord (1997: 104) points out that that the notions of translation and interpreting are not always used interchangeably, and that the view of the close relationship between translation and interpreting is "not shared by all scholars involved in translation and interpretation research". Therefore, in cases when it is not clear which activity one bears in mind, it may be useful to indicate if we deal with interpreting or translation more specifically. Also, if both 'translation' and 'interpreting' are considered in one book or theory, it may be useful to make it explicit. For example Nord (1997: 1) herself states already at the beginning of her book that the notion of 'translating' there "will always include interpreting unless stated otherwise". Referring to interpreting, or, for example, mentioning that Vermeer was trained as an interpreter (by K. Reiss!) (ibid.: 10), makes interpreters feel part of the discussion. Somewhat differently, in Toury

(1995), interpreting is mentioned a couple of times, at other places the term 'translation' is used even if one can assume that the topic discussed in fact concerns interpreting (for example in the case of discussing the activities of very young natural translators).

Ambiguity in expressing and understanding whether or not interpreting is included in a certain theoretical discourse has been observed by researchers working in the interpreting paradigm before. While some authors have underlined the similarities between these two types of human cross-cultural communication, other sources point to the differences between them. For example, Gentile *et al*. (1996: 39) stress that "within the literature, much is assumed and little said about the differences between the two skills". Gentile *et al.* (ibid.) emphasise the need to recognise that translation and interpreting are activities which "require different skills and different aptitudes". It would then follow that also research in these domains should focus on partly different phenomena. A similar view is expressed in Pöchhacker and Shlesinger (2002: 4):

> Looking at the IS literature, one finds that very few authors draw upon the concepts and theories generated by translation scholars. The notion of equivalence is a case in point. While occupying a central position in the TS for decades (cf. Venuti 2000:121–2), it rarely figures in IS [...]. The same holds true for function-oriented accounts of translation such as Vermeer's (1978) skopos theory and Toury's (1980, 1995) concept of translational norms as a driving force in Descriptive Translation Studies. With very few exceptions, neither of these lichpins of modern translation studies have been incorporated into the mainstream of interpreting research. By the same token, very few TS scholars have actively engaged in interpreting research or even mentioned interpreting in their writings.

For studying specific interpreting processes, some independence may prove beneficial. At the same time, interpreting scholars warn us against the pitfalls of neglecting communication with other disciplines – a tendency that some authors see as peculiar to IS already from its developing stages. Angelelli (2004: 23) regrets that IS has developed too independently, not leaning much on any of the established social theories, nor on translation studies. According to Angelelli this has caused the discipline to stand still without evolving to use the capacity it potentially has:

> By failing to incorporate related theories from fields such as Linguistic Anthropology, Bilingualism, Feminism, Sociolinguistics, Social Psychology, Sociology or Translation Studies, prior work in the field has created a closed circle (ibid.).

For a discipline, this might become detrimental. This may lead to a situation where the discipline lacks a steady base and relies rather on prescriptivism that may not always consider the changes that occur in real life. If these truisms would then be enforced through both training and rules on interaction, the

vicious circle would be closed. Angelelli (ibid.) holds that by so behaving IS deprives itself of the possibility of developing new theories and thus also of advancing our knowledge of human communication. Importantly, Angelelli relates this phenomenon to the scarcity of research carried out on the role of the interpreter, which in her view tends mainly to be "anecdotal and prescriptive" (ibid.).

Michael Cronin (2002: 387), on the other hand, protests against what he calls the "little brother" position of interpreting studies in the framework of Translation Studies, and puts the question if this is justified:

> Despite its historical antiquity and geographical spread, interpreting studies still remain very much a minority interest in Translation Studies. [...] And yet interpreting as an activity that goes on in courts, police stations, social welfare offices, conferences, coach tours, factory floors, journalism assignments, airports, is arguably the most widespread form of translation activity in the world today and has been for tens of thousands of years. Why then this "minoritization" of interpretation? In a world of globalization, increased refugee and immigrant flows, and exponential growth in tourism, interpreting should be a leading area in cultural investigations of language contact, yet this is largely not the case.

This criticism is justified. The fact that intercultural communication is complicated and rewarding independently of whether it is mediated in written or oral form has not always been given due credence to. That the skills entailed in either process are different definitely does not mean that in one or another case they are lower in any sense. Cronin (ibid.: 388) points out that the "specific psychodynamics of orality" may entail that "the meaning of the exchange will be strikingly different from a similar exchange in the context of literacy", and people working in the oral domain continue to be substantially underestimated by specialists in the literary domain:

> The fact that an oral culture may not deal in items such as geometrical figures, abstract charecterisation, the reasoning processes of formal logic, comprehensive descriptions and explicitly articulated self-analysis often leads to the biased conclusion by external commentators that non-literate persons are, at best, naive, and, at worst, confused and dishonest.

What Cronin refers to has been regretted in IS long ago. Comparing for example attitudes towards literary translators and interpreters (or translation and interpreting theory) we notice that interpreters are often considered merely as practitioners and the dimension of cultural ambassadorship is often unduly neglected. We suggest that the tendency may also be perceived in Estonia. Often, in developed Western democracies, the differences in status can be traced to the socio-economic inequalities between the indigenous and immigrant populations (the interpreter belonging to either community – and possibly taking sides, cf. Wadensjö 1998, Pöllabauer 2003, 2006). Even though in

Estonia we do not have considerable immigration[1], and we clearly have to do with literate, educated people both as clients and interpreters, a certain minoritization of oral cultural processes as against the literary ones that are automatically seen as more academic can be perceived. Cronin (2002), however, believes that there is considerable power and value in oral communication processes. Their value may lie somewhere else than the strictly literacy and written record focused worldview has established. Cronin (2002: 389) invites us to comprehend that "the hold of literacy on our analytical worldview means that we tend to exaggerate the importance of textual translation and ignore the far-reaching historical and political effects of interpreting encounters". The negative consequence of this would be that in TS, which Cronin (ibid.) sees as "dominated by the typographic cultures of highly-literate Western elites who speak majority languages", one might face a situation where the oral translation practices will be neglected. In this case what is actually happening in the world may not be reflected adequately, or in some aspects may even not be reflected at all. Cronin (ibid.) warns us against moving towards a situation where "whole areas of translation practice, informed by residual orality in many different regions of the world, will either be misunder-stood or simply ignored". This could mean that there would be no research on these practices, no adequate training, no support for practitioners and no improving of practice. Possibly, this is even more so because also research may have tended to be evaluated by the norms of the "typographic cultures", and inputs from other domains may have tended to be considered a kind of a fringe movement or remained less accepted.

c) Interpreting Studies – an independent discipline?

Yet – do Interpreting Studies have a potential for a healthy development? Cronin (2002: 388) believes that they do:

> a more materialist, politically self-aware approach to interpreting studies would unlock the enormous research potential of this area of translation enquiry and highlight the importance of interpreting and interpreters in any assessment of the impact of translation on humanity, past and present.

Interpreting is inter-cultural mediation which takes place in intensive on-site communication, in unpredictable constellations. It gives us insights into the processes entailed from the level of the individual up to the global one. At the same time, the capacity to pursue independent research does not have to mean isolation or confrontation. A holistic view enables us to view both processes specific to interpreting, translation processes and their interaction with global phenomena.

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[1] In 2003 9 people applied for an asylum in Estonia and 3 were granted it (Veebel 2005), in 2004 15 applied and 9 were granted it (PM, 21.06.05).

Definitely, interpreting research (IR) has important contributions to make in this cooperation. In addition to opening new foci on translation practices and processes, the information we obtain often has a direct practical value. For example, only recently have IS started to give due credence to the bearings of politics on interpreting. Meanwhile, there is a close interaction between the interpreting processes and politics. The shaping of interpreting procedures can be influenced by politics. At the same time interpreting may influence politics or support an ideology (cf. Takeda 2005, see below) or not (cf. our discussion on Dmitruk below). Indeed, today research in interpreting has developed to yield results that can be used by the communities studied. For example, we can already say that research in community interpreting has had some influence on community practices in institutional communication with immigrants. Such developments indicate that the social dimension not only benefits us in learning about interpreting and cross-cultural communication processes, but that it can also be rewarding for societies and people. Thus it would be only positive if we learned to appreciate the potential of studying the processes for both interpreting and translation theory and beyond that for cross-cultural communication in general.

Also Cronin (2002: 388–389) sees orality as an extra resource for developing the potential of IS. He points to the fact that the "communicative oral sense-making" relates closely to anthropology and ethnography – the domains that have as yet expressed too little interest in what IS potentially has to offer them. Also secondary orality opens up interesting avenues for research:

> the problems of ethnographic translation scholars are the problems faced by interpreters in many parts of the world. A chief question is how to properly understand illocutionary and perlocutionary acts in interlingual exchange. Moreover, no *adequate account of the role of the interpreter* in many cultures can be given if the entre-deux is not also seen to include mediation (successful or unsuccessful) between the different mindsets of orality and literacy. [...] Secondary orality, the orality of the telephone, radio, television – as distinct from the primary orality of non-literate cultures – has expanded exponentially in our age. Therefore, interpreting as an area of translation studies that deals with the phenomenon of human speech in language transfer ought ideally to be able to make a major contribution to the understanding of the interaction between translation and secondary orality. This, however, has not happened (ibid.: 389, emphasis mine).

Furthermore, Cronin points to the relevance of "a conscious strategy of self-presentation", that can also be "a covert strategy for self-preservation" (2002: 392). Cronin (ibid.) refers to Sangren (1992: 279) who has said that the "anthropological analysis of the authority of ethnography must specify the conditions of productions and reproduction in society, especially academic institutions, not just in texts". Cronin finds that also interpreting theory should be measured against these demands. Until recently, however, most often these criteria were not taken into account. Cronin (2002: 391) claims that "little

critical attention has been paid to the conditions of production (and reproduction) of the theory of interpreting, including the siting of interpreting research centres in academic institutions in the developed world". He (ibid.: 389–390) points to the geopolitical influence on IS that has resulted in the dominance of certain countries' views on interpreting processes, subjects and approach.

According to Cronin (2002: 391), the centres for interpreter training and interpreting research tend to be scattered around the financial monopolies and power hegemonies, which results in First World dominance and tends to neglect practices in different cultures, contexts or modes:

> The professional concerns of the First World thus become the theoretical concerns of humanity and the theoretic paradigm of interpreting is restricted to reflect the market and institutional realities of wealthier nations. The relative neglect of other forms of interpreting that are much more extensively practised, such as community/ bilateral/ dialogue interpreting [...], is arguably grounded in material inequalities that universalize First World experience.

The same tendency has been described in Translation Studies. Anthony Pym (1996: 1–3) points out that many expert bodies consist of experts who actually are a product of a "boomerang" "labelling": "the term is attributed to an external subject whose enhanced status then reflects positively on the attributor". Thus, as Pym (ibid.: 3–4) points out, many such institutions (CIUTI, EST) consist of members only from translator-training institutions in European democracies or North America. While the experts train Others – as Pym (ibid: 4) quotes from the EST Newsletter (1992) – for example from the CEE countries "where there is a pressing need for professional translators and interpreters", their mentality is spread – yet never questioned. Thus, Pym (ibid.: 1, emphasis mine) points to the fact that this "boomerang" attribution, or "boomerang function", as he aptly calls it

> is located in hierarchical and lateral relationships within translator-training institutions, between para-academic organizations and *projected geopolitical demands for expertise*, and between translator-training research and the discipline of cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence.

We suggest that all these considerations are fully relevant in Estonia as a CEE country, which itself is a little dot on this mental map of converging new and old Europe. Estonia is often criticised for too narrowly following the EU rules, considering the letter rather than the spirit of EU rules and regulations, and not taking into consideration the local context. Have we behaved differently in interpreter and translator education and professionalisation? We may have followed a ready-made model, which is definitely perfect for its particular mode. May-be we have neglected another widely – in our local context possibly even more widely practised and needed mode of interpreting? Below, we will be discussing the development of the profession in the light of the societal

changes. Our society still in the modernist stage (see Veebel 2005 below) – maybe we have by now reached the point where we can take the next step? Like in other established democracies in the post-modernist stage (for example Sweden, Finland – to name just our closest neighbours on the (once?) other side of the mental map), we could then celebrate diversity also in professional affiliations and recognise the multiple needs of the society.

We believe that among the cultures that have not been too well represented in international IS research until recently are also the former Central and Eastern European ones, even if wonderful work has been carried out there (for example that by Ivana Čenkonva, Zuzana Jettmarova and others). From the middle of the 1990s there has been an increase in the flow of information on research carried out here and the information on interpreting practices of the World is becoming more varied. The turning point can clearly be seen at the end of the 1990s. When we observe for example the CIRN bulletin that focuses on spreading information on interpreting research (http://perso.wanadoo.fr/ daniel.gile/), we see that only today research carried out a decade ago in the field in CEE is being included (see for example the July 2005 issue (ibid.)).

As for the interpreting *mode*, however, in the majority of papers still the conference one has been dominating. For Cronin (2002: 390), in IS the drawback of such "minoritizing effect of this ideological sleight of hand" lies in that "the breadth of the activity is ignored by concentrating on what is a minority sector in the overall field of interpreting". In his view (ibid.), focusing on conference interpreting brings about favouring positivism in research. As a result, what is favoured is "further depoliticized, minimally contextualized experiments, carefully controlled by a researcher who assumes objectivity" (ibid.). Furthermore, "these experiments will be carried out almost invariably in conference interpreting on the grounds that *the booth is the nearest thing we have in interpreting to a cage"* (ibid., emphasis mine)*.* Instead, Cronin suggests, the interpreter could be viewed as participant in a *dialogue* (cf. our discussion on Linell 1997, 1998 in 3.1.3. below) as seen in "recent ethno-graphy". In this case, the contexts and culture influenced subjective realities would be rightfully considered. Cronin points out that then the whole scale of contexts and cultures would be taken into account and our actual professional endeavours would be analysed adequately. This would create a research situation where, as Cronin (2002: 390) puts it, "reciprocal contexts" for "cultu-ral interpretations" are borne in mind and real-world performance will be analysed while "realities" we live in and perceive would be "negotiated" as "multi-subjective, power-laden and incongruent". At the same time, Cronin urges us to remember that the notion of culture itself is dynamic and that ""culture" is always relational, an inscription of communicative processes that exist, historically, between subjects in relation to power" (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 15 in Cronin, 2002: 391).

While Pöchhacker (2004: 79; see below) speaks about the *social turn* in interpreting studies today, Cronin (2002: 391–392) introduces the notion of a *cultural turn*. The common denominators for this approach become a call for

greater dynamics and flexibility, contextualisation, insight and acceptance. Luckily, recent years have witnessed a certain tendency to carry out research that is more and more in tune with these principles.

1.1.2. Paradigm shift in IS

The relatively young discipline of interpreting research (IR) has gone through many different paradigms and periods during the last decades. Gile (1991) and Schjoldager (1995) suggest that the periods may be divided into (1) the Initial (or "Prehistoric") Period, starting from the 1950s, (2) the Experimental-Psychology Period, (3) the Practitioner's Period and (4) "the Renaissance". Miriam Shlesinger (1995: 7–29) classifies the paradigms as (1) the Translation Theoretical Paradigm(s), (2) the Sociocognitive Paradigm(s), (3) Text Linguistic and Text-Organizational Paradigm(s), (4) Didactic Paradigm(s), and (5) Processing Paradigm(s). Franz Pöchhacker (2004: 68–82) encapsulates the paradigms in IS as (1) the Interpretive Theory, (2) the Cognitive Processing, (3) the Neurophysiological/ Neurolinguistic, (4) the Target-Text Oriented and (5) the Dialogic Discourse-based Interaction Paradigm. The names of the periods aptly describe their main focus of research. As mentioned above, in earlier paradigms it was the processes rather than the actors that were of main interest. Also, it was conference interpreting rather than the other forms of the activity that served as a basis for producing research (for a more deep-going overview see Mullamaa 2000 a)).

As late as in 1995 Pöchhacker (1995: 33) aptly points out that "with few exceptions, interpreting studies tend to focus more narrowly on the cognitive "mechanics" of second-by-second processing rather than holistic conceptions of text, situation, culture, and the entire course of action in a professional inter-preting assignment". Pöchhacker (ibid. : 34) invites us to analyse the whole interpreted event "in terms of the individual interactants' roles, perceptions, dispositions, and intentions, as rooted in and reflecting general, specialised, individual, and contextual knowledge and competence" so that we could pay more attention to "the socio-psychological data and dynamics of the situation of interaction".

This situation has changed rather quickly in the recent decade. After focusing on the translational aspects and cognitive processes in (mainly confe-rence) interpreting, the discipline has reached a stage where the sociological perspective and the actors in charge of the intercultural communication processes are duly being paid attention to. Pöchhacker (2003; 2004: 79) has with good reason labelled the current state of development the Dialogic Discourse-based Interaction paradigm. Unlike many earlier paradigms that tended to ignore interpreting as a social activity and the dialogic dimension of interpreting processes, the current paradigm focuses on sociolinguistics, discourse, sociology, social psychology (e.g. Goffman) and dialogic discourse-based interaction (ibid.) . Thus, as put by Pöchhacker (2003), interpreting

studies are "going social". This involves orientation to social sciences and moving to a post-modern relativist approach. According to Pöchhacker (ibid.), the "social turn" can be illustrated by:

- *conceptualizing* interpreting in social contexts of (inter)action
- in terms of *memes* we see discourse (management) in social interaction, where the mediator's identity, role and power become more and more relevant
- speaking about *models,* interpreting is seen as a profession *in society*, interaction in social institutions ('translation culture')
- as for *methodology,* the social science approach and qualitative research is potentially the most viable
- the *epistemology* is post-modern and non-essentialist.

The paradigm shift is also to be perceived in terminology. Despite the considerable number of periods, two major approaches can be distinguished. The approaches to seeing interpreting in the earlier paradigms become sometimes associated with terms like the Code, code, conduit, transfer (cf. Wadensjö 1998) or machine (cf. Tate and Turner 1997/2002). The recent paradigms are often described through seeing interpreting as interaction (Wadensjö 1998), dialogue (Linell 1997), a triadic exchange (Mason 2001), or even stressing interpreter visibility (Angelelli 2004). At the same time it is clear that the black and white binarism would be far too simplistic. Acceptance, understanding and dynamism can help the discipline develop and find explanations to the rich evidence we have in life. Today, the notions are often used for the sake of brevity – as generalisations – rather than signs for fierce opposition that may have sometimes been the case in the emerging stages of the new approaches.

The socio-cultural role of translational phenomena as well as the role of translators and interpreters has been given due attention earlier. Hatim and Mason (1990, xv) point out that translation can be seen as a "test case for [...] examining the whole issue of the role of language in social life." They believe that translators act "under the pressure of their social conditioning" and that analysing translational phenomena can be seen as "seeking insights which take us beyond translation itself towards the whole relationship between language activity and the social context in which it takes place". They stress that variation in language use is contextually determined and texts should be seen as "evidence of a communicative transaction taking place within a social framework" (ibid.: 2). Toury (1995: 53) holds that "'translatorship` amounts [...] to being able to play a social role, i.e. to fulfil a function allotted by a community – to the activity, its practitioners and/ or their products [...]". According to him, "the acquisition of a set of norms for determining the suitability of that kind of behaviour, and for manouvering between all the factors which may constrain it", becomes "a prerequisite for becoming a translator within a cultural environment". Also, "translation activities should

[...] be regarded as having cultural significance" (ibid.). Linell (1997: 52) stresses that translation and interpreting should be seen as "sociocultural concepts constructed in certain cultural contexts". The first representatives of the "social turn" are Wadensjö (1992, 1998), Tate and Turner (1997/2002), Pöllabauer (2003/2006) and others. A brief review of their research will be given in Chaper 3 below. A parallel development can be seen in Translation Studies. Also here, some opposition has been described in connection with the emergence of the 'cultural turn' introduced by Bassnett and Lefevere 1990 (Baker, Malmkjaer 2000: 280). Yet, also here there is a call to "celebrate rather than resist the plurality of perspectives that characterizes the discipline" (ibid.). Furthermore, both TS and IS scholars are invited to develop together and aim at "working towards greater unity and a more balanced representation of all areas of the discipline in research activities and in theoretical discussions" (ibid.). Relevant examples from TS have indeed been included in the present study because there seem to be a number of similarities between many processes in the interpreters' and translators' work, but also in the methodological approaches (see also our discussion on choosing the methodological framework, cf. Chesterman, Arrojo 2000 in 5.1. below).

1.1.3. Translation as transfer (export/import)

Translation may be seen as something more than finding equivalents between languages, or mediating between a definite pair of cultures. The broader and deeper dimensions of translation processes as well as their global impact have become the buzzwords today and research in this domain continues to offer interesting insights. Before concentrating on our immediate object of research – liaison interpreting in Estonia – let us establish its background and context as a part of the general translation processes. Following Even-Zohar (1978), Lambert (1991: 99) draws our attention to how translational phenomena are related to the society and the international scene. He points out that not only are they closely interrelated, but translation may also be one of the factors that influence and shape societies:

> The well-known facts of the internationalization and the continuous redefinition of societies are much more profoundly indebted to translation and communication than is commonly believed. The matter has hardly been investigated, because the cultural awareness of translational phenomena is still too weak. Not even scholars have been aware of it because it is often one of the functional strategies of translation to remain unidentified, to escape from being identified as a foreign text.

The stereotypical understanding of translation and mediation entails seeing it as a case of putting words or ideas into another language, across a border, between clearly defined societies, between countries which have borders and established identities. This, however, as suggested in Lambert (1991: 98), may prove to be

but a fallacy. He points out that for a long time ago state borders have ceased to coincide with linguistic borders. Politics is more involved in translation and translation is more involved in politics than is ordinarily perceived:

> [...] societies are never totally homogeneous nor static, and it is exactly the conflict between previous and new principles in given societies – their archeological structure – that works as reshuffling. Such an observation is sufficient argument against the static and mainly eurocentric principle [...] that all linguistic traditions coincide with the principle of nations, and that all over the world other borderlines are exceptions.

There is interaction between these tendencies of modernisation and translational phenomena. These aspects have often been unduly neglected in analysing translation processes. In actual fact, both are becoming more and more dynamic and integrated:

> Translation is a case in point for the discussion of such principles because, by definition, translations work both within particular nations and outside of them, but also within particular languages while importing at least aspects of another language or from several languages. [...] languages can not have just the same borderlines as political units since every translation constitutes partly a mixture of languages. Moreover it can be demonstrated that it is precisely this ambiguity which provides various literary and cultural traditions with their dynamic force and sometimes with their differential specificity (Lambert 1991: 99).

It should be pointed out that the diversity in modern societies entails that translations occur also between groups that differ not only in their cultural background but also in their interests, education, and various socio-economic parameters. Lambert's approach can be seen to be in tune with the vision of self-constructed identities of different group(ing)s in modern societies or experimenting with professional image and identity that has also been discussed in research carried out in the framework of political science (cf. Gundara, Hedetoft, d'Appollonnia 1998), youth culture (cf. Fornäs 1992) or social identity (Goffman 1959) and provisional selves (Ibarra 1999). Bearing in mind the vast variety of cultural and social groupings within our modern societies today, it is only natural that the borderlines are reviewed.

> The position of translators and interpreters as mediators inside and between such groupings could shed light on translatorial processes. The quickly changing societies and the role of translators and interpreters against this background open up promising avenues of research which will allow us to escape from stereotyped understandings of culture and mediation. Hopefully, this can also help us arrive at new vistas for improving our professional practice and training (Lambert 1991: 99).

Even though Lambert emphasises that translations do not transgress only *geographical* borders, he assumes that translation is best characterised as

export-import over a definite border. Translations *transgress* borders, says Lambert (1991: 119) – and based on principles developed by Even-Zohar (1978: 45–53), he presents the rules of export and import between cultural traditions. We suggest that some of these rules could be considered relevant for Estonia in its relatively recent past up to today, also as concerns interpreting. Lambert's (1991: 119–121) rules read as follows:

> – exporting (active) systems are in a power position from the point of view of the importing (passive) systems [...];
> – important differences in power relationships are normally correlated with major differences in stages of development (periodization);
> the more a given society imports (textual production), the more it tends to be unstable; [...]
> – the more a given society imports from one and the same neighbour, the more it is in a position of dependence;
> – the more this exporting neighbour is also a neighbour in space and time, the stronger the possibility of a (partial/global) absorption of the importing systems by the exporting one;
> – the more the receiving system is in a unidirectional relationship in matters of export/import, the more it depends on its "big brother";
> – flexibility and mobility in space and time being instruments of avoiding subordination, the active/passive selection of value scales and especially the part of import in people's value scales are symptomatic of their autonomy/ colonization.

At the same time the principles of colonisation and standardisation themselves may gain strength from and be carried out with the help of translation. What Lambert speaks about "the attempt to apply territorial principles to all values" and we believe that the "integration of economic markets with moral, linguistic [...] and social import" is again highly relevant in Estonia today:

> In fact, translation, as one of the most obvious kinds of import, is rather strongly submitted to the basic organization of societies in general and especially to their homogeneity/heterogeneity.[...]The very ambition to standardize language [...] (or to submit translation to strict target rules) is part of the attempt to apply territorial principles to all values. *The principle of colonization is nothing else than an attempt to extend the territorium, and the restriction to the economic patterns is obviously not very natural. Strictly economic or political colonization belongs to the liberal and heterogeneous kind.* [...] *economic markets are generally and rather inevitably linked with moral, linguistic, even artistic and social import* (Lambert 1991: 111, emphasis mine).

The statistics on trade exchange between Estonia and the EU from the same period (cf. Kulu 2001: 43) make the development of economic ties and growth of dependence during the same period explicit. For example, from 1993 to 1998 the import from the EU to Estonia grew by 432%. The export from Estonia into the EU in the same period grew by 362% (Direction of Trade Statistics

Quarterly. IMF, December 1999 in Kulu 2001: 44). The EU became "exclusively the biggest export and import partner of all the CEE countries" (ibid.). Our trade exchange is interdependent with the EU, innumerable pages of translated EU law have the supremacy since May 2004 – the discussion on translation as transfer or export/import can be seen as relevant. As "exporting systems" we could obviously see first the former Soviet Union, then the investors and experts from the Western countries, and finally the European Union. In terms of linguistic import we can mention the active linguistic borrowing and growth of the use of Eurojargon escalating in step with growing institutional ties between Estonia and the EU from the beginning of the 1990s. As concerns translation, during the same period, Estonian interpreter trainers were actively engaged in EU training programmes. Two interpreter and two translator training centres for the EU were opened. In contrast to other MA programmes at the university, all MA students participating in the EU interpreter training programme were awarded a monthly scholarship – by the EU institutions.

   In these terms, one could consider the EU-accession on May 1, 2004 an "absorption of the importing system by the exporting one" (Lambert 1991: 111). From the very same day EU law has supremacy over the national one. With the introduction of EU laws (the Accession Treaty itself comprises some 5000 translated pages (Veebel 2005)), new terminology and concepts have developed in the public and private sector. Through increased attention to EU regulated spheres, laws and principles in the media, we may assume that people have started to adopt new values (or at least consciousness of these has been growing).[2] While some influences are rejected or questioned, others may pass unnoticed or be accepted. These influences may in the long run have a role to play in shaping the society and its prevailing mentality. Other translational practices (as for example EU staff training, but also the expansion of the translation market – from cook-books to World histories) take place in parallel to or inside this.

   During the same decade a considerable amount of foreign literature that had been translated into Estonian during the Soviet era, or even the previous independence period (1918–40), was republished or published, often in revised translations. Thus even here we see a need to redefine. This includes obvious cases, where there was a political need to publish the revised and/or completed translation – like for example publishing the integral text of Bulgakov's "*Master and Margaret*" in the beginning of the 1990s. But there are also examples of republishing relatively neutral texts and authors. Classics that have been published again include for example Boccacio's "*Decameron*" that was

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[2] Cf. changes in the Employment Contracts Act entailing a prohibition to work full-time in more than one work-place in order to make people care more for their health (http://www.legaltext.ee/et/andmebaas/ava.asp?m=026) directly resulting from EU legislation. Or the planned changes in legislation to compensate for the money spent on sports, or to make people not consulting their doctor regularly pay more for the visit and in case of falling ill, which serves the same aim.

published almost simultaneously by two publishing houses in 2005 (although one of them had the advantage of being revised (cf. Veidemann 2005 a)). Other examples include, e.g., the renewed translation of Kivi's *"Seven Brothers"* (cf. Veidemann 2005 b)), and many others, including even whole series of popular and abridged translations (like *"Seiklusjutte maalt ja merelt"*). The extent of commercialisation of the marketing of classics of World literature (cf. the campaign by *Eesti Ekspress*) becomes a sign of its time. In the Soviet time you may have had to prescribe to them long ahead of their publication or have to find them in bookshops amongst political brainwash literature. Today, you have to find them at supermarkets packed with loads of goods, sometimes next to food products. This may be seen as a good illustration of the interaction of translation and society, the overflow of goods and supermarket "culture" itself being a translation of practices of global capitalism.

Thus, when we analyse the situation in Estonia in terms of Lambert's export-import rules, we may say that indeed implicitly certain norms and values in the society have been and continue to be shaped by a bulk of translations ranging from legal and business documents and memoranda, through information from the global news agencies, to advertised texts, signs and lifestyles, to world literature (sometimes redefined). How do the representatives of one part of these translational processes – liaison interpreters, who often work in immediate contact with the primary parties in the turmoil of these global processes – perceive their role will be the focus of our empirical research. Before that, let us position our object of research in terms of diachronic frequency curves of translation *vs.* language learning (Pym 1997) and the concept of intercultures (Pym 1997).

1.1.4. Pym – diachronic frequency curves of translation vs. language learning

Another theoretical perspective which is relevant in the context of Estonia concerning translation and the impact and need for translation processes is the discussion on diachronic frequency curves of translation vs. language learning. Pym (1997: 84–85) observes the fluctuations of frequency curves of translations in the diachronic perspective as well as in translator training, and suggests that the excessive demand for translators and translations in various societies during different periods might be seen as "short term". When we think back to the small number of people speaking foreign languages in the Soviet period, the urgent need for translators and interpreters in Estonia in the beginning of the 1990s, and the sharp rise in the number of people learning and speaking foreign languages themselves in the years following the regaining of independence in Estonia, Pym's (ibid.: 85) words suit well to describe the situation in our context:

> As a relatively expensive strategy for cross-cultural communication, translation may well be viable for short-term projects only, eventually giving way to alternative strategies involving language learning (when there is more material to be communicated) or noncommunication (when not).

Indeed, the rise in the number of private language training institutions after Estonia regained its independence gives us an idea of the spread of foreign language learning and the gradual rise in foreign language speakers in that period. At the same time, text-books used at schools were gradually exchanged for modern, more efficient ones that follow the communicative approach. Many schools started to teach foreign languages from earlier grades than before, as well as to teach more foreign languages than they had used to teach. Alongside the one state-owned TV-channel many private ones were opened. The first sattelite TV-stations emerged. Foreign films were suddenly many – and they were subtitled, without dubbing (that had previously often been in Russian, not the original language). Instead of one state-owned radio station, numerous private ones were opened, Western songs were allowed. What's more – the borders were opened and visiting foreign countries as well as receiving foreign guests became a reality. All this has had a strong influence on the motivation and courage to learn foreign languages. Thus, we could say that in Estonia, translation as a means of import of goods (from the banal McDonald's advertisements through to more sophisticated ones shaping the demand through shaping our lifestyles), of legal regulations (cf. the flow of calls for translators for translating EU documentation and regulations in our lists for translators) and of values (through all the above as well as the media, literature, art) still functions at the official, public sector and TNC investment level. At the same time, at the more individual and professional level people increasingly resort to foreign language learning and speaking. More specifically, this discussion proves directly relevant to our topic of research and interpreting in liaison situations where the interpreter is working on-site together and in close cooperation with the clients. Arguably, the situation where the interpreter is employed, yet both primary parties share at least one common language (even if they possibly do not feel fully secure in it), places the interpreting triad in a different situation from the traditional ones. We suggest that the role of the interpreter as a cultural facilitator in such situations increases and the role of the interpreter becomes at the same time more vulnerable than the traditional "knowledge gap" approach has presumed.

1.1.5. Intercultures

Beyond translation, when people learn another language and communicate actively with another culture, they adopt what appeals to them, at the same time possibly choosing to reject what they dislike in their own culture. The language itself is an essential part of our identity, even in non-mediation (e.g. bilingual

communities) the choice of language may entail "playing" with the identity (cf. Kukkonen 2003). Identities created *ad-hoc* (cf. Fornäs 1992) have become a reality for the modern society and we are exploring the world beyond the mental, geographical, intellectual and traditional borders. Pym (1997: 177) introduces the term '*intercultures*' to illustrate how also translators may be seen to work and live. The notion covers "beliefs and practices found in intersections or overlap of cultures, where people combine something of two or more cultures at once" (ibid.). Pym (ibid.) also stresses that "interculturality is not to be confused with the fact that many cultures can be found within the one society or political unit".
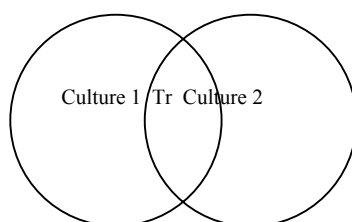
Figure 1. Intercultures. Pym (1997: 177).

It is easy to agree with Pym's suggestion. If even "ordinary" people live in combined cultures, with tailor-made identities, it would be difficult to assume that people who have chosen to mediate between (some of) these do not get "tainted" by either of the cultures surrounding them. This vision of intercultures perfectly encapsulates how many of us may possibly have felt in professional linguistic and cultural intermediating processes "in-between" our clients, maintaining a balance between what's familiar and what's new to either party. This becomes especially interesting when one side is changing asymmetrically, adopting more and more from the other into regular patterns of communication – as, we suggest, has been the case in the transformation years in Estonia. Maybe we could even add to Culture 1 and 2 a number of other cultures the translators and interpreters also may have adopted or be "living in". The task for the translator/ interpreter becomes the more complicated while for mediating between, for example, C1 and C2, e.g. C3 and C4 will have to be repressed or temporarily neglected. Thus, interpreters work in intercultures, a bit "deviant" from either, a bit of a reflection of other primary parties.

Also the personal level of translators and interpreters has its role to play. How translators and interpreters envision themselves in their role of a mediator between or inside different cultures bears on the conceptualisation of their work – and thus the end result of it.

Possibly, differently from a layperson in intercultural mediation – be it a businessman, immigrant, traveller, or adventure seeker – who may experience the different identities and cultures without necessarily preserving a conscious awareness of the cultural source of the different impulses, for professionals

mediating between the cultures, the *a la carte* identity has to come with a grain of self-analysis. There has to be a certain monitoring to differentiate between the several cultures, lest we fail to explain to our clients something peculiar merely to the other culture – something that already has become adopted for "us", but not for "them". At the same time, one has to bear in mind that the audiences are not static any more but may be reading a translation or using an interpreter just for their convenience, themselves acquainted both with the respective language and culture. Also, the correspondence between the different cultures is not necessarily developed on a one-to-one basis, on closer in(tro)spection this would probably look multidimensional.

At the same time it is important to remember that it is not only the attention devoted to each project or human constellation, but also time and effort devoted to learning to understand and make oneself understandable for each culture that matters. Therefore, as Cronin (2004: 49) points out,

> translators cannot be members of an infinite number of cultures or speak an infinite number of languages. To engage with a language or culture in a way that is both effective and meaningful for the translator entails the surrender of "considerable quantities of time" to acquiring the language and immersing oneself in the culture.

1.1.6. Contextualising through the socio-cultural and political/ideological

Many wider notions including society and culture, politics and ideology have been mentioned above. In the last decade the focus in IS has shifted more towards social issues. Could we possibly be forgetting some other aspects? Indeed, Pym (2005 a): 11) warns us against oversimplifying the world around us and conceiving of all influence on translational processes as social. He points out that the factors shaping our decisions are presumably both social and cultural, some are furthermore political and ideological – everything depends on how we contextualise the data we are about to analyse. Pym (ibid.: 13) suggests:

> [...] we should resist the obverse illusion that the real explanations only come from a wider and better-established discipline called Sociology. [...] The very existence of double movements suggests that the cultural cannot entirely be reduced to a set of classical sociological variables. We are no longer in a world where the hard countable facts [...] explain away cultural practices. We know that isolation and counting of the facts is itself a cultural practice – the sociology of culture takes place within a culture of sociology.

Pym (ibid.: 14) makes explicit the distinction between the social and cultural and points out that the world around us has become much more multilayered and that "societies and cultures tend not to be co-extensive":

We can find many cultures within the one society (we talk freely about "multicultural societies"), just as we can find the one cultural practice in many different societies (monotheism, vegetarianism, jus solis, or soccer, for example).

Pym (ibid.) invites us to go beyond the national borders of traditional sociology: "there is little need to survey anything like national societies, with their classically concentric circles of social determinism". At the same time, Pym (ibid.) points out that the borders of traditional Sociology in terms of its strive for retrieving and discussing "hard data" – and also of traditional Cultural Studies – could be broadened, and the boundaries of these two disciplines could be crossing the line – as does our object of research itself. A modern research project in the discipline of Translation Studies would, according to Pym (ibid.) thus, inter alia, entail a focus on interpreters and translators – "persons doing the job", "perceive overlaps and complex positions", and "be able to work from a plurality of concepts (translation cultures, social systems, regimes, intercultures) appropriate to the social spaces in which intermediaries work". We hope that in the thesis below some of these suggestions can be followed.

1.2. Definitions – conference interpreting and liaison interpreting

Traditionally, interpreting activities have been seen to belong to the different domains of conference, dialogue, liaison, business, diplomatic, court and military interpreting. In this chapter we will briefly introduce the two main spheres: conference and liaison interpreting, which will be principally referred to in our analysis below.

1.2.1. Conference interpreting

Traditionally, conference interpreting has been seen to differ from other forms of interpreting mostly by the techniques used: consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. The pertinent notions are usually explained as follows (interpreter training courses at Tartu University 1993–1995, AIIC 1993, http://www.aiic.net/):

Consecutive interpreting: The interpreter sits with participants in the conference room, taking notes of what is being said. At the end of each statement (up to 6 minutes) he gives an oral translation, often with the help of his notes.

Simultaneous interpreting: The interpreter works in a special soundproof booth. The speaker's statements are interpreted simultaneously and participants can listen to this through the earphones in the meeting room.

A-language: Mother tongue or a language of equal proficiency. Also the languages strictly equivalent to a mother tongue, the so-called main *active* language(s) (active languages: those languages into which one interprets).

B-language: Active language other than the mother tongue in which proficiency is fully adequate to the needs of understanding.

C-language: Passive language of which the interpreter has a thorough knowledge and can work *out of* into their A-language (cf. Mullamaa 1996).

Until relatively recently conference interpreting was the main focus of the majority of Interpreting Studies (for the developing of this profession and research in the discipline see Mullamaa 1996 and Mullamaa 2000 a) respectively). Along with the growing demands on the profession other fields in interpreting become accepted and developed, also in terms of training and research.

1.2.2. Liaison interpreting

In addition to conference interpreting, liaison interpreting is increasingly needed, practised and more and more research is carried out in this field. Since the main focus of this thesis lies on the self-descriptions of practising liaison interpreters in Estonia, a brief introduction into the notion of liaison interpreting might be useful for the reader.

In short, the main distinction between conference interpreting and liaison interpreting has traditionally been seen in

a) the number of participants in the interpreting situation (smaller in liaison);
b) in liaison interpreting interpreters work from and into the languages of the parties, while in conference interpreting, traditionally only one direction has been accepted (cf. AIIC)[3];
c) liaison interpreting is in general characterised by shorter speaking turns of participants (for example discussion at a meeting or a study visit) as compared to the longer interpreted turns (presentations at seminars and conferences) in conference interpreting;
d) in some sources (e.g. Gentile *et al.* 1996), the notion of *liaison interpreting* has been used interchangeably with *dialogue interpreting,* asociating liaison interpreting with working for the socio-economic minorities as against the "upper market" clients of conference interpreting. This, however, is most often not relevant in Estonia.

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[3] In Estonia, the common practice has however been also interpreting from B into A language, given the limited number of people having a widespread foreign language (except for Russian) as their A, and Estonian as their B language.

The terminology in this field is far from fixed. In Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies (Baker, Malmkjaer 2000), for example, we see that there is a special entry for *community interpreting* which is explained as:

> Community interpreting refers to the type of interpreting which takes place in the public service sphere to facilitate communication between officials and lay people: at police departments, immigration departments, social welfare centres, medical and mental health offices, schools and similar institutions. It is sometimes referred to as **dialogue interpreting** or **public service interpreting** (ibid.: 33).

It is made clear that the area is growing and developing:

> Increasingly, it seems to be developing into a number of distinct areas of professional expertise, such as 'medical interpreting, 'mental health interpreting', 'educational interpreting' and 'legal interpreting', the latter including COURT INTERPRETING (ibid.).

No special entry on *liaison interpreting* is included in the encyclopedia. At the same time, the area is still shown to exist, and to be different from *conference* and *community interpreting*:

> [...]within interpreting studies itself far more attention has traditionally been paid to simultaneous CONFERENCE INTERPRETING than to other areas such as COMMUNITY INTERPRETING and liaison interpreting (Baker, Malmkjaer 2000: 279.

Thus, liaison interpreting is a notion used for a mode which usually entails working in both language directions, is usually characterised by shorter speaking turns of participants, and a smaller number of participants. The level of formality may differ.

The amount of literature on liaison interpreting has been increasing and become more varied over the years, even including some handbooks for liaison interpreters in triadic communication. Wadensjö (1992) brings to light the aspects of interaction in the "communicative *pas de trois*" (ibid.:152). Adolfo Gentile, Uldis Ozolins and Mary Vasilakakos' (1996) "*Liaison Interpreting – a Handbook*" analyses the role and tasks of liaison interpreters. They try to describe the role of interpreters by and for practitioners and suggest some principles of good practice. They also outline what they call the future "norms" in this domain of interpreting. According to the authors the book functions as "a pioneer" in its attempt to "make the work of liaison interpreters more understandable both to those they work with and to the interpreters themselves" (ibid.: 4). Ian Mason's (2001) *"Triadic Exchanges"* analyses further many important aspects of liaison interpreters' work. A brief overview of these essential landmarks in interpreting research will be given below. First, let us focus on the main characteristics of liaison interpreting as described in Gentile *et al* (1996).

Gentile *et al* provide the following definition for liaison interpreting:

> Liaison interpreting is the name given to the genre of interpreting where the interpreting is performed in two language directions by the same person. [...] Liaison interpreting is widely used where two or more interlocutors do not share a language and where the interpreter must be present in order to bridge the communication gap. Typically these are situations where the acquiring or giving of information is based on exchanges between interlocutors which produce a resolution of some problem or lead to a decision, a diagnosis or generally improved understanding between interlocutors. These interlocutors are ipso facto the clients of the interpreter (ibid.: 17–18).

As factors "which distinguish liaison interpreting from conference interpreting", the following are given:
  * the physical proximity of interpreter and clients;
  * an information gap between the clients;
  * a likely status differential between the clients;
  * the necessity to interpret into both language directions;
  * working as an individual and not as part of the team (ibid.: 18).

Importantly, Gentile, Ozolins and Vasilakakos (ibid.: 19) also point to the importance of the role of a mediator. According to them, interpreters should be able to mediate beyond the language pairs. The authors point to the cultural and social differences between the primary parties which interpreters should bear in mind both at the macro- and micro level of analysis. They also remind the reader about the potential differences between the clients' "cultural inheritance, life experience and relative status":

> [The clients] [...] have been brought up in different environments with different views of the world; they have certain values and beliefs and their behaviour is influenced by these. They also have different expectations of certain situations and bring to the relationships certain assumptions about appropriate behaviour by them and others in the performance of certain tasks. [...] they have expectations, implicit assumptions and observable behaviours which differ.

The third aspect impinging on the role of the interpreter is, according to Gentile *et al.*, (ibid.: 33) the "status differential between clients and between the client and the interpreter". Even though this is said about liaison interpreting in situations which may include "medical consultations, teacher/parent interviews, court cases, business negotiations, group therapy, pre-trial briefings, police interviews and many more" (ibid.), the considerations above clearly apply to liaison interpreting practised in Estonia. However, we suggest that *liaison*-interpreting in Estonia currently differs somewhat since it mostly envolves people of relatively *similar* educational background and social status.

Gentile *et al.* (1996: 31, following Getzels 1958) bring out two dimensions of the interpreter's role:

a) the *'ideographic dimension'* can explain the attitudes the interpreters hold towards their role, and

b) the *'nomothetic dimension'* encompasses "the expectations and attitudes which a social system, variously defined, has of the interpreter".

Ideally, we suggest, there could be some harmony between these dimensions. Explicit changes in one will make inevitable certain accommodations in the other. The authors also urge us to remember that the dimensions are "distinct but inextricably intertwined", and that there is always "the interpreting *function* itself, and the *context* in which that function is performed" (1996: 32). They believe that interpreters should be able to " make a clear differentiation between the context and the task" (ibid.). Gentile *et al.* also draw comparisons between the role of the interpreter and other professional and social roles. They point out that differently from other social roles, where "reciprocal relationship" is presumed by default, the interpreter is supposed to "maintain this role in relation to *two* clients and switch between them". The interpreter's role is thus seen as "both vicarious (being performed on somebody else's behalf) and in effect a double role (being performed for two clients)" (ibid.).

Gentile *et al.* (ibid.) stress the main rule of interpreter-mediated interaction: "Interpreters must, at all costs, regard themselves as the instrument rather than the focus of the communication". According to them, the constraints of observing this principle arise from the fact that the relationship between the client and the interpreter often "extends beyond the interpreting situation":

> Thus preliminaries such as greetings, directions, briefings are carried out on a one-to-one basis with each person, either in person or by telephone. Other spatial and temporal circumstances can add to the difficulties. If, for example, a doctor is late for an appointment with the patient in an ante-room, the natural tendency is for the patient to engage in social conversation with the interpreter [...]. Here, the role of the interpreter is created not during or because of but outside the performance of the interpreting function" (ibid.: 32–33).

Gentile *et al.* (1996: 33) further point to the aspect that the interpreter is often perceived as a participant observer:

> At many points during the interpreting situation, the interpreter has the role of 'participant-observer', particularly if either or both clients are unhappy with progress of the discussion. The first tendency is to question the role of the interpreter in the interaction, either by suggestions as to how to move the interaction along – or occasionally by direct requests of information from the interpreter. When the clients cease talking to or focusing on each other, they inevitably impinge on the function of the interpreter by identifying with the interpreter as a person. (The situation is further complicated when underlying factors favour identification by one client or another, such as organisational affiliation [...], ethnic identity [...] or who is paying the interpreter).

We suggest that a further aspect of such interpreter-mediated encounters is the role of the interpreter *after* the interpreting event, which has – to our knowledge – never been discussed in interpreting research before. But there is reason to believe that the client's perception of the interpreter who has been present during an interpreted event as a participant observer and has become aware of, for example, "the skeleton in the cupboard" of that person, is still influenced by this aspect. These issues are potentially more relevant in relatively small societies and the neutrality of the interpreter becomes increasingly important there, clearly extending beyond the interpreted event.

Finally, Gentile *et al.* (ibid.: 35) point to the specificity of the interpreting interaction. For the participants, there has to be a *"motivation* to communicate for the achievement of goals which are shared". They bring out the importance of the interpreter's "capacity to inspire confidence", at the same time to "exercise some control over the situation" (ibid.: 34–35) and to present the material "in a manner which will elicit the most productive response from the other party" (ibid.: 36). The many tasks and the seemingly fragmented role of a liaison interpreter outlined above seem to support the "three party" rather than the conduit approach.

To balance the needs of the "two different worlds" – of conference interpreting and dialogue interpreting, a growing number of interpreter training schools train interpreters in two different branches.

Also, there is more and more research carried out in the different fields of IS. A positive consequence of such research would be that also traditional interpreting schools would consider the more recent research results and information on diversity in their training. Indeed, there already exist Codes of honour which say that the interpreter *must* intervene. They must act as independent persons and assume explicit responsibility for the situation. A dramatic illustration of this may be the interpreters acting in earthquake situations in Turkey (Bulut, Kahraman 2003). In this context, the interpreter has assumed a totally new (seen from the conduit perspective) role. Interpreters have to – in addition to "traditional" interpreting – help victims, have logistic skills, be able to give first aid and drive at great speed in rough circumstances. If they fail to do that, lives may be lost. It is obvious that the Code of honour for these interpreters establishes as normative the very thing – third party interaction – that Wadensjö (1998) below refers to as "norm breaking behaviour". It is the aptitude based on the skills to decide when to break in, when to evacuate the client(!), and the capacity to work in extreme stress conditions, which are decisive in whether an applicant is accepted to interpreter training in Turkish rescue interpreting programmes or not (cf. Bulut and Kahraman 2003). Even if this description concerns extreme situations, the fact that new tasks are prescribed to the range of activities expected to be carried out by interpreters – instead of being prohibited – is an important step forward in comprehending the actual role of the interpreter. Compare the obligation to intervene and help of interpreters working in earthquake regions with the invisibility supporting conduit model and we have got a vivid illustration of the

dichotomy of the two paradigms. A comment by a jury member evaluating future conference interpreters encapsulating his vision of the task: "This interpreter is service minded, but not servant like. He won't do", serves to illustrate where the extremes of the conduit model – when seeing rules but not seeing communication – may lead to.

Despite the variety in interpreting situations and new insights brought to us in recent interpreting research, however, many interpreter training programmes have been trying to follow either the Seleskovitch model or stick to rigidly institutionalised models of instruction. Even though there are more and more training programmes where interpreting for liaison situations has been included (as for example in www.atlas-translations.co.uk/english/interpreting/ simultaneous/faq.html) and where novel ways for preparing students for real-life encounters are used (cf. e.g. Sandrelli 2001), these have not reached all interpreter training centres. This seems to be true also in Estonia. Currently, only courses focusing on conference interpreting are given. Since the local market seems to suggest a need for a different kind of interpreting in addition to conference interpreting, in the empirical part of our thesis we will try to find out if practising interpreters for the liaison mode for the Estonian market exist, and what their self-descriptions tell us about their role.

2. Society and individualisation

2.1. The context of research – Estonia

Our research takes place in the context of Estonia. Since some basic facts about Estonia might be useful as a general background for the reader, we give here a brief synopsis.

Estonia is situated on the coast of the Baltic Sea, bordering on Russia in the East, Latvia in the South, Finland and Sweden across the sea in the North and West. Distances from Tallinn to: Helsinki 85 km, Riga 307 km, St. Petersburg 395 km.

The geographical position, seen as "a window to the West" already by the Russian Czar Peter the Great, has made the territory popular among our neighbours for economic and political reasons. Comprehensive overviews on Estonia's history include Laar 1996, Laar 2002, etc.

In 1991 Estonia restored its independence. Estonia became a member of WTO in 1999, a member of NATO in 2004 and a member of the EU in 2004. Thus, we suggest, in many respects Estonia can be seen as an example of a post-socialist CEE country.

The main export partners in 2004 were Finland with 17,2 billion, Sweden with 11,4 billion and Germany with 6,2 billion kroons (1EUR=15,6EEK). The main import partners are the EU (Finland, Sweden, Germany), Russia and the Ukraine. The economic growth in 2004 was 6%.

The official language is Estonian, Russian is spoken by our minority nation. The younger generation speaks English, and the older generation German in addition to these. The number of inhabitants is 1,3 million.

The Association of Translators and Interpreters in Estonia unites about 193 translators and interpreters who work in 19 languages (www.ettl.ee). Until recently, however (www.ettl.ee, accessed April 2005), the association explicitly only seemed to include *conference* interpreters. To our knowledge, there is currently no specific data on interpreters who work in the liaison domain, neither on interpreters in the domain who do not belong to the association.

2.2. Individualisation and the development of the interpreter's role in Western democracies

When analysing the changes in the interpreter's role, we wonder to which extent they have been influenced by the wider societal context. Many changes have occurred in the perception of life, communication and power hierarchy in the society in the last decades. We suggest that certain parallels could be drawn between the macro-societal, post-modern democratisation processes in Western societies and the development of the interpreter's role, both in view of its theoretical interpretation and practical implementation. According to Van Deth (1995: 2) populations of advanced industrial countries

> show an increased emphasis on non-material and emancipatory goals; shifting away from tradition, respect for authority, and material well-being towards self-fulfilment, independence, and emancipation [...]. It is this combination of slowly disappearing traditional values and the growing independence and self-reliance of individuals, as well as the need for belonging in modern society which characterizes the broad lines of the processes of changing values.

From the 1960s and the 1970s rapid changes have occurred also in the mentality of people living in the advanced industrial societies:

> There was a general revolt against oppressive, artificial, previously unquestioned ways of living. It touched every aspect of personal life: childbirth, childhood, love, sex, marriage, dress, music, art, sports, language, food, housing, religion, literature, death, schools. Never before was there such a general withdrawal of confidence from so many elements of the political and economic system (Zinn 1990 in Van Deth 1995: 526).

'Individualisation' is the term often applied to these developments. However, Van Deth (ibid.: 2) suggests it would be more appropriate to refer to these changes through the notions of "the rise of 'post-conventional' norms, the 'de-traditionalisation' of society or the growing relevance of 'postmaterialism'". Also, it is not completely new values but rather the "gradual replacement of

older, traditional values by less strict or less authoritarian ideas" that we are witnessing. Van Deth (ibid.) also points out that

> during a period of flux in the outlook of citizens, governments will be under constant pressure to adjust to cultural changes – and government policies will always lag behind popular developments. [...] Moreover, almost by definition, the authority of government is questioned in a culture stressing individual autonomy./…/ ..if independence and self-fulfilment are stressed, people will be inclined to design their own set of values and choose their orientations `a la carte.

Shifts in value orientations occur gradually and the processes influence various aspects of social life. In general, two main approaches in value research may be distinguished:

1. In the classical macro-sociological theory, political orientations, and especially values are seen as "the concept mediating between the systemic properites of a society, on the one hand, and individual behaviour, on the other" (Van Deth, Scarbrough 1995: 7).
2. According to the second approach, values are directly linked to social position:

> Social and economic changes have resulted in the new groups consisting of people with high levels of education who are relatively autonomous or authoritative in their work roles. The jobs of these professionals involve information, *communication, and the creation of cultural messages – in the mass media, liberal arts, publishing, and the like* [...]. Their outlook, it is argued, is characterised by *the rejection of every kind of authority*. They spurn conventional modes of thinking and the ideologies associated with traditional political cleavages, developing instead more "modern" ideas in line with their social position (ibid., emphasis mine).

We suggest that the considerations above are relevant for the context of our research as well as the participants of our empirical study below. Alongside with the macro-societal changes, as well as the post-modern democratisation and individualisation processes, also the situations calling for interpreting have become more varied. The notion of the 'interpreting situation', which traditionally has been related to strictly defined interpreting encounters (mainly conference interpreting), today includes other types of interpreting. As pointed out in Gentile *et al.* (1996: 11), the needs of expanding commercialism have brought along the rise of business interpreting:

> In relation to international business contacts, while to some extent this field has developed out of the model of international diplomatic interpreting, in many cases the use of interpreting has only developed with the burgeoning of substantial international trade since the 1960s (ibid.).

At about the same time also dialogue interpreting entered the scene:

> the massive growth of immigration in the post-war world, affecting not only traditional immigration countries such as the Americas but increasingly all nations, has been the greatest spur to the growth of liaison interpreting (ibid.).

We suggest that with these socio-economic and political developments the scene for the emergence of different role models for interpreters was set. In tune with the wish to live our lives as a "de-naturalised project", building our identities "in new forms of *bricolage* and identity construction" and transcending our traditional selves (Fornäs 1992: 13), also our professional identities become multilayered, and the perception of our professional roles acquires new shades of meaning. People feel more free to choose professional roles that appeal to them, there is a certain tendency to reject outward pressure and extensive organisation. In tune with this, Cronin (2004: 47) refers to a "new role-allocation of the market-based economy". Cronin (ibid.) believes that "an implication of this development is a marked change in the relative weighing and distribution of roles in society". He holds that a strive towards well defined identities, belonging and networking (ibid. : 47) becomes essential in the otherwise rather ambiguous world. Cronin (ibid.) is convinced that "interaction with people ('networking') and with the external environment generally is a crucial element in the new dispensation" of mediating the immaterial, values, symbols. The link to translators and interpreters is obvious:

> [t]he labour market now places a high value on the "interpersonal" and intrapersonal skills, the capacity to think into another's mind, to empathize not just to serve. Qualities are as important as qualifications (Mulgan 1998: 75, in Cronin 2004: 47).

We suggest that in a transition country, like Estonia, some of these changes (including the moral and value change of individuals (cf. Lauristin 1997) and the growing individualisation of professional roles (cf. Ibarra 1999) have occurred in a "compressed" and complex way.

In connection with the substantial changes starting from the beginning of the 1990s, in line with the developments in Estonia, new value orientations, including more liberal and autonomous work roles, have started to emerge. The strict hierarchy at work places has been loosened, the expression of opinion of the individual is (at least formally) becoming more and more accepted. The *"vous"- form ("teie")* indicating distance and authority, has been replaced by the *"tu"-form* (*"sina"*) stressing equality and mutual respect in more and more social situations and at more work places. We also hypothesise that many of the modifications in the interpreter's role observed to evolve during decades in the West, have mainly taken place just during the 1990s here. The development from the rule-bound Code model of the Soviet era to a dynamic business *cum* liaison facilitator has taken just about a decade. Major changes have at the same pace affected outlooks on life, value orientations and lifestyles of people.

Van Deth (1995: 48–75) demonstrates that the political and social environment have been directly relevant for changing value orientations in Western Europe (where at the same time clear differences between countries and time periods can be shown). In Estonia, like in other post-communist societies, these changes have been definitely present, even if not always (or not yet) so clear-cut (cf. Mullamaa 2004). While the political transformation from a totalitarian into a democratic state took place rather quickly, the development of values (on the traditional-modern-post-modern scale) stopped in the 'modern' phase for a considerably longer and not so clearly defined time span (Veebel 2005). This is also reflected in studies of the societies in these two stages of development. For example a study on Estonian and Swedish values (Lauristin, Vihalemm 1997: 253) confirms that

> Swedes are more post-modern in their value preferences. The Estonian mentality seems to be more modernist and pragmatic. Estonians attribute less value to honesty, freedom, justice, mature love, and inner harmony than did the Swedes, and they are more achievement-oriented (self-respect, self-realization, wealth, power).

According to Lauristin (1997: 38),

> In the countries of East and Central Europe today, we can observe how 'catching up' with the technological and institutional forms of Western modernization is occurring simultaneously with the adoption of the values and patterns of post-industrial culture [...] the simultaneousness of two normally sequential phases of cultural development makes post-Communist societies internally even more controversial and difficult to understand.

In addition to a certain "liberalisation" of *self* from the totalitarian "bigger-brother" a new sense of responsibility had to be acquired by the once *homo Sovieticus*. Lauristin (1997: 38) points out that "the collectivist system of values undermined the notion of 'self'" and underlines that "the importance of personal moral choice, guilt and responsibility" had to be "re-invented" in the course of transition" (ibid.). Translators/ interpreters, who usually have a classical training in the humanities that includes a thorough introduction into the culture and literature of the countries the language of which they study, could maybe be considered as partly bicultural (in the more modern interpretation of the notion, cf. Grosjean, 2000). In a way, they would thus be considered a "bridge" even between the two mindsets of totalitarianism and the democratic West. Of course, the processes of modernization and the emerging value orientations and "new life-styles" may possibly not have been fully synchronised. Thus we see that 'transitional stress', described in Lauristin (1997: 38) as "created by rapidly expanding differences in the living conditions of various social groups and also by growing uncertainties about personal life-perspectives", still affects people. A study by Saar Poll and Praxis (http://www.praxis.ee/praxis/admin/texts/ piloottuuring.doc) confirms a fast transformation of value orientations in Estonia. During the period studied (1990–1999) the country had entered a

"modernist" stage where much stock was placed in mundane values. The number of people who considered their salary to be the most important thing in life had increased. Money had started to play a leading role in the value orientations. Compared to 1990, socio-psychological pressure and a feeling that society does not care for one had increased. People dared less to express their opinion, being afraid to lose their job. In some respect the society had become much more tolerant – one of the greatest changes being – according to the study – the change of attitudes toward the role of women in society. At the same time the society had become much more stratified and complicated, which caused a lot of tensions and stress for a large part of the population (ibid.). It is only in the first decade of 2000 that we detect a stronger call for soft values in the media (cf. Kaalep 2004, Kaplinski 2004, Lill 2004, Rooste 2004 a), b). In 2005, 87% of the population still suffered from stress related to feeling forced to achieve more and more in materialist and career terms (PM 22.04.05). Today, social scientists believe that the society is slowly entering the post-modernist stage (Veebel 2005). The number of suicides that placed Estonia among the first in Europe in the 1990s has gone down by half by 2006 (PM 15.06.06).

Inevitably, the stress and turmoil of complete reorganization have influenced translators and interpreters. More than in traditional conference settings, this possibly becomes relevant in on-site liaison situations. When interpreters as "cultural ambassadors" (Jones 2004, speaking about translators) mediate between a client from a steadily developed society and one from a changing, ambiguous, transition one, certain aspects of the socio-cultural (transformation) understood by default in one of these may need to be communicated explicitly to the other party in order to create and maintain the understanding of each other's goals and information. In interpreting situations like these, one primary party or another may be affected emotionally by the changes or also still negative phenomena that may be difficult to understand for an outsider. In such situations, there is reason to believe that an additional (sometimes also affective) constraint is imposed on the interpreter who is mediating between such different worlds. In situations like these the interpreters are not only exchanging words or messages but importing and exchanging values, beliefs, lifestyles. We might argue that the interpreter then has to mediate between people who may have a background in whole eras or epochs apart (e.g. materialism vs. post-materialism; industrialism, post-industrialism, modernism-post-modernism). Also, when interpreting and mediating between the primary parties, some of these aspects can be perceived through recognizing the everyday situation or through empathy – beyond the scope of the explicit discourse. We can force ourselves to be "professional" enough not to expose this feeling of recognition in our professional conduct – the immaculate behaviour, well controlled facial expressions, gestures and passionless putting of the text from one language into another (front, professional self, see below). Yet it may be difficult not to be human enough to notice these things and (albeit sometimes "merely" inside you or after the work) go through them, perceive the pain of clients, feel compassion for them (personal self, see below). Also, even

if so stipulated by the Code model, it is to be questioned if empathy should be considered unprofessional by default. Particularly so, when we consider grasping the non-explicit in an implicitly shared essential background necessary for the adequate contextualisation for communicating ideas. The Estonian formal conversational style implies certain restraint and understatement (Pajupuu 2001, Valk *et al.* 2001). The Swedish and Anglo-American one presume things to be explicit. Cross-cultural communication in our context thus often entails explicitation for participants from low-context cultures. Communicating the true essence of a cross-cultural exchange implies ethics-related decisions for or against explicit or implicit contextualising in sensitive situations, opening of backgrounds, creating and maintaining truly communicative situations, or encouraging participants to share and ask clarifying questions.

To sum up – we hypothesise that the macro-societal transformations which have been emphasizing growing individualism have also affected the role of interpreters – at least more visibly so in liaison settings. Since many parameters in such settings have been redefined, the earlier rigid, machine-like role model that has been traditionally prescribed for interpreters would stand out as explicitly marked.

2.3. The development of the interpreter's role in the context of Estonia

Against this background Estonia makes an interesting place to observe closer how the changes in the political and economic environment have been bringing along modifications of the role of interpreters. The empirical part of the thesis will give us a more detailed analysis of the changes. Below, let us establish the general background for the empirical study based on our own experience as an interpreter, as well as the discussions at the interpreter training courses at Tartu University (1993–1995).

Back in the Soviet era, the entrance of foreigners into the state was strictly controlled. So were the events, where foreigners participated, the participants themselves, and thus also interpreter-mediated communication. The main types of interpreting were conference interpreting and diplomatic interpreting. Power relations between the clients themselves as well as between clients and interpreters were most often hierarchical, and the role of the interpreter was mostly to follow the Code model. However, as very few people in the society had the possibility to meet foreigners, the role of the interpreter, although on the one hand that of a tool of communication for a totalitarian regime, was on the other hand a privileged one. Although in the framework of a strict role, unlike so many other, they had the chance to meet someone from a different world from behind the Iron Curtain.

The beginning of the 1990s became marked by the influx of Western delegations to establish relations with the representatives of executive power (for example local governments and their departments) and the state sector in

Estonia. While the work groups spread out at the level of different departments and specialists of local governments, the need for a special type of interpreting – which would be carried out for expert groups from different countries – developed.

From the middle of the 1990s there was a rise in the number of private companies establishing business relations with companies abroad. Also, the number of subsidiaries of foreign companies which started to operate in Estonia increased, boosting the need for business interpreting. At the same time, in connection with the growing number of tourists to Estonia, also dialogue interpreting proper (police interviews, etc.) grew. Another phenomenon probably more idiosyncratic for the transition countries is interpreting for relatives once separated by the Iron Curtain. This may entail interpreting for sisters-brothers (and their descendants) who haven't met for some 60 years, and have not even been aware of one another's survival. Needless to say, the stakes of trust and ethics are high in these situations where the interpreter has to stand between elderly people and/or their descendants, in highly emotional encounters where regret, suspicion, doubts; hope and reconciliation are close between.

The beginning of the 1990s also witnessed the establishing of the first translation bureaus in Estonia, which soon started to contact also interpreters to work under their aegis. This was the time when the Estonian Association for Translators and Interpreters was established by a number of our practising interpreters and translators in the vanguard. From the end of the 1990s the growing influence of a new 'role-model' – the EU, may be perceived. EU-sponsored "train the trainers" programmes were launched and in 1998 the first "EU" interpreter training programme started in Tartu. In 1993 the first Translation and Interpretation programme in Estonia was opened at Tartu University (Tamm 2001). Today there are two interpreter training centres in Estonia – at Tartu and Tallinn Universities. Both prepare interpreters mainly for the EU institutions.

Despite its idiosyncrasies the interpreting market today is becoming more and more similar to the one in the West.

2.4. The development of interpreter training in Estonia

The changes in society as concerns the need for interpreters are also reflected in interpreter training. Already during the 1970s Mall Tamm with other enthusiasts had been running elective courses for simultaneous and consecutive interpreting at Tartu University Department of English Philology. The highlight when the skills were put to actual test was the Tallinn Olympic Regatta in 1980. Estonian interpreters passed the "test" with flying colours (Tamm 2001).

In 1992 the first interpreting training programme in Estonia was opened at the initiative of Mall Tamm and her colleagues. This was the so-called Translation and Interpretation branch, which was an option for the students of the third year, once they passed a four skills measuring aptitude test. The

competition was keen and the students were trained in addition to practising conference interpreters cum university teachers also by specialists and visiting guest lecturers from abroad. In 1995/6 the Translation/Interpreting programme was closed (cf. Cronin 2002 on minoritizing of orality above). 1996–1998 interpreting was taught as a series of electives for philologists, and in 1998 the first course training interpreters for anyone willing to pay for the course was opened. During the years of 1998–2000 the training of Estonian interpreter trainers intensified, colleagues from, for example, the Copenhagen Business School, but increasingly also the representatives of the European Commission and the European Parliament started to be visible both as trainers and financial supporters. In 2000 the first course for training interpreters for the EU institutions – the European Masters programme – was set up in Tartu (cf. Tamm 2001). Since 2000 the students attending the course received a monthly scholarship from Brussels (cf. Lambert's rules of export-import above). In connection with official EU training many new norms have been introduced both to the training and evaluation of interpreters.

Yet, let us remember the assertion by Toury:

> Norms are the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities, because their existence, and the wide range of situations they apply to [...] are the main factors ensuring the establishment and retention of social order (Toury 1995: 55).

Interpreters as would-be mediators for the EU were one of the first of all the future EU officials to receive any form of official training. The set of norms for determining the suitability of a person for the vacancies in EU institutions has become uniform all over the EU and is considered both at aptitude testing for entering the courses and at the final exams. The rules, norms and evaluation criteria in interpreter training are uniform all over the EU. This situation is perfect for fulfilling the positions in the EU institutions and probably also for conference interpreting at the local market.

On the other hand, when they are too rigid, norms may become tools for controlling and dictating rather than taking into account the reality. As put by Pym (2004): "Norms are solutions to problems that have no logical solutions". Thus, more solutions are possible. Societies with a dictatorial past (like the post-Soviet ones) may be more inclined to stick to a set of readily available rules imposed by an "Authority" – without necessarily questioning the validity and relevance of these in our own contexts. As Lambert (2004) puts it: "You always have to think *who* pays for it, *what* he pays for and *why*".

Therefore one could ask if in parallel to the acute need for training interpreters for the EU institutions, there also exists a need for interpreters at the local market. The rules of interaction there might be slightly different than those set for conference interpreting. My experience of being trained and having worked for about 10 years as a free-lance conference and later liaison interpreter, has highlighted the differences of interpreting in those two

situations. However, as mentioned above (cf. 2.1.), the differences may not have been reflected in training programmes nor in ways of formal organisation.

Therefore, to find an answer to what has been happening on the local market, we will try to find answers to the following questions:

1) Is *liaison* interpreting practised in Estonia?
2) If yes, what are the modalities of this mode of interpreting according to the practitioners?
3) What do the self-descriptions of practising liaison interpreters in Estonia tell us about their role?
4) Do the findings on the role of liaison interpreters have implications for the communication model in interpreting as such and for the role of interpreters in general?
5) Do the findings of this study have implications for interpreter training?

To find an answer, we want to test the following hypotheses:

1) Liaison interpreting is practised in Estonia.
2) The role of the liaison interpreter here often entails more interaction than the Code (cf. Wadensjö, Linell) and training prescribed "machine" model (cf. Tate and Turner).
3) The notions of *"professional self"* and *"personal self"* help to analyse the interpreter's role. They can thus be introduced for theoretical and pedagogical purposes.
4) The dynamic role of liaison interpreters in Estonia has developed in tune with the individualisation and democratisation processes.

All these questions will be approached in the context of Estonia. We do not claim that these findings are relevant universally, in different countries with a different market situation for interpreting. Yet, we hope that the careful description of the situation in one country allows us to enrich the mosaic of the different role images of interpreters we have from different countries of the world and helps us learn more about the profession and role of interpreters in general.

3. Role and interaction

3.1. The development of the understanding
of the interpreter's role – from Anderson to Wadensjö

3.1.1. Anderson

The interpreter's role has remained a controversial issue in IR. Gentile *et al.* (1996: 31) define role as follows:

> Role is a social science construct used to explain behaviour and examine attitudes between at least two participants in any social situation. The concept of the role is inextricably tied to the idea of a reciprocal relationship [...]. [Roles] exist only in relation to the other. [...] The role of the interpreter, like other roles, derives from observed behaviour over time and from evaluation of behaviour vis-à-vis that expected by professional associations or other occupational or social groupings.

The first to discuss the role of the interpreter in IR was Anderson, who already back in 1976 noted that the interpreter is "subject to client expectations that are often conflicting", and saw the interpreter as " a power figure, exercising power as a result of monopolisation of the means of communication" (Anderson 1976/2002: 214). We learn that sociologists in the earlier period "have shown little interest in translation or the behaviour of interpreters or other translators" (ibid.: 209). Anderson's main concern remains the possible danger of interpreter bias: " for a sociologist conducting interviews through an interpreter, the problem of maintaining rapport with him may give greater bearing upon data quality than the time-honored problem of maintaining respondent rapport" (ibid.: 210). Two decades ahead of the "social turn" in IS (and simultaneously with the first sociologically inspired accounts in TS (cf. Pym 2005 a) :2)), Anderson (1976/2002: 209) states that translation "occurs in social situations amenable to social analysis". Foreshadowing much more recent approaches, Anderson (ibid.) concludes: "In any such setting the role played by the interpreter is likely to exert considerable influence on the evolution of group structure and on the outcome of the interaction".

  Even though Anderson might be criticized for pointing only to the most traditional of the interpreting situations ("labor negotiations, doctor-patient interaction, disputes between minority and majority groups") (ibid.: 210), and for assuming that for interpreters, seen by Anderson as 'bilinguals', the dominant language and culture may tilt neutrality, he is definitely to be acknowledged for his early pointing out of what he calls the "ambiguities and conflicts" of the interpreter role (ibid.: 211). In this, Anderson can clearly be seen as a predecessor of the discourse which accepts the interpreter as a third party, today mainly associated with our contemporaries, such as Wadensjö, Linell, Tate and Turner, Pöllabauer, and others. Referring to Ekvall's (1960)

account of his experience as interpreter, Anderson (1976/2002: 211) concludes that in many situations "the details" of the role of interpreter may have to be "worked out at an *ad hoc* basis":

> These illustrate the fact that the interpreter's role is always partially undefined – that is, the role prescriptions are objectively inadequate. The interpreter's position is also characterized by role overload. Not only is it seldom entirely clear what he is to do, he is also frequently expected to do more than is objectively possible.

While a number of constraints that Anderson refers to (many clients speaking at the same time, no breaks for the interpreter, etc.) are today almost eliminated by the Codes of professional conduct, other essential questions concerning the interpreter's role, although also enshrined in innumerable Code d'dhonneurs, have given rise to dissenting views. For example, Anderson points to "two types of role ambiguity" of the interpreter, which he sees as "problems of inconsistency within a single role" (ibid.: 212):

> In the first instance the precise nature of that role is unclear. Should the interpreter be a mere echo, or should he be an advisor and ally? Should he inform his client of whispered, off-the-record remarks made by the other party to the interaction, or should he stick to the text? In the second instance, the issue is not what but how much behaviour is expected. In either event, a sociology of interpreter behavior should include propositions about the likely effects of the interpreter's efforts to cope with these ambiguities upon the ongoing interaction.

Among "factors that should be examined", Anderson (ibid.: 212) mentions "the relative power of the interpreter vis-a`-vis his clients and his perceived hierarchy of obligations, both of which could influence the legitimacy of alternative means of ambiguity reduction". For reducing role overload, interpreters could handle the situation by guiding the clients "simply by insisting that his clients take turns talking, pause often, and break off the exchange after an hour or two" (ibid.). Here, the *perceived* in role obligations determines the actual behavior. As we will see *inter alia* in Tate and Turner (1997/2002) below, interviews with practising interpreters today confirm that what one feels to be right or expected in terms of the role obligations may often become decisive in choosing and modifying actual interpreter behavior. This observation also tells us a lot about how important the principles acquired through training may be. Anderson tends to view the interpreting situation as a scene for potential conflict: " [...] like the foreman [the interpreter] is occupationally vulnerable to counterpressures from his two clients. No matter what he does, one of them is apt to be displeased". This is why, according to him, for example in political negotiations each party employs his own interpreter (ibid.). In Anderson's (ibid.: 212) view,

this serves the purpose of eliminating many aspects of role strain by making the interpreter responsible to a single client. His identification with his principal then becomes possible without the complications of the role conflict, and his linguistic ability becomes a part of the negotiating team's arsenal.

Both Anderson's interpretation, as well as, for example, Gentile's (1996) perception of business interpreters include in the interpreter's role the capacity and obligation to take sides and through this influence the outcome of the interpreted event. Anderson believes that the interpreter's " position in the middle has the advantage of power inherent in all positions which control scarce resources" (ibid.: 212). In Anderson's view, the power of the interpreter depends on a more or less conscious choice of observing complete neutrality or not:

> To the extent that qualified interpreters are hard to find, and replace, the interpreter is cast in a highly important role vis-a`-vis his clients. This advantage, when combined with the relative ambiguity of the interpreter's role, allows him considerable latitude in defining his own behavior vis-a`-vis his clients. His behavior may, therefore, be expected to have *an unusually great impact on the entire situation* (ibid.: 212, emphasis mine).

Anderson stresses that the clients may often not be able to check what is said in the original by the other primary party:

> He may translate all that is said by both clients with as great fidelity as he can muster – or he may choose not to. His monolingual clients will be unable to ascertain the differences unless he oversteps rather wide bounds" as suggested by Anderson (ibid.: 212–213).

We may agree with Anderson's claim that the interpreter has *some* "control over the interaction pattern that develops and thereby over the structure of the triadic relationship" (ibid.). By today, also empirical research has confirmed this (cf. Wadensjö 1992, Pöllabauer 2003). However, in our modern understanding, in an unmarked interpreting situation (as against for example the above-mentioned diplomatic but also business and military interpreters, who are trained in special programmes), the interpreter should not consciously exercise power beyond that enabling effective communication. At the same time, modern Codes of ethics make it a *serious* transgression to "translate selectively" or otherwise consciously manipulate the outcome of the interpreted event. On the one hand, Anderson admits that the interpreter may have a neutral self-image, a nonpartisan role: "he would be likely to orient himself toward his listener as if he were echoing the other client with outmost fidelity. This orientation would presumably be the same when translating in either direction – always characterised by apparent personal detachment from the content of his translations" (ibid.: 213). Yet, Anderson suspects that

under this façade would be considerable manipulation of communicative content in the direction of moderation and rationality. Hidden losses in fidelity would blunt angered words and soften rigid stances. [...] the interpreter would probably attempt to manipulate the interaction in the direction of a "just" outcome whereby both clients would believe that they had maximized their own gains (ibid.: 213).

On the other hand, nonpartisanship could also mean "total personal detachment from the situation". In this case, Anderson believes,

> Rather than being equally pulled in both directions, he might be pulled in neither. [...] instead of pseudofidelity, we should expect maximal attention to *faithful interpretation – even to reproduction of intonation and gestural signs*. The value-laden aspects of any utterance would likely come through with minimal filtering. His detachment would force his clients to work out their own differences, because any outcome would be acceptable to him (ibid.: 213, emphasis mine).

Anderson (1976/2002: 215) bases his considerations of nonpartisanship on Simmel's classical essay on the triad (1964) as well as the "psychological concept of approach-approach conflict" discussed in Barker (1942, 1946), and "affective neutrality" where there is "pull in neither direction" as discussed in Parsons (1951). Unfortunately, Anderson does not elaborate on these, for him two distinctive sides of nonpartisanship, leaving much to be discussed for the future. In addition to raising a number of important questions for IS, Anderson's classical piece of research links sociology and much of the intrinsic – although problematic – for translational processes in general, and interpreting and the interpreter's role more specifically.

Anderson also (ibid. 209–210) lists the potential avenues for research on the sociological aspects in interpreting:

> International negotiations concerning trade agreements, peace treaties, and the like constitute another area of potential sociological interest in the role of the interpreter. Here sociological interest in the evolving social structure of a small group of negotiators merges with the interests of social psychologists, political scientists and legal scholars in analysis of problem-solving behavior. Whenever one is interested in [...] the politics of international crises (Young 1967, 1968), attitudes of various ethnic groups toward each other in multilingual societies (Gumperz 1961; Ferguson 1962, Lambert 1967) or problems of integration of ethnic and linguistic minorities (Ervin-Tripp 1967, Macnamara 1967), understanding the role and behavior of interpreters will likely prove relevant. [...] Understanding the role of the interpreter may also aid understanding of interaction between people of different statuses and backgrounds within a single language community.

We are left with a number of relevant issues for the study of the interpreter's role, many of which have not been exhausted in IR up to today. Areas for research include "exerting influence on interaction in varied contexts, the

relative statuses of participants with respect to social class, education, sex, age".
Among other variables situational factors are mentioned. Also, the today highly
topical area of research is anticipated to be of relevance:

> In addition to variations in the number of participants and in the distribution
> of language skills among them, one would expect the arena of interaction
> (whether political, military, academic, religious [...]) to influence emergent
> role relations (ibid.).

In addition to pioneering IS in pointing to the ambiguities that are "built in" in
the role of interpreter, Anderson's study deserves every credit for initiating the
discussion on the sometimes taboo-tainted topics of power and (for him two
types of) neutrality of the interpreter. Both of these aspects of the interpreter's
role will be touched upon in our empirical part, where we discuss the role of
interpreters as sketched by the self-descriptions of practising interpreters in
Estonia.

3.1.2. Berk- Seligson

Another classic to be mentioned when speaking about the interpreter's role in IS
is Susan Berk-Seligson. Berk-Seligson (1988/2002: 278–293) studies politeness
in witness testimony and focuses mainly on the importance of the pragmatic
effect created by the interpreter. The study demonstrates the weight of the role
of interpreter, as expressed through the power to choose the linguistic level, and
through this influence the outcome of the interpreted event. The role of
politeness "in the formation of impressions of witnesses" (1988/2002: 281), as
well as the power of the court interpreter "to alter the politeness of a witness
testimony, and in doing so, influence the impression that mock jurors have of
that witness" (ibid.) is reviewed. The drawback of this experimental piece of
research, we believe, might be seen in that it does not study the reactions of
participants in a *true* interpreted event, but uses mock jurors. The study focuses
on the *impressions* of people *imagining* they are clients. These people have no
experience in either working as a juror, nor working with an interpreter. It
remains to be questioned to which extent can a person never ever having
participated in an interpreted event imagine what it actually looks like. And
even if one may have an abstract imagination of what this situation entails, it is
doubtful that the perception of the situation would be the very same for people
actually having experienced this, the more so while so important ethical
(sub-)nuances are being discussed. One might wish to have more insight into
the factors influencing the choice of the interpreters or into their motivation to
adopt one or another stance.

3.1.3. Wadensjö and Linell

Cecilia Wadensjö's (1998) work has become an important landmark in interpreting research. Her work is mostly based on the analysis of transcripts and linguistic/ pragmatic data. Wadensjö introduces new concepts and a new approach into the understanding of the interpreted event and the interpreter's role in general. She opposes many earlier approaches and questions the role of the interpreter as a conduit. Wadensjö underlines the fact of the existence of the interactional dimension, and the importance of the interpreter's active engagement in interpreter-mediated communication. In her work Wadensjö relies to a considerable extent on the sociological accounts of Goffman, as well as the socio- and psycholinguistic approaches of Per Linell. We give a brief summary of the viewpoints and research of Wadensjö and Linell to illustrate the developing of the social-interactionist dimension in interpreting studies from the middle of the 1990s. The framework for this new approach to the interpreter's activity is the social interactionist theory. Linell (1997: 52) stresses that in mainstream theories of language it has been taken for granted that communication helps us to arrive at a mutual understanding. According to Linell (ibid.), theories about communication processes could broadly be divided into the following categories:

    a) *Code theory*, according to which "language provides us with signs with fixed meanings and the proper use of this Code will guarantee shared understanding and (possibly) complete intersubjectivity (Condillac, Saussure, Chomsky)" (ibid.). We believe that much of earlier Translation Theory (cf. criticism of this in Hermans 1999, 2004) and even Interpreting Research, as well as the Code of ethics for interpreters in many countries (cf. Wadensjö 1998) have been based on this assumption.

    b) *Relevance theory* has been resorted to in both Interpreting Studies (Setton 1999) and Translation Theory (Gutt 2000). Relavance Theory, combined with Mental Models Theory, has been used in the analysis of student simultaneous interpreting (Mullamaa 2000 a)) and serves well as a tool for exemplifying some of the processes involved in the interpreting situation for educational purposes (Mullamaa 2000 b)). Relevance Theory and Mental Models theory has also been used for analyzing simultaneous interpreting in conference settings (Petite 2003).

However, relevance has been seen as "naturalism with a twist" (Taylor 1992 in Linell 1997). Linell (ibid.: 53) criticises the assumption according to which language and context can be interpreted identically by different individuals. He is critical of relevance theory according to which "the combination of a linguistic Code and specific contexts (contextual conditions) will enable people to compute shared (relevant) understandings" (ibid.). In fact, the message is not "there", equally relevant in all its nuances to all participants. We suggest that this criticism is based on a somewhat mistaken understanding of Relevance Theory, whose authors do not claim that the context is interpreted *identically* by

different individuals, confining themselves instead to a *possibility* of *partial* overlap in interpretation.

   c) The *social-interactionist* theory focuses on communication. The theory contends that in communicating people deal with "practical problem-solving routines in situated action, yielding understanding for practical purposes" (Linell 1997: 52–53). In Linell's explanation interaction, communication and context become the keywords. Action is seen as problem-solving, participants are believed to be actively looking for constructive solutions. These factors determine the possibility for sharing ideas. For Linell (ibid.), once problems are encountered, the interaction and communication between the party trying to make sense, the interlocutor and the context, will be resorted to for solution. Communication is seen as interaction, " a complex interplay between discourse, actors and contexts". Language and the world around us remain intricately interrelated:

> language refracts (rather than reflects) the world; language and the (appearance of the) world mutually constitute each other and [...] linguistic practices are not independent of actors' perspectives, particular cultural frames, etc, many of which remain, and must remain, backgrounded (ibid.).

Linell (ibid.) holds that while discourse, activities and contexts capture "aspects of the same complex of interactive sense-making", they are "inextricably interrelated". Thus, contexts have a major role to play:

> Everything [...] takes place in a matrix of situational as well as socio-cultural context. [...] The content or meaning of the communicative acts are not independent of their forms, and, conversely, activities and processes are not independent of content (ibid.).

Unlike many earlier IS theorists, Linell underlines that we have to see reciprocity in communication and mediating ideas. He stresses that we should not consider speakers to be "the only authors" while "interlocutors are often co-responsible, and speakers rely on frames that are presupposed in the socio-cultural contexts involved" (ibid.). The earlier dominating theories of interpreting which see the interpreter as a mechanical link between the authoritative Message-creator and the distinguished audience as Receiver should be reviewed when we believe that

> [D]iscourse and contexts emerge together (rather than discourse being determined, or even caused, by pre-existing contexts plus speaker intentions). Communication involves interaction on many levels. Language is not a Code, but a stock of resources with meaning potentials that interact with contexts to yield situated meanings (Linell 1997: 55).

The above directly relates to the discussion on monologism and dialogism. The theory of dialogism goes back to Bakhtin. Already in *Problems of*

Dostoyevsky's Art (1929) Bakhtin points to that the "unfinalizability of individuals creates true polyphony" (http://www.answers.com/topic/mikhail-bakhtin). In *Toward a Philosophy of the Act* (1986) Bakhtin speaks about "an *architectonic* model of the human psyche which consists of three components: "I-for-myself", "I-for-the-other", and "other-for-me"" (http://www.answers.com/topic/mikhail-bakhtin).

Interesting parallelisms can be drawn between these ideas, dialogism in modern IS (cf. Linell 1997, Wadensjö 1998 in Chapter 3 below) and our discussion on personal and professional self based on Goffman 1959 and Ibarra 1999 in Chapter 4 below.

For Bakhtin, thus,

> [T]he I-for-myself is an unreliable source of self-identity, and Bakhtin argues that it is the I-for-the-other through which human beings develop a sense of self-identity because it serves as an amalgamation of the way in which others view me. Conversely, other-for-me describes the way in which others incorporate my perceptions of them into their own self-identity (http://www.answers.com/topic/mikhail-bakhtin).

In *Toward a Philosophy of the Act* (1986) Bakhtin also points to values entailed in speaking, mediation, words – which all become realised in "ongoing events":

> Similarly, the living word, the full word, does not know an object as something totally given: the mere fact that I have begun speaking about it means that I have already assumed a certain attitude toward it – not an indifferent attitude, but an interested-effective attitude. And that is why the word does not merely designate an object as a present on-hand entity, but also expresses by its intonation my valuative attitude toward the object, toward what is desirable in it, and, in doing so, sets it in motion toward that which is yet-to-be-determined about it, turns it into a constituent moment of the living, ongoing event.' (Bakhtin 1993: 32–33, cited in Lazzarato 2006).

Again, parallelisms to modern approaches to dialogism can easily be drawn. In IS the relevance of dialogism is strongly brought to the fore by Wadensjö and Linell. Wadensjö (1998: 44) summarises this discussion on interpreting as follows:

> If applied to interpreting in face-to-face interaction, *monologism* would [...] include the idea of *two languages and two cultures* ('source' and 'target') [...] as existing separately from one another, while *dialogism* would foreground *actions and interactions* taking place in *a concrete situation* which represents a mixture of linguistic and social conventions and personal preferences.

As opposed to the monological transfer model (also known as the conduit model, criticised in Reddy 1979/1993; cf. also Hermans 1999, 2004), which sees communication as a unidirectional process of transfer from one language or text to another, and "has a strong impact on the everyday life understanding of

interpretation" (Wadensjö 1998: 41–42), the social interactionist approach is dialogical:

> Talk provides in itself a social context to ongoing talk.[...] The different epistemologies, monologism and dialogism, imply different units of analysis: Whilst monologism assumes individuals and societies (cultures) to be analytical primes, dialogism takes actions and interactions e.g. the discursive practices, in their contexts as basic units (Wadensjö, ibid.).

This directly relates to interpreting and the role of interpreter as a cultural mediator. We agree with Wadensjö that this is partly what has lead to the developing of extremely strict Codes of ethics, which may sometimes clash with the communicative situations emerging during interpreting. This, however, may prove destructive for those who mediate beyond the literal correspondence level. As Wadensjö (ibid.) puts it: "Combine this with a monological view on language and language use, and their non-translating will be described as individual deficiencies or failures". Also Linell (1997: 64) strongly advocates the use of dialogism "in human semiotic sciences" including interpreting research. He underlines that while discourse, as well as activities, contexts and meanings are "inextricably interrelated", the meanings or (understandings) and concepts created become essential in "making sense". According to Linell (ibid.) they can all be seen as " different ways of capturing aspects of the same complex of interactive sense-making". Referring to Lambert (1993: 21) Linell (1997: 63) stresses that

> Understanding means, almost by definition, creating coherence and making sense in and through discourse. Furthermore, the processes of translation and interpreting including the theories of the respective activities could be seen as "part of the Western institutionalization of language, societies [and] cultures.

Therefore, Linell (ibid.) underlines that translation and interpreting should rather be seen as sociocultural concepts constructed in certain cultural contexts. He insists that the "normative component of notions" should not close our eyes to the diversity of situations and contexts where the interpreting activity may occur and thus the dimensions the notions may have. Furthermore, established norms have a tendency to become self-fulfilling prophecy:

> [...] norms of (what is considered to be) correct or neutral interpreting have impact on actual conduct. [...] Interpreters may stay close to the task of "merely" translating, but it is of course an entirely empirical question how far these norms fit actual conduct and/ or vice versa. Likewise, what kinds of variation there are among the activity types in which interpreting occurs is a matter to be empirically researched (Linell 1997: 64).

Much in tune with Linell, Wadensjö (1998) points to the limitations of traditionally imposed norms also in interpreting research:

> Rules belong to an idealized, abstract world. They 'exist' in the minds of
> people. Utterances, in contrast, belong to the concrete world. An individual
> who is occupied with interpreting *relates* to linguistic, social and other
> cultural norms, but interpreting as an activity can never be a simple
> application of norms of grammar, generic style, politeness, and so forth.
> Such a view would presuppose the denial of personal responsibility
> (Wadensjö 1998: 41).

As we have been able to observe over the last decades, a consequence of
favouring monological approaches has been that possible differences in
situations and tasks remained unstudied for a long time, rejected as deficient.
Declaring null and void a number of interpreting practices resulted in putting up
a number of training programmes which tended to ignore the variety of
interpreting situations, calling only the conference situation 'interpreting
proper', thus making the normative Code-approach a self-fulfilling prophesy.
With this, the vicious circle became complete (cf. also Angelelli 2004).
Mapping the real-life situations as well as the possible need for interpreters in
alternative domains could show us if and what kind of suggestions there could
be for modifying the situation.

In addition to applying the dialogical approach in her research, Wadensjö is
also to be merited for introducing Goffman's (1961) ideas into studying social
roles to interpreting studies. Her main contribution lies in underlining the
importance of analysing the interpreting activity not through the interpreter's
"cognitive ability and skill", but studying "interpreting as a linguistic and social
competence" instead (Wadensjö 1998: 113). In line with this, Wadensjö (ibid.)
sees the phenomenon of an interpreter-mediated encounter as "a special case of
three-party talk" or "multi-party interaction". Wadensjö (1998: 113) is convin-
ced that *managing* the interpreting situation is as important as translating: "the
interpreter's discourse has to be analysed both as relaying or translating and
coordinating or mediating. These aspects are simultaneously present, one aspect
does not exclude the other". Wadensjö (ibid.) brings out the idea of Goffman
(1961) according to which, when studying a social role, the constellation of
people is the basic analytical unit, not the individual. She states that in
"exploring the role of e.g. dialogue interpreter one has to see her in relation to
these others confirming or rejecting her in this role":

> Co-interlocutors understand each other as *multiple-role-performers* rather
> than as persons with one single all-dominating identity (Goffman, 1961:142)
> in Wadensjö 1998: 82).

Thus, the different roles should be considered, at the same time that also the
interpreter's self-image has an important role to play. However, as Wadensjö
(ibid.) points out, until recently " ideas of how interpreters 'should' perform
partly blocked the sight in investigations on actual cases on interpreting".

Wadensjö (1998: 7) points out that "the ordinary image of the interpreter is
very much influenced by a 'transfer' model of communication". Yet, relevant to

our discussion on the role of interpreters, Wadensjö (ibid.: 11) believes: "The interpreter-mediated conversation is a special case. It is obvious that the communicative activities involved in this kind of encounter are in some sense dyadic, in other respects triadic, and the active subjects may fluctuate in their attitudes concerning which of these constellations takes priority". Different modes of interpreting may imply slightly different action:

> Different activity-types with different goal structures, as well as the different concerns, needs, desires and commitments of primary parties, imply different demands on interpreters (Wadensjö 1998: 287).

An important assertion for liaison interpreters can, however, be summarised in Linell's (1997: 55) words:

> [...] interpreters, and especially dialogue interpreters, do more than translate! They interact in a peculiar triadic situation with three (or more) with each other. [...] Primary parties do interact with the interpreter and each other, para- and extralinguistically at least; parties cannot help sensing the moral nature of being together with other human beings, and having to manage a social situation in situ [...].

Linell (ibid.: 55–56) is convinced that interpreters are inevitably forced to act as "chairpersons and gatekeepers, monitoring the social and discursive situation" and also that the primary parties are influenced by the situation where they have to work via the interpreter. He stresses that primary parties "accommodate to the conditions of communicating via an interpreter, and they contribute to discourse in a different way than non-interpreted (direct) interaction". Their cooperation and implicit interaction becomes central in communicating messages:

> Understanding means [...] creating coherence and making sense in and through discourse (text) in particular contexts, by connecting discourse with contexts and various kinds of background knowledge. [...] Discourse and contexts emerge together (rather than discourse being determined, or even caused, by pre-existing contexts plus speaker intentions). Communication involves interaction on many levels. Language is not a Code, but a stock of resources with meaning potentials that interact with contexts to yield situated meanings (Linell 1997: 54–55).

Also in Linell 1998 human communication is seen through dialogical perspectives. The main principle continues to be that "all discourse is essentially *contextualized*"[4] , both language and discourse should be seen as "fundmentally *social* phenomena" (ibid.: 86). Linell (ibid.) stresses:

> A dialogue is a *joint* construction […]; it is something which participants (to varying degrees) possess, experience and do together. This collective

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[4] This position is, actually, almost exactly the position propounded by the Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995).

> construction is made possible by the reciprocally and *mutually coordinated actions and interactions* by different actors.

At the same time, the contributions by different participants are not equal, and there may also be " an assymetric distribution of epistemic and practical responsibilities" (ibid. 221).

Indeed, even if we assume that in typical community or liaison interpreting situations there is a certain reciprocity in interaction, this triadic communication is not always balanced. The interpreters "divided loyalties" (cf. Wadensjö above) are sometimes difficult to understand for the clients. They have also been subject to different forms of research. As shown above, Anderson (1976/2002) claims that interpreters identify more closely with monolingual speakers of their mother tongue. Harris (1981) shows that also seating position (for example if the interpreter is closer to the defence or nearer to the prosecution) affects the clients' trust in interpreter loyalty (in Hatim and Mason 1990: 91). In her later research also Wadensjö (2001) argues that the placing of the interpreter may affect the outcome of the whole interpreting event. In Chapter 4.2. below, a brief overview of some important studies focusing on the more contradictory issues concerning the interpreter's role will be given.

Wadensjö's pioneering insights contributed significantly to the subsequent arrival of the "social turn" in interpreting studies, testified to by an increasing amount of research carried out in dialogue interpreting (e.g. Pöllabauer 2003) or other dimensions in interpreting (such as Interpreters-in-Aid at Disasters, Blut, Kurultay 2001). Linell's work and the social-interactionist theory – that has also supported Wadensjö in her groundbreaking research which stresses the importance of the interpreters'role – remains most valuable as a background for analysing such situations.

3.1.4. More recent studies relevant for the discussion on the interpreter's role – Kondo, Katan and Straniero-Sergio, Bulut and Kurultay

Numerous recent studies (Katan, Straniero-Sergio 2001, Mason and Stewart 2001, Wadensjö 2001, Miguelez 2001, Pöllabauer 2003, Kondo 2003, and others) have elaborated on the aspects of interpreter interaction, including the effects of pragmatic (mis)leading, modality, hedging, asides and seating position on the three parties – and thus the outcome of the communicative situation.

It is interesting to observe how the social paradigm in IS evolves. While for example Wadensjö (2001) and Pöllabauer (2003) claim that there is a definite influence by the interpreter and institution on the interpreting situation, other researchers express their intuition more cautiously. For example, in relatively recent IR, both Kondo (2003) and Choi (2003) seem to be influenced by Seleskovitch's (1968) *theorie de sens*. Kondo (2003: 80) expresses this through

Vermeer's "das Gemeinte" which essentially relates to Seleskovitch's "sens", Choi (2003: 108) through relating the interpreter's communicative competence to the ability to grasp the speaker's *"vouloir dire"*. Yet, Kondo (2003) and Choi (2003) both arrive at the conclusion that communicative competence is essential in the interpreting process. Choi (2003: 109–110) points to the broadening of competencies in interpreting, referring to the role of localisation and explicitation which grows when the interpreter is more explicitly seen as a cultural mediator. Kondo (ibid.: 87) also claims that interpreters' value orientations have a certain role to play. According to him, the interpreter "should not and indeed can not be devoid of values (after all, interpreters as persons do have their values and no one can take them away" (ibid.)). Another important merit of Kondo's (ibid.) work is making explicit the importance of empathy in interpreting:

> Most of the time, particularly when functioning smoothly, he [the interpreter] is almost empathizing with the speaker and riding on the same wavelength as the speaker so that his own values hardly play visible roles. But his values are there, because without them he cannot start to empathize with the speaker in the first place, *and we might as well admit this as an essential aspect of the process of our profession*.

Even though Kondo (ibid.: 94) supports the "coding-decoding" model, he admits that interpreters make "conscious choices". He compares interpreters to "performing artists": "[...]the pianist interprets the notes for the audience, as a conference interpreter interprets the incomprehensible utterance for the benefit of the receiver" – sometimes even "expressing himself more than the composer he plays" (ibid.: 95). We suggest that these ideas are at least as relevant in liaison interpreting.

Another challenging account of the changing role of interpreters is the analysis by Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001). Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001: 213) point to the changes in the role of interpreters working on Italian television: "The traditional role, that of an invisible black box, is being challenged by what we define as an ethics of entertainment". Katan and Straniero-Sergio (ibid.) hold that what they call "the ethics of entertainment" is influenced by "professional performing capacity", "the comfort factor" and "the context of culture". They describe interpreting situations on Italian television where interpreters are expected to acquire the role of a primary party. The authors see in recent developments in TV interpreting "the opportunity to develop" for the "traditional ethics regarding professionalism in interpreting" (ibid.). Katan and Straniero-Sergio clearly point to an essential change in the interpreter's role in this setting that is influenced by the culture and genre. Here, in contrast to conference interpreting, and also as they believe "other dialogue interpreters" (ibid.: 223), the interpreter is expected to actively participate in the interaction, to monitor, manage and explain the interpreting situation. They hold that quality in these situations entails a new dimension: "capacity [...] refers both to the traditional capacity to interpret and also to be a primary participant"

(ibid.: 218). The interpreters in their corpus adapt their performance in tune with Hofstede's "Power Distance" orientations (ibid.: 226–227), consider Italian vs. Anglo-American habituses of the diffuse and the specific (the Italian "you are what you say" vs. the Anglo-American orientation "where the speaker tries to compartmentalize words and behaviour, and also separates them from identity") (ibid.: 228). Involvement and emotion of the interpreter are also highly evaluated by the audience. This is expressed by reviews in Italian dailies, where a specific interpreter (Olga Fernando) is credited for translating "not only their [the primary parties'] words "but also shades of emotion" and where it is made explicit that "[...] without that added profound sensitivity and highly-tuned perception" the interpreter's job would remain " a cold retranslation" only (ibid.: 231). Importantly, also comfort and ease to comply with the commission and tonality of the interpreting situation play an essential role. Katan and Straniero-Sergio (ibid.) bring a negative example on "how challenging this can be, particularly for those imbued with the norms of prescriptive interpreting ethics" when the interpreter fails to meet the requirements of ease and communication and is criticised by one of the primary parties on the live programme. What is severely criticised here is exactly the bedrock of traditional interpreting rules of behaviour like not taking sides, remaining neutral.

The above considerations point to the interpreter's role becoming that of a "multivariate mediator" (ibid.). Katan and Straniero-Sergio (ibid.: 232) conclude that the role of the interpreter:

> requires a profound sense of limits, an ability to oscillate between distance and involvement by adopting a third perceptual position in order to oscillate between distance and involvement in order to co-manage the talk event and packaging of actions.

Furthermore, they claim that "the interpreter seems to be authorized (in third perceptual position) to add and produce 'translations' which are the result of personal inferences" (ibid.: 234). The conclusion by Katan and Straniero-Sergio (ibid.) reads:

> Interpreters are moving towards greater visibility and translational freedom, while "the ethics of entertainment" is likely to become part and parcel of an interpreter's ethics not only in Italy, where the habitus already functions as fertile environment for this development, but in other countries as well.

Katan and Straniero-Sergio definitely point to an important development in the role of interpreter. Their analysis supports the view of increased interpreter inclusion in the interaction. At the same time, their study helps to illustrate how much in interpreter mediation and interaction is culture bound.

Unfortunately, Katan and Straniero-Sergio (ibid.) do not explain their method of analysis. The reader might wish to have a more explicit account of if, indeed, the interpreter is meta-analysing and monitoring the communicative situation and making the additions in terms of Hall's (1976, 1983) "external contexting" and "priority to establish coherence for their receivers" or "the three

perceptual positions of Neuro-Linguistic Programming (o'Connor and Seymour 1990: 87–88)" as claimed Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2001 claim on pp. 218 and 220 respectively. Maybe examples presented ibid.: 219–221 could be seen just as simple additions or even looking for words (e.g. repeated "you see" ibid.: 220), rather than "leaving the traditional habitus to take up a more active role in projecting meaning" (ibid.: 220)? If the interpreters were interviewed or one of the authors was the interpreter the ambiguity would be reduced of course. However, the reader is not informed of whether this is the case or not.

Another insight into a different handling of the triad is given in Bulut and Kurultay (2001) who discuss the role of interpreters in earthquake rescue and relief operations. In these extreme situations, the authors point out, "the success of such interpreting depends on the careful handling of sensitive cross cultural situations" (ibid.: 249) Similarly to other cases of community interpreting discussed above, IAD [Interpreter-In-Aid at Disasters] positions ethics and communication highest on the ranking scale. Thus, "the ethical framework of IAD [...] is purely communicative and situation-oriented". As in Bulut and Kahraman (2003), the urgency of the need to help can be seen to provide a miniature communication model of what really happens in an interpreting situation. In this case mediation has the cost of life, and words are not just exchanged for the beauty of the activity itself as sometimes may happen in some other settings. Bulut and Kurultay (2001: 248) thus state that:

> The mutual benefit hypothesis [...] works for the voluntary interpreter thanks to the satisfaction of being an indispensable intermediary, helping to rescue the largest number of lives possible via effective and efficient communication, and undertaking full responsibility for the initiatives required.

While the mutual benefit hypothesis, being an indispensable intermediary and helping via effective communication, as well as undertaking responsibility are essential in most community interpreting situations, the authors (ibid.: 251) also point to what they see as specific of IAD ethics:

> * the spirit of cooperation has absolute priority; the goodwill and efforts of those who are ready to lend a hand are received with thanks
> * there is mutual tolerance [...] the best solutions are above all quick solutions to immediate and spontaneous needs
> * the members of Search and Rescue teams who know foreign languages are the most valuable interpreters, since they transfer messages that fall totally within their field of practice and expertise [...].

Again, we believe, these points underline some of the essentials of liaison interpreting. Cooperation, goodwill, tolerance and a thorough knowledge of subject matter definitely contribute to effective work processes and pro-active group dynamics. Bulut and Kurultay (ibid.: 258) define the ethical status of IAD through "pragmatic ethics" – "the aim of making optimal use of resources is almost axiomic in international cooperation". They also give the explanation of

Piper (1999:79), according to whom "pragmatic wisdom is instrumental wisdom, it is the wisdom that evaluates the means available and selects the best means, considering its consequences, to reach the target" (ibid.). Similarly to other community interpreters, there is a certain indeterminacy built in the role – and the code of ethics, the authors believe, " tells us more about what not to do than about actual conduct of work" (ibid.: 25). The latter, according to the authors, could only be explored "if the actual performance of interpreters in disaster areas is investigated in depth" (ibid.). Even without it, however, the current description of the work and role performance of IAD is valuable in giving another vivid illustration of the different tasks, yet a similar spirit of role performance community and liaison interpreters around the globe may share.

3.1.5. Angelelli and Diriker – recent insights into the interpreter's role

In 2004 two doctoral theses defended in 2001 were published by John Benjamins Publishing Company. Both Claudia Angelelli's (2004) and Ebru Diriker's (2004) research have relevant implications for our discussion on the role of interpreters in Estonia.

Angelelli's (2004) work is most valuable in charting the interpreters'self-perceptions.

Much in tune with our suggestions above (cf. 2.2), Angelelli's analysis of 293 questionnaires on the interpersonal role of the interpreter sent to interpreters in Canada, Mexico and the United States confirms that the interpreters'self perception depends on the settings they work in. Angelelli (ibid: 21) powerfully decries the fact that "rather than studying, exploring, problematizing [...] the role of interpreter, most educational institutions continue to abide by an unchallenged belief system [...] paying lip service to professional organisations (Wadensjö 1988)". She points out that "paradoxically, this lip service obscures important aspects of their power and it prevents them from exploring and understanding the complex role that they play" (ibid.). Angelelli's research becomes a powerful manifestation of *self*. The multiplicity of factors that influence interpreting situations is brought to the fore through analysing theory, social philosophy (among others for example Bourdieu), and interpreting practice. Through all of the above Angelelli's (2004) work will no doubt remain an important landmark in Interpreting Studies. There is an explicit focus on "visibility", the inclusion of the interpreter. Similarly to many other proponents of the social turn, Angelelli supports the personal responsibility and participation of interpreters.

At the same time, we wonder if the questionnaire questions might to some extent have influenced participant responses, and regret that there is little room left for participants to respond freely and discuss their role without having read the many questions formulated by the researcher. The questionnaire also provides some room for free commentary by respondents, yet the methodology

of written questionnaires sent out by mail lists to unknown people may possibly not be the most effective elicitation technique. (However, in Appendix 3 (ibid.:108–111) there is also an example of a most cordial and thorough participant letter to the researcher – a positive example of where this must not have been the case). Also, of the 967 participants contacted only 293 returned complete protocols (ibid: 66). Thus many people addressed did not respond to the questionnaire (or more than 10% of the questions – as stated ibid.: 113) and we do not know why. Neither do we know if and what kind of valuable information may have gone lost in the protocols discarded while they did not meet the demand of having completed no less than 10%. Thus, the work itself may illustrate a transition between the quantitative-qualitative, positivist and non-positivist – having the topic on the "avantgardist" side and methodology still in the "rigorous" traditions.

Relevant to this methodological consideration, but also our discussion on the self- descriptions of liaison interpreters in the second part of the thesis are Daniel Gile's http://perso.wanadoo.fr/daniel.gile/Bulletin%2029.htm, emphasis mine) comments on Angelelli's work in the ICRN Bulletin:

> Angelelli comments [...] that "it is evident that conference interpreters have not been the target of many empirical research studies" (p. 79 – Why?), *that their point of view illustrates the lack of familiarity of some interpreters with research in their field and findings from other fields that impact their practice (p. 80 – perhaps they just do not accept such findings as true or relevant?), and that some conference interpreters appear to be unaware of power differentials between the interlocutors with whom they work (p. 80).*

It remains unclear in this criticism of Angelelli why it is a justified stance by conference interpreters not to consider "true or relevant" research concerning their work, either carried out by IS or other scholars. Could the answer be related to Code theory's suggestion not to ponder too much on intricacies of the profession, and rather function as a perfect tool? (Cf. also the fact that interpreters at the MA level are encouraged NOT to carry out research projects, and are strongly recommended to focus on compiling word-lists between language pairs (or three languages) instead). At the meta-level, the diachronic perspective allows us to position both the new IR and its criticism into an interesting perspective of changing paradigms, values and schools of thought.

The account by Diriker (2004) can be seen as yet another step in probing deeper into the interpreter's role. Relevant to our discussion in 1.1.1. and 1.1.2 above the thesis has been described to be carried out in tune with relevant developments in TS. Matthews (2006: 1) points out that Diriker's work can be seen as

> a contribution to Interpreting Studies (IS) from the socio-cultural standpoint, more in line with the sibling field of Translation Studies, where the 'situatedness of translation' is seen as being given greater emphasis in the

shape of descriptive translation studies, the skopos theory, translatory actions, deconstructionism, postcolonialism, and gender studies.

According to Matthews (2006: 3) Diriker " provides an account of how the meta-discourse on SI relates to the findings of actual SI performance at a real conference". Furthermore,

> An account is given of what the meta-discourse on SI suggests, followed by participants' observations on the presence of interpreters, and the performance of those same interpreters as suggested by the conference transcripts (ibid.).

Thus, the insights on the dynamics and multidimensionality of the interpreter's role are becoming more and more varied and deep-going, which is promising – and well in tune with the developments in the paradigms.

3.2. Insights urging further action

3.2.1. Hatim and Mason, Gentile

Even if by today liaison interpreting has become more studied in IR and even handbooks for court interpreters (Edwards 1995, Mikkelson 2000), and liaison interpreters (Gentile 1996) have been published, many of the ambiguities in the role of the interpreter remain unresolved. Mikkelson (2000: 11), discusses the role of interpreters in court interpreting, which she sees as a "subspecialty" of community interpreting. Mikkelson (ibid.: 3) points to the fact that "there are [...] different opinions regarding how far the interpreter should go in bridging cultural and social gaps in the court environment". Yet, the "practical guidelines" section, introduced by a promising section on ethics, "morally important decisions", "confidentiality and impartiality / and/ split-second, high-stakes decisions" (ibid.: 55), becomes rather a revision of basic etiquette and ABC in interpreting rather than a critical discussion of the real dilemmas. Only three questions of fifteen address questions directly related to ethics. We do not get much further from seeing that dilemmas and problems may arise. Similarly, Edwards (1995) gives a very thorough overview of the situations, definitions, and some dilemmas of interpreting, avoiding, however, tackling issues that might contradict the Code.

The ambiguities in the role, task and possibilities of the interpreter have been pointed out already earlier:

> Whereas the interpreter is tempted to play a conciliating role (in order to promote real communication), he or she is duty-bound to represent the actual illocutionary force (and hence reproduce the power relationship) of each side of the language exchange (Hatim and Mason 1990: 90).

As shown above, numerous recent case-studies and dissertations confirm that interpreter interaction *does* influence the (three) parties – and thus the outcome of the communicative situation. Hatim and Mason (1990: 90, emphasis mine) point to this and pose the question to which extent such situations can be controlled:

> Is there a scope for explaining discoursal attitudes as well as reflecting them? Brislin (1980) suggests that there is and *that awareness and management* of cross-cultural communication difficulties, both *verbal and non-verbal,* should form *part of the interpreter's role.*

Thus, Hatim and Mason (ibid.) underline that there is a need to "set down an adequate Code of practice for liaison interpreters" and regret that AIIC reckons this mode of interpreting to be "outside its remit": "It seems that liaison interpreting is the one area where each individual defines her or his own procedures on an ad hoc basis" (ibid.).

This idea is seconded in Gentile *et al.* (1996: 31, emphasis mine):

> Since the operations of liaison interpreters have been little studied, and not much interest has been shown in the social dimension of liaison interpreting, the *construction of the role* has occurred in a fairly haphazard and uncoordinated manner. This has created *significant professional and ethical problems* for the interpreter.

Below, we shall take a look at some pieces of research that help us identify some of the ambiguities and ethical dilemmas involved in the interpreter's role.

3.2.2. Tate and Turner – the Code and ethics

How conscious are interpreters of the ethical dilemmas and boundaries of their role? Do we lean on the Code and role to perform our task in the best possible way? Or, can the Code and role – at least in some situations – become a protection against making decisions, thus inducing passivity in situations where an active engagement would be needed instead? The tasks and boundaries of the role as passed on in training and enforced through the Code seem to determine in detail the latitude in which we operate. Yet, this may not always suffice. A splendid illustration of some dilemmas involved is a study by Tate and Turner (1997/ 2002), which gives empirical evidence of how the interpreters' perception of their role influences interpreting practice – and – through this, the interpreted events. The study illustrates the negligence of some interpreters' ethical and moral duties which may occur when following what the authors call the "mechanistic Code model". Tate and Turner (ibid.: 373) question if Codes of Ethics or Practice can always provide adequate solutions for the variety of situations occurring in interpreting, and function as a resource for possible ways of conduct. They find inspiration from "a sense that in ethically complex contexts, either the strictures of the Code itself or the interpreters' readings were

at odds with actual practice" (ibid.). Thus, they set out to analyse problematic situations "from the interpreter's point of view". Their aim is to identify the possible discords between the rules of behaviour suggested by the Code and how interpreters tend to act in reality. As the authors put it, the goal is to " get a handle on some apparent discrepancies between the profession's enCoded regulatory principles and their practical realisation" (ibid.).

Similarly to Wadesnjö (1992, 1998, see above), Tate and Turner (1997/2002: 374) question the "machine" kind of interpreting, which they see as "the dominant model of interpreting". In Tate and Turner's view the interpreter's role in this approach remains passivized. They define it as a model according to which "the interpreter is essentially just a device that takes no part in communicative proceedings other than dispassionately to relay messages between individuals not sharing a common language [...]" (ibid.). The authors also believe that the particular Code of ethics they bear in mind, the Council for the Advancement of Communication with Deaf People (CACDP) Code of Ethics, "is often *taken both to prescribe and to reflect* this kind of "machine" model" (ibid.). We believe that Tate and Turner's (ibid.) "machine" model as described in their work is indeed essentially the same as "the conduit" in Wadensjö (1992, 1998) or "Code model" in Linell (1997). At first glance, complying with the Code might seem to be the easier way out. Clear guidelines may seem appealing for indoctrinating novices into our profession, and it is a likeable stance to be introduced to prospective and present clients. According to such Code model, even if interpreters may see, feel and perceive much more than is verbalised in an encounter, they must convey only what has been expressed verbally. The description of what the CACDP Code expects interpreters (not) to do is much in tune with what has been the dominant role model in a number of countries, including Estonia. Ensuing from the above, it has also been a principle followed in training in a number of interpreter training programmes in a number of countries, including Estonia. But we might consider the description given by Tate and Turner (ibid.) to ponder upon the current role-model's universal applicability:

> [...] machines do what they are told. They're under instruction: no instruction, no action. Machines don't generate their own contributions to the job in hand: they simply respond as programmed to external stimuli (levers pulled, buttons pressed, etc.). In part, early versions in interpreting Codes erred on the side of caution with respect to seeking to ensure that the stipulated role of the interpreter was essentially *reactive* and not *proactive* (Tate and Turner, 1997/2002: 374).

In principle, however, the Codes of ethics have not aimed to "de-humanise" interpreters, but rather to offer maximum independence to their clients. As Tate and Turner point out (ibid.), the endeavour behind such a role model has been to ensure that the clients' ideas, wishes and attitudes would be conveyed, and that the interpreter's position would not taint communication between the primary parties. In this way, we would be speaking of the ("second type of") complete

personal detachment, where the interpreter would not be pulled in either direction as discussed in Anderson (1976/2002) above. This is believed to be in the interest of the clients. Yet in fact, as we will see below, there may often be far more ethical dilemmas involved in interpreting encounters than this approach seems to admit. At the same time, it is important to understand that the criticism of the machine or conduit model does not aim at advocating partiality or domination of the interpreter's attitudes to and modifications of what has been said in three party exchanges. On the contrary, the goal of criticism is to point to obvious clashes between the Code-stipulated and real life situations, with a hope of possibly finding more relevant guidelines for best practice – which would support communication between the clients. For this, importantly, we should also take into consideration the diversity entailed in the interpreter's role and the likelihood of the existence of dilemmas they have to navigate between. Ideally, instead of seeing the interpreter as just a device to be switched on and off like the mechanistic approaches tend to imply, a reworked Code could give us advice and support in facing the many ethical dilemmas that we meet in our everyday job, as well as support for a positive role model and self-perception. The endeavour just to follow the Code may make practitioners think away some important aspects of situations they are a part of. Tate and Turner (1997/2002: 374) express the deficiency of the mechanistic model in the following way:

> [...] the ideologically normative strength of the perspective which says that it is only proper for the interpreter to be entirely uninvolved and mechanised – facilitated by its tidy "black-and-whiteness", the unambiguous directives for action which it conveniently supplies – has created a situation, where, we could argue, professionals in the field have been reluctant openly to look at what they know *actually* happens in many situations.

Also Wadensjö 1998 and Linell 1997 (see above) have pointed to the vicious circle emerging from the prescriptive role model that has made researchers think away some of the ambiguities of the profession. The result has been a blocking of information on the realities of interpreter-mediated interaction. Tate and Turner (1997/2002: 374) point out:

> This is made difficult since strictures concerning confidentiality within the Code make it hard (if not impossible) to find a professionally proper space in which interpreters are able to discuss the resolution of role-dynamic dilemmas. The hegemony of "machine is the only way because it's the only way to be uninvolved" has created a conspiracy of silence – not an actively desired one on the part of practitioners, but one which they feel duty-bound to observe nonetheless – about the very real *disempowering* effects of a blanket aspiration to machine-like behaviour.

While an equation mark has been put between observing the Code and professionalism, we suggest that the "conspiracy of silence" may be geared by different expectations:

a) It may "please" the professional self in terms of maintaining the front (Goffman 1959, see below), one does not talk about ambiguities in order to *seem* professional;
b) In the case of "performers taken by their own act" (cf. Goffman ibid.), not admitting (or even seeing) the ambiguities may help one retain also the personal self -as "a professional who does everything right" one *feels* professional;
c) One might not care too much for either, yet not speak out against the discrepancies in order "to keep a low profile" and not enter into potential conflicts (or simply be too "lazy" to question what *is* professional anyway).

Tate and Turner call the resulting situation "a conspiracy of silence" where choices are made in isolation:

> It has created a reluctance to talk about how interpreters are involved in interpreting situations and how they do *generate action, make choices and exercise decisive power* in hidden and not-so-hidden ways. This very *conspiracy* forces interpreters into the position of making their discretionary choices and exercising power covertly with the result that that *individual interpreters find themselves resolving in isolation the inevitable role conflicts of their job* (Cooke 1995) (Tate and Turner 1997/2002: 375, emphasis mine).

In the UK, the role perspective has become more developed and the "machine perspective" is becoming less dominant, now viewed as "perhaps a necessary stage to go through" (ibid.: 375). In Estonia the Code perspective still rules. Here the conflict embedded in the role has never been discussed openly in scientific publications on interpreting and is to our knowledge often not devoted due attention to or even not addressed at all in training. Yet, our practitioners seem to be facing the very same dilemmas. The claim by Tate and Turner: "Code-role can sometimes seem to *disable* interpreters by encouraging them to act in one way when they know they could be more effective if they acted in another way which seems to contradict the Code" (ibid.: 375) seems to be relevant here as well. The second part of our work will give an empirical overview of the opinions of our practising liaison interpreters on this matter.

In Tate and Turner's (1997/2002: 375) study we can observe how practising sign language interpreters react to hypothetical dilemmas presented to them answering what they "would do" rather what they "were supposed to do". Tate and Turner discuss situations where, for example, the patient should take a medicine called "Viaspan", but understood he should take "vitamins". Or where the doctor makes known the sex of the baby but the interpreter has been informed that the patient does not want to know it. While 99% of the interpreters would interfere in the first situation and 77 % would enter into sub-dialogue with either the patient or the doctor in the second situation (ibid.: 376; 381, respectively), the rest would "interpret the info, i.e. do the job" (ibid.: 377).

Those supporting the non-mechanistic approach would "forget the book and enable communication".

Furthermore, a number of participants in Tate and Turner's study wish to follow the Code even if they are convinced that it is not ethical, merely in order for not to "step out of [their] role as an interpreter" (ibid.: 378). Thus, in some cases the Code is equated with the role. A large part of the interpreters questioned feel a need to go against the Code in certain situations. At the same time, despite the fact that they believe their choice to be ethically right, interpreters tend to feel pangs of conscience for breaking the rules. There seems to be a dichotomy between the awareness of the Code and the endeavour to help one's client to communicate his ideas to the maximum effect. The conclusion of Tate and Turner is: "the dominant, mechanistic Code-model does not accord fully with interpreters' own views on their professional practices" (1997/2002: 381).

As much as the study illustrates the inadequacy of the Code model in certain situations, it also demonstrates the wide variety of approaches to the role model of the interpreter. At first glance, allowing interpreters to act "to the best of their understanding" in ethically complex situations would relieve the interpreter of feelings of guilt for breaking the Code rules when this in fact helps the client. At the same time, the diversity shown in ways of understanding of what would be best practice seems to call for a more detailed definition. Especially so while, as Tate and Turner (ibid.: 384) point out, "common sense is not necessarily that common".

Tate and Turner (ibid.) believe that the Code should be reviewed and guidelines for behaviour provided. At the same time they add that it may not be the Code but the professional practices it reflects that should change:

> there needed to be a fuller reworking of the Code which would guide interpreters more explicitly on how to respond in the face of dilemmas such as these [...] it is not the Code which should change – though complacency is never healthy – so much as the professional culture which it is designed to reflect and engender.

It remains to be questioned why the Code should not be changed if the reality it reflects – professional culture – should. Leaving things as they are on paper and modifying the reality only creates confusion. Without changes in the Code, the discrepancy between the Code and what is practised in real life would only persist. In fact, the dichotomy should not be there – especially if we believe that the paramount task of the interpreter is to facilitate and enforce communication – as also perpetuated in the very same Code(s). Yet, after their powerful presentation of the problem, Tate and Turner (ibid.) remain modest when suggesting a solution. With some caveat they add:

> it is possible that the Code can still valuably be revised so that it guides interpreters into *ethically **engaged** choices* – such as they already make – instead of saying "it's not my responsibility to have an ethical view". They

would thus be enabled *to make their choices feeling humane, empowered and professional, instead of humane but disempowered and professionally negligent* (ibid.: 381–382, emphasis mine).

As a way out of this discrepancy, they suggest, there could be a resource one could turn to in such challenging situations. According to Tate and Turner (ibid.: 382) "interpreters would welcome the availability of guidance on good practice when faced with such dilemmas". The authors suggest that ethically complex situations should be discussed in order to "develop more comprehensive strategies to negotiate the complexities and unexpectedness of many real-life situations" (ibid.). Another solution they offer (which however still avoids changing the Code) is the idea of creating an "annex" to the Code, where one could find suggestions for ethical solutions on principles similar to "case-law" (ibid.). As we see, despite all their criticism, Tate and Turner still see the Code as a resource to adhere to. They suggest modification rather than radical change. For example, one may wonder why should these essential questions be discussed merely in an appendix. At the same time, indeed, very radical changes in the Code might cause additional problems. For example, Tate and Turner also point to the problem of referring to existing Codes merely as a support for common sense while, as stated above, "common sense is not common for all" (ibid.: 384). While Tate and Turner believe that many of the interpreters see the Code as a must or as instructions to be taken "black-on-white", they find a solution in admitting the existence of "the grey":

> it needs to be better established that grey goes with the territory, and that would-be professionals had better to learn to live with it, and indeed to embrace it. *Being able to act competently within the grey zone is an integral part of their professionalism* (ibid.: 382, emphasis mine).

In a way, their hedging and caveat illustrate how difficult it is to make practising interpreters confess that they do something that is in contradiction to the Code and make the interpreting community even discuss if possible changes/modification to the Code might be needed. Not to speak of carrying these through. Yet, caveats typical of paradigm shifts should not close our eyes to the enormous value of what their piece of research actually reveals about the nature of real-life interpreting tasks and the role of interpreters. Thanks to this study, we have empirical proof of that the Code – at least in some situations – contradicts or does not support ethics. Ways should be found to reconcile those important guiding stars – ethics and the Code – in the interpreter's life.

3.2.3. Michael Cronin – the geo-political dimension and ideology

While Tate and Turner's (1997/2002) piece of research introduced above "zoomed in" on the perspective of (inter)action between primary parties in liaison situations, where the perception of the nuances at the level of the individual plays the key role, Michael Cronin (2002) has extended the dimension to that of the geo-political level (which, of course, is still closely interlinked with the individual behaviour of interactants). Both approaches venture into a significantly more intriguing and complex, in-depth level than the traditional interpreting models have done. They venture into "unknown territories" immediately related to the interpreter's role, relating personal history and global/ political/ ideological stance to ethics, the interpreter's role and the outcome of the interpreted event. This could be seen as a sign of individualisation and the moral duty of each individual that has been growing in importance in the postmaterialist era, and the understanding of people having a persistent ethical responsibility as individuals – sometimes even *above* their professional roles – having reached IS, "black on white". Through this, Cronin is pioneering IS into a postmaterialist/ postmodernist and postcolonial mentality – into acknowledging the multilayered range of ethical considerations of a mature personality and a responsible member of society. This is a step ahead of earlier literature which focused on the obligation to be neutral, to adopt an invisible role. This is a level of personal obligation *not* to remain neutral, if we see that adopting the passivized role of an inanimate tool would inflict damage upon (one of) the counterparts, societies, states, cultures. In fact, I see a similar invitation to judge the situation for example in the explicit rules for interpreters not to interpret for people one suspects are criminals (Riga 1999, cf. http://scic.cec.eu.int/Main/Information/baltic/baltic%20newsletter_1.pdf). In the well known case of the translator who decided to make public the details on documents potentially endangering her country (Time, January/Feb 2004), we see a modern real-life illustration of the fact that translators and interpreters may feel compelled to overstep their roles as conduits if adhering to the latter would entail a breach of ethics for them. Throughout history, interpreters have been trained and used as pawns in political chess-games. Since ancient Egypt the examples can be many. Historical records suggest that interpreters do assess the work of the powerful and/or notorious figures in history, nevertheless remaining in the background themselves (cf. Roald 1982). Yet, recent years have illustrated that the very ethical dimensions the role of interpreter has traditionally involved are being put to a test. An example of the interpreter exceeding the role of a non-person could be the memoirs of Hitler's interpreter (Schmidt 1951) , and the accusations against him that reemerged in the media in 2004. Cronin (2002: 390–394) explicitly links the role of interpreters to the power relations in the societies where they function. Importantly, he points to the moral obligation of the interpreter not to neglect or reject ethical considerations and stresses that "ethics in interpreting cannot be considered in universal

ahistoric fashion, in isolation from historical relationships of power" (2002: 394). Cronin re-evaluates the on-going discussion in interpreting studies:

> When Margareta Bowen, David Bowen, Ingrid Kurz and Francine Kaufmann [...] claim that interpreting has a "history of problems" they attribute this history to intimate contact between people who often have strong personalities. The "problems" are defined as issues of "loyalty (interpreters changing ship or changing sides), along with breaches of etiquette or even ethics" (Bowen et al. 1995: 273). To describe these issues as "problems" seems strangely naïve in view of the evidence [...] which points to the strongly political nature of many interpreting transactions (ibid.).

This can also be related to our modern framework as concerns for example interpreter training centres that possibly include certain values and implicitly some ideologies. Pym (1997, 2004) and Cronin (2002) speak about the fact that the translator training centres in the world tend to be situated in the vicinity of the economic and political power centres. If we follow the example of Pym (2004) placing European translator training on the map, we can observe that the spots where interpreter training centres were created immediately prior to or after the EU-accession draws up an interesting map too. This new belt in the CEE countries is nearly identical with the former notorious buffer zone between the Soviet Union and the West (cf. Veebel 2005). Even if these institutions are explicitly for training EU personnel, a certain political-ideological dimension is probably possible to be perceived as well. At the same time, the centres for interpreter training across the EU as a whole are created and kept alive as long as there is a need for EU staff. While for example Ireland has already been closing down their EU-commissioned interpreter training, training in Estonia is still blossoming with its typically two centres to suit our individualistic inclination to choose the form and way of self-fulfilment. Building up similar centres in Bulgaria, Romania, as well as Croatia and Turkey would logically be the next step for the fastest growing "empire" of our time. But political and ideological considerations do not only influence the position of training institutions on the world map and their mentality. The trainees will acquire a lot of the spirit of their time and their course organiser – consciously, or subconsciously; willingly or not. In Cronin's (2002) view, the assumed neutrality at the geopolitical level could thus be considered a myth. Bringing examples from history, Cronin points to the relationship between loyalty, ideology and power.

> The role of interpreters throughout history has been crucially determined by the prevailing hierarchical constitution of power and their position in it. In this respect, if you or your people are seriously disadvantaged by the hierarchy, the most ethical position can be to remain utterly "unfaithful" in interpreting in the name of another fidelity, a fidelity of resistance (ibid.: 394).

Cronin (2002) believes that when analysing any performance, the immediate and wider background should be meticulously studied, as the context of interaction is placed in a wider context of society, politics, ethics and ideology:

> Adopting a strategy of "symmetrization" therefore can lead to strongly decontextualized readings of historical encounters and inappropriate judgements of motives and practices (ibid.: 394).

Not always is the trainee loyal. An example is the case of the Fuegian Jemmy Button (exchanged for a mother-of-pearl button) in 1830 on Captain Fitzroy's trip to Tierra del Fuego, who acquired manners and language of the colonizer "sufficient to impress the Queen", yet after his return to his home-country, gave reason for the chronicler of the "cruise in the Southern Seas" to note:

> Jemmy's tribe were the least reliable – they had learnt a double language and behaviour. Not only did Jemmy speak the indigenous language but he also spoke English, the language of the imperial trader. As a result, the English found that Jemmy's tribe was considerably more adroit in its dealings with them than other tribes and more likely to manipulate than be manipulated. The returned native had indeed gone native, but because he was not wholly native he was even more dangerous as a native (Cronin 2002: 393).

Hence the descriptions of interpreters as "monsters" – "fit subjects for a new cultural teratology" (ibid.: 392) as they "represent the in between, the mixed, the ambivalent as implied in the ancient Greek root of the word monsters, teras, which means both horrible and wonderful, object of aberration and adoration" (Braidotti 1994: 77 in Cronin 2002: 392). Cronin (ibid.: 396) also refers to other areas related to the interpreter's role and the domains of power, neutrality, control and ideology. Among many other areas that hold an enormous potential for insight "from the colonial period to the present" we can for example trace down issues which could be " legitimately explored by philosophy, history, and psychoanalysis, where control of the speaking subject often implies control of the body" (ibid.: 396). As an example, Cronin (ibid.) refers to the Crown informers who "married Irish-speaking wives so as to enhance their intelligence gathering activities" during the Tudor conquest of Ireland. Yet,

> The problem was that the women on occasion would change sides and act as double-agents, supplying the Gaelic Irish with valuable information on troop movements (Jackson 1973). Hence, there was the repeated conflation of notions of personal fidelity and politico-linguistic fidelity. *Fidelity to the colonizer becomes infidelity to the colonized, and the colonizer's fidelity, of course, is often purely instrumental* (ibid., emphasis mine).

Cronin has made explicit the geopolitical dimension of interpreter neutrality-fidelity. There is no reason to believe that the phenomena Cronin brings examples about from history would not exist today, in the modern context of individualisation and rejection of outward power. Cronin's research discussed

above indicates a new emerging discourse on the practice of translators and interpreters in TS and IS.

3.2.4. Francis Jones – the individual and ideology

While Cronin's article mainly focuses on theories and past records, Francis Jones' (2004) article becomes an "insider"-account of the ideological, intertwined with personal dilemmas and beliefs. This analysis is an extremely frank account of a translator who makes the choices based on both his ethnic identity and moral and ethical considerations. Unable to judge the political implications, I take his article *"Ethics, Aesthetics and Décision: Literary Translating in the Wars of the Yugoslav Succession"* just as a documentation of a case study of a translator's role. Jones' self-analysis illustrates the dilemmas faced by the intermediaries of language and culture and makes explicit the influence of the socio-political and ideological framework on translators. At the same time, Jones illustrates how the translators' personality, personal experiences, interests and other factors may influence their final decisions. For Jones this is a conscious decision. Yet, possibly, at a subconscious level, many practitioners may be influenced by similar factors. Jones supports the translators' right to remain partial, to adopt and maintain an ethical and ideological stance that will support the translators throughout their decisions. This standpoint might – at first sight – seem to be in opposition with the earlier prevailing call for neutrality. Yet, making decisions is taking sides. Admitting this – and being able to analyse our choices – might be much more honest than preaching the myth of neutrality. Jones' (2004: 10) study identifies the factors influencing the individual as a social agent in a work process of translation as:

- self – " the translator's own psyche, personal history and motivations, political and ideological loyalties and views, ethical principles and conceptualisations of his/her own role, preferred translating tactics and strategies";
- the source text with its "intrinsic features";
- significant others – " relationships with the source writer or his/her representatives";
- "the wider social context within which all the above operate", which for Jones, significantly, includes "the real-world consequences of translator decisions".

Jones (ibid.) concludes:

> "This implies seeing literary translation as constrained but autonomous social action (cf. Boase-Beier & Holman 1999), with translators, as they work, constantly deciding between and evaluating their own text-transformation strategies, within the opportunities and constraints of interpersonal contacts and the wider social context".

While the societal context and text-transformation strategies have been discussed before in mainstream publications in TS, the "bodily" translators have arrived at the scene relatively recently (cf. Pym 1997: 160–176). Once we believe that translators relate to the society at many different levels, including the level of the individual, the interpersonal contacts will logically have to be considered "part of the game". The implication of interpersonal contacts is no doubt valid also for interpreters, the more so considering that their daily practice is being carried out in front of – or in the case of liaison interpreting – *together* with their primary parties, as well as – often – the immediate social network surrounding that.

Jones speaks of choices he has made in advocating his culture and country in an immediate post-war environment. Yet the aggravated context should by no means be considered the only one in which the diverse role aspects and dilemmas faced by translators/interpreters can be perceived. Still, it definitely makes things more explicit. Jones comments on where such dilemmas occur, and where the cultural mediator could be conscious of them:

> If nothing else, as feminist and Marxist theorists have pointed out, one cannot conceive of a social setting free from inter-group conflict. On present evidence, factors in the situation become marked and thus raised to the translator's awareness when they are linked to particularly salient outcomes such as the political survival of source state or the international recognition of a writer. Alternatively, such factors may be consciously perceived by the translator when they conflict such as when the translator's relationship with a source writer conflicts with the translator's own ideology (ibid.: 10).

Jones (ibid.) also introduces the analogy of an ambassador, referring to the "constrained autonomy of a literary translator". Ambassadors are seen as "players whose role is defined by their relationships to other players; though they can only represent their party in the best way possible, they have to make constant decisions about how to do so" (ibid.). Jones' descriptions evoke more parallels between the translators' and interpreters' work. Literary translators Jones speaks about no doubt have important connections and may be positioned higher on the social and cultural scale. Yet they are mostly mediating between the languages and cultures in their protected study, where one can ponder upon and try out the different translation variants, consult reference books, and also people (for example in the case of a sensitive political text, when one can contact decision makers or people standing close to them, who will help one shape the tonality of the intended outcome). The interpreters, on the other hand, face the additional constraint of – literally – sitting next to those historical figures whose words may shape the society, and will also, as "double actors" see the human side of this great acting – the doubt, stress, restraint, stumbling – while carrying on a perfect *chuchotage* with their "professional self". Differently from translators, not only their literal and cultural mediation but also their action, acting, behaving *in situ* will be judged. Despite this extra constraint on performance, one could claim that in some respect it will always be "less

rewarding" than the translators' job: however perfectly interpreters fulfil their task, their performance will evaporate, exist only in the memories of those present – if at all. Or rather, as suggested by the Code, it will *not* be noticed until anything goes crucially wrong. We may notice a certain complacency with his position in Jones (ibid.), when he writes about translators:

> They may have webs of literary contacts in the source and target culture, they may seek out or (more often) be approached by new writers [...].[...] [They] form a key nexus in the web of literary and extra-literary patronage which determine the reception and even the form of a translated text [...].

Interpreters, at the same time, are being taught from the beginning of their training that they are no more than tools. Being a no-one and acting as a mere shadow in one's professional life may even have an impact on interpreter personality. Could long-term practice in a profession dictating that promising young interpreters aim at being a non-person (cf. Wadensjö 1998) have some detrimental effects on their personality? Could the traditional "remedies" suggested for interpreter trainers to be ingrained in their students as ready-to-use devices (*a la* "water, alcohol, sex" (Continuing Education Certificate Course for Interpreter Trainers, Geneva, 2000)), indeed always suffice? Or could interpreter students rather be warned against some of these potential dangers already in the process of training and given competent advice on how to avoid losing oneself and retain their professional role at the same time. We suggest that the notions of *"professional self"* and *"personal self"*, with Goffman's (1959) notions of *"performance", "front"* and *"manner"* (see below) could be one possible way for taking the first steps on this path. The notion of "professional self" could then cover the professional front, manner and performance. "Personal self" would refer to the self, the interpreter's personal history, ethical and ideological stance and values (cf. Jones 2004 above). This is unavoidably a gross simplification of the actual processes involved. Nevertheless, we suggest that such a clear acceptance of the two sides implied in the profession could be a potentially more rewarding theoretical framework for abstractly envisioning our role than

  a) fully leaning on to the "machine" model, stressing interpreters from the first stages of education to be a '*nonperson'* (cf. Goffman 1959, Wadensjö 1998); or
  b) letting the pendulum swing to the other end, and stress that it is *mainly* – or even only – the *self* that matters (cf. Jones 2004).

Accepting that there are at least these two main sides to a mature highly qualified expert professional could provide a framework to lean upon for students and novices in the profession. Since according to our pilot interviews for some interpreting students the stress related to negating their *self* could be

identified as one of the main distractors from acquiring the interpreting skills[5], there could also lie a potential pedagogical (and of course psychological) value in our suggestion. This kind of preparatory framework could potentially also provide support for interpreters in the decision-making process, especially so in situations where the *"professional self"* and the *"personal self"* may be felt to be in explicit conflict – as in situations of great ethical weight.

For Jones (ibid.: 11), partiality might be preferred to neutrality. The conclusions in his case-study read:

> Firstly, ambassadors are not neutral. This study has indicated that the ethic of neutrality between parties to the communication, which is often seen as the translator/interpreter's default stance, may not always be the most appropriate ethic for the literary translator. Indeed, partiality might often be more appropriate. Secondly, with both ambassadors and literary translators, autonomy can give power over others. This is not only the power to interpret a text how one wishes, but also to choose whom to translate and whom not to translate the gatekeeping function of literary translation (Jones 2000; cf. Scollon & Scollon 1983).

Definitely, the right to refuse to interpret relates to the conscious ethical or ideological/political right of decision of interpreters. The higher the stakes for the participants and the higher the professional level of the interpreter the more powerful the "no". On the other hand, in the interpreting situation – once you have accepted the job – influencing the message is ruled out. "Says the speaker" has long been nearly the only device to resort to in pointing to a disparity between the interpreter's and speaker's ideas, or possible speaker mistakes, in the conference world – and it has to be used sparingly and with utmost caution. As shown above, in the liaison world the situation may be somewhat different and thus certain parallels can be brought to Jones' line of argument here. Of course, becoming an active participant entails clear responsibility. Jones (ibid.: 12) points out that the translator not only has liberties but also duties. Therefore, we could say that translators who are conscious of the "ethical and ideological" impact of their decisions, and have decided to apply "not only autonomy but power" (Jones ibid.), have thus left the invisibility-non-person role-model and entered the front stage field (in Angelelli's (2001) and Goffman's (1959) terms respectively). Jones (2004: 12) holds that translators then

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[5] "I had performed my life's best interpreting. All the terms were there, there was a real flow, I really did my best", one participant reports. "I sat down there [in front of the evaluator] expectant, enthused, finally satisfied with myself. – "So you're wearing a white jumper – wan't to stand out? Don't you know the interpreter has to be unnoticeable like a wallpaper" was all I was told". The participant went on to explain students had been told humiliation is purposefully part of the training – as a preparation for what the real profession and real life has to offer them. I suggest time is ripe to seriously question such training methods and principles" (field notes from preliminary interviews).

should probably be seen as subject to the same responsibilities, concerns, dilemmas and risks as original writers (Pym 1997:65). Thus translators need to balance "their indebtedness and ultimate 'faithfulness' to their own circumstances and perceptions" against the "call to the wholly other" whom they represent and who forms their identity as translators (Arrojo 1994, in Davis 2001: 92; cf. Campbell 1998).

Increased responsibility entails increased competencies – the *self* may be there but it may not drift away from the broader picture of global and the concrete cultural-pair- related considerations:

> Moreover [...] if the translator's partiality and ethical considerations are to coexist, then the call to the primary other (the source-writer or source-culture) must be tempered by a constant awareness of "the other other" [...] this means taking account where possible of the interests of more parties than that of the source writer/culture (Jones 2004: 12).

Jone's study illustrates the deeper underlying psychological processes of this perception in the extreme conflict and post-war situation. Yet, these processes are ever-present, even if probably less conscious in unmarked settings:

> Furthermore, in unmarked settings as with the case of the translator's social embeddedness, ethical and ideological considerations may well remain below the level of conscious awareness, or not be conceptualised as ethical/ideological, until they conflict or the real-world stakes of action will be raised" (ibid.: 12, emphasis mine).

In conclusion we can say that the parallelisms between the translator's self, role, ethics and ideology become explicit in Jone's discussion on ethics in translation. We believe that much of it also holds true for interpreting. Yet of course we do not only need theories and ethics, but also the courage and determination to act according to these. Jone's study, as the author himself points out, is participant observation. This is also action research, as well as a case-study, a self-analysis. This case study can help us follow the processes intact, being given the personal and socio-political background of the translator – something we may lack (at least in detail) in the case of many quantitative analyses. Jones' study illustrates the dilemmas faced by the intermediaries of language and culture at the level of the individual, and makes explicit the influence of the socio-political and ideological framework on translators. Jones shows in detail how the translators' personality, personal experiences and interests may influence their final decisions. He supports the translator's right to remain partial, to adapt and maintain an ethical and ideological stance that will support the translator throughout his decisions. In our empirical part of the thesis, the interviews with practising interpreters in Estonia can hopefully shed some light on similar aspects relating to our peculiar context and the interpreter's role in general.

3.2.5. The individual, the role and politics

Translator and interpreter freedom to pursue their ethics or not, and the power of institutions to use translators and interpreters as tools, are becoming more and more popular areas of research.

Bente Jacobsen (2003, 2004) from Denmark presents an interesting analysis of pragmatics in court interpreting she carried out for her doctorate. Jacobsen (2003: 226) analyses interviews recorded at two district court trials, a mock trial (two interpreters) and an authentic trial (one interpreter). She concludes that additions by court interpreters demonstrate that they "were preoccupied with pragmatics" and that they also "were prepared to violate ethical guidelines in order to achieve their primary objective of successful interaction" (2004: 248). However, the study was performed based on text analyses and participant interpreters were not asked about their motives for their choices.

In the same year a whole issue of the Benjamins Translation Library – the Critical link (Brunette *et. al.* 2003) is dedicated to dialogue interpreting – the possibilities for the development of the field, the challenges and the scenarios for working out training programmes for dialogue interpreting. Current institutional settings are critically reviewed. Time and again is the question of who has been dictating the former rules and why (cf. Pym 1996 on expert ideologies) asked – implicitly or explicitly (cf. also Niska; Amato, Mead 2002). Time seems to be ripe to accept the plurality that has been existing since long ago also in research and training.

Furthermore, also the implications of the hitherto "neutral" conference interpreting are being questioned. Kayoko Takeda (2005) focuses on issues of trust, power and control. Ethics and loyalities become the core issue in her analysis of the interpreting arrangements at the International Military tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo War Crimes Trial 1946–1948). She explains how at the tribunal, interpreters were checked by 'monitors' with the right to make corrections during the proceedings. The discords between interpreters and monitors were resolved by 'language arbiters'. Takeda points out that at this international tribunal military personnel from one of the parties (the US) were used as interpreters, monitors and arbiters. Takeda's research on how interpreters and clients approached the interpreting and procedural issues is tying to find an answer to how this lead to the development of this specific interpreting system. A parallel is made to interpreting arrangements at Quantanamo Bay which may not be recorded, and where neither interpreters nor detainees may be interviewed by people outside the system. The issues of politics, ideology and loyalty – either to one's self or role front become essential.

In a similar line Nata Hajdu (2005) is analyzing a corpus of texts from trials conducted before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Hajdu works on finding out if any consistent differences could be detected in the way interpreters interpret for the victims and the accused, which

could be seen as a function of ethical choices interpreters make depending on the status of the primary party (ibid.; cf. Mullamaa, Orenstein, Pavlovic 2006).

Recent information on interpreting and interpreters'role also entails valuable research carried out by Vourikoski 2003 and Vik-Tuovinen 2006. Vourikoski 2003: 13 (http://acta.uta.fi/pdf/951-44-5878-8.pdf) studies "the speeches in the European Parliament and the way in which they are conveyed by interpreters" (ibid.). The main focus of the study is on if the "interpreters version of the speeches allow listeners to receive the same impression of the speakers' messages and intentions as people receive when listening to the original" (ibid.). In her doctoral dissertation *Tolkning på olika nivåer av professionalitet* (Interpreting on different levels of professionality) Vik-Tuovinen (2006, cf. also http://lipas.uwasa.fi/tiedotus/tiedotteet06/tammi_7.html) studies interpreting strategies on three different levels of professionalism. We believe that Vik-Tuovinen's (ibid.) study makes interesting parallels to the Expert-Novice Paradigm (Hoffman 1996) with regard to the different strategies students or professionals on different levels of expertise reach. Both studies open up new vistas in understanding the interpreter's role and also some important processes at work during interpreting that may not have been paid sufficient attention to earlier.

3.2.6. *Ethics and ideology – the cases from around us*

The discussion on personalities and ideologies of translating agents is definitely not just a topic for theoretical musings. The decisions are made by and around us every day though the agents who make them often remain unnoticed.

A good example of when they are is the case of the sign language interpreter from the Ukraine, Natalya Dmitruk, who in the days decisive for Ukrainian democracy decided to step out of her Code front and not mediate the false message of the totalitarian regime. For this she was awarded the honorary title of "European hero 2005". News magazine TIME (Zarakhovich, Sept. 2005: 16) reports on her as a "rebel":

> On Nov. 25, Dmitruk was assigned to translate the afternoon news into sign language for a deaf audience of some 100.000. But instead of repeating the official announcement that Yuchenko had lost, she signed instead: "Yuchenko is our President. Do not believe the Central Electoral Commission. They are lying.

This is definitely against everything the Code tells us. This intrusion of the *self* of the interpreter to evaluate the absolute ethics is at the same time definitely what supported this certain society to democracy at this given point in time. As Zarakhovich (ibid.) puts it "in a country intimidated into silence, a signer for the deaf was the first to speak out". Even so, news mediation reaches wide audiences. In the Ukraine, the snowball effect was set off:

Dmitruk's personal rebellion triggered a wider revolt. First, other UT-1 journalists refused to broadcast the official line, and then almost every other channel in the country joined in. Within a day, all of Ukraine knew that Yuschenko was the country's true President. In January, Yuschenko personally called UT-1 to ask that Dmitruk translate the TV coverage of his inauguration (Zarakhovich, TIME, Oct. 2005).

Below we will speak more about one's professional and personal self. In Dmitruk's case (as in Jones 2004 above) the two were closely related. Dmitruk sees as her task in life to provide people with information about the world. Her comments on her deed illustrate the ethical dimension involved in her decision, the caring for her country and suppressing of fear: "I expected there would be hell to pay, but the disgust I felt about all that lying forced out the fear" (TIME, Oct. 2005). Decisions similar in nature are sometimes made and action carried out in decisive moments, yet probably often less conspicuously. Dmitruk, definitely, is a name to remember as a live example of the realisation in practice of many of the trends of the current paradigm we have described above.

4. Roles and social identity. Provisional selves

4.1. Goffman – social identity, front, manner, appearance; personal self and professional self

4.1.1. The performer "taken by his own act" and the "cynical performer"

In earlier IS, Goffman's work has been referred to mainly as concerns the interaction framework, triadic interaction and the notion of non-person (Wadensjö 1992, 1998; see above in 3.1.). For our discussion on the role of the interpreter in society, the research of this classic in sociology has many relevant considerations for understanding the performance of an individual in society in general, and the performance of a definite role more specifically. Goffman (1959: 17) holds that in much of what they do people strive for creating a certain image of themselves in their lives, and put an almost as big effort into living up to it. Similarly to Anderson's (1976/2002, see above) perception of the two faces of neutrality of the interpreter, Goffman (1959: 17, emphasis mine) believes that people can, grossly speaking, be divided into two:

> At one extreme, one finds that the performer can be *fully taken in by his own act*; he can be sincerely convinced that *the impression of reality which he stages* is the real reality. When his audience is also convinced in this way about *the show he puts on* – and this seems to be the typical case – then for the moment at least, only the sociologist or the socially disgruntled will have any doubts about the "realness" of what is presented.

The preliminary interviews interviews we have carried out with practising interpreters suggest that quite a number of students, as well as practising conference interpreters seem to belong to this category in terms of their interpretation and perception of their role. When asked to describe their role, people belonging to this category tend to cite the Code, or refer to quotes from interpreter training. If, in the course of the interview, they would mention a situation from their own practice not in accordance with the idealised role description and role performance, they tend to give comments like "but such things may not happen of course", or "actually, there may be no discussion of such a situation, as we know already from the rules". For them, the rules become the reality. If faced with situations which do not suit into this picture, rather the reality than the rules should be modified. We could refer here also to interpreters favouring the mechanistic *vs*. the non-mechanistic model in Tate and Turner 1997/2002, the two loyalties and neutralities in Anderson 1976/2002, the role-"plays" in Wadensjö 1998 in 3.1.4. above, where parallels can be drawn. In contrast to the performer "taken in by his own act", Goffman (1959: 18) presents the "cynical" one:

> At the other extreme, we find that the performer may not be taken in at all by his own routine. This possibility is understandable, since no one is in quite as good an observational position to see through the act as the person who puts it on. Coupled with this, the performer may be moved to guide the conviction of his audience only as a means to other ends, having no ultimate concern in the conception that they have of him or of the situation.

While this may involve manipulators, cynical performers may also "delude" their audiences for what they believe is "to their own good, or for the good of the community" (ibid.). The views advocated by Jones 2005 and Cronin 1998/2002 in 3.2.4. and 3.2.3. above could probably be associated with this kind of conscious, ideology related guiding the conviction of one's audience. Much depends also on if interpreters are seen to be providers of a *service* (which seems to have been the dominant model in the West (cf. the established terminology – "client", "commission", the eternal "who pays?")) or as highly qualified specialists performing their task in cooperation with specialists in another field (which, we suggest, can broadly speaking have been the case in Estonia, and possibly in other CEE countries of similar educational-economic systems).

4.1.2. Role and image

Goffman (1959: 19) suggests that "traditionally, the role of people who work in some service occupation is somewhat more role-dependent than moral judgement dependent". According to him, people who work in service occupations and "who may otherwise be sincere are sometimes forced to delude their customers because their customers show such a heartfelt demand for it". We suggest that a parallel could be drawn here to the creating of the image of interpreters. "The interpreter is not afraid of a mike nor a minister" is one of the rules taught to interpreting students. "Through self confidence, staying calm, and maintaining your dignity, you will ensure your client that he is in good hands, that the task is handled professionally. And if clients are calm, your performance will improve as well" are some other rules we learn. The client needs a professional, well-educated interpreter and this is what he gets. The make-believe makes the reality for both parties (cf. Edward's 1995 detailed instructions on the behaviour and dress code of the interpreter below). The rules on how to make a credible impression given in interpreter training manuals seem to suggest that the official role of interpreters even prescribes a certain make-believe imagology. Detailed instructions for behaviour are provided:

> On the day of your assignment, wear appropriate attire and arrive early at the courthouse. Report to the clerk's office [...], introduce yourself and find out what courtroom(s) you will be working in. [...] When you introduce yourself to court personnel, state your name and hand them a business card, if you have one [...] (Mikkelson 2000: 56–57).

Similar advice on establishing an image is given in Edwards (1995: 66–72). Image and role are explicitly interlinked. Furthermore, image is equalled with reality:

> Image is important because it will be taken for reality. Thus, for example, we should not put on a face of disgust at having to sit next to a man accused of an especially obnoxious crime. We will look lively, and pay attention even though we are not interpreting (ibid., emphasis mine).

Edwards (ibid.) also defines the social contribution the role allows: "Our best social contribution as interpreters is fidelity to the meaning of speech. Our role is humble. Grandiose desires should be fulfilled in some other arena". Special advice is given for the dress Code, making a clear connection between image and competence:

> *The interpreter should dress soberly.* [...] For the women, do not get into the slit skirt, see-through blouse routine. [...] Forget short skirts, no matter what is currently fashionable [...]. *Your agenda is to get from the other participants the conditions you need to work effectively.* [...] For the men, decent grooming, *a decent suit and tie, a crisp shirt, professionally laundered project the look you want. The image the interpreter wishes to*

project is that of someone serious, who has interpreting and only interpreting on her mind, and who has taken the care to come in looking neat and well groomed. Slobbovia has no place here. *Your look should convey the reality of your competence* (ibid., emphasis mine).

Edwards (ibid.: 72) even gives advice on the attire outside the court – at a jail or prison, where wearing "something nice and crisp" will make clients feel respected. Yet, more than the client's self-esteem is at stake: "When a client talks more freely and more honestly, the interpreter may be credited". Thus, there seems to be a not merely client assistance focused trait to keeping it all close to the Code. What strikes the eye is that despite all this "theatre" and performance (cf. front, appearance and manner in Goffman 1959 in 4.1.4. below), often training manuals seemingly preparing the novices for every step they are about to take in their profession, leave totally out the discussion on the essential dilemmas of ethically complex situations, the role of interpreter and their latitude to act *if* this should be unavoidable.

Speaking about the role-dependant deluding of customers Goffman (1959) continues by bringing examples of doctors who give placebos or "shoe clerks who sell the shoe that fits but tell the customer it is the size they want to hear". The metaphorical descriptions of interpreters as "actors", or terms like "parallel production" (Gile 1995)[6], spring to mind as the more dramatic illustrations of where a parallel might be drawn to the role of the interpreter. The least dramatic cases would then obviously include those observing the Code but questioning its validity in each and every situation the interpreter might ever experience (cf. Tate and Turner 1997/2002 above). It would possibly include the practitioners who experience that sometimes there is a clash between the Code and what would be the best behaviour in certain situations.

As the role description itself prescribes that interpreters do not take sides and do not express their opinion, sincerity is rather at stake when accepting a certain task or not ("do I sincerely want to help these people?"), in those instances when interpreters are asked for their opinion – for example in a sub-dialogue, and finally the more problematic decision-making for or against taking action and stepping out of *vs.* analysing the role in the "grey" border-area situations similar for example to the ones discussed in Tate and Turner 1997/2002 above.

That the role expectations exceed purely linguistic ones can also be deduced from clients'wishes to use the possibility to use an interpreter even in cases when they are rather confident with terminology, yet point out that they wish to use their right to use their mother tongue. Being truly praised in such situations may be an even greater accomplishment than in traditional language-pair involving situations. In similar situations, interpreters may be hired because this helps to communicate. Interpreters may be invited once primary parties enter a

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[6] According to Gile (1995: 201, emphasis mine) "When working conditions are particularly bad, and when interpreters feel it is *imperative to continue speaking despite inability to listen, understand, and reformulate* properly, *they may invent a speech segment* compatible with the rest of the source-language speech [...].

conflict situation. In addition to capacities as a language mediator and cultural advisor but also as a neutral party, a woman (cf. Wadensjö 1998 in 3.1.1. above) have been pointed out as important in such cases. Sometimes the roles that – on the one hand are given in the Code, but on the other hand also offer some cross-cultural, and possibly even some psychological support – may be invaluable. The right to use an interpreter may be used for the defence of the citizen (everyone has the right to use the interpreter, speak their mother tongue). It may also be used by the citizen against the society (as possibly in cases when interpreters may be invited to prolong the time before taking the drug test).

How much our roles in general matter is exemplified by Robert Ezra Park (1950: 249) as given in Goffman (1959: 19):

> It is probably no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning is a mask. It is rather a recognition of the fact that everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role…It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves.

Goffman (ibid.) suggests that this mask could even be considered "our truer self" – as long as it is reflecting "the conception we have formed of ourselves", or "the self we would love to be". Indeed, it is like a self-fulfilling prophecy: "In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons" (Park 1950: 249 in Goffman, ibid.). We suggest that in building up one's professional self, however, the personal self should be retained in a well-balanced way. A person without a personality becomes an unreliable performer of the role. In that case there would be just the role-image taught (or in some situations maybe even imposed) by others and no personal conviction, pride and integration with *self* to back it up. The risk to become a tool that can be used in any way becomes enormous. The performer of the role becomes a service provider, a "soldier" with the mission of not to think but obey, mass production. Devoid of will-power, one runs the risk of not being able to make ethically acceptable decisions in everyday life interpreting situations (cf. Tate and Turner 1997/2002 above), not to speak of the societal/global and political/ideological dimension (cf. Jones 2004, Cronin 2002). There is a potential clash between today's processes of individualisation (Van Deth, Scarbrough 1995, see above) and the growing importance of the personality in society in general on the one hand, and the imposed role of a non-person, which could become a source for potential stress or dissatisfaction, on the other hand. Interpreter training should not be drilling away the personalities of young talented students. It should be helping them to integrate the new marvellous skills with being themselves, teaching them how to professionally perform a role without losing ones *self*, and most importantly, how to develop and apply ethical solutions. Somewhat idealistically – in tune with the rules of neutrality and through developing a "healthy" role model – we could hope that in this way synergy would be created for optimal solutions for at least some

real-life dilemmas in interpreting situations like those described above. We note that in a slightly more provoking line, Angelelli (2004: 33) claims:

> most important element of the interaction is the self. Maintaining self-esteem is considerably more important to individuals engaged in an interaction than balancing simplicity and accuracy. In other words, the self takes precedence over all others during the process of categorization.

Furthermore, following Bourdieu, Angelelli (ibid.) states that "power materializes by gaining recognition from the other parties to the interaction". There definitely is a grain of truth in it. However, we wonder if in all the rebellion to the Code principles the pendulum is not swinging too strongly to the other end – placing the *self,* and only the *self* in the limelight. Instead of going to either extreme, we wonder if an equilibrium – performing one's task professionally, yet not in disharmony with one's *self* and values could be possible.

4.1.3. Front, appearance and manner – building up one's role

To refer to "that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance" Goffman (1959: 22) introduces the notion of 'front'. Further, he distinguishes between 'appearance' and 'manner', which are defined as "the stimuli which make up personal front". The notions are described as below:

> "*Appearance*" may be taken to refer to those stimuli which function at the time to tell us of *the performer's social statuses.* These stimuli tell us also of the individual's temporary ritual state, that is whether he is engaging in formal social activity, work, or recreation, whether or not he is celebrating a new phase in the season cycle or his life-cycle. *"Manner"* may be taken to refer to those *stimuli which function at the time to warn us of the interaction role the performer will expect to play* in the oncoming situation (1959: 24, emphasis mine).

Currently, both the appearance and manner of interpreters seem to be controlled by the Code and interpreter manuals – thus indeed, as Goffman (ibid.: 26–27) suggests of service occupations – having a similarity to many others using the same front. This approach seems to suggest that while it is easier to live up to such a generalised and simplified self image, the routine may take over the role itself. As Goffman (1959: 27) points out, not only may different routines start using the same front, but they may become "institutionalized" and be taken to collectively represent the bearers of this social front:

> a given social front tends to become institutionalized in terms of the abstract stereotyped expectations to which it gives rise, and tends to take on a meaning and stability apart from the specific tasks which happen at the time

to be performed in its name. The front becomes "collective representation" and a fact in its own right.

To sum up, it seems that there exist some parallels between Goffman's theory and the empirical outcome of for example from Tate and Turner's study (1997/2002, see above) which illustrates that the perception of the interpreters' task is shaped by the mechanistic Code model. The question remains, if cure for this problem should be found by admitting a shade of grey into the "black and white" as suggested by Tate and Turner, or modifying/ changing the Code itself. Especially, if, as suggested in Goffman (1959: 28, emphasis mine), taking on an "established role", one also finds an "established front", and "whether his acquisition of the role was primarily motivated by a desire to *perform the given task* or by a desire to *maintain the corresponding front*, the actor will find that he must do both." For Goffman (ibid., emphasis mine), the solution is not easy, as "fronts tend to be selected, not created " and thus "we may expect trouble to arise when those who perform a given task are forced to select a suitable front for themselves from among *several quite dissimilar ones*". The problem of choosing between ready made fronts or role-descriptions in the context of interpreting, is exemplified above in our discussion on expert-liaison in Estonia (see above), where in the case of the description of a task that does not fully tally with the existing descriptions of conference, diplomatic, dialogue or business interpreting, confusion is easy to arise and the ready made labels of "diplomatic or business" interpreting have readily been resorted to, often adding the epithet "lower-level "(!). Thus, as in Goffman (1959: 29, italics mine), "we may not find a perfect fit between the specific character of a performance and the *general socialized guise* in which it appears". Goffman (ibid.: 39) also introduces the notion of "dramatic realization": "while in the presence of others, the individual typically infuses his activity with signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that may otherwise remain unapparent or obscure". Again, it seems that the *role* and the *front* become so closely interrelated that it may be difficult to tell one from the other. If we proceed from for example Tate and Turner's (1997/2002) conclusion that the present Code (which "makes" the role!) does not always correspond to what would be best practice or most ethically appropriate interpreter behaviour, then the Code, which makes the role institutionalised and raises stereotyped expectations, may make interpreters' behaviour answer the "collective representation" of the profession and a fact in its own right. This, however, is unfortunately not always related to the specific tasks performed in its name. If this is so, in order for not to clash with the stereotyped expectations, one can only change or modify the emerged "social front" or its "institutionalisation" through changing it *explicitly. Whether* there indeed is a need for a modification at all, and how to do this in case there is, might potentially become clearer in discussions with practitioners and in analysing the results – which is what this study intends to do.

In its essence, idealization may have noble goals:

> If we never tried to seem a little better than we are, how could we improve or "train ourselves from the outside inward?" And the same impulse to show the world a better or idealized aspect of ourselves finds an organized expression in the various professions and classes, each of which has to some extent a cant or pose, which its members assume unconsciously, for the most part, but which has the effect of a *conspiracy* to work upon the credulity of the rest of the world (Cooley 1922: 352–53, in Goffman 1959: 35, emphasis mine).

As we notice, even such idealisation may lead up to a "conspiracy" (cf. Anderson 1976/2002, Tate and Turner 1997/2002 above). Yet, the match between appearances and the real essence of things is more and more striven after. Even if we create an image and do our best to live up to it, we should always remember ethics and the *real* communicative interest of the people for whom we are there.

Goffman (1959) further points out that implicitly, the upper-market professions then shape the attitudes of what is to be respected and striven for in a society. How does this relate to the position of interpreters in Estonia? We suggest that the split created by the sharply increasing divide on the economic scale (the "spelling out" of the service sector) on the one hand, and the increased individualisation processes (raising to the pedestal the *self*, self-fulfilment, integrity of the individual) on the other hand, have had a big impact on the Estonian society as a whole, and on the profession and role of interpreters as a part of it. On the one hand, the profession as a whole has fought for and found a rightful place among the "cultural services". On the other hand, in a quickly changing society such positions are prone to change. We suggest that also the profession itself is becoming more dynamic, while different market needs call for different focuses to be taken by practitioners. It is indeed during this decade that hand in hand with increasing professionalisation interpreters in Estonia would have had to start to specialise – and divide into conference and liaison ones.

The conference world has been moving towards the service provider model. In the liaison market, depending on the nature of the task, the role demands may vary. Often, the interpreter's role entails more than purely linguistic mediation. In dynamic liaison cooperation, arguably, interpreters are becoming more and more partners and specialists in their own right. Contextualised frameworks emerge which include the three participants at the individual level, the level of their joint action across borders (e.g. organising a seminar, cf. P9 below, or leading a joint venture) and the wider social- and cultural level. And the levels interact to yield subtle nuances to the role being modified.

Goffman (1959:35) holds that in choosing our "bias" we tend to reflect not only the values related to our profession, but also these favoured by our society:

> When the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behavior as a whole.

In a transition society like Estonia, the changes have been occurring at a very fast rate. Arguably, many upper-market professions and the society on the whole have been implicitly moving towards a relative suspension of formality. However, this has not been the case for many professions in the service sector. Rather, as the gap between the different social deciles widens (cf. Reiljan, Varblane 2001), the service sector has become more clearly outlined, possibly answering more to the description of a "non-person" than they were before. This becomes especially marked as opposed to the Soviet-era when they could partly be seen as "controlling rare resources" (cf. Anderson above). As concerns interpreters, it would seem that to quite a big extent we can trace down a similar tendency: hand in hand with the vocation becoming "professionalised" (i.e. official interpreter training programmes, professional association, our services being provided by translation bureaus – thus enough performers of the task to have a more or less standard format and price), the tendency to be perceived as a representative of the service-sector, thus also a *non-person,* increases. Interpreting is becoming more and more like any service you can buy for money, in contrast to being viewed as "the skills of a few", that could be ordered when contacting the interpreter personally, in order to have professional help in one's own field (as pretty much was the case in the 90s).

No doubt, professional standards and a wider choice of interpreters on the market is only positive. At the same time, this watershed moment in the development of and shaping of the image of the profession, seems to be right for reviewing what is essential for our role and Code. One should also decide if the economy-ruled or even territorial and political-ideological – to use the terminology of Lambert (1991) and Cronin (2002) respectively – is going in the direction that would reconcile the interpreters' self-perception on the one hand, and the demands of the society, on the other hand. Negotiation of these crucial issues among practitioners might be essential.

A proactive approach entails not just modifying the mainstream in the course of our personal practice, but being willing and able to vocalise our choices, initiate a discussion and in friendly cooperation find the most positive and just outcome in tune with the views held by practitioners and indications of research in the field. The endeavour for a mature self-perception relates to asserting the right for one's place in the society. In the context of Estonia, with some simplification, this would mean securing one's position among the elite or becoming a member of the service sector. The gap between these two sectors is rapidly widening, both in terms of economy and prestige. (The gap between the highest and lowest salaries in Estonia is more that 100-fold (PM 04.03.05)). Thus, the social position – or even defence against segregation into marginalisation – may be at stake.

4.1.4. Front stage and backstage

Finally, also Goffman's (1959) understanding of *regions* and *region behaviour* proves to be relevant for exploring the "professional" and "personal" self aspects of the role of liaison interpreters. Goffman (1959: 128, emphasis mine) states:

> Throughout Western Society there tends to be one informal or backstage language of behavior, and another language of behavior for occasions when a performance is being presented. [...] In general, then, *backstage conduct* is one which allows minor acts which might easily be taken as symbolic of intimacy and disrespect for others present and for the region, while *front region conduct* disallows such potentially offensive character. [...] backstage behavior has what psychologists might call a "regressive" character. The question, of course, is whether a backstage gives individuals an opportunity to regress, or whether regression, in a clinical sense, is backstage conduct invoked on inappropriate occasions for motives that are not socially approved.

In interpreter training such "potentially regressive behaviour" – not necessarily showing disrespect, but probably still *some* relaxation – is taken care of by rules of professional conduct. It also seems that the front stage-backstage division might be more explicit in conference interpreting situations with their strict etiquette and rules, while in the liaison situations where the interpreter is part of the team, the potential difference between "being on the air" and "off" is more neutralised. Even so, of course, there is a working situation and off-duty situation. Also, the front-stage and back-stage should not be taken as black-and white binary oppositions:

> [...] one ought not to expect that concrete situations will provide pure examples of informal conduct, although there is usually a tendency to move the definition of the situation in one of these two directions. We will not find these pure cases because teammates in regard to one show will be to some degree performers and audience for another show, and performers and audience for one show will to some extent, however slight, be teammates to another show. Thus in a concrete situation we may expect the predominance of one style or the other, with some feelings of guilt or doubt concerning the actual combination or balance that is achieved between the two styles (1959: 129).

Again, the situation makes a clear parallel to the liaison interpreting, where the interpreter is a member of the whole group on the venue as well as – often – a member of each different group (and culture, society, following certain behavioural norms) (cf. Cronin 2002 on monsters in 3.2.3. above). In flexible human constellations also the degree of formality may differ in each respective group, and depending on the social occasion, event or task to be performed (e.g. the behavioural patterns and degree of formality would differ at the meeting, conference venue, informal dinner or car trip back to the hotel). The task of the

interpreter is then – without losing the professional integrity – to grasp the subtle nuances and behave in tune with them. While Goffman (ibid.: 106–140) pays a lot of attention to the separate functions of backstage-front-stage and the behaviour they encourage, we would suggest that in liaison interpreting situations the back-stage/front-stage scenes and actions are often intermingled and interpreters – at the same time participating in both – will rather have to retain the front-stage stance – at least concerning their own role and action, while understanding and accepting the back-stage moments of participants. Goffman (1959: 145) explains the inclusion in different regions as follows:

> In actual fact [...] the congruence among function, information possessed, and accessible regions is seldom complete. Additional points of vantage relative to the performance develop which complicate the simple relation among function, information and place. Some of these peculiar vantage points are so often taken and their significance for the performance comes to be so clearly understood that we can refer to them as *roles*, although, relative to the three crucial ones [those who perform, those performed to and outsiders (cf. ibid.: 144)], they might best be called *discrepant roles*.

Again, the considerations above clearly relate to the communicative competence of liaison interpreters and both the understanding and performing of their role.

4.2. Hermina Ibarra: Provisional selves, professional adaptation and experimenting with identity

Professional identities need not be stable and rule-bound. In tune with personal and professional maturation, the immediate (work-place) and broader environment (the socio-cultural, political-ideological context) also the vision of what is primary in a profession may change. Herminia Ibarra (1999: 1) demonstrates how provisional selves are used for experimenting with and gradual adaptation to new roles. According to Ibarra (ibid.) adaptation follows three main stages:
1) observing role models to identify potential identities,
2) experimenting with provisional selves, and
3) evaluating experiments against internal standards and external feedback.

Even if Ibarra (ibid.) focuses her research on newcomers to firms and the "transition to more senior positions", we suggest that similar changes and adaptations take place in individual (creative) life. Thus, some of the adaptations that we will observe in the role of interpreters in Estonia below could be attributed to similar processes. The interviews below will help us identify if participants have been testing their role models and provisional selves in order to gain a satisfactory solution through comparing the standards (the Code) and external feedback (user expectations). We suggest that these

processes are intertwined with the evaluation and adaptation of professional selves, front, manner and appearance to increasingly placate these with one's personal self. Ibarra (1999: 1) shows that "individual and situational factors influence adaptation behaviours indirectly by shaping the repertory that guides selfconstruction". She (ibid.: 2) points to the difference between one's professional role ("persona") and personal one ("identity"):

> People enact personas that convey qualities they want others to ascribe to them, for example, qualities prescribed by their professional roles, such as judgement, business acumen, competence, creativity, and trustworthiness. While some of those qualities may be well-defined aspects of their identities, others may be incongruent with their self-conceptions, and still others remain to be elaborated with experience.

Relevant to our discussion on the evolving role of *liaison* interpreters, Ibarra (ibid.) suggests that "identity changes accompany work role changes". People then develop "provisional selves" that they test "by experimenting with images that serve as trials for possible but not yet fully elaborated professional identities". The provisional selves serve as "temporary solutions people use to bridge the gap between their current capacities and self-conceptions and the representations they hold about what attitudes and behaviours are expected in the new role". [7] We suggest that the changing scene for interpreting with the development of two different interpreting modes in Estonia might have set the scene for practitioners to critically review their professional requirements. These processes may have lead to a greater specialisation as to whether to be a conference or liaison interpreter. Cf.:

> [...] new roles require new skills, behaviors, attitudes, and patterns of interactions, they may produce fundamental changes in an individual's self definitions [...]. With experience, they improve their understanding of the new role and refine their emerging notions of who they want to be in that role. [...] Over time, people adapt aspects of their identity to accommodate role demands and modify role definitions to preserve and enact valued aspects of their identity, attaining a negotiated adaptation to the new situation [...] (ibid., emphasis mine).

Bearing in mind the impulses given in the literature review above, we indeed see that the liaison interpreter's role is undergoing changes or at least modifications elsewhere in the world. Italian TV-show interpreters, Turkish rescue operations interpreters, interpreters deciding to step out of the Code confines to help their client in Tate and Turner, interpreters aligning with institutions they work with in Pöllabauer 2003 or the "weaker" one (Wadensjö 1998) (see above) – examples could be many. All these pieces of research demonstrate a certain liberation from the enCoded (cf. Tate and Turner 1997/2002 above), a certain personal responsibility taken by the interpreter.

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[7] Note that 'provisional selves' thus differ from 'possible selves' (defined as "individuals' ideas about who they might become") (ibid.).

There is more interaction, yet in most cases (with the exception of the more "extreme" Italian TV example), still neutrality and the ultimate well-being of the client is observed. While individuals resort to partly codified normative roles (i.e. what a performer of a role thinks he ought to do) (Goffman 1960, see Wadensjö 1998 above) the evolving *self image* of interpreters is becoming as important as the Code once used to be. I suggest that we could see a parallel here to the individualisation and democratisation processes in society. Also, in connection with that, I believe there is a certain endeavour to develop the professional self in not too grave contradiction to one's personal self. The more developed and stable the individual identity, the more there is inclination to resist outer norms, especially if these are perceived to contradict real-life circumstances or demands.

Yet, changes in role and identity often take place hand in hand: "Identity and role change [...] evolve interactively such (sic!) that a new synthesis is more than simply a compromise of static role demands and static self demands" (Ashforth and Saks in Ibarra 1999: 3). Ibarra (ibid.) points out that "little empirical attention" has been paid to the processes "by which people negotiate, with themselves and with others, what identities they craft as they assume a new work role". Similarly, the role of "self conceptions during socialization, in particular, how images of desired future selves serve as catalysts for identity development" has been little researched. What directly relates to our analysis of self-descriptions of practising liaison interpreters is the development of identity in relation to self-conceptions:

> People make identity claims by conveying images that signal how they view themselves or hope to be viewed by others. By observing their own behavior as well as the reactions of others, who accept, reject, or renegotiate these public images, they maintain or modify their private self-conceptions (Swann 1987) [...]. Status passages such as career transitions provide opportunities for renegotiating both private and public views of the self (Ibarra 1999: 3).

'Possible selves' then become both "cognitive and emotional filters by which people enact their environments and [...] incentives for future behaviour" (ibid.). This in turn, relates to the development of role models:

> As concrete knowledge of what is possible and desirable to achieve, they direct attention to certain *role models* among those available and help people identify what behaviours and attitudes to acquire from them. In experimental learning, when people adopt the demeanor associated with the roles to which they aspire, they are in effect creating possible selves. Finally, possible selves serve as benchmarks for interpreting and judging one's own behavior. They are standards against which people calibrate external feedback and their own affective reactions.

Relating to our suggestion on the importance of the socio-cultural environment, it has been demonstrated that "possible selves are highly vulnerable to changes

in the environment" (ibid.). Also, experience (cf. our discussion on the Expert-Novice Paradigm above) plays an important role here: "the new identities generated in career transition are often provisional, even makeshift, until they have been rehearsed and refined with experience" (ibid.). In our analysis below we will explore if and how the propositions introduced in Ibarra (1999) above relate to the self-descriptions of the role of liaison interpreters in Estonia today.

II. THE ROLE PERCEPTION OF LIAISON INTERPRETERS IN ESTONIA – SELF-DESCRIPTIONS AND ANALYSIS

5. Methodology

5.1. The methodological framework

5.1.1. Background

Methodological rigour has been striven for in Interpreting Studies (IS) for at least a decade. Daniel Gile (1990:28) expresses his concern: "[...] although interpretation literature includes a fair amount of speculative theorizing [...], it contains very little scientific research". The main area to be observed should, according to him, be a careful observation of facts as opposed to "speculations". For the second, the methods and reasoning process should be "explicated for the benefit of the reader, who can thus assess their accuracy and validity, and replicate experiments to check the results" (ibid.).

   A decade later the very same considerations apply in the descriptions of difficulties faced by novice researchers of interpreting, as evidenced by a number of personal accounts by authors like Peter Mead, Friedel Dubslaff, Helle V. Dam, Anne Schjoldager, *et al.* (2001). The conclusion of this Benjamins volume dedicated to methodological reflections and personal accounts on getting started in interpreting research, is that for example the PhD process, which often is the one that brings novices to research proper, is "a lengthy, sometimes difficult process, fraught with uncertainty, self-doubts, stress and dissatisfaction with one's own performance" (Gile, Dam, Schjoldager 2001: 233). The impact of this on producing research is that probably "more than half, and possibly *much* more than half of the dissertation projects accepted by the respective host universities in the field of translation and interpreting, never see the light of day" (ibid.: 234). According to the authors, Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies are affected by the problems more than many other disciplines with "more established" traditions, methodology, schools of thought:

> [...] in empirical disciplines such as sociology, psychology, education science, biology, chemistry and physics, research principles and methods are taught early on, in undergraduate courses, and PhD students do not face similar problems (ibid.: 235).

As a reaction to these "deficiencies" the quantitative-empirical stage was invoked already at the ground-breaking conference in Trieste. Methodology, rigour, data became the key-words. Today, according to Franz Pöchhacker (2004: 79), we may be moving into, or well into the dialogic, discourse based

interaction paradigm. However, concerning methodology, I would argue that quantitative approaches, typical of the "previous", cognitive processing paradigm, are in some cases still strongly favoured.

The reality we want to analyse, however, may not always succumb to our wishes of quantifying and measuring. The oft-repeated quandaries in IS: small samples, especially in some language combinations; interpreters not always feeling comfortable with researchers "intruding" into their working process, the problems of using students *vs.* professionals, persist. In such a situation an alternative methodological approach might be considered.

5.1.2. Choosing a methodological framework

When starting to analyse possible changes in the role of interpreters in Estonia, focusing on the possible differences between the role perceptions of conference vs. liaison interpreters, I was searching for a suitable methodological framework. I decided to find out more about the potential of qualitative approaches, and finding the suitable *type* of qualitative research was the next step. Considering the topic and nature of my research, as well as the fact that "there is no such thing as absolutely "raw" data. Data are ultimately taken, not given." (Arrojo, Chesterman 2000: 1); and that

> [...] any research [...] will be ideologically and historically marked, and will, thus, reflect the circumstances and interests of those who produce it. [...]"understanding a phenomenon" [...] necessarily implies mediation. In other words, the subject who "understands a phenomenon" is inevitably implicated in such an understanding. Consequently, any explanation will also bear the mark of the one doing the explanations and his or her circumstances (ibid.: 6),

ethnographic research seemed to hold potential as an overreaching framework of my research. Discovering more about this tradition seemed to open ways for overcoming a number of difficulties I had faced before. In addition to that, it seemed that ethnography could hold promise for different other research projects in Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies.

5.1.3. Ethnography

Ethnography represents one type of qualitative observational research. Altogether, qualitative observational research consists of over 30 different approaches. These approaches are sometimes difficult to differentiate between as they "often overlap and the distinctions between them are subtle" (http://writing.colostate.edu/references/research/observe/com3a1.cfm). The choice of the type of approach to use depends on the research question and/or the discipline the researcher belongs to. Based on Nunan (1992) and other

sources, let us here establish the background of some key principles of ethnographic research. The roots of ethnography have been seen in anthropology and sociology (Wilson 1982 in Nunan 1992: 32–56). More specifically, Wilson (ibid.) associates ethnography with a) the naturalistic-ecological perspective of human behaviour – which stresses the importance of context; and b) the qualitative phenomenological approach – which questions the belief in objective reality "beyond" the participants and researchers. Acknowledging the relevance of context and subjective perception can help us reveal and analyse the *cultural meanings* carried by the participants in our research.

According to Nunan (1992: 56), ethnographic research can be characterised as follows:

> [...] the research takes place in context, with an attempt to minimize the disruption caused by the researcher's intrusion. The researcher does not attempt to control or manipulate the phenomena under investigation. The research is relatively long-term [...]. It entails the collaborative involvement of several participants [...] generalisations and hypotheses often emerge during the course of the investigation, rather than beforehand.

Other definitions underline the descriptive and interpretive character of ethnography:

> Ethnography is a method of studying and learning about a person or group of people. Typically, ethnography involves the study of a small group of subjects in their own environment. Rather than looking at a small set of variables and a large number of subjects ("the big picture"), the ethnographer attempts to get a detailed understanding of the circumstances of the few subjects being studied. Ethnographic accounts, then, are both descriptive and interpretive; descriptive, because detail is so crucial, and interpretive, because the ethnographer must determine the significance of what she observes without gathering broad, statistical information. (http://www.wsu.edu:8001/
> vcwsu/commons/topics/culture/glossary/ethnography.html).

The third type of definitions stress the use of multiple methodologies to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of phenomena:

> Ethnography is a long term investigation of a group (often a culture) that is based on immersion and, optimally, participation in that group. Ethnography provides a detailed exploration of group activity and may include literature about and/or by the group. It is an approach which employs multiple methodologies to arrive at a theoretically comprehensive understanding of a group or culture. The issue for the observer is how the particulars in a given situation are interrelated. In other words, ethnography attempts to explain the Web of interdependence of group behaviors and interactions (http://writing.colostate.edu/references/research/observe/com3a1.cfm).

One can distinguish between macro-ethnography and micro-ethnography. Macro-ethnography focuses on carrying out research on "broadly-defined cultural groupings, such as "the English" or "New Yorkers"" (http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/ethno.htm). Micro-ethnography focuses on studying "narrowly-defined cultural groupings, such as "local government GIS specialists" or "members of Congress"" (ibid.), or, possibly, liaison interpreters in a small country.

According to Nunan (1992: 53), ethnography has suffered from being loosely applied "to any research, which is not a formal experiment", thus making some scientists conclude that the method "lacks rigour". Still, this type of qualitative observational research should not be underestimated as it usually involves a thorough training process and certainly imposes extra time constraints on the researcher. Indeed, the demands on the researcher are challenging. The researcher should aim at observing and describing the possible patterns, similarities, and differences in the group(s) he studies "as they occur":

> Preconceptions or expectations of an individual or group's behavior interferes with the researcher's ability to tell the group or culture's story in a fair and accurate manner. In addition, preconceived expectations preclude the researcher from observing subtle nuances of character and speech that may be important to understand group behaviors or interactions. While absolute objectivity is impossible, it is paramount that researchers enter the field or study group with an open mind, an awareness of their own biases, and a commitment to detach from those biases as much as possible while observing and representing the group. (http://writing.colostate.edu/references/research/observe/com3a1.cfm).

An even bigger challenge may be facing the criticism of the representatives of psychometric research, which has been seen in a binary relationship with ethnography. Indeed, not only methods, but even the very assumptions and ways of interpreting evidence of these two approaches differ:

> In psychometric research, the research questions are formulated as hypotheses, and the constructs are operationalised in advance of the data collection phase. In ethnography, on the other hand, there is an attempt to remain as open minded as possible, and there is an interaction between questions and data [...] (Nunan 1992:69).

LeCompte and Goerz (1982: 32 in Nunan ibid.), see the differences as advantageous of ethnographic approach:

> Etnographic research differs from positivistic research, and its contributions to scientific progress lie in such differences. These may involve the data gathering that necessarily precedes hypothesis formulation and revision or may focus on descriptive investigation and analysis. By admitting into the research frame the subjective experiences of both participants and investigator, ethnography may provide a depth of understanding lacking in other approaches to investigation.

What appeals to me in ethnography is the fact that this methodological framework allows us to carry out research in the context where the participants normally work. Through this, the research will be unobtrusive and collaborative. In many circumstances also longitudinal research – as shown above, typically associated with ethnography – can be most revealing. The chaining process leads to theory-building only at the end of the process:

> The middle stages of the ethnographic method involve gaining informants, using them to gain yet more informants in a chaining process, and gathering of data in the form of observational transcripts and interview recordings. Data analysis and theory development come at the end, though theories may emerge from cultural immersion and theory-articulation by members of the culture (http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/ethno.htm).

Another principle of ethnographic research is its being "organic", i.e. "there is interaction between questions/hypotheses and data collection/interpretation". Explaining the principles of such "grounded theory" approach, proponents of ethnographic research have even claimed that this approach could be seen as "finding a theory that explains their data" rather than finding "data to match a theory" (cf. Nunan 1992:52–69). We believe that certain flexibility – especially in the initial stages of research – may be seen as beneficial.

Nunan (ibid.) also stresses that we must also observe the key principles of 'holism' (considering both the behaviour of individuals and groups under investigation and the context in which the behaviour occurs, and which has an impact on it) and 'thickness' (taking into account as many factors which may have an effect on the phenomena under investigation as possible). There are two dimensions to the holistic description: a) the *horizontal*, or historical aspect focuses on the description of events and behaviours as they evolve over time; and b) the *vertical* dimension, that considers the factors that may have an impact on behaviours and interactions at the time at which they occur (ibid.). The idea of holism is closely related to cultural patterning. The specific methods of cultural patterning entail 1) conceptual mapping (i.e. "using the terms of members of the culture themselves to relate symbols across varied forms of behavior and in varied contexts" http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/ethno.htm), 2) focusing on the learning processes and 3) focusing on sanctioning processes. (Sanctioning processes help the researcher to "understand which cultural elements are formally (ex., legally) prescribed or proscribed and which are informally prescribed or proscribed, and of these which are enforced through sanction and which are unenforced" (ibid.)).

Goodson and Walker (1983, in Nunan 1992: 58), advocate holism and thickness through 'portrayal', and point out that "rich, descriptive accounts seem to offer 'a kind of intermediate technology of research adapted to the study of practical problems in realistic time scales". Importantly, they believe that the choice of a methodological framework is an ethical issue – it is "more than a technical question: It is moral and political as well" (ibid.). Thus, we should not opt for certain methods and approaches just because they are

comfortable and yield quick results. Instead, a more cumbersome way leading to more insight could be considered. In working on my prospective project I will be analysing relatively diverse data from people with a different background and experience. Observing the principles of ethnographic research will hopefully provide helpful in enabling us to describe the object of research without neglecting some important aspects that might escape our attention otherwise.

5.1.4. The reliability and validity of ethnographic research

However appealing the principles of ethnographic research might seem at first glance, one must be aware of the possible drawbacks of this approach, as well as of ways of safeguarding against these. According to Nunan (1992: 58–62), the bulk of criticism against ethnographic research is directed at the fact that ethnography mostly deals with certain contexts and situations, which are then described in detail – the quantity of the data yielded makes it difficult to include all in a research paper, thus making it difficult to assess its internal and external validity. Furthermore:

> Given the naturalistic setting, the fact that the researcher may be attempting to record processes of change over time, and the possible uniqueness of the situation and setting, the use of standardised controls may be impossible (ibid.: 59).

However, using low inference descriptors (describing behaviour on which it is easy for independent observers to agree), the use of multiple researchers, peer examination and mechanically recorded data can enhance internal reliability. Making explicit the status of the researcher, providing a detailed description of subjects, context and conditions under which research was carried out, coupled with explicitly defined constructs and premises, as well as a detailed presentation of the data collection and analysis methods, helps to ensure external reliability of ethnographic research (cf. ibid.).

LeCompte and Goetz (1982: 28 in Nunan 1992: 58–62) point out that the four main factors affecting cross-group comparisons are selection effects, setting effects, history effects and construct effects. The setting effects relate to Labov's 'observer's paradox' – "the aim of sociolinguistic research is to find out how people behave when they are not being systematically observed, but data can be obtained only through systematic observation". Or, what concerns our piece of research most directly: "Cross-group may also be rendered invalid by the unique historical experiences of groups and cultures" (ibid.). In addition to the obvious pitfalls of selection effects, construct effects should be borne in mind, as they can "refer either to the extent to which abstract terms and concepts are shared across different populations, or to the extent to which explanations are regarded as valid across groups" (Nunan 1992: 63).

An answer to those who still consider ethnography a subjective rather than scientific social science research method might be the following:

> Selection of informants is not based on the researcher's personal judgments but on identifications made by community members. [...] conclusions about cultural understandings of the phenomena of interests are not personal insights of the researcher, or even of particular community members, but are views cross-validated through repeated, in-depth interviews with a broad cross-section of representative informants. Ethnographers may also validate findings through conventional archival research, consultation with experts, use of surveys, and other techniques not unique to ethnography. At the same time, ethnographic interviews are far more in-depth than survey research. Ethnographers respond to charges of subjectivity by emphasizing that their approach eschews preconceived frameworks and derives meaning from the community informants themselves, whereas survey instruments often reflect the conceptual categories preconceived by the researcher prior to actual encounter with respondents (http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/ethno.htm#method2).

5.1.5. Conclusion

Observing the principles given above and guarding against the threats we have mentioned inevitably imposes additional constraints, demanding more time and resources from the researcher, but makes the difficulties still possible to be overcome. I find the introduction to the ethnographic approach and guidelines for guarding against methodological problems by Nunan and LeCompte and Goetz that we have referred to above, most instructive. The methodological framework of ethnographic research seems suitable for qualitative analysis of smaller samples, as it allows us to gain insight beyond the original framework set by the researcher, and to accumulate knowledge. Thus, I hope that ethnography can provide useful also for different research projects in TS and IS, as well as for the study below.

Despite the advantages of this qualitative approach, we must remain aware of the disparity between positivistic research and ethnographic research, as well as essentialism- non-essentialism, and different research principles, which still persists. The gap has even been seen as widening (Nunan 1992). Different discussions on higher education and research principles may illustrate dissenting views even in other connections (cf. e.g. Talvet, Allik in "Posti-mees", 2003–2004). We can but hope that the confrontation will become less acute. Then, psychometry and ethnography will be seen as equally accepted and respected ways of research, both serving the purpose of finding out more about the objects of our study.

5.2. Methods

In tune with the principles of etnographic research (see 5.1. above) we present the choice of methodology and description of the research material in a chronological perspective.

In 2003–2004, I conducted 7 preliminary interviews with people working in intercultural mediation to find out if they also sometimes deal with what can be called liaison interpreting, and if the research questions I had raised would be likely to find answers. These preliminary interviews were not recorded, but field notes were taken. The preliminary interviews provided an essential background for deciding to continue research on the issue and for working out the initial questionnaire and the in-depth interview questions. The results also showed that there are indeed some people who work in the liaison mode of interpreting in Estonia.

Since there is currently no organisation uniting practising liaison interpreters in Estonia, the next task was locating more practitioners. Here, I resorted to
  1) other professional organisations involved in cross-cultural mediation (for example unions of tour guides (membership is predicated on testing both the linguistic and cultural mediation skills every three years), unions of teachers of foreign languages, etc.);
  2) chaining (letting practitioners and clients refer to other practising liaison interpreters they knew as being respected and good at their job).

Thus, institutional affiliation did thus not play any role in choosing participants for the study. Instead, the criteria were at least four years of active practice in the profession as well as a solid professional reputation.

Next, 12 initial questionnaires were sent out to people working in inter-cultural mediation of which 5 were returned (in 2003–2004). The questionnaire is presented in Appendix 2 below. The results are presented in 6.3. below. The results assured me that I was on the right way with the research focus. However, it also became clear that the questionnaire-format did not make it possible to get the full array of explanations, ideas and insights the interpreters might have in relation to their role beyond the explicit questionnaire questions.

In order to enable the participants to express these ideas, and to encourage them to expound on relevant issues, the format of a semi-structured interview[8] seemed the most appropriate. We have carried out, transcribed and analysed 14 in-depth interviews (2005–2006). These interviews make up the bulk of our research material. The transcripts can be found at www.art.ee/thesisdrafts. The

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[8] A semi-structured interview is a mixture of closed and open questions, which enables the researcher to get a free and creative response from the informants. According to Nunan (1992: 28) "It is /.../ likely that responses to open questions will more accurately reflect what the respondent wants to say" and can thus better elicit the responses from the participants – even though responses to closed questions are easier to collate and analyse".

interviews are analysed in detail in 7.1. below. The interview questions are presented also in Appendix 3 below.

Most participants interviewed lived and worked in the two largest (conference) towns of Estonia – Tallinn and Tartu. About 70% of participants had the experience of working as interpreters before the 1990s. Most of the participants were women, as most of the representatives of the profession in this country tend to be. The age of participants ranged from 27 to 58. The majority of participants pointed out that they worked in both the liaison and the conference domains, still, most confirmed the prevalence of assignments and preference to work in the liaison one.

The average duration of an interview was 90 minutes (including the greetings, warm-up, questions by the interviewee). The average duration of recorded time was 45 minutes. All recordings were made openly, with participant permission and consent. The recordings were made with Panasonic microcassette recorder (Model RN-502), on 60-minute Sony microcassettes.

The participants were informed of the focus of the interview – the role of the interpreter – when contacted. This usually took place through e-mail or over the phone. In most cases the participants were willing to share their insights and suggested we meet the same week or even the same day. Other participants (notably from the older generation) wanted to know the questions in advance. In one case, the participant seemed to have prepared the answers in written form at home (in contrast to participants suggesting we meet at once, she had wanted us to meet in a week's time).

The interviews lasted longer than the actual recorded time (arriving, greetings, warm-up, etc.) and we also took some field-notes immediately after the interviews. These field-notes include valuable material concerning the profiles of participants and also their views on and insights into the interpreter's role. In relevant places these comments have been included in the analysis, explicitly marked as field-notes. This includes information the participants wanted to share with the interviewer, yet not to be recorded with their voice on the tape. This includes their comments on their role, but also for example issues related to the Soviet Union. As participants have been promised confidentiality, these materials will not be put up on the Internet, but relevant comments will be referred to in the analysis.

In tune with the principles of ethnographic research (see above), we have let the accumulating knowledge shape the ultimate focus of the study. Thus, the focus shifted during the interviews from the original *whether* there are differences in liaison and conference modes of interpreting as concerns the role-conception of interpreters and the contextualization and communication aspects (as this was explicitly confirmed by 100% of participants) to *what* the diffe-rences are, and *what* the self-descriptions of liaison interpreters tell us about their role, ethics, ideology in the society of Estonia today.

I used convergent interviewing (see principles at http://www.scu.edu.au/ schools/gcm/ar/arp/iview.html), where the principles of keeping the interviewee talking include "pregnant pauses" or non-commital encouraging sounds, as well

as gestures and facial expressions that were not captured on the tape-recorder. One of the first methodological problems encountered was therefore making the transcripts. Even more challenging was translating the participants' extremely colloquial and elliptical Estonian utterances into English. It was a challenge to render instances where the word choice in the original seemed to have made the participant ponder upon it, pause, start again. Anacolutha posed a very similar problem. The solution was to go for the idiomatic where the actual choice of words was natural in the mother tongue version, and try to render some clumsiness, doubt, or lack of cohesion in places where this was conspicuous in the original. Out of the sounds only laughter is marked in the transcripts. Pauses are marked with three dots (…). We have underlined strongly stressed words. Italics mark comments we want the readers to pay special attention to. Participants are numbered following the order the in-depth interviews took place. All excerpts (217) from participant responses used as examples, beginning with initial questionnaires, through in-depth interviews up to follow-up questionnaires are numbered to substantiate our analysis and discussion are numbered.

A problem for me, in the beginning of the analysis, was the fact that the interviews were very colloquial. This made some extracts sound trivial, and I even stopped making the interviews to analyse what results I had gained and whether it was sensible to carry on in the same direction. Yet my supervisor encouraged me to carry on since the results were definitely there. In retrospect it seems to me that the only way to make the participants speak on such a sensitive topic is to have a relatively informal, casual style conversation. In research on interpreting reluctance of practitioners to participate in scientific projects is often underlined (cf. Shlesinger 2004). Probably therefore – to our knowledge – this is one of the first studies inviting practitioners to speak freely on the ambiguities of their professional role. This enabled us to get below the surface in an area many of them confessed they had not even been consciously thinking of, to let participants speak their own mind without intimidating them with terminology or concepts they were not familiar with. The interviews provided a unique opportunity to record the self-perception of their role as interpreters at its very budding, when the processes are still unfolding and feedback is most immediate and sincere, not reworked according to the existing rules.

The next important question was whether to proceed according to the principles of qualitative or quantitative research in the actual analysis. Would qualitative methodology be accepted and, despite the unquestionable insights it offered, considered relevant enough? The assertion of my co-supervisor that for humanists this is a valid and acceptable path to be taken was invaluable for me in the work process – finally, I could start the process of evaluating my data. In the process of gathering and analysing data the courses and feedback at the international doctorate course provided much support.

A major methodological and ethical question was how much to evaluate participant comments in terms of text analysis, concealment, public face. We

decided to remain focused on the primary question – the self-descriptions. We present them at face value, without doubting our participants, without subjecting our respondent feedback to conversation analysis.

Another major decision to be taken before the analysis was whether to proceed topicwise, or draw upon the profile of interviewees as a starting point. We decided in favour of proceeding topicwise. As mentioned above, all examples are numbered. Where relevant, the profiles of interpreters will be drawn upon in seeking to clarify/ analyse their self-descriptions in certain domains. At the end of each question a summary of results will be given for the comfort of the reader. We also present a brief summary of profiling the participants at the end of the study (7.4.; Appendix 1 below).

To enable the readers to clearly follow our reasoning and enable them to follow how our analysis grows out of participant responses we have not opted for the format of presenting the results and analysis in separate parts of the thesis. Such format may be useful with quantitative data analysis. Since our data analysis is qualitative, we present the results and analysis together, as they are integrally interrelated, as is widely practiced in the humanities (to cite a case in point see for instance Piirainen-Marsh 1995).

The data gathering and presenting process where complete neutrality is to be followed is different from the role and discourse the researcher assumes in the analysis phase. Without any opinion the analysis cannot exist. We are aware that, as in our discussion on methodology above (cf. Chesterman, Arrojo 1998, see p. 106 above), data analysis may always be seen to be influenced already by the fact that somebody is analysing it, and researchers, as our object of research and participants – interpreters (cf. Kondo 2003: 83), are often not void of values. While the role of the researcher in the data gathering and presenting stages has to be neutral, the analysis unavoidably involves some values and opinions. That we have our own life experience, as well as experience as an interpreter, may thus to some extent unavoidably have supported (or influenced) us in reaching some conclusions in the analysis. Awareness can hopefully help us to self-monitor the work process. We have tried to safeguard against unwanted researcher influence by trying to keep the discourses separated, and making the original transcripts available for anyone willing to probe deeper into the matter at www.art.ee/thesistranscripts.

A year after the interviews (2006), a follow-up questionnaire was administered by e-mail among our informants. This yielded 8 responses. The results are presented in 7.2. below. The questionnaire with quantitative results is presented in Appendix 4 below.

Today, Estonia does not have a clearly formulated Code of professional conduct as a separate document. The rules of interpreter interaction are never-theless explicit, as presented at the homepage of the Estonian Association of Translators and Interpreters (www.ettl.ee) and introduced at our interpreter training courses. Since the principles – in our view – bear a strong resemblance to what in IS is referred to as the transfer, conduit, Code, code or machine model of interpreting (cf. e.g. Wadensjö 1998, Tate and Turner 19976/2002,

et al.), but also what in many sources (cf. ibid.) is described to be the prevalent conception behind many Codes of ethics or Codes of professional conduct, for the sake of brevity, we refer to these principles in our paper as the Code or Code model.

Estonian third person singular (that was used by our informants in the original) is neutral in terms of sex. To respect the rules of political correctness, we have chosen to refer to the third person singular in most interpreter quotes as "he". This is to counterbalance the fact that all of our participants are female due to which we resort to participants using the pronoun "she". Where possible and not in contradiction with original respondent tonality, we use the plural.

5.3. Research Material

The research material thus consists of
1) preliminary interviews (7), not recorded;
2) initial questionnaires (5), see summary of the results in 6.3. and the questionnaire format in Appendix 2 below.
3) The core of our research material is comprised of the 14 in-depth interviews (transcripts available at www.art.ee/thesistranscripts), excerpts and examples (217) relevant to our analysis are presented in Part II 7.2.– 7.3.
4) A year after the in-depth interviews a follow-up questionnaire was administered to participants. This yielded 8 responses, which are discussed in 7.3. below and also presented with the questionnaire in Appendix 4 below. For more details please see 5.2. above.

6. INTERVIEW RESULTS

Below, the interview results will be discussed topicwise.

We used the following abbreviations:

I= Interviewer; P1= Participant 1, P2= Participant 2, etc.

Q1 = Question 1, Q2 = Question 2, etc.

FQ1 -Follow-up question 1, etc.

6.1. Background

As we have seen in the theoretical overview in Part I above, the main controversies concerning the role of interpreter that have been discussed in research point to ambiguities concerning
* the interpreter's role and the Code (Wadensjö 1998, Tate and Turner 1997/2002);
* the role and interaction (Wadensjö 1998, Linell 1997, 1998),
* power (Anderson 1976/2002),
* neutrality (Wadensjö 1998, Cronin 2002, Jones 2004),
* the translator's self (Jones 2004) as well as the broader societal dimension (Cronin 2002, Jones 2004, Pym 1997, 2004),
* the global processes and transfer (export/import) (Lambert 1991),
* the changing role-model of liaison and dialogue interpreters around the world (Katan- Staniero-Sergio 2001, Bulut and Kurultay 2003), or modifications of it and questions related to this (Tate and Turner 1997/2002, Pöllabauer 2003, 2006),
* entwined with all the above, ethics – the obligation to perform the task to the best of one's abilities and understanding.

These are also the aspects we will be focusing on in the interviews with our participants and the analysis of their self-descriptions. The self descriptions will be viewed against the background of Estonia as a transition society (Lauristin 1997, Veebel 2005), as well as the democratisation and individualisation processes in Western Europe in general (Van Deth, Scarbrough 1995).

6.2. The stages of research:

The research was carried out in three stages:
1. preliminary interviews (7) and questionnaires (5) (2003–2004)

2. in-depth interviews (14) (2005–2006)
3. follow-up questionnaires (8) (2006)

We hope that the diachronic dimension and the three different stages of research will help us safeguard validity and reliability. Both questionnaires are presented in the appendix. The results of the initial questionnaire are presented before and the results of the follow up questionnaire after the main body of our research – the analysis of the in-depth interviews.

6.3. The results of the initial questionnaire

The initial questionnaire was sent out to prospective interview candidates. Our main goal was to find out if the research questions would seem relevant and if there are practitioners ready to expound on the topics concerned. 12 questionnaires were sent out and 5 were returned. All 12 practitioners later agreed to give the interview. As reasons for not filling in the form they stated that they had thought they were not eligible since they didn't work in the conference domain. Thus, we hope that in addition to the preliminary insights that the research questions were justified, their answers also support the belief that the choice of methodology – interviews – enabled more informants to voice their opinions. The networking principle that allowed us to find this group in the first place, also proved valuable.

The views participants shared with us seemed to justify our quest for the modalities of liaison interpreting. Below a brief summary of the results of the pilot questionnaire is given. Participant numbers indicate the same persons as in our interview analysis.

5 participants pointed out that they specialise in the liaison domain. All of them supported the right of the interpreter to mediate beyond the linguistic level. They reported that they do face situations where they have to violate the principle of mediating between the primary parties only, since "only through translating the words/ sentence the messages would not be understood" (P1). Participants (P1, P5, P8, P12) confirmed that they make additions to explain the cultural and political context – for example when asked questions by clients while travelling from one interpreting venue to another (P1, P10), or during the work process (P5, P8, P12). P8 points out that in liaison interpreting situations the interpreter is also expected to fulfil the role of a cultural mediator:

> **1.** P8: This happens rather often. This is usually related to people asking clarifying questions – they themselves ask me to tell them more about the background of some Estonian politician, or historical facts (once I had to give them a nearly 10-minute lecture on the Molotov-Ribbentropp Pact). Usually I do not show my own initiative, and just, properly, only interpret. However, participants often turn to me with their questions… Usually the clients themselves initiate a sub-dialogue, taking into consideration my background as a tour-guide. They say "tell him about"….For example "tell him about this monument, tell him about the relations between Estonia and

Armenia". Sometimes they even ask me for details: "what year was this?", "what was her first name" and so on.

Most practitioners believed such "transgressions" should be allowed. In their view this would allow communication to be natural:

> **2.** P5: If people turn directly to me with a question, I believe it is allowed because it is natural this way.

Sometimes this may also be inevitable for getting the message across:

> **3.** P12: Such a transgression is inevitable, this is building a bridge – because the goal is mediating messages not spending time speaking.

There are also sub-dialogues initiated by interpreters themselves (P1, P8):

> **4.** P8: Ordinarily they ask themselves, but if something remains unclear I ask them if they would want me to clarify it.

Everything depends on the spirit of the event (P8). In liaison situations ignoring interpreter visibility might ruin the naturalness of the situation (P5). P1 points out that the interpreter is part of the communication:

> **5.** P1: the interpreter should not be in the foreground, but he is a part of the whole.

> **6.** P5: Of course the interpreter should be in the background and play the role of the mediator. At the same time he can't become completely invisible, because of the fact that at least in liaison-situations he is there – visible. The work-process (also in the case of interpreting) should still remain natural.

> **7.** P8: If it is a very official event, where the protocol has to be followed, the machine model may be justified. If the situation is not that official, the interpreter is an equal partner, not a dictionary, especially so when the client himself wants to communicate.

To describe the relationship between the liaison interpreter and the client, all five respondents (P1, P5, P8, P10, P12) chose the version: "the interpreter should definitely be neutral, but for more precise mediation they may sometimes be forced to intrude in order to be able to convey the message more exactly". More specifically, they describe their relationship with clients as "collegial" (P1, P12), "very friendly. Natural, not forced. At the same time focused on the matter" (P5). The differences depend on the event: "Usually extremely official or then very informal and friendly" (P8). Participants pointed to the benefits of working with the same clients:

> **8.** P1: Then I already know the background information – it's easier.

> **9.** P5: When you already know your client it is easier to tune in to your work, while you already know the topic range, the working style of the client, his character and so on. *If there is a more relaxed atmosphere I see*

the interpreter as a mediator who conveys not only the words and ideas of the speaker, but also for example the tonality of the message ([what is conveyed by his] facial expression, tone, etc.).

10. P12: Then I do not have to begin with – so to say – probing. Knowing the background reinforces the interpreting process, the situation has less tension and can focus on the goal.

At the same time, our pilot group stressed the importance of respecting the primacy of client-to-client mediation. They remain rather client-oriented and stress the importance of interpreter neutrality:

11. P8: Yes, but this must be in harmony with the wishes of the client – [I communicate more] only if the client so wishes. Or if the interpreter will see that something remains incomprehensible, then indeed one could clarify on one's own behalf. Of course in every situation the client has to clearly understand what is interpreted information and what is added by the interpreter.

While more lenient communication principles were accepted with some reservations, fully following the machine model met with outspoken criticism:

12. P12: These underlying "principles" are hostile to interpreting, exactly hostile – they prevent us from reaching the heart of the matter. Provided, of course, that the goal of why people have come together is to exchange information, solve problems, promote cooperation. It would be easier for the interpreter to be " a wall-paper" – the responsibility would be smaller".

Participant reactions to these questions in the pilot questionnaire seemed quite promising for us for probing deeper into the matter. However, there were no comments on interpreting in the Soviet period, or comparing the Soviet period to today. We still – *in spe* – decided to include the question on how interpreters perceive their role regarding the socio-political changes in the interviews. Also, the question on the role of interpreters in society yielded answers suggesting that further study might possibly yield more results:

13. P5: Well…Just like this you don't notice them in society. Maybe then indeed – "the interpreter does not exist"? But actually I think that the interpreter is in the role of the mediator.

14. P8: The mediator of the political-, cultural and scientific dialogue. A bridge between cultures.

15. P12: The one who builds a bridge.

We also asked participants about issues they themselves suggest we should probe deeper into. For P12 this could be related to the fact that the interpreter's role is not always being fully acknowledged:

16. P12: The interpreter as an essential tool – whether and to which extent do Estonian presenters understand that he has this role?

P8 would be interested in exploring the borders of formality:

17. P8: The borders of formality: for example when the client invites me to lunch or coffee.

Thus, the results of the pilot questionnaire tentatively suggested that there existed both a number of informants and that there was a readiness to discuss the whole range of topics we intended to cover. The search for answers to our research questions could begin.

7. ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS
OF THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Below, the results of the in-depth interviews will be presented.

7.1. Interview questions:

1) Have you been thinking of the *interpreter's role* before? How have you personally explained/ conceptualised this for yourself?
2) Liaison/ conference interpreting – which do you specialise in? Are there any differences? If yes, what kind of differences are there? Are there differences in your *role* as interpreter in these situations?
3) In the light of the basic rules of interpreter interaction, are there any contradictions between what you must not do according to the rules, and what real-life situations may suggest you do in order to help your clients? (Which is your role?)
4) How would you describe the interpreter's (your) relationship with the client? Is your role just "putting the text into another language"? Something else? What?
5) The interpreter and ethics. In your role as an interpreter, have you ever faced ethical dilemmas (e.g. when you understand that one of the parties is telling a lie/is trying to deceive the other)? How do you solve such problems? How do you conceptualise this in relation to your role as interpreter?
6) The role and your*self*. Have you ever felt a contradiction (e.g. very sad events)? If yes, how do you handle the situation? How does this relate to the Code? (Can you always help participants to the best of your capacity? (Could you tell me more about interpreter neutrality, power?))
7) The interpreter is…? Could you give me a metaphor?
8) The interpreter and society. Have interpreting situations in Estonia changed from the beginning of the 1990s? Have clients changed? Do you think this has influenced your role as interpreter? How?
9) Interpreting as export-import. Do you feel you are mediating between societies/ philosophies/ ethical dimensions? What is the role of interpreters in that?
10) Is there anything else you would like to comment on? Did we speak about everything you feel is relevant to your role as an interpreter? Maybe we left out something important for you?[9]

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[9] Since the interviews were semi-structured, participants were free to elaborate on the questions and add relevant information where they felt it was needed. Additional questions under each block of questions were only asked when participants did not cover relevant topics in their explanations. However, participants most often did cover the topics in a rather thorough analysis on their own (see the transcripts at www.art.ee/thesistranscripts).

In some instances generalising and abstract discussions on the role proved to be relatively uncomfortable for the participants, so in many cases reference to their everyday practice helped interpreters answer the questions and then move from the level of the individual to more abstract levels.

In some of the excerpts interpreters mention incidents during their career which were most challenging or where they felt the ambiguity most clearly. Some of these definitely verge on the borderline of what is allowed in interpreter-mediated encounters. Nevertheless, these private admittances should in no way be used to condemn the interpreters in terms of professionalism. I truly hope that the reader does not hasten to pinpoint any such instances as merely contradicting the Code but can appreciate the value of insights by a number of professionals with a view to learning more about what *is* the true part and parcel of our profession, rather than what is *supposed to be*. Thanks to the courage and willingness of our participants to go below the surface of the professional dilemmas we can possibly not only develop a deeper view of our everyday work but perhaps even arrive at some relevant insights for improving our professional codes and training. Therefore I wish to express the deepest thanks to all the participants for willing to participate and share, and for being so open and not protectionist when speaking about aspects of their professional role and moments in their everyday work that may not have been the easiest for them.

We will move through the questions topicwise, bringing out and commenting on the informant responses to each round of questions separately. We will then briefly summarise the results for each question separately and later generalise the responses in a conclusion. Participant responses are normally given in the order of carrying out the interviews. Only in places where the responses can be explicitly grouped following some common trait, this has been done for the comfort of the reader. To give the reader the maximum gist of the tonality of participant reports, we sometimes also use participant quotes in the remarks (in that case designated with quotation marks).

7.2. Interview results:

7.2.1. Conceptualising the role

Q1: Have you been thinking about the <u>interpreter's role</u> before? How have you personally explained/ conceptualised this for yourself?

Many participants reported that they *had* thought about the role of interpreter before. P1 and P7 did not answer the question directly, starting to analyse the modalities and implications of the role immediately. P3 (who has the longest career as an interpreter of all participants) admits that she has not been consciously thinking of the role of interpreter before:

18. P3: I had not thought about the role of interpreter directly. But – *life itself gives the interpreter a role, and first and foremost this is the role of a mediator.* It is important that communication between partners or representatives of different nationalities who do not understand each other's language would take place. *Under no circumstances may the interpreter start to dominate in this situation – this is definitely certain. He may not be on one or another partner's side, even if she, naturally, knows her employer best. But he does not represent the interests of the employer but must remain neutral in the interpreting process.*

P3's description adheres to the Code. This was the participant ho demanded that she receive the questions earlier and some of her answers in the beginning of the interview seemed to be pre-prepared – at least they were relatively well verbalised and thought through in comparison to the spontaneous responses of other participants. Many other participants were not really sure about how to go about the discussion in the beginning of the interview. For example, the way P2 reacts to the question is typical in the sense that the respondent is first relatively ambiguous when discussing the role at the abstract level. She thus hints at an abstract understanding of her role, which she yet finds difficult to verbalise explicitly. She also refers to her role in another mode of cross-cultural communication (tour-guiding). (Indeed many of our participants refer to their other professional roles when positioning their role as an interpreter):

19. I: Had you ever thought about the interpreter's role before receiving this questionnaire, or was it something absurd and strange?
P2: No it wasn't, actually. *It means that if I have to write it clearly down on paper, it is more complicated, while then I have to think so… in a linear way… be definite.* It's just because *it is more difficult to explain in retrospect.* Especially while I do tour-guiding as well, then *this perception, it kind of evades.*

Similarly to her, P8 admits she has not been thinking of the role of interpreter. For her, this is a relatively new question to be raised:

20. P8: No, generally not. I had not been interested in this.
I: So my questions were rather unexpected?
P8: Yes.

Yet, the continuation of the interview with P2 seems to suggest that P2 (as the majority of our participants) has developed clear and ready-made strategies for successful cross-cultural and cross-linguistic communication:

21. P2: Actually it's indeed that…that you are this tool. In a way [...] as if you were indeed a dictionary. But actually it's not so. Actually you are the tool which also mediates culture, all the nuances, the one who should give the right picture.

The role is envisioned clearly and the Code demands have been measured against real-life experience to arrive at a mature conclusion. As the interview

develops, many participants get carried away by their own insights, they want to expound longer on the answers, they invite the interviewer to engage in conversation with them. It seems that the participants enjoy being able to talk on issues that have been problematic for them during their career or have raised questions and made them face dilemmas in specific interpreting situations. Also P8 verbalises her conception very clearly in the course of the interview. P8 sees the task of interpreter as follows:

> **22.** P8: I still think that the interpreter's task is not to produce a calque of some notions or stories from one language into the other. It is rather to find the equivalent – in the language she can better – so that people would understand what it's all about. It's not so much about this term meaning this and that, but it still seems to me that the interpreter has to find the equivalent to the notions in a broader way. At the same time she may not introduce things on her own initiative, I still think, not to a too great extent.

The reaction of P5 is in a way similar to P2 and P8. First there is some ambiguity and doubt in expressing her opinion, yet this turns into a well thought-through conception of her role (both concerning her professional and personal self). Observe this through her answer to the question if she has been pondering upon the role of the interpreter earlier:

> **23.** P5: No, I hadn't been…pondering on this so much, I don't think so. But, well, I had been pondering upon that…how much I should be kind of…in the background or how much I should be kind of …*Whether I should be neutral when a person is telling about something funny, well that – I am in the same rhythm and style with them* [the primary parties], *not* that I'm …well…*just standing somewhere "far away" and…*
> I: So that you have been thinking of this and come to the conclusion that you should be "in the same rhythm"?
> P5: Yes. Or that kind of…in fact *I am definitely a mediator, and I am definitely a participant in the process* – or I see it like this. *On this depends… so much.* You can't be just someone there at the back.

As the feeling of security in expressing the belief that being a "detached someone at the back" would not yield intended communication outcomes grows, P5 begins expressing this view more firmly and indeed this becomes the main aspect of the role brought out by her during the interview. It is also conspicuous that many of our participants ground their views in the aspect of what is "natural" or "human/humane" in communication. So does P5:

> **24.** P5: It simply felt right. Of course I…perceive that I may not dominate – and this is not the goal or…of course not at all. But I think it would be weird otherwise. That...that if an interpreter is needed, it means that she's needed and there must be trust.

Simultaneously with expressing the belief in the naturalness of communication, the interpreter refers to the essentials of interpreter mediated communication,

which are in tune with the social-interactionist approach advocated by Linell 1997 (see above). P5 stresses the role of clients in appreciating and trusting the interpreter. In her view, communication can only succeed and be natural in a triad which believes in itself, in its roles, yet at the same time sees the human being inside each of these roles. Beyond this, the excerpts by P5 seem to illustrate some experimenting with the role and role adaptation to reach the level of optimal performance in specific interpreting situations (cf. our discussion on Ibarra 1999 on provisional selves and professional adaptations in 4.2. above). A parallel can be made to Satu Leinonen's http://www.uta.fi/~liisa.tiittula/style/index.htm research on cultural differentiation and adaptation processes and social identity construction in intercultural interaction. Leinonen studies how "participants construct their social role in relation to others in institutional interaction" (ibid.) and concludes that

> One of the most significant ways to present identity is through the style of communication employed, which is regarded as "good" or "appropriate" behaviour (ibid.).

P9, P10 and P4 have been thinking of the interpreter's role departing from real-life situations:

> **25.** P9: Yes. I have especially thought about it when in different situations. You – in a way – start to position yourself. [...] There will be so many of these roles. For example when the organiser leaves – the organiser or intermediator – then there is such a…*Then the interpreter is left between the two [parties/tasks]. In actual fact I'm neutral. But then it is like – I am given a role "ask them what they think".*

P9 reports that she is often asked to assist also in practical situations, which makes her feel responsible for communication beyond the interpreted event. For her, the role is different depending on interpreting situations and primary parties, which interpreters adjust themselves to:

> **26.** P9: There will be so many of these roles. And then when an Estonian has a problem you also start feeling….responsibility, that probably this [problem] should also be mediated. You are not simply so that when the seminar is over, it's over. This is like…you start to mediate. [...] You feel that the role is not so that you "stand in front of [the audience] and till the end". This is such kind of a…This is such kind of a – when you stay together [with the training session] audience and trainers at the hostel, then it occurs. If you come and leave it does not".

The role is discussed in relation to the function, context and commission of the interpreting situation. Transitions and adaptations (cf. Ibarra 1999 in 4.2. above) as well as interpreter ethics and considerations on active participation (cf. 3.3. above) can be seen relevant.

For analysing P5 and P9 also our discussion on front stage and backstage, as well as the performer taken by his own act and the cynical performer (Goffman

1959, cf. 4.2. above) prove directly relevant. The scope of interaction allowed may depend on shared backstage experiences, the interpersonal relations created there may influence interpreter decisions related to interaction.

Also P10 points out that the role differs depending on the situation:

> **27.** P10: I have been thinking about it, but *it is different each time*. I have thought that…*the interpreter is like an intellectual guide in fact*. If we work in conference interpreting there is direct working, but if we do whispered interpreting, which is also simultaneous in my view, then the role *is to be a guide and mediator between two cultures*. Especially now when I have been interpreting from Swedish into Estonian and so, and when you can see – when there is an explaining comment – right looking at the client that he does not get it. And then I have done so that – *at the permission of the client* and of the one who is being interpreted – *I have briefly gone in retrospect into history or…or country study*.

She explains how a typically Swedish term has confused the client. The interpreter has seen as part of her role to recognise the confusion caused by the term and resorted to cultural explicitation to overcome the difficulty:

> **28.** P10: For example [...] we spoke about maypole and the client knew nothing about maypole. Then we also spoke about Midsummer – and the confusion became even bigger. Then I simply had to explain what a maypole is and that…even though we are Northern countries so close to each other, the celebration of such an important event like Midsummer is totally different. And this is then, in my view, like the role of a guide – you make a little excursion also into history and country study.

P10 makes an interesting observation on intuition and reading the clients' body language, which may guide interpreter decisions (see similar references to intuition by P4, P6 and P13 below, ex. 78, 66, 34).

Also P4 envisions the role proceeding from real-life situations. She admits she has perceived a controversy between her personal and professional self. While reconciliation can be achieved at the outer, verbal level, there is a definite borderline the interpreter may perceive in situations that confront her own ethics. Or, as in this case, also political views/ideology:

> **29.** P4: [the client] went into such contradiction with my own beliefs and worldview [...] and then *I felt that it is me and the role*, and that I must convey exactly what he says, in words, and how he feels. But luckily …this was a little – not so very formal, I knew the people I was interpreting for, we had a friendly relationship – and later they were just laughing telling me that my face [laughter] had been twisted in a grimace. So probably somehow, *while this was so appalling for me, it still sought its way out somehow*. Because I tried to express what he …*but it was so much in contradiction with ...me* that it was indeed so difficult.

At the personal self level, and partly through joking, P4 is in fact referring to the dichotomy discussed also in Goffman 1959 (cf. 4.2. above). Our participant

would, in Goffman's terms, fall between the "cynical performer" deliberately deceiving the audience and the sincere one "taken by his own act". She is striving to streamline with the professional Code of conduct and faithfully convey what the speaker is uttering. At the same time, her personal ethics contradict the speaker's viewpoints to the extent that her body language starts giving away signals of a mismatch between what the interpreter is saying and what she actually believes in. The front and manner do not perform the front stage up to the level demanded, and backstage (also, probably encouraged by the fact that the other primary party are her friends) sets in. There is a togetherness, a dialogical creating of frameworks (cf. Linell 1998: 86–87, cf. 3.1.4. above) taking place.

We again see that the interpreter is becoming a part of the backstage (cf. our discussion on Goffman 1959 in 4.1. above) of the participants. The example by P9 where the interpreter is invited to help in solving the everyday problems at the seminar, or help with ordering at the restaurant, suggest that in the liaison situation the job is not always completed when the presentations have been interpreted. At the same time one has to keep resorting to the front stage and be part of it when performing the task of a neutral tool – presenting an immaculate front, manner and performance. Even if the interpreter may not neglect the professional front in backstage situations, one has to perceive what is the tonality on the formal-informal scale. This is where, we suggest, their ability to resort to the personal and professional self adequately again becomes crucial and their ability to sense the right tonality and choose and adequate communication model may decide the success of cooperation.

Indeed, the majority of the "grey area" (cf. Tate and Turner 1997/2002 in 3.2.2.) burning points of the profession that the interpreters have been referring to in the interviews seem to often refer to this very same issue. There does not seem to be any conflict of power in the sense of Anderson (1976/2002) or Cronin (1998/2002) in 3.1.2. and 3.2.3. above. In general the interpreters are determined to follow the principles of neutrality and impartiality, and they try not to let the interpreting situation to be influenced by their own personality. Still, in situations of great ethical weight (or affect, see below) the conflict between their personal self and the professional self emerges – at times causing great stress, or in more extreme cases even revealing the inner conflict of the interpreter to the audience (as was the case with the event discussed in the excerpt (by P4, ex. 29) above – which although, due to the less formal nature of the interpreted event (the other primary party being her friends), did not lead to a communication breakdown or in any other way seriously endanger the professional front of the interpreter (cf. Goffman 1959 in Chapter 4 above)).

P11, on the other hand, relates her conception of the interpreter's role directly to interpreter training:

> **30.** P11: When I studied interpreting at the university we were told a lot about the role of the interpreter. Before that I didn't think of it at all. I started working as an interpreter and at the same time I entered the university and

started to learn interpreting, there we were already told about what the role of the interpreter is and how one must behave.

P11 has accepted the role model taught at interpreter training courses, and seems to adhere to it throughout the interview. When asked if what was taught to her matches her life experience and professional experience, P11 prefers to focus on not quite satisfactory client behaviour in conference interpreting:

> **31.** P11: Theory and practice do not always match. We have been taught to have certain demands, and that we must be given all the materials at least two weeks in advance – this does not happen always and usually you get the papers two days before the conference at best, and in the worse case in the previous evening or even in the morning of the event – then it is already too late.

At the same time, P11 does not fight for changing the situation:

> **32.** P11: You can't always demand it. It's simply a job like this and…there's nothing to do. If you start demanding, next time you won't be employed.

P12 conceptualises her role as an interpreter in relation to her other roles in life. The interpreter's role for her is to convey messages:

> **33.** P12: Yes, definitely. One has to think of the interpreter's role, as of all the roles here in life, while a person does not only comprise of one aspect, but has very different activities and roles. So does the interpreter. And the role of interpreter – well, how shall we put this – is the interpreter merely an echo, a very adequate word-to-word mediator or is he something a little more? Mostly he is still something more – he is still more than a word-for-word translator, which often can even lead people astray. Instead he is mediating a message.

P13 has been thinking of her role as an interpreter – both in relation to her other roles (tour-guide) as well as in practical working situations. She mentions that she has been concerned about possibly introducing too much cultural explicitation and "keeping the group together". P13 states this is necessary for a better conveyance of the message (see below). At the same time she doubts if such behaviour is fully accepted by the Code. A reference to both the "official situations" and training is made – which seems to suggest some insecurity as to what is right according to rules. Without formal training, intuition is followed – "I simply try to do it as well as possible".

> **34.** P13: I've been actually thinking…thinking quite a lot, especially when I….well, have faced it simultaneously with my role of a tour-guide or in some other situation [...]. But especially in those …those official situations – [I've been thinking about] whether what I'm doing is right, whether I am acting too much in addition to this. And while I, well, I don't have this theoretical background – I would like to learn it all, but I don't have it – then I simply try to do it as well as possible.

P13 expresses some doubt over whether her active involvement is acceptable. Note that her remark on "acting" makes interesting parallels to our discussion on Goffman (1959) in Chapter 4 above. The interpreter's strive to make participants focus more through this also relates to the importance of comfort, but also the aspect of visibility (cf. Angelelli 2004 in 3.1.6. above).

P13 points to the necessity of training liaison interpreters. Indeed the very reports of our participants seem to be sketching interesting models of the interpreter's role in our context. Defining this can help us work out better developed models and guidelines for best practice. Also training programmes for liaison interpreters training could be designed.

Without knowing if it is allowed according to the rules, yet feeling the compulsion from real-life interpreting situations, P13 also emphasises the communicative model of liaison interpreting:

> **35.** P13: Say, especially when I am a group-leader, when I'm a tour-guide and I will have to interpret then I…kind of go along with the text. And when the person who is giving the speech makes a joke then I…I also forward it in the same way. *And one thing which I probably should not do at all, but which I have done, is that …*that I add some comments myself. *I confess I do this! And especially* so in a museum or on an excursion *when I know that the other guide is speaking in a way that does not explain the context, then I add my explanations.*

For P14 the role is something she has "grown into" through her experience of being the cultural and linguistic bridge for the family already since her childhood:

> **36.** P14: This has developed out of practice itself. That because I come from an international home where we had – well, all kinds of people. And usually it was the role of us, the children, to… unite in a way and so…

Due to this integral perception P14 sees her job as a mission rather than a profession:

> **37.** P14: I cannot …see this as a profession. For me, the task of the interpreter is to be the mediator between people, the one who connects and unites.

The ethical dimension, the discussion on the scope of mediating between societies and cultures (cf. Chapter 1–2 above) as well as our discussion on roles and social identity (Chapter 4) can all be seen as offering a possible background for understanding P14's motives.

As shown above, many participants report that they have not been consciously thinking of the role of the interpreter (P1,P2, P3, P5, P7, P11). Rather, they have let the role-conception be formed during different interpreting situations (P3, P9, P10, P12, P13). An interesting "on-line" moment of conceptualisation-analysis occurs, where after some thinking and searching for it a rather deep perception of one's role is arrived at. The self-descriptions

suggest that many informants see themselves as participants in interaction (P2, P4, P5, P6, P10, P13, P14). Certain situations in life have urged them to analyse and conceptualise their role. This is often related to how much is allowed or not for them (P9, P4, P5, P13). Importantly, many participants (P1, P2, P4, P5, P8, P9, P10, P12, P14) here point to a certain contradiction between the "Code" rules and their own choices. Still, they tend to be convinced that their choices have been justified in that they have enabled client interaction and communication.

The role conception entails a belief in the primacy of the role of a mediator. The front and manner (professional self) may be left in the background in order to enable effective communication enforced in harmony with the personal self.

7.2.2. Liaison vs. conference interpreting

Q2: Liaison/ conference interpreting – which do you specialise in? Are there any differences? If yes, what differences are there? Are there differences in your <u>role</u> as interpreter in these situations?

Interpreters expressed the opinion that liaison interpreting is mostly less formal than conference interpreting, and even if it is not, there is a greater sense of belonging together, and being a group member than in conference interpreting. The latter mode was described as "really – there you are a machine, a dictionary" (P1, P4, P6). Some interpreters even stressed that in the conference mode they do not evaluate the text cognitively or emotionally beyond the contextual equivalence search:

> **38.** P1: What evaluation! There you lose your thinking! You simply "shoot", and try to find the best equivalence! This is where you are a machine. I say – you don't think there.

When speaking about communication, the booth, nicknamed the "box", was often referred to as limiting (yet not eliminating) communication:

> **39.** P2: Well, I wouldn't imagine how…Indeed, when you're for example interpreting for the European Parliament, some kind of a…then you will be sitting in that box and indeed …well then you even <u>can't </u>smile to anyone – as no-one can see you. But unavoidably, your tone of voice will still convey something.

Speaking about liaison interpreting, P4 remarks:

> **40.** P4: Well I like to interpret more in this situation. Because then my personality exists as well [...]. I have not been dealing with this theoretically and so so much. But I remember the conferences and the more formal [interpreting] situations – I 've been disturbed by that there's this

responsibility. *That I somehow…become stressed already just because of the responsibility".*

P5 seems to be somewhat critical of the conference mode of interpreting. She points to the limits of communication from the booth:

> **41.** P5: In this way there is [the difference] that at a conference…one can only hear the interpreter. So in this respect there is and this is why I like to do consecutive more than…I have tried conference interpreting, but…
> I: By "consecutive" do you mean liaison, in a smaller group?
> P5: Yes, right. Either in a smaller group or somewhere at a seminar or…or like this. *Where you can see at once, that something is going on, that there is communication. In this respect it is more interesting to participate as an interpreter – instead of just sitting in a glass box, wearing headphones, in front of the mike". [10]*

Again, what is emphasised is communication, participation, that something is going on, the fact that something is interesting. There is a connection between the *self* and the role, between the interpreter's personal and professional self. Could we see a parallel here between the growing individualisation processes referred to in Part I above (cf. Chapter 2, Chapter 4)? Probably there is a link to striving for personal self-fulfilment, for autonomous work roles, for the freedom to choose one's tailor-made identity (cf. Ibarra 1999 in 4.2. above). Our participants are not afraid of being different, they are not afraid to express views that go against the "mainstream" as regards the Code and the more static view of their role, to experiment with their identity and make professional adaptations (cf. ibid.). They are ready to question what is incongruent with their own experience in real-life situations. Participants tend to be convinced that they are right (cf. Jones 2004 in 3.2.4. above) and this supports both their personal and professional self. This way they combine their flexible work roles. Participants remain at the service of their clients – yet, clients are seen as partners and not as detached power figures (cf. Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2001 in 3.1.4 above).

P6 classifies interpreting situations according to her role and interaction:

> **42.** P6: Let's say there are …..say am…official and unofficial events".

P9 claims that it is not only the interpreting mode, but also the clients who determine the difference (cf. also her comments on interpreting a private conversation of upper-market clients below). She comments on conference interpreting:

> **43.** P9: But of course, when you are working in a booth at a conference, then you are like a computer. Then *you don't have any personality to back you up*. But at a seminar there is…you will have a personal relationship at once.

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[10] Note that P9, P5 and P1 use "seminar" interpreting for referring to ("expert" liaison)

However, it is not only the mode of interpreting but also the context, status and behaviour of clients that may influence potential interpreter inclusion. Referring to interpreting between clients with high-ranking positions, P9 points out that there the interpreter was "a machine" even if it was a private conversation:

> **44.** P9: *And then I felt how I as a human being did not exist at all*…It was very good, because at a training you don't even perceive this…ever. [...] The whole channel [of communication] was between the two of them.

Later in the interview P9 mentions that she believes the conference mode calls for better language skills, especially in the simultaneous mode.

Similarly to P11 above, P10 points to the stress in conference situations which ensues from clients not observing the rules (e.g. handing in their speeches the night before and even then speaking on a totally different topic). She mentions that such treatment does not suit her personality:

> **45.** P10: There is definitely a big difference, but with the conference [mode] there is this thing that *there are many problems that are not acceptable for my kind of a person.* [...] It does not concern understanding but rather this harrassment that has already taken place.

P10 feels that group cooperation is essential. She stresses that a good and relaxed communication situation is good for the clients as well as interpreting quality. She continues her explanation:

> **46.** P10: But "wall paper" – this in my opinion very well relates to conference interpreting, when *you are enclosed into a stuffy, often totally unpleasant, cramped room. There is often even no room for your things* because actually one would need room for at least four A4 pages so that you can have separate materials there, and there could be a small drawer somewhere where you could have your dictionary. And if there is the situation when you've got the materials in the last minute and there 's a second of thinking, the "wall-paper" is given an evil look over the shoulder. *And if it's a success, when the interpreting is over, everyone will walk out without even giving the "wall paper" a look.*

The difference of conference and liaison settings is summarised as follows:

> **47.** P10: It's rather that on the conference one is service personnel and this is what the attitude towards you is – "wall paper" or service personnel, right. Of course there are also those who can evaluate it professionally – and sometimes people come and thank you. But then…if you are *in liaison then actually it is always so that there will be time. When the immediate interpreting work is done – a few words will be exchanged, the relationship is human in a way.* Here one is definitely not….there is no client – service-provider relationship.

Interestingly, P10 brings in the comparison to the service sector (see our discussion in 4.2.1.-4-2-4 in Part I above). P10 reports on the audience treating

her as " service personnel" in conference settings, and as participant in liaison settings. For P10, the latter mode seems more rewarding and we could also claim that her personal and professional self seem to be better balanced in the latter.

P11 reports she mainly works in the conference domain, but she also accepts assignments in the liaison mode. She points to the different level of formality in these modes:

> **48.** P11: Yes, there definitely is [a difference]. Because when you interpret at a conference or a seminar you are simply an interpreting machine. Exactly, as our teacher says, the interpreter is a machine. [...] But if there is a smaller event here in Estonia, where I do consecutive, people tend to think that I am part of this event. [...] Then they start asking questions, and…

For P11 what the teacher has said is the truth and the clients simply breach the rules if they expect more interaction. She does not think that the interpreter has the right to choose whether to follow the Code or interaction model. At the same time, P11's comment suggests that the interpreting audience in liaison settings expects more interaction than is traditionally taught at the official training programmes. This is further confirmed by instances she reports where clients have not been satisfied with her and valued highly another, more communicative interpreter (see below, ex. 104), or where clients have been annoyed at her for not establishing a sufficient communicative relationship, and even asked her to put away the note-book and look at them instead (field notes).

Also for P12 there is a difference between a conference and a liaison interpreter. In the initial questionnaire she expresses this rather clearly:

> **49.** P12: It seems that the differences are evident: 1) the skills in both languages have to be perfect; 2) the interpreter is a "dictionary" – in conference interpreting creativity is a disadvantage; 3) conference interpreting is well-suited for introverts.

In the interview, however, P12 remains more neutral:

> **50.** P12: There certainly is a difference between liaison and conference interpreting. And then there are these different roles. Because interpreting in liaison, in a role that's more free, you have to depart from the audience. The audiences are very different. Sometimes groups of friends meet – well, let's say for example that gardeners meet gardeners, or…whatever – people who already know each other. *And when the interpreter would be there very much of an official, very conventional – it would ruin the atmosphere and would become…would make the atmosphere freezing. Or at least the interpreter himself would have a negative and hindering effect on it.* This is what I think. But conference interpreting – there the interpreter should be in the background as much as possible, as adequate as possible, as…yes, yes.

Still, the importance of the ability of liaison interpreters to communicate with the audience and not only to rigidly resort to the professional self, but also to allow for some empathy and inclusion of the personal self, is pointed out.

P13 has not been practising conference interpreting much herself, therefore her judgement remains relatively abstract. On the other hand, even in her short evaluation of the situation, she points to the difference between the role and self (cf. Chapter 3 above):

> **51.** P13: There is definitely a difference. Then I… would interpret exactly as it is and…..Then there would be totally different problems that…Especially when it is simultaneous – how do I interpret, am I able to interpret this well. And another thing is that if I face things I feel I would not like to interpret myself – what to do then?

P13 feels the main difference to be in the relationship she creates with the groups she works with – which is more intense and close in a liaison situation. Importantly, P13 points even to the fact that a full linguistic correspondence is objectively impossible, and that in dialogue interpreting the linguistically perfect rendition may even not be the most important:

> **52.** P13: ….The interpreter is…..the one who offers an interpretation of an issue in a good sense. This is not a metaphor actually but he is not….for me he is *not …for me he is not the one who is able to forward the text authentically*. In such…conference interpreting he should be able to do this and so but in a group [liaison interpreting] – maybe she doesn't. I think he doesn't. That… And the other thing is that even in conference interpreting – she can't. Actually one can't. Ifshe is able to interpret this as well as he is able to, it's OK.

Also P14 mainly works in liaison settings. As she puts it, there is "a clear difference" between the two modes:

> **53.** P14: The difference is that at conferences there is kind of – more of a stressful situation. There you more simply translate what people say. Sentence per sentence, thought per thought. While to the contrary*….it is so that, well, so to say company interpreters, it means I, do often so that – maybe this is a mistake but anyway – I do* ask people if it's OK for them that I interpret what the client says, and then give some background information.

Behind this explicit hedging there is in fact the same perceived need for and practice of cultural and contextual explicitation, which we also can see to be true for P4, P6, P7, P8, P10, P12 (see below, e.g. ex. 63–68, 154, 70, 72, 76, 12, 33,82, 163). Differently from some other participants (e.g. P6), P14 is determined to make it explicit that she is rendering a comment, or initiating a sub-dialogue:

54. P14: Yes. So that it comes separately. That he [the primary party] says this-and-this-and-this. And for your background, for your knowledge – with us, for example in Estonia, things are like this.

The interview results show that there is a group of participants preferring one mode of interpreting. Most practitioners questioned mainly work in the liaison mode. According to our informants, liaison situations often entail a somewhat different primary party-interpreter interaction than traditional conference interpreting situations. They also confirm that liaison is often practised in less formal situations than conference interpreting. In addition to mentioning the greater stress (P5), "harrassing" treatment (not giving materials in time) (P10, P11) or higher demands on B-language (P9) in conference interpreting, many participants (P1, P2, P4, P5, P6, P8, P9, P10, P12, P13, P14) mention that for them, the difference between these two modes of interpreting lies mainly in the different communication model. Liaison interpreting – the one allowing for more interaction – is considered to be more suitable for their personality. However, the Code is identical for both modes, and also interpreters are trained only following the Code and the conference mode.

Even if this was partly just a warm-up question, the answers illustrate the differences between the two modes. At the same time, the participants clearly relate their readiness to work in one or another domain to their personal self, their preferred communication patterns and also the conceptualisation of their role as an interpreter. All these criteria seem to be closely related in their self-descriptions and constitute the essentials of how they perceive their roles.

7.2.3. The Code model vs. interaction (interaction with clients)

Q3: In the light of the current rules on interpreter interaction, are there any contradictions between what you must not do according to the Code, and which real-life situations may suggest you do in order to help your clients? (Which is your role?)

The excerpts above show that P1 very strongly favours the interaction model, at places even clearly emphasising of interpreter power (see below). P2, on the other hand, favours complete neutrality:

55. P2: In my mind this is not a problem. I mean – when I work, then I am an interpreter and I will not display my attitude in any case!

An interesting shift occurs with P3. In the beginning of the interview she neatly follows the Code model principles. Also when I called her to book the interview the first comment was much in tune with the Code model:

56. P3: The interpreter must simply be an mediator without any human qualities, without showing his personality. You must be unnoticeable. You may not overshadow the person you are working with.

In the course of the interview, however, the Code model front starts to crumble, while more and more backstage sets in:

57. P3: But in actual fact the interpreter may happen to find herself in the role of a secret advisor. If he has once given that person some good advice – and then that person for some reason contacts the interpreter – even if he still lives in xxx, but he is still of the opinion that the interpreter is important. Even if when they first met the interpreter was clearly only in the role of an interpreter. [...] I don't know how it has happened but one of the partners, and a very important one – one of the leading figures there [...] always feels a need to consult me when he does something.

Admittedly, there is a different tonality in being an anonymous communication tool "with no human qualities" as P3 asserts above, and "being a secret advisor". There seems to be a clash between the official and the de facto role description, the Code and reality seem not to be in tune with each other. In addition to this, beyond the traditional additions and (cultural) explicitation, the above excerpt illustrates the assisting role of the interpreter in clarifying the differences between the societies and cultures of the primary parties. This is mentioned by a number of our participants. Clients invite interpreters to explain several issues in explicit sub-dialogues. And yet, the loyalty and neutrality is there:

58. P4: *I have never misused it!*

59. P6: *I think they [interpreters] never misuse it. What they want is better results.*

60. P2: *It is exactly me, who has this, this power, "it is you, who mediates. [...]… that me and… what attitude I may have when interpreting is not important. What is important is that these two people* [the primary parties] u*nderstand each other.*

Interesting remarks were made on the perception of role, or "playing the role" (P2), yet reconciling this with one's personal *self*:

61. P2: I don't know, such an eye to eye [thing] – even if I am in front of a bigger audience – I am still…when I'm performing, *I am actually playing a role as well.* I take it as inevitable that …the very thing that… well, I am making eye-contact, well, smiling in addition to this- or when the speaker has said something funny, then…
I:..…You communicate?
P2: In a human way!……
I:…meaning – you are as you are?

P2: Yes, exactly! I won't be exaggerating…well, won't be formal in an exaggerated way. I am…the way a human being normally is!

In the beginning of this excerpt we see a clear reference to the creation of *front* (cf. Goffman 1959 in 4.2.3. above). Towards the end of the excerpt, the "pro-communication" attitude seems to gain the upper hand. This excerpt alongside with our other examples above suggests that interpreters do very clearly perceive that there is certain agreement to interact. The participants stress that they love to work in situations where their personal and professional selves are not in conflict, yet this by no means relates to being professionally negligent. Furthermore, P9 points out that there are many different "levels" on the "interaction scale" concerning the interpreter's role:

> **62.** P9: *Sure there is [a difference]*! And…There are even many different ones. See! First there is the conference one. Then if you do *simultaneous* at the conference. Then if you do *consecutive* in front of the conference! Right! Then if it is a *private conversation* – it also depends – right! In a private conversation you can also have *completely different levels* – that you are not included, or that your opinion is asked for."

The excerpt by P9 illustrates how the proportions of inclusion of a personal self vs. enforcing the professional self (cf. Chapter 4.2. above) change in different interpreting situations and different interpreting triads. Sensing what is the right balance in each of those situations indeed seems to be an important part of the role demands. In such close human communication situations the implicit may be the essential.

For P6 a conscious deliberation on "which role to play" is clearly perceived and directly related to each commission:

> **63.** I: Have you thought about the role of interpreter earlier as well?
> P6: Certainly. *It means that each time when I am offered a job I actually think a little ahead of "what will my role be".* Will it just be to mediate – one party speaks and I forward this, or – often *especially in the context of Estonia – you have to be…there will be something additional.* You will not *just* be an interpreter, a so-to-say machine, who interprets from one language into another, but there are additional things. And…and these are rather different, for example,…well, in the countryside, right…?

As the interview goes on, P6 makes her determination to help the client beyond what is traditionally considered to be her role, explicit (cf. ex. 64–66 below). For her, the main goal is to help the client and make sure that the intention of messages gets across to gain the best effect. This certainly entails highlighting and explaining cultural differences. At the same time, P6 seems to perceive a certain contradiction between what she feels she has to do in order to maintain effective communication, and what is allowed according to the role definition:

> **64.** P6: There is interpreting and such a thing, then you will have to help the person who comes here and, so to say, help them to manage in this context

here and that his message would get through. And the other way round as well – sometimes he won't realise that certain things would have to be talked about or…or explained may-be, what is different, right, either in the other country's culture or language – all of this. Now and then one has to make such small explanations in between. And this is again such an…in this respect… an ugly thing that…that actually you don't have the right to do this. Actually you simply have to plainly interpret from one language into another. But…but if you do not explain, the other party will not get it.

It remains unclear at this point if what P6 calls additions entail a broader explaining and a coordination effort. The continuation of the interview, however, speaks rather for the latter:

65. I: So you make additions now and then.
P6: Yes. Or then if it's not very official, I tell them…the people I interpret for that I make additions…this is useful
I: Do you make the additions yourself or do you tell one party that the other party needs something to be explained?
P6: This way and that…Both ways.
I: Very interesting.
P6: If it doesn't take a lot of time, then I make the addition myself.

According to traditional rules in interpreting, some of the additions may indeed seem to go beyond what is allowed, or at least be on the verge of this. P6 defends her decision to overstep the traditional role confines and believes it is the intuition to find the right balance which leads one's way here. For her, this decides if an interpreter is a good one or not:

66. P6: I think it is much of a so-to-say "gut-feeling", right. You have to recognise [what is allowed]. And I believe that the majority who have come to this job – they do *have such a very strong intuition* of what is acceptable and what is not. About what is positive, what is negative.…..That they…*I don't think they ever misuse this.* Or [that they would use it] for being in the limelight themselves or something like *this – it is rather that this ensures good results. This is exactly what they want. They want better communication results".*

At the same time, P6 believes it might be complicated to have the right to guide the outcome explicitly in the Code:

67. P6: Then people might start overusing/misusing this.

Still, P6 holds that the capacity to empathise and assist the client determines the quality of interpreter-mediated communication:

68. P6: There is always this possibility that….This is – kind of- …*In my view, this is this additional merit for what you are always praised or known as a good interpreter, right*? You may be a doctor or a masseur who simply "works through" the patient, right. But when you are told that here there is… you should...and you should do this and that and you might change your life

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like this, then *you are given something additional, something an ordinary one doesn't give you, right*? Or a doctor who simply treats you but doesn't tell you what you have to change or something like this. That's the same way with interpreting – *this additional thing – this is your advantage.*

We know from P6's profile and background that she is an experienced interpreter in the field and she is indeed very loved and respected by her clients. It is probably her extended experience which allows her to defend her views even vis-à-vis the Code:

> **69.** I:" And even if it contradicts all these [rules], while people still need support?"
> P6: "Yes. And the fact that they *like this and that this works, that you are invited to work with them again and again*, you know. Because if you would be *a bad* interpreter, you wouldn't be contacted again".

Even after the interview (field-notes), P6 finds it "ridiculous" that the current Code seems to "prohibit helping the client to the best of one's ability". According to P6 overstepping the traditional rule-bounds is often the only way, which is " an open secret". She holds it is something everyone does, even though it is not considered appropriate to speak about it. As we see above, P6 also refers to the clients as the ultimate judges of interpreter-mediated interaction. P6 stresses that if such interpreter behaviour were deemed wrong, interpreters would not be contacted and "recommended for new clients again and again", as well as "trusted as responsible for communication year after year".

   The increasing support for client-interpreter interaction can also be linked to the joint construction (Linell 1998: 86, cf. 3.1.3 above) of dialogic discourses. As Linell (ibid.) points out, "language and discourse are fundamentally *social* phenomena." We believe that the dialogic perspective we discussed in Part I can be seen to include interpreter mediated encounters. Following these principles we can see the three party talk to include the interpreter in interaction (cf. Wadensjö 1998, Linell 1997 above). As pointed out by Linell (1998: 86) "a dialogue is a *joint* construction […]; it is something which participants (to varying degrees) possess, experience and do together. This collective construction is made possible by the reciprocally and *mutually coordinated actions and interactions* by different actors". We believe that these considerations also apply in interpreter-mediated communication. Our informants suggest that they actively participate in co-creating messages. This is well in tune with Linell's suggestion (ibid.) that in this framework, "no part is entirely one single individual's product or experience."

   Furthermore, Linell (ibid.: 87) urges us to remember that interaction always takes place within an "embedding activity (dialogue, encounter) which the interactants jointly produce". We thus suggest that also the interpreting situation and activity as such is implicitly shaping the discourse, the interaction, the action. Linell (ibid., emphasis mine) proposes:

This activity can most often be seen as representing some general type or as belonging to a particular genre. *Some meaning aspects of the elementary acts derive from the fact that they are embedded within, and contribute to realising, this overall activity*. At the same time, the activity type or genre is shown, in a Wittgensteinian sense, i.e. implicitly shown rather than explicitly formulated ("said"), in the ways actors express themselves in discourse. *Constituent acts and embedding activities mutually define, or co-constitute, each other in a part-whole relationship*.

The interpreter's coordination effect and participation is thus increasingly becoming part of the emerging, more pro-active role model. This is shaping in joint interaction in the triad, it is both the discourse and the activity itself which implicitly modify the role. The modified role in its turn unavoidably changes the relationship and the triad. Thus, we believe that the "act-activity interdependence" that Linell (1998, see above) proposes can also be observed in our practitioner reports on the interpreter's role.

The explanations of the interpreter's role by P7 remain closer to the Code-model approach (cf. also ex. 94–96 below). However, she is ready to conceptualise the role as mediating across different mindsets, worlds of belief, maturity in analysing social issues and growth as citizens. Quite in tune with the Code model, P7 describes her possible influence on the interpreting situation as "merely linguistic", mentioning the conscious selection of adjectives as the strategy she resorts to for "making it more clear".

> **70.** P7: You won't enforce it, but let's say,…yes, well, you choose the adjective that conveys the idea most correctly. [...] For example, *if an Estonian speaks about the situation with homeless children being "serious"* then I maybe rather take the word "horrible". That…What answers to…And *while the situation here answers the German adjective for "horrible"* …well….

If this is a merely linguistic interpretation which gives a merely linguistic effect on communication remains to be questioned. It seems rather that the interpreter conveys the adjective that describes the situation (her own evaluation – personal self) than the word the client has chosen (the client's evaluation, choice – professional self). There is a lot of hedging involved in P7's discussion on the role, especially when the possible influence of the interpreter is touched upon. The indefinite "one would", "maybe", and similar hedging devices serve to make the utterances more anonymous and less binding. Yet there is a turning point in the conversation, when after offering all the truisms on the traditional role model, the discussion touches upon ambiguous situations. Comments like "interesting", or "I've never even thought about it" illustrate that there is something "beyond the surface" that P7 is starting to approach:

> **71.** P7: Right! Yes-yes, exactly the thing that…*This is such a very interesting borderline. I…of course I haven't kind of been thinking of it before…From where to where one may go*. My standpoint is rather that *[you*

intervene] as little as possible but as much as...in the limits of what's needed. Exactly – so that people would not be left without help, that they understand each other, but let's say, *you guide them*. It is very difficult...very difficult to say this so...in an abstract way".

We can also trace down some criticism of the conduit model in P8's comments:

72. P8: It depends on the environment and the commission, for example who you are working for, and... I think there <u>do</u> exist interpreting situations in diplomatic settings, where this is absolutely settled. There must be rules and these are not to be questioned. They are simply a part of the etiquette. But I think that *if the interpreter simply helps people, who represent different cultures, to understand each other, she must be more free to do this. And she must also have a kind of a mission to help people from one culture to understand those from another culture. In this sense she really has a mission, and this may not be hindered. This is thanksworthy.*

P8 holds that rules for communication across cultures should be more lenient to enable interpreters to carry out the thanksworthy mission of mediating. Ambassadorship between cultures is, according to her, an integral part of nearly every interpreter-mediated encounter. Thus, she holds that the responsibility of the interpreter often exceeds the explicit commission and is implicitly not just a part of the interpreting situation, but also of the role of the interpreter in a broader sense.

P9 refers to the different levels of interpreter interaction (see above, ex. 29) and situations where clients expect more interaction than the interpreter can possibly offer – staying up late with the clients (cf. ex. 73), helping to interpret also at the restaurant (cf. the transcript). She also brings in the dimension of personal self. This *self* has to be anonymous, which for P9 is not pleasant. Yet, the professional self gets the upper hand here:

73. P9: *Then I have to establish myself* – the dinner ends only at half past ten, and I have to get up at 5.30 in the morning. I cannot afford being such...half...sleepy in the morning. [...] And in other situations you are very anonymous. Exactly as it has to be. But *sometimes feeling very anonymous is not extremely pleasant, but you simply have to be "above" it.*

P9 also indicates that interpreter-client relations vary. Occasionally, the interpreter may be a friend who helps, an advisor. P9 mentions that sometimes she even needs to point out that this is her work for friends who take her time and abilities too much for granted. According to P9, if the relationship is more personal, the role of a (cultural) advisor is felt more acutely.[11] P9 also reports exceeding her role in the interpreting situations when the interaction between clients is extended over the years:

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[11] Referring to written translation, P9 reports she would advise the author to correct the wrong tonality when having a personal contact, yet "if it comes from a translation bureau, I translate exactly what it says".

74. P9: Then I have for example added my aside – for the trainer – *for example when there's a question and he cannot think of what to say*. For example, there's a question "why is it so in Sweden?" and *he doesn't kind of remember, and then I say* it is the law that says so. For example! *I have used this depending on the relationship."*

Such mediating takes place both ways, the interpreter is not only giving advice to the speaker, but also sensing the audience:

75. P9: And sometimes it's so that *you interpret but you feel that the answer is not what was expected*. But *then it depends on how good a relationship you have with that person*…sure you have such a feeling that…

Also for P10, what is different in liaison interpreting is the interaction:

76. P10: But the difference between conference and liaison [interpreting] is that *in liaison you mostly know the clients*, and [even] if you don't then – I mainly interpret from/into Swedish in liaison – and *Swedes, as we know, are good communicators. And the friendly atmosphere that is usually always formed, enables one to work with extreme quality.* And as I said answering the first question – these additions and explanations – no one has said they disturb. Rather, it has been said that they help to understand.

In a relaxed communication situation better quality can be achieved:

77. P10: And here not just a somewhat more simple topic – let's say not that highly scientific – has a role to play, but *also* that *people* – the client and the one you interpret – even if the discussion is official and important – also they …*feel good in such an atmosphere.*/ …./In my view it is so that *the quality that is there once you feel relaxed* – feeling relaxed does not mean that you interpret with mistakes or freely. On the contrary – you convey the idea as exactly as possible, but s*omehow you will have an enormous inspiration, even a glow. In a word, everything goes well.*

The relaxed feeling and atmosphere is in our data closely related to quality. A relaxed atmosphere enables the interpreter to do her work with dignity, " enormous inspiration, even a glow", which makes "everything succeed". In accord with this, P4 and P6 also refer to the benefits of extended cooperation with the same clients:

78. P4: Later I already knew his way of thinking. This already became intuitive. So that *definitely, knowing a person will make it easier for you to interpret for him. There will be so many non-linguistic things behind it that others might not sense, but which I try to convey at the linguistic level.*

Our earlier research (Mullamaa, 2000a), b)) has illustrated that the maturation processes on the expert-novice scale are of direct relevance to the quality and contextualisation in simultaneous interpreting. One could

presume that the principles of the Expert-Novice Paradigm (Hoffman, 1996[12]) also apply to the maturation of interaction skills in liaison settings. Indeed, in her further comments that support interaction, P6 repeatedly resorts to the experience gained during her interpreting practice. P6 suggests that her experience as an interpreter has given her not only the ability to recognise the clients' needs, but also the conviction that it is justified to use her empathy – both cultural and personal – in the interests of the clients (cf. also Englud Dimitrova 2005, Schmidt 2005):

> **79.** P6: Yes. But *this*, kind of, *comes with experience*, because actually you see the person, well, you think all the time – "he doesn't get this".
> I: Right.
> P6: So that's the thing. Or then *you know that this is different in Estonia and then you – willing or not – will make it clear for the Swede or explain it differently*. [...] .There is some kind of a contradiction. Yes, exactly, *the rules say that you have to be extremely up to the point,* very honest and very attentive, and so on. And it seems you can't do anything differently. *But actually life makes you do some additional things as well as some corrections sometimes…. And something else I do now and then, and what <u>has come </u>during those later years when you have more experience and also <u>life experience</u>*, the intermediator must now and then also explain – this is not the role of the interpreter – but say, if you communicate only with the Swedish or only with the Estonians, say …*you have to explain some things – why for example a Swede does [things] like this, why does he say [things] like this and what are his expectations and goals that you perceive but what he does not utter explicitly*. And in the same way you have to tell the Swede that the Estonian – what he wants, why does he do certain things, and so on, and this is also so to say – part of the role in fact.

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[12] In brief, the Expert-Novice Paradigm has mainly been used for describing the acquisition of other complicated skills, like for example playing chess. Skills acquisition comprises of three phases: the cognitive, the associative and the autonomous stage. During the cognitive phase the acquiring of the component skills, in case of interpretation, for example, learning the relevant facts about translation and interpreting, dual tasking, text-analysis and paraphrasing takes place. The associative stage consists in developing the component skills in their interaction, trying out different strategies, analysing errors, considering alternatives, strengthening connections of elements and discovering and experimenting with procedures. In the autonomous phase, skills are no longer effortful and linear but complex and principled. Procedures become more and more automated and rapid and require fewer processing resources. The result is increasing speed and accuracy. It has been estimated that it takes 5000 hours to become an expert, i.e. pass through all the different stages outlined here, which roughly corresponds to 1,5 years of guided interpreter training and three first years in the interpreter's career. Needless to say, development continues throughout life. However, maturational processes alone do not make an expert but the key is the constant accumulation of skill (Hoffman 1996, Moser-Mercer 2000).

Here P6 brings out clearly her professional and life experience which, she asserts, support her in her decision to actively support interaction (to contextualise, to reduce complexity, to resort to cultural explicitation). At the same time, the reports by our participants illustrate the importation of a new communication pattern. There is a movement towards informal communication patterns that the foreign guests follow. Even though the communication pattern in Estonia often tended to be more formal in the beginning of the encounters, the interpreters report having started to mediate also the way of communication (cf. P6, P10 above). Having experienced ways of organising meetings in both cultures and thus being able to adopt the acceptable middle way for making the transition less painful for the participants, they are able to conduct meta-communication and through this possibly support the implicit transformation of organisation cultures and democratisation of society.

Similarly, even P11 reports supporting interaction beyond rule bounds, however, through clearly defined sub-dialogues. P11 refers to an experience of her colleague, where stepping out of her role enabled the interpreter to change the life of the client:

> **80.** P11: *Usually the interpreter must be neutral. This is like the main rule. You may not add anything on your side, if asked, you have to direct them to the person responsible. But this is not always possible*. There was a case in xxx county, [interpreted] not [by] me but a colleague of mine – there was a training session for the unemployed. [...] And then at the end of the training session one of the participants asked my colleague: "I am a teacher of German – where do I get a job?". And as my colleague is also an interpreter, she said "there's no problem. There's lots of translation and interpreting work to be done. Become legally self-employed and just start working!". And this person found a job.
> I: So that sometimes, maybe, there occurs a dialogue – you can't say "I am not here"?
> P11: Yes. Although – *I must say this. But I simply can't if a person asks me so*.

Thus, even if fully respecting the Code rules and enforcing the professional self, P11 acknowledges the possibility of the personal self dimension to be included in sub-dialogues and believes that this may be beneficial in certain situations. Still, she refers to the Code as an honourable guideline to be followed for securing interpreter neutrality:

> **81.** P11: The requirement of confidentiality and…this is absolute and you simply have to say – when somebody starts asking something – you simply have to say "the job is confidential and I can't share any information". [...] Well…in general this machine rule still applies.

P12 holds that the Code is adequate in its requirement that an interpreter should not consciously distort information. At the same time, the interpreter should be given a free hand for sensing the group, for communicating in accord with the

tonality followed by group members. This may entail (subtle) changes on the formal-informal scale.

> **82.** P12: The Code of honour – unfortunately I haven't read it, but for me this seems a bit too grandiose – a Code of honour for the interpreter. What does it mean – that you will not consciously interpret something in the wrong way – well, OK, this. But. But! If there is such a remark in the Code that the interpreter may not add something, this is definitely totally wrong. This should be left out because often there are situations where different societies… or also say different structures are not the same in different countries. So one should help if you see that the word-for-word translation or…or also minimalist translation – it means just translating – would lead people astray. *If you kind of see that the backgrounds remain unclear*, they will not get to know the background, *then I think one can, on one's behalf, hint at the problem and…and if then people feel that they really would like to go deeper [with this], then …. give them the chance to do so.*

Also P13 indicates the intensity of communication in liaison settings. She points to the special relationship she develops with the group, and also the comfort (cf. P6, P10 above) that accompanies such working environment:

> **83.** P13: When you…When you have so…especially when you have created already earlier….a kind of contact with the group you are interpreting for then you feel so free that you also interpret feel of restraint. You make this for them…you perceive what kind of people they are and you make it understandable and acceptable for them.

Many of our participants refer to intuition (cf. "it feels right" by P5 in ex. 28, P6 in ex. 66 above, cf. P10 ex. 28, P13 ex. 78, 66, 34). In these cases, the reference mostly concerns communication and interaction (or how clients feel, if they understand right). However, there is also discussion of intuition to explain certain notions (cf. P10 in ex. 28 or P6 in ex. 79) where more directly the "sensing" of the language of the interpreter is referred to. Here a parallel can be drawn to Douglas Robinson's (1991) Dialogical Bodies or Somatics of Translation (Pym 2006, personal communication). Robinson (1991: 16) states that "to speak a foreign language well you have to feel the words", but also (ibid.: 17) that an "imaginative, identificatory self-projection into the body of the native speaker is a primary requirement for the good translator […]".

Robinson (ibid.) doubts that emotions can be successfully mediated without "feeling" the text, the language, "the body of the source text":

> If you do not feel the body of the SL text, you will have little chance of generating a physically tangible or emotionally alive TL text. The TL text you create will read like computer-generated prose: no life, no feeling.

Robinson (1991: 37) thus thinks that "what seems intuitively right, natural […] is ideologically created and enforced and ideosomatically inherited" and

"controls our thought about translation". We find this to be an interesting consideration to be brought in mind when following the rest of the excerpts.

P13 continues to explain that her choice for interaction is conscious. If there is no cooperation between the Speaker and the audience, P13 considers it her task to create this:

> **84.** P13: *Actually I am not [a machine] and the question is indeed why I am not. Whether I cannot be or whether I don't want to be. I believe it's both.* Because if…especially when for example on an excursion or when the other guide also is not able to give the message as…as for an interpreter then you summarise it, *you already know the background of your group – whether they know this [topic] or not*.

The role of the communicator for P13 also entails the right to adapt the message to the audience:

> **85.** P13: If there indeed is some information that they actually do not need and so…then I actually sometimes even have omitted this – I admit I do this. And another thing – I do not want to interpret this for them in a dull way. But at the same time, well, me as an interpreter – I may not dominate [over the primary parties] then.

P13 clearly mentions the cultural explicitation and coordination effort here. Beyond that, we again notice a reference to the entertainment factor (cf. Katan, Straniero-Sergio above). So in situations comparable to what Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001, cf. 3.1.5. above) speak about[13] – the entertainment factor seems viable in our context as well.

Again (cf. her answer to Q1 in 7.2.1. above), P13 refers to what is allowed and what she feels the situation compels her to do:

> **86.** P13: *I should forget this group role and – I can't say that I always do thi*s. I think that *I – in some sense – flirt too much with the group when I interpret*.

The explicitation process of P14 entails cooperation with clients:

> **87.** P14: So that it is separately. But I always ask the client if she wants me to give it.

P14's further comments attest to that this is often accepted and appreciated by clients. P14 further explains the principles of fulfilling her role as of offering a "holistic view". Explaining the differences in the societies interpreted between to the optimal extent is important. All this may entail a contradiction with the machine presumption:

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[13] Indeed, tour-guiding may also be seen as also fulfilling the task of entertainment and not only the spreading of information and teaching facts about other cultures.

88. P14: *Yes. Yes. There clearly is [a contradiction]. In my mind it is important that people would get a broader view of things. That there would be a "holistic view" – not just something narrow.*

P14 brings examples of contextualisation and explicitation without which the communication would break down. Especially in countries with a rather different background in building up the different economic sectors, the interpreter's explanations are a welcome key to the situation where clients find themselves:

89. P14: It is a different thing – whether you explain something technical – say instructions on how to use a machine. In this case it's easy – that's the way things are. But if you do for example – well, last summer I had a lot of interpreting in the field of agriculture between Estonian-English, Estonian-xxx. Then, mainly – I was doing this [creating the context]. A foreigner hasn't got a clue of what a kolchos is, or what a sovhos is – this everything is in the same context. So that one must explain. I see it this way – one must explain.

P14 settled in Estonia only 10 years ago and thus knows very well which aspects in the culture of the hosting country might need explanation for her fellow countrymen. The explicitation she once may have needed herself is used for the benefit of communication.

Answers to Q3 demonstrate that some participants perceive the Code rules as adequate for communication (P7, P3, P11). Others do not fully agree with this (P1, P4, P5, P6, P8, P9, P10, P12, P13, P14). Among other important considerations, the role of interpreter as an advisor (P3) as well as a cultural advisor (P4, P6, P10, P12, P13), a conscious "playing of a role" (P2) is mentioned. Each role being modified by a specific commission (P6, P9, P12) as well as the importance of empathy even if it goes against explicit rules (P1, P3, P9, P6, P5, P8, P10, P12, P13) is referred to. In general, the majority of participants (P1, P2, P4, P5, P6, P8, P9, P10, P13, P14) stresses the importance of interpreter interaction, and mentions that they personally support it since this has proved to be effective as well as accepted and approved by clients (P1, P5, P4, P6, P9, P10, P12, P13, P14). Needless to say, the boundaries are not always explicit, nor is it uniform. Interpreters seem to have dynamic personal boundaries between the professional and the personal self, that are drawn up in the course of communication in a specific triad and their extended practice in the field, the degree of accepting interaction is not uniform. This also becomes evident for example in our discussion on P9 and P11 above. Importantly, many participants (P6, P9, P4, P2, P12) also point to the importance of experience - both experience in interpreting as well as life experience in becoming more convinced in one's right in making holistic pro-communication decisions. They hold that opting for this, and neglecting the Code rules may be in the interest of ensuring maximum client cooperation (P6, P8, P9, P10, P13, P14). The relaxed atmosphere will ensure maximum quality (P5, P6, P4, P10, P12, P13), an "enormous inspiration, even a *glow*" (P10). We suggest that the relative

loosening of the strict role demands many of the participants speak about may itself be seen as an importation (cf. Lambert 1991 in 1.1.3. above) – in action – of the spirit of democratisation and individualisation (cf. Chapter 2 above). At the meta-level the interpreters' practice itself then *is* importation and transformation. In addition to these considerations the importance of empathy (P5, P6, P10, P12, P13) and even entertainment (P2, P13; cf. Katan, Straniero-Sergio 2001 above in 3.1.5) is referred to.

7.2.4. The Code vs. self.
Relations with clients

Q4: How would you describe the interpreter's (your) relationship with the client?
Is your role just "putting the text into another language"? Something else? What?

Most participants stress that they should not be compared to a mechanical conduit. "Their human part" (P2), "their normal part" (P1) is still there. "I will not lose myself", one of the participants (P1) emphasized. Also, the metaphors of "a machine" (P1, P2, P3, P5, P7, P8, P9) and "a dictionary" (P1, P2, P8, P7) are readily referred to, with a view to asserting that the participants' roles as interpreters should *not* be linked to these. Some of the participants gave descriptions of their work that were well in line with the official Code, others ventured into territories traditionally not covered:

> **90.** P1: I would never imagine just being a machine in between there…when she is speaking. In fact, I will start to sort things, even gesticulate sometimes…Whether I dominate [over the client] or not depends on this other person. *If I'm "above" her – well, what can I do!*
> I: You mean that you won't try being a "machine", but behave the way you usually are?
> P1: Of course! I mean – what can I do…*I won't change my personality .. …or lose myself.*

All in all – P1 explicitly repeats the phrase "I am not a machine" for three times, "I will not lose myself" twice and " I am definitely not an empty place" once. She also repeats "I am not to blame" or "what can I do about it", referring to situations where the interpreter's personality exceeded the traditional prescription of invisibility or neutrality – altogether four times. P2 comes back to her claim that "[the interpreter] is not a dictionary" three times, and "is not a machine" once. With P3 we can again observe an interesting shift from the "the interpreter is just an intermediary " or "be your own opinion directly opposite to that of the primary parties […]- the interpreter may not interfere" at the beginning of the interview, to a determined "then you stop the thing" (mentioned three times) or "the interpreter must keep the process under control"

towards the end of the interview. In very many cases, immediately after revealing such views a caveat – often referring to the Code – occurs:

> **91.** P4: But *maybe it's also so that what I'm telling you about is not so very professional – but this is now…my own experience*.

The same happens with P3 (an experienced interpreter), after she admits:

> **92.** P3: Yes, when I am away from behind that table [i.e. out of the interpreting situation] and if I have been interpreting for a long time [and] know the partner of conversation, *then, now and then, I am also a human being*. But I don't know if this is such a…*This is not [said] officially or theoretically*.

When speaking freely about her job, P3 feels she needs to apologise for "being also a human being". She also implies that this is a strictly off-record remark: "This is not officially nor theoretically". We believe that this illustrates an explicit dichotomy between the professional self and the personal self, between the Code and what expectations on human communication may suggest in some situations.

P5 seems to have worked out a strategy for using asides, or communicating freely when off-the-record. She emphasises that she remains neutral in the interpreting situation, yet when addressed directly she "comes out of the role" and expresses her opinion when this is asked for. There are implications of triadic interaction – for example that participants in the interpreter mediated situation are aware of their roles and can proceed from this awareness. Beyond this, the remarks by P5 might be seen to illustrate the fact that the interpreter in liaison situations is sometimes addressed as a cultural advisor by the primary parties. In this role, sharing information about the cultural background and the general context can help the client more than remaining passive or rejecting contact. At the same time, in mediating the conversation of the primary parties, the interpreter's self is again in the background:

> **93.** P5: *When I'm interpreting a concrete text, I don't add any comments on my part.* Bu*t* if there is an interpeting event that takes place during several days and, willingly or not, I'm being together with people all the time, *and they come to me and ask, then I……then I am, well, not neutral any more.*
> I: Indeed.
> P5: *Then I don't behave any more like, well…I am still*…When working, I am like an interpreter, but *when the client contacts me personally to speak about something, I…do express my opinion*. But in the interpreting situation, when I'm interpreting for someone, I'm interpreting what's being said.

To our knowledge, asides or sub-dialogues have been discussed in research before only in interpreting situations (cf. Wadensjö 1992, 1998, 2001; Vik-Tuovinen 1998, 2002) and as related to the interpreted text. The explicit empirical evidence supplied by our participants primary-party interpreter interaction beyond that format by our participants supports the assumption of

their role as (cultural) advisors, at times clearly exceeding the traditional role boundaries. (Cf. "the interpreter translates everything, speak to the primary party only. Everything you say will be translated to the other party unaltered (guidelines for using an interpreter, www.ettl.ee, accessed 20.04.2005).

However, not all participants favour such relatively lenient views on interpreter interaction and cultural ambassadorship. For P7 the Code model seems to be the most viable. She often points to the fact that the personality of the interpreter should not intervene. She basically gives the official description of the professional role. At the same time P7 states that even if it should not be compared to machines, the role may still limit creativity:

> **94.** P7: Say, *definitely the personality of the interpreter should not intervene too much* – this concerns professionality strictly. Yet I wouldn't like to compare it [the interpreter] to the machine. [...] But…well… *And of course, it's just that you switch on a button and then you interpret and interpret. In this sense there is not very much…very much creativity involved in this work. Say, still, my personality is completely unimportant*. This is very interesting".

P7 also resorts to comparing the interpreter's role with other professional roles. She stresses that the personality is not repressed but that the rules of professional behaviour determine that it is to be kept in the background. In a normal interpreting situation, this is no doubt the most sensible, neutral, easy way of behaviour:

> **95.** P7: What you ask about is often discussed about. The question whether I… It's kind of pushing oneself aside or suppressing oneself, right. It isn't in fact. I think that there are very many professions where a person must actually suppress himself – not suppress himself, but…
> I: leave it aside…?
> P7: Right. I mean – not to think of "me as a personality" but of "me as an official" or "me as an institution". Say – speaking about interpreters it becomes most explicit because you kind of put things from one [language] into another. But I think that in certain cases – for example a teacher, or maybe also an official – must be able to do this. And *….There's this point where in another profession there's a conflict*. That you take it personally, right, that in the same way that…*The interpreter does not have this possibility at all".*

On the other hand, when we prompt P7 to discuss more ambiguous situations of interpreter power and decision-making, she reports that she has not been thinking about it too much, and that there seems to be "an interesting fragile balance".

She further suggests that even if you go by the book, there is still a subjective component to the interpreters' perception of the situation they are about to render:

96. P7: Yes, let's say sometimes *there's also in this sense…there is a little may-be…let's say such… one's own…like…interpretation.* That am …when the other person expresses through her gestures indignation or being extremely happy – in order to say this…*you probably try to still express it with one adjective in the text.* But well…

P7 thus remains determined that interpreters may only be involved at the linguistic level. As discussed above, it might occur, however, that this "only one adjective" may carry a very strong message and potentially influence the whole interpreting interaction as well as the relationship between the participants on the whole. In addition to this, P7 admits that additional comments by the interpreter may be needed for contextualisation:

97. P7: That's it – you communicate *this…the linguistic values and in addition to these the cultural ones* as well. And it is exactly interpreting these with optimal measures during the interpreting situation [what is essential]. So, say, Estonian and German – my languages – in fact, are, say, relatively similar. We can say that an Estonian and a German have a relatively similar worldview at places. But then, well, at the same time *there may be differences in knowledge, or a difference in what one has experienced in certain circumstances. Then something will have to be said, probably, yes.* Because some kind of a ….difference between the East and the West is there indeed…or then African countries and …Eastern Europe for example. Because then people have a different understanding of things and they have a different, so to say, kind of behaviour. *And for example also when the temperament is different as well. Then maybe one can communicate this a little as well. But too much…*

Mediating between cultures and mentalities, P7 also takes care of the interpersonal relations of her clients. At the same time she takes a good care not to contradict the protocol, and if possible, to explain the cultural background already earlier:

98. P7: Yes-yes – an Estonian gives a blank look, at the same time when the other is gesticulating eagerly. *Probably [one should/could] let the other client know that this is not an evil reaction, but that it's cultural instead. Maybe one should speak about it already earlier.* Let's say that you can't do it during the text.

P2 is more lenient in expressing her views on interpreter interaction. She points to the human in interaction and stresses that the rules of human communication and interaction inevitably have a certain impact on the interpreted event: the "human being" is still there – "you can't switch it off":

99. P2: But it is inevitably so that…it really depends on the topic. If there is something really depressing, it has a depressing influence on you, this is unavoidable. […]. You can't switch it off. *You cannot remain SO neutral and unbiased* that you work as a dictionary, well then, …that only… *well, then what's the difference, I will then type the words in the Internet and I*

will automatically get some equivalent back – well, that's not quite it. Actually, always when you work with people – you can't switch off this very same human side, this same one, you can actually never switch it off – whatever…it concerns.

P8, similarly to P6, does not at first understand the question. She seems to think that the question addresses if the interpreter is expected to be showing herself, not so much the metacognitive self-analysis of the professional role and *self:*

100. P8: Do you mean sorry for not being able to "perform"?

After she has been explained the question again, P8 remarks:

101. P8: Well, probably my experience was of the kind where *I was allowed to [add] something too*. I think…I'm of the opinion that if it is simultaneous interpreting, then the rules are fixed. But when you are, let's say, a group-leader. For example, once I was a group-leader for journalists. And there I was totally free. *I was told: " You are allowed to add comments on what you think of the issues [touched upon] yourself*. You are allowed to answer all questions". But I must still say that…*I still had the feeling that I do add my comment when they ask – I rather did this when asked*, not so that I was coming up with explanations on my initiative all the time (laughter). And then I had a feeling that, still, *I with my comments and my role still have to remember that I am first and foremost a mediator. In general, I am servicing, I am primarily in the role of the one offering a service. And I also have to think of whom I represent in this situation, in general.* So that maybe there even is no big conflict – meaning that if you really wish to – you can add something, but at the same time well, in general, you ….don't want to go out of your role.

P8's views of her role as the one who offers a service relates to our discussion on the performing of roles above. If we place the participants most strictly following the Code (P3, P7, P11) on one end of the continuum and those who do not (the rest of the participants) on the other end, P8 could be placed between the two. On the one hand, she presents a very clear alignment with the principles of serving the client (professional self). On the other hand, P8 explicitly supports the inclusion of the personal self. An image of a service provider is created where the emphasis on offering the service is not endangering the self. Even in situations where there is explicit commission to include the self, resorting to service provision remains paramount for P8.

P9 points to that interpreters are often attributed an additional role of an intermediary or communicator:

102. P9: And then there is such a …such a situation occurs when the interpreter is left between the two. *In actual fact I am neutral. But then there is – you are given such a role – ask them what they think [...]. That this is…you start to mediate".*

P6 mentions the same, yet for her this has become an accepted part of her role:

> **103.** P6: In order for there to be a maximum outcome of the visit, *you have to put a lot of your heart, soul and knowledge into it. And you have to do the background work earlier*, and so on. In this sense. But I classify these as unofficial, because…mostly you are not paid for this, right. And then you are simply assisting, not an official interpreter. [...]. Yes, *then you are actually already one of them. In a sense you already belong to that company*.

P6 again brings out the aspect of cooperation and being a member of the group (cf. above). At the same time, interestingly, she points out that in many cases where she feels as part of the company, she is working *pro bono*. The link to the discussion on being a service provider or not is obvious (cf. Chapter 4 above). At the same time, we suggest, this status quo should not necessarily be accepted by default. There are many professions (artists, dancers, musicians, writers, journalists, translators) where performing a service does not exclude artistic freedom and the inclusion of self is a merit rather than a flaw. Possibly, in liaison – in addition to linguistic eloquence – the ability to sense the tonality and get across might play the same role.

   P11 gives an interesting mirror picture to interpreters who favour interaction. Differently from most participants, she favours the machine model and has been acting following this. However, this has resulted in client dissatisfaction and even conflict in a number of cases:

> **104.** *P11: Again, once I had a situation where there was a training session.* And there was me and another interpreter, who was a very good interpreter, but…she had never learned interpreting and she was very emotional. And she did not think she was a machine. She….she is like a part of the interpreting process *and may comment or add. But it came very naturally. And while she was very emotional, people liked her in this role a lot. And all in all it was so that there it was her character – clients were not satisfied with me. These people were not satisfied with me because I was simply a machine, very dry, many times repeating what the speaker did before.*

Unfortunately we do not gain more specific information about the interpreted event. While adding one's comments definitely breaches the interpreting rules, we do not know what "being emotional" means for P11. Even if the partner of P11 has certainly exceeded what is allowed in the Code, it was P11 who was not accepted by the clients. While our other participants, according to the self-descriptions neutral, yet more open for client interaction, have reported positive feedback by clients, we may ask if indeed clients in Estonia tend to prefer more interaction than has been suggested by traditional interpreter training and Code principles. Furthermore, P11 (cf. the transcript and field-notes) reports even another incident where nearly a conflict developed between her and her clients – again the reason being not enough interpreter interaction. When analysed in the light of the reports by other participants (P6, P4, P9, P10, P5, P12) this again

seems to support the suggestion that the clients of liaison interpreting in Estonia indeed do favour more interaction than the traditional Code model suggests. A parallel can also be drawn to reports from the rest of the world (Wadensjö 1998, Bulut and Kurultay 2001, Angelelli 2004, etc.; cf. Chapter 3 above). In Katan, Straniero-Sergio 2001 in 3.1.5. above the quality of interpreters is, furthermore, partly evaluated by assessing their capacity to be a primary participant. The parallel to what P11 (ex. 104 above) reports to have experienced is obvious. We believe that also this result can be viewed in the light of the general individualisation and democratisation processes in the society (cf. Chapter 2 above) – which also support cooperation and interaction between clients and high level service providers (cf. Chapter 4 above).

Yet, P11 also mentions that off-the-record there is some client interaction:

105. P11: This completely depends on the situation. When there is a training session and…an event that lasts for several consecutive days, sometimes one goes out [...] and in the evening there is such a life. That such a …friendly relationship develops. *Then it is not the interpreter just as an interpreting machine. I am also a human being and when there are guests from abroad, I speak a lot about Estonia and…and customs and life*. This is why I became a tour guide. That – I do it anyway, then I can learn some more and do it for money.

P12 reports that the relationship with clients in liaison is formed over an extended series of meetings over years of cooperation. During this, the role of the interpreter may subtly change when through well performed tasks he will be considered more and more part of the team while there is more trust:

106. P12: The role in relationship to the client is formed in the course of time. If you are for example invited to be a conference…interpreter, and this is a one-off event meeting a company you have never met before and will never meet again, then the role is indeed such that [there has to be] as exact translation as possible, one has to know the backgrounds before it, so that…OK, that's that. *But for example if there are project interpreters who may-be communicate with the same company for three or even four years then…totally different relationships are formed*. And then, proceeding from this, the role of the interpreter may be the one of a friend, assistant or even advisor.

For P13 the coordinating and group-monitoring aspect is clearly present. In addition to mediating the linguistic message she tries to guide the group in the direction of fulfilling the agenda. She also explicitly assumes the role of a monitor in presenting the new performers:

107. P13: While I have usually been interpreting for tourist groups – or some choirs or…or some kind of…always some groups of people who have come to Estonia with some specific interest, then *as a group leader, I am a kind of person who wants to keep this group together. I am not tough but I want that…that they…we would do what's necessary. And- and…I actually still*

lead them. And…when I interpret for somebody then I…present this person. Then ….I finish this thing. So I keep for myself this…this role. And in the meantime I then try to be an interpreter and a little softer, so that I will not bring out this…leader's role of mine. But I perceive that this is my group and I am actually keenly trying to establish a contact with them. Also when I interpret.

We see that in addition to favouring the interaction model in communicating with the primary parties, P13 clearly resorts to the dimension of self. Weighing the two tasks she believes herself to have – keeping the group together and interpreting – P13 decisively carries out both. We see that resorting to the professional self in enforcing the role of the interpreter is a conscious endeavour:

> **108.** P13: And in the meantime I then try to be an interpreter and a little softer, so that I will not bring out this…leader's role of mine.

The other roles the interpreter has – as a group leader, as a meta-level monitor of the cross-cultural meeting, and as a mediator of the specific interpreted event – all have a role to play. The machine model type input-output "device" is only "switched on" consciously to perform the interpreting task itself. This, albeit, is only a part of the many tasks the mediation in actual fact may entail. As we continue to see that our informants tend to combine their "many roles in life" (P11), the question arises if the traditional approaches may have neglected also this important aspect of the interpreters' role. Our data seems to suggest that rather than performing a single task, interpreters see their mission in performing a complete role that entails communication and monitoring, group-building and maintaining and even group leading aspects. Thus, the interpreter's role is clearly much more multi-faceted than the traditional Code model and traditional approaches have suggested.

Acknowledging the personal *self* aspect entails the acceptance of the uniqueness of each individual who engages in cross cultural mediation. This means that there are different life experiences, interpreting experiences, different ways of communicating and mediating interaction. Participants ascribe different importance to these aspects. Interpreters are but humans – each different, each unique, each able to make a different decision, or even walk away. Thus, for example, if the working situation confronts their ethics and beliefs (personal self) – they may just leave (cf. P14 below).

The interpreters' task seems to entail intense on-site "field-work" with different groups and constellations of people. Thus, there should probably be more dynamism in the role-model of the interpreter. Our existing corpus of participant self-descriptions might thus symbolically become a part of the initial body of our specific "case-law"-like (cf. Tate and Turner 1997/2002 in 3.2.2. above) descriptions that can be used for exploring these dimensions in our specific context. At the same time, a modern Code of Ethics should not only indicate dynamism and the aspects of each role-model to be tailor-made to suit a

specific occasion, but also establish some clear ethical and professional guidelines. (Especially, if we believe, as in Tate and Turner (ibid., cf. above) that "common sense is not that common").

In describing her relationship with the clients, P13 also asserts that her work should not be likened to that of a machine while she feels that interpreting this way would not make it get across clearly enough:

> **109.** P13: Yes, it se*ems to me that…*I am not a machine because it feels that it will not get across. And I don't know – I should try this – I don't know if I even can this. I don't know if I can.

For P14, her role is definitely something else than just putting the text into another language. She points to the importance of contextualisation and explanation (see above). This is the "additional merit" (cf. P6 above) which leads to better communicated encounters:

> **110.** P14: Creating the background. Explaining the thing plus explaining what context we are moving in right now. Because the person entailed may not always grasp it. For example – speaking about agriculture – let's suppose an Estonian speaks something about agriculture. And on the other side we have a Finn, a farmer. Well, what *I interpret here – in the middle – he will put it into his context. But this is not the same context.* Because the agricultural sector in Estonia is in a completely different state. Yes! And this is why I see it so that *the interpreter's job is also that of the one who is uniting the two parties, and establishing the background and context as well.*

Again, the interpreter feels free to add explanations and to evaluate the conversation in terms of mutual understanding of the parties beyond the word level. While P14 always asks her clients if they allow such additions, also the professional Code principles are duly respected. At the same time, while most participants grant the permission – the enforced communication model can be resorted to.

To sum up, when describing their relationship with clients, some participants bring in the analogy of a "machine" or a "dictionary" (P1, P2, P5, P7, P8, P9, P12) and stress that they do not wish to be compared to it. Participants vary in how close to the Code model they prefer to remain:

a) Three participants (P3, P7, P11) stay noticeably closer to the Code model. All of them work both in the conference and liaison mode, P11 specialises more in conference interpreting. It is worth mentioning though, that an interesting shift can be observed with P3 when, after giving the role description that is much in tune with the Code one, her comments on professional practice rather illustrate a behaviour which is *not* in tune with this. P7 points out that there is not so much suppressing one's *self*, according to her, this is similar to other professional roles where one must retain professional dignity.

b) Other participants (P5, P11, partly also P3, P7, P8) represent a "dual-mode" when they remain closer to the Code model during the actual

interpreting process, but ask for permission for adding information if they feel it is needed. They report of entering into sub-dialogues with clients on client initiative, and they feel free to express their own opinion in such encounters (P5, P4, P2). They "remember whom they represent" and that they are on duty, yet retain the right to mediate beyond the original source-target relationship (P8). Note that P3 and P7 above also partly belong here, P7 even initiating sub-dialogues herself after the seminar if the topics discussed contradict her beliefs.

c) The third group of participants (P1, P4, P6, P10, P12, P13, P14) are the furthest from the Code model, at places making additions and directing communication without consulting the primary parties. P14 asks for the permission to make contextual explanations in the beginning of interpreting encounters and – making her input explicit – renders additional information throughout the event. They hold that this is ultimately in the interests of clients and effective communication. The more experience, and life experience, the greater the latitude for adopting this approach, they claim (P6, P4, P1, P10, P12, P13, P14). That this is a viable strategy is asserted by their clients who "recommend them again and again", and "trust the communicative situation into their hands year after year" (P6).

The representatives of all the three groups believe that the interpreter must go beyond traditional role boundaries for cultural explicitation (P1–P14). According to most informants there is more to interpreter interaction than just having messages translated – if it wouldn't, "what's the difference – I will then type the words in the Internet and I will automatically get some equivalent back – well, that's not quite it" (P2, cf. P8).

As concerns the possible inclusion of *self* in the interaction, again different communication theories (cf. Hartley 1993: 87–102) could be referred to. Social norms, cultural norms, group norms, social rules and social relationships but definitely even a fair share of stereotyping can be expected to be relevant for any human communication situation – including the interpreting one. It is fully understandable that neutrality and not coming too much to the fore is expected of interpreters. Yet, there are situations where an adequate consideration of the above categories could not come into question without a certain inclusion of self, without the very same "human" behaviour that so many of our participants see as vital in communication. After all, also our social identity grows out of our personality and self-concept (all related to the "I" and "me"). Our social roles and role sets – but even role conflicts – all closely relate to the above (ibid.; cf. our discussion on role and self in 4.1. and provisional selves in 4.2. above). In communication theories the possible constraints may be reduced by negotiated roles (cf. Wadensjö 1998) – through discussions on what a role actually entails for the persons concerned, and what is expected of them. The self-descriptions and participants' analyses of their role in this thesis could then also be seen as a part of this process.

7.2.5. The interpreter and ethics

Q5: The interpreter and ethics. In your role as an interpreter, have you ever faced ethical dilemmas (e.g. when you understand that one of the parties is telling a lie/is trying to cheat the other)? How do you conceptualise this in relation to your role as interpreter?

Ethics and the interpreter was a domain where in the beginning of the interviews the answers tended to be evasive and quoting the protocol rather than to bring out and analyse cases in one's professional practice. Most interpreters mentioned that they have perceived a clash between their personal and professional self but – according to the self-descriptions – they managed the professional self to get the upper hand in the interpreting situation. However, despite stating at first that there is not much to discuss under this topic, most participants still imparted to us a certain feeling of disagreement between the official role model (professional self) and their *self* (personal self) (cf. Chapter 4 above) when speaking about situations of great ethical weight.

   P1 refers to situations where some people or her home-country have been degraded by one of the participants. This is closely related to interpreter power:

> **111.** P1: Sometimes they have been trying to degrade something. If it concerns people – it kind of hasn't disturbed me so. But if it's something – the city or – so that it's dear not for me personally, but us then…then I have tried to explain that this is not the full truth. [...]Yes, I am not an empty place, anyway!

With P2 this has not occurred:

> **112.** I: And – the interpreter and ethics is the last topic. Have you sometimes felt that you have some kind of a…[...]
> P2:…(laughter)
> I: have you maybe perceived something that could be relevant here – where you as an interpreter feel that something…
> P2: …I don't know. Difficult to come up with something here. Any defined conflict hasn't…hasn't occurred… so much.

Yet, P2 points to what later reports show to be one of the most typical ethical dilemmas interpreters face:

> **113.** I: Has there been any situation, maybe, where you as a person would do something differently from what you have to do as an interpreter?
> P2: No….there….hasn't….been. *A question would arise if I understood that the person I have to interpret for says something totally wrong. Say – totally [wrong] – be it factual mistakes or something of the kind. Then probably for me myself the problem would rise that….that this other party….well, how does he take this to be? Does he take this to…does he understand that I am just interpreting this story, or does he think that I'm wrong. Then a problem occurs".*

Many other interpreters do speak up and vocalise the clash they have felt. They have perceived situations where there is a dichotomy with ethics but their professional role does not allow them to express their opinion or intervene:

> **114.** I: Have there been situations when you feel being blocked – " here's the ethical borderline, I cannot cross this"?
> P4: Yes, yes, there have.
> I: You should not reveal anything confidential.
> P4: But there have also been cases where indeed in addition to this…where it is so…it's not ethics directly, but it is simply a lie.
> I: Well, a lie is also…
> P4: Yes, yes…where *I have not been able to stay in the role, so that later I have added a comment in an aside – when it's really a pity or when I am convinced that it wouldn't be right if things remained this way.* I interpret the thing but have sometimes added an aside.

P4 clearly refers to a contradiction between the personal and professional self ("I have not been able to stay in the role"). Such descriptions are the more valuable while the question posed to our informants was rather neutral and laconic. Despite this, the answers expound on topics that are very much in tune with each other. Together, the insights contribute to a clearer portrait of liaison interpreters' self perceptions and the everyday dilemmas they face.

Above (P1) we have seen that interpreters in more lenient liaison situations may add asides if participants need certain information or opening of the background. P3, P6 and P13 above have illustrated that interpreters monitor interaction, and that they also prevent and relieve conflict (P3, P6). The extract by P4 here, furthermore, suggests that asides are sometimes added even to express empathy or console the participants. We see that interpreters tend to empathise with participants to a rather great degree and some of them feel uncomfortable when the feelings of clients are hurt or rules of tactful behaviour are not observed. Maintaining a balance between their professional and personal role can help them overcome difficulties.

P5 reports on instances where she feels it is uncomfortable to interpret what the client is saying, yet she tries to "console" her personal self by telling herself "it's not her thoughts":

> **115.** I: But inside you – do you sometimes feel that in fact "I wouldn't think like this"?
> P5: Yes. I have felt this indeed. Yes, that there are some things that are kind of…embarrassing to interpret – but these are not my thoughts.

P6 refers to similar experiences, at the same time pointing out that these have mainly occurred in unofficial interpreting situations. She also makes explicit the difference between the role boundaries. A reference to what we have suggested to refer to as the professional and personal self (cf. Chapters 3 and 4 above) can be seen:

116. P6: Yes, definitely there have …have been. *There have been very touching stories, isn't it so. [...]. But…But these have rather been connected with the role where I am myself like a …like a human. One has to keep a distance between the professional role or mask or whatever and then that your own thing. But it is, yes, difficult to keep them apart.* It is.

P7 differs from other participants due to her mainly Code-determined self-description. Yet even she admits having felt a slight contradiction when participants present distorted information:

117. P7: One thing is indeed that I am a no-one. That I indeed merely put things from one language into another and cannot give my evaluation. But sometimes there is a topic …where I have a personal opinion…a personal kind of….like my kind of, yes, ethical am…angle of looking at things is different. Or another thing – when they speak about a field I know and I feel that and…it is clearly the wrong information. Then there is indeed a slight moral conflict – what to do, isn't it. That on the one hand I am indeed supposed to only mediate, but on the other hand if I know that this information will spread relatively much, then kind of…then kind of actually one ought to do something. Then I kind of actually think – what is my role in fact.
I: So what do you do? Do you make a decision at once?
P7: Well actually I have in the majority…or say, rather done so – that *it depends on the environment. That sometimes when there is, say, interpreting between two people or we are three or four, say, in a small company. And when then our relationship is otherwise…may-be not 100% formal, that then I have kind of said that "excuse me, but according to the data at my disposal it is actually like this that…that."*

Despite the fact that P7 has been favouring the Code-model quite strongly in the beginning of the interview, she admits that her ethics will not allow her to mediate distorted information. She reports that she tends to solve the "slight moral conflict" by adding an aside, thus stepping out of the role for a minute:

118. I: So you step into the conversation yourself…step out of your role for a moment?
P7: Exactly, that if it is kind of …acceptable and if it has become clear based on earlier communication that doing so would be allowed, then I do this. But if this is not the case I've sometimes said kind of…well, still…Mostly, if it is not a conference or a bigger event…interpreting, then it's like…Then I've still spoken to the performers later. Like in a private conversation. *And then I have said, in this private conversation, that in my opinion also different approaches are possible. Not arguing, but trying to diplomatically say that maybe that information the participant gave was not…was not widely spread.*

Like many participants, P7 seems to have worked out different strategies for the conference and the liaison mode. The extract above suggests that while in liaison settings she intervenes in the interaction by temporarily stepping out of

her role, in conference settings she prefers the sub-dialogue *after* the interpreted event. P7 speaks about her inner conflict. But this allows us also to see the dimensions of mediating between different countries and power positions:

> **119.** I: OK – but has there been any inner conflict?
> P7: Yes there has! Yes there has, yes. Right (mhmh!). Yes there has . And there has also…For example, a work I have, which is like a long-term work, is related to our peat industry. And let's say there it is completely…It's very interesting – it's such a very…On the one hand the processing of peat-fields, mining there…selling this peat abroad. And then on the other side Estonian nature…'s value or something like this. Of course this raises questions. But at the same time while my role is just to interpret, then I kind of…In general it has not….it has not to do with distorting the information there either. Simply an activity that does not answer my ethical code.
> I: And you've been doing it for a long time, right…?
> P7: But I have kind of been doing it. Because, kind of…there's this thing then that they pay well. That……am. Well, I've been thinking that maybe I shouldn't do this, but on the other hand there's again that….well, what would it change. They would employ someone else and continue, right (laughter). And then…whether we want it or not it's so that…the forest industry and this peat industry, these are kind of…very kind of…give rise to dissenting opinions and both sides have always a lot of arguments, so that…It's like…maybe in your thoughts making it softer for yourself. I kind of think that they act legally and they have the approval from the Environmental service, right, probably it is not that dangerous… so much.
> I: You've been thinking on it and been worried?
> P7: Yes, yes. Well, of course.

P7 makes it clear that she has been worried because of the activity of industrial peat mining going on, in which she feels that she partly has a role to play while the job entails assisting communication between the exporters and miners. She has been thinking of this and been worried. P7 feels that she has attested to a competition between Estonian natural resources and foreign currency, and has even thought of giving up her job.

At the same time, she feels that her not accepting the job wouldn't change the fact of these activities being performed. Peat-mining for that company is legal, they have an approval from the Ministry of Environment so "probably it's not that dangerous…that much" she concludes. This excerpt illustrates the interpreter's position "in the middle", the ambiguities in the role when loyalty to a primary party potentially could mean harming one's homeland (cf. Cronin 2002 in 3.2.3. above). The dimension of translation between societies and mentalities discussed above becomes here closely related with the role and ethics of the interpreter.

In a similar line, P9 points out that in case there would be a clash between what she considers right and what her role expects her to do (her personal and professional self), she would have to put an extra effort into not changing the tonality of the original:

120. P9: If we go on from here – *if I wouldn't like what the talk is about it would be a very big role to change the accentuation [...].* Well, I don't do this. Luckily there hasn't been anything that doesn't suit me.
I: How would you behave if it didn't suit you?
P9: Well, *I would try to be neutral.* Well – it depends – what…I am on the whole…In general I consider myself very…..very tolerant. [...]. Well yes indeed I have more *topics like…human trafficking and…then I rather with my accentuation support the trainer.* Well, this is like. I don't remember a situation where I would have felt that what's being told is wrong. I don't know – see I have been working for the Defence College as well, even if I'm relatively opposed to war in my...well. But maybe a good army is being against the war but… Ah, right, there...have been short answers – but *then I simply interpreted it, and then I don't add my own emotion or such a…then this is kind of…*
I: That you have sensed this but this has gone by relatively unnoticed…?
P9: Yes-yes. Yes. There has not been a full even [where such discrepancy has been felt]. That there haven't been like some religious sects, or something related to religion or…*There I would definitely draw a line between my principles and….and ethics and money.* In such cases. But for me, yes, *there have mainly been topics where I would like to support it myself* – like rehabilitation of drug addicts in Italy… in a village where there were 1600 people, where they were offered activities from producing wallpaper, renovating antique furniture, till horse and dog breeding and wine production. This was….This was really cool. *Rather, the role of the interpreter gives her the opportunity to grow herself…*

The interpreter is evaluating the topic and content of the interpreted event both as concerns her personal and professional self. Also, the societal and trans-societal dimension is included (cf. Chapters 1–2 and Section 3.2. above). We can trace an importation of soft values. The excerpt even illustrates a conscious playing of a role and resorting to the professional self (cf. P2, P13 above, cf. our theoretical discussion in Chapter 4).

P10 mentions a situation where she sensed the clients were not being told the truth by the other primary party:

121. P10: We were taken into a room and told that this is XXX. And I knew that XXX is only being developed, it does not come even in the nearest future. And simply two young men – in quick but broken English talked, answered the questions – and *all of it was a complete lie*.

We do not know how becoming a participant observer in this situation influenced P10's decision, yet she felt that being completely silent about it would make her deceive the guests in her turn. Thus, when asked about her opinion in a sub-dialogue, she hinted at the discrepancy. She reports that after this sub-dialogue the clients had become more careful even if still open-minded towards the new "business proposals".

In addition to being a participant observer, there may be interesting implications for using the first person singular – for example for detecting that

someone is lying. The internal mistakes in logic may be more explicit in the first person singular. In such situations, there will be a lying primary party, a reproducing interpreter, who sees the primary party through and also sees the whole situation as an outsider. In this situation, will offering a 'faithful' translation render the interpreter faithful or a lier? The ethical dilemmas are obvious. The clients seem to have appreciated that the interpreter retained her integrity and did not go along with the fantasies of different primary parties:

> **122.** P10: But when they started to leave they had written me a letter – I still have it – and then…in a word *they showed their appreciation for this.*
> I: for not going along with the lie?
> P10: Exactly. I myself had indeed such a feeling – even if I knew very well about interpreter ethics and these rules – not having learned it officially but everyone simply knows that if you are an interpreter you are the person who is intermediating directly – but then *I did find that I had done the right thing a*nd those people from Scandinavia found that…*maybe this made them a little bit more cautious even for the future.*

For P11 there has not been any serious conflict, yet she mentions an instance where the personal self would have preferred to intervene:

> **123.** P11: No, I haven't interpreted such more serious things but indeed the last assignment I had – then *I had a temptation to add some information. But then I thought that I still do not dare and I won't do it.* The work was such that the client…was an American, two Americans, investigating prostitution in Estonia. And then…they went to different establishments and…. interviewed different people. And when they went to the police and the police gave them their information, then after that *I had a strong temptation to say that, well, people say that the police accept bribes and that's why they don't close those brothels.*

P11 is concerned because of the situation where assumed bribery by the institution represented by one primary party has become a hurdle to solving the problem in society. She is mentally almost ready to contradict the Code, yet *de facto* this does not occur and she carries on performing her role as prescribed in training and in the Code. Also in retrospect, her comments relate to the latter:

> **124.** P11: But in this respect that…This is not my business. If they want to find it out, they will find it out themselves. Well, also such things occur but any more serious things kind of don't occur.

A parallel can be drawn between P11 and the participants in (1997/ 2002) who support the machine model, which indeed is how P11 identifies herself (cf. her answers to Q1 and Q7). Similarly to comments by the mechanistic group in Tate and Turner 1997/2002, cf. 3.2.2. above, P11's decision not to engage in communication or provide the other primary party with local background information is fully in tune with the Code. In terms of interpeter interaction, not commenting on one of the primary parties is definitely correct. At the same

time, her decision might be seen to be in controversy with absolute ethics. If the information on the police, bribery and prostitution would be common knowledge in the local society and culture, we might ask if the interpreter left one of the primary parties without opening an essential background of the phenomenon the client was studying. Considering that the investigators were here from America, it is questionable, if during the few days at their disposal for studying the phenomenon they even become aware of the significance of the bribery aspect. How then would they "*want* to find it out". Without it, they would not get a full view of the prostitution and human trafficking problem. Human trafficking, labelled the major unofficial business in Russia, would continue to use its trading route via Estonia and thousands of lives of young women continue to be destroyed (cf. www.vedur.ee, http://www.nmr.ee/ naised/programm.shtml). The interpreter has no right to comment. Does she have the right to assist to the continuation of this *status quo?* Or, if commented as "nothing more serious has occurred" (P11), what could be more serious?

P12 confirms that ethical dilemmas have occurred, yet remains abstract and laconic in her comments on these. Also, she believes that it is not up to the interpreter to intervene in situations where trust between clients is challenged. The professional self definitely gets the upper hand:

> **125.** P12: Yes, *there have been such ethical dilemmas a couple of times but….But in this case I really believe that it is not…that I cannot make the decision*. That I should mediate this, that one has to be very discrete and very…cautious when intervening in other people's..
> I: But have you felt inside you a kind of…that something is going on?
> P12: Yes, *some things have made me worry a bit. But…but this must really remain inside oneself.*

This is interesting, while her rather impassioned answers on interpreter responsibility and importance of her part to play in the interpreting triad (see above) might have hinted at a more proactive approach. However, even if the professional self is reported to gain the upper hand, the excerpt clearly displays the existence of the two "selves".

For P13, the ethical dilemmas have mainly been related to something derogatory uttered by participants which she then forwards "in a softer or more neutral way":

> **126.** P13: It seems to me that *if I feel…perceive something negative, so that I feel that it won't go, then I maybe forward it in a more neutral way*. If otherwise…well, for example we were in a farm and the farmer said "This farm will not be striving for meeting the EU criteria because this hasn't been done…hasn't been done here for 300 years already and will not be done now either". And, well, all such things …*I will interpret and play along with them.*

What would disturb P13 is however something not objective and degrading her home country:

> **127.** P13: But let's say so that if this would concern…if somebody would say here something really negative about Estonia – I don't even imagine what this could be – which wouldn't be objective either – well then I feel that it would be extremely difficult for me to interpret it the way it is. Well these have been the things I have felt repulsion for. [...] this is the place where I will not play along with the person saying this. That – I will not play along with the negative!

There is a dichotomy between the professional role and the personal role. The expressions "to play along" to refer to what the professional self would do alongside with "this would be extremely difficult for me" , or "these are the things I have felt repulsion for" to refer to how the personal self would feel, make explicit the clash between the personal and professional self that may occur in emotionally challenging situations. There is a conscious monitoring of performing one's professional role. At the same time there is also a meta-analysis going on as concerns the objectivity of facts presented as well as one's role and self in relation to the interpreted event as a whole.

Furthermore, in tune with the comments by P1 and P11 above, this remark by P13 illustrates that interpreters may consciously monitor the amount of empathy they place in an endeavour to yield maximum pragmatic efficiency and decide to enforce it or not.

For P14 the topic of ethics seems highly relevant. Again, a clear reference to what we call the personal and professional self is made:

> **128.** P14: This is a very good question, because it shows that I am not very professional. *When I see for example that a Finn is cheated – I will tell the person later – "you should think about it". I won't tell them straight – listen, you are deceived in this, this and this, but I do say: "you need to think twice".*

Similarly to other participants, P14 thus first implies that the decision to help is "unprofessional" according to the current professional standards. At closer inspection, though, it proves to be made because it is ethical:

> **129.** P14: *I do this because – I think it comes from the principle of <u>honesty</u>.*

The answer comes quickly, is self-asserted and even proud. We see that the interpreter again follows the principles of ethics, telling the truth, not ganging up with liers (cf. P1, P7, P10 above). Why should this principle be in contradiction with the professional code? But it seems it is. Uncertainty as to whether this behaviour may be accepted is testified by the momentary expression of apologetic hesitation, and even for a moment slipping into using her mother tongue, which follows:

130. P14: *That well in this respect I haven't, I can…OK*
I: the rules wouldn't allow you but…
P14: *Yes! No!*
I: Maybe absolute ethics….
P14: Jo! Yes. Mmm! *This is in my opinion more important. That things go the way which is right.*

Coming back to the question – ethics – for P14 (similarly to P5 above) many other situations are rather embarrassing. The topic of prostitution (cf. P11, ex. 124 above) is mentioned again:

131. P14*: This was terribly difficult.* And this Estonian side – he was one of the mediators – his attitude was so arrogant and, well, absolutely superficial.

The personal self still strongly comes in, to the extent that the commission to work for this people is not accepted next time:

132. P14: *The behaviour of this person really became impossible to bear. So that next time I asked them to look for another interpreter. That I will not come any more.*

Similarly to P7 and P12 above, the contradiction between the role demands and personal creed and ethics leads P14 to the decision to give up working in especially challenging situations. It becomes impossible to work for a person who is not able to understand the processes in society (cf. also Chapter 2 and 3.2. above) and humiliates those whom the interpreter rather sees as victims (cf. Chapter 4 above). In such instances we see a trade-off between the personal and professional self. Despite very strong views held on a specific social problem, the personal self (how a person feels about the situation, what she considers could be improved) gives way to the professional self (in the particular context making the changes would be impossible, the task of the interpreter is supposed to be to continue to mediate the views of primary parties). While the role of a mediator under such premises is unacceptable (personal self), the task is left for another interpreter – a possibly more neutral "message transporter" (professional self).

A very strong link between the inclusion of the personal self and ethical issues is thus indicated in most participant reports. We see that only one of our participants (P2) claims that she has not had any "defined conflict" as concerns her*self* and ethics in the interpreted event. Other participants report of perceiving some dichotomy or even having felt "reaching an ethical borderline" (P4, P14). This may be due to factual mistakes (P1, P5), one of the primary parties telling a lie (P4, P7, P10, P14), or also something unethical, "things that are embarrassing to interpret" (P5). Participants would react if "there would be anything that would damage something dear for them" – their town, country or nature (P1, P2, P3, P5, P6, P7, P13). They feel a dichotomy when mediating between parties whose activity might potentially harm our nature, organise the export of our natural resources – "on the one hand the processing of peat-fields,

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mining there…selling this peat abroad. And then on the other side Estonian nature" (P7). Participants also report of " not going along" if one of the parties is telling a blunt lie (P1, P2, P10, P13, P14). Our informants also report of situations where the ethical problems have "made them worry" (P12) or where they "have felt a strong temptation" (P11) to offer one of the primary parties more (background) information than allowed by existing rules on interpreter interaction (P10, P12). The reports by participants referring to "playing along" with the primary parties (P1, P13) or, at instances, not (P10, P11, P13) illustrate the monitoring of the interpreted event inside one's role (professional self) through the prism of self (personal self). The conscious endeavour to resort to the professional self may be challenged in ethically demanding situations (P4, P5, P7, P10, P13, P14). Ethics or "the absolute, human ethics" (P10, P11, P12, P14) may get the upper hand.

7.2.6. The interpreter's role and self (neutrality, power)

Q6: The role and yourself. Have you ever felt a contradiction (e.g. very sad events)? If yes, how do you handle the situation? (neutrality, power?)

a) The interpreter's role, self and neutrality

In addition to situations where an explicit conflict was mentioned between the role (professional self) and *self* (personal) self due to ethical considerations, there was a similar contradiction felt in emotional situations:

> **133.** P3: Yes, I have also had to visit the asylum for mentally retarded people. *My personality and role get to a certain extent confused there –* because the guests…all the patients want to communicate with the guests each in their special way. For the interpreter this is often hard to watch, she doesn't know how to react and *if someone there maybe…attacks is not the right word but…comes too close to the interpreter, wants something, explains something that the interpreter does not even understand then you get such a little uncanny feeling…and of course you have to hide it there, you have to remain friendly, see how the people working there behave*…and…

P3 is describing the feelings of an interpreter in an emotionally challenging situation, where the interpreting task has to be performed in tune with all the principles of the Code, but where the interpreting situation is very unpredictable and where the interpreter may even feel threatened. This may be the case in a mental asylum (P3), as above, but also in a prison, certain types of police interviews where one of the primary parties may be intoxicated or may have used drugs. While procedures for interpreting as organised by such institutions are rather *ad hoc* in Estonia, in many cases the interpreters' questioning of their

safety may be well-grounded. Yet, P3 gives us a very good description of how the *front* and professional self (cf. Goffman 1959 in 4.1.2. – 4.1.4. above) may win over the personal one, even in situations of such intense mental and emotional (over)load. She also points out that the environment she has worked in is unnatural for her to the extent that without the professional obligation, she would most likely never visit this place:

> **134.** I: ..you as a person wouldn't maybe even go there…
> P3: *No!*
> I: but in this role you simply..
> P3: *But I have to go! [...] I have to!* And I try to be there as friendly, as neutral as…as possible and not to stare eyes wide open and with such enormous pity but *I try to make such a neutral face then…well, be effective, let's say then.*
> I: So that you exist?
> P3: Yes. *You can't totally lose yourself.* In such special situations – like interpreting in the hospital or interpreting in places where you don't know what can happen altogether. And sometimes they also have a speech therapeutic problem, they want to show some album, with their pictures in it. Well then of course you praise them and are friendly *so that this person can also get a positive emotion. Even if it is from a stranger.*

It is touching to see how the interpreter – despite the constraints on her professional and personal self, finds good will and energy to think of the patients at the institution. In addition to an immaculate functioning in her role, she has empathy for the inmates and tries to assure that also they would get a positive emotion out of the encounter, regretting that this might not be enough to console them ("it's from a stranger").

P7, on the other hand, stresses that remaining neutral is essential. She refers to what she herself, as a client, would expect in an interpreter-mediated communication and remains certain that minimal interpreter intrusion is the optimal means for ensuring that the message of the primary party gets through:

> **135.** P7: Mmm…Usually I think – if for example someone would be interpreting for me, how much would I be interested in what he interprets. Then I think I would be most interested in his clear transference of my text. And my text is…because mostly also people who are interpreted for have a very concrete message. When an interpreter will start to sort things [out], I personally would probably be very irritated. Therefore *I believe that remaining neutral, within given limits, is extremely necessary.*

At the same time, P7 points to the relevance of the context for the whole interpreter-mediated situation as well as for shaping the interpreter's decision of whether to guide the interaction or not:

> **136.** P7: *She [the interpreter] must have this feeling* – well certainly there are legends of interpreters who have been mediating between politicians and kind of indeed…kind of carried out the work of a diplomat. Certainly also

this is necessary in a certain situation. That…well, *especially when there are moments of…crisis and…which have gone out of hands emotionally. Then you maybe add a polite expression, or "wouldn't you think this way?"* that…this would well be possible. But, well, mostly, there's no need for that.

Thus, as also above, P7 mainly follows more traditional role models (or also the Code) and the professional self. Despite this there is room for some flexibility and there is definitely an ethical evaluation by the personal self going on.

Also P2 refers to a certain dichotomy between herself and the role:

137. I: Do you sometimes feel [a certain dichotomy between] "you as a person – you as an interpreter" – that you fulfil your role but you feel that something still influences you…or…?
P2: Right!(Mhmh!) There is. *This is indisputably there, because the interpreter does not choose the topic.* It is great to interpret something which is wonderful and exiting and interesting for you. At the same time, when you interpret, actually the information you let go through you – you don't remember anything of this information later.

In order to find out more about the personal self – professional self dimension I prompted the participants to think if there had been any emotional events where they felt that their personal feelings were not in tune with the professional self.

P4 remembers an explicit case where the political beliefs and authority of the primary party had caused her serious trouble to keep up the front, manner and appearance of professional self (see above).

P5 reports:

138. P5: Actually I do have such an experience. Where I see already that…Where I already see that…There is a place in Estonia where I have been as a tour guide but where I also have to interpret now and then. And then…I've been there several times and there's a lady who tells about what she has experienced…for the tourists. And then…then *sometimes…it's simply so many emotions…*
I: Right.
P5: that…em…you see already that people would already like to…well it touches their heart, but it is already starting to wear them out – but it is in a way – it is not my task as an interpreter to teach them, you see.
I: Yes. So what do you do?
P5: Usually the courrier or someone from the people will come to say that [...] sorry, we will have to continue our way now…

In the excerpt above we can observe how the interpreter perceives the situation and the feelings of one primary party (the guests being tired of the emotional constraint). Yet, due to the boundaries of her role as an interpreter, she lets the primary parties decide when the correct moment for leaving is, and then merely translates their words. Here P5 definitely acts in tune with the Code, and the situation and interaction managing potential (cf. Katan, Straniero-Sergio 2001 in 3.1.4. above) remain latent. At the same time, the personal self is deeply

affected by the emotions and the interpreter emphathises with the speaker and "changes" herself:

> **139.** P5: But then I have…something I have experienced already during the first times we've been there is that…that while what she speaks about is so emotional, I give it the same way, right. *And then, while I change under this influence – not emotional,but still …I can't be just staring like this (crosses her arms and stares in front of her) – when someone is speaking like this*…with a feeling.
> I: Yes. Right.
> P5: then …*it's kind of going beyond the limit …it will touch me.*
> I: It will come along with you, this sadness? It's not like this?
> P5: This kind of …yes…it passes. But the moment is still such…

P5 clearly refers to her personal self, and remarks that the affection "goes beyond the limit". She controls the personal self by the professional one – but it is not definitely certain that this is for the best of the clients (the clients have felt uncomfortable for some time already before one of them – the group-leader – intervenes). The above excerpts from the interviews with P4 and P5 testify to the existence of an additional monitoring constraint and evaluation as concerns ethics and/ or extremely emotional issues or situations. P4 above even crosses the line of what is traditionally allowed and ads her comment in a sub-dialogue when she feels that "it's a pity or it would be wrong if things remained this way". Again, this is something the Code definitely prohibits and condemns. Yet, based on the interview it is hard to tell how often and how much our participant indeed tends to intervene in the process, and how much her remarks rather suggest a meta-analysis of the aspects of her work that may remain sub-conscious for most participants in ordinary situations (cf. Jones 2004: 12 in 3.2.4. above on " ethical and ideological considerations" not reaching " the level of conscious awareness, or not be conceptualised as ethical/ideological, until they conflict or the real-world stakes of action will be raised"). P5 has demonstrated a readiness to analyse her behaviour beyond the traditional role boundaries also relating to other questions (see below). Therefore I hope our readers can instead of hastening to condemn her, rather appreciate her willingnes to vocalise and share with us the insights on the "intrusion" which many interpreters seem to (sub/un-consciously or not) carry out anyway (cf. also Wadensjö 1998, Pöllabauer 2006 in 3.1.3, 3.1.4. above).

The consideration that the greater the emotional connection and interaction possibilities with participants, the better the results need by far not only be the random insights of some practitioners. Research in communication and psychology has long ago confirmed that emotions in interpersonal communication are essential. For example Andersen and Querrero (1998: 73) point out that

> emotional expression, whether intended or unintended, can have many positive consequences [...]. Emotions exist so that one's affective states can be shared to ready others for parallel action, to forewarn others of an

individual's feelings, and to create a particular affective atmosphere for communicating.

The authors (ibid.: 73–74) further explain that emotions are "organizing structures that produce social scripts". These scripts then produce definite patterns of communicative action. Moreover, " successful repetition of such information provides the very basis of social skill, empathy and communication competence". What seems to contradict the supremacy of machine-like behavioural models is also the consideration that "emotional expressions [...] influence others and pervade almost all social interaction [...]" Klinnert, Campos, Sorce, Emde and Svejda 1983: 591, ibid.). Andersen and Guerrero (1998: 74) thus stress that "monitoring another person's behavior for emotional cues and even asking questions regarding a partner's emotional state are keys to competent everyday interaction".

Also, emotions and communicative competence can be used for creating successful interchain processes – in successful "negotiation of emotional experience" (ibid.: 83–84). Furthermore, "other peoples' emotions influence our own emotions and behaviors" (ibid.). This can also be helpful in harnessing for example what Andersen and Guerrero (ibid.) call "mood-similarity effects" ("dyadic partners who are in similar moods tend to be more satisfied than those in dissimilar moods", cf. also our discussion in Chapters 3 and 4 above). This, in turn, generally leads to yielding "cognitive and behavioural sequences" (Andersen and Guerrero 1998: 74). Thus, a certain freedom to accept this as a normal part of interaction, inform students and practitioners about the possible constraints and work out strategies for balancing this side to yield professional and efficient mediation would possibly be beneficial for the interpreter's role as such, and definitely for those who work in liaison situations.

P9 recalls an emotionally-loaded training situation for which she could prepare in advance – thus save her front and more easily unite the personal and professional self:

> **140.** P9: Something sad…I was on a training where psychodrama-related exercises were used and *where some people started to cry*. [...] Such rather serious and emotional topics…Sensitive topics. Well, I read [the text] through at night. *When I read it out the next day it was already…easier*. But then, at the same time, I was much praised. Especially at this training. This training was twice – once a year each, and they wanted me to work for them the next year as well exactly because I was empathic. And for example they had had a person in St. Petersburg *whose language was better but who had no empathy – and then this gets lost, because here it was exactly this which was important.*

P9 and P6 also refer to that their role presumes to do more than is prescribed by the Code:

> **141.** P9: I have also thought that I do not have to do it, but…This is kind of a…Say if… I do think what I have to do.

> P6: And sometimes you also have to….save such…crises…meaning that a conflict occurs and you have to help to solve it. You don't have to. But you may help.

P10 refers to a situation where one of the primary parties was telling a lie (see above, Q5).

P12 chooses to remain cautious:

> **141.** P12: I have not faced such situations, probably, yes – I can't answer this question.

P13 says she has not faced any other ethics related problems than the "not objective" derogatory remarks by primary participants which she then renders "in a softer way" (see above, Q5 in 7.2.5.). Also her comments on the "repulsion" she feels for disgracing her homeland (see above, Q5, ex. 127 in 7.2.5.) could be mentioned here.

The input of P14, however, illustrates that interpreters may also have worked out clear strategies for coping with the emotional burden. For her (cf. also P11, P12 above), this is not a problematic issue:

> **142.** P14: I do not have such situations. No. Because I have done a lot of such interpreting – for victims of sexual abuse – and. And. I have done such interpreting even a lot. No. No it doesn't touch me.

The difference between the situation P14 described as disturbing above and the situations mentioned here is barely noiceable. Possibly, it is the attitude of the primary parties involved which became critical in the former case. In constructive situations where through interpreting therapy is provided or help models taught, the interpreter's self can streamline with the mission. There is no conflict between the personal and professional self, and personal feelings do not interfere with the work process:

> **143.** P14: I have no problems with such situations – then these are simply "things". Or if there is a criminal , or somebody has become the victim of, say, robbing, for example. It won't touch me. Recently I had such a situation in xxx – it doesn't touch me. Not at all.

To sum up – emotional encounters – for example personal histories (P5) and work at mental institutions (P3) were mentioned as awaking one's self. P2 believes that the dichotomy between the professional and personal self is always there "because the interpreter does not choose the topic". However, participants (P1, P4, P6, P9) mention that being emphatic has been praised by clients, who prefer emphatic communication to linguistically perfect yet completely unemotional one – "it gets lost then" (P9). P14, at the same time, has worked out strategies for handling unpleasant topics. The self rather comes to the fore (decision to quit working) in case the worldview and ethical creed of the primary parties is not acceptable.

b) Interpreter power

With very strong personalities, the determination of "not to lose oneself" (P1), however, seems sometimes to be almost interchangeable with issues of power. Cf. the continuation of the interview with P1:

> **144.** P1…But no, yes…There have also been cases when [laughter] when the other doesn't know, what I know for sure, then…
> I: …you will give the information?
> P1: Of course I do! Hey, if I've got the right facts!
> I: Will you make it explicit that this is your contribution or will you just give them the facts?
> P1: Sure, sure, sure, yes! If the other person has no clue, I say " I know this" – *because the information needed must reach the person*…I am not to blame that the other person I'm interpreting for is…

Without doubt, adding information is prohibited in the Code, and in these terms, the urge of P1 to help would simply be considered as interfering and going against the protocol. However, as testified by our participant reports, in real life situations there may indeed be cases where an aside by the interpreter is needed – albeit in order to keep the interpreted situation going. While P1 has mentioned earlier that she mainly works in less formal situations, what might at first glance seem to be breaching the rules, might in fact be due to the commission to participate and help. P1 continues vigorously:

> **145.** I: I also wanted to ask you about power…would you like to speak about that, please…does the interpreter have any power?
> P1: *My lord – what a power!*
> I: *A big one?*
> P1: *Enormous,* especially when the languages are different. For example if you get a political one and you are inclined to another side yourself and have to…Well, I am apolitical myself, but definitely the one who's …who does belong somewhere himself and has not so openly…well does not "advertise" this, but can nicely accept the assignments. *You don't even need to lie so much…it also depends on how you present it. Especially so in (written) translation. There you do not even have to use a wrong word, you can "serve things" using words which are more or less the same. But – the same goes for interpreting. It's just about what you stress.*

In general though, the aspect of *power* in the interpreting processes was revealed to be handled with keeping a relative distance to it. Most participants acknowledged the fact that there lies an enormous potential power in the mediator's role. At the same time, most of them did not admit being affected by the ambiguity of certain situations, at least so in the initial and interim stages of the interview, where they were asked explicit questions about power.

P5 and P2 relate the issue of interpreter power to the knowledge gap between the interpreter and the participant (cf. Anderson's (1976/2002: 35) discussion on

the relevance of "power inherent in positions that control scarce resources" in 3.1.1. above):

> **146.** P5: The interpreter and power…In this way I see this as a…I associate this with that…if indeed there are languages involved that are not that widespread. And…of which neither side understands a word and it has to be interpreted so that only the interpreter understands both languages. *Actually I don't know if it is the power then…but… somehow the responsibility or influence is still that big, that so much depends…depends on the interpreter* …in this case.

> **147.** P2: Well, actually…Well, right, it's true in this sense – that, OK, while I'm interpreting from languages people understand a little… But exactly … – take my last example, right – between Russian and English. Americans, right, they don't get a clue of Russian – then of course – it is purely up to me how well and adequately I can convey the information given. I feel the same myself – when I have – for example -been guiding the Japanese in South-Estonia near Tartu – and I DO give them the information in English – the last time I was there with Hungarians, OK they did get a little from the English version as well – I tell my story, and then I have to listen to their group-leader interpret this into their language, standing beside there. And I don't get a thing. Exactly – *I feel myself uncertain now – like "well, how is it now, actually? Did they get exactly what I wanted to say?"* But then there are always questions – then I, well, make it more to the point. Whether they have asked to clarify, to make more clear what I was bearing in mind…and I think this is right. Right, as in the questionnaire – that actually, when something remains unclear, especially so for the interpreter, one must ask clarifying questions. It is exactly me, who has this, this power, "it is you, who intermediates [...]. Exactly, that this… that me and… what attitude I may have when interpreting is not important. What is important is that these two people [primary parties] understand each other.

As we see, P2 is not only discussing power and the true conveying of ideas through her experience when interpreting, but also her experience as a Speaker. However, in neither case does the negative meaning of power – power to use one's position for distorting information, or changing it for ideological reasons – come into question. What is of supreme importance is " that these two people [the primary parties] understand each other" (P2). Observe that this is also the case with P1, who admits that power may be misused, but stresses that "not by her", even refusing to subtle the nuances of a serious talking-to:

> **148.** P1: He has the right to know. He does know what the other person is telling him, but he also has the right to know which words that person uses.

Indeed both of these cases, but especially and most explicitly the last one, go against Anderson's (1976/2002: 213–214, cf. 3.1.1. above) suggestion that the interpreter is either biased, or – in the case of being detached – will be cutting corners, making utterances more polite:

under this façade would be considerable manipulation of communicative content in the direction of moderation and rationality. Hidden losses in fidelity would blunt angered words and soften rigid stances.

What our participants report about here could rather be associated with nonpartisanship as "total personal detachment from the situation", which Anderson (ibid., emphasis mine) has explained as:

> Rather than being equally pulled in both directions, he might be pulled in neither. [...] instead of *pseudofidelity*, we should expect maximal attention to faithful interpretation – even to reproduction of intonation and gestural signs. The value-laden aspects of any utterance would likely come through with minimal filtering. His detachment would force his clients to work out their own differences, because any outcome would be acceptable to him.

Possibly, the reasons for this behaviour could be analysed in terms of Simmel's (1964) notion of triad, Barker's (1942, 1946) "approach-approach conflict", or Parson's (1951) "affective neutrality" where there is "pull in neither direction" (cf. Anderson 1976/2002: 215, see also 3.1.2. above). What is more likely, however, and also made explicit in a number of participants' comments (see below), is that the conscious striving for neutrality has been ingrained in training – and reinforced through practice and experience. Note also that P1, who definitely supplies us with the most courageous confessions, has had the least official training of the participants whose self-descriptions we have discussed thus far.

A similar approach to the situation when the client is perceived to be deliberately distorting the information is revealed by P1:

> **149.** I: But do you… in a way evaluate [what is being said], like…
> P1: Yes-yes, yes-yes!
> I: like you said…here he is maybe not so competent and…
> P1: Yes-yes, yes-yes! When I see there's a pause – and if they BLUNTLY tell a lie ..?… well then I say! …This is horrible, especially if the other one [the other client] is a journalist and notes everything down, which is actually against our system – or harming our like….I don't know how…/[but] no one has been looking down on this [my intrusion(?)] – then it becomes more like a conversation – I interpret and then I give my share and then tell him [the first party] what I told him [the other party].
> I: So you make it explicit that this is your aside…
> P1: well, the other side has been, to be honest, even thankful for this, that… otherwise it would be him who…?….Well, if the person would be totally unappealing to me, I'd nicely carry on just the way "you tell me everything, I'll put it into the other language".
> I: So you feel you want to help?
> P1: yes-yes!

There is a definite will to protect her culture and society. P1 seems to feel the obligation to see to that the participant critical of her system could not harm her

society in front of a broader audience abroad (the case concerning a journalist from abroad). She seems to assume that the negatively-minded primary party will be the only representative of her culture the outsider (cf. Goffman above) will meet. While this might entail a threat to the *front* of her culture, the interpreter's self and ideology here seem to lead her to go beyond what is allowed in professional practice. The confession she makes is very strong. At a definitely less worked-through and explicated level, her insights and mentality could, I suggest, still be aligned with the insights of Jones (2004) and Cronin (2002) above. Together they attest to the relative autonomy of the translator's/ interpreter's self. There is, however, also a clear reference to the wish to help (cf. P9 below). Both P1 and P9 state explicitly that they feel free to offer their cultural assistance in more active interaction. "If they wouldn't care about that person" – they would follow the Code and not explicate more. Thus, as in Tate and Turner 1997/2002 (see 3.2.2. above), there is a hint at the Code entailing not only neutrality but also inducing some passivity.

P3 refers to a situation where she was suddenly invited to negotiations involving a big sum of money. Especially when we consider the Code aligned role image she gives in the beginning of the interview, a definite decisiveness to take action strikes the eye in the comments she gives later:

> **150.** P3: …well in this situation the interpreter certainly has the obligation to …I mean, he observes the negotiations. But when it's half-way he does not say anything. He interprets when both…all, say two sides or three sides have come to a conclusion…he rather interprets this…well, the final outcome of the specific issue but not so exactly how the argument goes. *Because probably one does not have to hear everything* – that's what I did in this case. *You may not make the opposite party panick when there isn't anything final yet. Because the course of discussion – to the extent it is necessary – will of course be mediated by the interpreter".*

It becomes obvious that the interpreter is consciously monitoring and shaping the course of negotiations – for what she believes to be to the mutual good of the parties. Yet this is in total disharmony with her previous descriptions of the interpreter's role (cf. above). P3 reports that the discussion will be interpreted "to the extent it is necessary". It is the interpreter alone who can understand all parties and her decisions obviously entail a considerable power over the interaction. Still, we have to find confirmation to the hint that the interpreter was manipulating the meeting and ask her directly. An evaluation of the behaviour by the interpreter is given:

> **151.** I: So you left there…[some things] out a little or?
> P3*: I left some room for manouvering in the discussions "inside" the parties.* Maybe this is not that right at that moment – *but we may not operate with such sums there at once and…*I don't know how this would be concerning economy. But *you can't blurt it out like this if there's nothing definite yet./…/And see – I don't know how to behave with this. But I think it is calmer, it is more sensible,* because the side you are interpreting can

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always ask clarifying questions, because negotiations are carried out by specialists in their field.

Again there is a shift in the tonality in the interview. While in the beginning of this extract the interpreter explicitly referred to her directing the communication, the last sentence includes a lot of hedging and P3 has quickly resumed her Code role. Even if having ignored the specialists *de facto,* the discourse humbly positions them highest. It seems that interpreters who work more in both the conference and the liaison mode (cf. P7, P9 above) refer to the Code model more. In the case of P3 the Code model does not seem to be fully in tune with her actual behaviour, and the interview keeps "changing ship" between – "I tell you, but this is not officially" and quotations from training manuals. The references to a conspiracy of silence by Tate and Turner 1997/2002 and Goffman 1959 in, respectively, 3.2.1. and 4 above, spring into the mind.

P4 has perceived a certain power inherent in her role in seemingly neutral interpreting situations:

> **152.** P4: Yes. I…*sometimes I've been thinking myself – aren't we actually ....aren't we going on in my direction or path with this thing*…[...] Isn't it hidden here – I *am helping...but this is still – then it will be going in the direction I helped [it to go]. But I have indeed never misused this possibility.* But definitely this…power of the interpreter is there.

P4 is sensing the implicit coordination effect the interpreter may potentially have on communication. She has been analysing this phenomenon and sees it as "unavoidable" to a certain extent. Importantly, she stresses she is determined never to misuse the latent power inherent in interpreting situations. But power does reveal itself in the interview with P4. After having admitted that she does sometimes add an aside, we detect that her input (similarly to P6) is in fact not always an explicit aside:

> **153.** I: But when you…say add something …will you tell the other party that you've done that..or is it all one?
> P4: With me it is so that – sometimes yes, sometimes no. Sometimes I've been interpreting and seen that the person I'm interpreting for does not have an experience [with interpreter-mediated communication]. That she has with this interpre…speaking through an interpreter…well then I explain this for her.

Similarly to P6 and P10 above, P4 makes explicit that she monitors the communicative situation (not just the input-output) and reacts when the visual stimuli show the client is confused or needs explanation. Note that we also obtain evidence of the coordination effort of the interpreter here (cf. Wadensjö 1998, Pöllabauer 2003, 2006, Berk-Selingson 1998/2002 in 3.1. above):

> **154.** P4: I have to comment on this a little – it's not about lying now, but when I see that this, say German, who say…can't understand what's going

on. He doesn't know the context and now he needs an explanation. And mostly I have asked [the other party] if I may give the explanation, yes. And mostly I have been allowed to do so.

There is definitely some power involved also in P6's decision to help to solve problems. Similarly to P3, P6 demonstrates an outright decision to help to guide the interpreted event in the direction of what she calls "a positive outcome":

> **155.** P6: And s*ometimes you also have to….save such…crises…meaning that a conflict occurs and you have to help to solve it. You don't have to. But you may help. /…/* But I say that – well, *you try yourself that the result would be positive. If there's a conflict, it has to be solved.* And if one of the parties cannot do it, one has to assist a little, because cultures are very different, right".

P7 continues to comment on the possible influence on the linguistic level.

> **156.** P7: Certainly *a kind of leading or some kind of, say,…is also information conveyed through the choice of words.* The interpreter must have a very good knowledge of languages and he must be able to choose synonyms in a foreign language. He must have the feeling – well there are definitely legends of interpreters who have been mediating between politicians and have indeed…in a way indeed performed the function of a diplomat. Certainly also this is necessary in certain situations.

There was no unanimity on the question of how much to coordinate communication. While the ingrained "the interpreter is there just to convey the message" tended to be stressed at the beginning of the interviews, by the end of the interviews a certain opening up in the attitude was revealed.

In answering whether an interpreter has power, P7 again refers to the context and what's at stake in a certain situation, as well as to the interpreter's capacity to sense it, and to what extent to guide this:

> **157.** P7: Well, sure he has. Well of course – it's the same thing – it depends on the situation and context, what to interpret for a person. Let's say we don't have a bigger event, say, a training or something like that. *Maybe we have to do with an…intriguing situation* – say people from the field of economy, business…or politics – well *then we have the interpreter's…how much she herself perceives the situation, what to do, the importance of this. How one is capable of guiding this is of course*…This is of course exiting! *Well, this is exactly like in the Soviet time…the interpreters then as well…at times made things more lenient and*…

In tune with P1, P7 points to the fact that she presumes the power is bigger in written translation:

> **158.** P7: And-and certainly more so with written translation, isn't it. There the power of the translator is maybe more topical – a talented person translating a book writes a new novel. Well, the more so, while in written translation you are not a word-for-word interpreter – this could be something

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[relevant].... Probably ...one gets the feeling, especially when having done this job for years, that I am such a professional and good at this topic, that I could be joining the discussion.[14]

Yet she repeats her urge for neutrality and focusing on mediating between the primary parties:

159. P7: But when the goal is that two people who cannot understand each other's language would understand each other – I think this is important. I definitely believe that if I would be interpreted for, this is what I would expect. I wouldn't, kind of, like it if the interpreter, who is maybe not a specialist in my field, would sort things, or maybe that my message would not go through exactly.

P8 considers that the conflict is not so big if we remember that the interpreter is just offering a service:

160. P8: *I think the interpreter is a service provider. He is offering a service – then all things are in their right place.*

P10 comments on the issue proceeding from the event discussed under the question on ethics. She answers:

161. P10: I think this is a very good question. I imagine that "power" can be interpreted very differently. One is what I told you about right now – actually I could have let this through – nothing would have happened, in this situation. But I think that if all those people went to their homes then they all, well, say on the way home when the group was still together, they certainly analyzed the situation. And I think that – they were older people and here these were younger people – and older people usually can analyze. And then they definitely started to analyze the body language and all of this. So that I think that actually they were thankful. And if you now speak about power – then this was either using or misusing power. *If I take it from the viewpoint of [interpreting] ethics it was misusing of power. But if I take it from the human viewpoint this was using power in the interest of the client.*

In an ethically challenging situation where the interpreter has been sure that one participant has been deceived, P10 has chosen to make a hint in a sub-dialogue after the interpreted event. She has chosen absolute ethics above Code ethics and she is aware of this being an interpreted event in her extended practice which stands out for the peculiarity of the situation. (See also her remarks on this concerning power and ethics above).

P11 aligns herself with the neutrality rule:

162. P11: No, the translator or interpreter does not have any power. The interpreter does her job and – well – even if she does have some information – better if she does not use it.

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[14] Cf. Jone's (2004) self-analysis above.

P12 does not address the issue of power explicitly in the interview. In the initial questionnaire, however, she explains that power is mainly involved in explicitation. P12 mentions the difference in the structure and administration principles of institutions and law, especially considering the fact that both the spheres and the terminology relating to these were until recently in constant development in Estonia. She also asserts that transgressing borders may be necessary for serving the interests of the clients:

> **163.** P12: Such transgressing of borders is inevitable while this enables us to build a bridge – because the goal is to get the message across, not to spend time talking.

Again – there is a clear support for the interaction model.
   With P13 an interesting confusion occurs with the question:

> **164.** P13: The translator's or translation's [power]?
> I: Interpreter's. Oral translation. The interpreter and power.
> P13: The interpreter and power….
> I: Or does the translator have more of this? How did this question occur?
> P13: No, I was thinking whether you mean the translation. Or…or interpreter. But the interpreter…*The interpreter does have an enormous power because he ...may convey it adequately or not.*
> I: But you wanted to say something about translation – translation and power?
> P13: Then it's already literary translation and then it would be already another text and and –…then already such things come up.

P13 analyses written translation and interpreting, again illustrating some rather typical (cf. P1, P7 above) beliefs about the processes.
   P14 does not make any explicit reference to power. At the same time, power is manifested in her constructive on-line decisions which support creating the background. Definitely, this power is used in the interests of clients and the focus is on effective mediation.
   Thus, the answer to Q 6.1. is that interpreters do have power – while they may decide to translate adequately, to support speaker meaning and pragmatics – or not. The slight confusion with understanding the question, however, illustrates the novelty of this topic for our practitioners (note that also P2, P3, P5, P8, P13 express their surprise, misunderstand or do not understand the question).
   We can observe that interpreters perceive and use power to a varying extent. From a rather explicit perception and use of it (P1), power is related to the information or knowledge gap between interpreters and participants (P5 and P2). Our participants would intervene when facts would be distorted (P1, P7, P8, P10, P14), or their homeland degraded (P1, P7, P10, P13). There is also a strong coordination effect involved – according to our informants (P1, P3, P6, P13) to the ultimate benefit of client interaction. Yet, in all those cases we can observe that what remains paramount in the decision to use power is enabling

effective communication (P2, P4, P5, P9, P13, P14) and guaranteeing that the information needed will reach the client (P1, P3, P6, P8, P10, P12, P13, P14). Our data thus suggests that there is a rather selfless component to the interpreting processes, an endeavour to guarantee communication *per se,* to convey the information *per se.* Importantly, this is different from Anderson's (1976/2002, cf. above) suggestion of manipulation because of "power inherent in controlling rare resources", or for ideological reasons (cf. Cronin 1998/2002 and Jones 2004 above). It also contrasts Wadensjö's 1998 suggestions of interpreter tendency to support the weaker one or Pöllabauer's 2006 suggestion that interpreters align with power institutions. This is not in tune with Katan and Straniero-Sergio's 2001 results that interpreters enter the interaction merely with the goal to amuse the participants, or even just intervene with their personal comments. Participants (P4 and P7) refer to implicit coordination effects also in neutral, pro-communication interpreter interaction. Furthermore, P4, P6 and P13 report that they monitor the interaction and react to visual stimuli when clients are confused or need explanation. The asides may be explicit (P7, P10, P14) or – as with P4, P9 and P13 – not. P7 refers to situations when interpreter assistance in coordination is called for, and points to power inherent in linguistic choices. Interestingly, participants (P1, P7, P9, P13) mention that power is even bigger in written translation. Again, even if in the beginning of the interview the perception of power was reported to be in tune with the Code model by some participants, in the course of the interviews most admitted some dichotomy. In many cases these participants reported of an even greater use of power in their actual practice than those who mentioned there is some power from the beginning (cf. P3 *vs.* P4). This seems to suggest that some front maintaining effort could be related to the Code group. On the other hand, there are also neutral approaches to power, for example P8 believes that if interpreters remember that they are just service providers "things are in their right place" and the dichotomy that is sometimes perceived can be overcome professionally. P12 mentions instances that have "made her worry", yet where things have to be "kept inside her".

7.2.7. The interpreter is…? A metaphor

Q7: The interpreter is…? Could you give me a metaphor?

To be able to analyse the participants' views of both what the interpreter's role entails for them ideally, and regarding their professional practice, we included the question allowing them to give a metaphor for an interpreter. Below, answers by participants will be given:

165. P1: Still – a human being and the same person I actually am.

166. P2: Well in any case she is not automatically just a dictionary. You are not…Exactly… while you must try to mediate what's said as adequately as possible, irrespective of whether it is only at the level of information or then all the rest…the whole background, culture as well...

167. P3: An assistant, the primary assistant. Because a stranger, a partner from another country is totally helpless when he is thrown into a culture he does not know – he does not know how to behave, not to speak of having his things arranged. And then of course the interpreter is of great assistance.

"A mediator" and "a participant" were comparisons often resorted to:

168. P4: I would still say that the interpreter is a mediator. And a mediator in a broader sense, and when she understands that she can't make things clear only at the verbal level, she tries to extend it more, not just to mediate the text – [that's it] for me…

169. P5: For example a participant…definitely a mediator or participant in the process.

170. P6: A mediator, an assistant.

171. P7: Well, certainly the personality shouldn't play in – in professional terms. Yet I wouldn't compare it to a machine [...] But…well….Actually it's still so that you simply switch on a button and then you simply interpret. So that in this sense…there's in a way not too much creativity in this job. Let's say still that my personality is completely unimportant. So that this is interesting.

172. P8: The interpreter is an assisting gadget. This is the first thing I came upon. If I – I'm thinking as if I were a client now. For me, primarily a gadget, who helps to understand something. Well – an assistant – this is not a metaphor…

P8 also implies that the analysis by the interpreter is important, adding later:

173. P8: That you are an assisting gadget – but you are definitely a clever machine *(laughter)*.

Later she sends me an e-mail telling me she had been thinking of the interpreter's role the whole weekend after our interview. P8 comes up with very interesting metaphors for the interpreter's role:

174. P8: The interpreter is a *tuning fork* which indicates or helps to find the right tone or intonation.
Sometimes the interpreter is a *mirror*, which helps to reflect some text from one cultural context to another – *and then it is important that the mirror would be "straight" and not "distorting"*.
And another funny metaphor:
The interpreter as *a mouse of your* computer – *if you click on it will open in front of you and if you don't, some places may remain closed and*

incomprehensible. At the same time, the mouse always refers to that *there always has to be someone who leads i*t – as is the case with the tuning fork, both of them are assisting gadgets, but the mirror is more independent. But I think these metaphors are still suitable depending on the situation, thus the interpreter is in fact a rather creative personality.
What I came upon first – assisting gadget – now seems to me too simplistic and too little metaphorical, so it would be good to add this.

175. P9: How to put this – in a way the one who has to be "sitting on many chairs at a time" …. That she is mediating on the one hand, on the other hand she is the host.

176. P10: I began by saying that I think that the interpreter is also a *cultural guide*. We all know what a guide is, but I think that the interpreter works orally and *she has usually a broader grip on things than the client*. Meaning – as a rule she knows not only the language but also the background. And therefore I think – I don't know, maybe this is not the best word this "guide" here, but may-be an *intellectual advisor* or…

177. P11: a machine.

178. P12: the one who builds a bridge.

P13 points out that she is not certain if the view of the interpreter she holds matches how it is supposed to be seen:

179. P13: I think that there is a difference between what I am and what a translator/ interpreter should be.

Yet, P13 gives a rather thorough description of the interpreter's role.:

180. P13: ….The interpreter is…..the one who offers an interpretation of an issue in a good sense. This is not a metaphor actually but she is not… *for me she is not the one who is able to forward the text authentically*. In such…conference interpreting she should be able to do this and so but in a group [liaison interpreting] – maybe she doesn't. I think she doesn't. That… And the other thing is that even in conference interpreting – she can't. Actually one can't. If she is able to interpret this as well as she is able to, it's OK.

For P14, the metaphor she gives for the job is closely related to the conceptualisation of what she sees to be her personal mission (cf. Q1 above):

181. P14: the one who unites. [...] The one who creates the background. Explaining the thing plus explaining which context we are moving in.

Comparisons and metaphors on interpreters are abundant and in tune with the self-descriptions the participants have given of their role in answering other questions. The conceptual system behind the different linguistic expressions (cf. Lakoff 208–209) participants choose are rather similar, yet vary with regard to

acceptance of interaction or mission (cf. e.g. the more function oriented "a machine" by P11 and the more contextualisation enforcing " the one who builds a bridge" by P12. Or the support focused "the mediator, an assistant" by P6 and "an assisting gadget", "mouse of the computer" or "tuning fork" by P8 which suggest more primary party active involvement (if you can't use the mouse of a computer, or a tuning fork, you cannot be helped irrespective of however good quality they are). The metaphors help us envision the somewhat more Code-related (P2, P7, P11) through more neutral to the more self asserting (P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P8, P10, P12, P13, P14) self-perception. The comments sent in by P8 later hint at that even if the interpreter is seen as a machine "it is still a smart machine" (P8). The metaphor of a mediator, or participant was often resorted to. Interesting comparisons are also "a tour guide into cultural history", "an intellectual advisor" (P10), "the one who builds a bridge" (P12), "the one who sits on many chairs simultaneously" (P9), "a mirror", "the mouse of a computer" and "a tuning fork" (P8). P13 points out that the interpreter's job is to "interpret" *(interpreteerida)* to the best possible extent – full adequacy is in her view not achievable. P14 relates the metaphor of "the one who unites" to her mission that has grown out of her experience of interpreting for family members when she was a child.

The metaphors and comparisons participants present are nevertheless well in tune with the self-descriptions of their own practice. It should be pointed out that, at the same time, many informants reported the metaphor-search to be difficult, and they also worded-reworded this, which could have suggested some confusion. We believe that the fact that the metaphors are despite this in tune with their self-descriptions illustrates that even if participants may not have worded the role for themselves explicitly, the role-conception still exists subconsciously "at the back of their heads", then is described and helps them make decisions in challenging situations.

7.2.8. Crossing borders between societies, mentalities, ethical considerations

Q8: The interpreter and society. Have the interpreting situations in Estonia changed from the beginning of the 1990s? Have the clients changed? Do you think this has influenced your role as interpreter? How?

Q9: Interpreting as export-import. Do you feel you are mediating between societies/ philosophies/ ethical dimensions? What is the role of interpreter in that?

Responses to Q8 and Q9, which relate to society and changes in the interpreting situations, yielded interesting insights. The responses varied from a denial of any influence of the changes in society by P1 to a very critical analysis by P7,

including a whole array of approaches ranging between the poles of these stances.

P1 believes the society has not changed so much. For her, the change has been merely political. As she has never been interested in or involved in politics, P1 says, it does not concern her in her role of an interpreter.

> **182.** P1:No, because I have never been…fascinated by politics…- I've been quite distanced from this. I've never liked talking about this, and I do not have anything bad to say about the Russian time even now, because – well, every system has its positive and negative sides. And when I was a child life was far from being bad. Also when I was young. And they – the foreigners more so – say "now you can travel". I say, "how many people have the money to travel?". And I couldn't explore the whole other end of the big and large Russia. If you don't push yourself into politics then…People [clients] do not have this "Oh, he's from abroad". Maybe simply that…there people look at life from a different angle, it is kind of more interesting to discuss about things there or you can ask about all kind of details…but this does not concern the work of the interpreter at all…There are always stupid questions. It was so in the Russian period and it is so now as well.

P1 has, in fact, travelled a lot. She is known for very outright positions and sayings, and P3 has even claimed that "she is not a real interpreter" and warned us not to interview P1. But the same profile (cf. also her remarks on power and role *vs.* self) might make P1 less "pushed around" by the conditions prevailing in the society. She remains herself, both in the interpreting situation, as well as in different political situations, and does thus not perceive any threat to her integrity. At the same time, the reason can always also be that a participant simply does not care for a deeper analysis of societal changes and the individual, or performer of the role inside these.

P7, on the contrary, offers a deep-going analysis of what she perceives to go on in the society. P7 has lived abroad for some years during her most formative age. She compares the circumstances in Estonia to those in the West and expresses the view that the changes are superficial. She holds that there is a wide gap in the mentality, a long way to go before reaching the truly European and humane:

> **183.** P7: *The different*, so to say, *values of* two different societies, right. That indeed *a very…humane Scandinavia or Germany*, which is in a way…which is still relatively putting the individual in the middle of everything, and where one tries to take into account the minorities and differences and individuality, right. *We have little of this*. For example I have now – interesting – been interpreting for the Ministry xxx during some seminars on people with alcohol problems. And then, right, exactly – you see how the Germans speak about people with alcohol problems, and how they then speak about children who come with problematic families, and about how to help or support them. *This is much more understanding and tolerant than [the attitude] here*. Here people are, like, excluded from society much quicker.

P7 brings in the notion of ethics, the shaping of attitudes by the media, mentality. Speaking about the changes in Estonian society and mentality she remarks:

> **184.** P7: "Let's say this rawness has disappeared. *Rawness – not as a synonym for cruelty …but rather like….Coarse inexperience – this is maybe gone*. And let's say that at the verbal level the attitudes have maybe changed. But it is still…What's expressed in words is still…Slightly, we still have a collective society. As I've been working at the Centre for Ethics for a longer period of time – we met this a lot. That the attitudes in the society …are different from what…like.. the media or….what is tried to be shown. At the level of the individual, also the individual that I am mediating…things are still… – of course it has changed a bit…and changed, like, let's say when it concerns younger people. But say, the older generation…the middle-aged, whose values were formed during the occupation, they still have somewhere…somewhere in their thinking this something, this can't fully…be fully rooted out. If, then yes, for the younger generation. Those in their thirties-forties. This is different. That…Well, and still in this respect that…what people take as normal – this is very… very…this is a kind of a cultural difference maybe. That when, say those in their twenties-thirties…or, well then in their twenties till in their forties take as a normal standard, say, the standards of the older EU countries…say as concerns the social sphere, as concerns – maybe – the living conditions, as concerns the study and working conditions. People from the older generation who maybe have not been [abroad] so much, or have been abroad but have not seen the conditions there – have not been to people's homes, offices – have just travelled. That for them…let's say the standards are maybe a bit better than during the Soviet period, but they are not still…In this respect…they do not look at things from a perspective to see that in fact, the difference is still enormous. Rather…I *don't know if this is ignoring things or inability to see…that…that the differences at a deeper level are still as big as before. That's true. That these…let's say there are changes, but the changes seem to be bigger than they are in fact*. I do think so. Mmmm.

Also P4 clearly perceives the difference between the Soviet period and today. She describes the Soviet period as the one when being secretive and pretending was a norm, so much of a norm that it was not even disturbing any more. Yet, P4 describes Estonia's becoming free as a moment of great liberation. Being free, she believes, being ultimately oneself, also has an impact on the interpreting situation. In her role as an interpreter she may well remain neutral, yet she feels she is functioning in an environment that has let the masks go down:

> **185.** I: Then I wanted to ask – you have interpreted already during the Russian time?
> P4: yeah (mhmh).
> I: So what do you think – are things a little… more free right now?
> *P4: Certainly, in this respect that my interpreting situations in the Russian time were actually very political.*

P4: They were indeed?

P4: I didn't have any experience that wasn't. *In the Russian period no one was simply allowed to come here. Those I had to interpret for, for example, were still related [to politics]*. They were from the DDR, and they had some friendship relations here – but those who came were still secretaries of the party and the receptions were for those with positions high up in the party.

The conflict has, of course, also brought about a serious ethical clash for P4, and a sense of liberation in interpreting situations today is expressed again in the continuation of the interview:

186. P4: And there was…*there was always such a harsh ethical conflict. And – what is not there today*. And then there was this…*of course we were so used to this pretending that it …maybe in this sense was not this sharp. But I was bearing it in mind…pretending and bearing this in mind*. In private conversations, of course, yes, we did not have it. But if we had to do with interpreting, official interpreting – it was political. It was always there. Yes, it was continuously there. Now we don't have this, right, except for the example I brought from Narva, which also was probably such a…thing. I don't think we would have…I think the Estonian society as a whole is homogenuous, I hope, here we wouldn't need to find ourselves in such situations. [...].

I: But did you feel that it was you vs. ethics?

P4: Well, *then even the state was like this. In fact there was, now that these changes came, for me a very strong feeling of liberation, because I can openly, officially defend what I think. But at the time I began with interpreting it was self-evident that lying and such a game went on*. So that it even wasn't that horrible.

P4 also emphasises that even if the political stress is gone, the ambiguities of the professional role remain there:

187. P4: Well it's in this sense that there is, say, – *no such political fear, that one definitely had then*. That you simply were not to say anything anyway.

I: Yes.

P4: *But on the other hand the controversy* that I have to convey what's said, even if I have more knowledge or different knowledge or opinion on the matter. This controversy *is still there*.

I: Right. Do you think that you as a personality feel yourself stronger, more in that role now – we can't say so. Or can we?

P4: Well, I think simply *this personality is* in general *stronger today. This is such a general thing already*.

It is of course difficult to reach behind the true essence of if and how a society has shaped us, especially so in a brief interview. Yet the comments by P4 seem to illustrate that in addition to awareness of one's *self* in the interpreting situation, the interpreter is definitely aware of the broader context in which the events occur. P4 shows that in a tense socio-political situation the stress on one's personal self transfers to the stress on the professional self, while in

addition to the role constraints one feels ethical constraints related to accepting working for the regime or not. Or, as she admits, even fearing the regime. Changes in the macro-environment (cf. Chapter 2, 3.2. above) relate to conceptualisation of both the personal and professional self. In a democratic environment the *maintenance of front* (cf. Goffman 1959 in 4.1. above) may go through the presentation of a professional self. One need not engage in the ideological "pretending", "playing along" "considering things" (cf. P4 above). We agree with Pym (2005, cf. above) that the society should not be regarded as the only factor shaping us – yet the interview results above seem to suggest that interpreters may perceive societal changes rather strongly. Note also that even if there is a certain (resigned) tolerance in P4's remarks, on the one hand, she seems to accept the society as something evolving on its own, something one has to "live with". On the other hand, the sense of evaluation is definitely there – and the professional role is envisioned through the societal change as having moved into a more flexible framework, which allows one more "to be there", to analyse one's role, task and personal and professional self*:*

> **188.** P4: – "of course we were so used to this pretending that it …maybe in this sense was not this sharp."
> – "But in the times I began with interpreting *it was self-evident that lying and such a game went on. So that it even wasn't that horrible.*"
> – "Well, I think simply this personality is in general stronger today. This is such a general thing already".

After the recording (field notes) P4 tells the interviewer more about the changes she perceives in society. She says that her whole family had always been against the previous regime "not screaming but inside you". "The whole family has been deported to Siberia, and all this, you know". "For me, when the changes began, it was really a big change – I really felt it when taking each breath that "finally, finally…. can this be true?"" .

P2, interestingly, does not focus so much on the mediating processes between the two societies but rather on her own role in the specific interpreting context. Answering the question on if and how she perceives herself in relation to or "between" the societies she mediates, she says:

> **189.** P2: Yes. In this respect that I have…well, you try anyway…let's say that I try to express – in whatever way, it doesn't matter of course, well, if I only interpret then I can't indeed, I can't change the words, I can't add anything. But say, well, indeed – I don't know – in a smaller group, later, in the course of the conversation one really starts striving for – in the sense that you observe – *that I really behave as the best representative of Estonia* (laughter) – something like this. [...]And well, indeed, the human aspect is always there…But at the same time …well, when you really know also the other culture – the culture of the language, the culture into which you interpret – well, then in a way…Then it is maybe easier, in this respect that if questions arise in a smaller group, right – about what is this or that now exactly, then you can simply bring some example, right. [...] But I don't

know – there's no such [thing as] being in-between the two. Rather *I feel myself as a, well, let's say then this, our, let's say, representative of Estonia*, or something like this. *These people are here for a very short time. And maybe they don't even see anything else – then you simply have to leave them the best impression.*

P2, thus, perceives the mediator's role clearly and she is monitoring herself consciously to leave the visiting party the best impression of Estonia.

P5 remains rather modest in commenting on the differences. Yet she feels that the interpreting situations have changed due to the differences in communication patterns and ways/principles of organising interpreter-mediated events in general today as compared to the beginning of the 1990s.

190. P5: I actually think that *communication has changed [...]*.When I compare my first interpreting experience [...] and the last one….Maybe … *the events in themselves and the way of organising things have changed*, yes.
I: But does this influence you and your role?
P5: *I think I do behave differently now*, yes. *That this has…influenced me*. [...] But…It has changed, but I can't express it in words so well [...].

P6 shares this view:

191. P6: *I think that things have become more free. And not so official, rather a kind of a softer approach to be felt and a more open tonality, that's so*.
I: and is there a relationship between this and the role? For an interpreter in a" more free" situation?
P6: Yes – *it is easier and more comfortable to work. In the sense that…well you are not…you don't have to be so forced and so. You are more comfortable and I think that the result of your work is better.*

P8's views on transportation of ideas are the following:

192. P8: Right. Sometimes it's rather complicated in fact. *Sometimes we can say that you – then and there – start to think about what this [concept/idea] means in this society, and how to accentuate this. And still you want to interpret things*. It is exactly in this sense that it is essential to find the equivalence. If you just calque, maybe you will never find this balance between the societies. But if you are creative…In this sense, you have to be a little creative.
I: In this sense, it's still not quite that…?
P8: It's not. Still – you are an assisting gadget, but you are still a smart machine (laughter). So. That you still have to kind of…Because if one would use just an assisting gadget – I could go for such an…. electronic translator. *But in this sense it seems to me that it would not satisfy me, for example, as a client. I want to know a little more about the environment, I want to know how the accents lie and…*Sometimes indeed I have a question – what were you bearing in mind under this or that. *Then it would be good if the interpreter could explain.*

The answer of P8 clearly illustrates another dimension to the interpreter's work: Not only do they have a good overview and analytical dimension of the cultures they interpret between. Their work is also characterised by a constant analysis of their own socio-cultural context (cf. our discussion on intercultures, Pym 1997, cf. Kukkonen 2003 in 1.1.4. above). Aspects of their own socio-cultural context that may otherwise accepted by default, are brought to the fore and demand a critical view, an analysis, a capacity to explain and explicate them for another culture in split-second moments. It is understandable, then, that interpreters may sometimes also have a more critical outlook or be apt to question more what is taken as self-evident in their societies (cf. Cronin 2002 on "monsters" in 3.2.3. above).

P9 believes that a lot of ideas and values are mediated through interpreting. Sweden and Estonia – the societies involved for her language pairs – as examples of a country that has reached the post-modern and modern stage of development respectively (cf. Veebel 2005 in 2.2. above), offer interesting insights into the transportation of ideas and educating societies:

> **193.** P9: *Definitely a lot.* Take for example the field of family planning and sexual education – well they have topics which are very complicated/…/. Well, for us, this is…*In this respect that they have had this education for already ... the union is 80 years old, it has been an obligatory subject at schools for 50 years*.
> I: So that you are "filling an empty space"?
> P9: Well, yes, I kind of feel that our people have kind of a…*That this is really a missionary work*. Well, that this…But there it is also that I'm not only the interpreter but I am involved myself. But then another field where I wasn't involved myself is the issue of foster-parents. For example in Sweden, orphanages as institutions have been practically closed down. *Everything goes through families. This is importing a change in the worldview*. Right!

P9 is referring to the interpreted event longer back in time here. Ideas interpreters mediate take even considerably longer to take root. For example, only a year after our interview does the suggestion of doctors to make sexual education *in the future* obligatory in schools in Estonia make a headline (PM 23.12.2005). And even this is just a start. We may presume that in many cases the interpreted events, especially various train the trainer sessions may have contributed to launching similar processes. Similar fields mentioned by our participants entail the training of rescue workers (P10), the training of social workers and training of specialists to work with people with alcohol problems (P7, P9). Participants have been working at different seminars for representatives of local governments (P1, P3, P7, P10, P12). They have also been mediators in different sessions in the medical field (P3, P7, P9, P10) and agricultural cooperation (P9, P10, P14). Also several other forms of meetings of cultures, histories and societies were mentioned (P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P8, P9, P10, P12, P13).

As concerns the society and mediating and importing values, P10 remarks:

194. P10: Definitely. I am not speaking about me myself but the interpreter in general. When there were many visits abroad in the beginning of the 1990s, there were many intellectuals, not only officials among the clients. And I remember that many times there was talk about how good, say at mealtimes, when…say there was, well, a dinner for xxx…without guests, where one did not have to interpret. *Then one could discuss again the culture or speak about the customs and this what they <u>should</u> know. And then there have been cases when people have <u>especially</u> come to thank [the interpreter] for that they <u>knew</u> a little in advance or how things are actually*. So that I have indeed many times had the honour of being <u>thanked</u>.

While this remark partly relates to the topic of interpreter-client relations, also cultural ambassadorship and guidance become explicit here. What P10 tells us about is a transfer of values, cultures, customs. And, importantly, the transfer is guided by the interpreter, at the request of clients, in situations with only one primary party present. Cultural priming is carried out with the view of developing the clients' knowledge about the country they are going to visit and preparing them for cross-cultural encounters (cf. also our considerations in Chapters 1.1.3.–1.1.6., 2, 3 and 4 above).

P10 also points out that the encounters with foreigners have become commonplace today and there is a difference between how participants treat the communication triad now and before the independence period. Still, there is a lot of positive in the way how people communicate and how the training sessions are organised. According to P10, encounters she has participated in have witnessed an implicit importation and exchange of values:

195. P10: I think that there have been so many contacts now that *there is not any special awe for the one who's interpreted*, respect – yes. But sometimes there is also a certain arrogance unfortunately, for example one is not on time, or…or for example what I think is not positive is that one is so free that one does not stick to the time limit given in the programme – I mean, say, the length of the presentation. One changes the programme, and so ….I think so. And of course, well, people have been here and many Estonian officials and cultural persons have….well, they can already communicate on their own. *But all this time there has been some development* and there has…maybe it's indeed the right name for it – *there has been importation – and this has been to the advantage*.

At the same time, the transfer is not unidirectional. On the question "do we give something back? – or maybe it is a difficult question", P10 answered:

196. P10: No there's nothing difficult here. *I do think so, yes*. For example – this may be a strange one – but the Russian time was a relatively poor one, as we know. And I remember there was a delegation from a xxx rescue service visiting us. And we were visiting the xxx rescue service and – as we all know – Sweden has very advanced technology. But *the foreigners…the foreigners were very much impressed by this <u>simplicity</u> we had. And they*

promised to take over a thing Soviet people had come upon in a poor time – for example a device for extinguishing the burning dead grass in spring. There was an ordinary broom handle. And they had fastened a car's inner deck to it. Such a big spade, and if you hit with it, the flames are extinguished. *Well they kept staring at this "wonder". And then of course our boys were so proud for having come on this. Yes, so this is…And I believe there are more such examples, but I simply don't remember right now,* but this was now such a <u>concrete</u> thing.

At the same time, there are also interesting examples of a certain export or mediation of cultural values and traditions:

> **197.** P10: But I also think we could mention such as, say, our song festivals – I know people who have come to visit them more than once. *Once, the first time, they just happened to visit these, in a delegation. But then I know quite many people, many families who have kept themselves informed and especially come to Estonia to visit our song festivals.*

P10 has given us examples of exporting more concrete ideas and ways of solving problems. The celebration of the song festival tradition by foreigners could illustrate an exchange of cultural values. In the first instance of meeting this phenomenon the interpreter's cultural explanations have shown the clients the way to a new singing culture, the people have started to love and cherish it. Interestingly, the once clients keep the contacts with the interpreter alive, telling her each time they bring their family about their visits and their impressions of the concerts.

P11 has not perceived any transfer or mediating between values and mentalities:

> **198.** P11: No, there isn't. I really don't have such a feeling.

P12 believes the import-export aspect is important and forms an inseparable part of the interpreter's role. At the same time, interestingly, P12 does not think that gapping all the bridges is the task of the interpreter only but stresses that the audience, the primary parties should "have made their homework". In her view, the clients must have learned about the culture of the country, society and structures of the other primary party. Only then can mediation be perfect, while the result of interpreting and the absolute quality of the process depends also on the primary parties and how receptive they are:

> **199.** P12: It is indeed so that *the interpreter and interpreting – export-import – this is indeed what it is.* And this relates [...] to the question on the Code of Ethics – whether the interpreter is something more than just the one who translates words or mediates messages. Export-import – definitely. But it is so here that *the homework should be done by both [primary] parties. Then it will succeed, will be perfect. But sometimes there is then…the interpreter is like a fragile straw…. over a river, who should help to mediate the message, to convey everything exactly from one society to the other – but this cannot*

be interpreted directly. Indeed, people should prepare themselves and learn about the other party' s structures and legal system in order to be able to express themselves or open the aspects that are completely different in the other country. Often this is not done and the role of interpreter here – yes, export-import – is immense. But it also depends on…
I:…how receptive they are?…
P12: How receptive they are and …how much they perceive that …they have left something undone or…Well*, the better one has done one's homework and the more informed one is of the other country's society…society, people, life – the bigger joy it is to interpret.*

We may argue that the explicit stress on receiver responsibility also implies a certain reorganisation of the perception of the triad. Even if it could be seen as a mirror image of increased interpreter responsibility, this approach also emphasises the importance of cooperation. Not only interpreters' but also the participants' role has exceeded the passivised boundaries. There is no longer a product to be packed-unpacked and received – instead, everyone in the triad is included in active message creation (cf. Linell 1997, 1998 and in 3.1.3. above). Differently from our other participants, who have stressed that it is their role as interpreters to explicate and serve as cultural ambassadors, P12 rightfully points to the fact that also the primary parties should play an active role in becoming acquainted with and sharing each other's contexts and positions. We suggest that this observation can again be explained in the context of democratisation and individualisation processes that have influenced both the interpreted situations and the behavioural patterns in general. All participants in the triad have a responsibility, the capacity to learn and mediate. The roles are dynamic and support and flexibly supplement each other. The primary parties are not passive senders and receivers. The interpreter is not just a connecting link, but may even instigate an active message co-creation by all participants.

We also see here a certain immersion of backstage and front stage (cf. Goffman 1959 in Chapter 4 above). There is a gradual adaptation to a new role that is based on comparing the Code and client feedback (cf. our discussion on provisional selves and professional adaptation; Ibarra 1999 in Chapter 4 above). The temporary standard has been modified to meet user expectations. The greater visibility (cf. Angelelli 2004 above), and presence of the interpreter entails also a greater presence and responsibility from the other parties. Instead of make-believe, true cooperation is enforced.

P13 comments on this aspect are integrated with her self-perception and role of a tour-guide:

> **200.** P13: I guess it's so that I perceive this in my work as a tour-guide. I know exactly that people come…people come here with a relatively little knowledge of Estonia…[they] come from Scandinavia. And I know what the papers write about [there], because I have studied this. And then I have such an enormous background. And…*I realise what their pre-conception is and what knowledge I activate when I tell them something.*

As in group-managing, P13 is explicitly monitoring the group and the group's prior knowledge. She refers to consciously activating certain knowledge in the listeners and if we analyse the transcript and her answers to Q1–Q6 above (cf. also the Transcripts), this is also closely related to her work principles. At the same time, similarly to many other participants (P1, P2, P7, P9, P10), she reports a certain patriotism for her homeland:

> **201.** P13: *And I have discovered that I have a very strong Estonian identity and patriotism*. That kind of…I want to paint an objective picture. [...] They know so little. They know only…certain things. These are often…often negative, by the way. Their view is strongly in a frame and I try simply to broaden this. I don't want to tell them that Estonia is the best…best country in the world. But as concerns the role of interpreter, then I feel that I am in a group and ….then I take you along. And already how I then present this person, that I don't simply say that this is this and this is that. *I want them to feel good*. That they would see what's good here. And this comes out in the interpretation as well.

Even though P13's experience is not long enough to compare the interpreting market during the whole transition period, her description of the current state of affairs is well in tune with other participant reports:

> **202.** P13: Well, of course….I can't…I can't compare [the situation today] to the year 1990, because the year when I started to have more contacts with the Swedes was say in 2000. But /…/ the last five…*I think that Estonians on the whole have become more free. And towards us…towards us there is a kind of openness that is revealing itself. Actually [this is so] on both sides.* A little so definitely.

P13 is unifying her role of a group-leader with her role of an interpreter. Along with the group-monitoring and coordination effort (professional self) we can notice a definite pro-patria feeling (personal self). Despite the rather heart-felt feelings, P13 claims that the professional self gains the upper hand in ensuring objectivity.

Also for P14, even if she has settled in Estonia only ten years ago, when the morphing of the systems started, the makeover has been conspicuous:

> **203.** P14: Oh, yes, it has [changed]. Clearly it has.

The changes entail both the growth of professionalism, where according to P14 today the clients ask for recommendations and pay more. (At the same time, note that according to P9, it was earlier so that clients only contacted interpreters for whom they had good recommendations, and that according to P12 and P11, the fees have diminished). Part of the changes may also concern P14's language combinations:

204. P14: In the beginning I could not work too much between Estonian and Finnish. Let's say that the first five years were spent on learning the language.

Some of the situations in the beginning of the 1990s P14 reports, attest to rather questionable principles on the side of the organisers:

205. P14: I remember once in xxx there was a Greek who spoke English and I translated this into Finnish which then was translated into Estonian.

Also, indeed, the context of interpreting and the primary parties themselves may have changed. The aspects of ethics, power and loyalty (cf. answers to Q5, Q6 in 7.2.5–7.2.6. above) become relevant again:

206. P14: And, for the third, *maybe it is exactly related to this ....honesty. Maybe we don't need to give as many warnings as we had to earlier.* [...] Mmm. So that it has changed. *Today, people are more ...there's fair play. I mean – it was almost a rule ...a rule for ten years ago, say five years ago – that one was trying to cheat foreigners.* Now it is kind of rather so that one is trying to find possibilities for cooperation and keep this investor.

This possibly relates to the changes in the society as a whole:

207. P14: Yes. It is clear that Estonian society has moved forward.

That this evaluation comes from a participant from Finland, a country often seen as an example to follow in the democratisation and westernisation process, gives a special positive value to the comment. As a representative of such more developed and richer society, P14 has been able to contribute to the development of Estonia through consciously choosing the assignments and working without a fee if she believes promoting a certain field could support development in the society as a whole. The personal self decides on accepting the commission and on the terms, the professional self performs the task:

208. I: Translation as export and import. You, as a Finn, have you felt that you help to import something, say soft values, for example?
P14: Yes! I have.
I: You have?
P14: A lot. When I for example worked for the first 8 years – I worked without a fee. I still work without any fee in many cases. For example for the homeless xxx. So that in a way I support business. This is supporting the development of business life and the growth of entrepreneurship. I especially offer my services free for example for small enterprises in South-Estonia. For those who – well – simply do not have the money to pay for an expensive [translation] bureau.

At the same time, P14 points out that some of the developments in society have not taken place sufficiently fast. The older democracies of Europe are still a step ahead of us (cf. modernism-post-modernism in Veebel 2005 above, the specifics

of transition societies in Lauristin 1997 as well as developed industrial societies in Van Deth, Scarbrough 1995, and in 2.2. above):

> **209.** P14: Some kind of a cold-blood behaviour has entered the society. Meaning that everybody wants money, wants to have a fancy car, to go abroad . So that those "little people" – especially in the countryside – will definitely not be able to catch up.

On the one hand, even if materialism is still strongly enforced, there is an influx of soft values – at least as concerns the reduction of ambiguity in what "good business traditions" used to mean:

> **210.** P14: But *I think that business cannot go on without honesty. I guess businessmen have realised that one must behave as one must. If soft values mean honesty, I think that Estonian business cannot continue in the old way.* Cheating and playing tricks. In this respect – there are soft values to be felt, yes.

On the other hand, there is still a long way to go before true European standards in mentality and behaviour will be reached (cf. also the views of the Estonian youth having settled abroad in Mullamaa 2004):

> **211.** P14: *But in general I believe that Estonian society has become much more hard-nosed.* Such mutual caring and nursing and caring about pensioners and children and…*in this the soft values are completely lost right now.* Mmm! And I see it in my work – there are few assignments where we speak like…Well, it seems that for Estonians it is embarrassing to speak about such social issues.
> I: Do you mean that in the mentality there is still a long way to go?
> P14: Yes.

The answers to Q8 and 9 show that not all participants (P1, P2, P11) perceive that the societal change has affected them, but many do (P4, P5, P6, P7, P9,P10, P12, P13, P14). Many participants (P4, P5, P9, P10, P12, P13, P14) believe that this entails changes also in the interpreted events, as well as the interpreter's role. "The individual is stronger. This is such a general thing already today" (P4). Participants (P1, P2, P4, P6, P7, P9, P12, P13, P14) also feel that they help to mediate important values and knowledge. P7 refers to soft values and respect for the individual of more advanced Western societies, which she feels she has to import for example at training sessions for representatives of the social sector in fields like working with homeless children and people with alcoholism problems. P9 mentions her work in family planning education (where she also has become a lecturer herself). This field has an 80 year-long tradition in Sweden. In Estonia it has started to develop to a very big extent through (interpreted/ translated) training programmes only in recent years. In many situations where values are mediated, the empathy and communicative competence of interpreters has a big role to play. In order to make an idea or approach acceptable in a new culture, knowing what has been the standard there

before and how to present the ideas, how to build a loyal community, may have an important role to play. Interpreters do perceive their work as building bridges between societies (P8, P10, P12). They consider that the communication of novel and ethical ideas helps their societies to develop (P4, P5, P7, P9, P10, P12, P13, P14) and they do sometimes exceed the principles of the Code approach to enhance communication and enable maximum client interaction. Among fields where an active exchange or importation of ideas was felt most strongly were for example seminars on solving social problems and supporting the victims, the rehabilitation of drug addicts, sexual education, training the military, educating the rescue service. At the same time the exchanges have not been a one-way importation of ideas, while also inventions and cultural traditions in a materialistically poorer society may have an interesting and valuable contribution to make (P10). Significantly, P12 points to the importance of participant involvement in the process. Only if participants "have done their homework", are receptive and grasp the nuances and differences in the respective system and structures of their societies can, according to her, interpreting succeed to the maximum extent. New implications of the more active involvement of the more dynamic roles of all the communicators in the triad become explicit.

7.2.9. Suggestions by participants

Q10 What would you like to add…?

When answering Q10 many participants (P3, P11, P14) returned to the issue of training. As currently training is only given to conference interpreters, participants related to this training (P3, P11) regretted that many practitioners on the liaison market have not gone through this. At the same time, the reports by the very same people (as well as most other participants) revealed clear differences in the two modes, and even that client expectations to liaison interpreters are different in view of the communication model used. Some practitioners (P3, P4, P5, P9, P14) point out that separate training programmes for liaison interpreters could be beneficial.

P14 – coming from a different society – has a completely different view on training. Also, she points to the fact that there is currently no clear system for professional qualification for the job:

> **212.** P14: And…I am not ….I do not have the professional qualification. I have thought that I apply for this. But here….There is none yet! None yet!

P14 refers to the system of licensing of interpreters in Finland and believes a similar system would be needed in Estonia:

213. P14: I think there should be one. Exactly on these three levels. I consider this very good. And now I have filed an application in Finland to take the exam for the "asioimistulki" interpreter. This means that I can be, well,…

The possibility to obtain a qualification (and clear standards for it) also in other modes of interpreting definitely closely relates to professionalism. At the same time, the possibility to train oneself in the mode of specialisation and receive feedback, as well as go through tests to get feedback on one's skills, seems also to be closely related to the personal self and ethics:

214. P14: Nobody makes it obligatory. [...] But…it is not demanded. But I consider it *ethically* right that I have some proof of the fact that I can perform this task.

In this the circle is becoming closed. As many participants have indicated – training for the different modes of interpreting, as well as sessions of ongoing education and training with a clear qualification and testing system could lead us to a new level of professionalisation, where the representatives of all the different modes feel equally accepted. Once we have gathered the practitioners in the field, discussions on improving the practice or solving the dilemmas can be started. Also, the trade unionist function can then be performed (cf. complaints on clients not respecting the interpreter's rights by P9, P10, P11; or strange interpreting settings by P14).

7.3. Results of the follow-up questionnaires

The follow-up questionnaires were administered one year after the in-depth interviews by e-mail. Participants were explained that the follow-up is the last stage of the research, and that it is carried out for methodological purposes.

Some questionnaires were turned in very rapidly, within the same day (mostly by people who themselves were engaged in some research project), others took a few days to complete.

Interpreters in the first cohort were encouraged to give feedback in case any questions seemed unclear or confusing. All gave very useful feedback as a result of which we cut some questions shorter and made the instructions even clearer.

The results of the follow-up questionnaire are presented in Appendix 1.

In general, participants expressed views rather similar to interviews. We believe that this attests to the reliability and validity of research. The main gist of the comments can be summarised in P10's words:

215. P10: a competent interpreter + the explicitly given or (with a positive attitude) implied possibilities for cooperation in the interpreting situation help us to convey the details in a specific situation, but also to help clients understand the broader context much better. Without overestimating the role

of the interpreter we can say that (normally) the interpreter is the liaison between the client and the source. It is important that the interpreter can mediate culture not only verbally but also with her behaviour (for example following herself certain rules in eating culture, indicating the hierarchy of who has the word). That this assumption holds true has been confirmed by numerous clients who are genuinely interested in the other party's culture.

Only two participants expressed views that were fully in tune with the Code mode. As in the interview, P8 remains more cautious and stresses the importance of preserving the client-service provider relationship:

> **216.** P8… we shouldn't forget that the interpreter is in fact a service provider. Thus we must first think of the client's needs (this must be met 100% – exactly forwarded).

Contrary to what we had expected, some participants were even more supportive of interaction in the follow-up questionnaire. P11, who very clearly supported the machine model in the interview ("Still – the interpreter is just a machine"), is of an opposite opinion in the follow-up. Differently from the interview, she also expresses the view that "Especially in liaison interpreting, the human dimension and empathy may help where a word-for-word translation could remain unclear" (FQ6). P11 now also finds that "sometimes the interpreter feels that there is a personal self side – for example when very emotional topics or ethical dilemmas are touched upon" (FQ11).

In tune with her initial position, however, P11 does not think that communication in interpreting situations has become more informal (FQ16). Neither can it then influence the role of the interpreter (FQ17). P11 is also the only participant who says that the interpreter is not a mediator between different mentalities, cultures and values (FQ20). (Interestingly, also P8 answers in the negative to a part of this question – albeit agreeing to that interpreters mediate between cultures). At the same time P11 asserts that knowledge, skills, culture and values have been both exported and imported (FQ21–22). The additional comments by P11 (FQ23) explain the seeming discord between her standpoints:

> **217.** P11: Informal communication, the exchange of cultural aspects and values as well as expressing the self-side mostly take place outside the interpreting situation, for example before the job has been performed already, during the coffee- or lunch-break, in the taxi, in the bus, etc. In the interpreting situation, however, the interpreter *must still rather be a "machine"*.

Indeed, this is the same principle of communicative interaction that we have identified with different participants above. The main task according to P11 is to remain unbiased and neutral in fulfilling her task, yet admitting the human side and applying it in the context "surrounding" the immediate communication situation. While other participants may accept more interaction also on-site, both P11 and P8 remain more cautious here.

Except for the minor shifts discussed above, participants presented views that were in tune with their beliefs expressed in interviews. Thus, as said above, hopefully helping to enforce the reliability and validity of the research.

7.4. Profiling the participants

The networking principle has allowed us to find a number of practising liaison interpreters in Estonia. The practitioners specialise in this mode of interpreting and consider it a niche in its own right. Our participants generally work for the upper-market, they are relatively well paid. They are mostly women, they all have acquired a higher education, many a degree, and most have another full-time or free-lance job. The informants emphasise their belief in good cooperation with clients. Their remarks on client interaction, initiating sub-dialogues, as well as on the feedback that they have received from clients suggests that they are accepted (and valued quite highly) by the clients. Reports on clients asking interpreters to help as hosts or leaving interpreters alone with clients suggest that there is trust also from the clients' side.

To view participant profiles concerning our research questions, please see Appendix 1 below. The profiling did not show that the preference to opt for more interaction would relate to the number of years of working in the profession.

Instead, there is a clear correlation between training and rather supporting the Code model (P11, P3) than interaction. This includes also people with some training in the field (P7, P5). People with no training (P1, P2, P4, P6, P8, P10, P12, P14) are somewhat more interactive, at the same time, however, reporting that they try to respect professional ethics. The boundaries between the personal and professional self in the latter group seems to be more dynamic.

To protect participant anonymity we do not present their age or language pairs. No conclusive remarks can be made on cultural influence on participants preferences concerning participants' choices of establishing their role boundaries. Yet, the current results suggest that participants interpreting between the Scandinavian languages-Estonian prefer more interaction than for example those interpreting between the Estonian-Russian or Estonian-German language pairs.

8. DISCUSSION

In brief we could summarise the main results of the study as follows:

* The current working principles (the Code) rely to a large extent on the "Code model" which has been widely criticised in recent interpreting research;
* The "Code model" may be more relevant for conference interpreting, yet liaison interpreting may have different modalities and needs;
* We have traced a number of interpreters who work in the liaison mode in Estonia;
* These practitioners have built up a self-conception and devised a number of strategies, the number of common traits of which could allow them to be described as "common practice";
* Their principles and strategies seem to be appreciated by clients;
* Liaison interpreting could therefore possibly be considered a professional niche in its own right;
* The current official training programmes in Estonia (supported and monitored by the EU) to a great extent train interpreters for the EU institutions (cf. Lambert 1991, Cronin 2002 above).
* The local market may have additional and different needs;
* The above results suggest a possible need for separate and/or additional guidelines (or slight modifications and additions) for liaison interpreters in the Code;
* There could be special training programmes for people wishing to specialise in liaison interpreting; such programmes already exist in different training institutions of the world;
* A high quality interpreting service for the local market may entail more communication and interaction than has been suggested;
* Some of the principles and strategies used by practising liaison interpreters could prove valuable in interpreter training for the local market;
* It does not really matter if one mode of interpreting is "higher" or "lower" on the ranking scale (be it the ultimate "upper-market" or our state institutions, local government, business or even simply individual visitors to the country). They all deserve a high quality interpreting service which may include more communication and interaction than has been suggested traditionally.

As regards our Hypothesis 4, we can note that the dynamic shaping of the role aspects may be more visible in a transition society like Estonia because

* The training programmes, the professional association and standards of interpreting have been formed and worked out relatively recently – only in the 1990s;

* There are many people who did not attend the official trainings but have worked up themselves simultaneously;
* Therefore many of the processes are not folded up, hidden;
* The practices and principles have developed in tune with the developing of the market, in tune with the real communicative needs of the triads.
* A certain tendency in the mentality of people in Estonia ("the spirit of the Singing Revolution") to question rigid doctrines has been described to prevail. Our individualism has inspired many to test and check before they believe or follow;
* Very similar traits reveal themselves in the self-descriptions of practising interpreters we have interviewed concerning some principles of the Code and training. Rules are checked against reality.

Below, in Chapter 8.1., we will give a more detailed evaluation of the methodology used. In Chapter 8.2. we discuss the ethical principles followed while writing the thesis. In Chapter 8.3. we recap the arriving to our conclusions hypothesis by hypothesis. Chapter 8.4. will discuss the two major emerging groups and the general outcomes of the study (discussion).

8.1. Evaluation of the methodology used

Every research project is a discovery process not only regarding the immediate answers to the research questions, but also the possibilities of application of methodologies. Furthermore, it is a personal voyage in a socio-cultural political-economic context that is evolving and including, influencing and shaping us, which in its turn is in interaction with our participants and the processes we study.

First, let us briefly discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the methodology we have chosen in retrospect.

The methodological framework of ethnography has proved useful for the research. While we had guessed that the changing environment may have created a need for liaison interpreting we did not know whether and to which extent this was true. Also, we had no adequate information on who performs these tasks (trained conference interpreters, students, who?). The chaining method has helped us find participants. With the help of these methods we have been able to start mapping a different reality – a reality also the participants themselves are unaware of – while most believe they are functioning the way they do alone, in isolation (cf. Tate and Turner 1997/2002 above).

As concerns our methodology more specifically, it seems that opting for semi-structured interviews has been justified while it has enabled the participants to expound on topics they might not have had a chance to bring up and give in-depth answers to otherwise. At the same time, the coverage of all the main topic areas could be guaranteed. Because of the insight and information offered, as well as the immediate contact achieved with participants,

working with these methods has been a wonderful experience. Returning from each interview I have felt I have gained a new piece in a colourful mosaic that helps to envision the role of liaison interpreters in my country. Interpreters themselves have expressed that they appreciate having a chance to share their experience and insights.

However, the methodological framework of ethnography also entails some drawbacks. Below we discuss these, as well as the solutions we used for surmounting the problems:

1) Even if the interviews proved most insightsful, it is obvious that this is a rather time and energy consuming method. Sending out questionnaires would – theoretically – have enabled me to collect answers quickly from a much larger number of participants. Also, it would have been much easier to quantify the results, have neatly laid out tables with figures instead of opinions, insights, tentative formulations by participants. However, we believe that this time the choice of methodology was justified by the topic itself. Sending out the initial questionnaires proved that not too many of these were returned. Later, the very same people who did not return them admitted in interviews that they were frightened "they think wrong" or that "they are not the right interpreters anyway, while they don't work in the conference mode" (P4, P6, P9 field notes). So in this respect – for finding a community who is afraid to exist – contacting participants personally proved better. The results are interesting in that with each interview we have been building on a body of similar understandings by people many of whom were sure they were alone in thinking and acting this way. Participants also expressed a kind of positive attitude towards "someone finally taking this issue up" (field notes, P1, P6, P9). This real-life feedback was a much needed encouragement in many phases of the work.

Also, in the case of questionnaires, with such a relatively sensitive topic, it would have been difficult to predict how much of the respondent views one would actually see there, and how much would there be a reflection of the researcher's own pre-defined suppositions, while strictly formulated questions give little room for approaching a topic from a different angle. But realities have many points of view. The methodology used has enabled our participants to express these. '

2) The specifics of oral expression also render some extracts rather elliptical, others may be slightly tautological or repetitive. Nevertheless, this by no means renders them less valuable. In tune with our quest for the rightfulness of the studies in orality (cf. Cronin 1998 above) the thesis thus itself enforces this creed – not just through the focus on the agents of oral medium, but also the medium they are allowed to express their views in.

3) Critics of the methodology of ethnographic research have pointed out that despite all efforts there could still be some interviewer influence. In our case we tried to bring it to the minimum by letting participants speak their own mind and following the principles of convergent interviewing. Our research results are presented in Part II followed by the analysis immediately after participant reports. This way, we believe, the readers have a possibility to clearly follow the researcher's line of reasoning, to see which original excerpt has lead us to which insights or conclusions. In an ethnographic study with 10 questions and 14 participants with long extracts from interviews presenting first the summary and then a separate analysis part could cause losing some valuable connections between the analysis and impulses from our research that tries to follow the principles of thickness and holism. We have tried to keep the participant discourse and researcher discourse separated. The analysis and our suggestions follow only once an authentic picture of participant responses is established. We have also included a large proportion of quotes by participants in the analysis to enable our readers follow the participants' line of thought. Originally, we planned to have full versions of transcripts of our interviews available in the Appendix. As this would have exceeded the length allowed for PhD theses, we have made them available for interested readers at www.art.ee/thesistranscripts.

4) Thickness and holism in ethnographic research entails that even more insights in participant responses can be detected than can be commented upon in a certain research project.

5) And finally, in ethnographic research, analysing the data is very time and energy consuming because only once you have gathered the majority of the answers, and distributed them to relevant questions, the broader picture for *real* results and analysis starts to emerge. The motivation for the researcher is the belief that the thickness of reports and field-notes has enabled one to get a broader picture and hopefully be able to observe the principles of holism for the in-depth analysis.

To sum up, the methodological framework of ethnography has proved valuable in obtaining a number of self-descriptions of practising liaison interpreters in Estonia. We have found out what practitioners think of their role and discovered interesting parallelisms between their self-conceptions and their analyses of the influence of the broader societal influence on their role. The self-descriptions have been rich in insights and have offered interesting information on the questions we wanted to find an answer to.

8.2. The ethical framework for methodology

At the same time, we hope that the spirit and essence of this study is also in tune with the development of research in Translation and Interpreting Studies. Anthony Pym (2005 b)) suggests that researchers in these fields should be taking a proactive approach. He (ibid.) points out that our very research may be intercultural communication, it can be intertwined with the object of the research itself and there is no idea to make the researcher (falsely) invisible.

Pym (ibid.) stresses that we *can* tell people what we found out. The knowledge we discover has to be given back to the community to get them help themselves. This can make people *aware* of what they do, maybe bring about some changes. Pym (ibid.) makes it explicit that in a research process our relation with the people involved is ongoing. He (ibid.) urges us to keep track of this valuable exchange and processes and realise that doing research is an action. Thus we should not forget to analyse what we are doing. Bring in the meta-meta-meta level. Last but not least, we must make sure that our work has an "added value" – the ethical dimension. Only then can our research bring about changes in real-life practices and principles, develop societies and unite paradigms and world-views.

In our case the ongoing research process has indeed revealed interesting processes unveiling both information on a specific translation culture (Prunč 1997) and the interdependence of the developing of a professional role with the societal processes at the macro and micro levels. In tune with the principles of ethnography and convergent interviewing we did not influence our participants in any way while gaining their answers to the questions posed. But commenting on the interview afterwards (field notes) many participants valued highly the fact that their field of specialisation – liaison interpreting – was being researched. They claimed (P4, P6, P7, P10, P11, P12, P13, P14) that already the fact of somebody doing research in it is a positive reassurance of their field "existing". We thus hope that our research can help practising liaison interpreters in Estonia to realise that they are working in a legitimate field of specialisation (instead of saying that they should not be considered interpreters just because they do not specialise in the conference field). The fact that they are not alone, that there are many people specialising in the same domain, may hopefully contribute to a reassurance in their role. Moreover, the principles the practitioners report to follow in their work are strikingly similar – despite the fact that these are developed in isolation from each other. We hope that this piece of research can support practitioners on their way of developing ethically acceptable principles that at the same time serve client interest. Possibly, the information obtained in this study can also be used for working out and developing further guidelines for practitioners and beginners in the field. The establishing of the fact that this modality of interpreting is an independent niche of its own, as well as the information we have gained on its specificity, can possibly serve as a stepping-stone towards establishing a union to support liaison interpreters in their work if they should feel they need this. The

information on the wide spread of liaison interpreting and on the wide variety of fields covered suggests that there is a need for the field to continue to exist, thus also the opening of training programmes focusing on the speciality of liaison interpreting could be fully justified. The valuable insider-reports of the practitioners in the field could also serve as useful information for such training. For all this we wish to thank the informants who have so benevolently departed this valuable information for our research.

Participants (P6, P10, P8) have also reported later that they have been thinking a lot on the interview and that they have started to analyse their role in their everyday interpreting assignments (P13). About a year after our interview, P13 gave me a call and tells me she is organising an alternative conference for translators and interpreters in the Baltic states, where the focus would – differently from common practice – be on literary translators and liaison interpreters. Big things start from small. Exactly the same way conference interpreters started paving the way for their rightful position in the beginning of the 1990s.

Another positive sign (albeit not in any way due to our research) is that for the first time in history sign language interpreters are started to be trained at Tartu University in September 2006 (PM 04.04.2006).

Possibly, the time is ripe for accepting the different modalities and modes of interpreting.

On a broader societal level the establishment of liaison interpreting as a viable field of specialisation could be considered a sign of developed democracies (professional training programmes exist in the Nordic Countries, Australia, New Zeland, the Canadian Northwest territories (Baker, Malmkaer 2000: 34), in many of them there are also professional associations. Also different Codes of professional practice exist for different modalities of interpreting (cf. http://www.sktl.net/). At least in our specific context the development of the profession has gone hand in hand with the democratisation and individualisation processes too.

As discussed above, in Interpreting Studies the inclusion of liaison and dialogue interpreting as a field of study has brought about acknowledging the variety existent in the profession. The individual is more and more the focus of interest also in Translation Studies. Instead of focusing on interpreters (and translators) as predictable translating devices, the human in its individuality and the societal in its complexity is inevitably becoming a legitimate factor to be studied. We hope that future research can contribute even more to our understanding of the influence of these essential factors on our behaviour as well as help us build on viable suggestions for ethically and efficiently fulfilling our tasks and performing our roles in this increasingly ambiguous and multi-layered intercultural world.

8.3. Answers to the research questions

Below, let us take a look at the results hypothesis per hypothesis.

8.3.1. Conceptualising the role

Answers to Hypothesis 1, Q1, 2

Q1: Have you been thinking of the <u>interpreter's role</u> before? How have you personally explained/ conceptualised this for yourself?

Q2: Liaison/ conference interpreting – which do you specialise in? Are there any differences? If yes, what differences are there? Are there differences in your <u>role</u> as interpreter in these situations?

Our research has helped us to find a number of practising liaison interpreters in Estonia. They specialise in this mode of interpreting and consider it a niche in its own right. Our participants generally work for the upper-market, they are relatively well paid. They are mostly women, they all have acquired a higher education and most have another full-time or free-lance job. The informants emphasise their belief in good cooperation with clients (cf. 7.2.1. above). Their remarks on client interaction (cf. P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P8, P10, P12, P13, P14), initiating sub-dialogues (P1, P3, P4, P6, P7, P9, P10, P12, P14) as well as on the feedback that they have received from clients (P1, P3, P5, P6, P10, P14) suggests that they are accepted and evaluated by the clients. Reports on clients asking interpreters to help as hosts or leaving interpreters alone with clients (P5, P7, P9, P10, P13, P14), suggest that there is trust also from the clients' side.

The self-descriptions of interpreters have demonstrated that even if not all interpreters have been consciously analysing their role before, they have been thinking of it ensuing from real-life situations.

Participants perceive a difference in working in the conference and the liaison mode, especially as concerns interaction with clients. In some instances (P1, P2, P4, P5, P8, P9, P10, P12, P14), the Code is believed not to be fully in tune with the actual demands for interpreter interaction that different situations may impinge on interpreters.

That there are so many practitioners who share such insights, principles and strategies is probably news to most members of this group themselves (field notes), this might also be the case with some training institutions or the official union. Even if the two latter explicitly deal with conference interpreting, now that liaison interpreting has been shown to exist and fill a niche of its own, time is ripe to put a question whether different modalities in interpreting could be accepted and negotiated. Some of the existing rules could be reviewed, and training for liaison interpreters provided even in this country.

The documentation of this new niche on the market comes in an interesting time – professionalisation and unionisation are on the upswing in Estonia (cf. relevant discussion in Therborn 1999). We see an interesting fluctuation here compared to the previous Union and the independence period. The national standards (*riiklik kutsestandard*) are thus being worked out for professions such as tour guides, teachers, pharmacists, and many others. Should the interpreting field once stand in a similar stage of professionalisation, recognising the many different modes – including the liaison one – would probably be justified.

8.3.2. Interaction with clients and Code rules

Hypothesis 2, Q 3, 4 & 7

Q3: In the light of the current rules of interpreter interaction, are there any contradictions between what you must not do according to the Code, and which real-life situations may suggest you do in order to help your clients? (Which is your role?)

Q4: How would you describe the interpreter's (your) relationship with the client?
Is your role just "putting the text into another language"? Something else? What?

Q7: The interpreter is…? Could you give me a metaphor?

In general, our informants tended to be very client conscious (cf. 7.2.1.–7.2.8 above). At the same time, they do not tend to fully follow the Code model, and many of them, furthermore, explicitly question that. A very interesting picture emerges where on the one hand, the Code model is questioned, which is in tune with the results of many other studies in the world (see Wadensjö 1998, Tate and Turner 1997/2002, Pöllabauer 2003, 2006, Linell 1997, 1998, Angelelli 2004 in Chapter 3 above). At the same time, there is no tendency to always help the weaker one (as suggested by Wadensjö 1998) or the one in the power position (as suggested by Pöllabauer 2006). Interpreters do not attempt to exceed the client in any way (differently from what is suggested in Angelelli 2004). Our informants do not use their power to influence one or another side (differently from what has been suggested by Anderson 1976/2002, cf. 3.1.2. above). They do not enforce the aspect of entertainment (differently from what Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2001, cf. 3.1.5. above report of). In almost all interviews it is time and again explicitly expressed that any interpreter behaviour that does not strictly follow the Code is mostly there just to facilitate client interaction (P1–P14). Interpreters suggest that they do evaluate the course of discussion or communication and even in some cases interrupt or help "to ensure a positive outcome" (P6). Most participants mention that their role often

entails more than mediating only linguistic information. At the same time this "something you do in addition" to what the role prescribes is often "what makes you a good interpreter", something for what one is praised and "contacted again and again"(P6).

There is also some social or political evaluation involved in the work process (P4, P6, P7, P8, P10, P12, P13, P14). Differently from the insights of Jones 2004 and Cronin 2002, the evaluation on the macro-sociological scale is most often not allowed to intervene in the work process – in this respect the participants are still following the Code. (Also, of course not all interpreters view and analyse their work in terms of macro-sociological processes (P1, P3, P11)). At the same time, interpreters do follow their inner moral and ethics, adding comments or initiating sub-dialogues at instances where they believe it could be "wrong or a pity things would remain this way" (P4) , if a lie is entailed (P1, P2, P5, P10) or also if something "dear for them" is degraded (P1, P2, P10, P12, P13) or potentially misused (P7, P13), or when they feel that one of the clients is being cheated (P10, P12, P14). There is a new model emerging, uniting what we have labelled the professional and personal self aspects (see more below under 4.3.3.).

Interpreters (P4, P6, P10, P12, P14) mention that the greater their professional experience and also life experience, the more at ease they feel to coordinate interaction and the more free they feel to go against the Code if this ensures better client communication or helps them to solve problems. Many participants also hold that the possibility to communicate *beyond* the role confines enables them to help their clients better. Through this their personal and professional self can be reconciled and this gives an added positive impetus to their willingness to work and help with communication (comfort). Even if there lies a potential power in such cultural mediating processes, participants stress that they would never misuse this. What becomes paramount is that the information needed would reach the primary parties and that communication would not be hindered.

8.3.3. The role, self and ethics

Hypothesis 3, Q 5 & 6

Q5: The interpreter and ethics. In your role as an interpreter, have you ever faced ethical dilemmas (e.g. when you understand that one of the parties is telling a lie/is trying to deceive the other)? How do you conceptualise this in relation to your role as interpreter?

Q6: The role and yourself. Have you ever felt a contradiction (e.g. very sad events)? If yes, how do you handle the situation? (neutrality, power?)

Interpreters mention stressful situations where there is a contradiction between their personal and professional self (cf. 7.2.5. but also 7.2.1, 7.2.2., 7.2.8. above). This closely relates to ethics. For example situations where something important for Estonia (natural resources, one's hometown, one's country) is misused or unduly degraded raise the sense of responsibility in interpreters (P1, P2, P3, P5, P6, P7, P13). Participants mention that in cases like these they often enter into sub-dialogues with clients, either after the interpreted event (P3, P10, P11), or in less formal settings sometimes even during it (P1, P5, P7, P9, P14). Participants hold that in some instances they might not fully follow the official Code rules in this respect. They considered that the communicative aspect is unduly neglected, underestimated or even prohibited by the Code and training prescriptions (P1, P4, P5, P6, P10, P12, P13, P14). They claim that real-life situations and experience has shown them that increased interpreter interaction may be in the best interests of their clients (P1, P4, P5, P6, P9, P10, P12, P13, P14). Our informants stress they are keen to observe that the potential power in such mediating processes would not be misused (P4, P6, P12). The optimal communication between primary parties remains most important. Neutrality, helping the client and cultural guidance get the upper hand. If too gross ethical dilemmas are involved, participants rather prefer to give up their job than "pull through it" (P9, P12).

Many informants repeatedly resorted to what we suggest could be described as their personal self in their self-descriptions, and when analysing their behaviour, working strategies and principles (P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P9, P10, P12, P13, P14, cf. 7.2.4. above). This seems to suggest that our idea to introduce these notions may be justified. These findings suggest that there is considerably more personal *self* to be perceived in the self-descriptions of participants than has been considered a part of the interpreter's role traditionally. Evaluating the literature on the role of interpreters from the world (cf. Chapter 3 above) and the self-descriptions of our participants (in 6.3–7.4. above) we conclude that the role conception of interpreters in this mode of interpreting in Estonia seems to be more and more dynamic. For a number of practitioners the role model is still in tune with the Code prescriptions (P3, P7, P11, to a rather great extent P8 and P12), for the rest of them there is a definite urge for stronger interaction. At the same time, there does not seem to be unanimity on what the new "Code-resistant" model is heading for. There is an interesting new model emerging where there is a strong involvement of the personal self (values, ethics, evaluation). At the same time, all this seldom comes to the fore – the exception being seriously challenging ethical dilemmas. Usually the professional self is observing that the personal self would not become the goal rather than a measure. Mostly, the insights (personal self) are applied in the interests of coordination, group-management and interaction (professional self). The primary focus lies on the effective mediation of messages and socio-cultural contexts.

Earlier interpreter training has to a great extent left aside the personal self, and more recent research – as a reaction against it – brought it very strongly to

the fore. Our interviews have demonstrated that the personal and professional self – the two inseparable parts of the interpreter's role – could exist together. Our results suggest that many practitioners have already found their way for reconciling these two sides in a way that is also fully accepted by their clients.

No doubt, the role and identity of interpreters entails even more aspects than these notions can cover. However, we suggest that for the theoretical analysis and pedagogical purposes the notions of personal and professional self could be introduced for visualising the dimensions that the interpreter's role entails. Students and novices in the field often feel they need somewhat simplified rules to lean on to in order to manage the interpreting process and interaction in addition to the complicated cognitive processes of interpreting. Until recently, the remedy offered by the Code model has been to ignore the personal self. We think that this may contribute to the increased levels of stress associated with the profession and be the cause of burnout, or many people leaving the field, as well as many graduates refusing to even start their professional career in the profession. Admitting the reality and developing adequate coping strategies could be a much better way out.

This insight is particularly precious while it comes from the practitioners themselves, who have formed their principles and strategies in the course of an extended career. The insights on the essentials of their role have been formed when moving through different political regimes and socio-economic and quickly changing political-cultural situations. We believe that the general transformation processes of a transition society may have helped our practitioners to shape and test their role model more freely than could have been possible or necessary if a steady hierarchy of training, professionalisation and unionisation had been existing (cf. provisional selves in Ibarra 1999, in 4.2. above).

We believe that at the macro-societal level the developing and becoming acceptable of this trend may be attributed to the general democratisation and individualisation processes in developed Western societies. Concerning our own research, we have been able to observe that many participants believe that their personal self has become stronger in general as well as in their role as interpreters in tune with the socio-political changes in Estonia.

8.3.4. The interpreter and society, interpreting as export-import

Hypothesis 4, Q7, 8 & 9

Q8: The interpreter and society. Have the interpreting situations in Estonia changed from the beginning of the 1990s? Have the clients changed? Do you think this has influenced your role as interpreter? How?

Q9: Interpreting as export-import. Do you feel you are mediating between societies/ philosophies/ ethical dimensions? What is the role of interpreter in that?

In addition to scrutinising their role through the dimensions of personal and professional self, many interpreters (P4, P5, P6, P7, P9, P10, P12, P13, P14, cf. 7.2.8 above) conceptualised their role through mediating between societies, different mindsets, values. A definite importation of soft values from the West is detected (P6, P7, P9, P10, P12, P14). While many seminars explicitly deal with know-how, implicitly their impetus is much bigger on the level of changing values, attitudes, beliefs, P9 even calls it a missionary work (see ex.193 in 7.2.8. above). At the same time the Estonian side has to offer realism, a good educational background, sometimes also teaching the participants the need for caution and control (cf. P10, P14 in 7.2.8. above). Also our cultural traditions are reported to be highly valued (P10). Interpreters perceive the importance of mediating between these processes and this gives a meta-conception to the understanding of their role. In many cases this additional component is referred to when implying greater interpreter interaction, the need for explicitation and sometimes asides.

The reports on the interpreting triad and environment suggest that the changes towards democratisation and individualisation have occurred at quite a rapid pace.

Interpreters perceive changes in society comparing the Soviet period and the modern situation, and between the beginning of the 1990s and today (cf. e.g. P4, P5, P7, P10, P14 in 7.2.8. above).

While the Soviet period entailed working for the party which often caused a clash between interpeters' role (professional self) and ethics (personal self), today there is no ideological or political fear (P4, cf. 7.2.8). The personal self is more free in general and this makes one more free also in interpreting interaction (P4, P5, P10 ibid.), including the right to decide which mode of interpreting to practise. Compared to the beginning of the transition period, liaison interpreting situations have become more relaxed. There is less formality, clients are not "forced" (P7 ibid.) or frightened just because of meeting foreigners. On the other hand, instead of the "enforced punctuality" (P10 ibid.) of the 1990s participants also report of instances of certain arrogance on the side of the hosting primary party (P10, cf. 7.2.5., 7.2.8.), or not keeping to the promised by the hosts here. This may be indicative of some growth of self-awareness in the once receiving-country, image, which Estonia may have had in the beginning stages of our new international communication (even if sometimes merely in materialist terms). The positions of participants in the triad may have slightly changed. The party once hosting a Western partner who had both the material and immaterial resources, input and values, has itself become a representative of an assumedly successfully transformed and economically viable country. Our reports show that the perception of these economic and

political, macro-sociological changes may have interesting reflections on the communication triad, and the interpreter's role inside this.

The self-descriptions of our informants describe a particular Translation culture (Prunč 1997). A pattern emerges that suggests that a number of the principles and strategies are shared by the group studied. We also gain insight into the market share of liaison interpreters – which is probably rather big, considering the fact that the range of spheres where participants work is rather large. Interpreters help to "import new mentalities" (P9) and report of mediating in spheres Estonia has had a lot to learn from the Western neighbours (rehabilitation of people with social problems, drug-addicts, the homeless, sexual education, sustainable development, psychological counselling, human trafficking, etc.). Liaison interpreters also work in the business sphere. Finally, working for political and local government agencies at different levels and working in the cultural sphere was mentioned.

8.3.5. Insights urging further action

Q10: Did we cover everything? What would you like to add…?

Some practitioners also referred to issues of training and qualification (cf. 7.2.9. above). They mentioned that special training programmes for liaison interpreters could be beneficial for them and also for the profession (cf. P13 in 7.2.1, P14 in 7.2.9.). P14 (cf. ex. 212–214 in 7.2.9.) pointed out that there is currently no clearly worked out system of specialisation or qualification for the different modes of interpreting. Referring to the example of Finland, she suggests a similar system could make the market more transparent and working conditions and terms more clearly spelled out for both interpreters and their clients.

8.4. The "Vagabonds" and the Code group

As shown above, broadly speaking, it was possible to observe the emergence of two groups of interpreters in the study: on the one hand, interpreters who lean on the Code and rules of training (let us call them "the Code group"), and on the other hand interpreters who underline the importance of neutrality and impartiality but point to the ambiguous areas in the role that do not always fully streamline with the Code ("the Vagabonds"). This result is fairly similar to Tate and Turner's 1997/2002 "mechanistic and non-mechanistic groups" (see 3.2.2. above). The borderline between our two groups, however, is not clear-cut sincealso the practitioners belonging to the Code group often discuss ambiguous situations in their analysis of the role.

Despite this, representatives of the Code group tend to repeat that should anything falling out of the confines of the traditional role model occur, this is

"not supposed to happen", "not in accordance with the Code" or "probably not in line with the theory" (cf. e.g. P3 above in 7.2.4, ex. P2). These remarks can be seen to illustrate a rather strong influence of the Code.

On the other hand, also our Vagabonds are influenced by the spirit of the official Code and training. Many of them feel the need to point out that they "have not been working with the theoretical issues" (P3) and "they do not work full time" (P7), or that they "do not work mainly in conference settings" (P12) or even that – because of the above – "they are not interpreters proper " (P4, P5). What becomes interesting then is the extent to which they are in fact more free to analyse the profession and also to point to the not so clear or ambiguous aspects in the Code, as viewed through the prism of their professional practice.

The interviews have confirmed that participants in the Vagabond group tend to question established rules. They seem to clearly prefer rational grounding over front maintaining (Cf. Goffman 1959, 4.1. above) one. At the same time, acting in the best interests of their clients for them clearly entails maintaining professionalism in adhering to the principles of neutrality and being unbiased. They seem to believe that there is more to the interpreter-participant interaction than the present Code covers and explicates. This "more to it" often constitutes a grey area between what is traditionally accepted by the Code and what is in the best interests of the clients.

In contrast to the Code group, the Vagabonds seem ready to both openly discuss these issues and admit the ambiguities. They also seem to have elaborated their own work principles. These principles seem to place the client and the naturalness of human communication above the strictures of the Code in situations where it really becomes obvious that observing the Code too literally may compromise client safety, interests or the communication of their ideas. A number of interpreters of the Vagabond group, furthermore, have worked out strategies for this that they systematically apply. Furthermore, they syste- matically apply strategies that are related to their role conception and principles. Also, they are ready to admit this. Similarly to earlier interpreting research (Wadensjö 1998, Linell 1997; Tate and Turner 1997/2002 above) we see an urge to find a consensus for that the grey areas would have to be tackled, and an endeavour to find the best possible way for doing this. In terms of Goffman's (1959) theory above, the Vagabonds definitely seem to be more of the cynical performers – which allows them to divert from the Code. Yet, instead of focusing on criticism, they rather emphasise the need for greater flexibility that, they believe, is to the good of their clients, the communication and mediating of ideas in general, and not in dissonance with their personal self.

For the Code group, the readiness to confirm the ambiguities in the role, is fluctuating between resorting to what is supposed to be the norm (strictly corresponding to the Code) and what is believed to be "just real-life instances". That there could possibly be a harmony between real-life evidence and the Code was not discussed. The "grey" seemed rather to be something not supposed to be there. Yet the fact that they are ready to discuss and analyse the instances of meeting the ambiguities during their own professional career, lends their role

perception some dynamics. They seem to be following the Code often more as 'performers taken by their own act' (cf. Goffman 1959 above). At the same time there is also a dash of a 'cynical performer' (ibid.) involved – since they admit sometimes going against the Code and there is quite a bit in their everyday practice which, judged by the evidence from the interviews, still seems to contradict the Code.

We may thus say that the contradiction between our two groups is not as clear-cut as it is for example in the study by Tate and Turner (1997/2002; cf. above). While the informants in Tate and Turner (ibid.) seem to clearly divide into those ready to admit the existence of the "grey", and those genuinely believing in the supremacy of the Code, our Code group has in general shown more openness. This suggests that our Code group might possibly be tolerant also for changes, and thus a possible reworking of the Code, or at least more lenient principles in training could well be considered. Possibly, forsaking the present Code rules for new – or more elaborated ones – would not cause essential difficulties for them. This suggests that there is reason to have an optimistic outlook on tackling the issues that have earlier remained in the "grey" area both in interpreting research and practice.

Beyond this, the main value of our participant reports lies in establishing a documented body of self-descriptions where the professional self does not exclude the personal one – which in its turn leads to successful cooperation and client satisfaction. This establishes a new role description where professio-nalism, interpreter cooperation and client satisfaction are well balanced and not compromised.

9. CONCLUSION

The results of the study have provided answers to our initial research questions and demonstrated that the answers to the hypotheses have been affirmative:

1. There is a group of interpreters who specialise in liaison interpreting in Estonia.
2. Their self-descriptions yield an interesting picture of increased interpreter interaction, where at the same time neutrality is observed in the interests of the clients.
3. The more dynamic role of our liaison interpreters can be viewed in the light of individualisation and democratisation processes. Our informants conceptualise their role through mediating between societies, different mindsets, values.

Interpreters believe that the transition processes in the society have influenced them in performing their role. They hold that also interpreted events and interpreter interaction in general have changed. All this leads to the creation of a new communication triad, where also the primary parties are expected to take a more pro-active approach to the communication and contextualisation process. At the same time, there is clear respect for the mediated parties. Differently from some other reports on dialogue or liaison interpreters (Wadensjö 1998, Pöllabauer 2003, 2006, Angelelli 2004), the interpreters'*self* is not coming too strongly to the fore, and the neutrality principle (not taking sides) is respected.

4. The notions of *"professional self"* and *"personal self"* help to analyse the interpreter's role. The interpreters often resort to dimensions what we suggest could be called their personal and professional self when scrutinising their role implications. Thus, we suggest, it may be useful to introduce these notions for theoretical analysis, pedagogical purposes and also as support for practitioners for analysing their work.

The methodological framework of ethnography, and the methodological tools of micro-ethnography have proved to be effective for studying our cultural grouping (cf. the section on methodology above) and the specific translation culture of this group. Furthermore, we believe that testing the possibilities of this methodological framework and finding out its benefits could possibly in itself also be considered a legitimate result, especially in view of the possibilities for future research projects.

We hope that the real-life evidence of effectively functioning liaison interpreting models we have gained could serve as a source for inspiration for developing the professional standards, training, and research in a direction that would accord with the strategies and principles applied by experienced practising liaison interpreters and approved and appreciated by clients.

There is definitely a subtle change evolving in the profession – moving towards humanisation, as opposed to the earlier de-humanised, machine-like conception of the interpreter. This has been testified to by our representatives the different spheres of dialogue interpreting, explaining the shifts sometimes by introducing the asymmetrical power and socio-economic backgrounds of the primary parties (cf. Wadensjö 1998, Pöllabauer 2006). The discrepancy between the Code and responsibility has been brought to the fore also in dialogue interpreting for the deaf (Tate and Turner 1997/2002) – again the one side being seriously disadvantaged was referred to in some explanations/ discussions of whether the interpreter should exceed the traditional "machine" role. Our piece of research has illustrated that practitioners do feel the need to exceed the Code limits also in symmetrical liaison interpreting situations. This need has nothing to do with one party being disadvantaged due to the socio-economic or political power positions or (hearing or some other) disability or impairment. It is ordinary human communication and the obligation to remain neutral and explain the message to the clearest and best possible extent (cf. Linnell 1997) that sometimes dictate this.

The participants' personal self seems to be in constant dialogue with the professional one – the role demands, prescriptions and descriptions. The results thus illustrate an interesting balance between the personal and professional self which, we suggest, is rather unique in its explicitness. On the one hand the Code as such is not regarded as inflexible. It is respected, but within the limits of its operationality. It is evaluated, criticised, adapted to the specific needs and commission of the encounters and their context. On the other hand this is still done in accordance with the spirit of the Code, in order to guarantee the efficiency of the interpreted mediation. The personal self is included for the purposes of finding the right balance – to determine whether, and to what extent, to adapt.

We suggest that the realities of the profession and insights by practitioners be borne in mind in sketching future Codes of Ethics that would also take into consideration the specific intricacies of a liaison interpreter's work. Bearing in mind the persisting need for liaison interpreting, also training should be offered in this sphere (cf. Sandrelli, 2001). We hold that diversity should be respected, the benefits of accumulating knowledge appreciated and one should be open-minded and innovative in exploring the reality without the blinders of rules dictated by the past. Societies change and people change with them. The modes of communication and the increasing individualisation of today have brought about a slight shift towards a more dynamic approach in most professions. Our data suggests that this is also the case with liaison interpreting in Estonia.

Hopefully, the implications of a transition society that we detected in our participants'reports can shed light also to similar processes in more established societies. Hopefully, our participants'role descriptions from a profession in the making can add to the mosaic of role desciptions from the world.

We suggest that besides the immediate outcome of the work the results can be viewed in a broader context. Possibly, the processes of mediating between

the transition society and the West could be similar for other Central and East European countries. Our participants claim that different training seminars are often carried out in a number of such countries in a row (field notes). It offers an interesting picture of an importation of soft values into this "buffer zone" of the West. This illustrates an interesting phase in the development of Europe. To an extent, this could also illustrate the new EU with its diversities and challenges. On the world map we can view these processes *vis-à-vis* the developments elsewhere. We live in a period of interesting geo-political and economic changes. The data we gained for our study suggests that the development of the role of the interpreter can be viewed in the light of and in tune with these.

We hope that this document of one particular micro-sociological group in one specific society may have recorded traits in the modern individualising world that may share some common traits across countries and across professions. It is worth particular mention that it was on the one hand professionalism in carrying through one's task, but also a very strong emphasis on the ethical that prevailed.

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Research material

Audiorecordings of interviews. Archived. Access restricted for protecting participant anonymity.

Initial questionnaire. Summary of results and form. Appendix 2. pp. 269–273 below.

Follow-up questionnaire. Archived. Form presented in Appendix 3. pp. 273–278 below.

Profiling the participants. Appendix 1. p. 268 below.

Transcripts of interviews www.art.ee/thesistranscripts

Interview 1. Participant 1. October 2005. 45 min.
Interview 2. Participant 2. October 2005. 30 min.
Interview 3. Participant 3. November 2005. 50 min.
Interview 4. Participant 4. December 2005. 45 min.
Interview 5. Participant 5. January 2006. 45 min.
Interview 6. Participant 6. February 2006. 40 min.
Interview 7. Participant 7. March 2006. 50 min.
Interview 8. Participant 8. April 2006. 23 min.
Interview 9. Participant 9. April 2006. 30 min.
Interview 10. Participant 10. May 2006. 40 min.
Interview 11. Participant 11. June 2006. 35 min.
Interview 12. Participant 12. July 2006. 30 min.
Interview 13. Participant 13. August 2006. 45 min.
Interview 14. Participant 14. October 2006. 35 min.

Transcripts of interviews www.art.ee/thesistranscripts

SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

*Liaison*tõlkide dünaamilise enesekontseptsiooni kujunemine: Etnograafiline uurimus praktiseerivate *liaison*tõlkide enesekirjeldustest Eestis

Uurimus keskendub *liaison*tõlkide (konverentsitõlkega võrreldes väiksem osalejate arv, tihti informaalsem kontekst) rollile ning otsib vastuseid *liaison*tõlgi rolli kujunemise ja ühiskonnamuutuste võimaliku koosmõju kohta.

Töö I osas on esitatud töö empiirilise osa jaoks relevantne kirjandusülevaade tõlgi rolli (Anderson 1976/2002, Wadensjö 1998, Linell 1997), eetika (Tate ja Turner 1997/2002, Jones 2004) ja ühiskondlik-ideoloogiliste (Cronin 2002, Jones 2004) ning kultuuriprotsesside vahendamise (Lambert 1991, Pym 1997) aspektidega seonduvast kirjandusest, samuti Goffmani (1959) enese "presenteerimise" ja rollide loomise ning Ibarra (1999) elukutsete ning ametirollide identiteetide arendamise ning kujundamise teooriatest.

Töö II osas tutvustame lähemalt oma töö metoodilist raamistikku ning metoodika põhimõtteid ning esitame empiirilise analüüsi ja tulemuste kokkuvõtte. Etnograafiliste meetodite abil (*chaining*, www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/ethno.htm) leidsime ning intervjueerisime 14 *liaison*tõlkega tegelevat praktikut Eestis. Uurimistulemused näitavad, et dialoogtõlkide tööpõhimõtteid võib kirjeldada iseseisva tõlkekultuurina (*Translationskultur*, Prunč 1997). Keskendume tõlgi rollile tõlkide enesekirjeldustes. Analüüsis on toodud katkendeid nii eelküsitlustest, intervjuudest kui järelüsitlustest (kokku 217 näidet). Analüüsime kõigi intervjuudes osalejate vastuseid üheksale neile esitatud põhiküsimusele, ning esitame tulemused ka hüpoteeside kaupa.

Eelküsitlustes (5), intervjuudes (14) ning järelküsitlustes (8) saadud andmete põhjal leidsime, et vastused meie uurimisküsimustele on järgmised:

1. Eestis on tekkinud grupp tõlke, kes on spetsialiseerunud *liaison*tõlkele.

2. Nende enesekirjeldused loovad huvitava pildi tavapärasest suuremast tõlgi interaktiivsusest tõlkesituatatsioonis, kus samas jälgitakse neutraalsuse-printsiipi ning respekteeritakse klientide integriteeti. See tulemus on erinev mitmeid aastaid valitsenud varasemast tõlkemudelist, mille kohaselt tõlgi roll oli ainult teksti edastamine, jäädes igas olukorras absoluutselt neutraalseks (nn. "masina" mudel, vrdl. Tate ja Turner 1997/2002). Samuti erinevad meie tulemused aga ka paljudest kaasaegse, sotsiaal-interaktiivse paradigma *liaison* või dialoogtõlke alastest uurimustulemustest maailmas, kus vastandina "masina" mudelile on leitud, et tõlgid toovad oma *mina* tugevalt esile, aitavad situatsioonis nõrgemat (Wadensjö 1998), asuvad ühele joonele neid palkava institutsiooniga (Põllabauer 2003, 2006), või koguni sekkuvad ise vestlusesse suhtluse "lõbusamaks muutmiseks" (*the entertainment factor*, Katan, Straniero-Sergio 2001), või soovivad olla

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"nähtavad" (Angelelli 2004). Meie osalejad rõhutavad, et väljuvad repliikide vahendaja rollist ning võtavad endale vahendaja rolli laiemas mõttes klientide parema üksteisemõistmise kindlustamiseks (selgitavad, täiendavad märkused), samuti tuleb nende mina rohkem esile olulistes eetilistes situatsioonides. Ametile seatud eetilis-professionaalseid piire reeglina ei ületata. Samas, eetiliselt äärmiselt vastuoluliste juhtudel võivad informandid astuda kliendiga sub-dialoogi või edasisest koostööst loobuda. Tõlkide enesekirjeldused annavad pildi huvitavast uuest dünaamilisest rollimudelist, kus pühendumine vahendamise põhiideele ning isiklike (eetilistele) põhimõtete järgimine loovad kaks (vahel vastandlikku) poolt, mida reaalsetes tõlkesituatsioonides katsutakse tasakaalustada.

3. Intervjuude põhjal võib järeldada, et *liaison*tõlgi rolli on seega võimalik analüüsida mõistete *professional self* ja *personal self* läbi (vrdl. Goffman 1959). Oma rolli süüvides ja analüüsides jõuavad tõlgid tihti nende mõistetega kirjeldatavate dimensioonideni. Loodame, et nende mõistete kaasamine võib olla kasulik teoreetilises analüüsis, pedagoogikas, aga ka tegevtõlkide töö analüüsimisel ja toetamisel.

4. Informandid kontseptualiseerivad oma rolli ka ühiskondade, erinevate suhtumismallide ja väärtushinnangute vahelise vahendamisena. Tõlgi rolli dünaamilisemaks muutumist *liaison*situatsioonides saab vaadelda ühiskonnas aset leidnud individualiseerumis- (Van Deth, Scarbrough 1995) ning demokratiseerumisprotsesside (Lauristin 1997, Veebel 2005) valguses.

Lisaks informatsioonile *liaison*tõlgi rolli kujunemise kohta kiiresti muutuvas ühiskonnas loovad meie intervjuudes osalejate enesekirjeldused huvitava pildi ka paljudest tõlgi töö osaks olevatest eetilistest ja professionaalsetest põhiküsimustest. Analüüsis ja transkriptsioonides dokumenteeritud enesekirjelduste korpus võib olla allikaks koolituspõhimõtete või aukoodeksite väljatöötamisel, samuti aga ka edaspidises uurimistöös, või ka teiste professionaalsete rollide ja identiteetide kujunemisega võrdlemisel.

Leiame, et etnograafilised meetodid on osutunud viljakaks antud grupi rolli, enesekirjelduste ja tõlkekultuuri (*Translationskultur*, Prunč 1997) uurimisel ning loodame, et need omavad uurimismeetoditena tugevat potensiaali ka edaspidistes uurimistöödes.

Appendix 1

Profiling the participants
X yes
– no
–/ x shorter courses
–/ (x) says doesn't support, at the same time brings examples of doing it in her practice
? hasn't experienced

Participant	Age/Born in:	sex	education	Formal training in interpreting	Preference to work in the liaison mode	Preference to work in the conference mode	Support of the Code model	Support of the interaction model	Support for extended cooperation	Initiates sub-dialogues	Enters into client initiated sub-dialogues	Mentions the ethical dimension	Mentions having experienced. Emotional encounters	Interpreting is mediating between different cultures, values, mindsets	Estonian society has changed since the beginning of the 1990s	Interpreting situations have changed	Language combination	Mentioning the person AI self dimension
P1		f	BA	–	x	–	–	x	x	x	x	?	?	–	–	x		X
P2		f	MA	–	x	–	–	x	?	–	–	?	–	x	x	x		X
P3		f	BA	x	–	x	x	–/(x)	x	–/(x)	x	x	x	x	x	x		–/(x)
P4		f	Stud. mag.	–	x	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		X
P5		f	Stud. mag.	–/x	x	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		X
P6		f	Stud. mag.	–	x	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
P7		f	Stud. mag	–/x	x	x	x	–/(x)	–(x)	x	x	x	–	x	x	x/–		–
P8		f	MA	–	–	x	–	x	–	–	x	X?	–	X/–	?	X/–		x
P9		f	BA	–	x	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
P10		f	Mag.	X/–	x	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
P11		f	Mag.	x	–	x	x	–	–?	–	x	–	–	–	–	–		–
P12		f	Mag.	X/–	x	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	–	x	x	x		x
P13		f	BA	X/–	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
P14		f	BA	–	x	–	–	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x

Initial questionnaire (the original version)

Pilootuuring

Tänan, et leidsite aega antud küsimustiku täitmiseks!
Küsimused on võimalikult avatud, seega eeldame vastustes täiesti vaba, oma kogemuste poolt kujundatud hinnangut. Vastata võiks võimalikult pikalt, samuti assotsiatiivselt. "Tänase" olukorra all võite mõelda viimati aset leidnud tõlke-situatsioonile. Juhul kui see toimus mitte väga hiljuti, võite vastust üldistada oma kogemustest lähtuvalt. Valikvastuste puhul palume kriipsutada alla sobiv variant.

I
1. mitu aastat olete töötanud tõlgina: 2. Kas töötate vabakutselisena/täiskohaga
3. N/m 4. kas töötate põhiliselt konverentsi/ *liaison*-tõlgina?   5. Kas olete läbinud formaalse koolituse tõlgiks õppides? jah/ei 6. Kas koolitate ise tõlke? jah/ei 7. Vanus:18–25/26–35/36–65/ 8. Keelekombinatsioonid:
9. Kui töötate nii konverentsi – kui *liaison*-tõlgina, kas olete täheldanud mõningaid erinevusi vastavates töö"rollides"? jah/ei
Kui jah, siis milliseid?

II
1. Kas tänasel tõlkimisel tekkis mõni olukord, kus pidite "üle astuma" ainult repliikide vahendamise rollist? Jah/ ei
   Kui jah, kirjeldage seda palun paari sõnaga:

2. Kas pidite kasutama omapoolseid kultuurilist/poliitilist tausta/ kohalikke olusid selgitavaid täiendusi? Jah/ ei
   Kui jah, kirjeldage seda palun v. tooge mõni näide:

3. Kas selline "üleastumine" peaks Teie arvates olema lubatud?
   Jah/ ei/*(kommenteerige seda palun)*…………..

4. Kas klient pöördus Teie poole mõnel korral ka nn. "sub-dialoogiga" (st. pöördus mõne küsimuse v repliigiga ka Teie, kui tõlgi, mitte ainult teise tõlgitava poole (n. "öelge talle", "seda pole vaja tõlkida", "teie istuge siia"). Jah/ ei
   Kui jah, kirjelda seda palun kirjeldage seda ja/või tooge mõni näide:

5. Kas pidite ise kasutama sub-dialoogi? Jah/ ei
   Kui jah, kirjeldage seda palun v. tooge mõni näide:

6. Kuidas iseloomustaksite enda ja klientide vahelist suhet? (ülimalt formaalne/ kollegiaalne/ informaalne / sõbrad jne.)

7. Milline väide iseloomustab Teie arvates *liaison* tõlke olukorda tõlgi seisukohast kõige paremini:
   a) tõlk on passiivne tõlkemasin, "sõnaraamat"
   b) tõlk peab kindlasti olema neutraalne kuid võib olla vahel sunnitud sõnumi täpsemaks vahendamiseks n. ö. "sekkuma" – näit. esitama selgitavaid küsimusi, jne.
   c) Midagi muud?….

8. Millises valguses näitas eeltoodut Teie tänane töö? Kui meenub mõni konkreetne seik, pange see palun siia lühidalt kirja (vältida võite loomulikult kõike nii sinu kui kliendi jaoks konfidentsiaalset)

9. Kas mõnede tõlkekoolituste "põhitõed": "tõlki pole olemas", "tõlk on tapeet", "kliendiga suhtlemist ei toimu" on Eesti oludes õige? Jah/ei
   Miks? Palun kommenteerige…

10. Kas püsikliendi jaoks töötamine on erinev olukorrast, kus kohtud klientidega/ asutusega esmakordselt? Jah/ei. Miks?

11. Kas kliendid kontakteeruvad tõlgiga (näit. küsivad keelealast nõu) ka kohtumiste väliselt? Jah/ei. Kas see on loomulik?

12. (Kui olete töötanud pikemat aega) kas olete tajunud muutusi tõlgi rollis võrreldes näit. Nõukogude aega, Nõukogude aja lõppu, 90-te algust, praegu? Jah/ei
Kui jah, siis milliseid?

13. Milline on Teie arvates tõlgi roll ühiskonnas?

14. Milline aspekt tõlgi rolli ja tõlgi-kliendi suhte kohta jäi Teie arvates antud küsimustikus puudutamata?

Suur aitäh!

Interview questions:

1) Have you been thinking of the *interpreter's role* before? How have you personally explained/ conceptualised this for yourself?

2) Liaison/ conference interpreting – which do you specialise in? Are there any differences? If yes, what kind of differences are there? Are there differences in your *role* as interpreter in these situations?

3) In the light of the basic rules of interpreter interaction, are there any contradictions between what you must not do according to the rules, and what real-life situations may suggest you do in order to help your clients? (Which is your role?)

4) How would you describe the interpreter's (your) relationship with the client? Is your role just "putting the text into another language"? Something else? What?

5) The interpreter and ethics. In your role as an interpreter, have you ever faced ethical dilemmas (e.g. when you understand that one of the parties is telling a lie/is trying to deceive the other)? How do you solve such problems? How do you conceptualise this in relation to your role as interpreter?

6) The role and your*self*. Have you ever felt a contradiction (e.g. very sad events)? If yes, how do you handle the situation? How does this relate to the Code? (Can you always help participants to the best of your capacity? (Could you tell me more about interpreter neutrality, power?))

7) The interpreter is…? Could you give me a metaphor?

8) The interpreter and society. Have interpreting situations in Estonia changed from the beginning of the 1990s? Have clients changed? Do you think this has influenced your role as interpreter? How?

9) Interpreting as export-import. Do you feel you are mediating between societies/ philosophies/ ethical dimensions? What is the role of interpreters in that?

10) Is there anything else you would like to comment on? Did we speak about everything you feel is relevant for your role as an interpreter? Maybe we left out something important for you?[1]

Follow-up questionnaire

The interpreter's role

Administered about one year after we carried out the in-depth interview (by e-mail).

(respondent answers are still coming in…)

………………………..…

Question	yes	no
1. Based on my professional experience I can assert that in the role of the interpreter when working in the conference domain (simultaneous interpreting/ consecutive in front of a large audience) and in a smaller company as a liaison interpreter	………there is a difference 7	…………… there is no difference 0
2. In liaison situations there is a closer relationship between the interpreter and the group. the clients	7	0
3. In liaison situations the clients sometimes ask for clarifications, the communication is more informal.	7	0
4. The interpreter's role in liaison situations is to mediate the verbal information only.	0	7
5. The interpreter's role in liaison situations is to mediate the message in a broader sense, for example to clarify cultural (and other) differences where necessary	6	1
6. The interpreter is a machine.	0	7
7. The interpreter is not a machine.	7	0
8. Especially in *liaison* interpreting, the human dimension and empathy may help where a word-for-word translation could remain unclear.	7 ("also body language" – P10)	0
9. The interpreter must not intrude in the work process.	3	4

10.	Only what clients say may be mediated.	2	5 ("interpreters mediate the essence not the form. If needed we may add an explanation" P9).
11.	Explanations (on the local context, culture, systems) by the interpreter are sometimes necessary.	6	1
12.	Sometimes the interpreter feels that there is also a personal *self* side – for example when very emotional topics or ethical dilemmas are touched upon.	6	1
13.	Sometimes the existence of the *self* of the interpreter is also necessary for the clients. There are situations where being just a "tool" can contradict simple human communication and assistance.	7 ("rather yes – I don't have enough experience to confirm this 100%"P8).	0
14.	The interpreter should not show this *self* too much. The most important is that clients can exchange information	7 ("what is too much? One should remain polite – yes. Not dominate"P9).	0
15.	In longer cooperation the interpreter may sometimes become a member of the group and a participant in communication	6	1 ("rather no – this still rather depends on the group and the culture the group represents, not what the interpreter wishes" P8).
16.	Special training programmes/ sessions for liaison interpreters also in Estonia would be beneficial.	7	0
17.	Estonian society has changed since the beginning of the 1990s.	7	0
18.	Interpreting situations have changed since the beginning of the 1990s.	6	0 ("I don't know, honestly ☺"P8)
19.	The communication patterns between clients in interpreting situations during this period have become somewhat more informal.	6 ("rather yes, but it depends on the situation" P9)	0

20. This also influences the role of the interpreter in them.	6	1
21. The interpreter is a mediator between mentalities, cultures, value orientations.	6 (YES, definitely between cultures – because every language is part of a culture and you can mediate without being biased. Yet, I would be careful concerning mentalities and value orientations – this is always related to personal interests, ambitions etc.P8).	2
22. The interpreting situations in the last decade have, among other things, helped to "import" values, new approaches, methods.	7 ("but why only during the last decade – this has always been so!"P8)	0
23. Knowledge/skills, culture and values have also been "exported" from Estonia.	6	0
24. I wish to add that …………………………		

24. I wish to add that…

1) …a competent interpreter + the explicitly given or (with a positive attitude) implied possibilities for cooperation in the interpreting situation help us to convey the details in a specific situation, but also to help clients understand the broader context much better. Without overestimating the role of the interpreter we can say that (normally) the interpreter is the *liaison* between the client and the source. It is important that the interpreter can mediate culture not only verbally but also with her behaviour (for example following herself certain rules in eating culture, indicating the hierarchy of who has the word). That this assumption holds true has been confirmed by numerous clients who are genuinely interested in the other party's culture (P10).

2) (As a keen supporter of servicing principles) … we shouldn't forget that the interpreter is in fact a service provider. Thus we must first think of the client's needs (this must be met 100% and the message must be exactly forewarded .

Analysing of each message. We must also consider the client's expectations (we must meet them and if possible exceed them, in other words be able to surprise the client in the positive sense). These are the expectations that often relate to the client's wish to understand the cultural context better, or to include the informal (for example the clients may wish to speak to somebody about their personal concerns). Here the client can often rely only on interpreting/the interpreter.

For the second, the interpreter must have achieved the highest level in the best service provider's main capacity – creativity and empathy. What is creativity? It is a process of spontaneity, quick reasoning, quick action and creating images, as a result of which cooperation with the client is created. One must react and decide quickly to see if there is a need, and how to add context to the information mediated. I am absolutely convinced that for this one must also have what Germans call a good "Kinderzimmer" – the interpreter must have a proper upbringing, one must be highly cultural, tactful – in a word – a truly intelligent person! (P8).

3) The interpreter's role can't be unanimously defined. Our action, comments and explanations depend on the situation, the group, the person we are interpreting for. But interpreters should realise that they must be flexible, adaptable to new situations and circumstances – maybe also technically exact mediation and/or explanations are needed.

   [It depends on] whether the atmosphere is right for the people interpreted and mediated. It also depends on the time limit.

   At the dinner table and in their free time interpreters are ordinary people – they communicate and take part in social life. At the same time in the evening, for example after a seminar we keep a classical client-service provider distance (like trainers do – we are still there to works). So that we don't attend informal parties and don't go to the sauna.

   Interpreters mediate between people and cultures, they don't mediate words. (P9)

4) Informal communication, the exchange of cultural aspects and values as well as expressing the *self*-side mostly take place outside the interpreting situation, for example before the job is performed, during the coffee- or lunch-break, in the taxi, in the bus, etc. In the interpreting situation, however, the interpreter must still rather be a "machine" (P11).

4) For interpreters a thorough and deeply perceived knowledge of the cultures between which we interpret is as important as knowing the languages (P12).

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Education

1979–1990	Tartu Miina Härma Secondary School No 2.
1990–1996	BA studies in English Language and Literature at the Chair of English Language and Literature, Department of Germanic and Romance Languages and Literatures, the Faculty of Philosophy, Tartu University (Translation/Interpretation branch)
1996	BA, *cum laude*
1996–1997	Department of Scandinavian Languages, Uppsala University
1996–2000	MA studies in English Language and Literature at the Chair of English Language and Literature, Department of Germanic and Romance Languages and Literatures, the Faculty of Philosophy, Tartu University
1996–1998	Pedagogy for the Teacher's Certificate, Department of Pedagogy, Tartu University
1998	Teacher of English Certificate, Department of Pedagogy, Tartu University
1998	(autumn term) Institute for Interpretation and Translation Studies, Stockholm University
2000	MA, *cum laude*
2001	(autumn term) Department of Scandinavian Languages, Stockholm University
2000–2004	European Studies Master Programme, Eurocollege, University of Tartu
2004	Master, European Studies
2000–	PhD studies at the Chair of English Language and Literature, Department of Germanic and Romance Languages and Literatures, the Faculty of Philosophy, Tartu University
2003–	International Doctorate Programme in Translation and Inter-cultural Studies, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain
2005	DEA, Diploma of Advanced Studies (Diploma de Estudios Avanzados)

Work experience

1993–   Freelance interpreter
1996–   Teacher of English and Swedish at Tartu University Language Centre
1998–2002   The ERLEX project at the Department of Scandinavian Studies, Tartu University

Publications

1. "Processes in simultaneous interpretation: A mental models and relevance theoretical approach". 2003. Kristina Mullamaa, Krista Vogelberg. *In: Encounters*. *Linguistic and Cultural-Psychological Aspects of Communicative Processes*. Cultural Studies Series University of Tartu, vol 3. K.Vogelberg, E. Soovik (eds). Tartu University Press. 90–112.
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1979–1990	Miina Härma nim. Tartu 2. Keskkool
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1996	BA *cum laude* inglise keel ja kirjandus
1996–97 õ/a	Uppsala Ülikooli Skandinavistika osakond, rootsi keel
1996–2000	Tartu Ülikool, Filosoofiateaduskond, Germaani-romaani filoloogia osakond, inglise filoloogia magistratuur
1996–1998	Tartu Ülikooli Pedagoogika osakond, õpetaja kutseaasta
1997	Põhikooli ja gümnaasiumi inglise keele õpetaja kutsetunnistus
1998	sügissemester Stockholmi Ülikooli Tõlkeinstituut
2000	MA *cum laude* inglise keel ja kirjandus
2001	sügissemester Stockholmi Ülikool Skandinavistika osakond
2000–2004	Euroopa õpingute magistratuur, Tartu Ülikooli Euroopa Kolledž
2004	Euroopa õpingute magister
2000–	Tartu Ülikool, Filosoofiateaduskond, Germaani-romaani filoloogia osakond, inglise filoloogia doktorantuur
2003–	rahvusvaheline doktoriprogramm *"International Doctorate Program in Translation and Intercultural Studies"*, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Hispaania
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Teenistuskäik

1993–	vabakutseline tõlk
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1998–2002	ERLEX projekt, Tartu Ülikool, Skandinavistika

Publikatsioonid

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