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Master's Thesis

"Who is My Voice Today?"
- Deaf Professionals and Representation

Päivi Kluuskeri

Supervisors:
Liisa Halkosaari, Humak
Emma J. Kauling, Heriot-Watt

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Abstract

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The profession of Sign Language interpreting is constantly evolving alongside the changing needs of deaf customers. One current topic in Finland and worldwide is interpreting for deaf professionals and their representation. The theoretical background of the present study consists of literature regarding deaf professionals, designated interpreting and directionality of interpretation. It resides in the field of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, and has an interactional sociolinguistic framework.

The present study is firstly built on replication of a research by Roy (1987), which investigated perceptions of hearing monolingual evaluators of an interpreted lecture from American Sign Language to English. The interpretation was evaluated inappropriate by its discourse because it was mistakenly perceived as a talk for children. Roy analysed the interpretation and identified the paralinguistic mechanisms which affected the communicative breakdown even though the content of the lecture was adequately interpreted. The present study aims to add the perspective of representation of deaf professionals to Roy's original research in order to show the advantages of designated interpreting.

The methodology of the present study is based on a lecture held in Finnish Sign Language and interpreted to Finnish. Hearing participants were subsequently played a recording of the interpretation and then interviewed. The interviews and the interpretation were analysed to find the characteristics affecting the hearing participants' perceptions.

The findings of the present study are that when the interpretation was done by interpreters who produced adequate discourse and were familiar with the context and content of a deaf professional's work, the hearing participants were able to recognise the professionality of the lecturer in despite of minor disfluencies in interpretation. The interpretation was analysed for characteristics that were influencing the hearing participants' perceptions of the deaf professional. A key finding was that the hearing participants considered interpretation separate from their perceptions on the deaf professionals' professionality, and were forgiving of disfluencies in interpretation.

Keywords: deaf professionals, representation, designated interpreting, directionality, discourse

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Declaration

I declare that the thesis embodies the results of my own work and has been composed by myself. Where appropriate within the thesis I have made full acknowledgement of the work and ideas of others or have made reference to work carried out in collaboration with other persons. I understand that as an examination candidate I am required to abide by the regulations of the University and to conform to its discipline and ethical policy.

Signature of the student _____ date: 10.6.2019

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1. Introduction

Several years ago, I was interpreting from Finnish Sign Language to Finnish when a deaf professional was giving a lecture. She started by presenting herself and then signing: "and today my voice will be Päivi." I felt honoured that through my work, I could act as something so special as someone's voice. But it also made me consider the responsibility that the professionalism of this deaf person was relying on my voice and how hearing people would perceive it.

It would take a lot of courage from anyone to give their professional voice in the hands of other people, yet this is common for deaf professionals. With this study I wanted to contribute to the discussion of how interpreters can successfully be the voice representing the professionality of deaf professionals.

Sign Language research is still an emerging field (Napier, 2011) and the profession of Sign Language Interpreting itself is constantly evolving. One of the current challenges in Finland is the growing need for interpreting deaf professionals regarding their professional work (Selin-Grönlund, 2007; Silberstein, 2013; Wusu, 2018). These situations differ from community interpreting that has historically been the majority of the work signed language interpreters have undertaken. As Sedran (2012) writes:

> With the unprecedented number of Deaf people entering the professional fields, the demand for interpreting services has changed from spontaneous ad hoc service delivery to highly specialized discipline specific designated interpreting. (p.3)

This study aims to bring into discussion interpreting for deaf professionals as a specific field within signed language interpreting. I hope it would enhance professional discussions amongst practicing interpreters, interpreter education and the interpreter-consumer relationships.

As a part of this thesis research, I did a pilot study which investigated deaf professionals' expectations for representation (see section 2.4). This was a case study, which explored the experiences and opinions of a deaf professional regarding her desired interpretation. The pilot study highlighted that the deaf professional expected

interpreters to represent her as a professional through signed to spoken language interpretation in order for her to participate and perform her work according to her skills. In her experience, best outcomes had been achieved with familiar, personally preferred interpreters and cooperation.

After looking into the perspective of a deaf professional, I wanted to expand the study further, investigating how the deaf professionals' expectations could be met in practise and for this I wanted to add the perspective of hearing users of interpretation. I was guided to Roy's research from 1987 on evaluating performance of interpreting into spoken language. It investigates further how the discourse the interpreter creates can be heard in the ears of hearing people who do not know a signed language (see section 2.6).

My starting point for the present study is to replicate Roy's (1987) research. In addition to Roy, the aspect of representation of deaf professionals will also be investigated. For these aims, the following research questions were set.

- How are deaf professionals perceived through interpretation?
- Which characteristics of the interpretation can explain the perceptions?

In order to answer these questions, the present study was implemented by asking hearing people's perceptions on an interpretation of a lecture given by a deaf professional. The interpretation was done by in-house interpreters (see section 2.4 for clarification of the concepts). With this approach, which was different to Roy's (1987) research, I aim to show the advantages of the use of designated interpreting.

In the literature review in Chapter 2, the concepts of deaf professionals and representation, designated interpreting and their current status in Finland will be discussed. Furthermore, the concept of designated interpreting and its application into Finnish interpreting provision will be presented. The matter of directionality will also be given a closer look, for interpreting from signed into spoken language will be the directionality of the present study. In the field of interpreting research we can apply frames of sociolinguistics, more specifically discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics to this study. Also, the research of Roy (1987) will be presented in section 2.6 and her methodology as well as the methodology of this study will be

specified in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will present the findings of the study, firstly analysing the interviews of the hearing participants in section 4.1 and then analysing the interpretation itself in section 4.2. Chapter 5 will discuss the findings in relation to the literature. Finally, the conclusion in Chapter 6 will present the conclusions and consider the limitations of the present study and suggest topics or viewpoints for future research. The appendix will show an explanation of the glossing conventions used in this research.

2. Literature review

In order to answer the research questions and accomplish the aims presented in the introduction, the present chapter is going to review relevant aspects from the literature. The concept of deaf professionals and interpreting for them is firstly presented and the view of representation is subsequently discussed. The directionality of interpretation that the present study will use is from a signed language to spoken language. The previous pilot study about deaf professionals' expectations will be briefly discussed as well as the original research by Roy (1987) and the principles of replicating a research. The present study will then be placed in the theoretical framework of discourse analysis and sociolinguistics and specifically to interactional sociolinguistics.

For this present study, I will use the concept of *interpreting from signed language to spoken language.* This directionality has also been referred to as sign-to-voice interpreting or voicing (Wang and Napier, 2015). The concept of referring to languages by their names will be adopted here as the study looks into specific languages, e.g. in this research the languages involved are Finnish Sign Language (hereafter FinSL) and Finnish, therefore calling this activity interpreting from FinSL to Finnish. When not referring to specific languages, but to overall modality and direction of used languages in interpretation, the concept of signed to spoken language will be used. According to Janzen (2005), "signed" is more equable to "spoken" than just merely saying sign language, because it does not refer to any particular sign language.

Within Deaf studies, a capitalised Deaf has been used to identify those deaf people who use sign language and identify themselves to be culturally "Deaf" (Ladd, 2003). In juxtaposition, lower case deaf refers to the audiological state of deafness. However, recently this deviation has been brought to discussion by new generation of Deaf studies researchers. They initiate that due to the increasing diversity amongst deaf individuals, the d/D distinction is problematic and creates a dichotomy and therefore should not be used anymore (Kusters, De Meulder & O´Brien, 2017). Following these conventions, the present study will use the term deaf, unless referring to established concepts that use capitalisation, e.g. Deaf studies, Deaf culture and Deaf community. Additionally, in quotes, the original form is retained.

Traditionally research related to signed language interpreting has mainly focused on the interpretation from the interpreter's view, but in recent years the scope has started to shift to include the Deaf perspective (Haug et al., 2017; Hauser, Finch & Hauser, 2008; Holcomb & Smith, 2018; Napier & Rohan, 2007; Napier, Young & Oram, unpublished; de Wit & Sluis, 2014). However, studies often don't include the perspective of hearing people. After all, hearing people are consumers of interpreting services along with deaf people, and usually they lack the experience of how to function via interpreters since they do not encounter interpreted situations as often as deaf people who are accustomed to working with interpreters. Studies that have used the hearing perspective and will be presented in the present study are Feyne (2014), Kauling (2019) and Roy (1987).

2.1 Deaf professionals

Before possibilities for higher education, deaf people in the USA have worked mainly in blue-collar work e.g. printing or woodwork, without degrees of formal education (Kushalnagar & Rashid, 2008). In Finland, vocational training provided specially for deaf has offered few alternatives, e.g. shoemaker and seamstress. But at the beginning of the 1980s, the provision of educational interpreting increased, and today deaf people can more or less freely choose what they want to study and will be provided the interpreters (Selin-Grönlund, 2007; Silberstein, 2013). Studies from the USA and the UK have shown the steadily increasing numbers of deaf professionals graduating and working in various positions, including academy and politics (Hauser & Hauser, 2008; De Meulder, 2017; Stevens, 2014). Overall, the availability of interpreting services has been an accessibility factor for deaf people to more opportunities in work life through higher education (Haug et al., 2017). The latest legal enhancement in provision of possibilities for education and interpreting services worldwide is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) that ensures accessibility and interpreter provision (De Meulder, 2014; Hauser & Hauser, 2008).

For the purposes of this study, the term "deaf professional" is defined to mean working in an expert position in which they are the primary source of information, e.g. a teacher, a lawyer or an academic and a holder of a degree from a corresponding education (Kushalnagar & Rashid, 2008; Selin-Grönlund, 2007; Wusu, 2017).

The profession of sign language interpreters had emerged and evolved hand in hand with the Deaf community. First interpreters were recruited by deaf people for their needs, children of deaf adults (CODA) have brokered language and church employees and charity workers related messages and assisted deaf people in dealing with their matters. When studying in higher education was a possibility, deaf people required higher level of interpretation, which caused the need for interpreters to develop their skills in different settings of interpretation as well (Napier & Goswell, 2013).

As the needs for interpretation are constantly evolving along with the evolvement of the Deaf community, a recent shift in the field is interpreting for deaf professionals. In addition to traditional community interpreting, interpreting services are needed in high level professional settings. Deaf professionals are the primary source of information rather than the receiver of information, which causes the need for interpreters to develop their skills in different settings of interpretation (Cook, 2004; Napier & Goswell, 2013; Silberstein, 2013; Wusu, 2018).

Deaf professionals who work with interpreters regularly regarding their work prefer to use interpreters familiar to them and the setting they work in; this can be called designated interpreting or preferred interpreters. The possibility to choose the preferred interpreters enables closer cooperation between the deaf professional and the designated interpreter and enhances the outcomes of interpretation. A new paradigm of designated interpreters has been created to refer to those interpreters who work regularly (possibly even every day) with the same deaf professional and become an insider of that particular deaf's work and work place (Haug et al., 2017; Hauser & Hauser, 2008).

Working for the deaf professional has its specific demands that differ from traditional community settings. The deaf professional creates the interpreting conventions best suitable for their work together with their interpreters. The interpreters need to cooperate with the deaf professional and be flexible about their own beliefs and habits about interpretation. Designated interpreting for deaf professionals requires interpreters to constantly recall how the deaf professional is seen through them, and research has shown that interpreters make conscious decisions in their work according to what is most advantageous to the deaf professional (Wusu, 2018).

Even though the enhanced provision of interpreting services, the attitudes of the (hearing) world change slowly. Deaf people have had to battle to reach professional positions in life and for their identities as professionals to be approved. One example is the Deaf President Now -movement from Gallaudet University in 1988. Deaf people on campus demanded the selection of a deaf president, after once again a hearing person had been selected for the position over deaf. The message of this was that even the only Deaf University in the world didn't accept a deaf person in a leadership position. But with the movement and its protests, Gallaudet got its first ever deaf president, I. King Jordan (Kusters et al., 2017; Leigh, 2010). In Finland, stories about deaf people not accepted to jobs even when they are qualified or denied entry to higher education even after they passed the entry exams, just because of their deafness, are still present in the 2010s[1]. Deaf professionals need to be able to prove their capability and professionality far more than hearing people, and often interpreters play a key part in their representation.

2.1.1 Representation through interpretation

The role of the interpreter has been a subject of evolvement too. Recent research in the interpreting field has seen the interpreter as an active participant of the communicative event, making linguistic and cultural adjustments when needed (Napier & Goswell, 2013; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1992). An interpreter also needs to be aware that Deaf people are "known" through them, by being the "voice" of the Deaf person (Napier et al., in-press). For best outcomes in representation through interpretation it is crucial that interpreters themselves also understand that they are not merely translating between languages, but through their work representing the professionalism of the deaf professional (Kusters & Napier, 2018; Wusu, 2018). In Wusu's study, she brought up how interpreters working as designated interpreters make choices in their work according to how they hope the deaf professional is represented the best, e.g. make

[1] Oskari Salomaa was denied entry to study graphic design after the school realised he was deaf (Kilpeläinen, 2014). Janita Tiainen was initially denied entry to nursing studies after having top scores from entry exams because psychologist evaluated her unable to work as a nurse due to her deafness but got accepted after a claim of rectification and media pressure (Sainio, 2015). Tomas Vaarala had applied to over 60 internships during his engineering studies, but was offered a position in a private company to conclude his mandatory internship only after getting the media's attention (Parikka, 2017).

themselves available and familiar for the hearing workers in order for them to feel more comfortable having an interpreter present in discussions (Wusu, 2018).

When a person, deaf or hearing, is being interpreted, their self/identity is being represented through that interpretation and interpreter. Napier et al. (unpublished) puts it like this:

> The mediated self through interpretation creates an epistemic dependency – I am known to you through another, even though I am present - and an epistemic un-knowability – I am being represented, seen and known through another but does that match who I am, and how could I know? (p. 3)

The interpreter plays a key part in how the deaf professional is represented and the fear of misrepresentation can affect the wellbeing of the deaf professional (Napier, Oram, Young & Skinner, 2019). Deaf professionals lack ways to monitor how they are represented through interpretation, some may use hearing colleagues to ask for feedback about the interpretation or try to lipread the interpreter as they are interpreting from signed language to spoken language (Hauser & Hauser, 2008). Even in cooperation with interpreters, being provided a transcript after the interpreted event as De Meulder, Napier and Stone (2018) used in their joint effort in interpreting a PhD defence, the deaf professional does not have access to what the interpreter sounds like, i.e. pronunciation, accent etc. Merely being interpreted right by content doesn't reflect the representation wholly. In Roy's (1987) research, the intonation, pitch and stress played an important role on how the interpretation was perceived, even when the content was correctly interpreted.

In my previous pilot study, a deaf professional expressed her worries of how she is seen through interpreters, and if there is a mistake in the interpretation do the hearing people consider her to be the source of the mistake or is it made by the interpreter (Kluuskeri, 2018). Deaf professionals feel that their professional reputation depends on the interpreters' interpreting skills (Holcomb, 2018b). If the interpreter is not skilful enough or otherwise suitable for the assignment, they seem less professional (Feyne, 2014; Kluuskeri, 2018). Therefore, many deaf consumers prefer to work with

interpreters they already are familiar with after working together previously (Napier & Rohan, 2007).

Representation through interpreters has been studied by Haug et al. (2017) as they researched deaf leaders' strategies on working with interpreters. Roy (1987) and Feyne (2014) asked hearing participants to evaluate the interpretation and as a result found that the hearing perceptions of the deaf professional did not match their professionalism. In Kauling's (2019) study the hearing evaluators recognised that the deaf subject was a professional of some field, but could not deduct his exact profession. What is common for these studies is that none of them used designated interpreters. The interpreters in Roy's and Kauling's studies were experienced interpreters but did not have specific background knowledge of the subject, i.e. the topic of professionalism of the deaf professional. In Feyne's study, the interpreters were randomly recruited, leading to a situation where those interpreters themselves commented that they would not necessarily offer their services for that kind of work, had they known the subject of the assignment beforehand. That leads to highlighting the fact that the interpreting event is a co-operation. The deaf professional has to have a say in who the interpreter is, and the interpreters need to make the ethical decision of declining the assignments they do not see themselves qualified for.

Cokely (1981) was the first to research the judgements that people dependent on interpretation make about speakers. Although the study focused on interpretation from spoken language to signed language (American Sign Language, ASL), he highlighted in his findings that interpreters should consider the metanotative qualities of the message. That is, in spoken languages, what makes it sound the way it sounds, mood, tone and overall effect of the speaker. Proving that merely interpreting the content of what was said is not enough for the receivers of interpretation to form a true image of the speaker. Later, Gipson and Kraemer (2016) replicated Cokely's work and their findings implied that the interpretation skewed perceptions of the originator negatively in both ASL/English and English/ASL interpretations. The answers revealed only that the receivers of the interpretation would have hired the senior deaf PhD only for a lower level job. However, they only measured the perceptions by a questionnaire.

Studies that have considered the listeners' perception can be found for example by Collados Aís (1998), Berg-Seligson (1998/2002) and Hale (2004). However, Collados Aís and Berg-Selingson who focused on the listeners' perception of the interpreter by intonation or used register, found that these characteristics may also affect the listeners' perception of the person being interpreted. Hale studied the style of interpreters interpreting witnesses in a courtroom and found that stylistic characteristics in the interpreter speech affect the perceptions of competence and the credibility of the witness.

Fitzmaurice and Purdy (2015) tested how disfluent pauses affect the perception of the speaker with non-signing recipients. The disfluent pauses had a negative impact on the perception of the signer, however, they trusted the accuracy of the message interpreted. They conclude that high register and scientific terminology may have impacted the outcome. That is, the disfluent pauses in interpretation didn't take all the credibility away from the deaf professional. They had a qualified and experienced interpreter, who was able to prepare for the interpretation and the interpretation was conducted in consecutive form.

2.1.2 Deaf professionals' selection of interpreters

Deaf professionals have preferences in selecting the interpreters according to their skills, personality and also the knowledge of the content and the goals of their work. They also consider the interpreters' ability to reflect them adequately as a person and a professional, after all, their professional reputation depends to some extent on the interpreting. They want to be seen as "authentic" professionals (De Meulder et al. 2018; Feyne, 2014; Kusters & Napier, 2018; de Wit & Sluis, 2014). It should be obvious that Deaf Professionals themselves are experts in selecting the most suitable interpreters to work with them and therefore they should be the ones making the decisions on selection.

Overall, those deaf consumers who can select their own interpreters have been reported to be more satisfied with the interpretation (Napier & Rohan, 2007). They have the best knowledge of what skills they need from the interpreters and what style of co-operation etc. is best-suited for them, whether it be a previous acquaintance with the interpreter

or the interpreters' knowledge of the subject, e.g. academia (Burke, 2017; De Meulder et al., 2018; Wusu, 2018).

In seeking for the best outcome of their representation, deaf professionals can put the interpreters' speaking skills above their signing skills. In other words, because of their knowledge of the interpreting process, they can accommodate and work with interpreters who don't have the highest quality interpreting skills into signed language, because they assume that hearing people, who are unaware of the interpreting process, can't accommodate similarly if they hear the interpreter speaking poorly (Haug et al., 2017). Likewise, Holcomb (2018a) recognises the importance of the interpreters' ability to interpret from signed to spoken language in order for the deaf professional to engage successfully and comfortably with hearing peers in meetings and conferences.

Sometimes, when everything "clicks" in the interpreting process, interpreters succeed in representing the deaf professionals' "voice". In the research of interpretation in the PhD defence of a deaf professional, De Meulder et al. (2018) were happy to find out that hearing parents of the deaf professional commented that the interpreted speech sounded just like their daughter, if she would speak. The authors conclude that this is probably due to the interpreters' familiarity with the context, academic discourse, as both interpreters had PhDs as well. The interpreters were chosen by the deaf professional because of their background, even though they had not worked together frequently.

2.2. Interpreting for deaf professionals

The situations where deaf professionals require interpreting services in their work are varied. With some deaf professionals, interpreters are present throughout their working hours, whereas some have interpreters booked for only specific settings such as meetings.

The concept of designated interpreting, originated in the USA, is currently under discussion in the interpreting field (Hauser et al., 2008). This is a situation where the employer of a deaf professional hires an interpreter as a designated interpreter for the needs of the deaf professional. The concept cannot be universalised due to differences

in policies regarding interpreter provision between countries. For the purposes of this paper the definitions of different concepts will be presented and hereafter used in this paper.

Designated interpreters are designated to work with a particular deaf professional, employed by the employer of that deaf professional, e.g. a private company or a university. They may be on standby at the workplace, to be ready when the deaf professional needs interpretation. Because of this work relation, the employer can ask the interpreter to perform other tasks that are not related to interpreting, e.g. filing. This is a typical situation of interpreting for deaf professionals in the USA (Hauser & Hauser, 2008). In the Finnish context designated interpreter positions are currently non-existent. However, back in 1976, Liisa Kauppinen started working as an executive director of the Finnish Association of the Deaf (FAD) and had a designated interpreter Raili Ojala hired to work with her (Ojala-Signell, 2014). Later on, this designated interpreter position changed into a staff interpreter working with multiple deaf people (Selin-Grönlund, 2007).

Staff interpreters, also called in-house interpreters, are hired by the work-place. They interpret for multiple deaf professionals in a variety of settings in that particular workplace. In Finland a few organisations have staff interpreters, e.g. the Finnish Deaf Association (FAD) and the University of Jyväskylä (Selin-Grönlund, 2007; Silberstein, 2013).

Preferred interpreters are interpreters who the deaf professional directly asks to work with them, either in a particular situation (conference, dissertation etc.) or at their workplace continuously. For example, if the nature of the deaf professional's work does not require constant interpreting, they keep a list of preferred interpreters and book one when needed (Smith & Ogden, 2018). In the Finnish context this concept is often referred to as workplace interpreting (työelämätulkkaus) and it is the most common method how deaf professionals receive interpretation at their workplace. The provision of interpreting services is covered by the government, not the employer of the deaf professional (Silberstein, 2013). The reasons for why a particular person is selected as a preferred interpreter may vary greatly, but they can be based e.g. on the interpreter's experience and their knowledge of a particular situation, like dissertation (De Meulder

et. al., 2018). The interpreter provision in Finland and the use of preferred interpreters will be presented in the following chapter.

For the purposes of this study, designated interpreting is used as a general concept, encompassing all the previously explained terms, when no specific employment relationship of an interpreter is established.

When interpreting occurs at a workplace, it influences the relationships between workers. Dickinson (2010) researched the significance of the interpreter becoming an active third participant of the communicative event, as they are a permanent part of the work community. Therefore, interpreting for deaf professionals in their work has added requirements for interpreters compared to community interpreting, where they work in different settings and with different customers. Becoming a designated or a preferred interpreter will require becoming a part of the work community and learning the particular professional jargon and discourse e.g. in academia (Smith & Ogden, 2018; Wusu, 2018).

It is important to bring the designated interpreting into discussion because in anticipation of the increase of Deaf professionals there must correspondingly be more interpreters who can fulfill the requirements (Cook, 2004). As the deaf professional and the designated interpreter work continuously and closely with each other, they develop unique ways of cooperation. An interpreter, therefore, cannot enter the work without the ability to adjust to the needs of the deaf professional. For example, when knowing the content and context of the deaf professionals' work the interpreter knows exactly what the deaf professionals' intentions are and can interpret accordingly. Also, the cooperation of asking and giving clarifications in the middle of interpreting becomes smoother when interlocutors use agreed conventions (Cook, 2004; Napier, Carmichael & Wiltshire, 2008; De Meulder et al., 2018). All this shows that the deaf professionals are not in the traditional "client role", but part of the cooperation with the interpreter (Kushalnagar & Rashid 2008). The Finnish Association of the Deaf has described the effectiveness of designated interpreting saying that the difference in quality is noticeable when using staff interpreters versus non-staff interpreters, even when the non-staff interpreters are qualified and experienced interpreters (Silberstein, 2013).

In Finland the discussion about workplace interpreting has been present in the recent years. Silberstein (2013) conducted a survey about interpreting at workplaces in 2013. At that time the majority of workplace interpreting happened only occasionally in meetings etc., therefore designated interpreting was rare and different community interpreters were used. Only a small number of deaf people were working in professional, specialist jobs. A case study of interpreters working in the FAD was conducted by Selin-Grönlund (2007), and Wusu (2018) researched specifically deaf professionals and their use of preferred interpreters.

2.2.1 Interpreter provision in Finland

In Finland, the interpreting services are provided by the government and currently organised by Kela[2], the Social Insurance Institution, a Finnish governmental agency in charge of settling benefits under national social security programs. The provision of interpreting services paid by the government emerged in 1979 in Finland as interpreting services were added to the Act on Disability Care Services. In 2010, the Act on Interpretation Services for persons with Disabilities was enacted and by it, the responsibility for providing the service was transferred from municipalities to State (Krook, 2011). Since 2014, consumers have booked interpreters via The Centre for Interpreting Services for the Disabled, which is centralised to arrange all interpreting assignments to private interpreting companies according to the results of a public procurement it arranges every 2-4 years. All interpreting services, including work-life interpreting, are free of charge for the customers. Deaf and hard of hearing customers are provided minimum of 180 hour per year and deaf-blind customers 360 hours per year, however, more hours can always be applied for (Kela, 2019).

From January 2018 the service of *a list of preferred interpreters* was initiated. Deaf consumers are entitled to make a list of the interpreters they prefer to use, and their bookings and assignments are firstly assigned to those interpreters if possible (Huusko, 2017; Kela, 2019). In an ideal situation the list of preferred interpreters would be a good solution for the needs of deaf professionals. Unfortunately, not all consumers are satisfied with the service. For example, work-life interpreting is not prioritised in

[2] In Finnish, "Kansaneläkelaitos", shortened acronym Kela.

assignment bookings, therefore the preferred interpreters may not always available (Kluuskeri, 2018; Wusu, 2018).

2.3 Directionality in interpretation

In the practise of spoken language interpreting, the directionality between working languages has traditionally been from the interpreter's L2 (non-native language) to L1 (native language). Especially in conference interpreting, which contains mostly monologue interpreting. It has also been claimed that interpreters produce more culturally and linguistically appropriate messages when working into their L1 (Nicodemus & Emmorey, 2015).

Sign Language interpreting has emerged strongly from community interpreting, where interpretation typically occurs in dialogs. As such, both directions are in constant use. In educational interpreting on the other hand, direction is mainly from spoken language to signed language. However, as the emerging number of deaf professionals use interpretation regarding their work, giving presentations etc., there is an increased need for quality interpretation from signed to spoken language (Hauser & Hauser, 2008; Napier & Goswell, 2013; Wusu, 2018).

Although most of the Sign Language interpreters are not native signers, they actually prefer to interpret vice versa from L1 to L2, that is from signed language to spoken language. Interpreting from signed to spoken language is often considered to be more difficult and the weaker direction (Napier, Rohan & Slatyer, 2005; Pöchhacker, 2016; Wang & Napier, 2015; de Wit & Sluis, 2014).

The research on interpreting from signed to spoken language is not extensive. Studies considering teamwork in signed to spoken language interpretation have been conducted by Cokely and Hawkins (2003), Napier et al. (2008) and Best, Napier, Carmichael and Pouliot (2016). Also listeners' perceptions regarding disfluent pauses and irregular discourse have been researched (Fitzmaurice & Purdy, 2015; Roy, 1987).

Nicodemus and Emmorey (2015) compared novice and experienced interpreters' performance in both directions. They found out that novice interpreters preferred to interpret from L1 to L2 but were actually performing poorer in that direction, e.g.

having issues with producing appropriate prosody in ASL. They evaluated interpretations according to fluency, production speed and use of prosodic features (intonation, pitch and volume) and stated that "Language that is lacking prosodic features will seem unnatural, flat, monotonal, and unexpressive. Language with exaggerated prosodic features is also unnatural, since it seems overly expressive, theatrical, or emotional." (Nicodemus & Emmorey, 2015, p. 10). The use of prosody in any language creates cohesion and comprehension. Prosody in spoken language is intonation, rhythm, tempo, stress, lengthening, pausing, stress. In signed language prosody is eye and head movements, body leans, lengthening of signs, cheek puffing, nose wrinkling and hand clasping (Nicodemus, 2002).

According to Nicodemus and Emmorey (2015), novice interpreters were oblivious to their actual performance when interpreting from English to ASL and therefore preferred that direction. They thought they were producing good interpretation when actually they were not. Their perceived performance could be explained by the manual modality of signed languages, which allows for certain coping strategies making the interpretation feel appropriate for the interpreter. For example, when an interpreter doesn't know a sign for a particular word, they can use fingerspelling. But when they encounter an unfamiliar sign, there is no equivalent strategy in rendering the unknown meaning into spoken language. Interpreting into signed language also allows transcoding, i.e. signing in the word order of spoken language even though this often leads to ungrammatical language. In addition, self-monitoring the output is more difficult in signed language than in spoken language. Hearing your own voice instantly reveals the errors and the lack of prosody but looking at your hands doesn't give the complete image of a signed language. It should be seen through the eyes of the receiver, containing also the non-manual elements of a signed language (Nicodemus & Emmorey, 2015).

Before the study of Nicodemus and Emmorey (2015), a study by Van Dijk, Boes, Christoffels and Hermans (2011) had concluded that on the contrary, the interpreters in their study performed better when interpreting into their L2 (Sign Language of the Netherlands). Nicodemus and Emmorey present that this could be explained by the participants of Van Dijk et al. study being experienced, some of them CODA

interpreters. In Nicodemus' and Emmorey's study correspondingly, the expert interpreters didn't have a clear distinction in their performance between directionalities.

Nilsson (2016) lists the difficulties in interpreting from signed to spoken language to be the receptive skills in signed language including understanding non-manual signals and spatial information, and productive skills in spoken language including the knowledge of different registers and use of intonation when interpreting. Also, monitoring the spoken output differs from monitoring the signed output. Nilsson highlights the interpreters' knowledge of different registers in both working languages in order to provide equivalent interpretations.

False friends are characteristics between languages that might cause mistakes in interpreting, especially between signed and spoken language. Those are words that have the same form in both languages, but different meaning. When only the form is interpreted, they lead into target language that seems odd. For example, as signed languages use mouth movements that are loans from the spoken language, in Nilsson's (2005) research interpreters tended to find the closest match in spoken language according to the signed languages mouthings, even if there would have been multiple synonyms to choose from.

Nonetheless, this leads to a conclusion that interpreting from L2 to L1 is not a harder job in essence, but merely reveals the errors in a way that makes them more obvious.

In interpreting studies, language comprehension has been researched more than language production (Pöchhacker, 2016). However, producing speech is a key in discourse and the process of it in simultaneous interpreting is not the same as in everyday speech of a native language speaker. Gerver (as cited in Pöchhacker, 2016) was the first to research the monitoring and correction processes that are included in simultaneous interpreting. After his initial work psycholinguists and interpreting researches have continued to take note of self-corrections and false starts. Disfluencies that need correcting in interpreted speech can be hesitations, described as silent or filled pauses (um, ah), or lengthened syllables, repetitions, corrections and false starts. Pöchhacker states, that these features in simultaneous interpretation have not been marked as mistakes or imperfections, but as "typical features of orality" (Pöchhacker,

2016, p. 118). The types of repairs that interpreters use, are studied e.g. by Petite (as cited in Pöchhacker, 2016). She noted corrections within the word, and also corrections after an utterance had been spoken in order to produce appropriate speech. These corrections show that interpreters consider and evaluate their work based on what is favourable to the listeners, aiming for coherent and easily listened speech (Pöchhacker, 2016).

Deaf professionals expect interpreters to interpret them to spoken language with high quality. According to a study about Deaf Academics' experiences of interpretation in their work, the primary reason for negative experiences were due to poor performance in signed to spoken language interpretations (Haug et al., 2017).

The effects of an interpreter's voice should be taken into consideration. In spoken language interpreting research survey participants appreciated if the interpretation was done with regular delivery, absence of hesitation, correct grammar, use of complete sentences, clarity of expression, and with a lively, non-monotonous voice with clear enunciation (Moser, as cited in Napier & Rohan, 2007).

2.4 The pilot study: deaf professionals' expectations

In a previous pilot study that was conducted as a part of the present Thesis, I did a case study about one deaf professional's expectations of interpretation in her work. The study focused especially on interpretation from FinSL to Finnish. She uses the list of preferred interpreters in her work but is often provided interpreters who are not on this list. She described working with these "random" interpreters harder because she felt insecure about how these interpreters would work. She felt that when interpreting was not going smoothly, as interpreters didn't know the content of her work, the terms used or her colleagues, it caused a barrier for her. Sometimes in meetings she chose not to comment on matters, because interpreters wouldn't interpret her properly and she felt that unknown hearing people would consider her odd instead of understanding that the interpretation was not successful. However, she felt that cooperation between her and the preferred interpreters was effective and enhanced her accessibility in relation to her hearing colleagues and her professionalism as perceived by others (Kluuskeri, 2018).

2.5 Sociolinguistics

Nida (1976) describes sociolinguistic theory as a view that focuses on language performance. As language is used in intrapersonal relations, making meaning understandable is more important than forming linguistically precise utterances (Nida, as cited in Roy, 2000). Gumperz and Hymes (1972) present the concept of communicative competence. Effective communication includes e.g. culturally appropriate ways of speaking that also take the context into consideration. Therefore, when considering culturally and contextually appropriate ways of speaking, mere form-to-form translation is not sufficient (Gumperz & Hymes, as cited in Roy, 2000).

Sociolinguistics emphasises how language is understood between people. Likewise, channelling the meaning of a message is at the core of interpreting between languages.

> "Interpreters should not be focusing on word-level equivalents but rather on the sense of what a text conveys. "The sensing of what is meant as opposed to knowing a language as such is the very foundation of interpretation" (Seleskovich 1977:28)" (Roy 2000 p, 26).

The research on interpretation has mainly focused on comparing the source text and the target text and analysing their equivalency. Very little research has been done on the target text as individual speech, looking into its characteristics on its own. Hatim and Mason (1990) describe this as dynamic equivalence. It is the "equivalence on the effect on the reader of TT" in juxtaposition to formal equivalence, which is the "closest possible match of form and content between ST and TT" (Hatim & Mason, 1990, p. 7). In interpreting studies concepts of *source text* (ST) and *target text* (TT) do not refer to the modality of a message, *text* in this sense can be written, spoken or signed language. Source text or source language means the utterance or language that is interpreted into another language, referred to as target text or target language (Cokely, 1992; Munday, 2016; Pöchhacker, 2016).

Roy (1987) set out her research to investigate what difference did it make how the interpretation sounded to its receivers. She found that even though the content of the interpretation was equivalent to the source text, the meaning was not transferred as intended because the sociolinguistic aspects of culture and context appropriateness were incorrect. Therefore, as the interpretation lacked dynamic equivalency, it sounded odd as an individual speech.

Interpreters are not working only between different languages, but also between different communities and cultures. It is therefore acknowledged by many authors, e.g. Cokely (1992), Metzger (1999) and Roy (1987), that interpreting research should apply a framework of sociolinguistic parameters. With the sociolinguistic approach in mind, the focus of the interpreting should be on the meaning of the message. In addition, the context and situation where the language is used need to be considered since they determine what the utterances mean and whether the chosen linguistic elements are appropriate (Napier, 2002). Therefore, interpretations cannot be judged solely on the level of equivalency and content accuracy (Cokely, 1981; Roy, 2000).

2.5.1 Discourse

In linguistic analysis, discourse can be studied through the function of language. What is required within a particular language for an utterance to be recognised functionally? What do the words in an utterance really mean? It is therefore described, that "analysis of discourse refers to the study of language beyond the level of grammatical sentence" (Stubbs, 1983 in Metzger & Bahan, 2001, p. 113). Discourse analysis focuses on language as it is used in real-world situations: how do people understand each other. Therefore, the data for a discourse analysis must be naturally occurring (Metzger & Bahan, 2001; Winston & Roy, 2015).

Discourse analysis is the study of language used in common interaction between people. Therefore, it deals with utterances, that may not be grammatically correct sentences. As Winston and Roy (2015) describe it:

> "In everyday interaction, people do not always use complete "sentences", they leave out information, they add meaning with their voices, or their faces, and they leave their comments unfinished. Yet, we still understand each other. An utterance, then, is the real-life expression of people's thoughts, ideas and feelings" (p. 95).

Therefore, understanding the meaning of a discourse requires understanding how people are accustomed to discussing in a certain setting and context. For example, we know that the meaning is different when a doctor asks, "How are you?", compared to a friend saying the same sentence form.

Within the discourse certain markers co-ordinate and arrange the speech or signing. These discourse markers identify units by marking the beginning and/or the end of an utterance and therefore help us know e.g. when it is our turn to respond. They also prioritise and add meaning to utterances, for example, *and* joins clauses together and *but* makes the meanings of two clauses contradict each other. In ASL, the discourse marker NOW often marks the beginning of a topic (Shriffin, 1994). According to Shriffin (1994), discourse markers provide coherence to the talk. In signed languages, discourse markers occur manually, non-manually or spatially. Spatially-used discourse markers are the referential use of signing space, e.g. referring to a particular part of signing space where some concept has been situated previously. These discourse markers are a unique way to create cohesion in signed languages.

Another feature of creating cohesion in discourse is prosody. For example, in listing matters, rising intonation marks that something is still going to be added and the falling intonation marks the last item (Winston & Roy, 2015). Repeatedly rising and falling intonation is a feature of telling a story (Roy, 1987). Discourse analysis is an important tool in interpretation because while interpreting, discourse markers or other cohesion creating characteristics may be unknowingly missed or used wrong, which creates different meanings in the interpretation (Metzger & Bahan, 2001).

2.5.2 Discourse in interpreting

Interpreting is much more than understanding and producing equivalent signs and words between languages. It is a deeper understanding of the discourse of both languages and their cultures, recognition of the subtle links between meanings and the context and making sense of what people mean and conveying the same meaning to another person (Mindess, 1999; Winston & Monikowski, 2002; Roy, 2000).

When studying interpreted discourse, source language discourse and target language discourse must be considered as two separate discourses because each language has its own cultural background. Therefore, it has also been argued that an interpreter creates a third discourse (Hale & Napier, 2013). Thus, the cognitive process of interpreting and creating a coherent discourse simultaneously must be seen as an added workload. It is

understandable that interpreted discourse cannot be identical to free speech (Nicodemus, 2002). Overall, as discourse demands background knowledge about cultures, language, setting, context and the participants involved, interpretation cannot be merely rendering the words from the source language to the target language (Hale & Napier, 2013).

Seminal works of Roy (2000) and Wadensjö (1998) have brought up the consideration of interpreter as an active participant in the interpreting situation, coordinating the discourse. As interpretation is required when the primary participants do not have a common language, the interpreter is the one understanding both languages and cultures and therefore the only person present who can "logically maintain, adjust, and if necessary, repair differences in structure and use" of language (Roy, 2000, p. 6).

Interpreters need to possess knowledge of the appropriate discourse of a particular context they are working in. A problem with signed languages is that they might not yet have a specific professional discourse style because deaf professionals and their professional language use is still emerging. However, "discourse is found to be an important indicator of professional identity" (Kauling, 2019, p.26). Therefore, the responsibility is left to the interpreter to have background information about the content and terminology of a given situation and to interpret the message with appropriate target language discourse.

In the search of appropriate discourse, the equivalence of interpretation must also be taken into consideration. Cokely (1992) states that when comparing the source text and target text, their accurateness and appropriateness can be determined by their equivalency. He defines the lack of equivalence between source text and target text as a miscue and groups miscues in five categories:

Omissions, which are the absence of source text information in the target text.

Additions, where information not present in the source text is added to the target text.

Substitutions, i.e. information in the source text is replaced in the target text with something that differs from the source text.

Intrusions, where the source language influences the target language, e.g. signed English.

Anomalies, which are meaningless target text utterances.

Intrusions and anomalies would not be considered enhancement of proper discourse, but depending on the equivalency, omissions, additions and substitutions can act as such (Kauling, 2015; Napier, 2002).

Discourse can be divided into separate types, and the identification of those acts is for the interpreters' advantage when preparing for an interpretation. Every discourse type has its own grammatical structure and anticipation of the discourse and structure will help in the interpreting process (Ingram, 2000). Ingram (2000, p. x) presents types of discourse initiated by Callow (1974):

1. Narrative – "recounts a series of events ordered more or less chronologically"
2. Procedural – "give(s) instructions as to the accomplishing of a task or achieving of an object"
3. Hortatory (or persuasive) – "attempts to influence conduct"
4. Explanatory – "seeks to provide information required in particular circumstances"
5. Conversational – "conversation between two or more people"

Lectures would fall into the explanatory category. In signed language interpreting the discourse style of a lecture has been researched e.g. by Cokely (1992) and in FinSL by Laine (2010).

As discourse is a tool for effective interpretation, it should be used in interpreter education. A shift in focus from learning interpreting by learning equivalent words and signs to learning the discourse and its meaning; "Why is something said, how to know the point of the story etc." is strongly encouraged by Roy (2006).

2.5.3 Interactional sociolinguistics

The theoretical framework of interactional sociolinguistics approach that is used in the present study is located within discourse analysis alongside with e.g. ethnography of communication, speech act theory, pragmatics, conversation analysis and variation analysis (Shriffin, 1994). Interactional sociolinguistics combines anthropology, sociology and linguistics and looks at the relationships between language, culture and society (Metzger & Bahan, 2001; Roy, 2000).

The framework views language as it is used in communication between people, looks at the aims language use carries and also looks into the features of how the meaning is conveyed, e.g. via prosodic cues (intonation and stress) and paralinguistic features (e.g. pitch, register, rhythm and volume), as well as into the background expectations, roles and social knowledge (Gumperz, 1977; Pöchhacker, 2016).

Gumperz (1977) calls these features that help listeners to convey meaning "contextualisation cues". They help people understand what is being said beyond the words. For example, these cues may express when speakers have made their points, what is the relationship between comments, or if something was meant as a joke (Roy, 2000; Gumperz, 1977). Gumperz (1977) states that the meaning of contextualisation cues becomes important when they are not used correctly; they make the utterance sound odd for the listener. Because contextualisation cues are culturally bound, they could be easily misused by non-native speakers.

When interactional sociolinguistics is used as a framework in research, the data needs to be naturally occurring interaction that is recorded and transcribed. The framework has been used in multiple studies regarding sign language, a few examples are Roy (2000) and Metzger (1999), which discuss the interpreted discourse (Metzger & Bahan, 2001).

2.6 Roy's research

Before her extensive work on discourse analysis Roy conducted a research (1987) on evaluating performance in interpretation from ASL to English. She proposed that the reason for the difficulties of evaluating interpreted talk is that we often evaluate the interpretation based on whether it is equivalent to the original source, but do not consider the outcome as individual talk and whether it sounds like appropriate discourse on its own.

Roy demonstrated the communicative breakdown, when what was interpreted sounded wrong to the target audience. What was being said, i.e. the content of the interpretation, was correct but how it was said, i.e. the discourse, was wrong. Hearing evaluators had evaluated the interpreted university lecture to be like a talk given to children. Even

though at the set where the interpretation had happened the target audience were interpreting students and they did not notice anything odd in the interpretation.

Roy analysed the interpretation for what went wrong, why it sounded different than intended. The content of the lecture was interpreted right, so on the level of words, phrases and sentences there was nothing wrong. In her analysis Roy looked at the paralinguistic cues of the speech; intonation, stress and other cues. These were identified by Gumperz (1977) as contextualisation cues. These contextualisation cues play an important part in the talk, because listeners unconsciously choose to rely on these in their interpretation of the meaning of the message (Gumperz &Tannen, 1979 in Roy, 1987). In Roy's research, the contextualisation cues were off, the intonation, elongated vowels and particular word choices made listeners to conceptualise the talk wrong, they thought it was a talk aimed at children.

Roy concludes with possible explanations for why this kind of a communicative breakdown could have taken place. It is possible the interpreter was focusing on the content of the lecture, finding formal word equivalents, i.e. focusing on the surface meaning. The academic discourse in ASL had not been studied and discussed at that time and possibly this unawareness lead to literal interpretation without deeper consideration of proper academic discourse in English.

In addition to these possibilities Roy turns to constructed dialogue. Also called reported speech it means the speech is presented in first-person dialogue (Tannen 1985, in Roy 1987). Although constructed dialogue is a part of ASL and used also in English, it is rarely used in formal lecture discourse and there it represents only humans. In the interpretation of Roy's research, it was a fish speaking.

The implications of Roy's research for the interpreting field are that interpreters need to possess more abilities than just speaking another language. It requires "recognition, mastery, and explicit knowledge of the discourse markers and styles in both languages." (Roy, 1987, p. 145). It is not what is said but how it is said that makes or breaks the communication. Therefore, evaluations by monolingual participants are needed in order to gain information on how the interpreted utterances sound like on their own. Roy stresses the importance of discourse in interpretation as

> "Language is not used simply to convey information; it is used to display the attitudes and motivations of the speaker … Language study must include a study not only of what is said, but how it is said and how that notion conveys an immense amount of information about speakers." (p. 145)

Since Roy's research was done 30 years ago, I assumed the situation regarding interpretation would be different today. By replicating her research, I aim to show the difference that has happened in thirty years; the sign language interpreter education and professionalisation have come a long way, and much more research data is also available. More deaf professionals are in various working positions giving interpreted lectures etc. Therefore, for the present study I wanted to choose an interpreter who is experienced in particular work settings of a deaf professional as well as in interpreting from FinSL to Finnish.

By picking an interpretation in the context of where staff interpreters are being used, I aim to show their use of appropriate discourse. Every interpreter faces assignments in a context unfamiliar to them and try to make the best out of it. But in a world with an increased number of deaf professionals we need to acknowledge the advantages the use of preferred interpreters has.

Subsequently, the general notion of evaluating interpretation is difficult. As Roy (1987) demonstrated, relying on the equivalency between languages can lead to misunderstandings due to the incorrect discourse. But from the other point of view, the discourse alone does not make a quality interpretation, equivalency is also needed. Kurz (2001) stated that listeners are poor judges of the quality of interpretation, because they cannot judge the equivalency. Therefore, the present study will rely on both the perceptions of the hearing participants and the analysis of the interpretation.

2.7 Replication

Replication is an attempt to repeat a research (Robson, 2011 as cited in Kauling, 2015). Replication provides contrast and comparison with previous research (Marks, 2012). It is more common in other fields of science than in signed language interpreting research,

as fields such as psychology and medicine aim for accuracy and reliability through replication (Anderson & Maxwell, 2016). In Sign Language Interpreting research, the only replications I have encountered are Marks (2012), Kauling (2015) and Gipson and Kraemer (2016). It could be argued, that as the field is still emerging, there are many gaps in the existing works that have been published, therefore researchers tend to go for those unexplored areas.

The aim of the present study is to replicate Roy's (1987) research, adding the perspectives of the developments in the signed language interpreting field, designated interpreting and working with deaf professionals that have occurred during this millennium. It is not assumed that the results would be entirely comparable. Although the setting is targeted to be as comparable as possible, the work of individual interpreters can never be replicated. Adding to the set up, there are 30 years of development in the interpreter education field, as well as increased amount of interpreting in higher education and the increased number of deaf professionals.

2.8 Summary of literature review

In Chapter 2. I have introduced the relevant literature that the present study is based on. The emergence and working situation of deaf professionals and their work with interpreters has been presented. The importance of discourse and its use in interpretation has set the theoretical framework of this study within interactional sociolinguistics. According to this presented literature, I will introduce the methodology of the present study in the next chapter.

3. Methodology

In the section 3.2, the methodology of the present study will be presented. It is mainly following the methodology of Roy's (1987) research which will be first described in section 3.1. Subsequently, piloting of the interview will also be further explained, and the research participants introduced.

3.1 Roy's Research

Roy had two experienced and certified CODA interpreters interpret an ASL lecture from a videotape. The lecture was content-oriented and targeted towards college freshmen. Interpreters viewed the videotape prior interpreting it and were offered a chance to ask questions about the lecture content or particular signs used in it. They then interpreted it to an audience consisting of college-level interpreting students. From the interpretation an audio tape was recorded.

Roy then played the tape to a monolingual, English-speaking audience of twenty participants. As they did not know ASL, they were considered to be the target group for the interpretation. This audience did not know they were listening to an interpretation. When interviewed, they identified the topic of the lecture correctly but felt that the talk was aimed for children. The original ASL lecture was later evaluated by native deaf signers to compare and check whether the misunderstanding of the hearing evaluators was due to the interpretation. None of the native signers indicated that the lecture resembled a talk given to children.

Roy then analysed the interpretation, searching for reasons why the interpretation failed. In analysis, Roy used "contextualisation cues" of pitch, intonation, stress, elongated vowels and particular word choices, identified by Gumperz (1977). Another linguistic feature used in the analysis was constructed dialogue, i.e. a first-person dialogue within the story, that was also discovered to be misleading, because it does not occur in English lecture discourse but was interpreted as such.

With her analysis Roy focused on finding the reasons for the communicative breakdown that happened in the interpretation.

3.2 Phases of this study

Data collection of the present study is presented in three phases.

First phase was to gain a recording of the source text that would later be interpreted. The phase consisted of contacting interpreters in search of a suitable event to film, the actual filming and selecting a clip to be interpreted.

For the purposes of this research I decided to have a context related to deaf professionals' work and an event that would be interpreted either by staff interpreters or preferred interpreters. In this case they had previously worked with this particular deaf professional at his workplace on several occasions. Therefore, they were familiar with the situation, the deaf professional and the subject in question. The purpose of this setting was to match the situation where the deaf professional would have requested particular interpreters they wished to interpret them. Due to the familiarity between me and these interpreters they were contacted first and asked to participate and assist in finding a suitable situation to film. I initially reached out to three interpreters who I knew to work in this kind of setting. The primary intent was to record an interpretation in a live situation. In the time frame allocated for the present research there was no such event available. I then suggested that the interpretation could be done from film and the interpreters agreed to it.

The interpreters suggested a few events that would have been suitable for filming but those were dismissed because they were aimed only at audiences competent in Finnish Sign Language. Based on their suggestions I contacted a deaf professional asking for his permission and agreed with what event would be filmed. Two of the contacted interpreters were timewise available to interpret the filmed lecture, therefore naturally picked as participants.

Filming of the source text occurred in a university lecture. The deaf professional is a lecturer at the university, currently working on his PhD, and has approximately 15 years of experience in academic contexts. The language of the lecture was Finnish Sign Language and there were only two students attending the course in question. The lecture took place in a classroom, where the lecturer and the students were situated close to each other where it was easy for them to interact in Finnish Sign Language. The lecture

was filmed with one camera filming only the lecturer. Total time of the video recording was 66.15 minutes.

After filming the lecture, there was a part selected to be interpreted. The targeted length of this selected clip was approximately 15 minutes. The selected part was at the beginning of the lecture in order to avoid a reference to something that would have been previously addressed but not seen on the video clip to be interpreted. The part in question was content-oriented. The video was edited with iMovie video editing software, so that a five-minute clip in the middle was deleted because it contained discussion between the lecturer and the students. This was a natural pause during the lecture, the lecturer aimed to engage the students in conversation. For the content or the flow of the lecture this was not relevant, and it was deleted to not prolong the video that was meant to be interpreted. The chosen part of the video was then edited to one clip of 19.40 minutes.

Second phase was the interpretation of the video. The phase consisted of interpreters' preparation, setting a space for the interpreting, the actual interpretation and its filming and an interview with the interpreters.

The interpreters had booked a room from their workplace to interpret. Together we set out the space so that the video was shown on the screen on the wall. The interpreters had been previously told to discuss among themselves how they preferred to divide the work and how they would usually do it. The deaf professional provided preparation material, the PowerPoint slides, five days in advance and the interpreters prepared with the slides. The overall preparation was equal to their everyday assignment preparation. The interpreters had decided that one interpreter would take the main role to interpret into Finnish and the other would be the supporting interpreter. They have worked together for approximately ten years, know each other well and chose their usual supporting methods. Both interpreters have fifteen or more years of experience in interpreting, and currently and in recent years have done most of their interpreting in academic context.

As interpreting from a video instead of a live situation is not a normal work environment for interpreters the following adjustments were made in order to match the situation to

a live one, where interpreters would have had the possibility to ask the lecturer to repeat or clarify. In a live situation they also could have chosen where to sit, now they saw the lecture only from the direction the camera had been in, having sometimes a light from the projector disrupting etc. The interpreters first viewed the video once with additional three minutes in the start where the lecturer explained the signs used. This was not necessary to interpret but it was relevant background information for the interpreters. The interpreters were also given additional information on two matters that had been discussed prior to the beginning of the lecture between the lecturer and the students related to a future meeting within the course. This information was referred to during the lecture and had this been a live interpretation, the information would have been available to the interpreters on site. The content of the deleted clip in the middle of the video was also summarised verbally to the interpreters.

After viewing the video, the interpreters prepared briefly and when they felt ready, the interpreting began. From the interpretation only audio was recorded. Once the interpretation was finished, the interpreters started naturally reviewing their work, giving each other feedback. They were also briefly interviewed about the interpretation, how it relates to their everyday work and asked about their background information. Mostly they addressed these matters naturally as a feedback discussion with each other. There was no intention for an in-depth retrospective interview, as the main prompt for analysing the interpretation was supposed to come from the hearing participants.

The recording of the interpretation had to be slightly edited for the hearing participants to listen. Two parts were deleted because those contained more detailed information about the lecturer himself and would have guided the assumptions of the hearing participants, for example, when the lecturer clearly stated his work and subject of his dissertation. Also a clip where one of the interpreters struggled the most and said aloud to the supporting interpreter "go ahead and say if...", meaning to give the turn to the supporting interpreter, was edited out. This was considered to be confusing for the hearing participants who do not know the methods of team interpreting. Furthermore, there was a part where the lecturer was thinking aloud, trying to recall which languages and areas they were talking about, which was interpreted correctly, but sounded confusing because of the hesitations in the source text. The intention for these editings was not to polish or enhance the interpretation to sound smooth in order to manipulate

the hearing participants' opinions, but to have a short clip that would be easy to listen. Hesitations from both the interpreters and the lecturer were kept on tape. Also, there were two instances where the supporting interpreter added something to the interpretation. The selection and editing resulted in a ten-minute clip that I assumed would lead to an interview of 30-45 minutes with hearing participants.

Phase three was to recruit the hearing participants and conduct the interview; to play the audio recording of the interpretation to the hearing participants and interview them based on what they heard. A pilot interview was set out prior to the actual interviews.

The hearing participant target group was considered to be professionals from academic environment, since they would have the overall knowledge of lectures given in academic contexts and suitable professional discourse. However, they should not hold any professional knowledge about linguistics, interpreting or sign language to act as neutral participants focusing on their perceptions of the interpretation. Already on recruiting the participants, they were informed they would be listening to a recording of an interpretation.

Firstly, the interview with the hearing professionals was piloted. The pilot participant fitted the target group profile, she holds a PhD and has working experience in academic setting for approximately twenty years. The edited recording of the interpretation of ten minutes was played all at once and the pilot participant was asked to listen to it and make notes on the things that caught her attention. The aim of this was to be as neutral as possible and to let the pilot participant freely form their opinion. After listening, the pilot participant was interviewed. She identified that it was a lecture, aimed for university or university of applied sciences students at the beginning of their studies.

The pilot participant was informed that the recording consisted of three clips, but the changes of the clips were not easily detected. The deleted parts contained information, that, as now missing, were causing confusion. The pilot participant listened to the tape as a whole and made notes of it, trying to build a coherent entity. Afterwards she pointed out the misleading information, that was mainly caused by the editing or the film, such as word choices that the lecturer had explained at the beginning of the lecture.

Executing the interview with this recording and listening to it all at once led the pilot participant to listen to different things from the data than was the intention. For example, when the interpreter listed "the third thing..." and later "the second", it sounded as if the interpreter was wrong but instead she was referring to different entities that were not known to the pilot participant because of the editing of the video. She also thought the voice from the recording was a lecturer, even though she was informed it was an interpretation. And as this was revealed only after listening to the whole recording, there was no way of recovering or steering the focus. To continue the interviews with a procedure like this could have possibly led to a situation similar to Feyne (2014), where the participants answered as if the interpreter speaking on the tape was the lecturer.

To summarize, the pilot participant focused on matters that were out of the scope of this research. The editing of the video had caused confusion, therefore I re-edited it to be more transparent and at the interview made sure that the participants knew where the editing had happened.

The video was shortened to 6.32 minutes. The two parts that had caused misunderstandings with the pilot participant were deleted, one containing references to another part of the lecture. Again, it was not the intention to pick the parts that were the most fluent or free from mistakes, but merely to get the focus of a participant on the intended matters.

The three sections of the recording were separated clearly, and at the interview the tape was stopped at a section change. After stopping, the participant was asked to review certain aspects of the previously heard section. Questions were designed in the form of a semi-structured interview and acted as a prompt, tempting the participants to describe in their own words what they thought. After listening to the first clip the participants were asked to review what they thought would be the situation where the interpreting occurred, what would be the target group of the talk and who would the person talking be. After listening to the second clip, the participants were asked to pay special attention to linguistic factors of the speech, for example terms, intonation and stress. Lastly, a few other questions were discussed. These included e.g. How did you feel listening to this and why? Was it easy to listen to, if so, why? Not all questions were asked from all

participants, because others answered them straight without asking, even before the question was intended to be asked. This method of asking questions follows Roy's (1987) method of asking hearing participants only about their perceptions without more in-depth, multiple choice questionnaires. The pilot interview also indicated that it was the right choice to conduct interviews instead of questionnaires. With face-to-face interviews, it was possible to steer the participants into the intended direction if needed, for example if they considered the voice on the tape to be the lecturer instead of the interpreter.

The main aim of the questions was to gain answers to the research questions: How are deaf professionals perceived through interpretation? And which characteristics of the interpretation can explain the perceptions? The participants were asked for their opinion on what kind of a situation this was, who would the lecturer be, where would it happen and what would be the target group of it. Most of all, the purpose was to collect explanations why they thought as they did. During the interview I referred to the lecturer as a lecturer only if the participant themselves had identified him as such. The situation was introduced to participants so that there is a person who is using a signed language and the voice you will hear on the recording is an interpreter interpreting.

After this modification to interviews, editing and shortening of the recording and minor changes to the prompt questions, the second pilot was conducted to be sure the procedure worked with these modifications. Participant was Emil[3], studying his first year in university. He was selected in order to test if the results would be different when the participant could have been part of the real target group of the original lecture as a student. However, after all the interviews, there appeared to be no significant difference between the second pilot and other interviews, and the interview was not changed after the second pilot. Therefore, his interview will be included in the data.

The hearing professionals were academics, all from different academic fields. They were recruited through an email list of interdisciplinary researcher forum that was reached through a relative of mine. Professional participants who were willing to

[3] From here on, hearing participants are given pseudonyms.

participate were Maria, who has approximately 15 years of experience working in academic context and holds an MA and Paula and Samuel, who both have more than 35 years of experience and hold PhDs. Emil and Maria had no personal experience of interpreted settings. Paula and Samuel had some experience, mainly from conferences where there was spoken language interpretation present, but both had also one experience of a meeting-type of a situation where they had been relying on interpretation themselves. These had happened years ago and they had no particular memories of how it felt to be dependent on the interpretation. None of the participants had any experience with signed language interpretation.

The interviews with hearing participants and interpreters and the interpretation were transcribed in Finnish in a Word document and the lecture was annotated with ELAN transcription and annotation software and glossed and translated into Finnish. When citations are shown in this paper, they have been translated into English by the researcher.

The methodology in three phases for the present study has been described in the current chapter. For the following chapter, the results from the interviews will be presented alongside with the analysis of the interpretation.

4. Findings

The data of this study consists of interviews with hearing participants and the interpretation from FinSL to Finnish. Retrospective reflections by the interpreters and the lecture in FinSL will be discussed in relation to the results when appropriate.

In section 4.1 the interviews with the hearing participants will be analysed for their perceptions of the deaf professional via the interpretation. In section 4.2 the interpretation is analysed for the possible reasons for those perceptions. Even though there are two sets of analyses, they support and further explain each other in order to answer the research questions: How are deaf professionals perceived through interpretation? Which characteristics of the interpretation can explain the perceptions? Therefore, the linguistic analysis is conducted in order to find the possible explanations of hearing participants' perceptions.

4.1 Thematic analysis of the interviews

The transcribed interviews were coded and grouped based on common themes that emerged from the interviews and were based on literature, using thematic analysis, which allows a flexible approach to the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes to present here are professionality, hesitations and the author of the speech.

4.1.1 Recognising the professionality

When asked to consider the situation where the interpreting occurred, what would be the target group of the talk and who would the person talking be, all participants recognised it was a teaching environment. Some identified it as a lecture, some thought it was just some form of teaching overall, but they all unanimously said that this person was an expert of his field. All participants acknowledged the professionality of the lecturer:

> "Well, it was obviously aimed at linguistic students, but I can't say whether undergraduate or graduate students because I don't have background knowledge about this subject. The person who was interpreted was a teacher. An expert of their field." Paula

> "The target group was students, I don't know where. But the teacher knows what they are talking about and has a lot to say." Maria

One note about the language use in the present paper is that the participants were not aware of the gender of the lecturer and referred to him with the Finnish pronoun "hän" which includes all genders. Therefore, it is translated into "they" in English. When asked what kind of an image they got of the lecturer, Maria mentioned that it was impossible to know the gender, others didn't comment anything about the matter, only referring the professional aspects they were able to determine from the speech.

Emil correctly identified that the lecture was probably held to a small group of students. He thought that the speech sounded informal, that

> "it was spoken to people who were at the same level. Not like a lecture that had been practiced through and given repeatedly for many years." Emil

The interpretation was easily recognised as a lecture from the content. However, some other identifications about the professionality of the lecturer were also made. Samuel described the characteristics of a good teacher like this:

> "I think they are someone who is thinking openly, not representing one discipline or opinion. And they have insight about the theme." Samuel

Maria mentioned stress as something that made her convinced the speech was teaching. Some words were stressed as they would have been when a teacher wants to emphasise something to his students. For example, the word *remember*, as the lecturer reminded the students to keep a certain matter in mind during the following meetings. The other participants didn't comment about linguistic matters other than hesitation, which will be analysed closely in section 4.1.2 The lack of comments considering terminology probably implies that it was correctly used in the interpretation. In other words, if the terms and concepts used by the interpreter would have been inappropriate, it probably would have gotten the attention of the hearing participants. Following Gumperz (1977) notes regarding contextualisation cues the word choices and terminology used by the interpreter will be further presented in section 4.2.

4.1.2 Hesitations

All hearing participants acknowledged the hesitations from the interpreter but stated that they were able to ignore them and focus on listening to the content. In the interpretation there were frequent hesitations. It could be at least partly explained by the forced speed that interpreting from a video caused. The interpreters themselves acknowledged after first watching the lecture that it was quite fast. They commented that in a live interpreted situation it could have been possible to keep longer lag time, which would have enhanced the coherence of the interpretation. As they knew the deaf professional and had been working together previously, they also acknowledged that he usually worked in close cooperation with interpreters. He noted when interpreters where struggling and slowed down. But with a video there was no possibility to stop and ask for clarification.

There are three possible explanations for why the hearing participants didn't mind the hesitations too much. One is that when looking at the transcription of the interpretation, the hesitations were only in the beginning or in the middle of the sentences. Possibly these were the moments that in a live interpreting situation interpreter could have used longer lag time to avoid false starts. But after every hesitation the interpreter gathered her thoughts and formulated a complete sentence to end with. Therefore, for the hearing participants it was easier to listen to as sentences were not left unfinished.

Another explanation is what the hesitations sounded like. They were filled pauses that according to Pöchhacker (2016) are a normal part of orality. As I asked Maria about the hesitations referring to them as what hesitation could normally sound like, a long vowel, Maria immediately commented that they didn't sound that long in duration and used a lighter voice to describe them.

> Researcher: "So you noticed the hesitations, the 'aaa'.."
>
> Maria: "No, they didn't sound like 'aaa', more like 'mm'."

This could indicate that the hesitations were indeed similar to those that occur in the middle of a normal speech and therefore were not vastly distracting.

Third reason may be that as the participants identified the situation not to be a formal reading straight out of paper but aimed for a smaller audience and using free speech, they also acknowledged that minor hesitations are a part of natural speech.

> "Yes, well the interpreter searched for some words like what to say, but that is also a part of normal speech. Like maybe a person is thinking at the same time as they speak of how to say something in a different way and then it is not that straightforward. I do it all the time!" Paula

In accepting that interpretation can sound like normal speech including hesitations, the participants showed that they are not expecting interpretation to be perfect.

The recording of the interpretation consisted of three parts. After every part, the recording was stopped, and pre-planned questions were asked. The first two parts included less hesitations than the third. Paula acknowledged the frequency of hesitations and it made her consider the difference in interpretation when comparing to free speech. She realised that hesitations were probably heard because the interpreter relied on the source on what to speak. In a situation where the interpreter doesn't know what is coming next, they need to wait to understand the source and hesitations can occur. But if a person would be giving their own presentation, they would know what to say next.

> "First two parts I felt that it (interpretation) was so fluent that I almost forgot that this is someone interpreting. But then at the third part I realised that she was indeed dependant on the source, not speaking as herself." Paula

Therefore, when an interpretation goes smoothly, it can sound similar to normal speech, but when an interpreter has to search for the ways and words to interpret, the process is audible in the speech.

Even though the participants had little to no experience of interpretation and definitely none of what the interpreting process demands from the interpreter, they still realised that it was understandable for an interpretation to include hesitations. They were not expecting the interpretation to be completely free from errors.

> "It was easy to listen, there were mm's, but they didn't bother too much. It was a shame that they were there, but it is understandable considering the situation." Maria

> "It is easily noticeable that they weren't this person's own words but that she was rendering someone else's words. Because she had to search for

> the words to say. It was a bit distracting, but not significantly. If I was a student listening to this, I would be able to follow the teaching." Samuel

Samuel, Paula and Emil also commented that interpreting must be a difficult job and therefore were not surprised that the hesitations were there.

> "Mostly I was just admiring that someone has the skills to interpret something with this content. It is only natural that it sounds different than when one would be speaking on their own. So, considering this, it is easy to forgive the mistakes because the speech goes on and it is understandable." Samuel

> "It was understandable Finnish; the voice was clear and good. But I would have figured out it was an interpretation even if you would not have told me, because of the train of thought. It was not like from point a to b straight but figuring the way to say it while speaking. But anyways, it made sense and the point (of the speech) was easily understood." Emil

Paula, Maria and Emil mentioned the speed of the talk to be fast. Emil identified that it sounded like the lecturer was just going on and the interpreter tried to keep up with the pace. This is of course because the interpretation was done from a video and would have been different in a live setting since the interpreters commented on effective cooperation with this deaf professional. Paula also commented that maybe because of the fast speech, sometimes articulation was not entirely clear, however, she acknowledged that interpreting is a fast process to convey a message, so that can affect the voice.

4.1.3 Author of the speech

From the start, all the hearing participants talked about the hesitations so that they were authored by the interpreter. Emil thought that the reason the interpreter was searching for words to say could have been because of difficulties in understanding what was being signed. Samuel commented that the way the interpreter talked led him to notice that it was indeed an interpretation, she was not speaking her own words but rendering someone else's. It seemed obvious to them that the interpreted speech is not the same

as the source had been because interpreting depends on understanding the source and finding the right words to say simultaneously. The hearing participants did acknowledge that hesitations are part of natural speech, but something of the nature of them made them consider they were also present because it was interpreted speech.

The hearing participants didn't initially even consider whether it was the interpreter or the lecturer who was the reason for the hesitations. I then asked them, if they thought the hesitations came from the lecturer or the interpreter, and was it possible in their opinion that the lecturer hesitated a lot and that's why it was audible in the interpretation as well. It seemed as if it just dawned on them at that moment, that the hesitations could indeed be from the lecturer himself. Samuel looked surprised and said:

> "Well, I didn't think about that at all. But now that you ask, why not? I couldn't say." Samuel

After the first stop Paula commented that she thought the speaker in the recording was the lecturer but was corrected that the speaker was an interpreter interpreting. The assumption I made from this was that due to the lack of experience with professionals presenting in sign language, it was hard for the participants to imagine this kind of an interpreting situation and who was the author of the speech as there were no visual cues, just a voice recording. Paula and Samuel also commented that it was incredible how these kinds of matters could be expressed in a signed language. This probably indicates their lack of experience with deaf professionals. They had not seen or heard a deaf professional presenting a lecture in higher education before. Although they were sincerely open-minded and interested, this was a new experience to them.

4.2 Analysis of the interpretation

In order to analyse the interpretation, it was transcribed into a Word document. The signed lecture was annotated with ELAN using appropriate tiers such as glosses, translation, mouthings and non-manual markers. Both transcriptions, from Word and ELAN were then compared to each other and in relation to the observations of the hearing participants. Glossing conventions are adopted from Baker, van den Bogaerde, Pfau & Schermer (2016) and explained in appendix I. The analysis of the interpretation

will be discussed in this section based on the themes of hesitations, coherent target text and contextualisation cues.

The whole 19:40-minute recording from the interpretation was not analysed. Only the edited clip of 6:23 minutes that was played to the hearing participants was analysed because that was the source that the hearing participants based their impressions on.

The discourse style of the source text was identified to be a lecture. It falls into the category of explanatory according to Callow's categories of discourse types (Ingram, 2000, p. x). The lecturer constantly checks that his audience is understanding him by holding a sign and looking at the students waiting for the affirmation of understanding by nodding. This happens altogether nine times during the 6:23-minute recording that was interpreted. As all the hearing participants recognised the interpretation as a lecture, it implies that the interpreted discourse also had characteristics of the target languages' lecture discourse.

4.2.1 Hesitations

Most hesitations were due to the interpreter searching for the right word or pausing to gather her thoughts or waiting to get the idea from the source. As was noted by Maria, they were filled pauses of short duration and therefore were not significantly distracting for the hearing participants. Only one pause was in the middle of a word. That was when the lecturer signed CHANGE INTERNATIONAL. The meaning was internationalisation, and the interpreter paused to find the correct ending for the word *Internatio – nalisation (kansain – välistyminen)*. A few corrections of words subsequently occurred as the interpreter started to say a word, but then changed it into a different word. Samuel noticed one instance of this kind of a correction, which made him think that the interpreter didn't use her own words but was focusing on interpreting. However, that particular correction was an error made because of a false friend between the languages as Nilsson (2005) has described. The lecturer signed STATE (VALTIO) and the interpreter said first *government* (*hallitus*) then corrected it to *state.* In FinSL both are signed with the same sign, only the mouthings differ. Corrections in the present interpretation happened the way Petite (as cited in Pöchhacker, 2016) has described interpreters to use them in order to create a cohesive interpretation.

4.2.2 Coherent target text

The hearing participants felt that the interpretation was easy to listen to and they were able to follow the plot of the speech and ignore the hesitations. A probable explanation for this could be found in the coherence of the speech.

The interpreter used PowerPoint slides in order to create coherent target text utterances. The lecturer pointed at the slides often, altogether 27 times. Sometimes in order to highlight the written form of terms and concepts, and sometimes instead of signing, he pointed at what was written on the slides. He also referred to the course itself and to the topic of the lecture by pointing, i.e. used spatial discourse markers to direct attention (Lautala, 2012; Winston & Monikowski, 2002).

It would have been an easy solution for the interpreter to only interpret the signs the lecturer signed, by saying *this* or *that*. Instead, she mostly accompanied it with other words. For example, when the lecturer pointed at the slides referring to an entity that was not written on the slides, the interpreter said: *this concept*, *this course*, *this topic* and *at this context*. Likewise, when the lecturer pointed at a specific word on the slides, the interpreter included the written word: *this vernacularisation*. For the coherence of target text, the interpreter mostly dropped the word *that* when there was pointing at a specific word on the slides. In those instances she said only the word pointed at. Altogether, the interpreter used word *this/those* 25 times, only six of those without another word to indicate what was being referred to. One of these came at the end of a sentence that was left unfinished but corrected and rephrased in the following sentence. It also must be noted that even though the number of times the lecturer pointed at the slides and the times the interpreter said *that* are close to each other, they do not occur in the same place in the source text and the target text. In other words, not all of them were word-for-word renditions. Overall, the addition of reference words created target text cohesion.

For example, lecturer signs:

INDEX$_{\text{assimilation}}$ INDEX$_{\text{linguistic plurality}}$ ALSO INDEX$_{2}$ BEFORE SAY STRONG CONTRARY$_{\text{hn}}$ LIGHT INDEX$_{\text{vernacularisation}}$ v-v KNOW$_{\text{re}}$ SIGN v-v VISUAL v-e-r-n-a-

c-u-l-a-r SAME INDEX$_{vernacularisation}$ IF CHECK DICTIONARY INDEX$_{vernacularisation}$ PRINCIPLE STRONG RELATE MOTHER LANGUAGE OR FIRST LANGUAGE SIMILAR NATION NATION OWN NATIONAL LANGUAGE

translation:
As you previously said, these two are strongly contradicting each other. Not so drastic matter, is Vernacularisation. VV? You know the signing, the Visual Vernacular? If you check the word in the dictionary, this principle is strongly related to mother tongue or first language and it's similar to national language.

interpretation:
Well, we have these two, mm, you already brought up that linguistic assimilation and linguistic diversity, plurality are as though mm on contrary.. two language ideologies on contrary. Then we also have this vernacularisation and as we have had this vernacularisation, we have talked about this, so mm this is that for example first languages or kind of national languages m gets certain status.

As seen in this example, the first sentence would have been quite meaningless without the words from the slides. Another explanation why the interpreter says those words is the lag time in interpreting. Listeners who rely on live interpretation don't have time to catch what word on the slides was pointed at because the lecturer would have already moved on with signing once the interpreter says it, especially in this context where there are multiple words pointed out from the slides. This strategy also makes the target text utterances smooth and coherent sounding phrases.

The interpreter also adds synonyms that are used in academic context but could easily be overlooked in translation as they do not have specific signs but are separated by mouthings. For example, the interpreter says *linguistic diversity, plurality.* In Finnish the term is linguistic diversity (kielellinen moninaisuus) but it is used alongside linguistic plurality (kielellinen pluraalisuus). However, "pluraalisuus" is a loan word. But as they are shown on the slides the interpreter says them both.

The interpreter subsequently uses addition when saying *two language ideologies.* The lecturer doesn't sign the sign IDEOLOGY nor point to the slides for it. However, it is

said in the topic of the present slide, so the interpreter includes it in the target language utterance in order to have a more meaningful sentence.

The concept of visual vernacular signing is a specific art form related to Deaf culture. In the lecture the concept is not talked about, but the lecturer implies they have talked about the subject with the students previously. As a new term, vernacularisation is presented in this context and the lecturer makes connections between these two different concepts in order for the students to familiarize themselves with the word. However, he does this with a smile, implying it is a joke. It could be assumed that if there would have been hearing students present with no knowledge about sign language or Deaf culture, he either would not have made this connection or alternatively would have explained the concept. To get the interpretation going, the interpreter summarizes this part just briefly "*we have had this vernacularisation, we have talked about this*" so that it sounds smooth for the target group of the interpretation. The interpreter doesn't omit the concept or try to explain its deeper meaning, but merely says it in a manner that is easily skipped by the listeners; this is something they have previously talked about, there is no need to know the matter in depth for this context. This also allows the interpreter to catch up on the lag time after adding more information to the previous sentence. Her technique seems to have proven effective, since none of the hearing participant commented on the concept. It passed them alongside with the other linguistic concepts they were not familiar with.

At the end of the sample clip, the interpreter makes another addition to the source text by saying "*gets a certain status"*. Sign STATUS is not signed by the lecturer, but the lecturer is about to subsequently address the statuses of minority languages. The interpreter herself pointed out in the interview after interpreting that because of seeing the video once beforehand and preparing with the slides, she knew what matters were about to come in the lecture and at some points anticipated them and said things even before they were signed. However, may this anticipation be because of the previous viewing of the video or normal preparation, adding this word here creates a lead in to the next upcoming subject, again making it easier for the listener to follow.

Cokely (1992) had categorised miscues in interpretation to be omissions, additions, substitutions, intrusions and anomalies. However, in Napier's (2002) and Kauling's

(2015) studies it was proved that omissions can also be strategic omissions that actually produce favourable outcome for the interpretation. In the present study additions could be seen in the same light.

4.2.3 Contextualisation cues

In addition to the characteristics that create coherence in speech discussed in the previous section, I will now turn to contextualisation cues (Gumperz, 1977). In Roy's study (1987) contextualisation cues of pitch, intonation, stress, elongated vowels and particular word choices were the main reason the interpretation sounded wrong. As the perceptions by the hearing participants of the present study are contradicting Roy's findings, I would assume that contextualisation cues were used correctly in the present interpretation.

The pitch of the interpreter's speech was throughout the interpretation equivalent to her normal pitch, which is medium or low. She talked with the same pitch during the interpretation and in the interview afterwards. The interpreter herself commented her voice normally to be "soft". The hearing participants didn't comment on pitch overall, only Paula mentioned that some words were partly inaudible, but she thought that was because of the speed.

Intonation of the interpreter was equal to normal speech. High and low intonation occurred normally, only few rising intonations appeared at the end of sentences. As Roy (1987) had identified, a frequently rising and falling intonation is a feature of adults talking to children. Stress was in relation to normal speech that is information sharing, highlighting the important words or concepts. Stress was one of the characteristics Maria mentioned that identified the lecturer as a teacher. Elongated vowels were non-existent and particular word choices presented in the previous section were in favour of the speech to be recognised as a lecture.

All of the contextualisation cues were in place for the hearing participants to identify the interpretation as a lecture. Mostly the importance lays on particular word choices that are in favour of the speech to be recognised as a lecture. The interpreter used the correct terms that the lecturer himself used, sometimes choosing the exact term from

mouthing if it contradicted the sign. For example, there was a FinSL sign MEANING that translates as "tarkoitus" in Finnish, but in academic contexts the loan word "funktio" is normally used. The sign was a standard sign of FinSL, there is no particular sign for this word. In this case, the lecturer used the sign combined with a specific mouthing /funktio/. The interpreter then used the loan word *funktio* that was in line with the academic discourse.

The interpreter also correctly pronounces The Académie française. The lecturer signed ACADEMIA FRANCE, with the French Sign Language sign for France that is different from the FinSL sign. This shows how the interpreter was able to use her background knowledge.

4.3 Summary of findings

The findings of the present study show that hearing participants perceived the deaf professional as an expert of his field. They noticed the hesitations in the interpretation, but were able to not let them distract their listening; they acknowledged hesitations occur because of the multilayered workload of interpreting. The analysed interpretation showed characteristics of the interpreter's strategy to create a coherent interpretation. Hesitations were corrected and sentences reformulated when necessary. The interpreter had correct discourse and terminology, using PowerPoint slides for support. The contextualisation cues were also used appropriately. These findings will be further discussed in the following chapter.

5. Discussion

The present study was constructed in order to examine what perceptions hearing participants receive through FinSL to Finnish interpretation. This study attempted to answer the following questions:

- How are deaf professionals perceived through interpretation?
- Which characteristics of the interpretation can explain the perceptions?

The findings of this study support the possibility of recognising professionalism via interpretation. In Chapter 4, the characteristics of the interpretation that affected the recognition and perception of deaf professionals were presented and discussed in relation to the literature presented in Chapter 2.

To me, the importance of the present study is in the perceptions the hearing participants discussed in the interview, which are supported by the linguistic analysis of the interpretation. Even though the sample size of participants in this study was small, the answers gained were similar to each other. With a larger quantity of participants the findings could have been homogenous, or possibly some contradicting findings could have surfaced. After all, when studying individual perceptions, the findings can never be completely generalised and trusted. The pilot interview gave indication that the way the interview is arranged and structured has significant effect on the outcome. Therefore, the vulnerability of this type of research is that with minor adjustments the findings can differ one way or another. The researcher also has a major effect on the results. With the pilot interview I tried to be as neutral as possible by playing the tape on its entirety at once and not asking guiding questions. As this led the pilot participant to focus on different aspects than I intended, I steered the following interviews much more. However, the characteristics found in the interpretation to support and explain the perceptions of hearing participants can be seen as examples of a successful interpretation of the deaf professional.

Feyne (2014) concluded, that in her research the hearing evaluators associated the perceived errors with the deaf presenter, not the interpreter, whereas the hearing participants in the present study were ready originally to put almost all the hesitations and repetitions as the responsibility of the interpreters. They understood that the interpreting process demands understanding of the source text and speaking at the same

time, leading to certain disfluencies in talk. Subsequently, in addition to understanding this, Paula acknowledged that hesitations are a part of normal speech. Emil also identified hesitations to be a part of a lecture or teaching that was informal compared to a "mass lecture" where the lecturer read straight from the paper or had been giving the same lecture for years. Hence, they were using their own experiences of attending and giving lectures when analysing the interpretation they heard. Even though they had very little experience regarding interpreting and none of interpreting theories or the practise of interpreting, they understood that simultaneous interpreting is a task that requires a lot from the interpreter, therefore it is normal that hesitations occur.

As Haug et al. (2017) presented, deaf leaders emphasize the spoken language skills in interpreter selection. They assume that hearing people don't know how to adapt if the interpreter is speaking incoherently, but they themselves can cope because they understand the limitations of interpreting and are accustomed to being the consumer of interpreting services. In my pilot study the deaf professional also expressed her worries about how hearing people see her via interpretation and whether they would assume the mistakes in interpretation to originate from her. The present study, even if it cannot be generalised to cover all possible hearing people's perceptions, shows that the participants of this study were able to differentiate between the interpretation and the professionality of the deaf professional. They were able to forgive the disfluencies in the spoken language, which they acknowledged to be an interpretation, and to focus on the matter interpreted. By focusing on the message that was interpreted, they identified a professional who was giving a lecture.

The hearing participants actually considered the interpreter as a professional who was doing her job. They commented on how it must be a difficult job and what it takes to understand the source language and produce the target language at the same time. They did not say that disfluencies in interpretation happened because the deaf professional was signing badly, but because interpreting must be a demanding job. This finding contradicts the previous studies of Berg-Selingson (2002), Hale (2004) and Feyne (2014), which showed that disfluencies in interpretation makes listeners give a poor evaluation of the person who is being interpreted. The present study shows the listeners' ability to separate what they thought about the interpreter and about the person being interpreted. There may be multiple reasons for this finding. As these are personal

opinions of the participants, there is no proving that the majority of people would think alike. However, also the visibility of FinSL in media has been growing in the recent years. Paula actually mentioned news in FinSL on the television as a setting where she had encountered signed language before. In addition to daily news with native deaf signed language users as news readers, the weekly plenary debates of Finnish Parliament are interpreted. Therefore, information about signed languages and interpretation in general is available and may influence perceptions of them and deaf people as well. Also, as Finns they are exposed to multilingual situations constantly and know how to navigate between languages[4].

The present research is not completely identical to Roy's (1987) research. In Roy's research the topic of the lecture in sign language was "the mating habits of stickleback fish". As a topic, it could be located into a university environment, or indeed as a talk to children as it was evaluated to be when interpreted in a certain way. The topic of the lecture in this study was "language planning" and the content of it strongly relates to a lecture or other form of teaching. Therefore, it is not surprising that the hearing participants identified it as such. But what could have been 'lost in translation' is the professionality of the lecturer. Hearing participants clearly identified him as a lecturer or a teacher, who is an expert in his field, a professional with in-depth knowledge, while the only source available to them to come to this conclusion was the interpretation. One possible reason for the conveyance of professionality is the appropriate discourse with stylistically relevant vocabulary choices. As discussed in section 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, the interpreter used vocabulary which is common in academic contexts, when the topics could also be interpreted choosing the most commonly-used synonyms. As Nilsson (2005) showed interpreters tend to choose interpreting solutions affected by the source language, which are described as false friends. The interpreter's background information and position as a staff interpreter possibly gave her advantage and enabled her to avert the source language influence. Thus, the use of appropriate, professional discourse is one of the characteristics of interpretation to explain hearing participants perceptions of the deaf professional.

[4] I would like to thank Cynthia Roy for pointing this out.

In Roy's (1987) study, the hearing evaluators were unaware they were listening to an interpretation. For the present study I didn't feel there was a need to experiment with what the hearing participants would have considered if they had been unaware that the recording was an interpretation. I could already evaluate that the interpretation didn't sound completely natural, native speech, as was discovered with the pilot participant. But as has already been acknowledged by other researchers, interpretation creates a third discourse in addition to the source language and target language discourses (Hale & Napier, 2013; Nicodemus, 2002). Subsequently, in a live interpreted situation the audience would be aware of the interpretation due to the interpreters being present. What is significant is that even though the interpretation is never perfect, when it is competent discourse hearing participants are able to forgive its disfluencies and concentrate on the content and the professional presenting it.

Another matter I already mentioned is the significance of the methodology. The findings gained from a research conducted this way are highly dependent on the data and the questions used in interviews. As Feyne (2014) and Gipson and Kraemer (2016) used questionnaires in their studies, there is no room for "why do you think so?" clarifications. I found that it was really important to have a face-to-face interview with the hearing participants. Often their first answers to questions were short and it required prompting with further questions for them to elaborate. In every interview I also had to ask for clarifications, and also to confirm the participants about the source of the hesitations as they all initially thought they were solely made by the interpreter. Only after asking if they considered the hesitations could result from the lecturer hesitating, they had the sudden realisation that could indeed be the case. With a questionnaire, these aspects of the hearing participants' perceptions would have been missed.

For the research of signed language interpretation, it is beneficial to have more and more studies conducted in order to gain deeper understanding of methodology, how to do research and what factors affect the results. It is crucial to understand that the results of this kind of research are not to be overly generalised. But what can be gained as material for discussion and future development from the present study are the characteristics of interpretation that conveyed the professionality of the deaf professional. The findings of these, appropriate discourse by word choices and ability to form a coherent entity albeit hesitations occurred, show that the interpreter made the

target text appropriate to academic discourse. The present study did not research deeper the effect that the interpreters' background knowledge had for this outcome. Maybe the outcome could have been similar with experienced interpreters who would have carefully prepared for the assignment. But as one of the findings was the use of correct discourse and terminology regarding academic contexts, I would anticipate that being a staff interpreter had a positive effect. As Fitzmaurice and Purdy (2015) also found, high register and scientific terminology made the listeners trust the interpretation even when it contained disfluencies. In Feyne's (2014) study, the interpreters were randomly selected and the hearing evaluators commented their language use to contain incorrect terminology. As the interpreters themselves in Feyne's study commented, they probably would have declined that assignment because they didn't consider themselves competent in that subject. Therefore, my aim was to study an interpreted situation that is compatible to the everyday work of these interpreters. I would question the benefit gained from a study with an interpreted situation that would not occur in real life.

I draw a conclusion that contextualisation cues, particular word choices and discourse used by the interpreter were the characteristics of the interpretation that made the listeners recognise the professionality of the lecturer and to ignore the disfluencies of interpretation. As Gumperz (1977) noted contextualisation cues are recognised when they are used wrong and Roy (1987) pointed out in her study how the interpreter did use them wrong. In the present study they were, on the contrary, used right. The reason why they were used right were out of the scope of the present study. However, I would anticipate that the background knowledge of the interpreters and their position as staff interpreters had an effect. Even though the hearing participants were not experts in linguistics, which was the content of the lecture, they were all familiar with academic discourse used in lectures in general. Studies like Fitzmaurice & Purdy (2015) and Kauling (2019) have proved that even though an interpretation contains disfluencies, hearing people are able to get the image of the deaf person as a professional, even if the interpretation might influence their perception slightly negatively.

As has been established in interpreting studies, e.g. by Nicodemus (2002), interpretation is a process that demands more effort to produce the target language utterances than regular, native language speech. Therefore, when considering interpretations as individual texts, certain disfluencies are deemed to be present.

However, it is the nature of them (and probably the frequency of them, although this was out of the scope of the present study) that makes or breaks the communication. For example, even though the interpretation in the present study contained disfluencies, like hesitations and filled pauses, the interpreter was able to correct them and (re)formulate the sentences in order to complete them. No sentence was left unfinished. This made the hearing participants able to forgive the disfluencies in interpretation. Again, Paula acknowledged that she herself probably sounded the same when talking and considering what to say next at the same time.

As Roy (1987) stated, evaluating an interpretation is a difficult task. The meaning that is conveyed through interpretation is much more than the content of the words. The true meaning becomes apparent when evaluators of the interpretation are monolingual participants who consider the interpreted speech as a discourse of its own, not comparing it to the source text. For the present study the measurement for the interpretation was how the professionality of the deaf professional was transferred. The interpretation itself was able to convey the correct content and the correct meaning; the original source was identified!

To summarise the discussion, in relation to the presented literature, the research questions can be answered based on the data as follows: The deaf professional's professionality was recognised by the hearing participants through the interpretation and he was seen as an expert of his field. This perception wasn't influenced by the disfluencies in the interpretation as had happened e.g. in Feyne's (2014) study. On the contrary, the hearing participants considered the lecturer and the interpreter separately, in accordance with both of their professional roles. The interpreter was considered as a person doing a demanding job and the deaf professional as a teacher or a lecturer with in-depth knowledge of his field. The characteristics of interpretation that affected these perceptions were proper academic discourse and contextualisation cues. Hesitations in the interpretation were characteristics that were recognised as a consequence of interpretation, understood to be due in interpretation and as something which the hearing participants were able to forgive and ignore.

The findings in relation to the replicated study by Roy (1987) were in juxtaposition. Professionality and correct target audience and context were identified in the present

study. The result was anticipated, as interpreter education and practicing the profession have developed significantly in 30 years. Furthermore, as the practise of signed language interpreting with deaf professionals is evolving to “highly specialized discipline specific designated interpreting” (Sedran, 2012, p. 3) the advantage of background knowledge may enhance effective interpretation of the deaf professionals.

6. Conclusion

The replication of Roy's (1987) study was successful in producing comparison of how discourse and contextualisation cues are effectively used in interpretation. Replication itself is a method that could be used more in interpreting research to produce comparison and further test methodologies used.

It must be noted that the number of participants in the present study was small. Therefore, results must not be overly generalised. However, the findings show that in this particular case, hearing people were able to separate what they think about the deaf person and their professionality from what they think about the interpreter doing their job.

The hearing participants were able to listen beyond the disfluencies in the interpretation and recognise the professionality of the deaf professional. The setting of the present study was not live interpretation, as it was interpreted from a video by the interpreters and hearing participants only heard the voice of the interpreter. Therefore, it would be assumed, that in a live situation, where hearing participants would be able to see the deaf professional in person, they would be able to consider the deaf professionals' professionality separate from the interpreters' work even better. Seeing the deaf professional in person would probably have its effect on the perceptions. The cooperation between the deaf professional and the interpreter would probably have its effect on the quality of the interpretation as well, as it would be possible to ask for clarifications or to slow down the speed.

It can be argued that interpretation is never perfect. But when interpreted discourse has the correct terms, register and prosody, hearing participants can let disfluencies go by as something that is normal in interpretation and not make conclusions about the person being interpreted according to those disfluencies. Even though the aspect of how designated interpreting can influence the outcome of the interpretation was not the focus of the present study, it has been initiated by other research projects. Those have found that the deaf professionals feel interpretation reaches it most effective outcome, when deaf customers themselves can choose their preferred interpreters. As one of the aims of the present study was to look into the development that has happened in interpreting for the deaf professionals since Roy's (1987) research, the specialised

knowledge that the interpreters were able to benefit from due to their work as staff interpreters can be one of the factors influencing the outcome.

The participating interpreters had good background knowledge of the subject, they knew the deaf professional and his work, they were able to prepare and were accustomed to working with each other. They knew the discourse of academic language in both of their working languages. All this resulted in the interpretation sounding like appropriate discourse in academic context to the hearing participants.

In the present thesis, the voice of the deaf professional was heard by the hearing participants through interpretation.

6.1 Limitations and further research

The apparent limitations of the present study are the number of hearing participants and that the interpretation was done from film instead of a live situation. Even though there was an attempt to minimise the limitations caused by interpreting from film by preparation and viewing the film before interpreting, it must be taken into consideration that this interpretation did not include the cooperation between the deaf professional and the interpreters. Although as the literature has highlighted that cooperation in interpreting is crucial, this aspect was absent in the present study. For further research I would propose replication of this study in a live situation, where hearing participants would be the actual participants of the interpreted event and cooperation between the deaf professional and the interpreters a possibility.

As already discussed in Chapter 5, the methodology used in the present study is not solid and can easily change with different variations. Therefore, the present study could be altered in many ways, either to verify these results or to focus on different aspects. For example, the participants' background and its effect on the findings could be tested. Interviews could be conducted in different ways, e.g. focus group discussions could bring up new aspects that weren't considered in the present study.

I wanted to include the aspect of designated interpreting in the present study. However, in the scope of the present study it could not been researched in detail. Therefore, I

would propose for further research a comparison between an interpretation done by designated interpreters versus other experienced interpreters to look into the advantages that designated interpretation brings to the perception of deaf professionals.

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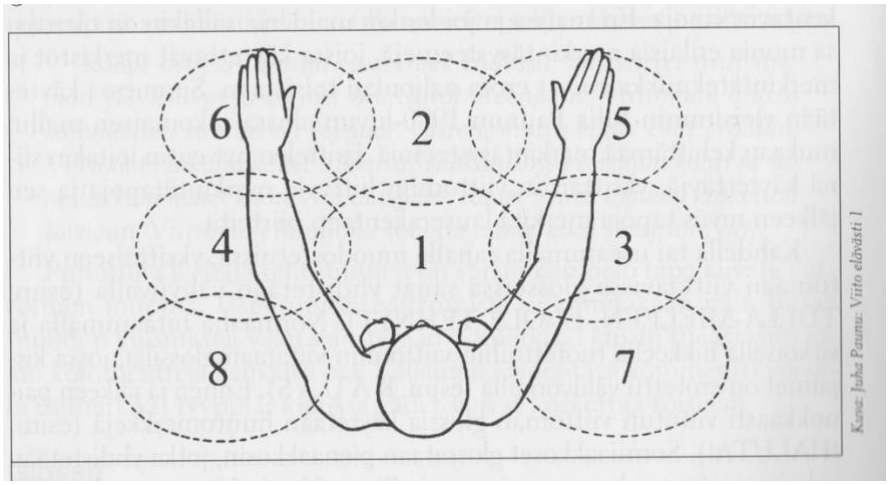
Appendix I

Glossing conventions used in this research according Baker, van den Bogaerde, Pfau & Schermer (2016, pp. 338-340).

SIGN	A gloss (i.e. the translation of a sign in a spoken language) is indicated in capital letters. In this thesis, glosses are shown in both English and Finnish.
INDEX	A pointing sign, usually with extended index-finger that may fulfil various fucntios. E.g. a personal pronoun, such as $INDEX_2$ `you`. (see below the explanations for the numbers referring to signing space) It may also indicate a specific present referent (i.e. a word in power point slides), to which the INDEX points, e.g. $INDEX_{assimilation}$.
s-i-g-n	Fingerspelled elements are indicated in lower case letters which are linked by hyphens to each other.
hn	A single head nod, for affirmation.
<u>re</u>	Raised eyebrows accompanying different types of subordinate clauses. Line above the gloss indicate the extension of a specific non-manual marker.
/word/	Phonological marker: either mouth gesture or a mouthing (i.e. the silent articulation of the corresponding spoken word).

Signing space by Juha Paunu, presented in Savolainen (2001, p.194).



Numbers of signing space are used in indicating the place where sign is produced or the direction of movement, i.e. GIVE-3-4. It is also used in indicating personal pronouns, $INDEX_1$ `me` and $INDEX_2$ `you`.