

**Fulfilling the interpreting mandate in Business Negotiation Meetings.
The perspectives of interpreters and clients.**

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Abstract

This study investigates how interpreters perceive their role while working in business negotiation settings and also what role clients mandate to interpreters in those settings. Building on existing work on liaison interpreting, this study hypothesises that interpreters in business settings are active and visible parties of the interaction. As such, they exceed their prescribed role and become part of the client's team.

In order to test this hypothesis and scrutinize the role of interpreters in those settings, a mixed methods approach was followed. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected from interpreters. Data concerning clients' perceptions were collected by in-depth semi-structured interviews. A combination of inductive and deductive approaches was used in order to code and analyse the data.

The results showed discrepancy of role perceptions between the interpreters and the clients, and manifested how the setting mandates differing role statuses to interpreters. Furthermore, this study reconfirmed previous studies concurring that liaison interpreters are visible parties of the interactions.

This study aims to fill a gap in the interpreting literature concerning interpreters' role in business negotiation settings, improve professional practices and thus enhance the effectiveness of interpreter-mediated business meetings.

Dedication

*To my mother,
who always believes in me and supports me,
no matter how far my dreams take me.*

Acknowledgements

I started my PhD journey at the peak of my professional life. Even though I had many responsibilities and people depended on me, I decided to move to a different country, further my knowledge and eventually contribute something to the field I dearly love. That decision would not have been the same, without the invaluable help of my supervisors, friends and family members.

Through the PhD journey, I was fortunate enough to have great supervisors that made me think in different ways and shift my position when needed. The input and encouragement of my supervisors Professor Graham H. Turner and Dr. Bernadette O'Rourke, without whom I could not have completed this thesis was invaluable.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BNI	Business Negotiation Interpreter
BNIs	Business Negotiation Interpreters
BNI-IPRI	Business Negotiation Interpreters - Interpersonal Role Inventory
BNM	Business Negotiation Meeting
BNMs	Business Negotiation Meetings
BNS	Business Negotiation Settings
CE	Communicative Event
ICE	Interpreted Communicative Event
IPRI	Interpreter's Interpersonal Role Inventory
IS	Interpreting Studies
NS	Negotiation Settings
MO	Motivational Orientation
T&I	Translation and Interpreting
TS	Translation Studies

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This study looks at the nomothetic and ideographic dimensions of the interpreter's role in business negotiation meetings (BNMs). The interpreter's own attitudes and perceptions about their role (nomothetic dimension), as well as the expectations and attitudes that Greek business people have for the role of the interpreter (ideographic dimension), in a business negotiation setting, are investigated.

This first chapter will give a general overview of the background of the study and the researcher's positioning within this research project (section 1.1). The research questions and the hypothesis that governs this thesis are presented in section 1.2, and section 1.3 defines and operationalizes the terminology used throughout this thesis. Since this study is looking at the perceptions of role from and for Greek interpreters, section 1.4 looks at how the interpreting market is structured in Greece and the professional status of interpreters. The significance of this study, both for academia and for industry, is discussed together with the aims and the scope of this study in section 1.5. The thesis outline and structure per chapter is presented in section 1.6.

1.1. Positioning of the researcher

In the 21st century, it is hardly a revelation to assert that the knowledge of the relationship between the researcher and the researched is essential, as researchers are influenced by various life elements and thus create a lens through which they see and interpret data. Scholars, including Cameron et al. (1992) and Tusting and Maybin (2007), have argued that the researcher's own interests, background and life histories influence the questions they ask, the manner in which they address these questions, the methodological tools they choose, and the lenses through which they see the results. In more recent research methods publications, Hale and Napier (2013) also argued that it is paramount for the researcher to take a stance on the research context. This would help both the researcher and the reader to establish a relationship between new and past research.

The field of business negotiation interpreting has not yet drawn much theoretical attention from scholars as a distinct setting with its own complexities and idiosyncrasies, and therefore the role of interpreters in these settings is currently being informed by research undertaken in other liaison interpreting settings. My interest in this research was mainly prompted by two factors. Having studied translation and interpreting, I noticed a gap in the literature concerning the role of BNIs (Business Negotiation Interpreters). Even though literature exists on the role of consecutive interpreters in various settings, limited resources were found (as set out in sections 2.2 to 2.4 below) which have analyzed the interpreting function in business negotiation settings. Furthermore, I was not able to uncover research on the role or roles of interpreters in those settings using both a business and sociolinguistic perspective, which the present study does.

Most studies on business meetings seem to have focused on the analysis of the lexical, structural and semantic level of utterances (Charles, 2007; Sweeney et al., 2010). The social perspective of the role of interpreters in business meetings is analyzed by various scholars (Wadensjö, 1998; Mason, 2001; Hale, 2008; Pöchhacker, 2008) but not in the settings examined in the present report. Moreover, many studies (Roy, 1993; 1996; 2000; Wadensjö, 1995; 1998; 2001) have looked at the role of interpreters through the lens of the ‘participation framework’ as given by Goffman. Other scholars drew on process-oriented approaches and thus they were trying to examine the process of interpreting by looking at elements such as anticipation (Lederer, 1978), memory (Daro and Fabbo, 1994) and processing capacity (Gile, 1997). Others with more product-oriented approaches looked at elements such as content (Gallina, 1992; Hatim and Mason, 1997) and politeness strategies and speech style (Berk-Seligson, 2002; Hale, 2004). One extensive and substantiated study which looks at the role of interpreters in business settings is the PhD thesis presented by Masato Takimoto in 2008, and his earlier paper in 2006. Takimoto used a different theoretical framework and his scope was different from the one I am using in this study. More specifically Takimoto (2008) used Chesterman’s norms (1993) and Goffman’s explication of role (1961; 1969) to explore perceptions of interpreter’s roles and behaviour within the naturalistic data his case study provided him. However, Takimoto (2008) did not look at the perceptions clients have about the interpreters’ role, which this thesis does. The scarcity of studies in this setting is surprising considering the number of international business transactions that require an interpreter.

Furthermore, as an active professional interpreter in Greece for more than 15 years - and more specifically in business negotiation settings - I noticed that clients' expectations of interpreters in such settings demanded more than the existing Interpreting Studies (IS) literature suggests. As a professional interpreter in those settings, it seemed to me that the reason I was hired by my Greek clients was not just my language skills but rather my analytical and interpersonal skills linked to my knowledge of the foreign counterparts' culture. Even small details such as the way my clients introduced me to the other parties were striking to me. I was seldom introduced as an interpreter, but I was rather given titles such as 'Export Manager', which immediately placed me into a different role-frame than the one I was expecting to have. Regardless of how hard I tried to maintain a neutral position, I was always seen as my client's team member who was also expected to facilitate the communication process because I was able to speak both languages. The ethical as well as internal conflicts that I faced were considerable. If I discussed these conflicts with my colleagues working in other liaison settings, they would heavily criticize both the client for putting me in this difficult position, and me for not walking out of such meetings as this 'active' behaviour was infringing the professional Codes of Conduct for interpreters.

Because the aforementioned experiences occurred frequently in those settings, I was motivated to investigate for myself the role of BNIs both as practiced by interpreters and as expected and required by Greek clients in those settings (more about the Greek context of interpreting in section 1.4). It was apparent from my anecdotal experiences that what happened in practice did not concur with what I had read in translation and interpreting literature and what I had been taught as a student of interpreting. As a consequence of these reasons and experiences my inquiry and study commenced by formulating the hypothesis given in the next section.

1.2. Hypothesis and research questions

Based on my educational background and professional experiences in business negotiation settings as an interpreter, I developed the following hypothesis.

For more than a decade, scholars have argued that interpreters are active and visible parties of the interaction (Angelelli, 2001; Wadensjö, 1998). Wadensjö (1998) supported that the interpreter in triadic or multi-party interactions cannot be neutral or a

conduit that only transfers utterances from one language to another, since that can only belong to the monolingual theoretical frame. According to Wadensjö (ibid) interpreters in interactions, create a version of the message that they hear. Angelelli (2001) also questioned and academically scrutinized the invisibility of the interpreter and called the conduit model of interpreting as a ‘myth’. Her study (Angelelli, 2001) provided clear evidence that interpreters perceive their role as active and visible members of the interaction. As visible participants in interactions, interpreters exceed their prescribed role as recorded within various Associations’ Codes of Conduct and take up more roles. Due to the very nature of business meetings facilitated by interpreters, which is understudied, and originally guided via my professional experiences, I hypothesise that interpreters in those meetings also become part of the client’s team. As part of the team, interpreters practice persuading, negotiating, accepting or rejecting behaviors and positions, according to their own beliefs, which are governed according to their perceptions of the client’s needs. Consequently, the role of interpreters in BNMs goes beyond that of what is traditionally prescribed as interpreting. They are also creators of meaning, team members and part of the negotiating team.

In order to test my hypothesis and thus academically scrutinize the role of interpreters in business negotiation settings, I channeled my interest into answering the following research questions:

1. What is the perceived role of interpreters in business negotiation meetings both by practising interpreters and business people?
2. What are the expectations and experiences (of business people and interpreters) regarding the interaction approaches of interpreters in business negotiation meetings?

I found it quite intriguing to examine the role of interpreters in business negotiation settings not only via the interpreters’ lens and perceptions but also via that of the end-users’ needs and perceptions. Thus, this thesis is divided into two distinct but intercalated parts. One is looking at perceptions that Greek interpreters have about their own role, working in business negotiation settings and the other is looking at the experiences and expectations that business people have about the interpreters’ role , working in those settings.

It seems that interpreting has long sculpted its role and ethics through its own lens, disregarding the needs, demands and challenges that the industry, setting and clients are placing before the field. Prevalent existing prescribed definitions of role have been constructed by looking at what is best for the ethical, personal and professional interests of the interpreter and not in conjunction with the interests of the end-users. Most definitions of role have been constructed without considering the demands generated by the setting and its clients. Even though there are some limited studies looking at clients' needs and expectations, those studies have not been extensively accepted and integrated into the scrutiny of prescriptions regarding role definitions. Furthermore, a greater number of scholars (Pöchhacker, 2000) express their belief that the interpreters' role should be analysed out of the interpreting bubble and thus examined through the client's eyes, in order to identify needs and demands that are not covered by the existing prescribed role. This thesis investigates both sides and thus brings together both interpreters' and clients' insights, in order to construe a better understanding of the role that interpreters can play in business settings.

1.3. Scope of the study

Due to the plethora of settings in which interpreters work, and the idiosyncrasies of each setting, there is a variety of modes that interpreters can work with. There are two main modes of interpreting: the simultaneous mode, which is mainly used in conference settings, and the consecutive mode, which is used in a variety of settings. Within those modes there are also others, which we are not going to discuss here since there is an extensive analysis of these modes in various academic textbooks (Pöchhacker, 2004; Hale, 2007). Moreover, throughout the academic field of IS, studies contain various terms which were created and used by various scholars in order to describe a specific genre of the consecutive interpreting function. Some of these terms were then broadly used for that genre and others have been abandoned or less frequently used. The terms include public service interpreting (Garces, 2014), escort interpreting (Mikkelson, 2008), community-based interpreting (Chesher et al., 2003), liaison interpreting (Gentile et al., 1996; Erasmus, 1999) and dialogue interpreting (Mason, 2001).

These terms mainly represent the form and the setting of the interpreting function. As Pöchhacker (2004) stated, one of the most obvious criteria for categorization and labelling of interpreting is the setting and the social context in which that activity is carried out. The consecutive interpreting mode, however, can facilitate communication in many settings and in various applications, as in police investigations, doctor-patient meetings and business meetings. As the spectrum of applications is quite broad, there are some generic terms that represent a few applications and some terms which are more specific.

A generic term which is used to describe some applications in the consecutive mode is 'liaison interpreting'. Liaison interpreting is a sub-genre of the consecutive mode, usually used in order to describe the activity of interpreting between two, or among more than two, interlocutors of different linguistic backgrounds, who have met in order to discuss an issue or in order to reach a resolution or a decision (Gentile et al., 2001). Liaison interpreting is used to describe the act of interpreting between two or more people, independently from the length of the original utterance, i.e. it can be done after a short speech, sentence-by-sentence or as whispered interpretation.

A more specific term within the consecutive mode is courtroom, medical or police interpreting, which clearly signifies the settings in which the interpreter works. Throughout the IS bibliography there is a plethora of terms used in order to describe the act of interpreting. Authors create their own definitions of terms in order to describe the act of interpreting about which they are writing.

In the next paragraphs the terms adopted for this study will be given, so that the reader is made aware of the specific genre and practice being looked at in this thesis.

1.3.1. Terminology used

The present study focuses on the role of interpreters in business negotiation meetings that take place between parties of different linguistic background and which are mediated by a professional interpreter, working in the consecutive mode.

The term *role* in this thesis refers to the positioning (Mason, 2009) that interpreters take based on the characteristics and the contextual elements of the interaction. The term *positioning* was initially conceptualized by Davies and Harre

(1990) and subsequently adopted and used by Mason (2009) in interpreting studies. According to Mason (2009), the interpreter is not responding with pre-determined set of behaviours in any given interaction but rather amends the behaviour according to the demands of the setting. Due to the multifaceted settings that interpreters in which work, interpreters amend their positioning, i.e. response and behavior, on a moment to moment basis. Thus, in this thesis, the term *role* does not refer to something static, or something that interpreters occupy (Turner, 1956), but rather the stance that interpreters take in order to serve the interaction. As Llewellyn-Jones stated: *'Remember that in any given interaction, it is not the interpreter who decides on the nature and dimensions of the role-space; instead, it is the characteristics of the interaction that determine the appropriateness of the myriad approaches and roles available to the interpreter.'* (2013, p. 69). The term *role* will herewith signify the dynamic and multifaceted nature of the interpreters' behaviour and a pre-determined set of behaviours.

Throughout this thesis, the term 'liaison interpreting' is adopted and used as defined by Gentile et al. (2001) in order to describe the activity and the genre of interpreting taking place in business negotiation settings. Gentile et al. (2001) used the term

'to refer to a growing area of interpreting throughout the world: in business settings, where executives from different cultures and languages meet each other; in meetings between a society's legal, medical, educational and welfare institutions and its immigrants who speak a different language; in relations between a dominant society and indigenous peoples speaking different languages; in a whole host of less formal situations in tourism, education and cultural contacts'. (ibid.)

The aforementioned authors have extensively used paradigms from the business sector in their work. They recognized the fact that even though most of the liaison settings share many attributes as regards the role of the interpreter in business negotiation settings, the role of the interpreter varies significantly and the boundaries of the role are not so well defined (Gentile et al., 2001) That is due, in their view, to the very character of the meeting and its desirable outcome. The authors (ibid.) seem to be in accordance with the definition of role as something not static but rather as the stance and positioning the interpreter takes in every given situation. Some of the elements of role that Gentile et al. (2001) found challenging and different in business settings

concerning the role of interpreters is the constantly changing environment, which affects the communication style and thus the mode of interpretation. Moreover, they stressed that in those settings, interpreters have a multiplicity of roles and tasks which range from being a language facilitator to being a trip advisor or administrator. Another point of interest is that the authors note that interpreters working in business settings usually face ethical dilemmas concerning the conduct of their role. They state that sometimes interpreters step out of their prescribed role in order to save the communication process and to secure a positive outcome and thus the goal of the meeting. What the authors suggest is that interpreters in those settings seem to follow a teleological approach to decision-making, which is something we will discuss in following sections of this thesis.

One of the examples given by the authors concerning this differentiation of business negotiation interpreting and other liaison settings is that interpreters in those setting are usually expected to be part of the client's team. What is meant by the term *client*, in the work of Gentile et al. is the person, company or entity that pays the interpreter's fees and thus hires the interpreter. The same definition of the term client is adopted by the researcher in this thesis. As explicitly stated by Gentile et al. (2001), the interpreter in business negotiation settings is given no choice but to become part of a team.

'The interpreter has at least two clients at any one time. Theoretically they have equal claim on the interpreter's expertise (...) The reality is often different. (..) It is true that in certain contexts, usually business contexts, the idea of an interpreter 'working for' one of the clients is not only taken for granted but seen as a condition of employment of the interpreter.' (Gentile et al., 2001, pp. 36-37)

That claim by Gentile et al. (2001) is forming the basis of my hypothesis and research questions that are put under scrutiny in this thesis. In business settings, interpreters are usually seen as part of the client's team and therefore they are expected to act as team members as we will see later on in this thesis (more specifically in sections 2.6 and 2.8).

By *business negotiation meetings* in this thesis, I will refer to those negotiation meetings held between business people of different linguistic and cultural background, that are assisted by interpreters and take place face to face and not via the telephone or

other devices. These meetings might include site-visits, presentations or shows. This thesis does not refer to diplomatic or military domains as these domains present different dynamics and strategies, and aim to fulfill wider societal goals. The business negotiation meeting is defined by Wan and Zhang (2008) as a *'process in which two or more parties come together to discuss common and conflicting business interests in order to reach an agreement of mutual benefit.'* (Wan and Zhang, 2008, p. 106). Business negotiation meetings such as those discussed in this thesis often aim to reach an agreement of mutual benefit. These meetings usually take the form of a battle since there is a give and take of interests. As Kissinger (1969) states, negotiation is a process of combining conflicting positions into a common one, under a decision rule of unanimity. There is always a polemic within the negotiation process and usually the interpreter has to choose his or her side in the 'battlefield' (Zartman and Rubin, 2000). Most of the time, the side with which the interpreter is aligning, is the one that sides with the person that hired them (Gentile et al., 2001). The interpreter becomes a member of the team that hired them and even though it might work of for both or all parties of the interaction, there seems to be a clear identification of the interpreter with one of the parties (ibid.). This topic of belonging to a team will be discussed in a separate section of this thesis (section 2.8).

As Gentile et al. (2001) identified, in business negotiation meetings, interpreters are usually asked to perform more tasks than that of interpreting, including socializing, explaining, being scapegoats for their negotiation team or doing administrative work such as booking hotel rooms, renting cars and so on. Their view is in keeping with the more general statement made by Wadensjö (1998) on speech acts, that interpreters understand that when they are interpreting they are also performing activities on behalf of others such as persuading, agreeing, lying, explaining, etc. That statement comes to reveal once again the gap that exists between the interpreter's prescribed role and the role as it unfolds in reality, because interpreters are aware that they are asked to take up a multiplicity of tasks other than relaying spoken messages in the languages of the negotiators. Whether interpreters actually perform or whether they should perform those tasks, and whether these tasks make them *step out of role* or not, are issues that we will examine in the later chapters.

The terms perceptions and expectations used throughout the thesis designate two distinct processes. *Perceptions* for this thesis are the preconceived ideas that people

have developed through various stimuli about someone or something. These preconceptions could have been developed via sensory information, previous knowledge, memory or expectations but perceptions in contrast to expectations, designate an expected behavior, action or practice as the legitimate one. *Expectations* designate what people expect or want to happen, even if this behavior, action or practice is not the norm.

1.3.2. Is business negotiation interpreting different?

The role of business negotiation interpreters (hereinafter BNIs) is hypothesized to be different from the other genres of liaison interpreting due to different situational, spatial, linguistic, cultural, psychological, social and behavioural factors. Some liaison interpreting settings might share characteristics and complexities with business negotiation interpreting but in this section I will highlight some differences in order to give a preliminary, indicative account that captures key hypotheses to be explored empirically in the remainder of this thesis.

The setting of the interpreting event itself may vary considerably during negotiation meetings. A BNM can take place within an office, outdoors, in fields, during dinner at a restaurant or even in multiple locations. The setting of other liaison settings is usually fixed and the interpreter knows before going into the assignment where the interpreting will take place. Therefore, the setting in BNMs might vary significantly even within just one assignment, since one office-held meeting can then be extended to a dinner where business is still carried out.

The amount of time needed for a business negotiation to conclude is also undefined, which constitutes another difference between BNIs and other liaison setting interpreters. In other liaison settings, the amount of time the interpreter works is more or less defined, even if the case requiring interpreting does not finish. In business negotiations, the working hours are undefined. A meeting can take place within half an hour or it can spread through lunches, dinners and counter-meetings. Due to this undefined work period, the interpreter is also expected by the other interlocutors to cover all the other social and business aspects of their meeting, i.e. engaging in small talk while eating, visiting showrooms, etc.

A difference that is also mentioned in passing in the previous section 1.3.1 and analyzed later in section 2.8 is that interpreters in BM can be used as scapegoats when the negotiation does not go in a favourable direction for either negotiating party. In negotiation settings, fluctuations in the intensity of feelings is usual and thus negotiation strategies might change. The interpreter within those changing dynamics, in interpersonal relationships and in strategies used, is better equipped if he/she has good interpersonal and analytical skills in order to be able to handle the changes and can balance the changing dynamics.

Furthermore, at business negotiation meetings, the interlocutors usually share similar authority and status at their respective companies and in the meeting. In other liaison settings, one interlocutor is usually of higher authority and status, i.e. a government official. Moreover, according to anecdotal experience, interpreters working in business negotiation settings usually represent one company or negotiating party, even if they are expected to interpret both ways. That is usually not the case in other liaison settings, where the interpreter is employed by one party but is expected to represent equally both parties. More information concerning the idiosyncrasies of business negotiation interpreting will be discussed in the next chapters.

To sum up, this thesis looks at the role of liaison interpreters as perceived by both practitioners and by Greek clients in business negotiation settings. I hypothesize that BNMs share many similarities with other liaison settings but also differ significantly at various levels. This thesis seeks to present and analyze some of the complexities and idiosyncrasies that these meetings hold for interpreters, both in terms of role expectations and role performance. By understanding these complexities, we may be able to describe business negotiation interpreting as a potentially distinct genre of interpreting and thus scrutinize it as such. Uniformity in approaching and analyzing the role of interpreters in every liaison setting is neither operational nor sensible, as each setting is different from the next.

1.4 The situation in Greece

Since this study examines the role perceptions of Greek interpreters, it is important to understand the professional status of interpreters in Greece. The interpreting profession in Greece mainly consists of people who have no formal T&I qualification. The first

academic institution to provide T&I training - the Department of Foreign Languages, Translation and Interpreting at the Ionian University in Corfu - was founded in 1984. This department, which began operating in 1986, is the only higher education institution in Greece offering accredited and exclusive T&I training programs. Before this date, professional translators and interpreters in Greece were not academically trained. They were usually either bilinguals or people who had a language education, i.e. English literature degrees, linguistics, etc. Recently, more Greek academic institutions, such as the Panteion University of Athens and the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, have included modules of T&I. Nevertheless, it is only the Ionian University that still produces accredited and qualified T&I graduates in Greece.

As for professional bodies, in Greece there is only one exclusively interpreting association, AIIC (the International Association for Conference Interpreters), which currently has approximately 40 Greek members. The Greek AIIC members mainly work in the simultaneous mode, in conference settings rather than in liaison settings. All other associations are translation associations which usually also include interpreters. In the majority of cases (with the exception of AIIC), the criteria for becoming a member of one of these associations requires only an ability to speak, write and understand a foreign language. However, no official T&I certification or accreditation is required. Therefore, some registered members are no more than occasional translators or people with a non-professional interest in T&I. Moreover, there is also a degree of overlap among the members of the various associations, as many professional translators and interpreters in Greece are registered with more than one association.

For these reasons, it is difficult to estimate the total number of professional practising interpreters in Greece. This is even more so when it comes to estimating the number of BNIs in Greece, as managers usually assign the role of interpreter to a member of staff who may speak the language in question as opposed to hiring a professional interpreter. Anecdotally, business owners or managers believe that assigning the role of an interpreter to a staff member is more cost-effective as they do not have to pay another salary. It is considered more efficient, as the demeanor of their employee is already known, and would know their place in the meeting. An employee, according to the managers, is also better informed on the company's policies and targets and thus does not need a briefing as would a professional interpreter.

As for the translation and interpreting market in Greece, this tends to be dominated by small translation agencies, especially in big cities. The market is open to anyone, and setting up a translation agency does not always or necessarily imply competence in a second or subsequent language. It is frequently the case that managers and directors of such agencies have no formal or informal language training or knowledge. Interpreting in Greece is considered a ‘free profession’ in the sense that it is not regulated and can be practiced irrespective of training. What differentiates the status of translation agencies in Greece is the number of associations the agency’s manager belongs to and the status of his/her clients in order to give the agency a strong recommendation.

1.5 Significance of the study

The intended contribution of the present thesis is threefold. The findings of the study are expected to further academic knowledge in the field, to improve professional practices and to enhance business outcomes as follows:

Academic outcomes

Various scholars have conducted studies on features of the interpreter’s role in various liaison settings. Very little research, however, has been conducted on the role of interpreters as perceived and needed in the field of BNMs. This thesis aims to shed light on the perceptions that both interpreters and clients have concerning the role of interpreters in BNMs and thus contribute to the development of a distinct genre of interpreting, with its own complexities, idiosyncrasies and ethical structures.

Practice

This thesis aims to provide a missing piece in the complex puzzle of the interpreter’s perceptions of role in BNM and thus raise awareness of professional associations, academia and practitioners of the differing positioning and roles that interpreters take in business negotiation settings. By recognising the differences of their role in that setting, interpreters may be able to provide their services in a more structured way that is both ethical and corresponds to the real needs of the market. Thus, in the long run, clients may receive better service from interpreters, furthering the interpreting profession.

Business

Previous research on interpreters' roles has looked extensively at perceptions of role through the interpreters' own perspective. It was usually interpreters or associations of interpreters that were scrutinised in order to examine perceptions or practice of roles.

As interpreting is a service provision profession, it is logical to look at the role also through the needs and perceptions of the end-users, the clients, i.e. business people. This study looks at the perception of interpreters' role through the clients' lens as well. As business people are the receivers of interpreters' services, their needs and perceptions also have to be evaluated, in order to understand whether what interpreters offer is enough, substantial or even needed by end-users.

By tabulating these two perceptions – of interpreters and business people - we would be able to determine the mandate given by clients and therefore modulate the practice accordingly to meet this mandate. By meeting the needs of clients, negotiation meetings may be more favourable for negotiating parties and clients may feel that the interpreting service corresponds to their needs. The extent to which the clients' needs and expectations should be taken into account in order to reformulate the interpreter's role is discussed later, in Chapter 10.

1.6 Chapter outline and structure

This thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 1 presents the positioning of the researcher, the hypothesis posed and the research questions that this thesis is aiming to answer. The scope of the study as well as the terminology used throughout the thesis have been defined and operationalized and the specificities of the Greek interpreting market have been given, in order for the reader to be able to contextualize better the context and the setting under investigation. The threefold intended contribution of the thesis is also presented.

Chapter 2 aims to contextualise the study by reviewing relevant interpreting and business literature pertaining to the topic of the present study. Due to the twofold research question of this thesis, Chapter 2 is divided into two main parts. The first part reviews interpreting literature and focuses on the development of the field as well as at

the evolution of the interpreter's role. The second part of the chapter situates interpreting practices within a social and a business context. Goffman's interactional elements are discussed in the context of business settings and literature from sociology and business studies is reviewed, in order to facilitate understanding of the complex role of interpreters within business settings. Moreover, a negotiation schema is introduced as presented by McCall and Warrington (1984), which will facilitate the understanding of the data, gathered later in the study, by providing a background against which our data will be set and understood.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical underpinnings of the study, by presenting its epistemological and the ontological positioning within the wider research body of knowledge. The post-positivist deductive approach followed is explained and scrutinised. This chapter also presents the methodological tools chosen to collect data and analyse the reasoning behind those choices. The specific design and analysis of each study is presented.

Chapter 4 presents the first scoping study of the thesis, which reveals the perceptions of interpreters about their role in business settings. The Interpreter's Interpersonal Role Inventory (IPRI) instrument conceptualised by Angelelli (2001) is adapted into the Business Negotiation Interpreters - Interpersonal Role Inventory (BNI-IPRI). The data collected via the BNI-IPRI survey, are presented and analysed statistically and discussed.

Chapter 5 presents the data collected from the first study (Chapter 4) into the schematic representation offered in Chapter 2. The data are presented thematically against the negotiation schema initially offered by McCall and Warrington (1984).

Chapter 6 presents the second study of the thesis. This study aims to provide qualitative data to the already quantitative data gathered from interpreters in Chapter 4. The semi-structured interviews with interpreters are initially presented per interviewee and thematically analysed.

Chapter 7 discusses those data against the schematic representation offered in Chapter 2.

Chapter 8, presents qualitative data collected from business people who use interpreters in business meetings. This chapter provides data which show the perceptions of clients towards interpreters and their role.

In Chapter 9, the data collected from Chapter 8 are presented and analysed thematically, against the negotiations schema that is used as the conceptual framework of this study.

Chapter 10 sums up the findings of the study and presents a discussion based on the research questions and the hypothesis introduced in Chapter 1. The limitations of this study are presented, along with the significance of this study as well as identification of further research needed.

CHAPTER 2

Interpreting and Role

This chapter explores the literature that is relevant to the research questions of this thesis and aids us in understanding the developments and pitfalls relevant to the research questions (section 1.2). There are two parts in this chapter. The first part explores literature pertaining to translation and interpreting studies and the evolution of perceptions concerning the role of interpreters (sections 2.1 to 2.4). The second part looks at interactional elements of interlocutors in negotiation settings and draws on theories from sociology and business (sections 2.5 to 2.10).

2.1 The academy engages with interpreting

For many centuries people have travelled around the world either because they are forced to do so by political regimes, for financial reasons as migrant workers, to conduct business or even just for touristic purposes. The need for an interpreter emerged centuries ago, since the first tradesmen started doing business with people of other countries. The Egyptian ‘dragomen’ that were employed by officials, for instance, played a significant role in drafting new policies and co-operations from the third millennium BC onwards (Hermann, 2002). Even though interpreters have existed for years, it is only since the beginning of the last century that interpreting has been constituted as a formal profession and a distinct academic discipline (Pöchhacker, 2004). Nowadays as trade, commerce and immigration have expanded, people travel more, do business abroad and thus more interpreters are needed in all settings and walks of everyday life.

Interpreting as a practice existed before the invention of writing and thus of written translation. It is very common in mainstream literature for the two terms ‘translation’ and ‘interpreting’ to be used interchangeably. In translation and interpreting literature, however, these terms have been defined and specified to describe different practices. Even though many definitions exist - with the most prevalent one being that translation concerns the written form and interpreting the oral or signing form of communication from one language to another – in this thesis I chose to follow Pöchhacker’s (2004) definition:

‘...interpreting can be distinguished from other types of translational activity most succinctly by its immediacy: in principle, interpreting is performed ‘here and now’ for the benefit of people who want to engage in communication across barriers of language and culture.’ (Pöchhacker, 2004, p. 10).

This thesis focuses on interpreting as defined above by Pöchhacker, i.e. on the immediate form of oral communication for the benefit of communication between people, in business negotiation settings. The term business setting will be defined at a later stage of this thesis, in section 2.1.

According to Gile (1998), interpreting research and theory can be analyzed in four major periods. Gile calls the first of these the ‘early writing period’, which covered the decades of the 1950s and 1960s. In that era, there were no accredited interpreting courses, and only untrained bilinguals who were practicing interpreters were influencing and talking about interpreting. Those untrained bilinguals who were often engaged in interactions as interpreters wrote the first pieces of theory and contemplation about interpreting, drawing upon their own beliefs and experiences. As they were not trained as researchers or interpreters, their writings were personal reflections rather than well-founded theoretical contributions (*ibid.*). Regardless of the empiric form of the ‘early writing period’, those writings placed the foundations for all the other consequent writings and understanding of interpreting. The experiences of those untrained bilinguals became the founding blocks for understanding and furthering interpreting back in the 1950s.

The second period for interpreting (Gile, 1998) is the ‘experimental period’ (1960–1970). That period is named as such, because scholars and researchers from disciplines such as psychology and neuroscience tried to connect the activity of interpreting with the cognitive processing of information in the interpreter’s mind. It was an experimental period during which scholars from these other disciplines were trying to explain processes and thought patterns that interpreters were using in order that interpreters could fulfill their task. Again, as in the first era, research was not done by trained and qualified interpreters but rather by scholars, thinkers and practitioners from other related fields. Research and writing of that era looked interpreting within different prisms, and by utilizing existing knowledge of other fields. It was the first attempt at interdisciplinary research in interpreting.

The third period Gile calls the 'practitioners' period' (1998) and it is the period where practicing interpreters started researching the field and tried to combine their practical knowledge with research and findings. Gile describes this era as starting in the 1970s: theories developed in the two previous eras were questioned and new ones were developed. It is in that period that interpreting started to evolve as a discipline. To a large extent, this was due to Danica Seleskovitch in Paris (Gile, 2009), who set up the first doctoral program devoted to translation and interpreting. There is broad acceptance in interpreting literature that it was in that era that the first PhD thesis on interpreting alone was submitted. Interpreting as a discipline almost exclusively focused on conference interpreting training and practice and was almost solely '*built around a model of interpreting initially developed by Seleskovitch under the name *théorie du sens* (theory of sense)*' (Gile, 2009, p. 137). Therefore, even though there was significant improvement and differentiation of interpreting from translation studies, it was still atypical for an academic discipline as it was still mainly based on anecdotal experiences of conference interpreters alone: it was not interacting with other academic disciplines and its theories were prescriptive (Ibid).

The fourth era, Gile (2009) maintains, started during the late 1980s with a milestone event in 1986, when a conference on interpreter training was organized in Trieste, Italy. In the 1990s, this new era in the interpreting discipline was marked with almost 2,000 publications in the field, with the first journal devoted to interpreting studies being launched, and with other disciplines showing interest in various aspects of the interpreter's work. Moreover, in that last era of Gile's (1998) taxonomy, IS expanded its research horizons to other settings besides the conference hall. Public service interpreting, also known as 'community interpreting', as well as other settings of interpreting practice such as medical interpreting, police interpreting, and court interpreting are now also central to IS research (Pöchhacker, 2004).

Today, as we go through or perhaps beyond the fourth period of interpreting, interpreting is researched and studied both as a stand-alone field and in conjunction with other fields such as sociology, psychology and intercultural communication (Pöchhacker, 2004, Gile, 2009). There are many researchers, practitioners and educators of interpreting, all of which contribute towards forwarding interpreting. Interpreting is no longer in the shadow of translation and is a distinct discipline and profession. Both academics and practitioners concur that IS is the overarching term and discipline that

incorporates various genres with distinct features. More about interpreting genres will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2. The 'role' shift

Looking back at the beginnings of the development of Interpreting Studies (IS), the field mainly depended on the development of translation theory and practice. At the start of the development of IS, translation was closely related to interpreting as lay people believed that the only difference between translation and interpreting was the medium of delivery (written versus oral). As translation theory started to develop much earlier than interpreting - during Gile's 'practitioners' period' of interpreting - scholars in translation were already talking about issues that were interdisciplinary.

It was as early as in the late 1970s that translation textbooks and theory started problematizing the function and the role of the translator and the translated text. It was during that period that Vermeer's Skopos theory (1978) was developed, which contemplated the text and its translation, according to its skopos, i.e. purpose. According to that theory, the translation strategy and function should be defined by an aim and a purpose - the translation purpose. Translation studies in that era also questioned the simple linguistic transfer of words or messages and was focused more on a cultural and sociological transfer of renditions (Pöchhacker, 2004). Thinkers of that era started showing interest in the communication process rather than in the decoding and encoding of the message. They questioned and analyzed the target and the aim of the text, according to the audience to which it was addressed. At the first stages of interpreting as an academic field of inquiry, early academics in the field looked at translation theory and practice in order to find answers relating to the interpreters' role, teaching techniques and ethical issues. Therefore, the role of interpreters underwent similar processing during its development, and was initially thought to be a mechanical transfer of words, but later that accurate rendition of the words was questioned.

In early IS literature, interpreters were initially seen as neutral - even invisible - language facilitators (Wiedenmayer, 2011). They were seen as people that are present in a setting in order to relay the words of one interlocutor into another language, so that the other interlocutor is able to understand, without the interpreter adding anything to or omitting anything from the utterance (ibid.). According to early bibliographical data on

interpreting studies, the interpreter was supposed to be neutral or even invisible (Seleskovitch and Lederer, 1986), a machine-like re-encoding device with a good command of both languages. According to this perception, the interpreter is not considered to be an active part of the interaction, but is rather seen as a language-switching facilitator, a non-person who is expected to render in another language the message that was uttered by one of the participants in the interaction.

That perception of the role of interpreters comes in line with the ‘conduit model’ of communication first explained by Reddy (1979). According to Reddy’s communication model, the speaker puts ideas and feelings into words and sends them as a ‘package’ to a hearer who then takes the ideas and feelings out of the package and understands the original speaker. In such a context, the interpreter hears and reconstructs messages into the target language. That view was for a long time supported and accepted to a great degree both by practising interpreters and by professional associations (Angelelli, 2007; 2009).

In line with the translation theories above, newly developed theories on interpreting also started questioning the role of the interpreter in both consecutive and simultaneous modes (Gile, 1998). Thinkers from different disciplines also started problematising the role of translators and interpreters. Philosophers such as Hans-Georg Gadamer entered this dialogue about the role of translators and interpreters and their view helped deconstruct the role as we know it today. Gadamer (1960) expands the idea of philosophical hermeneutics that Heidegger initiated a few years before. Through this work, he developed the hermeneutic theory where he claims that reading a text alone is a translation by itself. A translation is the second chance of trying to understand the message. Trying to translate an utterance involves a fusion of horizons, i.e. the horizon of the writer, of the reader and of the text itself. Adding to that equation, is another horizon in interpreting studies, the one of the interpreter who acts like a mediator in an interpreted-mediated communication and thus of his or her utterance.

Following discussion of fidelity and accuracy in translation studies, the conduit model of interpreting has also been questioned by various researchers over the past few decades (Pöchhacker, 2004). The conduit model of interpreting is seen by both theorists and practitioners as a very simplistic account of the interpreter’s functions and responsibilities which does not reflect the complex reality of the role, where interpreters have to take into consideration other issues such as turn-taking, socially constructed

meanings and so on. Thus, later studies on interpreting (Roy 1989; Wadensjö 1992; Turner 1995; Nicodemus et.al, 2011) begin to challenge the notion of being ‘accurate’ and ‘faithful to the speaker’, by examining the distribution of content responsibility, the expectations of the interpreters’ role and the dialogic element of the interpreters’ work. Specific studies have subsequently been conducted about the role of the interpreter in various settings. Most studies focus either on conference interpreting or on liaison settings such as in court interpreting, police interrogations, medical interpreting settings and other ‘institutionalized’ interpreting situations (Pöchhacker, 2004).

2.3. Beyond the conduit

A seminal study in the history of interpreting for the evolution of the role was conducted by Wadensjö (1998), who began to challenge the notion of neutrality and invisibility, by categorizing communication of meaning into two types, the monologic and the dialogic. Drawing upon Bakhtin’s work (1986) on the interactionalistic approach of language as a historical and social phenomenon, Wadensjö supports that all speech acts are dialogical and not monological activities and should be seen through that lens. She explained that dialogue interpreting in particular takes place in an interaction (that happens between a doctor and a patient, between an immigrant and a policeman, etc.), and therefore more than one person participates in the formulation of meaning. As communication is a dialogical activity, utterances are shaped, formulated and reformulated by all participants in the interaction, including the interpreter. The interpreter as a member of the interaction performs the act of translating on behalf of a ‘substantial other’ and thus creates her own version of the message (Wadensjö, 1998). Consequently, according to Wadensjö (1998), the image of the interpreter as a neutral channel or conduit that only transfers utterances from one language to another, belongs in the monolingual theoretical frame, where no language process and understanding is needed and thus such definition of the interpreter, i.e. conduit, cannot exist. Moreover, according to Wadensjö (1998) any dialogical interaction should not be examined in isolation from the other participants and other factors such as social or economic factors, as all these elements construct the final product of the communication. Wadensjö persuasively contends that interpreters are not just rendering the messages in another language as received by the speakers, but rather they perform activities on behalf of the speakers, such as agreeing, lying, explaining or even persuading. In

dialogical interpreting the interpreter tries to reproduce the same illocutionary point and force of the utterance, in order to achieve the same reaction as the original speaker would have achieved, if the listener had known his language. As Hale (2007) states, ‘...interpreters are like actors that play the same part in a different way...’ (p.13). Wadensjö considers interpreters to be co-constructors of the interaction, i.e. active and crucial partners in the construction of meaning.

As is made evident in the previous paragraphs and sections, only in recent decades has the role of the interpreter begun to be questioned and problematized. The prescribed role of interpreters, as given in early academic work and captured in professional associations’ codes of conduct, was characterized as a ‘myth’ (Angelelli, 2001), which did not conform with the reality of the profession. Angelelli (2001) questions the prescribed role of the ‘invisible’ interpreter and attempted to unfold the role as it is experienced in practice. She also questions the faithfulness of the interpreter’s rendition, regardless of his/her intentions, due to the non-linguistic factors that affect the interpreter’s behaviour and thought process. She talks convincingly about the ‘visibility’ of the interpreter as seen and practiced by professional interpreters. More specifically she conducted an empirical study (Angelelli, 2001) in order to examine the role perceptions of interpreters in various settings, in terms of the visible/invisible continuum. Her study provides clear evidence that interpreters perceive their role as visible members of the interaction, in all settings.

Angelelli (2004) continued her study on medical interpreting settings and explored the role and the agency that the ‘visible’ interpreter exercises in interactions within medical settings. Angelelli investigated the role of interpreters as active and essential partners in interaction and also problematized the notion of power and authority in those settings. The power and the authority held by interlocutors play a significant role in the formulation of utterances and the dynamics that evolve during any interaction. These notions of power and authority will also be scrutinized in this thesis at a later stage.

The visibility of the interpreter in various settings was substantiated by various discourse analysis studies (Wadensjö, 1995; 1998; Metzger 1999; Davidson, 2000, 2001; Roy 2000;), turn taking studies (Hirsch, 1989; Roy, 1989; 1992; 1996; O’Connell et al., 1990), the presence of the interpreter’s agency in the interactions (Wadensjö, 1998; Metzger 1999; Angelelli, 2001; 2004a; 2004c), alignment studies (Wadensjö,

1998) and other studies that considered other sociological elements of visibility (Mason, 1999; Davidson, 2001; Takimoto, 2008). Other studies proved that interpreters respond to the contextual factors of the setting in which they are working (Roy, 2000; Dean and Pollard, 2001; Turner, 2005).

Interpreting scholars have conducted studies on the role of the interpreter in various settings and noted that interpreters are essential co-constructors in face-to-face interactions (Wadensjö, 1993; 1995; 1998; 2001; Angelelli, 2001; 2003; 2004; Takimoto, 2008; Davitti, 2013). These studies were seminal in developing further the field of interpreting studies, since it unpacked a series of other interdisciplinary research on the role of interpreters. Other names used in academic literature as metaphors in order to describe the role of interpreters are: ambassadors and filters (Davidson, 2000), and cultural experts and helpers (Angelelli, 2004b; 2004c; 2006), cultural brokers and advocates (Hale, 2007).

Although there is an abundance of research done on the role of interpreters, there seems to be little dissemination of these findings and research in the practice of the profession (Gile, 1995; Angelelli, 2006; 2008). Hsieh (2006; 2008) states that the conduit model of interpreting is still the *default* role that interpreters assume while working and that this model permeates professional and academic publications.

2.4. A clear dichotomy of role

As stated in the previous paragraphs, studies have looked at the role of interpreters in various settings and concluded that interpreters are visible, active members of the interpreted communicative events. Nevertheless, there is still a clear dichotomy between what is prescribed as an *appropriate role* by academic courses or professional associations and what actually happens while practicing the role (Gile, 1995; Angelelli, 2006; 2008). Several scholars have addressed this discrepancy between what interpreters are prescribed to do and what they actually do. Turner and Harrington (2009) supports the view that this discrepancy is a result of a *conspiracy of silence* between the practitioners who are *paying lip service* (Wadensjö, 1998) to the invisibility ideal.

The mere fact that the role of interpreters has been described in the past by scholars as a conduit, language facilitator, helper, language specialist, advocate, co-participant, co-constructor of meaning and so on - just to name a few (Pöchhacker, 2004) - indicates that there is huge spectrum of perceptions concerning the role of interpreters and thus a huge spectrum of vastly different expectations and risks both on the interpreter's side and on the interlocutors' side. As Witter-Merithew (2005, p.54) stated, '*the absence of well-informed and agreed upon best practices regarding the complex and evolving role of interpreters, places both consumers and practitioners at risk.*' That risk refers to ill-informed practices that often do not coincide with the demands of the setting or the needs of the client. If practices are not aligned to the setting demands, the client's needs and other linguistic or non-linguistic requirements, then the interpreter might become another obstacle to communication in the process. As Dean and Pollard (2005; 2011) suggest, interpreting is a service provision profession and, as such, it should first aim to answer the demands of the setting. By depriving the interpreter of his 'voice', the communicative event may also be deprived of the interpersonal elements needed in order to establish a viable cooperation. The interpreter may be detached from the underlying meaning of words and thus only transfer words without their sentimental or interpersonal value. Through the conduit model approach, the interpreter is 'cognitively detached' (Nicodemus et al., 2011) from the communicative event and thus, may not pay attention to the underlying meanings, to his decisions while interpreting and the outcome of these decisions (ibid.).

As scholars (Roy, 1989; 2002; Wadensjö, 1995; 1998; 2002; Metzher, 1999; Angelelli, 2000; 2001; 2003; 2004; Davidson, 2000; 2001; Takimoto, 2006; Turner and Harrington, 2009) have extensively discussed the visibility/invisibility status of interpreters in various settings during the last decades, there are various levels of participation and agency that are prescribed to interpreters or considered by associations, practitioners or scholars as acceptable. Angelelli (2004) proposes a continuum of visibility where interpreters exhibit different degrees of presence. Diversification of the 'role' boundaries creates great confusion to practicing interpreters as well as a chain of ethical dilemmas while practicing, which will be explained further in the following sections. That diversification and discrepancy of role definition is what makes interpreters often talk about *stepping out of role* (Turner and Harrington, 2009), i.e. taking up more roles than those prescribed in the associations' codes.

The most prominent way of exemplifying the multi-layered degree of agency, participation and visibility that an interpreter exerts while practicing his/her mandate is by understanding the demands of the setting (Dean and Pollard, 2001; 2005; 2011; Angelelli, 2004; 2006; Pöchhacker, 2004). Dean and Pollard take this discussion even further by problematizing the term *role* and by suggesting that interpreters should respond to the demands of the work-setting (2001, 2005). Mason (2000) offers a different term for analyzing what interpreters do while interpreting, i.e. *positioning*. Via this term, Mason gives a more dynamic and multi-layered definition of role, by providing a term that empowers interpreters. The term *positioning* awards conscious decision-making powers to the interpreter, since the interpreter positions him/herself to the situation at hand. The term positioning is more dynamic and less restrictive and thus offers interpreters the ability to respond or position themselves to each situation according to their best judgement. That term is supported by various scholars including Dean and Pollard (2005), who maintain that interpreters are not responding to fixed conditions but rather to a dynamic environment and thus their role should not be prescribed as the term 'role' suggests.

The term role has been a prominent topic of debate for scholars in T&I literature, since it can be given different semantic values. It departs from the mere descriptive nature of the word role, but can still be ambivalent in terms of ethical and professional substance. Scholars extensively continue to use the term role in order to prescribe and characterize (Angelelli, 2003; Hsieh, 2006) and in order to refer to behaviour of interpreters (Turner, 1956) amongst others.

It is widely recognized by scholars in the interpreting field, that interpreting is a 'situational practice' (Angelelli, 2004; 2006), which entails that it is practiced in various settings, with differing norms, people and etiquettes. By 'situational practice' Angelelli (2004; 2006) means that interpreting is a practice in which its role is formed and shaped according to the setting that is being performed. The ways in which interpreters perform their roles vary significantly, therefore, according to the different settings, the specific interactions and the written or unwritten rules of the various professional bodies that participate in the interaction. For instance, a consecutive courtroom interpreter has to abide by the court's rules, stand next to the person whose speech she is interpreting, stand up when that person testifies and so on. A courtroom interpreter is therefore expected to become familiar with those written or unwritten, formal or informal rules

and conventions before engaging in the interaction (Morris, 1995; Mikkelsen, 2000; 2008; Hale, 2004). If the rules are not understood, the modalities of interaction which unfold may not be understood either. Knowing and abiding by those traits and modalities gives interpreters a professional face and greater assurance that their translation is appropriate and acceptable in terms of professionalism to everyone involved.

Interactions, Bourdieu (1997) states, are never self-contained. They are constrained by an institution and thus all participants in that interaction are affected by the institution accordingly. Therefore, in line with the claims in the previous paragraphs, in order to understand the complexity of the interpreter's role it is essential to take into consideration the situational reality of the setting. By recognizing the idiosyncrasies of each setting, it becomes possible to deconstruct the challenges that each setting presents to the role of interpreters and thus construct the role as needed by each specific setting.

Following the discrepancy of prescribed versus practised role, it seems as if interpreters do not want to reconcile with the idea of being visible co-constructors of meaning and they hide behind the notions of neutrality, fidelity and invisibility (Swabey et al., 2008; Turner and Harrington, 2009). Maybe those perceptions of role are much more convenient for not facing ethical dilemmas and for avoiding any responsibility other than language transfer. As Swabey et al. (2008) specifically stated,

‘For many years, interpreters have too often hidden behind the cloak of neutrality, avoiding the realization that taking no action can be as harmful as an inappropriate action. It will only be possible to develop best practices related to role when interpreters recognize and accept responsibility for the power they have as participants and co-constructors of meaning in an interpreted interactive event.’ (Swabey et al., 2008, p.69).

In spite of the research conducted on the idiosyncrasies of each setting and on the challenges they impose on the interpreter, there is still a huge gap between the role prescribed by associations and academia and the practised role. Moreover, even though scholars have conducted studies on the role of the interpreter in various settings and noted that interpreters are essential co-constructors in face-to-face interactions, there seems to be little dissemination of these findings and research in the practice of the profession (Angelelli, 2008). According to Angelelli (2008), that is mainly due to the

fact that most academic courses train interpreters by conscious or unconscious blind transfers of pedagogies from one mode of interpreting to another, and more specifically from conference interpreting to all consecutive interpreting settings. This blind transfer also happens to professional standards and guidelines that are usually prescribed by professional associations (ibid.).

During the last decade, there was a great influx of studies looking at the role of interpreters in liaison settings, from various theoretical and methodological lenses. Studies such as Wadensjö's (1998), Roy's (2000), Mason's (2001), Edwards', (2002), Takimoto's (2009) and so on, have come to establish the complex nature of the interpreter's role in interactions. Moreover, studies such as the aforementioned attest powerfully to the multi-layered significance of the interpreter's interaction. More recent studies (Baraldi and Gavioli, 2007; Davitti, 2013; Hsieh and Nicodemus, 2015) also confirm that interpreters do not simply convey speech content but rather co-construct, enhance and open new trajectories in the interactions in which they participate.

More specifically Baraldi and Gavioli (2007) identify that interpreters in medical settings contribute to dialogue management in two ways, i) as responders, since they form an affiliation with patients, which entitles them to express the patients' feelings, emotions and to understand the patient's expectations; and ii) as translators – coordinators of the medical interaction, since they often summarize the patients' words to the medical professional. Baraldi and Gavioli (2007, p.172) conclude that interpreters in those settings are 'effective redevelopers' of the interaction, as they contribute to effective communication by their continued alignment and their distribution of power. The interpreters' combination of the aforementioned roles enhances the participants' involvement in the interaction. Thus, according to their research, Baraldi and Gavioli (ibid) challenge the traditional and old rhetoric that interpreters are invisible conduits to the interaction.

Takimoto (2006, 2008) explores the dynamic role of interpreters in business settings. More specifically in his study about the role perceptions of business interpreters (2006), he examines the perceptions of role that interpreters have about their own professional role in business settings, in Australia. After conducting a qualitative study, he concludes that even though interpreters value and recognise the importance of the Code of Ethics of their Associations, they feel that many times these codes come into conflict with the effective and efficient communication between the interlocutors in

business interactions. Takimoto (ibid) asserts that the interpreters' role in business settings is more dynamic and proactive than the traditional stereotype of the conduit. These results reflect the findings of his PhD work (2008), where he also looks at the interpreters' role in business settings, using Chesterman's norms (1993) and Goffman's explication of role (1961,1969) as his theoretical framework.

Researchers have looked at the interpreter's perceptions of role in various settings but they have also examined the role perceptions through an ethical lens. One seminal work in that respect is Dean and Pollards's (2011) study on context-based ethical reasoning in interpreting, where the researchers question a rule-based approach of interpreting, where interpreters have to consider the Association's Codes of Ethics before making decisions that affect their practice. The authors assert that interpreting is a service-provision practice and thus as such they propose teleological ethical reasoning, which takes into consideration the dynamic context of interpreting and is focused on the outcome of the communication rather than on pre-determined rules.

Even though, there is extensive literature on the perceptions of the interpreter's role in various settings, the role perceptions of business interpreters is quite limited in the literature. Moreover, there is no known literature looking at the perceptions of role that business clients have about interpreters. The present thesis seeks to explore - amongst others - the perceptions of role held by interpreters in business negotiation settings as well as the perceptions of the interpreter's role perceived or mandated by business people.

Summing up, in this section we have seen the evolution of the interpreter's role through the T&I history and we have described the different views and ideals that prevail in the discipline. We have also established that interpreting is a situational practice and the interpreter's role is informed by the contextual elements of the interaction. The term role should not be seen as a static descriptive label on the interpreter's behaviours, stance or decisions, but rather it should be seen as the multi-layered, multifaceted and fluid nature of decisions and stances that the interpreter can momentarily occupy in order to effectively perform in the interactional process.

The term 'positioning', initially developed by Davies and Harre (1999) and later borrowed by Mason (2000), better represents the dynamic role of interpreters while practicing their mandate. Nevertheless, the term role has been identified with the

function that professionals assume in a particular situations and therefore in the present thesis, the term role will be used to describe the way interpreters assume their mandate. The term role will henceforth denote that dynamic effect of interpreters while practicing and not the static, descriptive set of doctrines that interpreters should follow.

Beyond T&I studies

Having established in the previous sections that interpreters are active co-constructors of meaning and carriers of predefined sets of ideas, habits, behavioural and cultural influences, all of which affect their interactional patterns and understanding, we now shift our attention to the specificities that the setting itself presents to the interlocutors, to the predispositions and influences of interlocutors in business negotiation settings. This will give us another lens through which we can conceptualize and thus analyze the interpreter's positioning when practicing their role in business negotiation settings, and which this thesis is examining.

This section lays the theoretical foundations of the research design adopted in this thesis, which draws upon input from a variety of disciplines. More specifically, the social context of negotiations will be discussed and a negotiation schema will be presented that will facilitate our understanding of the interlocutor's influences in negotiation settings. This schema will provide the basis on which we will bring together theories from sociology and business in order to better understand the influences and thus the positioning of the interlocutors of the interaction and analyze the interpreter's positioning in the negotiation event. The descriptive nature of the schema will facilitate better understanding of the influences presented and the structure upon which the other theories will be coupled and synthesized to generate a strong conceptual framework.

2.5. Placing 'negotiation interpreting' in a social context

Negotiation is a fundamental everyday activity and skill. It is not a function or an activity that takes place only in business settings. As Lewicki et al. (1999) stated:

‘Negotiation is a process by which we attempt to influence others to help us achieve our needs, while at the same time taking their needs into account. It is a fundamental skill, not only for successful management but for successful living’.
(Lewicki et al., 1999, p.v)

Everybody has to negotiate different everyday issues in his/her life. We negotiate with friends for our weekend plans; we negotiate in intersections when we drive or even when we have to assign house chores to family members. The list of everyday negotiation instances is endless and, in terms of strategy and performance,

these instances greatly resemble the ones that take place in a business environment as we will see in next sections of this thesis.

There are numerous definitions in business literature for negotiations, one of which is analyzed in sections 2.6 and 2.8. Simply put, a negotiation is a mutual discussion aimed at reaching an agreement. In order for a negotiation to take place, two or more parties should be involved, who have interdependent goals and objectives, and thus are willing to reach an agreement without resorting to aggression or fighting (Lewicki and Litterer, 1985). Even though the rationalist assumption of negotiation is that it mainly portrays economically motivated or strategic interactions best practiced by logical, non-emotionally involved actors (Chrahan et al., 2006), negotiation is largely a social interaction that leaves ‘inherently psychological imprints on those involved’ (ibid.).

Negotiations started receiving academic attention in the 1980s. Early theoretical work on the area of negotiations focused on theory development and information processing procedure in the mind of negotiators (Bazerman and Carroll, 1987; Carroll and Payne, 1991; Thompson, 1990). Information processing models developed, provided explanatory illustrations of decision-making, judgements, processing information and so on. The usefulness of these models, however, has also been questioned in the literature. Kramer et al. (1993; 1995) state that the information processing models are largely asocial, since they do not take into consideration the social context where the interaction takes place nor the social context which informs how the interaction proceeds. Thus, they began analyzing negotiations from a more social context perspective; more specifically, they taxonomized negotiation into three types of social context research:

- a. Social cognition: this taxonomy included research on how the individual processes social information, memory functions, etc.
- b. Contextualized social cognition: on how the individual embedded in a particular social context, processes information, stimulates cognition, etc.
- c. Socially shared cognition: on how the social context in which the individual interacts with others produces cognition.

Through the above framework of research, the authors analyzed the negotiator relationships, the social knowledge and beliefs of negotiators and how these affect the

negotiation process as a whole and segmentally - social norms, common knowledge effect, negotiating group size, involvement, role-based inference mechanisms, team interaction and other issues that have to do with the process of the negotiation as a result of a two or more parties interacting - in order to understand the mind of the negotiator in the social context of the interaction. Moreover, Kramer et al. (1993) analyzed the contextualized social cognition that comes after the negotiation process. It is then that the aftermath of the negotiation outcomes is materialized; seeking to make clear that negotiation is a social process and should not be examined in isolation of its social context.

Information processing is a topic within most negotiation theory research. If, however the mechanisms and processes of a negotiator's mind are to be fully considered, it is necessary to analyze background knowledge, cultural context, beliefs and structures, as well as the social knowledge already gained but also specifically in place and perceived during the interaction. All this information supports greater comprehension of the information processing mechanism, which is itself also the product of all of these interacting factors. After all, negotiations happen among two or more people who are interacting in a social way and in a social setting and therefore the aforementioned information forms layers of understanding, predisposition and attitude of the interlocutors in negotiation settings.

In light of the aforementioned social ideal, in a comprehensive four-stage study, Curhan et al. (2006) studied and analyzed the range of social psychological outcomes that negotiators value in their negotiations. In their studies, Curhan et al. (2006) validate Thompson's theory and framework of negotiation outcomes (1990) and also add another element to that, namely the negotiator's feelings about the final settlement.

Thompson's framework proposes that negotiation outcomes can be categorized into two broad categories: the economic and the social-psychological. The economic is the final settlement of the process, product or value, how resources are divided, etc. The social-psychological can be subdivided into three categories. The first category concerns perceptions of the bargaining situation, the second perceptions of the other party and the third perceptions of self. Overall the study of Curhan et al. (2006) validates previous conceptual frameworks (Thompson, 1990; Oliver et al., 1994) that support the social-psychological value of negotiation and add to the body of literature by providing a comprehensive study and analysis. The studies of Curhan et al. (2006)

report that when asked if the subjective outcome is as important as the objective value, i.e. profit, negotiators regard the subjective value highly, i.e. the social and psychological outcomes of the negotiation in theory. During the negotiation process, though, negotiators may lose that focus and underrate the subjective value.

The body of literature mentioned above concurs that negotiations are not just mechanical procedures that evolve in one person's brain, but a function that takes place in a setting that is established and informed by social, economic and cultural norms and between people that also have their own references, influences, goals and feelings. Therefore, by placing the function of negotiation back in its social context, we comprehend and analyze more realistically the complexities and other 'mechanics' that underpin it, and the decision-making procedures that are central to it.

In section 1.3 we operationalized the terms *business negotiation meetings (BNMs)* and *liaison interpreting*. An in-depth exploration of these terms identifies similarities in the nature and scope of those two terms. More specifically, as discussed in earlier sections (2.1. to 2.4), liaison interpreting is a social activity where the interpreter is another interlocutor between two or more parties and is trying to bridge the communication gap and thus achieve the communication goal. At the same time, in BNMs, interlocutors are trying to achieve a communication goal by the reciprocal exchange of information. Therefore, both BNMs and liaison interpreting share the same social nature and communicative scope. Henceforward, the understanding and analysis of these two functions will be approached from its social context in the present thesis.

There is a plethora of academic research conducted that looks at the intangibles of negotiation or, as called by Curhan et al. (2006), the subjective value factors affecting negotiations, such as saving face, building rapport, feeling valued and trust, as we have also reported in the previous paragraphs of this section. These are also social elements that are scrutinised when examining liaison interpreting. A review of the negotiation literature generated between 1990 and 2000 where amongst others these issues are examined, is summarized in the paper of Reynolds et al. (2003). More recent literature can also be reviewed in Alfredson and Cungu's paper (2008), where a summarized analysis of the negotiation process and its imprints are given. The present thesis studies business negotiations that are facilitated by an interpreter and not negotiations meetings alone. Therefore, since negotiations as a field is not the core of the present thesis, detailed analysis is not deemed necessary.

2.6. Interdependence of interlocutors in BNMs

Negotiations are discussions that are aiming to reach an agreement, we stated in the preceding section. These discussions have emerged from an interdependence or a relationship between the parties involved and thus, they willingly meet in order to discuss the terms of this interdependence or relationship. McCall's (1984) definition of negotiations is addressing the issue of relationships:

‘Negotiation is any sequence of written and/or verbal communication process whereby parties to both common and conflicting commercial interests and of differing cultural backgrounds consider the form of any joint action they might take in pursuit of their individual objectives which will define or redefine the terms of their interdependence’. (McCall et al., 1984, p.13)

The word ‘interdependence’ is key to the above statement. Since negotiation is a willing act of communication with the purpose of reaching an agreement, the dependence lies in the other party or parties to have the same will and purpose. If the parties to the negotiation do not want to come to an agreement, then there would be or should be no meeting in the first place. According to the business negotiations literature, the variables that can affect the interdependence with interlocutors in negotiations are threefold: i) motivational orientation, ii) distribution of power amongst negotiators and iii) interpersonal orientation (McCall et al., 1984).

- i) Motivational orientation is the attitude that negotiators have towards one another. The three main categories of motivational orientation have been identified as the cooperative, the competitive and the individualist’ orientation (McCall et al, 1984). The character of each of these categories is self-explanatory and evident by their title. The cooperative category is the most effective in negotiations since it demonstrates positive attitude toward the other party/parties (ibid.).
- ii) Power distribution is the degree to which participants have equal or unequal participation and powers in the negotiation process. According to McCall et al. (1984), if participants do not have equal power or rights in the communication process then the powerful party may tend to exert his/her power in different ways, i.e. talk for longer, take all the decisions, negotiate

for his or her benefit, etc. whereas the less powerful party may be submissive or would feel weaker in the process. An equal distribution of power fosters better and more fruitful communication (ibid.).

- iii) Interpersonal orientation refers to the goals of each person that participates in the negotiation process, which is another factor that might affect the interdependence of the participants. As in motivational orientation, parties that come with the willingness to engage in a conversation and thus get moved from their original positions tend to be more successful in their interactions (McCall et al., 1984).

It is evident from the above features and from the definition of negotiation provided earlier in this section that the preconceptions, the disposition and the approach to the communicative event, i.e. behavioural, psychological, social and knowledge-based aspects, can affect negotiations in general. Summarizing the above we could say that personal relations and the enactment of a positive attitude towards a good relationship with the co-negotiators foregrounds an effective negotiation. Relationships play a very important role in the negotiating process and their importance will also be analyzed in the following sections.

The interpreter as a member of the negotiation communicative event possesses his/her own preconceptions, references and approach to the process and the interlocutors. Interpreters are part of the interdependent network that is being created during the ICEs. Their motivational orientation, the distribution of power amongst interlocutors and the interpersonal orientation are variables that can also affect their interaction and thus their interpretation. Interpreters also expect intangible outcomes from the communicative event that is unfolding and are therefore interdependent with the interlocutors of the negotiation. Looking back at the definition of negotiations of McCall et al. (1984), we see that interpreters participate in the communicative process and take a form of a joint action by facilitating the communicative process in pursuit of their own individual professional and personal objectives. These objectives (such as financial gain from the interpreting job, relationships formation that will give them more jobs or even personal and professional recognition) define and redefine their interdependence with the other interlocutors. Their position in the communicative event is not stable but is as fluctuating as the other interlocutors, since every decision they take and express is redefining their professional and personal standing in the eyes of the

negotiators. Consequently, interpreters also become part of the interdependent network of the negotiations, as defined by McCall et al. (1984).

2.7. Goffman's interactional elements

In the preceding sections, we gave negotiations its social context (section 2.5) and we explored the interdependence of all interlocutors in BNMs, including that of the interpreter to the other negotiating members. The present section continues to explore the social context of interactions through the lens of the dramaturgical framework as proposed by Goffman (1955). Goffman's works (1955; 1959; 1981) on the analysis of interactions were seminal and informed later studies. In the field of interpreting, scholars such as Wadensjö (1998), Metzger (1999) and Roy (2000) used Goffman's framework of roles in order to question the character of the interpreter's role in various interaction settings.

According to Goffman, social life is like a stage, and all its participants play a role. Every role has rules and guidelines to observe, in order for the performance to be accepted, believed by others, and for it to achieve its goal. The roles that are being performed give to its actor specific social entitlements, duties and status. Goffman's theory on social behavior and staging was tested and studied within certain social setting and interactions. The paradigms deployed in his analysis of dramatic performances (Goffman, 1959) were applied to work environments where services had to be given to customers or where status and authority positions were clearly defined. For the scope of the present thesis, the elements of his theory are going to be applied in BNM settings.

In his works on interaction rituals (1959; 1968; 1981), Goffman draws attention to some important elements that affect meetings, their outcomes and the behaviour of participants, which are also relevant for this study. Goffman (1959) convincingly claimed that the outcome of any interaction is not the result only of the interactions and processes that take place during the meeting itself. Goffman holds the view that the social background and the present social context of the interlocutors as well as their perceptions and personal views all combine to inform their decision-making processes and their interpretation of the interaction elements such as small-talk, sign-equipment and utterances. This belief foregrounded equivalent beliefs and theories that were

deployed later in sociology and in other studies that include interaction, such as interpreting, as we have seen in previous sections (sections 2.1 to 2.4).

He also believes that the ‘role’ that someone plays is informed, shaped and reshaped by its ‘audience’, i.e. the people surrounding the interaction. Based on this perception, the negotiator as an actor receives continuous feedback from the audience (i.e. the other interlocutors and people around the interaction) and shapes his/her performance according to the performance he wants to achieve. Having Goffman’s perception in mind as well as the fact that the interpreter is an active member of the interaction (Wadensjö, 1995; 1998; Dickinson and Turner, 1998; Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000; Angelelli, 2004; 2006), the interpreter, as an individual actor within any or all interactions, tries to achieve the target performance by taking into account the response of the audience. The interpreter’s audience in business meetings are the interlocutors and the other people present in the meeting. Based on Goffman’s theory, if every actor is influenced by the audience, then the interpreter is also influenced by the responses of the negotiators and frames the role or the position the interpreter is taking accordingly.

One of the elements that affect the thought processing, the behaviour and decisions made by interlocutors before, during and after any interaction is, according to Goffman, the form and the kind of expectations that participants have of each other and of the meeting in general. The expectation of international negotiation meetings is that they take place among people who have different cultural dynamics and social significance in their respective worlds. By social significance in the context of business negotiation interpreting what is meant is the position of a person in the company or group of people represented. The interpreter’s significance or position in such settings is mainly professional but, of course, she has a personal status and position in society too (Harrington and Turner, 2001). As we have discussed in sections 2.3 to 2.5, literature is divided as to whether interpreters should consciously exhibit that personal status and position, i.e. whether they should be conduits or actively participate in the interactions.

It is also usually expected by business people that persons of the same professional status will meet in a BNM. For example, chief executives would hardly expect to carry out negotiations with office managers, but would expect to deal with their equivalent in authority and responsibility if not title. Therefore, the professional status and role of participants is expected to be shared or is assumed before the meeting

takes place. Thus, the professional status of the negotiators is expected to be equal or similar in order for the negotiation to take place on an equal footing for all parties.

The professional status might initially override the personal position and status of the individual but this is not to say that the personal and social status of the individual is something to be neglected. From my own anecdotal experience, representatives of large companies investigate a participant's position and status before participating with them for the first time in a meeting. Even if this 'vetting' procedure is not carried out beforehand, it is witnessed from personal experience that on many occasions, during negotiations, the professional performance of the opposite team of negotiators is matched against what Goffman described as personal front. The 'front' as defined by Goffman is '*...that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion...*' (Goffman, 1990, p. 32) Therefore the personal front is part of the person's usual behaviour in business interaction. In cross-cultural communication studies literature, scholars such as Bochner (1982), Mead (1994) and Gesteland (2012) state that interlocutors should first get as much professional and personal information as possible about the person they are due to meet, in order to understand their positioning in the interaction. By knowing more for the personal front, interlocutors can negotiate better, because they can understand the other person more.

When the personal front does not support or match the professional performance given or vice versa, that is almost immediately apparent in meetings, even if the interlocutors' words pass through an interpreter. As Goffman (1955) states, performers must be taken in by their own performance to the degree that is necessary to prevent them from sounding hollow and false to the audience. What Goffman means is that is that the performance given should be believed by the actors in order to be able to defend it. When there are conflicts of the personal and the professional role, then collusions of manner happen, i.e. the actor is presenting two different faces. Collusion of fronts might happen because the interlocutors that the interpreter is interpreting for is presenting two fronts, or because the interpreter's front does not match that one of his team's members. As the interpreter tries to portray in the best possible way the 'front' of every interlocutor, when collusion exists decisions have to be made by the interpreter. These decisions have to do with the representation of this person to the other party. The question then emerges: Does the interpreter 'fix' the collusive behaviour or does she interpret exactly as she comprehends it? Fixing a collusive behaviour is not part of the

nomothetic role of interpreters as represented in most codes that interpreting associations have. Nevertheless, because BNIs have to ‘defend’ their face - the face that they represent in words on behalf of the others as well as defend their team - they may fix collusions of manner, especially for their team members, as we shall see later in this chapter.

As stated in previous sections of this literature review (sections 2.1 to 2.4), as any interpreter in any setting the BNI is not a person without a social context. She comes along to the meeting with her own personal front and with an already formed status, that of the professional interpreter. Moreover, the interpreter has a pre-formed set of expectations, just like any other member of the negotiation team prior to the meeting (expectations about the parties involved, about the setting in which the meeting is to be held, about the expected outcome and so on). The ‘personal front’ of the interpreter can also be apparent even if the BNI tries to be as faithful as possible to the words or the behaviour techniques of the speakers. The selection of words, or even the interpretation of the interlocutor’s words, is informed by the personal references and the front of the interpreter. The personal front is not just language-dependent. It is also apparent in the other interlocutors, even if they do not understand the language of the other – their body language, facial expressions, gesturing, posture or tone of voice might denote that personal front. Innumerable scholars have published on the ‘faithfulness’ of interpreters (Hale, 1998; Clifford, 2004) or on how interpreters are ‘biased’ according to their own personal life references (Clifford, 2004). However, there is limited research on how interpreters can consciously or unconsciously alter the course of a meeting, due to these biases. As Angelelli (2008) states, *‘interpreters are not always aware of the agency they possess, nor are they always conscious of exercising it’*. The personal front is not just language-dependent. It is also apparent in all interlocutors, even if they do not understand the language spoken. Elements such as body language, facial expressions or even tone of voice might denote and give away the personal front.

In business settings, usually meetings are pre-arranged. Prior communication aims to determine the scope of the meeting, its necessity, its status and details of time and place. Through this prior communication, it is the interpreter or the person who acts as an interpreter that creates the impressions, the fronts and expectations. Even before the meeting the interpreter is expected to create the required pose and status for the person she will be representing in the meeting. An inappropriate representation of the

client in this case means a diminishing status for the company as a whole. Therefore, the interpreter needs to make sure that the client is represented as a high-status person, not only linguistically but also ‘theatrically’. The tone of voice that the interpreter may use, the title to refer to her client, the words that she may choose or even the pauses within her own words may be those that will denote the status to the other company that she represents. Generally, the content and the form of the interpreters’ talk or text would not only linguistically but also ‘theatrically’ be those factors that may create the initial expectations prior to the meeting.

As Mulholland stated:

‘Language realizes not only events but also social relations, and further, it acts to organize the interactive conduct and to regulate the process of every social interaction’. (Mulholland, 1991, p.10)

‘...speakers use language ...in order to register their sense of the interpersonal nature of the communication encounter and to influence the other participants to share that sense. They do this by negotiating the bond, roles and tone that will sustain the interaction’. (Mulholland, 1991, p.32)

Difficulties can arise, however, when different persons are involved in the initial impression formulation and the actual negotiation process. In international companies, for example, there might be an English-speaking employee who performs the introductory phase of the meeting after which an external interpreter is asked to initiate the business negotiation, interpreting alone or together with the English-speaking employee of the company. In those cases, the employee might be left to create the important impressions of and for the company. Mismatches, misunderstandings, miscommunications and other errors that might occur on such occasions may give an impression of a poorly-organized company or an unprofessional team. In such cases, the interpreter in the actual BNM is faced with the challenge of re-introducing the person representing the company and re-addressing the issues to be discussed, once the meeting has started or within the ‘small talk’ before the meeting begins. The interpreter as a skilled and qualified professional is expected to create the equal positioning and status of the participants. That is usually achieved through the interpreter’s linguistic and dramaturgical skills. The linguistic skills would allow her to linguistically amend the

misrepresented company or team, by re-introducing their roles, titles and fronts. The dramaturgical skill of the interpreter in those settings helps her to manipulate the front and the face of participants by choosing the appropriate posture, body language or behaviour, i.e. by using theatrical skills.

Small talk is another important element referred in Goffman's work. Small talk can be defined as non-referential language that is used before, during and/or after more substantial interaction at, for example, a BNM. This kind of language is usually irrelevant to the topic or agenda of the negotiation meeting. Small talk might include a general comment, a joke, polite comments about the host venue, transport, the weather, and so on. Small talk is important as a vehicle for what is termed social bonding at the negotiating venues (Mulholland, 1991). It can be helpful in creating a tone or atmosphere for the negotiation, and in smoothing awkward moments or times of silence. It can also showcase knowledge and status of the participants, again without encroaching upon the topic of the meeting. In many ways, it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of small talk during the whole negotiating process. This kind of language can have great social significance which indirectly affects the nature of the more formal interactions (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Pullin, 2010).

As small talk is non-referential language, it involves metaphors, puns, anecdotes or jokes and other culturally specific elements of language (Nash, 1985). The cultural specificity is part of the repertoire of the professional interpreter who speaks both languages and knows both cultures. The interpreter must have the competence and authority to create and adapt appropriate small talk with the negotiators, in order to deploy fully the advantages of this method of social bonding. Small talk in such settings can be originated and directed by and to any participant of the interaction, including the interpreter. Such non-referential language can denote many dangers for any intercultural negotiations. As stated by intercultural studies scholars including Gesteland (2012), the initial social discussion or small talk as Goffman defined it, is quite crucial for establishing a good relationship with our interlocutors. Some cultures give more emphasis on that form of talk than others (Gesteland, 2012).

If equality of the negotiating parties is not achieved early enough (in terms of status as mentioned above) by the interpreter either within her small talk or within the event, then the negotiation could have balance differentials, i.e. one of the parties may be perceived as weaker in status. If the negotiators are not equal in status then both

psychologically and in managing the negotiations' dynamics, the stronger company may have the lead. Certainly, the outcomes of a negotiation are related to the amount of power each party has and is perceived to have in the negotiation (Kramer et al., 1995, p. 124). We already investigated in section 2.6 and we will further explore the concept of power amongst the interlocutors in negotiations settings in section 2.8.

The setting is another element analysed by Goffman. The setting can be characterized as those aspects that formulate the place of interaction, i.e. décor, physical layout, etc. and once in the setting can actually denote the beginning of a performance. Exiting the setting also usually marks the end of the performance. Such settings in the sector of business negotiation meetings, are usually business rooms, seminar rooms, executive rooms or any kind of a room that can welcome the participants in negotiations and can provide all the facilities that might be required (e.g. a projector, a PC, writing pads, etc.) and a safe environment where none of the participants feel intimidated to speak or actively participate. Business meetings can also be conducted in some cases in show-rooms and exhibition areas.

The setting is an important element to be carefully taken into account in the preservation of 'front' – the impression given to put the other party at ease and to feel safe in order to discuss the matter in question. Moreover, a setting can trigger more cues or impressions and can thus be used tactically to promote especially positive impressions. A really well-equipped or state of the art showroom or executive room, for example, might impress the other party and produce feelings of diminished status. Therefore, the setting can inform the participants not only of cues and impressions but also about personal characteristics. The interpreter as another party in the process, is also consciously or unconsciously affected by the setting. The impression-setting might influence the formality of her language or even the strategies that she might use for impression management, for coordinating approaches or for small talk.

Appearance and manner provide us with more stimuli that function as indicators of the performer's social status or statuses. In the western world appearance etiquettes are important in business meeting negotiation contexts and can indeed stimulate cues about the other person's background. The dress code is an unwritten rule in these situations that can signify cues in both directions. It can signify something for the person him/herself, for their attitude and expectations towards the other party, and for the perception of him or her by the other party or parties. If, for example, part of the

negotiation is to be done out in open fields where tractor sales are being conducted, the interpreter may be expected to be equipped with the proper clothing in order to be able to follow the business people around the fields and so become visually part of the context as well as the interaction. If the interpreter is not dressed accordingly during a meeting, she might feel an outsider and lose the sense of belonging to the team. That in turn might trigger another small-talk initiated by the interpreter, who might make an excuse, seeing the need, for her inappropriate attire. The negotiating parties may also feel uncomfortable if the interpreter is not dressed accordingly. The client on the other hand might feel embarrassed for the team member he is bringing along to the negotiation and the other negotiating party might feel that the counterpart is not well prepared, as he brought along a professional who was not even briefed. Besides, as stated in previous sections (sections 2.3 and 2.7) the interpreter is not only present as a professional in the meeting. She is also a person with specific values, behaviour, dignity and pride. Therefore, there is a plethora of personal, cultural, social and environmental considerations and perceptions to 'interpret' or 'voice' throughout a communicative event.

Rules of conduct impinge upon an interpreter in two general ways. Directly, as obligations establishing how she is morally constrained to conduct herself, and indirectly as expectations establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to her (Goffman, 1967). The interpreter will usually find a way to explain inappropriate attire. That explanation might save her own face, the face of her team members, but also the face of the other party, offering traces of respect to all. In those cases again, the interpreter is expected to behave as a person belonging to a team and not as a linguistic conduit. As Goffman (1967) explained, when a rule of conduct is broken, both actor and recipients are threatened by the risk of becoming discredited. It could be said that the outcome of a negotiation meeting is the accumulation of attitudes and practices by all its members. It is not an event that can happen by a single actor alone.

Manner just like appearance is not an element that just characterizes the person performing but it can also function as an indication of future behaviours and conduct.

'Manner may be taken to refer to those stimuli which function at the time to warn us of the interaction role the performer will expect to play in the oncoming situation'. (Goffman, 1967, p.35)

Manner is an element that is to be closely monitored at all times, while performing or observing others, so that we understand what role each person intends to play in the continuation of the interaction. It is an element that signifies the importance that this person gives to the other party or to the interaction as a whole; for example, when a businessman pretends not to pay attention to the other party or to the interpreter's words, that displays a general detachment or indifference of this party towards the other. This can be due to various reasons, one of which might be the creation of 'impressions' once again (Goffman, 1967). In other words, during the course of the negotiation, status and authority 'games' are being played amongst the negotiating parties, i.e. words, feelings, expressions, emotions can give the overall psychological effect needed to enforce that performance. Some of these are tactical manoeuvres and some are to do with individual character expression (Kennedy et al., 1992).

The interpreter in such cases has a very difficult part to play, as negotiators are in a continuous struggle to create and alter 'face' and front perceptions. These face tactics create the basis of impressions, power and authority and turn the negotiation room into an arena of changing dynamics. The purpose of this game is to score as many points as possible against the opposing party and gain as much as possible in terms of power. In the middle of this arena lies the interpreter who is there to interpret the words of the interlocutors but also to make sense of the different face strategies, as these are crucial weapons for gaining points. According to anecdotal experiences and reports, the interpreter's team members might unconsciously expect the interpreter to interpret the face changes that they might not understand due to the lack of linguistic abilities or due to lack of cultural awareness. Therefore, further explanation on cultural issues is an expected part of the interpreter's role (Roy 1989; Metzger 1995; Wadensjö, 1998).

People who participate in negotiation meetings need a variety of 'tools of the trade' in order to facilitate their performance. These tools are not always on display and can implicitly involve the setting, the clothing, mannerisms, gesturing or even tricks employed during the interaction. A negotiation can be compared in this way to a struggle to win points in a campaign or ongoing undercover battle, where each side withholds antagonism but implements strategy in order to get the job done. As Goffman puts it:

'It may be true that backstage activity often takes the form of council of war; but when two teams meet on the field of interaction it seems that they generally do

not meet for peace or for war. They meet under a temporary truce, a working consensus, in order to get their business done.’ (Goffman, 1959, p. 173)

As we have previously seen in sections 2.5 and 2.6 negotiation is a process where both common and conflicting interests are at stake and negotiations meet in a working consensus in order to find the best possible working solution to these interests. Negotiators, as with all people involved in interactions, consciously or unconsciously take into account various interactional elements in order to form their expectations, strategies and impressions. Goffman presented some of these elements that would facilitate us to understand further the data of this thesis. Moreover, Goffman’s work provides the foundations upon which we understand the development of business meetings and of the processes unfolded in the participants’ minds.

In the next section (2.8) we will unpack the concept of group identification which is crucial in understanding and analysing the participatory nature of interlocutors in negotiation settings and thus help us understand the way interpreters function and practice their role within those settings. This concept has been mentioned in passing in the preceding sections and forms part of the hypothesis and the research questions that guide the present thesis. Section 2.9 will provide a framework of influences that affect interlocutors in negotiation meetings as given by McCall and Warrington (1984), and this framework will then be reformulated based on the theories and knowledge unfolded in the preceding sections. A schematic representation of this model will provide the theoretical framework upon which we analyze the present thesis.

2.8. Group identification

According to sociologists, a crucial element for successful negotiations is the formation of group identification in every participant's mind and a clear understanding of group belonging. This section will unfold the importance and the elements of that identification to a particular group or groups. Group identification is not always something that happens consciously. In this thesis, we are concerned with interlocutors’ unconscious affiliation with a specific group and how that affects that person’s as well as the other interlocutors’ demeanour. According to Tajfel’s (1978) definition:

‘ ... group identification is that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership...’ (Tajfel, 1978, p.131)

Following Tajfel's claim, we would expect the interpreter to identify herself with that party in the negotiation with which she shares more emotions and values. Most of the time, this person is the person or the group of people that hired her to come to interpret in the interaction. The interpreter usually identifies with the person or company that hired her mainly for two reasons: a) due to the similar cultural background and b) due to the need of the interpreters to satisfy the client, so that they get rehired in the next job, or as Monacelli (2005) coined it, for the interpreters’ ‘professional survival’. By similar cultural background in this case, we refer to all those elements that someone identifies with and feels familiar with such as language, ethics, sense of humour, etc. Usually, the more someone has in common with a person, the more they can identify themselves with the other person.

The interpreter can identify with the client on a personal and a professional level. The personal level is the same language they share and the professional is the deeper understanding that can be achieved about the client’s business due to the briefing given or the personal identification with that company. ‘Professional survival’ is a term also used by Angelelli (2001) and denotes a feeling of obligation to satisfy the targets and expectations of the person that hires them, in order that they may be hired again. When an interpreter works on a professional level, she wants to satisfy the client's requirements so that she may get hired again. Nevertheless, the reputation earned in the professional capacity follows the interpreter in her other capacities too, as Goffman states. Both the professional survival and the sense of team belonging make the interpreter’s participation in the interaction behave not as a whole person but rather in terms of a ‘special self’, a status Goffman identified. Therefore, even though the interpreter enters the interaction with her own views and expectations, she is able to freeze that ‘self’ and take on the required role as a team member and professional intending to survive and be successful as an interpreter. Moreover, Tajfel's (1978, p.131) definition of group identification continues as follows:

‘When people identify with a group they usually:

- i) act in the group's interest
- ii) exhibit positive bias towards members of their group regarding trustworthiness, honesty and cooperativeness.'

As a team member, the interpreter inherits responsibilities and roles for the interest of the group she represents. According to Tajfel's quote above, as a team member the interpreter may be expected by the client to act for the team's interest, to exhibit positive bias, and even show personal interest for the best possible development of the negotiation on behalf of the company. She may be expected to conform to an unwritten and unconscious 'code of conduct' that may bind her in two distinct ways. Directly, as a professional, so as to interpret in the best possible way. The interpreter is also bound indirectly by the expectations of the client. These expectations are that she has to be morally and emotionally active in the interactions. She is expected to use her professional and personal experiences and knowledge in the best possible ways in order to positively influence the interaction and intervene positively within it as effectively as possible if required. The interpreter, by this unwritten 'code of conduct', is expected to be an active agent of the interactions, capable of orchestrating the flow of social or formal discourse in an appropriate manner, by protecting the image and the personality of the company, the self and of the other team members (Riggins, 1990).

Being a team member allows more flexibility to the interpreter. However, that does not exempt her from obligations and liabilities. As the act of negotiating is a social act and relies upon impression management quite significantly, if the interpreter that is the 'representative voice of the company' fails to make a positive impression, then this misrepresentation may also affect the negotiation and her face in all levels. The interpreter must be able to at least act as if they care and agree with the aims and the targets of the company employing them. Otherwise the client may not trust them to do the job. '*... team-mates are often persons who agree informally to guide their efforts in a certain way as a means of self-protection...*' (Goffman, 1959, p. 89). According to the above account, for the interpreter to act as if she is a member of the team creates a feeling of safety for the businessperson as well as for the interpreter. The business person or company personnel might feel that the interpreter both unconsciously and consciously supports the company values, beliefs and interests in the best possible way. In this atmosphere of mutual value, the interpreter experiences the 'professional survival' motivation (Monacelli, 2005). If that is not the case and we just see the

interpreter as a non-living part of the procedure, she may be just substituting words from one language to another. Rather, the interpreter has the means and motivation to analyze, decode and encode back into a different cultural and linguistic system the meanings and cues given from one party to the other or others.

As the course of the negotiation continues, the line of negotiation might change. That change in the line of negotiation can also denote a change in the line of behaviour and of social distances. As Goffman reported: "*Of course, at moments of great crisis, a new set of motives may suddenly become effective and the established social distance between the teams may sharply increase or decrease.*" (Goffman, 1959, p. 166). In these cases of changing the negotiating line, even the distance between team members and interpreter can change, as the interpreter might feel betrayed or blamed for the critical situation that has occurred. This feeling is enhanced perhaps if the interpreter feels more strongly a member of the team who is trying her best to make this negotiation line her own, in order to create the best possible collusive performance. When the negotiation line changes the efforts of the interpreter can be cancelled and new efforts and performances have to begin. The businessperson on the other hand might for tactical reasons hide the shift of line, putting the entire burden at the interpreter's door by trying to convey that an error in interpretation could have occurred. If something like that happens the interpreter might lose 'face' with what she has taken to be her 'team', though if experienced in such a scenario, it is likely she may not take the 'blame the interpreter' shift too personally, as it is also part of her professional capacity to shoulder the burden of all tactics used to achieve the negotiation outcome.

Apart from the above case, at times of crisis the performed front might be momentarily forgotten and a different front or a different performance might be performed by negotiation members. As Goffman states: '*...at times of crisis lines may momentarily break and members of opposing teams may momentarily forget their appropriate places with respect to one another.*' (Goffman, 1959, p. 199). That temporary shift of front might even be conscious in order to serve a specific cause, as suggested in the previous paragraph with reference to accepting 'unfair' blame in order to achieve the team's goals. Another instance might be suggested by an angry performance from one of the team members which seems spontaneous in a business meeting where everything has to be done with tact and good manners, but in fact the outburst can serve as a boundary setting for future negotiations, i.e. by displaying anger

towards a specific proposition, that proposition is henceforward unacceptable and therefore insulated from further discussions.

The interpreter in such cases tries to match the front of the ‘angry party’ in the best possible way, without thus infringing her own personal and professional front. The interpreter cannot reflect the angry behaviour of the businessman but she can rather express it both vocally and physically in such a way in order that the other party understand the position. Nevertheless, in such cases, the opposing parties also read the body language and the intensity of the voice of the angry party and do not solely rely on the words or the performance of the interpreter, as stated above. Quoting Goffman: *‘Perhaps the focus of dramaturgical discipline is to be found in the management of one’s face and voice.’* (Goffman, 1990, p.211).

The BNI is therefore a person that is governed by her own social context and a professional who is governed by specific codes of conduct and mannerisms. Often these two fronts – the personal and the professional – conflict with one another (Goffman, 1959) and that is when the interpreters are faced with crucial ‘role’ dilemmas. Interpreters as actors in negotiations travel through various performances in order to support their ‘front’ as team members, as professionals and as individuals. Their task is multi-faceted and complex. Recent research in IS - as seen in previous sections (2.2 to 2.4) - has identified the gap between the research and the practice, but still the professional practice of the interpreter’s role still seems to be stuck in old perceptions and practices.

It is important to understand what happens in the practice of business negotiation interpreting, how interpreters experience their participation in such settings and how business people want their interpreters to behave and interact. A deeper understanding of the reality of these situations may contribute towards the development of the profession as a whole, strengthening confidence and competence for all concerned in their multifarious roles and settings. Thus, this thesis is trying to unfold those issues and understand how the role of interpreters is perceived by interpreters themselves in those settings but also expected and perceived by clients that use interpreters to facilitate their business negotiation meetings.

2.9. A Negotiation Schema

As stated in the preceding sections, the communicative event that the interpreter is asked to interpret is not asocial, but is pertaining to various social, economic, cultural and other influences. Liaison interpreting, like negotiation, is a function that exists when at least two persons are present. As dyadic or multi-party interactions, interpreted communicative events (ICE) in business settings cannot be understood in a social vacuum. They occur within institutions which are permeable to the expectations of society and the various layers of institutional and societal influences (both explicit and implicit), which add to the communicative events' complexity. Moreover, personal influences of all interlocutors come into play (section 2.2 to 2.4) that influence their understanding and their decision-making actions. Therefore, issues such as the social context of all the interlocutors, including that of the interpreter, the already existing knowledge and beliefs of all participants in ICEs as well as the information perceivable on the social background during the interaction, all play a significant role in the formation of the group dynamics, group behaviour (section 2.8) and the way the event unfolds. As seen in an earlier section (2.6), all interlocutors in the negotiation event, including the interpreters, belong to the interdependent network that regulates the communicative process.

Having looked at the interpreter's role through the T&I literature, its similarities in scope with negotiations as a social function, as well as the interdependence of all participants in the negotiation event, this section will look at a negotiations schema that was proposed by McCall and Warrington (1984), which provides a single integrated framework of influences that pertain interlocutors in negotiation settings. The model presented in Figure 1, proposed by McCall and Warrington (1984), unfolds the influences of the people involved in a business negotiations communicative event. This model will provide the basis upon which all theories examined in this literature review section will be synthesized and will thus provide the conceptual framework of this thesis' analysis.

Through the framework presented schematically below, both the negotiators' approach and the interpreters' approach to the negotiation interaction is deconstructed into smaller segments. This framework will facilitate our understanding of the role each interlocutor plays in the communicative event and thus help us answer the research questions concerning the role of interpreters in BNMs. Concepts analyzed in previous sections will also be synthesized in this section through the use of four main categories

or interactional elements. Other theories pertinent to this thesis mentioned in previous sections, and belonging to disciplines such as sociology and business, will also be grouped into these corresponding categories and thus create categories under which we will scrutinize the research questions and analyze the data produced. More specifically Goffman's (1955; 1959; 1981) seminal works on the dramaturgical interactions will be presented and analyzed through McCall and Warrington's (1984) framework and together they will facilitate our understanding of the interlocutors' interactions so as to answer the research questions of the present thesis.

The negotiation interactional model presented by McCall and Warrington (1984) is an integrated framework that is comprehensive of other preceding frameworks provided by Morely and Stephenson (1977) that have looked at negotiation interactions through the lens of social anthropology, socio-linguistics and marketing (Punnett and Shenkar, 2007). In this thesis, the model will also be supplemented by Goffman's interactional theory as well as with interpreting theories mentioned in preceding sections (2.1 to 2.4). The model given in Figure 1, graphically represents the factors that influence two negotiators in any typical interaction, as presented by McCall and Warrington (1984). Even though this model presents the influences of two interlocutors, it does not exclude the inclusion of more participants in that model with the same influencing factors that all interact with one another.

According to the proposed model (McCall and Warrington, 1984) graphically represented in Figure 1, there are four main categories of factors that formulate the interaction approach in negotiation settings. All these categories interact with each other and also overlap in places, which shows their interdependence. The four categories are: behavioural predispositions, influence strategies and skills, situational influences and environmental influences. Every factor will be analyzed separately in the foregoing sections.

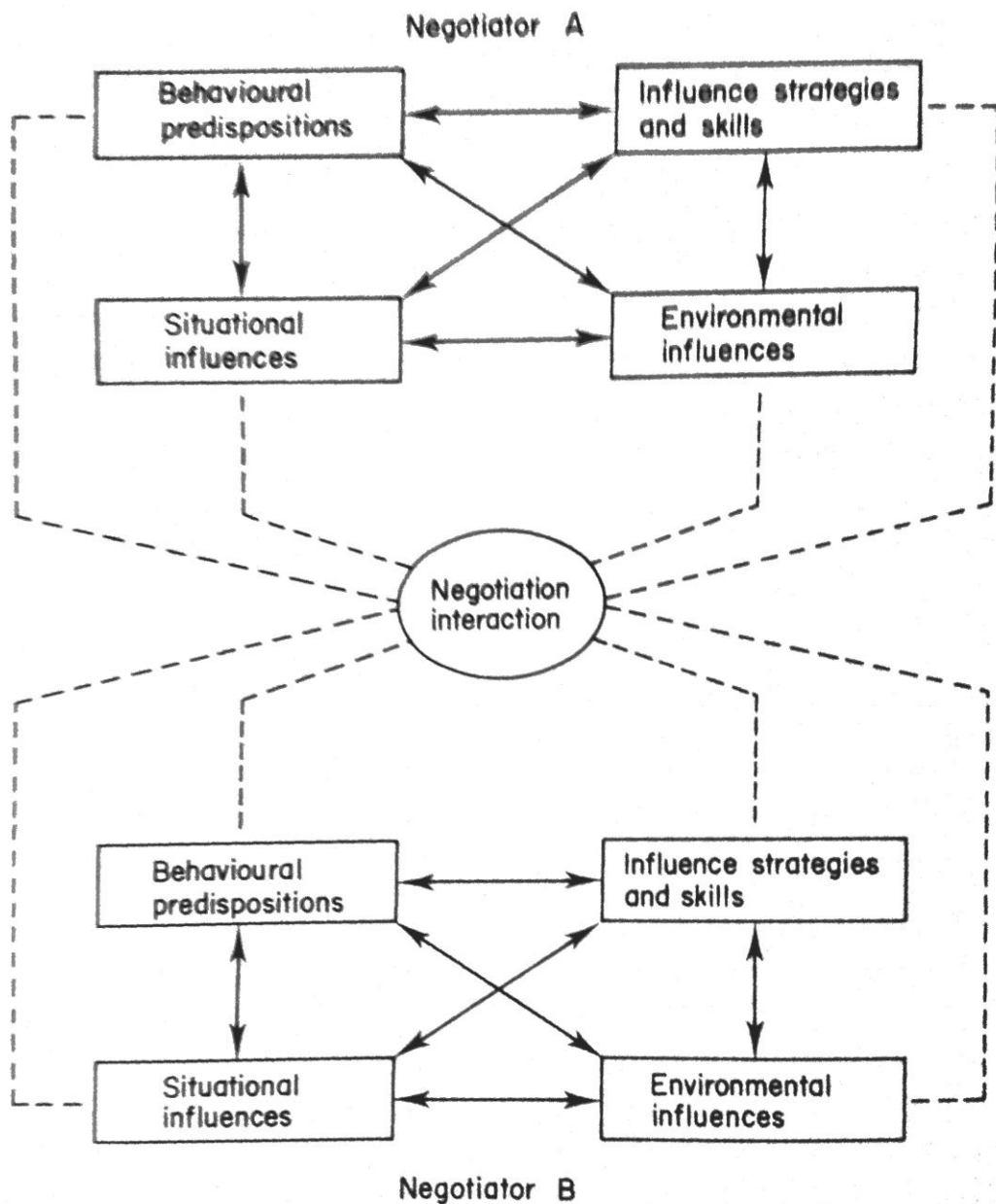


Figure 1. Factors influencing the negotiators (McCall and Warrington, 1984)

Behavioral predispositions

According to McCall and Warrington (1984) this category includes factors that we analyzed in previous sections (2.1 to 2.4), such as predefined sets of ideas, habits and behavioural and cultural patterns. These predefined patterns and ideas shape interactions as well as how interlocutors perceive, analyze and communicate information and thus their decision-making processes. It also includes two of the variables that McCall and Warrington (1984) mentioned as affecting the

interdependence of interlocutors in negotiation meetings, namely the motivational orientation and the interpersonal orientation of interlocutors (see section 2.6). These variables indicate the attitude of interlocutors towards one another as well as the goals and outcomes they are expecting from the communicative event.

These main elements belonging to this category and namely the predefined set of ideas as well as the variables affecting the interdependence between the interlocutors, were also scrutinized in Goffman's (1955) work on the dramaturgy of interactions. According to Goffman, the outcome of any interaction is the result not only of the interactions and processes that take place during the meeting itself but also of the influences that interlocutors have based on their social background and their perceptions and personal views. Goffman convincingly analyzes how the personal front of every actor can influence the role they play (see section 2.7). Moreover, he presents elements which might affect interlocutors' decision-making processes and their interaction as we have seen in section 2.7, such as small talk and the setting.

Goffman also believes that the 'role' that someone plays is informed, shaped and reshaped by its 'audience', i.e. the people surrounding the interaction. Having Goffman's perception in mind (as analyzed in section 2.7) as well as the fact that the interpreter is an active member of the interaction supported by numerous interpreting studies scholars (Wadensjö, 1995; 1998; Dickinson and Turner, 1998; Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000; Angelelli, 2004; 2006), the interpreter, as an individual actor within any or all interactions, tries to achieve the target performance by taking into account the response of the audience. The interpreter's audience in business meetings are the interlocutors and the other people that are present in the meeting. Based on Goffman's theory, if every actor is influenced by the audience, then the interpreter is also influenced by the responses or the negotiators and frames the role or the position the interpreter is taking accordingly. That position is also supported by the framework of interdependence analyzed in section 2.6 and supported by McCall and Warrington (1984). According to McCall and Warrington (1984), all people have behavioural predispositions that shape their interpersonal orientation or sensitivity in relationships, their cooperativeness or competitiveness towards other parties, their willingness to move from their original bargaining place and take risks, their motives, perceptions, attitudes, cognitive structures and personal values.

Predispositions on self-image are also included in this category, as proposed by McCall and Warrington (1984). The language conventions used, as well as behaviour of interlocutors, are very important as they have a strong effect on relationship formation (Reis et al., 2000), which is crucial in negotiation meetings as we have seen in section 2.6. Relationship patterns that emerge between parties, also called attitudinal structuring, are a basic element of trust and effective meetings (ibid.) and also support the idea of interdependence of interlocutors as presented in the previous section (2.6).

In summary, this category of influences includes the belief that interlocutors come into the meeting with a predefined set of ideas and beliefs as supported by T&I scholars (sections 2.1 to 2.4), by business scholars (sections 2.5 and 2.6) and by the schema provided by McCall and Warrington (1984). Moreover, it supports the belief that interlocutors are interdependent as also seen in previous sections (more specifically section 2.6) and that this interdependence is based on various elements but more specifically on the attitudinal structuring of the interlocutors.

Situational influences

The influences included in this category form the core of this thesis, as amongst other factors, they deal with role perception of negotiators and the distribution of power. These two types of influences are included in the situational category as they depend on the status and interactional elements of other interlocutors on each given negotiation meeting.

Distribution of power is the amount of responsibility that each interlocutor has in the interaction. Regardless of the perceived or actual status, the position of each interlocutor in the interaction, the payoff of their position and their liability and gain in the interaction, equal power among negotiators tends to result in more effective interaction and negotiated outcomes (McCall and Warrington, 1984). On the contrary, unequal power distribution may lead to untruthful and exploitative relationships, where the party with the greater power takes advantage of the weaknesses of the other party, and the latter is liable to behave submissively. Power distribution does not refer to the roles of negotiators, but rather to the sense of equal rights in the process of negotiation, as analyzed in a preceding section (see section 2.6). Therefore, within the same negotiating team, there might be a manager who is the decision maker, the financial

adviser of the company, who is a consultant and adviser. and an interpreter. These three people do not play the same role in the negotiation process but they should feel that they have equal power over it in order to provide the best possible service to the process.

The role perception and distribution of power between the interlocutors all depend on the interpersonal orientation, i.e. to the sensitivity of negotiators to interpersonal aspects of their relationship with others. This issue has also been discussed in a previous section. It is worth noting once again that a high interpersonal orientation - and therefore being open and accepting others - leads to better negotiation outcomes. The group of attitudes that one negotiation has for another (McCall, 1984) forms the motivational orientation (MO). MOs are categorised in cooperative, competitive and individualistic orientations. As we may infer from the names of these categories, a cooperative MO is when negotiators take into consideration both their own and other negotiators' beliefs and interests. A competitive MO signifies a more selfish attitude where they mainly look to increase favourable outcomes for themselves and to reduce the positive outcomes of the other party. An individualistic MO portrays a behaviour where negotiators only look at their own interests and do not pay any attention to the other party's. As McCall concludes,

'Regardless of variations in reward structures, attitudinal predispositions and payoffs, a cooperative MO tends to lend itself to more effective negotiation than does an individualistic or a competitive MO.' (McCall, 1984, p.18)

Therefore, a cooperative MO together with equal distribution of power amongst all interlocutors, including the interpreter, leads to more successful negotiation processes.

The perception of role has also been extensively analyzed by Goffman (1955) in his work. Goffman analyzed role perceptions in the form of expectations that participants have of each other as well as in the form of fronts that interlocutors occupy in order to exhibit and perform their role (see section 2.7). Cross-cultural communication scholars such as Bochner (1982), Mead (1994) and Gesteland (2012)) also state and support the importance of knowing the interlocutors' fronts and roles in order to be able to comprehend their degree of influence in the communicative event.

Consequently, the influences mentioned in this category are supported by McCall and Warrington, Goffman and intercultural studies scholars as we have seen in

the preceding and present sections. The role perception and the distribution of power form the basis of this category, which will in turn form the basis upon which data belonging to this group will be analyzed and discussed.

Environmental influences

According to McCall and Warrington (1984), this factor can be divided into two main categories; the influences derived from the macro and the micro cultures. Macroculture can be defined by sharing the same communicational and behavioural characteristics (Hofstede, 1980; Morely and Chen, 1996). Moreover, in macroculture we can also include legislation, political, economic, social and technological factors of any given country. The political and structural overall setting of any negotiation is influenced by macro-culture.

Microculture on the other hand is defined as:

‘...those identifiable groups who share the set of values, beliefs, and behaviours (...) and use a common verbal and nonverbal symbol system are bonded together by similar experiences, traits, values, or in some cases, histories. Hence the term microculture includes different types of groups that could be classified by age, class, geographic region, (...) ethnicity, race, size, or even occupation.’ (Neuliep, 2009, p.98)

Therefore, microculture can exist between smaller groups such as people of the same profession or belonging to the same company. The organizational climate, its strategies and structures also belong to this category together with its policies and objectives. There is a big debate in academia over the term culture, or its subdivisions. This thesis looks at the construct of culture as used by McCall and Warrington above, for the scope of the present thesis.

Both macro and microcultures can influence the process and the decision-making process of any interlocutor in the negotiation process (McCall and Warrington, 1984; Hall, 2005), both consciously and unconsciously. Thus, the effects that the environmental influences can have on any interlocutor can occur either because of a conscious choice, or because the influences are routed in the subconscious and direct the decisions taken.

The environmental influences as discussed on this framework by McCall and Warrington were also analyzed in terms of group identification as defined by Tajfel (1978) (see section 2.8). Interlocutors either unconsciously or consciously identify with one negotiating team and thus perform their role accordingly by exhibiting positive bias towards the group with which they identify. That identification derives from the identification of interlocutors with the micro or macroculture of the other interlocutors and provides means of 'self-protection' to the team members as expressed by Goffman (see section 2.8).

Influence strategies and skills of parties

This fourth influencing factor mainly deals with the content of negotiations. More specifically, it looks at the ability of negotiators to listen, understand, process and use the information they listened to in order to respond appropriately. This includes communication elements and the effect this communication might have on other negotiators. It also looks at the ability of negotiators to present their case, to present proposals and counter-proposals as well as to identify their BATNA (Best Alternative To a Negotiated Agreement), which is the cornerstone of any negotiation process (Fisher et al., 1981). Interpersonal skills and abilities such as understanding, influencing behaviour, being adaptive and development of trust also belong to this category. Exercise of power and the effect it has on building a trusting relationship between the negotiators is another influencing factor in this category.

Trust is essential for the negotiating process, as it is with that element that negotiators can persuade, move or be moved from their positions. Moreover, through trust, negotiating parties are able to communicate effectively with one another in order to form any joint action and work towards their interdependent success (McCall and Warrington, 1984). A breakdown of trust might influence not only the negotiation at the given moment but also a future relationship and thus future business.

Furthermore, the handling of power and status belongs in this category, together with conflict handling modes and appropriate behaviours for dealing with those (McCall and Warrington, 1984). The concepts of status and power have also extensively been discussed and analyzed in interpreting literature, where scholars such as Wadensjö (1998) and Angelelli (2004) demonstrate that the interpreter is not a conduit and is therefore an active party in the communicative event, by mediating, coordinating and

expressing opinion when needed and thus exercises power (see sections 2.2 to 2.4). Goffman also illustrated extensively how interlocutors exercise power and handle communicative events, and concurred that there are different factors that influence the strategies and skills that interlocutors exercise in order to handle their communications (see section 2.7).

The four influencing factors - behavioral predispositions, situational influences, environmental influences and the influence of strategies and skills - all depend upon and are informed by each another. The breakdown and graphic representation of these elements may help us understand in greater detail the specific factors influencing the negotiation interaction and thus a negotiation interaction facilitated by an interpreter. Figure 2 presents, in a more condensed form, the breakdown and analysis of these four factors. Consequently, Figure 2 is a summary of what was expressed in the previous section. Since this model incorporates elements that have been discussed in interpreting literature as well as intercultural literature, it provides the conceptual framework through which we will discuss the data of this study.

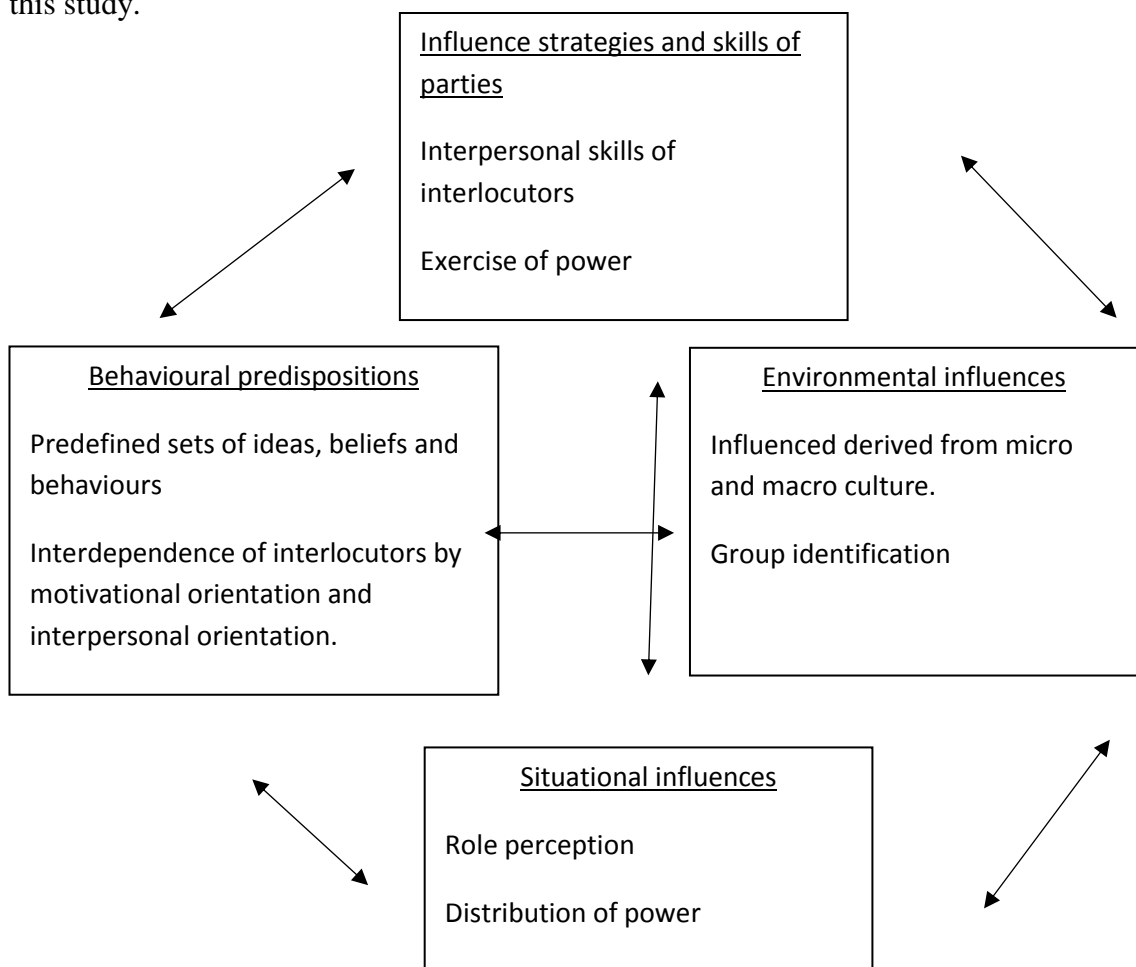


Figure 2. Breakdown of factors (adapted from McCall and Warrington, 1984)

2.10. Concluding remarks

This chapter lays the theoretical foundations of the research design by drawing on literature from interpreting studies, sociology, business and negotiation studies. It includes a synthesis of theories pertinent to understanding the research questions of this thesis. The aim of this literature review is to unveil the main concepts and ideas that pertain to the field of interpreting and business negotiations and inform our understanding of the complexities and challenges of these two fields..

This literature review chapter was divided into two main sections. The first section entitled ‘Interpreting and Role’ (sections 2.1 to 2.4) looked into the interpreting studies literature and the evolution of the perceptions of role over time. We discussed the different views that both scholars and practitioners alike hold on the perceptions of role when describing their mandate. The perceptions of the conduit or of the invisible interpreter is questioned and critiqued as a restrictive and not realistic view of the role of interpreters.

The second section entitled ‘Beyond T&I studies’ (sections 2.5 to 2.10) presented literature from sociology, business and negotiation studies. Through this literature section, I attempted to place negotiation interpreting into a social context. More specifically, I postulated that both interpreting and negotiation meetings are social, interactive events that happen within a social institution and therefore social conventions and rules have to be followed. Following this, the interdependence of interlocutors within a negotiation interpreted event is presented. The interactional dramaturgical framework initially presented by Goffman is applied to the interpreter’s role in business negotiation settings. Goffman identified and described certain elements that effect interlocutors before, during and after any interaction. These elements also affect the dramaturgical interaction of the interpreter as another visible member of the interaction.

The interpreter's positioning as a team member is used in the latest interpreting literature (see sections 2.3 and 2.4) and the next section of that chapter (section 2.5 to 2.9) discusses the implications of this kind of membership. The importance of group identification and group membership are defined and discussed. Moreover, these terms are also discussed in terms of the interpreter's positioning in the interaction and the implications that such behaviour brings.

Finally, a model proposed by McCall and Warrington (1984) is offered, which graphically represents the factors that influence interlocutors during negotiations. This model is expanded through the theories examined in preceding sections and is synthesized into a schema that will form the theoretical framework of the present thesis. Its use will enable us to understand, deconstruct, categorise and analyze our data. This chapter, by linking together various theories, builds a robust conceptual framework which will help to fine-tune this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology and Epistemological Positioning

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present an account of the epistemological underpinnings of the present study, i.e., the theory of knowledge that I follow in order to design the study, choose the methodology and the methodological tools used to answer the research questions.

This section therefore begins by contemplating my position within the study process and by stating the motivation of this study. As ‘research is not ‘neutral’, but reflects the range of the researcher’s personal interests, values, abilities, assumptions, aims and ambitions’ (Hale & Napier, 2013) it is important to position the thesis’ position within this process. Knowledge of the background and positioning of the work are fundamental to understand the standpoint of reflection and possible biases, as well as the choice of the epistemological theory that informed the study. Section 3.1 presents the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of this research and Section 3.2 gives an overview of the methodological tools used to collect the data, before presenting each methodological used in each study separately. Sections 3.1 to 3.3.3 present the design and adaptation process of the survey used for the first study i.e. for the BNI-IPRI. Sections 3.4. to 3.4.5 present the methodological tools used for the second study, i.e. for the semi-structured interviews with interpreters. Section 3.5. gives an overview of the methodological tool used for the third study, i.e. for the semi-structured interviews with business people.

3.1 Epistemological and ontological positioning of the study

The construction of this study was informed and guided by the academic knowledge and the professional experience of the researcher. I have taken a deductive approach to data collection. This means that the beliefs or hypothesis scrutinised, inform the development of the study. As Wilson (2010) defined it: “A *deductive approach is concerned with developing a hypothesis (or hypotheses) based on existing*

theory, and then designing a research strategy to test the hypothesis” (Wilson, 2010, p.7)

There is a long-standing dispute in the social sciences as to whether a research study is more rigorous when following a deductive or an inductive approach. (Bryman et al., 2007). An inductive approach to research is usually called a “bottom-up” approach, as it moves from specific observations to broader generalisations and theories. Some scholars, such as Cronin (2002), believe that an inductive approach can yield better results as the researcher is not guided by a specific theory, assumption or hypothesis. It is also argued that an inductive approach to a research study can create fresh knowledge or investigate new paths of knowledge. Other scholars though, such as Chesterman (2000, p. 21), state:

‘Any rigorous academic discipline progresses by way of hypotheses: first discovering and proposing them, then testing them, then refining them. Otherwise we are condemned simply to go round and round in circles and to reinvent the wheel for ever’.

This approach proposed above by Chesterman (2000) is known as deductive. Indeed, the deductive or else known as the “top-down” approach initially is more target specific, as it works from the more general idea to the more specific. The problem associated with this approach is usually possible bias on the part of the researcher, since the research is guided by preconceived ideas on the research topic. Researchers that are following this approach should not be dogmatic and assume the validity of the hypothesis, but rather design their research in such a way as to put the hypothesis under rigorous scientific scrutiny and prove or disprove it. This study follows a deductive approach, as I made my initial ‘discoveries’ through professional practise, proposed them as a research hypothesis and, through this study, intend to test, refine and understand them.

Research that follows the deductive approach is usually associated with the positivist paradigm of epistemological theories (Crowther & Lancaster, 2008). Epistemologically, however, this study follows a critical realism approach as defined by Bhaskar (1989). The main manifesto of a critical realist, according to Bhaskar, is that the researcher realises that there are structures in the natural order and the social world, as well as in discourses, and through these structures the events and discourses are being

generated. By identifying those structures, the researcher may be able to understand and thus potentially change the social world. Critical realists are not dogmatists but rather they acknowledge and accept that the categories they employ to understand reality are likely to be provisional. In this study, the researcher presents a hypothesis based on empirical data. These data portray social structures, behaviour and norms, or even frameworks as Goffman (1959) labelled them, which can be provisional and subject to change. I have identified these norms and structures as the natural order of such events and then placed them under scientific scrutiny.

Based on these beliefs, it is apparent that the ontological underpinnings of the study follow a post-positivist approach. Post-positivists hold the view that humans are biased in their understanding of reality. They believe that the knowledge that humans acquire is not unchangeable and solid but is rather based on human conjectures (Bryman, 2012; Ryan, 2006). Because of the liquidity of knowledge, post-positivists believe in the importance of multiple measures and observations in order to achieve the best possible result. They accept that every method employed might involve multiple erroneous incurred data and, as such, a triangulation or verification of these data via other research tools is crucial.

The post-positivist approach is also applied by researchers following mixed methods research. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) defined mixed methods as the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches in the methodology of a study. The combination of qualitative and quantitative research elements helps the understanding of structures under investigation in more depth and breadth. Mixed methods, also known as the third research paradigm (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), provide multiple ways of making sense of the world and understanding research problems (Greene, 2007) or explore phenomena through different lenses (Hale and Napier, 2013).

As a post-positivist, the researcher recognises that each and every methodological tool might encompass erroneous or unreliable sources of data and therefore has chosen to use a mix-methods approach in gathering data, which will be elaborated in the next chapter.

3.2 Choice of method

The main aim of this thesis is to investigate the perceptions of the interpreter's role as perceived by interpreters themselves and by their clients. In order to make data collection and analysis more operational, it is helpful to divide the research questions into two main elements. One element looks at the issue from the interpreter's perspective (or lens) and the other from the client's perspective. More specifically, the first lens looks at the perceptions that interpreters have of their role in business negotiation settings, and the second assesses the interpreter's role as perceived, experienced and required by clients.

Taking each lens at a time, in order to understand how interpreters, perceive their own role in business negotiation settings, two methodological tools were used to collect data. The first was a survey directed at interpreters who have worked in that setting. As with every methodological tool, surveys possess desirable attributes for data collection but also some limitations. One of the advantages of conducting surveys is that they are easy to distribute (i.e., electronically). This means that the researcher can work remotely and administer the survey to various participants regardless of how far away they are situated from the researcher (Bryman, 2012). As the effect of distance is eliminated, possible participation numbers can be increased and more representative of the population in question. Therefore, this method is cost-, time- and resource-effective. Moreover, in the case of the present study, as will be analysed in the subsequent sections, I have adapted a survey which has already been constructed, used and operationalised, namely the IPRI by Angelelli (2001). This survey asked similar questions to this study, but was targeted at a wider range of participants and settings. With some amendments, this survey was tailored to gather data from business interpreters. The amendments made are explained in sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 and the presentation and analysis of data gathered in Chapter 4.

Surveys constitute a well-established method of data collection in social sciences and the humanities. Surveys enable the researcher to obtain quantitative data relating to more than one variable. The researcher can include more than one variable that might affect the outcome of the question and evaluate the significance of each variable during analysis (Hale and Napier, 2013). Moreover, via analytical techniques

i.e. tabulations of variables, the researcher can draw inferences regarding existing relationships between variables (see Chapter 4). Tabulations can simplify data by facilitating comparison of variables and thus give the researcher a better indication of why variables behave in that way.

The key weakness with this methodological tool is that it is very difficult to gain insight into the causes of or processes involved in the phenomena measured. What this means is that, even though the significance of the variables can be analysed in numbers and the relationships between the variables can be assessed, closed-ended surveys do not provide any space for further variable investigations or explain why these relationships exist. Moreover, there can be several sources of bias, such as the specific wording of the questions or unclear items for the participants. The survey used in this study was already piloted and used by Angelelli (2001) to hundreds of participants. The adapted survey was also piloted in order to gain insight into such fuzziness of items or bias at an early stage, before the final study was conducted. Even though I made efforts to avoid such biases, by testing and piloting the survey, there is always a chance that the background of the researcher may have influenced the process. (See sections 3.3 to 3.3.3 and Chapter 4).

Moreover, another limitation of surveys is that respondents might not answer questions honestly, due to face-saving reasons, lack of interest or even due to the Hawthorne effect (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013), where participants respond more closely to what they think the researcher expects. Nevertheless, since all methods have weaknesses, the methods used here respond to academic needs. As such, steps were taken in order to safeguard the transparency of the study and unbiased data collection and analysis process. One of the steps taken was that the adapted survey was only guidance for the direction of my two next studies, since it was an initial scoping study. Through that study initial quantitative data were gathered by which the researcher was able to identify the focus and the particular elements that this thesis would have to explore. Therefore, the status of the quantitative, scoping study is different from the two later qualitative studies, not only in the way that the data are introduced and explored but also in the arguments made due to its findings, which were aimed at helping the researcher focus on the elements that were deemed important. The results of this first qualitative study were used as guidance since they were later tabulated for validation purposes by the qualitative study.

According to the post-positivist view, by tabulating the results of one method with another, certain drawbacks can be overridden. In this case, I chose to tabulate and gain more insights into the quantitative results already gathered via the surveys, through qualitative interviews. Generally, interviews generate more in-depth answers, as the time limitation and the immediacy of the interviewer and the interviewee make the manipulation of answers more difficult. Moreover, through this method, the researcher *'has privileged access to a person's thoughts and opinions about a particular subject, which are difficult to access through direct observation of behaviour.'* (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013, p.169). Through interviews, I seek to unearth a deeper level of information about the perceptions of role held by interpreters and seek to find answers to questions that the initial quantitative survey data might have brought to light. Ambiguities arising from the initial data analysis can thus be clarified.

As the interviews were semi-structured, I was able to investigate new pathways and get answers to questions which arose from the data gathered from the survey. In semi-structured interviews, a researcher can utilise knowledge already gathered or acquired in order to organise his/her questions around a set of predetermined themes, but also has the flexibility to create natural conversation. Due to this attribute, this methodological tool is also called a fact-producing interaction (Gomm, 2004). The way that interviewees use language to express their thoughts is an essential element in gaining insight into their perceptions and experiences, regardless of the method that the researcher might use in order to analyse that set of data.

An issue that any researcher using interviews as a methodological tool for collecting data should be aware of is the 'interviewer effect' (Denscombe, 2007) or else called the 'researcher bias effect' (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013). This is when people respond differently depending on how they perceive the interviewer. Some interviewees might be intimidated by the interviewer's position or status, and might want to create a false persona by manipulating their answers. Fielding (1994) stated that participants often respond more favourably to interviewers who are similar to themselves and can therefore, create a rapport. In this study, I knew the interviewees professionally via interpreting in various settings. Therefore, a rapport was more readily built and it was anticipated that interviewees would feel more at ease to discuss issues concerning their role with someone they regarded as a colleague. The interviewer effect however was not

totally excluded, as informants may have felt intimidated to answer openly to someone belonging to the same profession.

By using a mixed method approach to collect data, and in order to try to answer the same research questions, I will tabulate the results of both methods. These two methods can provide different lens of the issue at hand and offer a wealth of data to analyse. The combination of qualitative and quantitative research elements may help the reader to understand the structures under investigation in more depth and breadth.

The second lens through which I will view the research questions seeks to investigate the perceptions that clients have concerning the role of interpreters in business settings and their experience working with interpreters in these settings, as well as to understand what clients need from interpreters in those settings. Interpreters, as with all professionals, believe that how they practise their role responds to their clients' needs. By looking at the research questions through this second lens, this study aims to compare and contrast the two views – perceptions of role by interpreters and by end-users.

To enable data collection from the client's perspective, I initially chose focus groups. The major advantage of the focus group technique at this point of the study is that interviewees have the chance to interact with one another and therefore exchange views, agree, disagree or evaluate each other's opinion (Bryman, 2012; Bernard, 2000). Views and opinions can be challenged through this method and so the researcher can gain a better understanding of various standpoints.

As with all methodological tools, focus groups also have their drawbacks and limitations. One of these can be the so-called 'defence effect' of participants (Bernard, 2000). Due to the fact that the researcher is present, participants might answer in a way that they think will please or not offend the researcher, as in an interview process. Moreover, participants tend to be influenced by one or two dominant people in the group and this can add bias to the result.

An additional drawback of the focus group is trying to organise a time that is suitable for all the participants. This was especially the case here, as people who work with businesses abroad tend to have a very busy schedule and also do not like to share information with other business owners, such as their contacts abroad, or even indicating which interpreter they are using. This was a limitation that was not foreseen

while preparing my methodological tools. Once this problem arose, I chose to conduct private semi-structured interviews with business people, in order to gain further participation. By using interviews, the participants felt safer to discuss issues relating to their business practises and the interviews were booked to meet their schedules.

The next sections outline and explain the steps that I took in order to create and operationalise the research tools mentioned above for the scope of the three studies in the present thesis, i.e. The survey asking interpreters of their perceptions of role in BNMs, the interviews with interpreters, where we collect more qualitative data on the interpreter's perceptions of role and the interviews conducted with business people, asking them about their experiences, perceptions and needs concerning the role of interpreters in BNMs.

3.3 First Study – IPRI Design Process

As recounted in the previous chapters, during the last decades, scholars have analysed the active participation of interpreters in liaison settings (Chapter 2). Nevertheless, there seems to be little dissemination of these studies throughout the profession. Moreover, there has been limited research in interpreter mediated business negotiation meetings and available research largely focuses on linguistic matters such as semantics of utterances or cognitive elements or 'thought processes' of the interpreter. Research on the interpersonal role of the interpreter seems to have been conducted mainly in settings such as court interpreting (Hale 2008) and in medical settings (Angelelli, 2004, 2008; Davidson, 2001).

This thesis focuses on the role of interpreters in BNM as perceived and performed by professional interpreters and as needed and experienced by business people. The literature review revealed few studies directly relevant to the perceived role of interpreters. One valuable and comprehensive study was Angelelli's (2001) IPRI (Interpreter's Interpersonal Role Inventory). Angelelli (2001) constructed an instrument to measure the attitudes of interpreters towards their visibility / invisibility in communicative events. This instrument – the IPRI survey (Interpreter's Perceptions of Role Inventory) was tested in various settings and in many language combinations. The IPRI is considered to be a reliable instrument for the measurement of the perceptions that interpreters have about their visibility in any interpreted event. As a result, this

survey was used as a scoping study, in order to get initial results which will guide the formation of the rest of the studies, by providing quantitative data.

That IPRI survey was re-applied and used in other works by Angelelli (2004), but it has never been used in BN settings. Given that part of my research is the exploration of the interpreter's own attitudes towards their visibility and active participation of the role, I chose to use the survey for my pilot and then for my scoping study study, in order to examine the professional interpreter's perceptions towards their role in BN settings.

3.3.1 IPRI history and design

The IPRI was designed to measure the interpreter's attitudes toward the visibility or invisibility of their interpersonal role. The IPRI survey allowed variable measurement of the interpersonal and social aspect of interpretation in instances of cross-cultural communication. It was designed and tested in various settings and in various cultural backgrounds, but as far as my review of the literature has revealed, it does not seem to have been tested in business negotiation settings.

According to Angelelli (2001), a 'visible' interpreter is one who is co-participating in the interaction and therefore exercising 'agency'. As a co-participant, the interpreter helps the parties of the interaction to understand concepts, terms, to realize cultural differences and also to try to bridge both linguistic and cultural gaps. The visible interpreter tries to translate both words and emotions, facilitates mutual respect and controls the communication flow. The 'invisible' interpreter on the other hand, is the linguistic facilitator, the conduit of language within interactions. Hence, even if the 'invisible' interpreter has a specific skill or knowledge that might help the communication flow of the interaction, she might not share it with the other parties of the interaction, as she feels that her job is confined to interpretation of the language, what she hears and can express in translated form, not what she knows or believes.

As Angelelli claims, no known survey that examines the interpersonal role of interpreters existed before her research in 2001. Therefore, in order to design it in the most unbiased way possible, she searched for other surveys, questionnaires, interviews and tests either published or unpublished in any relevant field to look for possible cues.

Thereafter, she collected all information that she found helpful i.e., surveys, interviews, a series of blueprints for the design of measurement instruments, relevant literature as well as her experience and personal knowledge and she drafted the initial items of the questionnaire. To sum up that research material, Angelelli offered the following five components (later names themes) to ascribe to the 'role' of interpreter:

1. Align with one of the parties
2. Establish trust / facilitate mutual respect
3. Communicate effect as well as message
4. Explain cultural gaps / interpret culture as well as language.
5. Establish communication rules during the conversation.

Later, she organized the survey items according to Wadensjö's (1998) taxonomy of monologic / dialogic interpreting as explained in section 2.4 of this thesis. In order to secure content validity for her own research, Angelelli asked an interpreting expert to place the questions - each one of which was written on the back of a card - into one of five envelopes - each of which was clearly labelled with one of the five components listed above. Interpreter reliability of that test was .93 for item componentiality, according to Cronbach's alpha score, which is an indicator of high consistency and reliability. Some of the original questions were dropped due to redundancy and some due to lack of clarity. The answers given by the interpreting expert were incorporated in the survey.

Then, Angelelli tested the remaining items with 16 interpreters, half of whom were from the monologic group, which she had constructed for the scope of her study, and the other half to the dialogical group of interpreters, according to the settings in which they were working. The monologic group agreed on the five sub-components. but did not totally agree with Wadensjö's dichotomy. The Dialogic group agreed with the dichotomy and the elements.

The IPRI was initially tested with a small number of people in order to examine, measure and ultimately improve the reliability of the instrument. After this, Angelelli run two pilot studies with 29 and 64 participants respectively. A few months later, 293 interpreters from various settings and cultural backgrounds participated in the main study which was conducted with the help of the IPRI survey.

This description of the IPRI development and operationalisation is important for the scopes of this thesis, since this instrument provides the generic themes under which we scrutinize the research questions. The themes that emerge from this first scoping study will be used in the next two studies in order to frame the questions asked in the interviews. As a result, the knowledge of this scoping survey’s gradual formation verifies its validity and authority.

3.3.2 Design Adaptation for Negotiation Settings

Angelelli’s IPRI survey was designed to test the interpersonal role of interpreters who belong to any cultural background and work in any setting. As a result, some of the items included in the survey were quite general. She also drafted the questionnaire in two sections as she had two research questions. The first concerned the role of interpreters as they perceive it, while the other one was whether their perception of the role was influenced by their cultural, economic and educational background. Therefore, part A of the survey was mainly interested in the demographics of the participants and their background in general and the second was a series of questions regarding the interpreters’ role.

Part A consisted of 13 demographic and background questions and part B of 38 questions regarding their perceived role. The items of part B were categorized into five items and then classified accordingly, as follows:

<u>Angelelli’s visibility variables on final version</u>	
Sub-component	Number of items
Explain cultural gaps / interpret culture	8
Communicative effect as well as message	7
Establish trust / facilitate mutual respect	8
Alignment with the parties	7
Communication rules	4
Linguistic destructors	3
Contextual elements	1
Items in total	38

Table 2. Angelelli’s IPRI visibility variable

Angelelli statistically tested these items in order to decide which items aligned best in each sub-component. Nevertheless, she provided no obvious explanation in her thesis as to why she created these exact items or why she and her ‘interpreting expert’ chose to put specific items in specific elements. She offers no justification for the choices she made and therefore, I have scrutinized some of the choices in addition to the unequal distribution of items. Some of the initial IPRI’s items can belong to more than one element, for instance, for item 2 which states: ‘*During my work I am careful not to change the tone used by the parties.*’ Angelelli classifies this item under element ‘Establish trust / facilitate mutual respect’. It is indeed a matter of trust not to change tone of voice as this might change the dynamics of the utterance and interaction or even the accompanying and subsequent feelings they might elicit. In addition to a trust issue though, this item could also belong to the ‘Communication Rules’ element, and also to the ‘Communicative effect as well as message’ element. It could be said that the tone of voice belongs to the communication rules of an interaction because the tone of voice creates the effect of a message.

Moreover, certain items are debatable for other classification reasons. For example, Item 9 was classified by Angelelli as part of the ‘Alignment with the parties’ element. This item states: ‘*During an interpretation I constantly check my position to be neutral.*’ I would argue that this item can only be classified in the alignment element if it presupposes that the answer is positive. Only if the respondent agrees with that statement does the item belong to this element. If we want to see the item as a neutral question though, without prejudging its answer, this item may then belong to the ‘Establish trust/facilitate mutual respect’ element. A neutral position while interpreting creates mutual respect among the parties and establishes a trusting relationship.

Despite these possible areas of disagreement, the usefulness of Angelelli’s initial questionnaire over-rides any doubts and I initially accepted the taxonomy as such, making amendments when constructing my own study. These amendments were made and can be described as follows:

- a) Some items were rephrased so that they relate more to Greek culture. For instance, in one of the items, Angelelli talks about the dominant official language of the country, but Greece has only one dominant language, the official language, i.e. Greek. Therefore, items that were not relating to the Greek reality, were rephrased in order to portray the conditions of the country under scrutiny.

- b) Some items were rephrased to avoid any form of discrimination; For instance Angelelli refers to ‘dominant cultures’, as she conducted her survey in bilingual cultures, or in cultures where more than one dominant language exists. Greece though has only one official language and other languages are only spoken within smaller communities or families. Therefore, the reference to dominant and less dominant languages and cultures was deleted, as it is not relevant to our sample and it might be perceived as discriminatory.
- c) Some questions were replaced with others which were more relevant to my study. I chose to replace questions that were either:
 - i. reversed in order to check the accuracy of the answers in some items or
 - ii. had no significance for my setting (see the table below and appendices)
- d) Two questions were added as they pertained to the main questions asked in my study (items 39 and 40, see appendix A).
- e) Since the main question deriving from my hypothesis deals with ‘alignment with the parties’, I tried to include more items in that component (item 39, appendix A), then giving equal emphasis to the three components ‘Cultural gaps’, ‘Communicative effect’ and ‘Establish trust/respect’.
- f) The ‘Psycholinguistic Destructors’ which was initially used by Angelelli in order to delude the aims of the survey - i.e. items that had no relevant to her study but were used in order to take the participants mind in a different direction, to the scope of the study- now became a real element and I therefore added items (items 24, 27, 36, 40 in appendix A). These items could presumably contribute a great deal in the determination of the dynamics of negotiation settings. This component was renamed ‘Contextual elements’ since it was asking questions concerning the elements that effect the interpreter’s performance.

Therefore, after these amendments, the taxonomy of my pilot study became as follows:

<u>Visibility variables</u>	
Sub-component	Number of items
Explain cultural gaps/interpret culture	3
Communicative effect as well as message	6
Establish trust/facilitate mutual respect	4
Alignment with the parties	8
Communication rules	3

Linguistic Destructors	2
Contextual elements	6
Boundaries of role	10
items in total	40

Table 3. Pilot’s visibility variables

More specifically, my pilot’s categorization of items was as shown in table 4. The highlighted numbers on table 4, represent the new items in the survey. Most of these new items belong to the contextual factor, as the focus of this study is on the socio-psychological factors that affect interaction choices of the interpreter in BNM. Therefore, the survey was enriched with more items in that element in order to explore further the research questions which were stated in chapter 1 of this study. Moreover, items were deleted and then added to that element since the original IPRI has a different scope for that element. The re-formed IPRI survey can be found in appendix A of the present thesis renamed as BNI-IPRI.

Elements	Item Nos.								
Explain cultural gaps/interpret culture	10	14	15	20	25	33			
Communicative effect as well as message	3	17	19	29	30	37			
Establish trust/facilitate mutual respect	2	6	8	11	13	18	32	35	
Alignment with the parties	5	9	21	22	28	34	38	39	
Communication rules	1	7	16	23	26				
Linguistic Destructors	4	12							
Contextual elements	24	27	31	36	40				

Table 4. Pilot’s categorization of items

3.3.3 Post-pilot stage amendments

The pilot stage of my study was essential in order to ensure that the survey was appropriately amended from Angelelli's original in order to fit the purpose and scope of this scoping study. As stated in the previous chapter, this methodological tool aimed to answer the question of visibility – invisibility of interpreters in business negotiation settings. As a result, the purpose of the survey was to collect quantitative answers to specific items questioning issues of participation in business negotiation settings, interpreter visibility, reasons affecting participation levels, awareness or not of role boundaries and so on. Drawing from the knowledge I gained through the pilot study, I

re-drafted certain elements of my survey. The main problems that I encountered during the pilot stage were the following:

1. No provision for electronic submission of answers
2. Language specific problems
3. A cover letter was needed so that participants were informed for the reasons why and what of the study
4. Difficult to understand items.

As indicated here, one of the main problems that I faced while distributing and collecting my pilot survey was the fact that I did not provide an electronic version of the questionnaire. I therefore finally resorted to an online survey building software, such as Bristol Online Surveys (BOS) that Heriot-Watt University is subscribed to and offers free access to. The BOS software is academically accepted for building and supporting academic surveys and is tested and applied for various academic projects. Its usage therefore, seemed appropriate for my survey.

The second problematic area of the pilot study was language specific problems. These problems initially came up whilst translating the survey into Greek. Even though the translation of the survey was conducted by a professional translator and was personally proof-read, certain items did not seem to have the same semantic weight in the English language. Moreover, some terms were very difficult to translate or there was no equivalent Greek word and therefore the translator had to expand these items. This created a semantic inequality of the Greek items towards the English ones.

There were various issues encountered during the translation in addition to the comprehension of some items in Greek by participants during the pilot stage. This therefore leads me to re-evaluate the language issue again. As I wanted to avoid translation nuances and keep the same basic guidelines of the tool as used and applied by Angelelli, I decided to keep the survey in English. Nevertheless, the survey participants were interpreters, who have English as one of their working languages. Therefore, language comprehension was not likely to constitute a problem.

Another issue that I encountered during my pilot stage was that participants of the pilot stage needed more information on the character and purpose of my study. Providing information orally did not seem to provide an equal amount of information to all participants. I therefore decided to compose a cover letter to introduce my survey to all participants and give the information needed. As in all academic research, the cover

letter had to be carefully written in order not to reveal too much information to the hypothesis of the study, as this might influence and bias the participants' answers. The participants had to get as much information to provide them with the main perspective and aim of the study as well as answer the questions. The cover letter was written and then given to two more researchers in the interpreting field, for feedback of its appropriateness and unbiased nature. The interpreting researchers confirmed that the cover letter provided the information needed by the participants without biasing their prospective answers.

The specific items of the survey that were reported to be problematic in the pilot stage were also revisited and reconstructed in order to be more easily understood by the participants. Finally, some last changes in both the demographic items and the visibility items were made in order to make data collection and analysis easier.

I amended Angelelli's (2001) instrument, to address interpreting in a business negotiation setting with a focus on Greek<>English interpreting. Due to the very segmented situation in Greece, the educational background of interpreters was evaluated at the demographics section of the instrument, since it could be a factor worth tabulating with perception answers. For this reason, the survey collected information on the educational background of participants and details about formal training in translation and interpreting.

To test the interpreters' perceptions of their role in business negotiation interpreting settings, participants in the survey were also asked to express their level of agreement with a number of setting-specific statements which reflected some of the complexities or elements that are specific to business settings and might be seen as influencing the interpreters' perception of their role. These statements fell under six broad themes and included perceptions of role in the following areas:

1. Explain and interpret culture and language
2. Communicate effect as well as message
3. Communication rules and conventions
4. Trust and respect
5. Contextual elements
6. Boundaries of role and performance

The new formulated survey, focusing on the participation levels of BNIs, was tested and operationalised in a pilot study in preparation for the data-generation. The final scoping study as well as specific information about this methodological tool such as the distribution method of the tool, the participants' demographic data, as well as the presentation and analysis of the tools data will be given in Chapter 4.

3.4 Second Study – Interviews with interpreters

Drawing from the themes created during the first scoping study, that indicated patterns and statistical trends, this second study aims to collect qualitative data regarding the interpreters' own perceptions of role while working at BNMs and answer the first research question of this thesis.

3.4.1 Creation of semi-structured interview schedule

The interview data-collection method was chosen as a value-adding element to the quantitative data already gathered by the firsts scoping study. The design of the interview schedule started after the analysis of the survey data. In this way, the knowledge and information produced by the survey could be used to shed more light on these sources of information. Moreover, items that produced dichotomised responses could be interrogated further through the interviews. In this way the researcher did not start from a blank canvas but rather from existing data which she put under scrutiny through this qualitative method.

The semi-structured interview method was chosen, as this method gives more opportunities to expand a thought or idea (either a predetermined one or one that occurs during the interview), gives freedom in the wording and sequencing of questions as a result of interviewee responses (Robson, 2002) and is a 'fact-producing interaction' (Gomm, 2004). Through semi-structured interviews, researchers aim to gain insight into and understanding of data already in their possession.

As interviews of this type follow a natural flow of conversation and a rapport is built between the interviewer and the interviewee, the researcher can gain a useful perspective on the reasons behind interviewees' perceptions on role. Moreover, narrative and episodic interviewing techniques were chosen (Jovchelovitch et al., 2000; Bates, 2004), as these methods stimulate storytelling and encourage interviewees to relate an event as they experienced it, by using their own language and referencing, as well as by emphasising action that they deemed important in the interaction. This narration schema was used in conjunction with the question-answer schema used in more traditional forms of interviewing. The way that interviewees expressed their thoughts and stories, as well as the contextual and relational aspects of these narrations, were all significant elements in understanding the perceptions of the interviewees and how they made sense of the interactions in relation to their participation level.

Six themes were adopted for the survey: 1. trust and respect; 2. contextual elements; 3. explain and interpreter culture and language; 4. communication rules and conventions; 5. communicate affect as well as language; and finally 6. boundaries of role and performance. These same themes were used as the basic underlying structure for drawing the Semi-Structured Interview Schedule (see appendix J). The schedule was a guide for the researcher to focus on themes that were recurring during the survey analysis or that came up during the analysis and needed further explanation. In this way, these themes were created and used as prompts for the interview process. As in every semi-structured interview, the schedule was not constricting but acted rather as a rough guide for the themes to be discussed.

3.4.2 Interview data and analysis

The analysed coding process and the themes created for the study, helped to categorise the recurring issues. These were then used as an aid to analyse the data more systematically. Therefore, the analysis that follows in Chapter 6, tackles issues that were discussed and mentioned in the interviews, thematically.

As the sample of the interview process is quite small, the data should be interpreted with some caution, as they might not reflect the practice perceptions of the whole market. Furthermore, they definitely cannot be extrapolated to other language combinations of business negotiation interpreting. These data can make only a modest

contribution to the qualitative body of evidence and provide a clearer view of how interpreters perceive their role and practices in business settings. These in-depth interviews are also supplementary to the quantitative data already collected before the semi-structured interviews.

The initial strategy adopted by the researcher to analyse the interview data was to transcribe the interviews, translate them and then work with the translated transcripts for the analysis and coding. Once the coding process had finished and analysis began, I realised that important language nuances were missing from the translation and would be very difficult to render into good English without having to add many elements into the original transcribed text. It is a well-known fact in the T&I literature that translations can never be exact equivalents of the original texts and that language itself can be a medium of obfuscation as well as revelation (Sullivan, 2010). Therefore, as I found it more enriching to work from the original transcribed Greek text, the coding process took over again, but this time from the Greek transcript.

There were many advantages working from the original transcribed interviews, such as being able to understand language and cultural nuances that were inevitably missing in the translated texts. The codes that emerged were directly informed by the original data and the analysis that followed also reflected data emerging from the Greek transcripts. On the other hand, working from the Greek text also had some problems. The analysis is more difficult for the English language reader to understand, as is following the rationale. Therefore, the analysis that follows uses both extracts from the original transcribed Greek texts and, immediately afterwards, a translation of these texts. This translation might seem unnatural at some points, as the researcher chose to quasi-transliterate parts of the original texts in order for the reader to understanding the language and flow of ideas better. Elements added to the English quasi-transliterations are included in brackets in order to facilitate understanding of the context.

3.4.3 Selection of participants

Morse (1991) identified particular qualities of a “good informant”. These include being knowledgeable about the topic, being able to reflect and provide detailed experiential information about the area under investigation, and willingness to talk

about the topic. Following these statements, the researcher interviewed four interpreters who had the following characteristics:

- Extensive work in business negotiation settings.
- Participated in the survey.
- Two of the participants were T&I graduates and two had on-the-job training. I wanted to establish whether the type of interpreting training that the participants had, made them perceive their role any differently.
- Three of the participants gave contradictory answers to some of the reserved items of the survey. The researcher found it interesting to collect qualitative answers that might shed light onto why this should be.
- Willing and available to be interviewed at the time of the study.

Fielding (1994) also states that participants often respond more favourably to interviewers who are similar to themselves. Nevertheless, I took into account the 'interviewer effect' as Denscombe (2007) defined it. He argues that people respond differently depending on how they perceive the interviewer and therefore, their answers must be interpreted with caution. Some interviewees are affected by the identity of the researcher. In order to avoid any possible bias and to minimise the 'interviewer effect', the researcher chose to interview interpreters, who were not affiliated to my interpreting company. In this way, the interviewees should not have felt intimidated or defensive while answering questions and their answers should not be affected by the researcher's status within the company. More about the participants will be given in chapter 6.

3.4.4 Data coding process

Interviews can produce a wealth of data, due to their free-flowing discourse. Even though semi-structured interviews have a list of issues to be addressed and therefore, the process is not as lengthy as in unstructured interviews, thanks to the open-ended format of the questions, interviewees can still give extensive answers and might even touch upon issues that were not expected by the interviewer.

The data generated and the research questions usually guided the type of analysis to follow. The method chosen to analyse the data was one suggested by the literature, including Bryman (2012). He recommends the stages that a researcher should

follow to analyse interview data are to listen carefully to the interviews first, read the transcriptions of the interviews and then start the open coding process. The researcher gives codes to short passages of texts, words and/or phrases, without forgetting to note indigenous typologies. These codes could represent concepts, ideas or phenomena. Mason (2002) suggests that codes can be:

a) Literal: words, dialogue used, actions, settings, systems, etc.

b) interpretation: implicit norms, values, rules, how people make sense of phenomena.

c) reflexive: researcher's role in process, how intervention generated the data.

The aforementioned process of open coding was also followed for this study. All four interviews were read and then coded. The codes used were both 'literal' and 'interpretational'. Following this, these codes were grouped into major themes representing the closed coding process. For this, some codes were incorporated in other more inclusive codes, some were dropped as they were not deemed significant for the scope of this study or were repetitive and similar to other existing ones, and other codes were left as they were as their thematic significance was sufficiently important to be investigated further by the researcher. The themes that were created were then placed into the main themes already existing for the purposes of the survey. Even though it appears that a deductive approach to coding and analysing the interview data was followed, as there were some pre-existing themes, new analyst-constructed typologies and themes emerged which were taken into consideration and followed up with analysis. Therefore, both deductive and inductive approaches to coding were followed. The final themes/codes that emerged after the closed coding process (further explained below) were the following:

- Communicate effect as well as message
- Explain and interpret culture and language
- Trust and respect
- Contextual elements
- Boundaries of role and performance
- Comparison with other settings
- Team member
- Greek context

Following the coding process, the axial coding technique was followed, where constant comparisons and relations were made between the themes in order to establish connections.

3.4.5 Themes explained

As mentioned in the previous sections, some of the themes emerged from the theoretical concepts explained in the literature review and were later used in the survey construction and survey analysis phase of this study. These themes have here been expanded, as they incorporate additional codes and thematic areas that emerged from the open coding process of the interview data. Moreover, three new themes generated from the coding process of the interviews were not incorporated into those already existing, as they stood out as different and important to analyse. This section seeks to identify the thematic areas, concepts and conceptual elements that these themes encompass.

Theme: Communicate effect as well as message

As we established in chapter 2, the ultimate goal of consecutive interpretation is to facilitate understanding and to allow a level of communication and understanding as if there was no language barrier between the interlocutors. As Angelelli (2000, p. 581) points out,

‘the interpreter's role is simply to decode and encode the message in such a way that the meaning and form may transfer into the language of the second party to produce the same effect that they would have produced in an audience who shared the first party’s language’.

Words are carriers of meanings, references and emotions. A simple literal translation at a lexical level would not render the real or whole meaning of the utterance. An interpreter should be able to decode and understand those references and emotions and encode them back into the other language, so that the interlocutors understand more than just the utterance. More specifically in the negotiation context, understanding feelings and emotions are as crucial as understanding spoken words. As

business scholars such as Muir (2006) and Curhan et al (2006) observed, while the objective, economic value of every negotiation is important, the subjective, social psychological value or intangibles are as important to the parties involved.

If we accept that the subjective, social psychological value of negotiating communication is as important as the objective, economic value, then it is vital to understand how much communication is happening paralinguistically or non-verbally. According to a well-quoted study by Mehrabian (2009), our communication is mainly displayed and expressed paralinguistically or non-verbally. Following this statement, more is said non-verbally, than in words. If interpreters wants to transfer all messages 'ethically' from one negotiator to another, then they should also endeavour to interpret, deconstruct and re-construct back those messages that were communicated non-verbally. This theme includes topics aiming to understand whether interpreters try to comprehend, explain and convey the emotional and non-verbal component of communication to interlocutors.

Theme: Explain and interpret culture and language

Over the years, academics, novelists, philosophers and social scientists have grappled with the concept of culture. Culture is not easily defined, as it can encompass a wide array of behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, expectations and values. It is not a fixed set of beliefs or values but rather an evolving, esoteric progress of making sense of the world, of our behaviour and is inseparable from every human being.

Culture can be manifested either verbally or not. It has become almost axiomatic to state that there exists a close relationship between communication and culture. Language is one of the constructs of culture. There is a vast amount of literature arguing that cultural differences can create havoc in inter-cultural communications and business meetings (Bochner, 1982; Holden, 2002; Soderberg & Holden, 2002; Wan & Zhang, 2008; Angouri, 2013). The widespread belief that cultural differences can cause problems and hinder business communication, and so successful business practices, has spurred the growth of 'how to' books outlining ways of doing business in different national contents (Angouri, 2013). This theme includes questions concerning the perception of the role of interpreters when it comes to explaining supposed cultural differences or cultural elements to interlocutors.

Theme: Trust and respect

Few studies are looking at issues such as trust and respect when it comes to the role of interpreters. Literature on conflict zones and military negotiation settings, do scrutinise these issues. Military settings are different to business settings in many aspects but also share common attributes, as discussed earlier in the literature review section. Similar issues to this theme were discussed in Bos study (2006), which looked at the role of Dutch and Belgian interpreters in peace operations in Bosnia and Afghanistan. Interpreters, military staff and the local population found themselves poised between trust and distrust in relation to various issues concerning the role of interpreters. This theme includes bi-directional trust and respect issues, i.e., both from the negotiation participants towards the interpreter but also from the interpreters towards the negotiation participants. After the closed coding process, bi-directional issues of skills, training and personal development were also incorporated into this theme, as these issues can also contribute towards the trusting element both of interpreters and the negotiating parties.

Theme: Contextual elements

As argued in the literature review section, interpreted communicative events do not happen in a social vacuum. They occur within one institution which is permeable to the mandates of society and therefore, there are various layers of institutional and societal influences around the event (Angelelli 2001). Additionally, as various scholars point out (see Hymes, 1974; Angelelli, 2000a; Berk-Seligson, 2002; Fowler & Kam, 2007; Jacobsen, 2003; Metzger, 1999; Roy, 1989, 2000; Wadensjö, 1995, 1998a, 1998b), the participatory role of interpreters depends upon the nature of the communicative event and its complexities.

Like interpreted events, business negotiation meetings can take place in a variety of settings. Moreover, due to the vast spectrum of businesses that require interpreter mediation, the people that interpreters work with vary in terms of knowledge, skills and behaviour. All these factors can become contextual influences or elements in the interpreter's perception of role. In addition, the often unpredictable nature of the

communicative event in business negotiation settings means that interpreters are faced with different challenges and conditions whilst practising their role. This theme includes questions that aim to examine contextual issues that might affect participation, i.e., the character of the client, the setting, and the subject matter under negotiations.

Theme: Boundaries of role and performance

There is a big discrepancy in the literature between those scholars that hold that interpreters should be invisible while practising their role, and those that support interpreters being visible parties in the interaction. Even though, in the last two decades, more studies support the visible role of the interpreter (Wadensjö 1995, 1998; Angelelli, 2001, 2008), there are still voices that argue otherwise. This theme aims to gather qualitative data on how interpreters perceive their role in terms of boundaries. Are there clear boundaries of role, is the interpreter accountable for the meeting results is the interpreter's role clear to the negotiating participants?

An issue that also divides researchers and scholars is whether interpreters should control and moderate the flow of communication. Angelelli (2001) concluded that interpreters do control the flow of communication in various interpreted settings. This theme also included insights into the effect of controlling communication flow.

Theme: Comparison with other settings

As discussed in the literature review section, each setting creates different challenges for the interpreter, and interpreters perceives their role differently according to these settings and so exhibits different behaviours. This theme includes open questions such as what makes this setting different in comparison to other interpretation settings. The sub-theme of feelings about this setting was also incorporated, after the closed coding process.

Theme: Team member

This theme emerged from the closed-coding process of the interview analysis. There were however, elements of this theme that were also initially included in the original IPRI constructed by Angelelli (2001). She addressed aligning with the interaction parties and concluded that interpreters do perceive themselves as being aligned with one of the parties, regardless of setting.

The business and negotiation literature talks about mediators becoming team-members or supporting one of the negotiation groups. From the data gathered, informants referred to this issue, using that same terminology of being 'team-members' and asking whether it is ethically right or wrong to become one in business negotiation settings. This theme includes statements and questions concerning interpreters' other participants' perceptions on this issue. Do interlocutors believe that the interpreter is a team-member belonging to one of the negotiating parties? How do interpreters feel about this?

Theme: Greek context

This theme emerged from the closed-coding process. Three out of four interviewees compared the professional reality and practice of interpreters in Greece with other countries. This might be due to their work experience abroad, their studies or what they heard from other interpreters. As references made to these differences confronted in Greece and in other countries- were quite frequent, it was deemed necessary to keep this theme separate from others. Moreover, issues concerning the professional recognition of interpreters in Greece and abroad were also included in it.

3.5. Third study - Interviews with business people

The third study investigates the expectations and experiences of business people regarding the interaction approaches of interpreters, in business negotiation meetings. The research method chosen for this third study is similar to the second study, i.e. semi-structured interviews, so that we are able to compare and contrast the views of interpreters and business people on the following chapters and elaborate whether what interpreters are practising is understood and needed by the business people. The

principles followed for these interviews was similar those followed for the interviews with interpreters and thus as stated in sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.3.

The interview protocol drawn for this set of interviews reflected the themes reflect discussed in the previous data-sets. During the analysis of the data, I also created and explored new codes – i.e., themes that emerged from this particular set of data. Therefore, a combination of inductive and deductive approaches were used in coding and analysing the data.

This set of semi-structured interviews explores business people's experiences and expectations when using interpreters in business negotiation settings. All interviews were conducted in Greece, in the Greek language following a semi-structured protocol (see Appendix J). The interviewees were encouraged to include anecdotes and personal experiences in their narrative. All quotes used in the analysis have been translated into English by the researcher.

Informants were chosen after contacting the Hellenic Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which forwarded the information of businesses that accepted to participate in the study. The prerequisite given to the Chambers was that interested informants should have used interpreters more than once in business negotiation meetings. I chose participants from different sectors of work such as the textile, cosmetics and other industries, in order to identify whether business people from different industries have varied expectations from interpreters. More about the demographic data of the participants as well as about this study follows in Chapter 8.

The following chapters present the data collected from all three studies, their analysis as well as how this data fit in the conceptual framework explained schematically in section 2.9. This schema helps us group the findings of the three studies and thus understand better their analysis under a theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 4 - Study 1

BNI-IPRI

4.1 Distribution and Participants

This first study, is a scoping study for the rest of this thesis, since it informs the researcher with quantitative data on the recurring themes arising and the statistical trends of answers. As stated in Chapter 3.2 the status of this quantitative study is different from the other two studies, since it is used as a guidance to investigate recurring themes, where the two next studies should focus. The findings of this study are tabulated in a later study (Chapter 6) with a qualitative method.

The BNI-IPRI was adapted by the original IPRI in order to measure the interpreter's attitudes toward the visibility or invisibility of their interpersonal role. The final, adapted survey, the BNI-IPRI, was set up as an online form and distributed by the 'snowball method', i.e., each person contacted was asked to distribute the survey to other people that s/he knew were working as interpreters in these settings. Emails with a link to the survey were distributed to the principal authors' existing contacts. The survey was also sent to the contact person of every professional translation and interpreting association in Greece, as well as to Hellenic T&I social network groups.

Participants had to be able to understand English, as the survey was conducted in the English language. The only other (than the English language) prerequisite for participating in the survey was that respondents had worked as an interpreter for Greek-speaking clients in a business negotiation meeting. There were no prerequisites as to the language combinations participants used in their work or the specific business sector in which they were working.

Overall, 56 participants took part in the survey, 78.6% of which were female and 21.4% male. The mean age group of the participants was 35 to 40 years old.

4.2 Demographic items

Taking into consideration the factual element of the Greek market, where many practising interpreters do not have any formal interpreting qualification, the descriptive

analysis of the demographics was interesting. Even though participants were mainly educated to a postgraduate level (46.4% to master’s degree and 5.4% to doctoral level), with 87.5% overall having a postgraduate university degree, their specific T&I training was mainly on-the-job training or through workshops and seminars. The graphs below demonstrate these points in more detail.






3. Level of formal education			
Less than High School:		0.0%	0
High School:		3.6%	2
Some College:		8.9%	5
University Graduate:		35.7%	20
Master's Degree:		46.4%	26
Doctorate:		5.4%	3

Table 5. Survey item No.3







4. What type of Interpreting training did you have?			
Workshops -- seminars:		n/a	13
Intensive course:		n/a	2
Undergraduate course:		n/a	14
Postgraduate course:		n/a	11
Certification program:		n/a	5
on-the-job training:		n/a	36

Table 6. Survey item No.4

There are no percentages given for item 4, as participants had the option to give more than one answer to that question, since their training could be an accumulation of programs. Looking at those results, I noticed that a fair number of participants had academic training in T&I and that percentage was used later in order to tabulate the answers. The reason for tabulating the form of interpreting training received, is to understand whether training affects the participation levels of interpreters, their visibility or their perceptions on their role.

As stated in the previous section above, any person who had interpreted in business negotiations (irrespective of whether or not they were professional interpreters) could participate in the survey. Therefore, company employees that are usually asked to

"act" as interpreters in those settings were also eligible to participate. Thus, item no. 6 aimed to distinguish between acting-interpreters such as company employees (who were competent in a second or third language), and professional interpreters, i.e., interpreters who had T&I as their main profession.



6. Is translation & interpreting your main profession, i.e., is it your main source of income?			
Yes:		62.5%	35
No:		37.5%	21

Table 7. Survey item No. 6

As we see from the table above, 62.5% of participants practise translation and interpreting as their main profession. This item provides the basis for cross-tabulations later in the data analysis, as this element might be a factor influencing participation levels and the interpreters' perceptions of role.

Years of interpreting experience was also a further element that we looked at. As it is not rare that attitude and behaviour towards work change as we get more experienced in what we do (Howard et al., 1988), item 5 questioned the years of experience that each participant has as a professional interpreter. From the descriptive statistics, we can see that a total of 60.7% of the sub-group of professional interpreters, had been practising for more than 3 years as professional interpreters and 46.4% for more than 10 years. Since the term 'professional' can be problematic in how the participants define it, by tabulating item 5 with items 4 and 6, we have a clearer picture of whether those participants with more than 10 years as professional interpreters had a formal T& I training and whether T&I is their main source of income. Items 4 and 6 provided a framework by which we can define the term professional as used by the participants of the survey, i.e., we can establish an understanding of the participants' level of education as well as immersion into the profession. More detailed analysis is given in the next section and on table 8.

4.3 Presentation of findings concerning BNIs perceptions of role

As stated in the previous paragraph, perceptions of work may change as we become more experienced. Therefore, the tabulation of three items was deemed necessary to identify the sample's demographics regarding years of experience, and

whether the years stated in the survey designated a continuous work- flow or rather, on-the-side occupation. By tabulating items 5, asking the years of experience as a professional interpreter with item 6 asking whether T&I is the main source of income, the vast majority of interpreters belonging to '10 years or over' category replied that 'yes' T&I was their main source of income. Thus, the term 'professional' used by in item 5 was identified with T&I being the main source of income for the participant. The table below given the percentages that we have by tabulating those two items.

Is translation & interpreting your main profession, i.e. is it your main source of income?	How long have you been practicing as a professional Interpreter?					No answer
	Less than 1 year	1 to 3 years	3 to 5 years	5 to 10 years	Over 10 years	
Yes	11.43%	17.14%	8.57%	8.57%	54.29%	0.00%
No	38.10%	19.05%	9.52%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%
No answer	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Table 8. Tabulation of survey items No.5 & 6

Aside from the demographic items mentioned earlier, the remaining items of the survey were grouped into six themes. Four of these six themes were initially constructed for the scopes of the initial IPRI (Angelelli, 2001), and the two remaining items were constructed by myself. These themes reflect variables that could affect the interpreters' perception of role in business negotiation meetings and the items included in those themes represent questions concerning those. Due to space limitations, an analysis of the survey data will be given for each theme. More detailed information on the findings can be found in the appendix A.

4.3.1. Theme: Explain and interpret culture and language

This theme included four items, which looked at whether the interpreter would interpret or explain cultural issues and differences that came up in the interaction of the participating parties involved in the negotiation. The items of that theme with their respective answers are given below:









16. If a party's words are culturally inappropriate, I need to make her/him aware of that.			
Disagree:		28.6%	16
Agree:		71.5%	40
18. I never interrupt an interpretation to educate the parties on cultural differences.			
Disagree:		42.9%	24
Agree:		57.1%	32
19. As long as the meaning is conveyed, the cross-cultural differences are not a problem.			
Disagree:		48.2%	27
Agree:		51.7%	29
24. If one party, unaware of the other's culture, commits a faux pas, I always compensate for that.			
Disagree:		33.9%	19
Agree:		66.1%	37







Table 9. Presentation of survey items pertaining to theme ‘explain and interpret culture and language’

The results showed that in two out of the four items, the majority of interpreters that participated in the study stated they would interpret cultural issues and thus participate more actively in the interaction by offering cultural knowledge to participants. In the two other items however, more than half of all respondents (51.7%) said that as long as the meaning was conveyed, cross-cultural differences were not seen by the interpreters to constitute a problem, and 57.1% that they never interrupted the speakers in order to educate them on cultural differences. These percentages showed a dichotomised position of the interpreters regarding the issue of interpreting cultural elements. This position is conflicting and at odds with the overall trend revealed in the other two items where interpreters claimed to participate and to interpret cultural elements.

Two items that interpreters showed a bigger consensus, were the statements asking participants about their behaviour and reactions when a situation arose. Two other statements – No.18 & 19, were more general about understanding and reactions on the topic of cultural differences as well as effect on the communication process. Looking at the four statements and their respective answers, we can assume that as long as the communication process was not broken or jeopardised in any way, interpreters did not make a conscious choice to intervene and assist by providing cultural interpretations to the parties. Therefore, interpreters demonstrated a tendency to safeguard the communication process by explaining or smoothening cultural differences if these jeopardise in any way the communication process. When these cultural elements did not affect communication between the parties, interpreters were dichotomised whether they should explain them or not.

4.3.2. Theme: Communicate effect as well as message

In this theme, interpreters were asked whether they would interpret or explain feelings and emotions that arose in the interaction between the negotiating parties, either verbally or para-linguistically. This theme included six items which are given below:

10. My work as an interpreter has to be accurate. There is no room for guessing games on feelings and emotions.			
Disagree:		10.7%	6
Agree:		89.3%	27
14. Assuring the parties that they will be heard means conveying their emotions even if they are not expressed by words.			
Disagree:		37.5%	21
Agree:		62.6%	35
21. If the parties want their feelings and emotions to get interpreted they have to express them in words.			
Disagree:		39.3%	22
Agree:		60.7%	34







23. I can only work with what has been expressed in words.			
Disagree:		60.7%	34
Agree:		39.3%	22
32. Sometimes interpreting tears is more necessary than interpreting the words that accompany them.			
Disagree:		50%	28
Agree:		50%	28
33. My job is to try to make sense of the emotional component and convey it as I interpret the words I hear.			
Disagree:		37.6%	21
Agree:		62.5%	35

Table 10. Presentation of survey items pertaining to theme ‘communicate effect as well as message’

This theme presented mixed messages as to the question it is asking i.e., whether interpreters convey feelings and emotions that are not expressed in words as they are working. In two of the items and specifically in items 10 and 21 participants stated with their answers that if the negotiating parties want feelings and emotions explained and interpreted, then they have to express them in words. They feel that their work description does not allow any guessing on feelings and emotions.

On the other hand, on items 14, 23 and 33, participants answered that part of their job is to convey the emotional element of the negotiators. They can work both with words and with emotions, as these are reflected in the interaction. They believe that since their work is to convey the messages given either orally or not, then they have to convey feelings and emotions even if they are not expressed in words.

Item No. 32 divided the respondents equally. When asked whether interpreting tears is sometimes more important than interpreting the words, half of the respondents replied positively and half negatively. Since there is a lack of neutral answers to the survey tool, this result can signify a neutral position to this statement i.e., that interpreters act according to their best judgement at the time. Therefore, if they feel that interpreting emotions is important for the communication process and for getting a message across, then they interpret them. That element of judgement according to the

situation at hand is evident in the rest of the items as well, since in only one item, specifically n item 10, did we have strong views and a bigger percentage of agreement. This did not mean that other replies were negligible or void of meaning, while tabulating various variables and elements it is made apparent that interpreters made judgement calls according to the situation at hand.

4.3.3. Theme: Communication rules and conventions

Four items were included in this theme that asked participants whether they tried to maintain their tone of voice, the formality and the linguistic conventions that negotiating parties use.









9. During my work, I am careful not to change the tone used by the parties.			
Disagree:		3.6%	2
Agree:		96.4%	54
12. As an interpreter, I should adhere to the conversational conventions established by the speakers.			
Disagree:		10.7%	6
Agree:		89.3%	50
15. During an interpretation I constantly check my position to be neutral.			
Disagree:		12.5%	7
Agree:		87.5%	49
17. I use my level of formality and not that of the parties.			
Disagree:		50%	28
Agree:		50%	28

Table 11. Presentation of survey items pertaining to theme ‘communication rules and conventions’.

Two of these items clearly revealed that interpreters believed that they try to preserve the communication rules, conventions and tone established by the speakers. These two items, items 9 and 12, gave strong views from the respondents i.e., many ‘strongly agree’ answers. This showed a clear preference towards preserving those linguistic elements, by the interpreters who took part in this survey. Strong views were also given in item 15, where interpreters participating in the survey showed a strong preference towards a neutral stance in the interaction. They stated by 87.5%, that they

constantly checked their position to be neutral, which might designate a stance or a preference by interpreters to be unbiased and provide equal voice to all participants.

When interpreters were asked about formality levels (item 17), answers were divided. In this point, as in the point 32 mentioned previously, interpreters might have chosen a neutral answer if it had been provided. A neutral or divided answer might be an indication of a judgement call that interpreters make when working. Therefore, if they feel that the formality level is appropriate for them to use, they use it, otherwise they change the formality level. This divided response rate can also be an indication of different practices by interpreters i.e., there may be some interpreters who preserve the same formality level and some who adhere to their personally accepted formality level. This item and theme is tabulated further later and be investigated with the qualitative analysis of interviews.

4.3.4. Theme: Trust and respect

This theme included the following items.







8. My client hired me because he/she trusts the way that I am handling situations.			
Disagree:		12.5%	7
Agree:		87.5%	49
22. It is easier for me to establish trust with the party with whom I have more in common.			
Disagree:		55.4%	31
Agree:		44.6%	25
37. Even if I am hired by one company I always try to defend both companies' rights and positions in the same way.			
Disagree:		28.6%	16
Agree:		71.5%	40

Table 12. Presentation of survey items pertaining to theme ‘trust and respect’.







The results of these items provided interesting data. In the item asking whether interpreters believe that their clients hired them because they trust the way that they handle situations, we had strong consensus, with 87.5% of participants replying

positively. This strong consensus revealed certain perceptions that interpreters might have on their employability. If one criterion for hiring interpreters, according to the interpreters, is the way they handle situations as they arise in the interpreting assignment, then active participation perceptions become apparent. By answering positively here, interpreters concur and imply that it is part of their role to handle situations according to their own style and skills.

Items 22 and 37 tackled issues of trust and equal treatment of parties by the interpreter. More than 70% of respondents answered that they would equally present the voice and the rights of all negotiating parties regardless of who was the one that hired them. Item 22 was in the same vein, since interpreters were divided when asked if they establish trust more with the party that they have more in common. 55.4% of the respondents replied negatively to this statement, which indicated that they can establish trust with all negotiating parties and therefore represent their voice equally.

4.3.5. Theme: Contextual elements

This theme included six items concerning elements that might affect the role and performance of BNIs such as the setting of the meeting, the subject matter under negotiation, the clients' character or preferences regarding neutrality or giving voice.

26. While interpreting, it is simply impossible to be value neutral.			
Disagree:		64.3%	36
Agree:		35.8%	20
30. The subject matter under negotiation, is a factor that affects my performance in terms of active participation.			
Disagree:		53.6%	30
Agree:		46.4%	36
31. Even if I am working for both parties, I clearly give a voice to the party that hired me.			
Disagree:		75.6%	44
Agree:		21.4%	12

34. It is not always possible to maintain my professional stance.			
Disagree:		60.7%	34
Agree:		39.3%	22
36. The setting affects my performance as an interpreter, i.e., how actively I should participate or how formal my role should be.			
Disagree:		39.3%	22
Agree:		60.8%	34
39. The extent to which I actively participate in the negotiation depends on how I perceive the client's character.			
Disagree:		59%	33
Agree:		41.1%	23

Table 13. Presentation of survey items pertaining to theme ‘contextual elements’.













These results indicated that the setting of the negotiation usually affected the interpreters performance (agreement by 60.8% of the participants) in terms of formality and active participation. On the contrary, the clients' character or subject matter under negotiation did not affect the interpreters' perceptions of how they practised their role. The results of these two items (30 and 39) did not indicate a clear majority of answers. Since minority percentages were not statistically insignificant, these items are also tabulated qualitatively in the interviews at the next stage of this study, in order to understand when or why these elements might affect the interpreters perception or performance of role.

On item 34, the interpreters showed strong agreement, i.e., on the fact that it is possible to maintain their professional stance. This response indicated a possible dynamism and a trait of character by interpreters asked to participate in the survey or even an overall feeling by the interpreters that they can control their professional stance regardless of the setting or other factors.

Items 26 and 31 were the reverse items of items 15 and 37 respectively, that were analysed in other themes. The answers to these items were confirmed by the reverse items and so the interpreters reported that it was possible to be value neutral in interpreting and they did try to give voice to both or all negotiating parties regardless of whom hired them.

4.3.6. Theme: Boundaries of role and performance

There were several items in this theme, which dealt with whether interpreters believed they knew the perceptions that their clients have of their role, before the commencement of the negotiation interaction. Moreover, this theme asked specific questions of controlling the flow of communication, giving voice and predetermining the role with the clients. The items included in this theme are presented below:

11. An interpreter is a professional who provides a service and has no voice in the interaction.			
Disagree:		23.2%	13
Agree:		76.8%	43
13. It is not my job to remind the parties whose turn it is to speak.			
Disagree:		25.1%	14
Agree:		74.9%	42
20. I know beforehand what my client's perception of my role is and therefore I am aware of my boundaries.			
Disagree:		14.3%	8
Agree:		85.7%	48
25. My job, as an interpreter, is not to balance the power differentials that exist between the parties.			
Disagree:		26.8%	15
Agree:		73.3%	41
27. As an interpreter, I can control the flow of communication.			
Disagree:		39.4%	22
Agree:		60.7%	34
28. The boundaries of my role are never clear cut. They are modified during the interaction.			
Disagree:		32.1%	18
Agree:		67.8%	39







29. I have the right to interrupt the parties whenever I need to, in order to assure smooth communication.			
Disagree:		48.2%	27
Agree:		51.8%	29
35. As an interpreter part of my role is to compensate for the power differentials between the parties.			
Disagree:		76.7%	43
Agree:		23.2%	13
38. I always discuss with my client before the actual negotiation begins on how s/he perceives my role.			
Disagree:		14.3%	8
Agree:		85.8%	48

Table 14. Presentation of survey items pertaining to theme ‘boundaries of role and performance’.

This theme included reversed items or items addressing issues regarding similar issues in different ways, so that I could be more certain of the validity of the answers.

Starting with the issue of turn-taking, there were three items in this theme, specifically items 13, 27 and 29. Items 27 and 29 had a positive response by interpreters, in whether they could control the flow of communication by interrupting when they felt it appropriate. On the other hand, item 13 contradicted these answers, as interpreters agreed by 74,9% that it was not their job to remind parties whose turn it was to speak. These mixed answers possibly revealed a teleological approach to decision making i.e., interpreters base their decisions on their perception of what is best at any given situation, when they have to decide whether they can control the flow of communication or not. Since these items did not have any clear result, they were tabulated later with the qualitative answers of the interviews.

An additional set of items asked about the power differentials and whether it was the interpreters’ role to balance it. More specifically, items 25 and 35 were reversed items using positive and negative narratives. The response rate on those items was very similar, since interpreters reported to agree by more than 73% that it was not part of their role to compensate for power differentials between the parties.

The next set of items concerned whether interpreters knew the perceptions that clients had on their role before the actual negotiation began. The response to these two items, more specifically items 20 and 38 was identical. Interpreters agreed by 85,5% that they knew their clients' perception of their role and therefore were aware of their boundaries. Regardless of the high percentage of agreement on these two items though, the answers can be questioned when looking into the answer given for item 28. Here, interpreters agreed by 67.8% that the boundaries of their role were never clear cut, but rather were modified in the interaction. If the boundaries cannot be modified then the agreement that they knew their clients' perceptions cannot be certain or set at all times. Since these items are questioning issues that are central to this study, the answers were tabulated at a later stage through the qualitative answers of the interviews.

Finally, item 11 asked whether interpreters felt that they had a voice in the interaction and 76.8% of the participants stated that it was not part of their role to express their voice in the interaction. This item showed a clear preference by interpreters to be invisible in the interaction. Again, by tabulating it with other items such as item 8 in the theme of trust and respect, we can see a clear imbalance in these responses.

The analysis of interviews conducted at a later stage may be more revealing as to why there are these differences in the answers.

4.4 Tabulations and analysis

4.4.1. Educational/training level - significance

As highlighted in a previous section, the study sought to determine whether or not educational/training levels had an effect on BNIs perception of their role. All six themes were cross-tabulated with respondents' reported level of education and degree of interpreter training. Due to the small sample of the study and the small sub-group size of BNIs, it was not possible to test the data for statistical significance. Nevertheless, by manually tabulating the answers, we found that neither of these factors had any significant effect on BNIs' perception of their role. All the items in the survey that were tabulated with T&I training yielded the same results and pattern of responses. An example is given below:

16. If a party's words are culturally inappropriate, I need to make her/him aware of that.	Workshops – seminars	Intensive course	Undergr. Course	Postgrad. Course	Certific. program	On-the-job training	Totals
a. Disagree	2	0	4	4	2	8	20
b. Agree	11	2	10	7	3	28	61
Totals	13	2	14	11	5	36	81

Table 15. Tabulation of survey items 4 & 16.

In this example, the majority of participants in all T&I training groups replied that they agree with the statement that “*If a party's words are culturally inappropriate, I need to make her/him aware of that*”, and only 28.6% disagreed. The answers in the Likert scale were evenly distributed between the various training levels of interpreters. This identical pattern of answers can be seen for all items in the survey tabulated with the item asking about specific T&I training. This could suggest that participant training is not significant to how they perceived the way in which they practised their role as interpreters in business settings.

4.4.2 T&I as the main profession – significance

In this study, we also looked at whether or not there was a difference between those BNIs for whom T&I was their main profession and therefore their main source of income, and those for whom it was not. As hypothesized, interpreters in business negotiation settings tended to move beyond their interpreting role during the business interaction. They often became team members with the client or the company that hired them and therefore, used persuading and other negotiating techniques themselves. Based on this hypothesis, we anticipated that professional interpreters (who practice T&I as their main profession and therefore making a living from this profession) might practise their role differently from non-professional interpreters who might feel that their role is limited to interpreting, i.e., their role is to interpret what is being said in the interaction and not to become part of the negotiation process. Professional interpreters try to achieve “professional survival” (Monacelli, 2005) and thus seek to be re-hired by

a client. In order for this to happen, they often strive to persuade the client who hired them that they are achieving the best possible outcome for them in that negotiation. They try to identify with the client's team and needs, and it could be hypothesised, that they might therefore, exceed the role prescribed by professional associations or codes. On the other hand, as non-professional interpreters in these settings are usually employees of the client's company or corporation, this immediately places them 'in the client's team', thus perhaps inducing them to take up more roles and responsibilities in the negotiation process. Once again though, tabulating the whole survey against this factor asking whether T&I is the main profession of the participants of this survey, and therefore the main source of income, yielded no significant differences from those obtained from the initial descriptive statistics. Both groups of interpreters, i.e. those that have T&I as their main source of income and those who do not work exclusively in the T&I industry gave similar responses.

4.4.3. Choice of answers given

Another factor that we should consider as we analyse the data from the survey, is that there is no neutral answer, where participants could be non-committal or dispassionate about an item. They were not given an option of "Don't know", "Not applicable", "Neither disagree nor agree". This non-opinion option is usually selected by people who think the question is irrelevant to them, who do not feel they have enough information to make an informed choice, who can think of reasons to be positive or negative, or by those who cannot commit to an answer because they have equivocal sentiments about the statement. It is usually the case, though, that survey participants would select this non-opinion option as the easiest answer to a question that might be ambiguous. By using a 6-point Likert scale (three points being negative and three positive), participants are forced to give an opinion and state their closest answer, thereby rendering the analysis more meaningful as neutral answers cannot diffuse the statistics. The perquisite of that thought is that sometimes participants are really dispassionate about an item and forced to give an answer which might not totally represent their feelings about the statement. Considering all these options while preparing or amending the survey, I chose to maintain the 6-point Likert scale of positive and negative answers, as originally designed by Angelelli (2001) as the items in my survey were asking about perceptions and not actual practices. Therefore,

respondents should have or should develop, for the sake of the survey, a preference towards positive or negative points.

There was one item in the survey that gave equal weight to agree/disagree points and could probably have made use of a neutral answer. The equal responses to these items (and not to the most passionate answers i.e., strongly agree/disagree or completely agree/disagree) may have meant that participants were in-between those answers and might well have chosen a neutral answer. This item is given below:

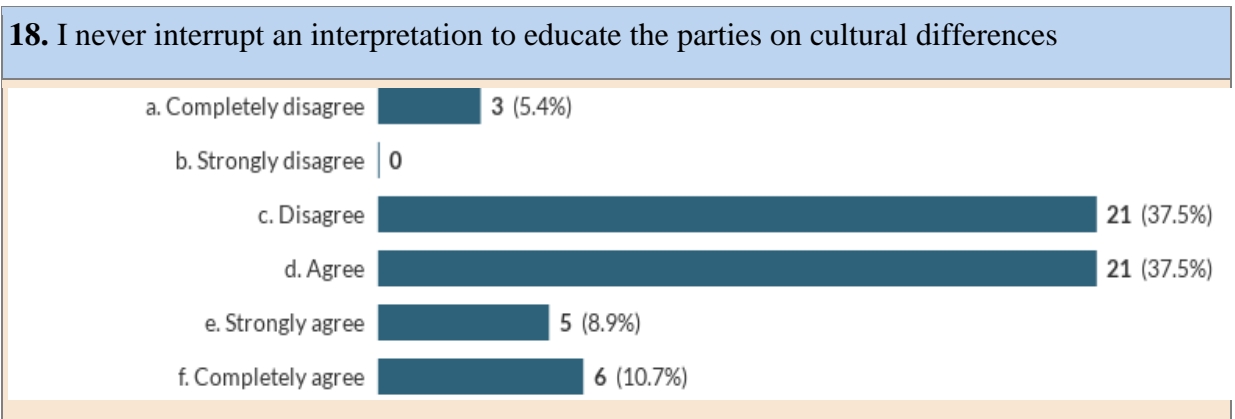


Table 16. Survey item No. 18

This item may be representative of the case stated above. However, considering the wording of this specific item, it is arguable that participants were given a choice. The word 'never' should direct respondents to give the answer they believed they practise most of the times. Therefore, that item could work without a neutral answer.

There were other cases of almost identical dispassionate answers such as items 17, 19 and 32. In these items, almost 70% or more participants gave a dispassionate answer (i.e., either c or d), with 'agree' and 'disagree' broadly similar. That might signify that participants were not sure of their answer, or that they practise according to their best judgement in each specific situation. As such there would therefore have been no answer which best portrayed their true view on the statements given. Maybe the availability of a neutral choice would have been more revealing in these cases, or would have blurred the answers even more since a neutral answer does not represent a stance. The qualitative answers to those questions might be revealing as to the choices made in these items.

4.4.4. Items of strong agreement

Looking collectively at the results, I noticed that items that had near a unanimous positive or negative response formed only 6 out of the 32 role-specific questions. These almost unanimous responses were items 8, 9, 10, 12, 15 and 38. All of these items belong to different themes, which might also present some interesting results as to which question triggered the more passionate answers.

Item 8 belongs to the trust and respect theme and the statement in the item was: *'My client hired me because he/she trusts the way that I am handling situations'*. 87.5% of respondents answered positively to that statement, i.e. that they agree with it; 50% answered more passionately (strongly or completely agree). This almost unanimous answer can be indicative of the fact that interpreters are aware of their active participation in interaction and that their clients hire them for more than their linguistic skills alone.

Items 9 and 12 belong to the theme of communication rules and conventions. In these items, there was an even bigger degree of agreement, with 96.4% and 89.3% of respondents respectively agreeing that during their work, they were careful not to change the tone used by the parties and that they adhered to conversational conventions of the speakers. The only item in the theme that had a less clear attitude towards communication rules was item 17 discussed above, where interpreters were split when answering whether they used their own level of formality or that of the speakers. It was made clear from the answers that interpreters tried to retain the conversational rules established by the speakers and did not create or establish their own communication patterns. They might change the formality level though, when that used by the parties was out of their comfort or ethical zone.

Item 15 had an agreement level of 87.5%, i.e. 49 respondents agreed. This item belonged to the contextual elements as the statement states that interpreters constantly check their position to be neutral during the interaction. Neutrality then, was an issue that is of considerable importance to interpreters. This item was cross-tabulated with other items questioning the neutrality element and, as with item 26, it would appear that interpreters perceived themselves as trying to be neutral while working as interpreters in business negotiation settings.

The last item with a large degree of agreement was no. 38. This item belongs to the theme of boundaries of role and performance and it asked: '*I always discuss with my client before the actual negotiation begins on how s/he perceives my role*'. 85.7% of respondents replied positively to this statement. Only 14.3% of participants replied 'disagree', a figure however, which is not negligible. Taking into consideration the point made earlier, on not having a neutral answer in the Likert scale used, and the fact that participants who responded negatively did not use the more passionate answers but rather the more dispassionate one, a number of interpretations may be made. One of these, is that participants, did not agree with this statement; another is that participants did not agree with the word 'always' and therefore, chose to be more accurate in their answer. More than 40% of participants though, chose a more passionate agreement answer – i.e., strongly or completely agree– which gave a clear indication of their perception around that item.

4.5 Indicative insights of Survey Results

Following the results per theme, we can conclude the following:

Explain and interpret culture and language

The results of the survey showed that interpreters explained and/or interpret cultural elements to the interlocutors, if these elements are deemed important for the smooth progress of communication. If the cultural elements in question seem to jeopardise the integrity of the communication or the communication process, then interpreters compensate for cultural *faux pas*, or they inform interlocutors. Participants are divided as to how to practise their role once cultural differences come up that do not present any problems to the negotiation of meaning.

Communicate effect as well as message

Interpreters that participated here were dichotomised between having the right or mandate to interpret feelings and emotions as they understood them from the interlocutors' words or paralinguistic elements. Tabulation of results and itemised analysis per participant revealed that a large majority of those participating in the study were half way between these two poles (whether or not they interpret feelings and emotions). A close analysis of answers per participant validated this division. Participants did not follow a pattern in dealing with feelings and emotions. A tabulation

of these results with the interview data might reveal more qualitative results as to why this fusion exists.

Communication rules and conventions

Interpreters reported that they preserved the communication rules and conventions used by the interlocutors as well as their tonality. Accordingly, interpreters want to be neutral to all interlocutors and serve them equally. On the issue of formality though, participants were polarised as to whether they should preserve the level of formality of the interlocutors or not. Interpreters reported to be more at ease by using their own formality, and not preserve that of the client. This might be indicative of ‘face-saving’ techniques, as the interpreter feels they are not just a mouthpiece of the client but also an individual with their own ethical, moral and politeness structures. Absorbing the formality of the client might not be adhering to their own structure and so a personal formality is chosen in order to represent the voice of the client.

Trust and respect

Results revealed that a vast majority of the participating interpreters believed that one reason why they got hired by the client was because the latter trusted the way the interpreter handled situations. As stated in the previous paragraphs there was a strong view that participation requirements were mandated from clients to interpreters. If one criterion of employability was how the interpreter handled situations, revealed that clients expect interpreters to aid the negotiation or communication process and act accordingly. Clients are not just expecting the interpreter to relay the messages back and forth but rather to use their own understanding and skills in order to handle situations as they arise.

Additionally, the results of the survey demonstrated that interpreters tried to defend all parties of the interaction, regardless of whom they have more in common with or by whom they were employed. Equal representation of all parties involved is deemed important by the interpreters.

Contextual elements

This theme examined elements that might affect the interpreters' perception and practice of role in business negotiation settings. The three elements examined were the setting of the meeting, the subject matter under negotiation and the clients' character. Of these three elements, results indicated that only the setting affected the perceived role and practice. This result was in line with Angelelli's study (2001), where she concluded that the role of the interpreter varies according to the setting. An additional interesting finding in this theme is that interpreters strove to be neutral during their interpreting and they believe they can be value-neutral and professional at most times. They tried to give voice to all negotiation parties regardless of whom they were hired by, and so equal representation was verified as in the previous theme.

Boundaries of role and performance

This theme presented some interesting setting-specific findings, some of which were contradicting and need to be further examined and analysed via a qualitative method. More specifically, there was a discrepancy as to whether interpreters should control the flow of communication. The reasons that urge interpreters to take control of the flow of communication are to be identified in the second study.

Another discrepancy was concerning clients' perceptions of role. In items concerning the client's perceptions of interpreters' roles, interpreters agreed that they were aware of their perceptions since they discussed them beforehand and were made aware of their role perceptions. They were therefore aware of their own role boundaries. Another item on this theme however, confirmed that the role was constantly changing within the interaction. Therefore, even though interpreters discussed with clients and were aware of their role perceptions, due to the nature of the setting, they were also aware of the changing status of their role or positioning. Since this theme belongs to the backbone of this research, the questions asked in this theme are tabulated at the next stage via the interviews.

Overall, the survey gave mixed messages as to the participation levels of interpreters in various levels of the interaction. A qualitative study on the same issues might shed light on the reasons why the survey yielded these mixed messages and give reasons why interpreters chose to answer as they did.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 Schematic representation and discussion of survey results – Study 1

A closer look at the negotiations model we analyzed in section 2.9 reveals that the influence of a negotiator closely resembles those influences that affect the interpreter in business negotiation settings. The codes that emerged from this inductive approach of the open coding process of data, in study 1, showed a similar typology as that for the negotiator. The codes used in the data analysis correspond to McCall and Warrington's (1984) categories (see figure 3 below).

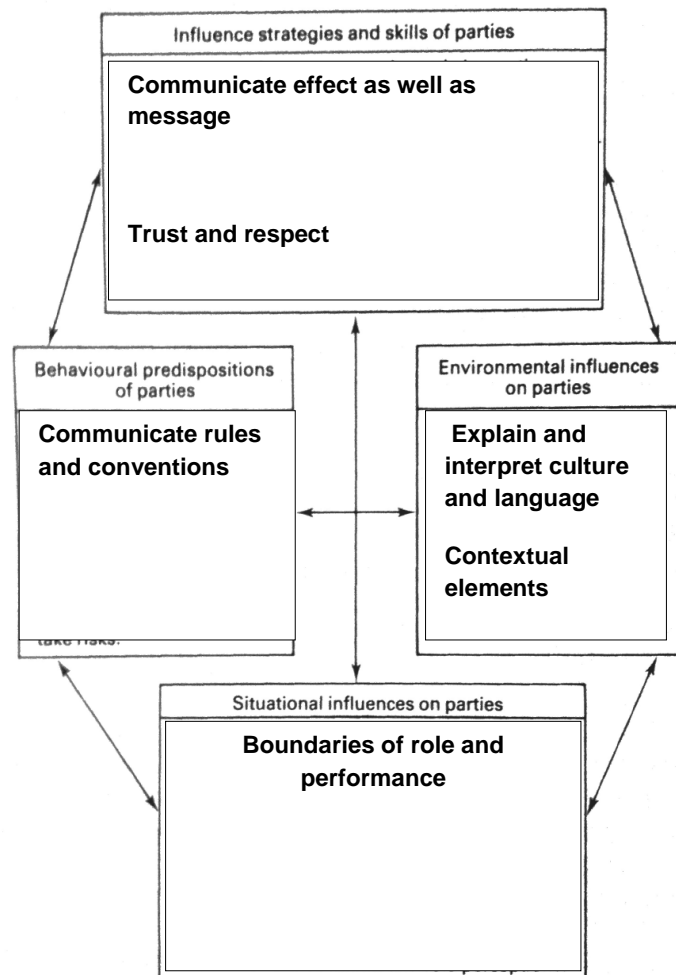


Figure 3. Schematic representation of survey results (based on the influences presented by McCall and Warrington, 1984).

In the sections below, the findings of this study are discussed as per the schematic category.

5.1.1 Influence Strategies and skills of parties

This category included two codes. One concerned the interpretation or exemplification of feelings and emotions by the interpreter and the other was about trust and respect. According to the data analysis, the study concluded that interpreters are dichotomised whether they should translate and interpret behind the words they hear. They are split between what was expected from them to do and what is prescribed for them to do.

Every word that we hear is infused with cultural and behavioural elements. A word is not empty of contextual elements and thus can carry many different meanings that might not immediately be apparent to someone who is not knowledgeable of the specific culture of the language spoken. Interpreters are prescribed by the relevant literature as well as by various interpreting Codes, to interpret what they hear. Sometimes Codes, prescribe interpreters to refrain from making assumptions and stating their own opinion (Hale, 2007). Similarly interpreters are prescribed not to exclude or censor anything they hear. These prescriptions create great confusion to interpreters since if they want to practice their role as prescribed to them, according to the rules, they should not hide anything that they hear or understand. If parts of the messages they hear and understand are feelings and emotions, then some interpreters feel that they should relay this information to the interlocutors. This perception of their role can be based on the axiom that if interlocutors were speaking the same language, they would most probably understand the extra and para-linguistic elements of feelings and emotions that words carry.

Participants in this study were divided between those apparently contradictory prescriptions and therefore they reported to be practising their role by following a teleological approach, i.e., by trying to analyse the situation at hand. They were decoding on-the-spot, whether or not it was appropriate to give more information about the meaning of the words or the word selection.

Interpreting more than the actual lexis and going beyond, to the cultural and emotional value of words can create trust between the interpreter and the interlocutors, since the interlocutors feel that they are not left with words bare of their emotional intensities and meanings. On the other hand, interpreting more than the lexical level can also break this trust if the interlocutors feel that the interpreter is exceeding her role.

Thus, the interpreter has to evaluate various elements before taking this decision. The elements that the interpreter has to observe are not part of this study but one might assume that these include the needs of the interlocutors, their working styles and the situation at hand.

Trust and group dynamics are important elements for the formation of effective negotiation relationships and meetings. According to the schematic analysis of McCall and Warrington (1984), conflict-handling modes and appropriate behavior that creates trusting relationships is an influencing factor for all negotiators in this category. Similarly, after the open-coding process of this study, interpreters reported that they valued quite highly the element of trust and respect that is connected to their role. The interpreters' perceptions indicated that clients give them the mandate to participate more actively when issues of trust, respect and managing troublesome situations come into play. More specifically according to the survey items, interpreters agree that their perceptions is that part of why they were hired is their ability to handle difficult situations. If that perception is true as to the mandate that is indeed given by the clients to interpreters then that reveals that clients need more than a lexis conveyor to facilitate their meetings. They need someone who is highly skilled at understanding and analyzing situations as they arise and also handling them in the most appropriate way. This element also reveals the trusting predisposition that clients might have towards their interpreters.

That element of trust is carried by interpreters, as the study revealed that regardless of whether they identify with one negotiation team or not, interpreters strive for equal representation of all negotiating parties. They reported that equal representation is an appropriate way of managing interactions and therefore creating a better and fairer negotiation environment.

5.1.2 Behavioural predispositions of parties

This category as it was formed by McCall and Warrington (1984), includes self-image elements such as attitudes, language used, personal values and so on. The code that emerged from the data coding 'communication rules and conventions' reveals that interpreters as well as negotiators are affected by these elements. In order to safeguard equal participation and representation of all parties as stated in the previous categories,

interpreters preserve the communication rules and conventions that the interlocutors use, in order to represent the self-image that the interlocutors want to exhibit in the best possible way. The interpreters' perceptions and default-role predisposition as the in-betweeners of the negotiation parties, mean they preserve the linguistic rules used by interlocutors as well as their tonality.

When informants were asked about their perceptions of role regarding the formality of language they use, they reported a vast array of practices. Interpreters are more comfortable using their own level of formality when addressing interlocutors. Regardless of the level of formality between the interlocutors, interpreters are more comfortable adopting their own way of addressing interlocutors. This is an indication that interpreters do not just feel they are the mouthpiece or conduit of the speaker but rather they feel they are a participant in the interaction. Interpreters as a person in the interaction brings along their own ethical and moral behaviors and so exercise their own formality levels in order not to clash with their own ethical and moral stance. A different formality level might endanger the dynamics of the group, as the interpreter is a visible party in the interaction and so adopting a less formal register or tone might present them as being rude.

Thus, through this category, we can conclude that interpreters adopt a vast array of techniques in order to preserve their own stance and to present their presence in interactions. On the other hand, by trying to preserve the communications rules of the interlocutors, they show respect of the face and register that interlocutors are trying to present.

5.1.3 Environmental Influences on parties

According to the negotiations interaction model, this theme includes influences from macro and micro cultural elements. According to the themes developed during the coding process of study 1, two themes respond to these elements and so fall into that category. The first theme is 'Explain and interpret culture and language' and the second is 'contextual elements'.

According to data gathered in the first study (sections 4.3 to 4.5), interpreters are at odds and dichotomised in respect of their participations levels, when it comes to

explaining cultural elements. According to the analysis, interpreters follow a teleological decision-making process in order to evaluate how to react when a cultural issue comes up. Therefore, when they feel that a cultural element does not jeopardize the communication process and integrity, then tend to leave that element untranslatable. They do not offer any explanations and they do not exhibit participation elements. On the other hand, when the cultural element does jeopardise the communication process, then interpreters take up a more participatory role and they explain that element in order to smoothen the communication process. This behaviour indicates that interpreters act according to their own understanding and beliefs when it comes to *faux pas* in order to safeguard the smooth communication process.

They do not exhibit participatory elements in the totality of questions and therefore in the totality of interactions, but rather only in cases that they feel that their intervention would protect and ensure communication equality. Participants in the study exhibited strong opinions when asked about their professional stance. Even though the concept of professional stance could be defined in many different ways, participants reported to be quite confident that regardless of its definition, they could be value neutral and maintain their professional stance. This shows a certain degree of dynamism by interpreters that took part in this study, as it exhibits elements of control over the interaction. Being able to keep a professional stance regardless of the challenges that a setting might present, shows a confidence by the interpreters of their abilities and skills as well as a dynamism when it comes to handling situations.

Participants of this study were also asked whether the cultural elements of setting, character and subject matter could alter their participation levels. The results indicated that it was only the setting that could affect the interpreters' participation levels and thus behaviour during a negotiation interaction. The other two elements did not affect them to a great degree. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the relatively high percentage of minority answers, these two elements of the clients' character and the subject matter are tabulated in study no.2. These results confirmed Angelelli's results on her initial IPRI study, indicating that the setting is one element that effects participation levels of interpreters. These results also confirm the dynamism of interpreters' role and position in interactions.

The character of the interlocutor could present various challenges not only linguistically but also in various other ways, such as in terms of power dynamics,

responsiveness, internationality, respect etc. The same goes for the subject matter that might present various challenges and difficulties. The fact that the results of this study indicated that interpreters are not affected by these two elements, exhibited a confidence in their abilities and skills as well as a certain level of authority and power in the interaction. This authority can be exhibited by finding ways, strategies and solutions to overcome these challenges. Therefore, the active participation of the interpreter can be inferred by these negative answers.

5.1.4 Situational influences on parties

As discussed in section 2.9, this element is the backbone of the thesis research question. It deals with issues that do not concern the content of the interaction but rather the role perceptions and the motivational orientation of negotiators. This element looks at the degree of interdependence of negotiators and as well to their power relationships. Thus, the theme 'Boundaries of role and performance' that was created after the coding process of our data, clearly belong to this element. Issues that were pertinent in this theme were power differentials, distribution of power and perceptions of role.

According to the presentation of data in this theme and their analysis, we can conclude that interpreters' perceptions of their role corresponds to that expected by negotiators. They feel that they are not in charge to regulate the power differentials between the negotiators but they can control the flow of the communication when needed. The flow of communication can entail some control of the power differentials though, since the dominating party loses the high ground of the negotiation process and the interpreter may feel empowered to control the flow. We can also infer from the data that interpreters feel a certain degree of control over the process. That control might not give them equal status and responsibilities as the rest of the interlocutors, but it does give them equal access to the communication flow. This exhibits an equal distribution of power exercised by interpreters.

Interpreter's cooperative motivational orientation is also exhibited through discussing with their clients before the negotiation process, in order to discuss their role perceptions. Interpreters do not want to be submissive to the interaction and therefore negotiate their own role in the interaction. They take into consideration the clients beliefs, interests and values and thus we can infer that they regulate their role

accordingly. They are also aware of the changing dynamics due to the particularities of the setting, which might give them a flexible approach to how they exercise their role. Therefore, the situational influences of the interaction not only affect negotiators, affect interpreters. All influences belonging to this element affect interpreters, as they carry out their role.

CHAPTER 6

Semi-structured Interviews with Interpreters

In the previous chapter, I presented the findings of the BNI-IPRI, where informants were split between two poles of visible and invisible practice. This chapter presents the semi-structured interviews with interpreters, where more in-depth qualitative answers to the dichotomised views of the previous method are collected and analysed. This chapter seeks to understand the perceptions that interpreters have for their role while practicing in business negotiation meetings.

6.1 Participants

The demographic details of the interviewees of this second study are presented below. For ethical and privacy reasons, the real names of the interviewees were substituted by random names.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Educ. Background</i>	<i>Work Experience</i>
1	Socrates	Male	BA in Applied Languages, UK.	Has worked 13 years as a professional translator and interpreter. Owns his own T&I agency in Greece. Extensive experience in business negotiation settings
2	Achilles	Male	T&I at both undergraduate and postgraduate level	P/T lecturer of interpreting at a Greek university. Has worked as a freelance interpreter for more than 15 years. More experienced in conference interpreting but also has some experience in business settings.
3	Stella	Female	MA in Consecutive Interpreting, Italy.	Practising interpreter for more than 5 years. Owns her own T&I agency. Extensive experience as a business negotiation interpreter in Greece and abroad.
4	Maria	Female	MA Language Technologist, Greece. T&I day seminars & on-the-job training.	Currently works as an in-house translator for a multinational company. Has some experience in business interpreting, but mainly via the telephone.

Table 17. Demographic details of the interviewees – study 2

6.2. Technical considerations

All four interviews were recorded on a mobile device. Interviews were conducted in Greek, which was the native language of the participants. Interviewees were briefed that the privacy of their personal data would be kept and that they have the right to subtract any part of their answers at any point before the transcription process. Interviews were transcribed personally and then translated by a freelance professional Greek > English translator.

Parts of the transcribed interviews, as well as their translation, can be found in their respective thematic table, in appendices B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I.

6.3 Perceptions of interpreters

This section will give a brief descriptive overview of each interview and then these findings will be presented thematically based on the themes that pre-existed by the previous two studies and the new themes that emerged from the analysis of this study's data.

6.3.1. Socrates

Socrates worked for many years as a business interpreter. His view is that interpreting in business settings is more complex and more demanding than in any other settings and that is because of constantly fluctuating dynamics and negotiation techniques. He contrasted the dynamics of business negotiation interpreting with that of simultaneous interpreting in conferences, where the interpreter is always protected by the booth. He stated that interpreters working in business negotiation settings have to be very volatile and perform more roles than that of interpreting. An example that he used was that since he is employed by one of the negotiators he should try to defend his client's interests in the best possible way without undermining the other negotiators works. Even though interpreters are often seen as team members in the negotiation process, sometimes they are also used as scapegoats in order the client to defend a change of direction in his negotiation technique, by blaming the interpreter for misinterpreting parts of the

discussion. In that case, the interpreter has to be strong and volatile to defend his position but also support his client.

When asked what effects his performance, Socrates replied that the character of the negotiators does not affect his performance because he is experienced enough to be able to handle any type of person. On the other hand, the setting as well as the subject matter under negotiation effects his performance dramatically, as this puts more pressure to the expected results and the psychology of everyone involved.

Socrates also stressed the difference between Greek clients and clients abroad. He mentioned that Greek clients do not have enough experience in using interpreters and thus their perceptions of the interpreter's role are sometimes fused or wrong. Clients that come from other European countries though, have more exposure and experience with using interpreters and thus have clear expectations.

6.3.2 Achilles

Achilles believes that interpreters regardless of the setting they are working in, should be invisible and thus they should not intervene or amend the interlocutors' words. His performance will not be differentiated due to the negotiators characters, the setting or the subject matter under discussion. His role is predefined and thus he is not getting personally involved in the communicative event. Nevertheless, when asked if he will translate emotions or feelings that he gets from interlocutors, he said that he always aims to relay these feelings and emotions in his interpretations, even if those were not expressed verbally. In that way, he feels that he does justice to the communicative event by not omitting any important element either verbal or paralinguistic.

If interlocutors make a faux pas he aims not to intervene, but if that interferes with the conduct of the meeting, then he informs the person who committed to faux pas politely, for a couple of times. If that interlocutor continues having the same offensive behaviour, then he just interpreters that behaviour, since it might be present, deliberately.

Achilles stated that clients are not clear of his role. New clients usually ask him either directly or indirectly to become part of their negotiating team, by Achilles finds that unethical. He stated that he even avoids briefings before the meeting because usually

clients reveal their aim and target result in those briefings and thus that will render him biased to the communicative event.

Achilles also supported the fact that a BNI should have a good knowledge of the terminology but also of the sector that the negotiation is falling into. Since it is a demanding setting, interpreters should not undertake business interpreting assignments unless they are confident that they would know the terminology but also the implications to the setting.

6.3.3 Stella

Stella stated that what she was taught at University as a graduate T&I student, is completely different from what is expected in practice. She stressed that clients hire her in BNM because they trust not only her language skills but also her judgement and her expertise in communicating effectively with people. Trust between the interpreter and the client is built gradually. She gave an example of a client who initially gave her some translations to do in order to judge the way she was handling him as a client and then asked her if she could escort him in a business meeting.

Stella stressed that due to the very sensitive nature of business negotiations, which is mainly based on trust amongst the negotiators she cannot be invisible or stick to the invisibility doctrine. She is constantly asked to express her opinion either on the situation or on the interlocutors, since she is the one understanding the cultural and linguistic intricacies. Even though she believes that feelings and emotions are crucial in BNMs she does not translate or explain them if expressed paralinguistically. She tries though to express them linguistically through the words she will choose to render her interpretation.

Knowing the aim of the meeting is important for Stella and for that reason before she enters a BNM she always asks the client of the meeting's aim and of the client's target result. In that way, she feels she will be better equipped to defend the client's interests. Even though she always works for both negotiating parties, she is employed and paid by one of the parties and it is that party that she deems as a client and thus tries to achieve the best for his/her interests.

Stella mentioned the constant fluctuation of intensity in BNMs. She stressed that due to this very character of business meetings, the interpreters' role is constantly changing. The role that the interpreter is asked to play is multifaceted. The interpreter should have excellent interpersonal skills in order to understand when he/she should intervene and when not. If faux pas occurs, she usually informs her client or censors that piece of information because she always tries to achieve the best possible result for both negotiation parties, which is to be able to have an amicable communication for a common interest.

6.3.4 Maria

Maria believes that the interpreter in any setting should be the mouthpiece of the interlocutors. He /She should not get involved or intervene in any way or form. Even when she senses or understands feelings and emotions from the interlocutors she tries to express them linguistically without her being visible i.e. she passes those elements through her interpretation. She is not comfortable with faux pas and she is aware that these may happen during BNMs. Therefore, she always starts by initially explaining the interlocutors of her role and that any elements or cultural or linguistic abuse will be censored. She trains as she mentioned the interlocutors before the start of the meeting.

Interpreters are like tools that clients use in BNMs, Maria stated and that is why clients never explain to the interpreter the aim of the meeting, but they let the interpreter understand fine meanings as the meeting goes along. Clients usually only disclose the overall scope of the meeting i.e. what is the subject matter under negotiation and not the specificities of the specific meeting.

Maria feels that business meetings present different dynamics as a communicative event, from other interpreting settings. The intensity and the fluctuation of feelings and negotiation techniques constantly changes and the interpreter has the delicate role of following and relaying these fluctuations. Interpreters have the flexibility and the time to ask questions or ask for clarifications when needed whereas in settings like in conference interpreting there is no such advantage.

6.4 Thematic analysis

In the next sections, specific data gathered from the semi-structured interviews will be presented and analysed thematically, as per the themes created during the coding process.

6.4.1 *Communicate effect as well as message*

As seen in the thematic analysis and in the literature review, the main characteristics of negotiation meetings are the constant fluctuation of feelings during the negotiation process as well as the plethora of non-verbal communication elements. Feelings might be verbalised in order to convey explicitly these to the other interlocutors or might be overtly passed through the specific selection of words, expressions or intonations. Understanding the feelings and emotions of a negotiator is crucial, in order to plan and implement the right follow-up negotiation techniques. If these feelings are expressed verbally, it is then in the prescribed role of the interpreter (as codified by the literature and some Codes of Conducts) to transfer those verbally expressed feelings to the other interlocutor. If the feelings are not expressed verbally though, and are only insinuated through the words used, the intonation or by the interlocutor's body language, then interpreters are faced with a dilemma. Should they express what they believe the interlocutor is feeling or keep those extra-linguistic elements out of their interpretation?

The table in appendix B shows excerpts (both as transcribed in Greek and following a translation in English) of how the four participants answered in relation to issues belonging to this theme.

All four interviewees commented that they usually convey extra or paralinguistic elements of feelings and emotions that they pick up during the interaction. Even any discomfort they might understand from one party they relay to the other interlocutor.

'My approach to interpreting is that all extra-lingual elements should be conveyed in one way or another. Therefore, emotions, movements or even any discomfort should be conveyed ...' (Achilles)

The way that interpreters convey these feelings or emotions is both overt and covert. All participants agreed that they try to introduce those extra-linguistic elements by following the same technique that the originator used, e.g., by a careful selection of words that gives away those emotions and feelings. As Maria stated:

'...I believe that when you interpret, you should transfer everything as it's been said. You should use expressions and words that transfer what is been said, the emotions behind those words, as well as the intensity of the feelings by which those things were expressed...' (Maria)

Interpreters try to pass on those feelings through carefully selecting their words or even the appropriate tone of voice. Therefore, even communicative elements that are not expressed in words, such as feelings and emotions, are conveyed into the other language. What is striking in this quote is that Maria stated that everything should be transferred as it had been said. She does not make explicit reference to extra or para-linguistic elements. Nevertheless, in her second sentence she mentions these elements as being part of the words she hears. She covertly states that words and expressions are carrying elements such as feelings, emotions, intensities etc., and therefore these should be conveyed to the other language as well.

Three of the interviewees made it clear that transferring these communication elements is quite important while practising their role. They even go beyond the words they hear and verbalise these feelings if they sense that these feelings and emotions are crucial for the other interlocutor. In the extracts above we see how Socrates exemplifies this by stating that interpreters should be *like antennae*, that have to sense and transmit all the vibes. Socrates as well as two other informants verbalise and analyse further the feelings they perceive from the interlocutor, in order to help them understand the intensity of the message. That element might reveal that they perceive their role as more participatory and active, by aiding the negotiating parties to understand extra-linguistic elements.

On the other hand, Maria initially revealed a more covert approach, by saying that she tries to choose words or expressions appropriate to the context that reflect the feelings, emotions and intensity of the interlocutor communication. Maria does not initially reveal or express any further elements of participation. She mentions words and expressions that should be relayed to the other language as she hears them. She does not

mention other non-verbal elements of the communicative event. This implies that Maria does not interpret or try to exemplify feelings and emotions that dress the words she hears. When answering a question related to cultural elements though, Maria admitted to covert participation by trying to adapt what the client is saying in order to make it match the feelings and emotions of the interlocutor.

‘what I usually do, is once I understand what the client wants to talk about ... I try to adapt it to something which is culturally appropriate and which is going to convey the emotions of the client...’ (Maria)

In this instance Maria, contradicts her non-participatory practice of the previous statement. She gives verbal evidence that she interprets the effect of the message and she does not just stick to the words that she hears.

Stella and Socrates made it clear that they are aware of the importance of conveying the feelings and emotions back to the interlocutors.

‘I also do the work of a psychologist and not only that... It's the alpha and the omega. There might be more hidden messages in there (in the feelings and emotions) rather than anywhere else’. (Stella)

They believe that there are hidden messages behind those elements that might be as important as or even more important than the linguistic elements of the communication process. These two informants are more in-tune with the participatory model of interpreting and they give great emphasis on the adaptation of the message according to the effect they want to create. They also state that they sometimes feel as if they have to play the role of a psychologist who can interpret feelings and emotions for a client. They feel that conveying such information to the interlocutors is quite important to facilitate the communication process.

A riveting element of this theme is that two of the four interviewees, i.e., Achilles and Maria, initially show signs of non-participatory behaviour to the interaction. In their whole interview they were trying to convey that what they think is appropriate is to follow the conduit model. Their perception of how they should practise and how they believe they practise their role conforms to the conduit model. Nevertheless, with the narrative interviewing method, I picked up elements of active participation in practice.

I believe that when you interpret, you should transfer everything as it's been said. You should use expressions and words that transfer what is been said, the emotions behind those words, as well as the intensity of the feelings by which those things were expressed (...) what I usually do, is once I understand what the client wants to talk about ... I try to adapt it to something which is culturally appropriate and which is going to convey the emotions of the client. (Maria)

These two interviewees explicitly admitted that they try to verbally express feelings and emotions in their interpretation practice. These statements do not match their perceptions of role and practice, or their overall beliefs of how they should practise their profession. We can therefore see a clear contradiction between perceptions of role and practise of role. These contradictions might be due to the fact that even though informants are aware of the codes and the expectations of role according to the T&I literature, they differentiate the practice according to the setting. They believe that this setting is asking for a more participatory role than other liaison settings.

Socrates and Stella, on the other hand, explicitly made it clear that they are aware that they are breaking the rules that they have been taught. Nevertheless, they work in accordance with what they feel is appropriate for the setting and for the person who hired them. They both stated that this setting is quite different from other liaison settings and thus, the way they practise there is quite different and maybe contradictory to what is prescribed for them to do.

'Interpretation means to translate exactly what you hear. I believe that when you're interpreting a business negotiation, your role is different. That's why you should be more than an interpreter, you should be part of the company (...) You should know what their product is, how they should develop and promote it, you should share the vision of the company in order to be able to pass it on.(Socrates)

In this statement, Socrates gives a different dimension to the theme by stating that in order to communicate the effect of the message, the interpreter should be knowledgeable of the vision or the company, amongst other things. By understanding the product and the vision of the company, the interpreter may be able to promote and support them better – according to Socrates. This statement purports to the team-membership theme that we discuss later in this chapter.

6.4.2 Explain and interpret culture and language

There are sources in the intercultural business literature (Bochner, 1982; Holden, 2002; Soderberg & Holden, 2002; Wan & Zhang, 2008; Angouri, 2013), which mention that when cultural *faux pas* or issues concerning cultural awareness come up in business meetings, there could be chaos, due to the lack of awareness of these cultural differences and how to deal with them. As these issues are prevalent in intercultural business negotiation meetings, I specifically asked the interviewees what strategy they follow when such cultural issues arise. The excerpts in appendix C show their answers concerning that theme.

In this theme, three of the interviewees held very strong views when asked how they react once cultural *faux pas* occur within the negotiation meeting they are interpreting for. These three interviewees, namely Socrates, Maria and Stella – explicitly said that they intervene in these cases in order to make the interlocutor aware of them.

Maria also makes the client aware of these possible *faux pas* before the meeting begins. She said:

... these are issues that I try to clarify from the very beginning. I explain (to the client) that there are some issues that for us in Greece might seem right or even funny, but that the other parties do not conceive them as such. I warn them, or at least I am making them aware, that there is a chance that what he is about to say is not culturally appropriate to the other party. I try to make them understand before going into the meeting. It's like starting off by educating the client, so that he avoids making these faux pas during the meeting. (Maria)

According to this statement, we understand that Maria has a clear strategy. She tries to educate the client beforehand, as she believes that these problems occur very often and so she has the responsibility to make the client aware of them, to correct any mistakes when they happen or even censor them in a specific way. Socrates also explicitly stated something similar by stating that he tries to ‘save face’ for his client, by explaining the *faux pas* to him, off the record and not proceeding with the interpretation.

Stella was also quite straightforward in her perceived approach when issues such as these arose. Thus, all these interviewees exhibit an overtly participatory role in that occasion and are active participants in the communicative event.

The reasons behind that participatory role, can be summarised with this quote:

I provide interpretation services so that the negotiation can be carried out successfully.(...) So, even when someone is asking you to do something which is not in the prescribed role, it is actually in your role, because you are the linguist. The meeting is not just dependent on the language. The culture, the civilisation behind it, etc., are all important elements which should be visible in our interpretation. We should not just transfer words. (Stella)

Here, Stella is giving her rationale behind her behaviour. She claims that her role is to bring the best possible results to the meeting; Therefore, *faux pas* would only hinder a good outcome and she therefore censors such elements of communication. She believes that in these settings, interpreters have the responsibility not only to translate words but also to safeguard smooth communication by providing cultural awareness or by regulating cultural *faux pas* when they arise. Stella supports this practice by saying that the interpreter is the only person in the meeting that is actually aware of these extra or para-linguistic elements that concern culture and therefore it is in his/her role to smoothen these elements when needed. This reveals an overtly participatory behaviour by her in the meeting. Moreover, statements such as this one, suggest that interpreting in business settings is different in terms of role, outcome and aim.

On the other hand, Achilles initially showed elements of invisibility in his perceived role towards those linguistically problematic areas. He said:

That's a complex issue (interpreting faux pas). I usually support the idea that the interpreter should not intervene. The interpreter should be transparent, unless the friction that is about to be created is due to lack of cultural awareness. (Achilles)

Achilles explicitly stated that he prefers to be invisible in the interaction. More specifically, he used adjectives such as 'transparent' (διαφανής) and 'neutral' (ουδέτερος) for the interpreter's role. In this way, he was trying to illustrate his overall perceived attitude and practice, as a non-participant to the interaction. He claimed that it is not in

his role to educate the interlocutors on any cultural differences. Via the narrative interviewing technique (Bates, 2000), though, Achilles, contradicted his initial statement on invisibility just a couple of sentences later. He stated that:

Should I realise that the mistakes that are about to take place are due to ignorance and are unintended, I will intervene once. I will make a quick remark in a polite way and off the record to the person that has made that faux pas (...). I will then make a second remark and then I'll stop intervening. I will try to stop this twice, by spotting the mistakes that, according to my own belief, are due to the lack of cultural awareness. If these faux pas continue, then that might mean that the client does not care or he is doing this on purpose. In any of these cases, I believe that it's not in the role of the interpreter to intervene. (Achilles)

Achilles identified a very structured approach for dealing with cultural *faux pas*. He stated that he usually informs the interlocutor up to twice; if the interlocutor makes the same erroneous path, then he translates the *faux pas*, as there might be some reason behind the repetition. Therefore, he realises that *faux pas* might be a linguistically problematic area and uses his best judgement in order to grasp whether they were intentional or not. This statement reveals once again, that even informants such as Achilles, who believe in the invisible role of the interpreter, show signs of visibility and judgement according to their own understanding. Like Achilles, interpreters can use their best judgment in order to analyse each situation as it comes up and decide whether they have to intervene and so be more visible or not.

Informants are aware of problems that arise due to cultural differences during interpretation. As negotiation meetings can fluctuate a lot in terms of dynamics and intensity, it is quite usual for interlocutors to fall into cultural *faux pas* with or without realising it. Informants referred several times to these problems and the strategies that they employ to overcome these problems. Two of the interviewees stated that they have a concrete strategy that they follow in order to prevent those problems from occurring, i.e., they educate their clients beforehand, even before entering the negotiation room. 'Educating' the client beforehand, may certainly not avoid all *faux pas* or cultural differences how people speak, analyse and understand things. The depth of this 'educative' process cannot be deep enough to avoid all such instances. This strategy therefore does not protect the meeting from such misunderstandings. On the other hand, briefing the client or interlocutors of the possibility that issues concerning cultural

differences might arise, could be a good strategy to excuse the interpreter's intervention or censorship of certain aspects of communication. If interlocutors are aware, then interpreters will not feel as if they are stepping out of role by explaining or censoring these elements.

Stella follows a teleological decision-making process (Dean, 2006), rather than a deontological one, when she observed that what she has to keep in mind is the final aim of the meeting. She does not stay faithful to the words that she hears but instead tries to steer towards the successful outcome of the meeting.

I don't say it (if someone says something that is insulting). I don't say it because I always think of the end target. Of course I am there to translate and interpret, but the main aim of this interpreting assignment is to succeed in the negotiation aim. I provide interpretation services so that the negotiation can be carried out successfully. (Stella)

Stella is practicing her role in BNS in order to achieve the negotiation aim. This is a very revealing piece of data, in how interpreters see their role and how they exercise their role in these settings. This can also be revealing of the fact that interpreting for business is different from other settings. In this setting, interpreters work towards achieving the principal aim of the negotiation, which is an amicable result for both or all parties. This element will also be discussed later in this chapter when analysing the 'comparison with other settings' theme.

Unlike Stella, Achilles claims to be faithful to what he hears and the various codes and he makes this explicit throughout his interview. He uses words and expressions such as 'should not intervene', 'should be transparent', in order to support his obedience to what he knows and is prescribed to do. He supports his transparent role, defining it as non-interventionist in any way. He is there in order to be the mouthpiece of the interlocutors. Therefore, it is not his role to educate the interlocutors or to censor information. At some points in his interview though, even Achilles showed signs of participation – but within certain limits that he himself placed. He stated that should he suspect that the *faux pas* occurred due to a lack of cultural awareness, he informs the party which made the mistake. He does not 'correct' the mistake, rather he 'informs' the interlocutor of the situation and allows the interlocutor to take the decision whether he/she wants to go ahead with that statement. This process is not without limits,

however. Achilles explicitly stated that once the client repeats the same mistake more than once, then he feels as if it is his/her conscious choice to do so and so translates the words he hears without amending, correcting or adapting them.

When informants expressed participatory elements in their practise, they immediately gave reasons to support their statement and practice. This justification had elements of clarifications and defence of their actions, which they knew was at odds with the prescribed by literature and the Codes. All informants followed different techniques to avoid misunderstandings arising from language and culture, but they all concurred that they use their best judgement in order to decide how to act at the given occasion. As in the previous theme, elements of teleological decision-making processes are occurring in the interpreters' minds before acting.

6.4.3 Trust and respect

As seen in Chapter 4, this theme includes topics such as skills, training and bi-directional trust to and from the interpreter, and the interlocutors' positioning. All these elements can direct perceptions of trust and respect that the interpreter feels for the interlocutors and vice-versa. To facilitate better understanding of the transcribed and transliterated data, this theme is split into two sub-categories (i. Skills and Training; ii. Bidirectional Trust and Respect). The answers belonging to this theme can be found in appendix D.

Skills and training

Interviewees commented on various skills that business negotiation interpreters need while practising their role. Most of these are actually skills that are not learnt solely via formal training courses, but rather are acquired during their practice or experience. "Experience" is a word that all four interviewees mentioned in their interviews as being fundamental for practising their role in the best possible way. However, the way that they defined "experience", varied. Achilles, for example, considered experience a specialisation someone has in a specific topic. He believes that the specialization on the field and therefore, the experience that someone has in that topic can make him/her more employable or better at his/her role. Maria, by contrast,

specified “experience” as the years at work in the interpreting field in general. These two definitions of the same word vary significantly, but nevertheless conduce to the same result, i.e., to interpreters’ perceptions that “experience” contributes to their employability and thus enhances trust and respect from their clients.

When Achilles discussed experience, he did not refer only to the specialisation in a field simply for the sake of knowing that field’s terminology. He said:

It’s not only terminology. I believe that in order for someone to be able to interpret and translate, he should be knowledgeable in the field. He should be able to understand the deeper meanings, to be knowledgeable of the processes of a meeting and definitely to have knowledge of the field he is interpreting. Otherwise he would just transfer words, without their scientific and cultural content.

... (specialisation) is what I believe gives the quality advantage to someone who is already an interpreter and wants to go deeper into the business negotiation settings (Achilles)

Achilles introduced experience and specialisation as the interpreter needed to be knowledgeable of the processes that take place in any specific field. He explicitly clarified that the interpreter should be aware of the terminology or the topic, but also of the processes that govern the specific setting, in order to be able to offer a professional service to the client. By processes, he probably referred to the written and the unwritten rules that govern business meetings, its ethics, dynamics and argumentation. Here, Achilles demonstrates visibility aspects while practicing his role. If words are not the only carriers of information, as experience brings more meanings to the surface of each utterance, then this understanding is subjective to his own understanding.

This claim supports the fact that interpreters are not mere language facilitators but should be aware of various other aspects of the meeting and the setting in order to be able to provide good service to the client(s). The word “experience” can also be distilled from the word “reputation”, that two of the interviewees also used. By this they naturally meant the good name that interpreters establish in a specific field. Interviewees believe that building a good reputation in a specific field is an additional key element to being re-hired by clients in business settings.

Q: Why do you think your clients trust you? Is it because you have good knowledge of the languages you work with?

A: In my circle of clients, this is almost taken for granted. Apart from that, my reputation and the fact that I am specialized in certain fields, such as the medical field are also important. I have worked as an interpreter for medical business negotiations many times. I am also quite experienced, as I have been working as an interpreter since 1994. The fact that I have experience in many different specializations really works for my benefit and makes my clients trust me and then refer me to other clients as well

Two interviewees, namely Socrates and Stella, also stressed that interpreters' interpersonal skills are crucial criteria for being hired by clients. They also claimed that clients sometimes test them, in order to ascertain that they have the ability to be able to manage various behaviour, people and conditions, and therefore a negotiation meeting.

... Sometimes they (the clients) take a good look at you, they give you a translation first and if they ascertain that you are the person they need, they hire you for something else (interpreting assignment) as well... They want to see your character and if you have the ability to achieve what they are after, if you know your way around things... (Stella)

Stella was persistent on this point, namely that an interpreter has to know how to navigate in such settings. She believes that this ability is one of the most important elements that clients use when choosing an interpreter. Business negotiation settings present different challenges which the interpreter has to overcome. She believes that the interpreter is expected to know how to overcome these challenges and that is apparent from the way the clients chose interpreters. Stella also identified the interpersonal skills and character traits that an interpreter should have in order to be able to work effectively in BNS: i.e., discretion and confidentiality are fundamental elements in an interpreter's character. Interpreters must be discreet because, in business settings, its' sensitive information that is being shared.

Maria was the only informant who did not address any specific skills other than linguistic competence and experience.

They haven't shown me that they consider something more than my linguistic competence. Therefore I believe that this is their only criterion. My CV, my years of experience, how long I've been in the market etc. I do not think that they take something else into consideration. (Maria)

Maria believes that she is hired by clients on the sole criterion of her language knowledge and expertise. She does not mention any other interpersonal skills or competences. Maria's perception on this issue agrees with the conduit model, where the interpreter is in the setting in order to transfer words and meanings. By believing that all other skills and knowledge are not appreciated or valued by customers in order to get a job, would align her with this model of interpretation. Language expertise was therefore an element that was implicitly or explicitly mentioned and taken for granted by all informants.

Socrates, shared a positive experience in his T& I studies. He stated that '*when I went to study abroad, we had four language modules and 20 extra modules*'. This statement supports the fact that Socrates feels that the interpreter in business settings should be knowledgeable of various issues. He should not only be a language expert. He deemed these extra, non-language specific modules at university to be important before entering the interpreting profession.

Bidirectional trust and respect

'... they believe that you are just a mouthpiece: say what I say and don't get involved' (Socrates)

All participants except Maria believed that what they do as interpreters is not always appreciated by clients. The reason they gave for this is probably the lack of the clients' knowledge of working with interpreters. They believe that the clients that they are working with i.e., Greek clients, do not have much experience in working with an interpreter and therefore this creates various problems, such as misconceptions of role, lack of trust and lack of respect for the role of interpreters.

Achilles complained about the general lack of the clients' education and experience in working with interpreters. He stated that this lack of experience leads clients to misjudge and misconceive the role of interpreters. Moreover, this lack makes

clients withhold information from the interpreter and thus interpreters often go into new settings deprived of information, which is vital for their performance.

Half of the times they (the clients) are giving me the information that they believe I need, and if I ask for more, then I might have it. Other times I need to dig out the information I need. That is due to the education level of the people in the market, I believe...(Achilles)

Achilles displayed signs of disrespect of clients, due to their lack of experience working with interpreters. By using phrases such as ‘dig out information’, he presents his discontent with the fact that clients do not appreciate or understand his role and so deprive him of information that might be crucial for him to work.

Stella also bemoaned the lack of appreciation by clients. However, she also believes that clients entrust interpreters with important information.

...he (the client) should entrust to me whatever he did not say even to his accountant or his lawyer... he has to tell you if he needs an invoice, how he's going to make the export, if he can offer another price, how much the VAT is, if he needs something not to be written, i.e. to be hidden in the agreement; all these require a certain degree of discretion, it's not an impersonal thing...(Stella)

This element of trust by clients makes Stella feel an important part of the negotiation process. It makes her feel that she has the power of knowledge to negotiate more effectively. Moreover this gives her the feeling that her role is appreciated and respected. Clients count on the interpreter's discretion and skills in order to use the information given in the best possible way.

According to data gathered by informants, clients give scarce information to interpreters, as they believe that interpreters already know this information. Even though this might be an indication of trust on the part of the client, it could cause a sense of apprehension for interpreters as they do not hold enough information to negotiate effectively.

Socrates, mentioned quite extensively the ethical dilemmas that are usually raised in this setting. As a mediator between people, he can understand more

information than that explicitly expressed and can decode and process information at a deeper level. Socrates stated:

when the customer starts lying ... then you start thinking 'should I lie or should I not lie'... even if you try to cover up the customer's lie, the other interlocutor realises... that does not affect me. It affects the transaction that is about to happen...(Socrates)

As an interpreter of Greek origin, Socrates usually knows or communicates with the Greek client beforehand and knows the conditions of the Greek company he is working for. Because of this, when he realises that his client is showing off or even lying about certain things, he is put into a difficult position. He stated that in such cases he does not know how to react. He is aware that those lies are not only going to affect him psychologically, but also the outcome of the whole meeting. He feels embarrassed and ethically responsible for the interlocutors that belong to his team. Issues like this break trust and respect between the team members. Socrates, as an interpreter and team member of the client, is also aware that interpreting false information might also affect his image and face.

Furthermore, Socrates states that there are many instances where initially clients want the interpreter to be a mere conduit. Within the negotiation process though, they often change their positioning towards the interpreter's role and want the interpreter to be more visible and a team member. He finds this very challenging as his role is very setting-specific. It is probably because of the fluctuating dynamics in the negotiation meeting as well as the changing negotiation tactics that clients change their positioning towards the interpreter.

The issue of bi-directional trust and respect was discussed extensively by all interviewees. All informants appreciated that these are crucial elements for building a proper rapport and for the best outcome of the negotiations. Interpreters believe that without a good trusting relationship between interpreters and negotiators, crucial elements in the negotiation process might get lost.

6.4.4 Contextual elements

In the semi-structured interview schedule, there were three questions concerning contextual elements that might influence the work of interpreters in business settings. These asked whether interpreters moderate their role according to the following items: i) the setting where the negotiation takes place; ii) the character of the interlocutors; iii) the subject matter under negotiation.

Two of the informants stated that the setting is a very important factor that can affect the way they practise their role. Socrates used a football metaphor by saying that the setting is like playing away from home. He said: '*... it's like playing on a foreign ground*'. Through this metaphor, we can postulate that when he works in a setting familiar to him, or even on Greek territory, then he feels more confident and relaxed to negotiate. A foreign territory or setting can create a feeling of unfamiliarity and so he would not be as confident in the negotiation. Therefore, setting does affect his participatory role in the negotiations.

Stella commented that the way the setting is laid out affects not only her attitude and approach to her role but also the performance and the attitude of the interlocutors. She believes that if there is a good rapport between all parties in the negotiation, then everyone seems more relaxed and her job seems to be easier. She mentioned that if interlocutors are uptight and do not have a good rapport, then her job is more difficult. More specifically she stated:

...When you are in a conference room setting, things are more strict and by the book there. People tend to keep the formalities, they are tense and we have to deal with that. The more relaxed the interlocutors are, the easier the negotiation process. If people are stuck in a negotiation room they are stiff and I have to behave accordingly, which I do not really like. They do not relax and you have to keep all the formalities... (Stella)

Stella presented the varied settings of a negotiation meeting with this statement. She illustrated that business meetings can be held in various settings i.e., a conference room, a meeting room or even outdoors. The setting according to Stella's statement does not affect only the interlocutors behaviour and attitude but also her role and behaviour. A stricter informal setting makes people act accordingly. A formal element makes Stella more uptight and feeling that her practice is judged more strictly, whereas a more relaxed atmosphere creates an easy working environment.

Two of the interviewees also argued that the character of the interlocutors might affect their performance and role. Socrates stated that it is easier to work with someone who is understanding and has a good rapport with you.

Q: Does the character of the client affect you?

A: Yes, greatly so. I know I am supposed to be a professional, but with people that are easy to work with, my work becomes so much easier. With harsh people and those strict about what they believe in, my job performance becomes harder for me. (Socrates)

In this statement we see the Socrates does not feel at ease with his statement, as according to his perception, a professional should not be affected by the clients' character. This belief probably stems from Codes or his training at University. Nevertheless, he admits that he is affected by the clients' character and the more rigid the people are who he is working with, the more difficult his role becomes.

Stella takes a stronger position if the client's character is not appropriate according in her view. If the client's character is not appropriate, then she lets the client know that she is handling the situation herself and that his intervention, is not really needed. She specifically stated: '*If he gets on your nerves you just say to him 'look, I can deal with that, ok?'*'. This aggressive approach to handling the situation is indicative that Stella supports the visibility of the interpreter and the team-membership role that she was assigned by the client. She feels that she has the ability, the right and probably the obligation to deal with the situation at hand, herself, without the intervention of the client, if things get agitated.

On questions concerning the scope of negotiations and whether this affects the interpreting practice, Socrates stated that the scope of the negotiation does affect his performance. He feels that the scope regulates the importance of the meeting and therefore of its participants. Moreover he stated:

'...you'll have a different approach to an agreement on tens or hundreds or thousands Euros and a preliminary agreement, a simple discussion, etc.'(Socrates)

Socrates feels differently when negotiating something which might have a big effect on the parties and is also more wary of something which might cost a lot of money. His answer could be indicative of how interpreters regulate the importance of the meeting according to their own perceptions of what is important and what is not.

Maria answered this threefold question on what affects her performance directly. She gave an anecdotal experience in order to explain her position on that subject. More specifically she stated:

'...The only thing that has ever affected me was my client's age, or, specifically, her educational level in relation to her age. I interpreted once during a business meeting in which a company was trying to buy some properties owned by an elderly Greek woman. She did not speak any English. At some point, I had to stop and explain to her what the company was talking about, because I wasn't sure she could understand the business terms and I was afraid the company might take away everything she owned. This was the only time I intervened and asked for a pause, in order to explain the proceedings to the elderly woman'
(Maria)

Maria in this instance felt that her client did not have the cognitive capacity to understand exactly what was unfolding in the negotiation. The statement gives away another element of difficulty faced by interpreters in any setting, which is dealing with people of various cognitive abilities and educational background. Interpreters feel that as they are between the interlocutors they have to sense whether the other party understands what is unfolding. This may be indicative of the amount of responsibility some interpreters take on behalf of the clients, even if they do not agree with the visible model of interpretation, as Maria does.

Judging by the accounts given by the interviewees, we could conclude that interpreters usually perform their role according to what they feel is right for the setting. They do not appear to follow a strict, rigid approach to their interpretation, but rather evaluate the situation at hand and perform according to their needs. Achilles is the only interviewee who showed signs of invisibility and that nothing would affect his performance. However, from his evidence through the interview, even he sometimes evaluates the situation and acts accordingly.

The setting in which the meeting is taking place, it is argued, is the most important factor that affects their performance of role. In addition, the character of the interlocutors imposes a degree of pressure on their performance, as does the negotiating scope.

6.4.5 Boundaries of role and performance

The results of this theme fluctuate between the two poles of the visible - invisible axis. On one hand, we have two informants supporting the visible interpreter's doctrine while, on the other, we have the other two informants stating that the interpreter's role is very clear, meaning that interpreters have to be invisible.

The first pair of informants noted that interpreting in business settings is profoundly different to other settings. Even though they were taught to be invisible in all kind of interactions, they believe that the mandate they have from the interlocutors, as well as from the characteristics of the setting itself, is to be visible and an active part of the negotiation.

... at university they used to tell us 'you have to keep your distance'. But when someone comes to you and shares his problem and says 'look I have this amount of money and I should do this job' and then he asks, 'how did you find him? Is he ok? Can I trust him? Can I do that..?' Then, what should I do? I cannot say, 'well, I am an interpreter and I cannot help'. That does not happen... especially when they come and they ask me to understand from the tone of the voice, from the voice I even hear on the telephone, if the other person is to be trusted. (...) I become a psychologist and not only... (Stella)

With this statement, Stella makes it clear that she believes she is given more roles than that of interpreting in business settings. She is even asked to understand people by the tone of their voice and estimate their trustworthiness. She admitted that she feels uncomfortable refusing to help if she actually can. If she is asked to perform an activity, she cannot simply refuse because it is out of the prescribed role. Overall, Stella approaches her job with human sensitivity. She does not hide behind the prescribed role

but rather tries to help the client if she can. She sees her role as a team-member hired by the client and therefore she performs more roles than prescribed. She does not follow the advice she was given at University while studying T&I and she does not feel that this advice is applicable to all settings or even easy to follow.

In the same vein, Stella also tries to level the communicative differences of interlocutors when these could create problems in the outcome of the negotiation. She approaches her job in a more holistic way and she sees her performance as part of a service that aims to get the negotiation done in the best possible way.

The other informants, who believe in the transparency and invisibility of interpreters, stated that when they are asked to intervene and exceed their invisible role, they politely refuse. These interpreters try to abide by the role prescribed by the Codes and literature and thus do not take on more roles. This evidence is a useful indication however that clients, as well as other interlocutors in meetings, do try to engage the interpreter in more roles and in being more active. Even interpreters who believe and try to abide to the invisibility doctrine, are faced with the question of the client to intervene and so have to refuse.

My theory is that the interpreter is the mouthpiece of the person translated. Therefore, I do not participate either psychologically or personally; and in all levels, I try not to exist, I just try to translate what it is being said (Maria)

Maria in this statement, revealed that she tries 'not to exist' in the negotiation, by not letting the atmosphere of the meeting affect her psychologically, personally or professionally. This shows the intensity of feelings and the fluctuating dynamics of negotiation settings that can have an effect on the interpreter. Maria feels that she has to be disconnected in order to be able to do her job appropriately. Her role boundaries are well established outside the intensity of the meetings. She feels that she is just a mouthpiece and not another person in the negotiation who can express any opinions.

All interviewees stated at some point of their interview that they know that their role is changing throughout the negotiation meeting. They are aware that their role shifts according to the course of the meeting and the attitude of the interlocutors. Therefore, they are aware that their boundaries or expectations of role-performance might move. Nevertheless, all four interviewees claim to be quite clear on their role perception, even if their views do not coincide. Two appear very participatory while

practising their role in business setting, one takes part within limits and finally one is in favour of invisibility, even though sometimes he has to relax this attitude by providing more for the interlocutors.

I do not try to support someone's interests. I try in my own way to leave the conversation to evolve as it would have, without the language barrier. (Achilles)

In statements such as this one, we can unfold the complexity of the interpreter's role in communicative events like the ones evolving in negotiation meetings. Regardless to which side of the axis an interpreter belongs to, the language barrier does not separate the interlocutors simply linguistically. As we discussed in the literature review section, a different language can distance interlocutors in various ways other than linguistically. Therefore, when Achilles states that he tries to leave the conversation evolve as it would have without the language barrier, there is a fallacy in his statement. By not participating and just translating the words he hears, he cannot serve this purpose. The mere transfer of words or meanings in other languages can create more complications to the efficient communication of interlocutors.

In regards the perception of the interpreter's role by the clients, all four interviewees agreed that clients do not know how they want their interpreter to practise his/her role. In most cases, they want more than just a conduit interpreter. They want active interpreters, who participate by giving their opinion if asked, educate and help the interlocutors at different levels. Regardless of how interpreters feel about the participatory framework, they all agree that clients do ask them to take on more roles than those prescribed.

6.4.6 Comparison with other settings

All four interviewees agreed that business negotiation settings are different to other settings and present more difficulties for the interpreter. They all stated that in BN, interpreters have to be quite experienced in order to overcome situations that come up, as well as to defend the stance they are taking on their role.

It is difficult and demanding; this is why I would not recommend to a young interpreter to start there. That is a setting for experienced interpreters that know how to do their job and what their role is. (Achilles)

Even if Achilles at the beginning of his interview, stated that the interpreter's role should be similar in every setting, he later claims, that BNSs are quite demanding. He sporadically hints in his interview that in the business setting, the interpreter has to exert more effort in order to remain unbiased and neutral. Moreover, as not all negotiation meetings proceed amicably, the intensity of feelings also presents another major problem for interpreters.

The unpredictability factor of the setting is also discussed by Maria in her interview. She stated:

In a conference, for example, you can talk to the presenter beforehand; ask for a copy of his article, his presentation or his speech, so that you could know a bit in advance what is going to be said. Everything is unpredictable in business. You don't know what might happen. The negotiation may go well and have the expected outcome, or the situation might get heated and the interlocutors might start insulting each other. (Maria)

She states that unlike other interpreting settings, in business settings you never know how the meeting might proceed. Like Achilles, she confirmed that business settings are more demanding, not so much in terms of linguistic competence but rather in terms of stance, positioning and character. She compared the setting with conference settings where an interpreter might have the chance to ask for the gist of the conference beforehand and therefore be prepared for what is about to follow. Maria mentioned examples of meetings where interlocutors started insulting each other and this challenged her stance as a professional interpreter since she was a receiver and transmitter of all these negative feelings.

The unpredictability factor of business settings creates a demanding environment for the interpreter. They have to be very well equipped both psychologically and personally to find how to handle the changes that do occur. A non-experienced interpreter might feel professionally or personally threatened by these changes as these might also affect the interlocutors' feelings and demeanour towards everyone in the setting, including the interpreter.

Socrates also considered that as BNMs are difficult to handle, the interpreter has to be experienced, volatile, smart and able to understand the atmosphere of the meeting.

Business meetings, he argued, present a great challenge for interpreters. He specifically said:

...He (the interpreter) has to be very volatile, smart and able to understand the atmosphere around him, especially when he is amongst two people. It is easier when you're in a cabin and you have to translate a text you have in front of you. But when you're dealing with two individuals, you always need to feel the room.
(Socrates)

Socrates made the comparison between BNS and conference interpreting and implied that business settings present greater challenges, as the interpreter in BS has to understand the dynamics of the room and the dynamics between the interlocutors, in order to perform his role efficiently. He insinuated that the interpreter's role is not fixed but is rather formulated and moulded around the dynamics of the communicative event. Both Stella and Socrates noted that in business settings, interpreters have to become more involved with the subject matter and the subjects speaking, and therefore their role assessment by the clients is based on more criteria than in other settings.

There were a few comparisons made by informants between business settings with judicial settings. Informants stated that both of these settings can incur unpredictable outcome and fluctuation of feelings. Nevertheless, the Court is a more controlled environment than a business meeting and so BNS are more challenging in this respect. Another comparison that came up during the interviews was again with judicial settings, in terms of translation faithfulness. Informants concurred that in judicial settings, interpreters are expected to translate almost literally what is being said, whereas in the latter, interpreters are usually expected to be part of the process and participate more actively in the meeting.

6.4.7 Team member

The results of this theme (appendix H) is contradicting. Two of the interviewees undeniably supported the stance that they form part of the client's team by participating more actively in the negotiation process. On the other hand the remaining two informants claimed that, even though clients try to make them their team members, they

refuse. They are not willing or prepared to take up more roles than those prescribed by the codes or the existing literature.

... these clients consider me as an ally who will help them achieve their goals, by offering arguments they have not thought of themselves or help them during the negotiation. (Achilles)

Both informants that supported the team-member claim explained that they do so as they feel that they have a moral responsibility towards the person that employed them i.e.,

Look, I fight for my client. That's the right thing to do, isn't it?... when you are paid by one client, it goes without saying that you'll defend him (Stella).

Moreover, they perceive their role as being part of the client's team because the mandate given by clients is predominantly this. They believe that the client that hired them is expecting more than just linguistic assistance for their meetings and therefore in order to satisfy the mandate given by the clients, they fill those roles as well as those prescribed.

I believe that when you're interpreting a business negotiation, your role is different. That's why you should be more than an interpreter; you should be part of the company... You should know what their product is, how they should develop and promote it, you should share the vision of the company in order to be able to pass it on. (Socrates)

According to the informants' data, clients explain or have to explain the aim of the meeting, in order for the interpreter to understand the desired outcome and participate accordingly in the negotiation process. The interpreters that supported the team-membership concept stated that by understanding the end-target of the meeting, they can filter the information they get accordingly and thus practise more effectively.

The two interpreters who claimed to be impartial and neutral to both parties supported the conduit model of interpretation. They say that they are not participating by adding, omitting or filtering pieces of information and they believe that their role is restricted to conveying what they hear in another language. They even stated that they

refuse to hear about the aim of the meeting in order not to be considered biased by the other interlocutor. More specifically Achilles said:

I do not want to know the purpose of the client, because I do not want to be suspected for lack of objectivity, or that I have a secret agenda. Although I have been a professional for many years, anyone can be unwillingly affected. Therefore, I would rather not know specifics about the negotiation, but I want to know the general idea ... (Achilles)

As a supporter of the conduit model, Achilles refuses to hear more details about the negotiation at hand when this information is offered beforehand. He does this in order not to lose face as an impartial interpreter, who is there to assist the communication. He believes that his role is to be ‘invisible’ and therefore teaming up with a client is not justified or even ethical.

One interesting element of all interviews, is that all informants used the term “client” to refer to the person or company that hired them. Even the two interviewees that leaned towards the conduit model of the role referred to one of the participants of the meeting – the one that hired them as “client” (GR: πελάτης). This choice of word reveals that all interviewees consider one party of the negotiation as their client, and so they provide services for this party. This does not imply that they do not aid the other interlocutor but rather that, as in all service provision professions, they tend to look after their client’s needs and satisfaction levels first. As Stella stated in the previous statement, she fights for her client first i.e., for the person that pays her, and then for the other parties.

An element of interest is also that all four interviews declared their clients’ tendency to make the interpreter part of their team and so make them participate more actively in the negotiation process. Regardless of the approach the interviewees take concerning their role, they all have experienced such behaviour or prompts from their clients. As Maria stated: ‘(they i.e., the clients) try to persuade me to become a part of the process’ This might reveal the clients’ needs and expectations or interpreters’ role, which we will see at a later stage of this study, during the interviews with business people.

Overall though, two informants perceive their role as a member of the negotiating team for the company paying their fees. It is worth noting that these two

informants are both T&I business owners and therefore, make a living from T&I. This fact might influence their role perception, as apart from being interpreters they are also business minded and so strive to keep and maintain their customers. In order to do so, they feel that they have to serve the client's interests first, as he is the one paying and giving trust and is expected to rehire interpreters if satisfied with the services they provide. The two interviewees that favoured the conduit model on the other hand, have less experience in business negotiation settings and their income is not exclusively dependent on interpreting.

6.4.8 Greek context

This theme might be useful for a later studies to compare and contrast its findings with others generated in other countries. The data (Appendix I) could be a base for further studies. All four interpreters interviewed lived abroad at some point in their life and this gave them enough information to be able to compare and contrast practises and perceptions of interpreters' role between Greece and other countries. There were some comparisons that came up throughout the interviews.

'...the problem that we, Greek interpreters, face is that our clients have not understood and do not know what interpreting is, and therefore they do not know what is needed and what should be offered to us' (Socrates)

Informants perceive Greek clients as being difficult to deal with, because of their cultural traits but more importantly, because of their lack of experience on how to work with interpreters. Interviewees stressed more than once that Greek clients are not trained and therefore, do not know what to ask and/or expect from an interpreter. Moreover, due to their lack of experience and training in working with interpreters, they fail to appreciate the work that interpreters do.

Informants are not satisfied with the perceptions that their clients have on their role. They believe that their role is not appreciated by the clients and they do not seem to realise their contribution to the meeting. They blame this on a lack of experience and education on the clients' part. Informants believe that Greek business owners do not yet have enough experience with working with interpreters. They also believe that it is part

of the Greek character not to be flexible and adaptable to situations, which is at odds with the fluctuating intensity and character of the setting.

Overall, it is clear in this chapter, that interpreters do not feel appreciated by clients and they strongly believe that clients abroad are more appreciative of the interpreter' role. This might be due to how the professional is organised and recognised abroad in comparison to Greece. As stated in the previous chapters, Greece only started educating their interpreters to a University level relatively recently and professional recognition occurred considerably earlier.

CHAPTER 7

Schematic representation and discussion of interview results – Study 2

The themes that emerged from this set of data can be represented graphically as follows:

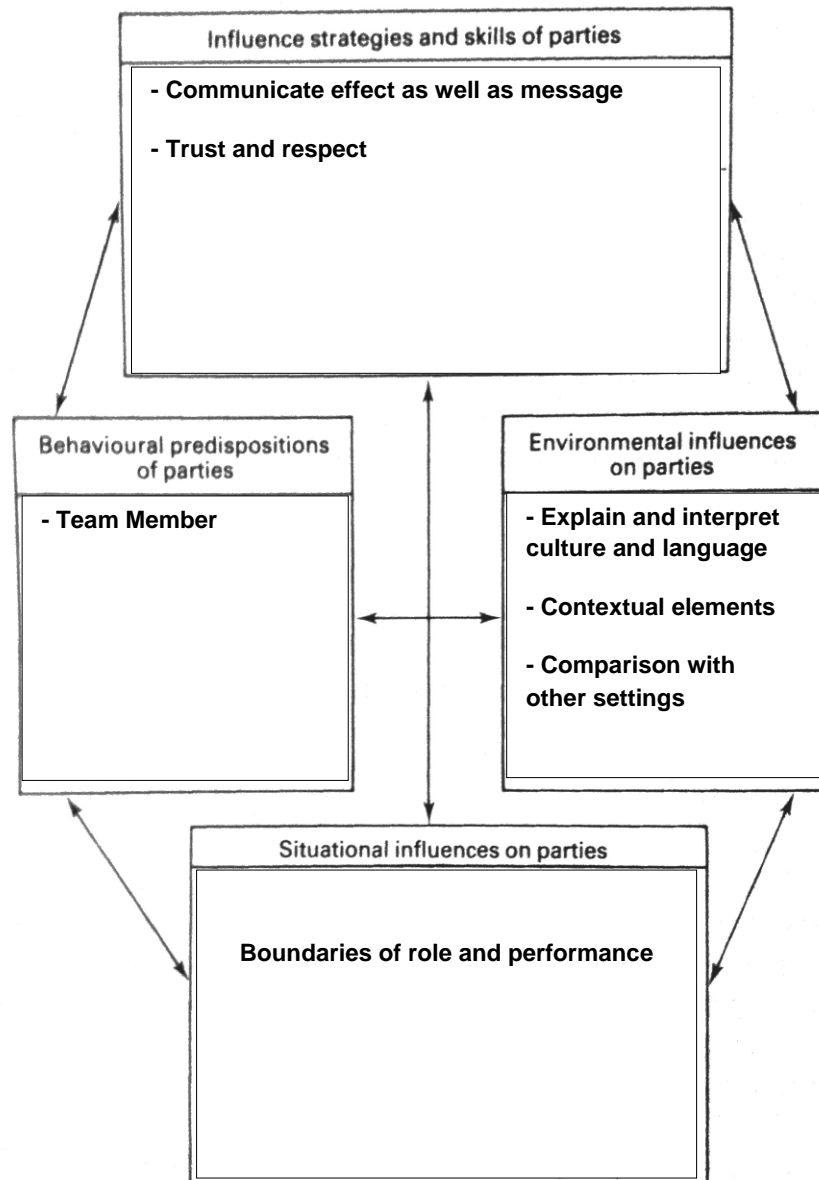


Figure 4. Schematic representation of interview data (based on the influences presented by McCall and Warrington, 1984).

7.1.1 Influence Strategies and skills of the parties

As in the previous study, this theme includes the same codes that emerged from the data coding method. Both ‘Communicate effect as well as message’, as well as ‘Trust and respect’ belong to this category. The interviews were revealing as to when and why interpreters perceive their role in the way they believe they do and they stated in study 1. Therefore, in this study, the interviewees started by stating their preferred stance or positioning in the interaction and then they exemplified this position. Half of the interviewees expressed a preference for a conduit model of role. They were supporting the fact that the interpreter is present in the interaction in order to facilitate somebody else’s interaction and thus they have no voice in that interaction, but rather are the conduits in it. However, through the narrative interviewing technique, these interviewees presented various elements of participation and further involvement in the interaction. They narrated that when they felt that something is being insinuated or expressed para-linguistically or extra-linguistically which might affect or alter the outcome of the interaction, then they take action to clarify that element. Moreover, they supported that they adapt the message they hear in order to have the same effect in the target language. They try to use words and expressions that are of equal or similar intensity to carry similar emotional equivalence in order to be faithful to the message they feel and hear. These interviewees therefore express covert participation elements, since they do not want their participation to be visible.

The other half of the participants, expressed an overt participatory position in the interaction. They gave metaphors to explain how they feel of their role, like antennae that receive and transmit signals or psychologists who have to understand more than the spoken words. Consequently, all the interviewees expressed various degrees of participation and visibility in the interaction.

As to the element of trust and respect, this theme was divided into two distinct sub-categories in the analysis of data. The first was ‘skills and training’, while the second was ‘bi-directional trust and respect’. Skills and training was included in this theme since these are decisive elements for the degree and elements of trust and respect, i.e., the more experienced or educated the clients are the more they come to respect the interpreters’ role. They are therefore connected sub-categories, which fit perfectly into the negotiation interactional model, since the category we are dealing with responds to influences of trust, power and status of negotiators.

Experience was a term frequently used by all interviewees. This term was given different definitions and meanings. Some of these referred to experience in the setting, others for experience in that sector of work so that the interpreter understood the terminology, while others talked about experiences in life in general, so interpreters were equipped with the skills and ability to navigate difficult situations. Experience was also mentioned when talking about clients and negotiators in general. Interpreters believe that the more experienced a client is working with interpreters, the more respect he would have towards the role and the services of the interpreter. Some interviewees were despondent of the clients' perceptions of the interpreters' role. Some others had strong opinions on how trusting clients were towards them and how they wanted interpreters to be skilled and experienced in order to be able to aid them out of difficult situations while negotiating.

Overall, interviewees reported that all participants in the interaction need to have influence strategies and skills, including themselves. These elements and skills are decisive criteria for when they are employed by their clients.

7.1.2. Behavioural predispositions of parties

This category is different from the category in study 1, since the element of 'communicative rules and conventions' coded in study 1 did not transpose to study 2. This code was not deemed to be important from the data analysis of study 1, and thus was left out of the interview schedule. Since other themes and codes emerged, these new codes were categorised in the negotiation interactional model accordingly.

One new code that emerged and belongs to this category is that of 'Team-membership'. This is of great importance, since it illustrates and explains the reasons behind the interpreters decisions to participate or not in the interaction.

As stated in the data analysis, all interviewees used the word 'client' to refer to the person or company who paid for their services. This reveals a certain degree of dependence and loyalty to that person or company. If interpreters speak about clients and other parties, then their behavioural predisposition towards the negotiation parties is present. Interpreters want to satisfy their clients and so provide the best possible service to them as well as to the interaction. Even informants who were more overtly keen on

the conduit model of interaction referred to clients and narrated stories of clients who wanted them to become team-members in their negotiations. This then creates a predisposition for the interpreters, who are aware of the needs or perceptions of their client.

Sharing the aim and negotiation tactics of the client's team with the interpreter is not only a good practice so interpreters are aware of these elements, but can also be a further conscious or sub-conscious technique to involve the interpreter in the client's negotiation team. By exposing the negotiation techniques and / or the aims of the client, then the interpreter is sharing information that is sensitive and thus becomes part of the client's negotiation team.

7.1.3 Environmental influences on Parties

Environmental influences according to McCall and Warrington (1984), include elements and conceptions of micro and macro culture. As explained in previous sections of the thesis, these can involve esoteric processes or predetermined ideas of making sense of the world and the situation around yourself. Therefore, the elements that fall into this category in this second study were 'explain and interpret culture and language', 'contextual elements', and 'comparisons with other settings'.

Language can be one of the constructs of culture as explained in the literature review. Interpreters in the first study were dichotomised when it came to their participatory role when *faux pas* arose in the communicative events they were interpreting. In this second qualitative study, interpreters were clearer as to when and why they intervened and took up a more participatory and visible role in the interaction. More specifically, they exhibited and presented clear views on when to intervene, clear strategies as to how to intervene and a clear rationale behind their perceived and preferred at the specific time role.

The interpreters stated that the success of business negotiation interpreting lies on the result of the meeting. Therefore, since their performance would be assessed according to this outcome of the meeting (i.e. not the financial outcome but rather the successful communicative process), they moulded their performance around this criterion. Therefore, even though they try to be invisible at times, when they believe that a

cultural element can come in the way of a successful outcome, then they intervene to correct or amend the issue. They therefore have a participatory, visible role when it comes to explaining or interpreting culture together with language elements.

Moreover, interpreters concurred that all contextual elements such as the character of the interlocutors, the setting and subject matter, can affect their participatory role. Even though interviewees were rather ambivalent as they should be as a professional, they agreed that all these elements affected their performance. Setting is the most prominent element affecting this performance but we should not disregard the other two. Interviewees have different strategies to overcome or deal with these contextual issues, such as taking control of communication or even pre-educating the clients on various aspects of the communication.

Here, interpreters also agreed that business negotiation settings, are challenging setting of work for interpreters. It could be said that interpreters are asked to take up more roles and responsibilities compared to other roles and they are asked to regulate their role according to the constantly changing dynamics of the setting.

7.1.4. Situational influences on parties

As stated in section 2.9 of the literature review, this element is mainly concerned with role perceptions and the motivational orientation of interlocutors. Accordingly, the theme belonging in this element, i.e., 'Boundaries of role and performance', the perceptions of role for interpreters are a two folded issue. One concerns the perceptions of role by the interpreters themselves, while the other is the perceptions that interpreters believe clients have on their role.

There is a discrepancy even in this qualitative study regarding the perception of role by interpreters, since they are divided between the poles of visibility and invisibility. Half of the interviewees exhibited a visible role while practising, whereas the others were more comfortable to be hidden behind the perception of neutrality and invisibility. A visible practice is more in accordance with the suggested successful model of interaction in negotiations as suggested by the schematic model of McCall and Warrington (1984). These interpreters exhibit equal responsibility with the other

interlocutors and so claim equal distribution of power. A visible practice of role also has a cooperative motivational orientation.

When we look at the perceptions that clients have on interpreters' roles, as perceived by interpreters themselves, all the interviewees agree that clients are not very clear on how they want them to practice their roles. This might be due to the changing dynamics of settings and the negotiation environment. All interviewees also agreed that clients do ask interpreters to take up more roles than those traditionally prescribed to them. Therefore, how the clients see the interpreters role leans more to the particularly framework, which is more in accordance with the interactional element of 'situational influences' as suggested by McCall and Warrington (1984)

CHAPTER 8 –Study 3

Interviews with Business people

In the previous sections, we have seen and analysed how interpreters perceive their role in business negotiation settings. This section aims to investigate how business people who work with interpreters in those settings, consider and experience the interpreters' role. More specifically, this section presents the analysis of the interviews conducted with business people in Greece, with particular emphasis upon the experiences that they have working with interpreters, and upon their expectations.

8.1 Participants

This study was informed by data collected from the following participants. The table gives an overview of the informants' background. All actual names have been substituted in order to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Sector of Work</i>
1	Ilias	Thessaloniki, Gr	Clothing manufacture and retail
2	Tasos	Larisa, GR	Import-Export of Industrial Machinery
3	Vaggelis	Trikala, GR	Merchant of beauty products
4	Gregory	Katerini, GR	Production & trade of medical material
5	Giannis	Katerini, GR	Manufacture & retails of frames, doors and windows
6	Panos	Litochoro, GR	Retail of solar water heating systems
7	Eleni	Katerini, GR	Travel agent

Table 18. Demographic details of the interviewees – study 3

8.2 Perceptions of Business People

An initial descriptive overview of each interview will be given followed by a synthesis of the interviews in the themes that incurred during the coding process.

8.2.1. Ilias

Ilias owns one of the largest textiles companies in Greece. He has worked extensively with both *ad-hoc* and professional interpreters. From the outset of the interview, he was very firm in his perception of the interpreters' role. When asked to define the role of interpreters as he perceives or expects it to be, the primary factor that he stated was experience. He said:

“If an entrepreneur is not fluent in the language of any country who is trying to make a transaction, he has to have an experienced interpreter with him. I’m not talking about anyone with language competency. Some people take anyone who has a language proficiency degree etc. and then they think that this person will be able to meet the needs. As I told you, it is a matter of terminology. So now, if I ask you for example: what does ‘clasp’ mean, you will have to search in your dictionary. Or if I ask you to tell me cause, you are a bit experienced, what is a ‘corset bone’, many would believe you will not be able to answer that cause it is something specialized, because the terminology is such that you did not need to know it or your teachers did not have to teach you. It therefore plays a very important role to have an interpreter next to you that does not only know the language well, but is also your kind of person. That person should be identified with you. Because the purpose is how you will be able to sell the product. You might have a good product and by a mistranslation caused by your interpreter, this product will go to the wastebasket.” (Ilias)

According to Ilias, an interpreter working in business negotiation settings should be experienced to be able to prepare in terms of terminology better and so be ready to face any linguistic challenges that might arise in a negotiation meeting. Terminology is something that cannot be learned through instruction, Ilias believes. It is something that an experienced interpreter is knowledgeable of, because he/she knows how to prepare for it. Terminology is paramount for people like Ilias that count on product characteristics in order to boost its quality and value. The use of the right terminology may exhibit professionalism since these terms are part of what probably defines his products and company.

Apart from experience, Ilias stated that the professional interpreter should also identify with his company's goals and products, in order to be able to sell or promote

them according to the company's requirements. It is not very clear from this quote whether Ilias was simply referring to the terminological aspects of communication again or whether he was also referring to other elements such as cultural elements and company's goals. What is clear from this quote however is that Ilias believes that an interpreter that cannot identify with the client or the company that the client represents, might harm the negotiation process i.e., the interpreter could misrepresent the company and its products.

Ilias then referred to the appearance and the demeanour of the interpreter. He indicated that as the interpreter is chosen by his company, when on duty, that person's appearance reflects the company's image.

"We had an interpreter, from Serbia, who I did not like to have with me. His demeanour and the way he was dressed was not appropriate." (Ilias)

Ilias talks about appropriateness, as he has certain standards in mind. A non-appropriate appearance according to Ilias' dress-code standards, compromises the face and integrity of the company. The same is true for demeanour. An interpreter who does not know how to behave appropriately jeopardises the company's image. Body-language is also an important parameter in the interpreter's demeanour. An inappropriate body posture might imperil the negotiation outcome. Ilias gave examples to support his statements; narrating past experiences and anecdotes. He also tried to explain his point by giving examples such as the following:

"It's not a matter of being strict. That's professionalism... I'll give you an example. If you came into my office and you saw me with my shirt hanging out of my trousers and open to my chest, what would you think? You would say, where have I come to? If you saw me wearing the protective uniform over there, which I have to wear sometimes as when I go into the production unit 'cause my clothes get full of fluff, you would not think badly of me. You know why? Because you would think that he knows his thing. He is into his production process. (...) The same goes for the interpreter. (...) If the interpreter does not have a suit to wear, then he should not come for the job" (Ilias)

According to the quote above, we have an illustration of what Ilias believes to be appropriate attire for a job. Appropriateness comes with what is the most usual attire in a specific setting, whether that is a business-uniform or a suit. Therefore, we can

conclude that what Ilias believes to be appropriate attire for an interpreter is a suit, since this is the most usual dress-code in business meetings that he attends to.

Even though Ilias' expectations are quite rigid, throughout his interview he kept excusing his stern statements by saying that the interpreter is a valuable tool to the negotiation process and if he/she does not adhere to those standards, then that person could damage both companies that are part of the negotiation process.

"I'll give you another example. I was in Serbia and had that interpreter with me. The interpreter had to come to a panel discussion and he came wearing a rain-jacket, whereas all the other delegates were in suits. I felt so embarrassed. Everyone was saying 'look who they brought with them'. It would have been different if he was dressed accordingly. I am not saying that he should have a 50 euros tie, a 10 euros one would be equally fine. But the way he was dressed spoiled our whole presence. You might think that I am stick and rigid, but it's not that. It's about professionalism and about rules. For me these things are very important. An interpreter can win everybody over or even spoil the whole meeting." (Ilias)

This statement, gives a clear indication that dress codes are important for Ilias. He believes that a poorly dressed interpreter or someone who is not dressed on the same note like the other delegates, then that might affect his company's image.

An interpreter should, according to Ilias, also be patient. He/she should know how to keep calm, listen and tone down the discussion when things get heated. The demeanour of the interpreter is also 'visible' through telephone negotiations or via an email message. An inexperienced interpreter would not know how to establish a rapport with the other company and be part of Ilias' team. He considers interpreters as part of his own negotiating team and so most of the time, he even prints business visiting cards for the interpreters with his company's logo on. He believes that this makes the negotiating process more professional and less random. He said:

"... when the meeting is important, he should also have business cards with him. Not his own personal business-card but one with the logo of the company he is working for on top, if possible. It's ok if we pay to print twenty or thirty business-cards for the interpreter. In that way we can present him as part of the company. We can present him as part of the management. In that case though,

the interpreter should know how to present himself because anything silly might have a bad effect on the whole company.” (Ilias)

This account is revealing in terms of how business people see interpreters. Business people who work with interpreters want more than just a language facilitator. They see interpreters as part of the company and they even try to make that possible and more believable by printing them business-cards. According to the interview data that makes business people feel as if they have an ally who can assist them throughout the negotiation. Moreover, in that case the interpreter is considered a professional who is not an outsider at the meeting. The card printing strategy might create different problems though in case the interpreter commits a *faux pas* or makes a mistake according to the client’s view. A bad decision by the interpreter who is presented as management, might put the integrity and the face of the company he represents in jeopardy.

Ilias expects his interpreters to act as his consultants as well. He stated that during the negotiating process, entrepreneurs have to consider various components of the deal at hand, such as costs, expenses, profits, co-operations etc.. The interpreter on the other hand, has a clearer mind and thus should consult the entrepreneur when he/she grasps something in the behaviour or behind the words of the negotiating parties, according to Ilias. The interpreter’s mind should work towards establishing the best possible rapport with the other company.

Trust is an additional element that Ilias touched upon during his interview. He stated that his trust has been broken by interpreters in a few instances and this is why he usually employs two interpreters for negotiations that involve large sums of money. In this way, he ensures that the interpreters do not negotiate a profit margin for themselves or anything omitted or overlooked by one interpreter, can be filled in by the other. He said:

“...when I go into an important meeting, I don’t just go with one (interpreter). That can create many problems. That is because you can have one interpreter who is very cunning if I may use that expression, and he can play the commission-game behind you back, and of course without you realising anything. It’s safer to have another person next to you or even record everything – today’s technology makes that so easy, you can just stick something into the

pocket of your jacket - . If you record stuff, then you go back and listen to the whole meeting with someone else who knows (the language). I've done that and I realised the (behind the backs) game. I've lost cooperation in that way.”
(Ilias)

According to Ilias, two interpreters can provide a safety net for the integrity of the meeting and the accounts spoken. Ilias, comes across as non-trusting towards interpreters, which may be due to a previous bad experience or lack of language skills to evaluate for himself the integrity of the meeting. Two set of eyes are better to analyse and two voices are better to advise Ilias. Furthermore, when Ilias was asked whether the interpreter should protect both negotiating parties, he replied that the interpreter's role is to secure a functional long-term cooperation. Therefore, he/she should protect both parties if needed without misleading or misrepresenting either of the parties.

“Do you believe that the interpreter should protect and defend both parties if needed, or should he mainly protect and defend you?”

I believe that the interpreter should defend a functional long-term cooperation. Because if he misleads or misinterprets me or the other party, then this cooperation would not be long-lasting. It may have a very short expiry date.” (Ilias)

From this statement, we can concur that Ilias does not want his interpreter to be unjust or misleading to either parties. Even though in his interview he made it clear that he wants a participating interpreter who takes up more roles than prescribed by the existing literature and he wants the interpreter to team up with his negotiation team, he does not want his interpreter to be unfaithful to the negotiation meeting in general. He wants a professional who is able to support both teams in order to reach the desired outcome, which is a long lasting cooperation. He has a clear idea of how he wants his interpreters to practice their roles and this clear message is given very firmly throughout his interview.

8.2.2. Tasos

Tasos has worked extensively with interpreters over the past decade. He feels that having an interpreter is crucial, especially in transactions that deal with large sums of money. He feels confident enough to communicate without the help of an interpreter,

relying on his limited knowledge of English, for transactions which do not involve long-lasting business arrangements, or only concern small amounts of money. On the other hand when a long-lasting cooperation or larger sums of money are involved, he always has an interpreter next to him, in order to make sure that he understands everything that is being said or implied.

The main criterion for choosing an interpreter is the interpreter's demeanour, and he elaborates further by saying that the interpreter's posture, appearance and knowing when, how and how long to laugh, speak or intervene is a crucial element for his/her selection.

"...number one criterion should be his appearance. His demeanour should give me the sense of trust; that he is of good standing; that he knows how to do his job other than just knowing how to translate or interpret. He should know how to behave at the negotiating table, how to laugh, or be aware if he should laugh in the first place, if he should persist, if he should smoothen the discussion in order to bring the conversation back down, so that the whole negotiation does not go to waste." (Tasos)

In this account, Tasos makes it implicitly clear that an interpreter's role is not just to translate or interpret. He believes that knowing how to do the job, i.e., how to behave and act according to the situation at hand is an important part of the role. He believes that this part of the role may make the negotiation either succeed or not.

Tasos also made reference to the confidence and the experience levels of the interpreter. He feels that when an interpreter is experienced, then he transmits this confidence to the negotiating parties and so facilitates the communication process more efficiently. He believes that an experienced interpreter is in a position to understand flaws or gaps in the communication process and bridge or amend them. He expects the interpreter to remind him of important elements of the communication, to exemplify and verbalise feelings and emotions, and even stop him when the interpreter feels that Tasos is committing a *faux pas*. A confident and experienced interpreter is an important 'tool of communication' according to Tasos. He believes that:

An important factor will certainly be the experience, because I would feel safe that if something goes wrong by my side, the interpreter will correct me, will prompt me, remind me or give me those data in order to feel safe about the

product to be sold (...) The monetary value of my product increases, when the interpreter is standing on his own feet. (Tasos)

It is evident from this account, that Tasos wants the interpreter to be part of his negotiating team. He needs more than a language facilitator. He wants a team-member who would be able to play more roles than prescribed in the literature. According to Tasos, this can be provided by interpreters who are experienced, not only in the profession but also with personal experience that made them strong and able to stand 'on their own feet'.

Most interpreters Tasos has worked with were not prepared to do what he expected. The problem, according to Tasos, lies in the fact that most interpreters are trained simply to repeat what someone else has said.

“Do you know what is unfortunate? When interpreters are graduating from an interpreting school, they learn that ‘και’ (translation=and) means 'and' and that alpha can only by ‘α’. They do not learn how to trade, the trading act, the commercial act of whatever that might be, either of a book, a piece of equipment or a service”. (Tasos)

According to Tasos, interpreters are not trained to be part of a commercial environment, to participate in business meetings. Being present in this environment however, gives the interpreter different roles and responsibilities. Ultimately, it is the interpreters who can find the appropriate words in order to persuade the interlocutor, or who can grasp the underlying messages behind the words. Interpreters have great power in their hands. According to Tasos, interpreters should practice persuasive techniques, negotiation strategies, understand feelings and emotions and form a coalition with the person who hired them, in order to achieve the best possible negotiating results.

When Tasos was asked whether he informs the interpreter of his expectations, he answered

“No, because I have to feel confident of his demeanour first. Once I feel confident that the interpreter knows how to react and communicate effectively then I give him the space and the time to express himself more freely.” (Tasos)

Therefore, Tasos does not have uniform reactions towards his interpreters. He might have clear expectations as to how he wants his interpreters to practice their roles,

but it is the interpreters' demeanour and knowledge that prompts his behaviour towards them, including how much space he leaves to the interpreters to act freely or to participate actively in the negotiation. He does not inform the interpreter of how he wants the interpreting role to unfold, but Tasos' approach suggests a more flexible approach to the role at hand to the interpreter.

Sincerity is a further characteristic that interpreters should possess, according to Tasos. He believes that commercial transactions are governed by customs and practices of fairness and interpreters should adhere to these. Therefore, even if the interpreter is part of his team, he should be fair, sincere and trustworthy towards all parties of the interaction, whilst siding with him.

Tasos characterised interpreters with many metaphors during his interview. He called interpreters 'comrades', 'co-fighters', 'a valuable tool', 'co-operators', 'people who either destroy you or give you a signed contract' and all these labels signify his perception of the interpreters' job. According to Tasos, the perfect interpreter should be self-confident, educated to a high level, adaptable and knowledgeable of the subject matter and the culture. The perfect interpreter should differ from a photocopying machine, in the sense that he/she is there to participate and handle emotions. He/she should be able to overcome difficult situations, handle the intensity of emotions, be able to smoothen out a situation that has gone bad, be sincere and know how to stand in a business environment. Tasos' ideal interpreter would be someone that understands prompts and can take the negotiations into his/her own hands when needed.

8.2.3 *Vaggelis*

Vaggelis does not have vast experience working with interpreters. He has only worked with a professional interpreter a few times. He believes that interpreters are essential for smooth communication when parties have different linguistic backgrounds. Interpreters can also be 'good co-operators'. He used words such as the 'person in between' or 'agent' in order to characterise the role of interpreters. He believes that the interpreter's job and role does not involve merely transferring words. Interpreters should transfer the meta-text and the feelings and emotions behind the messages spoken.

“The interpreter is called upon to play many roles and is quite difficult, because every person has his own culture and his own attitudes either as a person - a citizen of any country or as a company. As we are dealing with human beings, the interpreter as the broker has to be very good at the role that he was assigned to provide, not only in regards to the translation of what is said but mainly at the human level of contact and communication.” (Vaggelis)

Vagellis emphasises the human aspect of communication. He believes that the primary aim of the interpreter should be to create a good rapport with the parties in order to proceed to a smooth and fruitful negotiation. His account shows understanding that as people with different backgrounds have more than just linguistic barriers, a good rapport is essential in order to create contact with the negotiating parties.

The main criteria for choosing an interpreter are language and cultural knowledge, personality, work experience as an interpreter and life experiences in general. Vaggelis believes that the life experiences of the interpreter help equip the interpreter with the social knowledge and skills required when present in a business meeting. He also believes that these experiences inform his/her personality and thus can transfer or interpret feelings and emotions more accurately. He emphasised the fact that every business transaction is originally based on human relationships and acceptance. As in the account above, the following account also concurs to his belief that without the interpreter building a rapport with the negotiating parties, the meeting is doomed to fail.

“First of all the interpreter should be humane and full of experiences (...) it would be ideal if the interpreter was a business owner himself as well (...) He should be knowledgeable of the trade industry on any sector, ‘cause things are done differently in different sectors and in different countries. In that way he should be able to cope better with the role at hand. I would love my interpreter to be a good manager, who could also be able to help me in difficult situations, when around the negotiation table.” (Vaggelis)

Vagellis gives clear indications that he prefers a visible interpreter who is there to assist him when needed. He wants an interpreter who has a voice and can consult him and direct him. He even goes as far to say that he would prefer the interpreter to be a

manager him/herself in order to provide him with possible solutions when faced with a difficult situation.

When Vaggelis was asked to remember a good experience with an interpreter he noted that he was positively impressed with his interpreter's speed to foresee what the other interlocutors were saying in order to be able to feed him with that information and the speed with which his interpreter was able to identify and summarize the most important points of communication, in order not to lose valuable time and resources.

Vaggelis also stressed the importance of sincerity. He stated that the interpreter should be sincere towards all members of the interaction and towards the meeting itself. Good human relations are paramount for the successful outcome of a business meeting and thus when an interpreter is not sincere, this jeopardizes the meeting. When Vaggelis was asked to describe the ideal business negotiation interpreter, once again he stressed the importance of the interpreter's life experiences and the interpreter's character. These two elements can play a crucial role in the way the interpreter handles situations that he/she encounters.

When Vaggelis was asked if the presence of the interpreter hinders the negotiation process in some way, he replied:

"I don't think he does. The reason that the interpreter is in the interaction is to solve a problem, to bring people closer, to connect them because there is this language barrier." (Vaggelis)

Even in this quote Vaggelis stresses the importance of the human, social connection and communication. He ascribes the role of the interpreter to this aim, i.e., to bring people divided by language, closer. He does not focus on the language transfer, or the translation of words and meaning, but rather the communication process. Vaggelis' interview gave a clear indication, that he does not want an invisible interpreter in his meetings, but he rather wants a collaborator who can help him achieve the best possible rapport with the negotiating parties and so achieve the best possible negotiating outcome.

8.2.4 Gregory

Gregory has worked extensively, and still works with interpreters. He believes that he has a clear idea of the role of interpreters and this is made apparent by the words and expressions he uses during his interview i.e., ‘it is very clear what the interpreter should do’. Nevertheless, there are a few contradictions in his interview that we shall analyse here.

A couple of times in his interview he mentioned that interpreters should do exactly what their job title asks them to do, i.e., interpret what they hear.

“interpreters should do exactly what their job title asks them to do, that is interpret what they hear (...) I believe that there are two kinds of interpreters. Amateurs and professionals. Professional interpreters should be like actors. They should act in the way and to the role I ask them to. That’s the way to win because, he is the first one to understand what is happening...” (Gregory)

In this rendition, we clearly see the first contradiction in Gregory’s statements. At the beginning of the statement, he argued that interpreters should interpret what they hear and thus be like conduits. Two sentences later though, he contradicts this by saying that interpreters should be like actors and act according to the script that he – the client gives. This is at odds with the conduit model and adds more roles than that prescribed by the conduit model. In this segment, Gregory supports a more participant interpreter, someone who is involved in the negotiation and teams up with his company’s goals in order to achieve the desired target.

As he goes into further detail about what he expects from interpreters and inserts his narrations of anecdotes, he contradicts his initial statement of ‘interpreters should do exactly what the title suggests’ by saying that he expects the interpreter to contribute more to the interaction. He expects the professional interpreter to explain feelings and emotions, to add or omit something to the discussion that would make it more appropriate for the culture and to protect him – the businessman who hired the interpreter for this job. By protection, he means linguistic protection and helping him to save face in case of a *faux pas*.

Gregory stated that the interpreter should always try to get into the businessperson’s position and thus do anything in his/her power and knowledge to assist him. His rationale behind this is that it is he who hires interpreters to assist him to overcome the linguistic barrier. If Gregory understood the language of the other

interlocutor, he would be able to foresee more, to understand more and probably react more appropriately and timely to issues as they arise. The role of the interpreter, according to Gregory, is to fill that gap and exemplify all this information that he cannot understand due to this lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge.

When Gregory was asked about the criteria that he uses to choose an interpreter, he stressed the appearance of the interpreter and his/her demeanour. He stated that appearance is very important especially when the interpreter is a woman, because men are always more reluctant to talk about price reduction in the presence of a woman. He feels that an intelligent female interpreter with a good appearance and demeanour would be able to negotiate more effectively with the other parties. More specifically he said:

“If it’s a woman she should be an attractive woman. That’s is because an attractive woman can lour my supplier, she could continually grab his attention and it would be easier for me to gain what I want...” (Gregory)

Even though this might read as a condescending comment by the interviewee, what this statements implies is that the interpreter is used as a tool in the negotiation room, in order to assist the client win over the negotiation. An attractive interpreter would be able to make his position easier and would also represent the image of the company he/she is working with better.

Gregory also pointed out the ‘endurance/durability’ of an interpreter i.e., how capable is that person to follow him around when he is doing business. When he goes abroad for business, his meetings might be back to back and cause considerable stress. An interpreter should be able to follow his work rhythm. He also mentioned language proficiency as one of the prerequisites for hiring an interpreter.

Overall Gregory wanted an interpreter who is teaming up with his company’s goals. Someone who can be there for him and his company. More specifically he said:

“I want the interpreter to be there for me! To be part of my company and be an entrepreneur.” (Gregory)

His initial statement of wanting the interpreter to be only interpreting what he/she hears has been contradicted many times within the interview. Therefore, even if Gregory believes that the interpreter’s role should be a conduit, through his own

narrations and anecdotes, he admits he works with the interpreter in a more participative way.

8.2.5 *Giannis*

Giannis owns a franchise branch of a big International company, which trades in doors, windows and other structures for the housing industry. He is also a member of the local Board of the Chambers of Commerce in the town of Katerini and so has worked with interpreters quite extensively in the past, either for his business or as a Chambers' committee member.

From the start of his interview he makes the distinction between professional and *ad-hoc* interpreters. He says that professional interpreters should be more knowledgeable and trustworthy, they usually bring greater experience to meetings and their aptitude should be in general more professional. He considers professional interpreters to be an 'important tool' for achieving his goal in business negotiations but also for presenting a better face to other negotiators.

"...so if you want to remain alive in this business you should provide quality. Therefore I strongly believe that a professional interpreter provides [an] official and high quality service. Those Greeks that we usually find abroad and act as interpreters... are not official and do not give a good identity to the job to be done." (Giannis)

Giannis in this statement mentions the word *identity* in order to express the gravity, the authority and the image that a professional interpreter can give initially to the company that hired him/her, and also to the whole meeting. He believes that a professional interpreter can elevate the value of the meeting and the companies involved. As with the previous interviews, Giannis pays a lot of attention to the image that his company is projecting and the impression that it creates to others, through the presence of the interpreter.

“If you go to an organised agency or interpreter, then this interpreter would stay with you for the rest of the meetings in the future. I believe that person would be more serious about the job at hand and he would bring better results.”
(Giannis)

Another interesting element in Giannis’ statement is the fact that he talks about the continuation of cooperation with the interpreter. He believes that a professional interpreter would be more serious about the job and provide more ‘gravity’ to the company and the meeting as a whole and that person would be capable of accompanying the company in further meetings. Giannis has been a businessman for many years and is aware that cooperation is lasting, and continuity is always preferred. An interpreter that worked with the same company/ies more than once knows the background of the meetings, knows the personality of the interlocutors’ and is more able to deal with various aspects of the meeting. Moreover, bringing a different interpreter to each meeting would probably harm the company’s image as it does not indicate consistency of cooperation.

Even though at the start of his interview Giannis stated that he wants an interpreter to repeat in the other language what one has said, later in his interview he stated that he expects the interpreter to correct, or amend what he says.

“Since I pay him (the interpreter), I expect him to protect my own interests. I pay him to be with me and thus I trust him. Therefore if I say something wrong, or say something that I shouldn’t, he has to protect me. Ok? Whatever he hears or sees should be directly reported to me, since I pay. When you go to a meeting in order to start a negotiation, you do not go there to deceit or anything like that. You are trying to make a healthy, working cooperation that can help you achieve your goals. Nevertheless, the interpreter should protect me because I am paying.” (Giannis)

Giannis refers to the payment issue a few times in his interview. As in this segment, he makes it clear that since the interpreter is paid by him, then that interpreter should protect the interests of his company. Even though he repeats the fact that the interpreter is his own due to the financial transaction, he does not support the idea that the meeting should have any elements of deceit. He believes that the interpreter should correct or amend unintentional cultural *faux pas*, or anything in the communication that

he – as a negotiator - did not get right. He believes that the interpreter should be a member of his negotiating team and protect him more than the others.

When asked about the criteria that he has in order to choose an interpreter, he said that the interpreter's demeanour and appearance is very important. These two elements can lay the foundations of the meeting and can give the gravity and authority that Giannis wants for the situation. He believes that a badly dressed interpreter can jeopardise the integrity of his company and the gravity of the meeting. Since the interpreter is hired by him, he/she belongs to Giannis' team, and anything that the interpreter does or says affects the face and the importance given to his company. Moreover, he stressed that a professional interpreter should be very knowledgeable of the language and of the culture that they are cooperating with, in order to assist him in establishing a rapport with the other negotiating party.

The sense of trust is also quite important. Once again, the demeanour of the interpreter is that element that can establish the sense of trust and respect of all negotiating parties towards the interpreter. Without trust towards the interpreter, the whole meeting could go bust, since the negotiating parties may not trust the interpreter to do his/her job correctly and ethically.

Giannis also believes that the character of the interpreter is important. The interpreter should be clever enough to smoothen out the conversation if needed or to be a 'referee' to the negotiation process if needed. He said:

“An interpreter should know how to pour oil to troubled waters (lit. sooth the spirits). He does not need to aggravate me or the other party further, cause then we will have an explosion. The interpreter should sooth things down. Because as we said earlier, when I pay the interpreter he definitely has to protect me, but even if he is paid by all parties he should calm everyone down (...) He should do that because of his human nature. Because in a meeting we do not have to argue and have disputes. The interpreter should be a referee in a way, by trying to tranquilize us.” (Giannis)

Giannis' aim is to achieve a working relationship with the other negotiating party. In order to achieve this aim, he knows that in some meetings, the spirits could get agitated and since interests can be conflicting, issues can arise. He sees the interpreter as the in-between person ,who has or is giving the power to tranquillize he spirits and the

negotiation atmosphere. Thus, Giannis' perceptions and needs of the interpreters role is more inclusive. He gives the interpreter extra powers and rights and wants him/her to be a participant in the process.

8.2.6 Panos

Panos has worked extensively with *ad-hoc* interpreters on his trips abroad when he is negotiating with other suppliers of water-solar systems. He usually tries to employ people in his company, who are native to the country that he is cooperating with in order to assist him for interpreting assignments. For example, when he started working in Bulgaria, he tries to employ a Bulgarian worker who could also serve as an interpreter when needed. He does this because he feels that a native of the country in question, would understand the culture much better and so understand, interpret and assist him in more depth. His account was very revealing:

“... I have an interpreter in Bulgaria that is even (...) doing all the chores, she goes to the revenue for me, she speaks to my lawyers and she has helped me immensely because she knows the culture. She is Bulgarian you see... I am also a citizen of Bulgaria and have a Bulgarian ID but it's not the same. (...) because she is there, nobody can fool me. I have gained so much money because of her. She helped me not to lose money, because she knows how people think... She even protected me by stopping me from doing business with certain people”.

(Panos)

This account is an eloquent description of Panos' perception of the interpreter's role. He sees the interpreter as someone who can help him or his company over a variety of jobs, simply because that person speaks the language and knows the culture. In that way he is not wasting time or resources into trying to understand the processes in different countries and so gains more money and respect. In the issue of wasting time and resources Panos also said:

“(the best experience) ...was in Italy, when I was negotiating new pellet stoves. He (the person working as an interpreter) succeeded to go and talk alone with the managers of the factories, within a week. He was a Greek guy, who studied in Italy and knew Italian very well. He was not a real interpreter, but he helped

me get a further 10% commission and he managed to persuade the Italian to pay the transportation expenses after a month. I did not manage to do that alone. They were very adamant with me. He made them understand the size of my company and the influence I have in the Greek market. He praised my company. The interpreter should be able to praise you a little bit. Right?" (Panos)

Nevertheless, he recognises that a professional interpreter would be more equipped to do the job, as he/she would have more general knowledge on various aspects of culture, business, he/she would know the etiquette of business meetings and would not need as much information as a worker would. He believes that a professional interpreter is able to understand more, with less information provided.

"You can say a few things to the (professional) interpreter and he would understand everything in order to persuade the client. He would try to do the job for you. To bring the desired end-result as if it was his own business at stake. He would be able to understand because that's his job. He is educated and knowledgeable. The worker can only translate what was said." (Panos)

In his accounts, Panos gave a few examples of how every negotiation team has their own 'spy' and thus he strongly believes that an interpreter should also play the role of the spy for the company that hired him. They should try to decode and analyse the opposite negotiating team behaviour in order to protect the business who hired them. During his interview Panos touched upon the prices that professional interpreters charge and said that he believes that their prices are justified only if they do what they are supposed to do – according to his perception of the role, i.e., to take up the negotiation process on their own and behave as if they are the business person themselves, to save the time and energy of the businessperson.

The title 'interpreter' does not mean that he only knows the language. Isn't that so? Because everyone can know the language, even my daughter. The ultimate role of the interpreter is to get into the mind of the people that are involved in the meeting. That's why he is paid more than a worker, because he will earn that money back. (Panos)

Panos connected the fees charged by the interpreters with the extra services offered by professionals in comparison with people who just know the language. In this statement, he implied that it is easy to find someone who speaks the language and

therefore can relay back and forth what is been saying. He finds that ‘interpreting’ is easy to do and it is easy to find people who will do it. Therefore, when he is considering a professional interpreter, he believes that the services should be more than just language provision. The interpreter, as we stated above according to Panos’ perception, should be a ‘spy’ for his company, a team-member and someone who can help his company achieve its targets.

When Panos was asked how he would want the ideal interpreter to be, he answered that initially the interpreter should be able to follow the work rhythm of the businessperson. Moreover, an interpreter should have extensive knowledge on various aspects of business or even to have studied management if possible. Their demeanour should be such that would transmit the sense of authority to all parties. Moreover, interpreters should be trustworthy and a fighter. They should be prepared to fight for the company’s rights as if they were their own and represent the company to the other negotiating parties in the best possible way. Presentation is also important for an interpreter as a well presented person tends to have more authority in the business world. Finally, the ideal interpreter would know the line of business he/she is dealing with and would work inside the company for more than just meetings.

8.2.7 Eleni

Eleni works in the tourism industry. She runs a big travel agency in the town of Katerini and her time is quite limited. She could only give 10 minutes for this interview and therefore her answers were quite brief, but still informative.

The first thing that Eleni looks at when choosing an interpreter is trustworthiness.

“Initially I’d want my interpreter to be of my absolute trust. Then I want him to have an excellent command in both languages of the negotiation process, so that he can give me an accurate and faithful translation.” (Eleni)

Interpreters should be trustworthy and reliable to the business that hired them, according to Eleni. The excellent knowledge of the two languages in question, is a prerequisite for an interpreter, but as the interview continued, we understand that that linguistic knowledge goes together with excellent knowledge of the culture, the ethics and customs of both negotiating parties. She would prefer to have an interpreter who is

not native in Greek in order to be able to understand the other negotiators' culture and expressions more. An interpreter with more inside knowledge on the other negotiating party's culture would be able to understand more and give important information to Eleni. The interpreter would be able to exemplify all the information that is not only transferred linguistically.

'Initially I want to have everything that has been said in the discussion, translated. Apart from that I would like the interpreter to belong to the culture or the country that I am negotiating with. I don't want a Greek interpreter. That's because I can understand Greeks; how they think, they feel and react. When the interpreter belongs to the other side, from the other negotiating country, I would want him/her to transfer my interlocutors' feelings, emotions and mood.' (Eleni)

Eleni expects the interpreter to work more towards getting the best outcome for her company as he/she is paid by her. On the other hand though, she feels that it is not appropriate for an interpreter to correct what she is saying, as she takes responsibility for her own words and actions. She therefore expects the interpreter to inform her of the other parties' paralinguistic elements but she does not want her own words to be exemplified or analysed any further. She prefers an 'exact' interpretation of her own words.

When Eleni was asked to relate a good experience that she had with a business negotiation interpreter, she narrated a story with an interpreter that had inside knowledge of the industry and therefore knew what she was talking about, and who helped a lot towards closing a deal with the other company. That interpreter assisted Eleni greatly with explaining the culture and the other side's way of thinking, which helped towards a positive negotiating outcome.

Eleni feels that the demeanour of the interpreter is important. She said:

"The demeanour of the interpreter is very important. You cannot get a funny guy to do this job. You want a serious person, a person who knows how to behave (literary: stand). Because when you go to close a deal, you do not just do that job. You also chit chat for other stuff and the interpreter should know how to do that and express his opinion. The interpreter should be able to defend what I'm saying(...) In general, he should be an educated person who can stand in any

setting. Because I image that an interpreter works for me today and then the next day he works for something completely different. He should be able to know how to behave in every setting.” (Eleni)

According to Eleni, a professional interpreter should know how to behave in every occasion and should have good general knowledge on various issues. She is aware that interpreters are called to serve in various settings and this is why she believes that the interpreter should be well educated in order to be able to understand these settings. Eleni feels that appearance is not significant for the interpreter but his demeanour is important.

Overall, Eleni’s interview demonstrated her preference towards the traditional role of interpreters, i.e., the conduit model. Later on during the interview though, Eleni shared that she wants her interpreter to know how to behave and express his opinion. Thus, this stance demonstrates a selective preference over the visible interpreter.

8.2.8 *Vasilis*

Vasilis works in the textile industry both as a manufacturer and as a retailer. He has worked extensively with professional interpreters. From the very beginning of his interview, he made it clear that interpreters, according to his own perception, is not only useful for interpreting the words that they hears, but are rather collaborators who helps business people take the best possible decisions.

“Apart from translating words, an interpreter helps in the decision making process, by expressing his view, his opinion and by using his techniques. I believe an interpreter should be a gifted person with lots of skills, knowledge, experiences and above all with his own opinion on different issues. That helps immensely.” (Vasilis)

Vasilis wants an interpreter who wears more hats than simply that of a linguistic mediator. He wants to have a professional who is able to express his/her own opinion and help throughout the negotiation process. He believes that an interpreter who just translates words is not useful in business negotiation settings as this can be done through a machine or ‘google translate’ as he specifically said at a later stage on his interview.

According to Vasilis, an interpreter is another negotiating party, who belongs to the team of the hiring company and thus should express the company's position as well as their own opinion, have good general knowledge and the common sense to understand when and how to intercede. There were several instances that Vasilis remembered during the interview that manifested this involvement of the interpreter. Vasilis usually asks the opinion of the interpreter before making a decision, and before committing to something. He always welcomes the interpreter's view on things as well as their opinion. He believes that the interpreter is a second set of ears with more general and unbiased knowledge on the subject matter and so their opinion can be quite important and revealing.

"I'd like the interpreter to be on my side and critique and give his perspective and opinion. Many times I've asked the opinion of the interpreter. What is your opinion; Tell me what you would do? How would you deal with that? (...) The interpreter should assist both sides and above all be fair and objective. But I want him to express opinions in order to help my decision making process."
(Vasilis)

The interpreter, according to Vasilis, should be correct, objective and trustworthy towards both negotiating parties. He/she should have extensive knowledge on cultural elements and habits, have wide general knowledge, business manners and be aware of the etiquette of conducting business. An interpreter should be dignified, have good demeanour and be of good standing. Even body language and the appearance of the interpreter are very important elements. An interpreter according to Vasilis should have a wide encyclopaedic knowledge as:

"A person with wide encyclopaedic knowledge and specialized in the subject matter, so that we can speak the same language and use the same jargon. In negotiations there are certain procedures that are followed. A different approach is needed for a client and a different to a supplier." (Vasilis)

Vasilis is aware that different tactics and procedures are followed each time, according to the setting, the subject matter being negotiated or the person negotiating. A good interpreter according to Vasilis should also be aware of these differences and his/her demeanour should support all these different stances and roles.

According to Vasilis, a professional interpreter facilitates communication between all negotiating parties, but is mainly there to safeguard, work with and advise the businessperson that hired him/her. A good interpreter should be experienced in many business sectors and have wide knowledge of business culture. After all, doing business is building relationships first, in Vasilis' view.

Vasilis also used the title '*informal ambassador*' for the interpreter. He said this to stress the importance of the interpreter both for his company but also for the other negotiating party. An interpreter can become a formal ambassador of both cultures, since he/she is there to smoothen and explain cultural elements but is also an ambassador of the company that hired him, i.e., he/she is the face of the company. This title gives the interpreter more mandate than the traditional conduit model. This mandate transfers great power but also responsibilities to the interpreter.

Overall, Vasilis is in favour of the visible interpreter who is present at the negotiation table in order to assist both negotiating parties come to a favourable agreement. He also believes that the interpreter should belong to the negotiation team of the company that hired him/her and as such should interfere, state his/her view and advice the client whenever needed. When Vasilis was asked whether he informs the interpreter on how he wants him to serve his role his answer was the following:

“Do you brief the interpreter before you go into the meeting on how you want him to serve his role?”

No. No.

But does the interpreter understand what you want?

Yes. He understands. I believe that this is obvious, that his role should be like that...” (Vasilis)

According to this statement, Vasilis believes that it is obvious that the interpreter's role should be more involved in negotiation meetings. He believes that his perception on the interpreter's role is universal and shared by the interpreters he works with.

8.3 Recurring themes

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, the interviews with the business people were based on a semi-structured interview protocol, partially established based on the themes that emerged from the other two set of data gathered for this thesis. Since the first two sets of data were collected from a different group of people (i.e., interpreters), and were answering different questions, the new data emerging from the interviews with business people created new themes and also supported some of the existing themes. For the scopes of the analysis we explore in sequence of recurrence and therefore significance according to the interviewees.

8.3.1 Experience

Experience is a term that came up many times in each interview. All interviewees mentioned experience when narrating past experiences with interpreters in BNS. They attributed their good experiences and cooperation with specific interpreters to the fact that these interpreters were ‘experienced’.

Experience is also a prominent criterion for all interviewees when choosing an interpreter. Each interviewee defined ‘experience’ slightly differently from the others, but they all concurred in that they believe it is necessary for the interpreter to have exposure to life, business and negotiation experiences. Real life exposure to situations that would teach the interpreter how to deal with these situations is reported to be more important than learning from a book. None of the interviewees talked about formal interpreting qualifications or training. They all focused on experience, although they pointed out the importance of learning how to cope and deal with various situations that might arise. Experience that come from active participation entails more realistic and actual accumulated knowledge.

Some of the interviewees also mentioned experience in terms of the business sector that the negotiation involves. According to the interviewees, if interpreters have past experience in that sector, then they would more probably be more knowledgeable of the specific jargon and terminology used in the specific meeting. There were a few examples that were narrated by the interviewees stressing the importance of being aware of the language used in their specific sector. By using the appropriate language and terminology in meetings, made the negotiation team with the interpreter come across as more reliable and trustworthy. Moreover, it could create a rapport with the other

negotiating parties, since they all use the same jargon and they can communicate on the same level.

Furthermore, some interviewees mentioned experience in the sense of past employment of the interpreter by the same company. If the interpreter had worked for the same company before, then they could establish a rapport with the company and its people, since all parties – the interpreter and the people belonging to that company - were aware of the subject matter in significant depth and were aware of the work rhythm, demeanour and way of doing business with that specific client and business.

Experience, according to the interviewees' opinion, gives the interpreter the knowledge and confidence to foresee or deal with situations that come up in the negotiation process. There were a few interviewees who made it clear that negotiation settings are quite demanding as many attitudes, moods and techniques might come up that an interpreter should know how to deal with appropriately. Real life experiences are a key element to answer these demands and challenges with confidence.

Confidence is an additional important ingredient to the negotiation skills mixture. It provides the sense of security to all negotiating parties that the interpreter is going to facilitate the process in the best way possible. Confidence according to some comes with exposure and experience to the business environment.

8.3.2 Demeanour and Appearance

This theme is constituted by two different but closely related concepts. All the interviewees commented on the demeanour of the interpreter. Demeanour includes all behavioural characteristics such as attitude, conduct, manners, airs and appearance. It includes all those traits in the interpreters' para-linguistic, extra-linguistic and body-language attitude such as gaze, pace, attitude and prosody. All interviewees stated that a misdemeanor by the interpreter would be an embarrassment for their company. They felt the interpreter's demeanor reflects on their personal and company's choices, since they are the ones employing him/her. Moreover as the interpreter is part of their negotiating team, an interpreter that does not know his/her place, or how to behave accordingly to the situation, reflects badly on their team in general. The issue of appearances and impressions was a frequent element of discussion in the interviews.

Clients were quite concerned with the impression their company is portrayed either by behavior and appearance or by the choices of the interpreters.

Saving, securing or even improving the company's face or image, is a concept that came up frequently during the interviews. The interpreter's demeanor reflects and shapes the company's face according to the interviewees. Face in this instance can be connected with the issue of appearances and impressions made previously but can also be extended to a different dimension, i.e., the corporate one. All negotiators belong to or represent a company. Apart from their own face while entering a negotiation, they also have to create and safeguard their company's face which is as important as their own, since the negotiator is simply the vehicle to achieve a goal. An interpreter who belongs to a negotiator's team needs to mold and maintain positive feeling around both the negotiators' faces and also the company's to which he/she belongs to.

Appearance, and more specifically the choice of clothing is commented by all interviewees separately to demeanor. This element is quite crucial for most interviewees as dressing is believed to be the first point of evaluating a person's integrity, status and authority. Bad dress code could reflect badly on their company's status and their negotiating authority. Some interviewees gave examples of bad experiences they had with interpreters who did not respect the unspoken dress code of a meeting, which embarrassed them and brought the image of their company into question. At this point the interviewees again made it clear in their accounts, that the interpreters ought to know and follow these unspoken rules, without having to be warned by the client.

8.3.3. Team-member

All of the interviewees concurred that in business negotiation settings, they required more than simply linguistic skills from the interpreters. They directly or indirectly presented the interpreter as a member of their negotiation team, or they used titles such as member of their company, a valuable co-operator, a consultant and a valuable tool, in order to present the interpreter's role. None of the interviewees gave a negative or apathetic connotation to the role of interpreters. Business people, i.e., clients value the contribution of interpreters highly in negotiation meetings.

Most of the participants in this set of interviewees did not see the value of having an interpreter who simply translated words, or as some called it a ‘voice-machine’, whilst doing business. Most of the interviewees gave good and bad experiences of interpreters that were facilitating the negotiation process in more than just one way i.e., lexical level interpreting and how this affected the negotiation’s outcome. Interpreters who were just summarizing without giving further information or cues to the participants, or who took the whole negotiation process into their hands were neither considered trustworthy, nor professional by the interviewees. On the other hand, interpreters who were expanding and explaining business concepts further, were considered as valuable tools, good co-operators and great professionals. One of the participants said that if the interpreter is merely there to interpret what she hears then she is not worth her money, as Google-translate can do this for him. This statement can be taken as a clear expression of the clients’ expectations. Unlike the old-fashioned concept of interpreters as conduits, clients in these settings are demanding more than just interpretation of the words that are spoken.

Interviewees understand that their linguistic deficiency is not the only handicap in conducting business with companies abroad. They appreciate that their inability to communicate effectively also lies in the lack of cultural knowledge, extra and paralinguistic cues of the other negotiators and so forth. An interpreter, according to the interviewees should possess this knowledge and be able to consult and warn them when needed. A professional interpreter should have a profound knowledge of both cultures and countries and thus facilitate the communication process with these elements. Some of the interviewees made it apparent that they believe professional interpreters are already trained to intervene and exemplify cultural or extra linguistic elements.

Business people expect and need the interpreter to intervene and actively participate in the negotiation process, without however, exceeding their client’s limits. The interpreter according to the informants should be able to understand the limits of their clients and be able to respect them. They should act as team-members for the client’s team and as such, they should intervene when and if their role asks them to.

8.3.4 Trust and Respect

Trust was an additional element that all interviewees touched upon. They mentioned that trust should be bi-directional, involving all negotiating parties. More specifically, they mentioned that one of the most important elements for hiring an interpreter is trust, which is initially established by appropriate appearance and demeanour which corresponds to the setting. If the interpreter does not have a trusting demeanour, then they would not usually be hired. There were some bad experiences narrated by the informants where interpreters betrayed the trust of the client. A few of the interviewees reported that some interpreters negotiated and received profit, or margin percentages without informing the hiring party. These practices by interpreters were reported as common to some of the interviewees, which made them extra wary and vigilant during the negotiating process. One of the interviewees reported that when large sums of money were involved in a negotiation, he usually employs two interpreters in order to safeguard his company from hidden transactions, such as these ones, and to be sure that everything is being reported back and forth as he wishes to, without any omissions or mistakes.

Most interviewees also made it clear that even though they need and expect the interpreters to be their team-members and consultants on their meetings, they also want interpreters to be fair towards all negotiating parties. Most of them concurred that a good transaction is a fair transaction. This means that interpreters should exemplify, analyse and consult all negotiating parties when needed, in order to safeguard the integrity and sincerity of the process. Nevertheless, they all commented that the interpreter's priority should be the hiring company's rights and interests.

8.3.5 Communicate affect as well as message

The element of exemplifying feelings, emotions and the intensity of spoken messages arose in all interviews. All interviewees felt that this element was central to the role of the interpreter in business negotiation settings. They understood that messages might be emotionally charged and that extra-linguistic elements might alter the meaning of the words spoken. All participants in these interviews agreed that feelings and emotions in negotiation meetings might shift and alternate significantly in business negotiation meetings. These emotions need to be transferred to the negotiating

parties as they might significantly alter the words that are spoken and ultimately the whole outcome of the meeting.

Some of the interviewees noted that the message does not need to be transferred in its totality, as it is the result of the joint effect of the spoken messages or body language, para- and extra-linguistic elements. The gist of the message might be enough to carry the conversation ahead, but feelings are important and need to be understood and made clear to the negotiating to avoid any misunderstandings and so to take appropriate action and decisions. All participants paid extra attention to the feelings, emotions and impressions that are created as they feel that they are the cornerstone of the negotiation successful outcome.

8.3.6 Explain and interpret culture and language

Informants concurred that cultural elements should be understood by all parties and thus interpreted by interpreters, as they are crucial to avoid *faux pas* between negotiators of different cultural backgrounds. Most interviewees said that they usually choose interpreters that have either lived in the country where the negotiation is taking place, or they choose a native that speaks Greek as a second language. In this way they assure that the interpreter is knowledgeable of the culture in question and can protect them from various pitfalls.

“... I have an interpreter in Bulgaria that is even (...) doing all the chores, she goes to the revenue for me, she speaks to my lawyers and she has helped me immensely because she knows the culture. She is Bulgarian you see... I am also a citizen of Bulgaria and have a Bulgarian ID but it's not the same. (...) because she is there, nobody can fool me. I have gained so much money because of her. She helped me not to lose money, because she knows how people think... She even protected me by stopping me from doing business with certain people.”
(Panos)

With this quote it is apparent that clients like Panos need more than linguistic help from an interpreter. They need a trusted cooperator, a consultant and a knowledgeable person who can assist them in many ways. They understand that by understanding the culture, you can avoid many pitfalls and you cannot be fooled easily.

Therefore, they need the interpreter to have this cultural knowledge to be able to safeguard them from these perils. Clients understand that just understanding the language of the negotiation is not enough to understand the culture. This is why they usually chose interpreters that are either native to the other culture or that have lived in that other culture for a significant amount of time.

8.4. Indicative insights of the Interviews

The interviews with users of business negotiation interpreters were aimed to unfold the perceptions, expectations and the needs of clients of what they expected from the role of interpreters in business settings. All participants in this part of the study were appreciative of the linguistic challenges in intercultural business meetings. They understood that language barriers might hinder the communication process, or even endanger the negotiation. Misinterpretations or lost communicative elements might get in the way of future cooperation. Therefore, the ‘traditional’ role of interpreters as language facilitators is deemed to be important and paramount by all participants in this study. Despite the fact that language facilitation is considered as the basis of the services provided by the interpreters, clients still took this element for granted. They appreciate its importance but they neither want nor expect the interpreter merely to be present in the negotiation process to reiterate back and forth what he hears.

These data are quite revealing since they reveal the inconsistency between the perceptions that clients have of the interpreter’s role and their expectations. Clients understand that the role prescribed by the existing literature is not the one needed or mandated to the interpreters in business settings. They were aware that interpreters are primarily trained to reiterate the words or sentences that they hear in a meeting. Even though they might not be aware of the interpreting literature, they concur that the role that interpreters is set to do, is simply transferring words and sentences from one language to another. This belief though, does not concur with the expectations that business people have of interpreters. They expect and need that their interpreters take up more roles in the meeting and become an integral part of their negotiating team. As part of their team, they expect interpreters to interpret and explain more than just words. They need their interpreters to explain feelings and emotions, to be culturally and non-

verbally acute and knowledgeable in order to uncover any unspoken messages. That is they should act as consultants or even as integral part of the company that hired them.

As part of the client's team, the interpreter is expected to warn and consult the client of possible *faux pas* and of the negotiating dynamics of the room. They are expected to analyze, evaluate and use both verbal and non-verbal communicative cues in order to facilitate better understanding between the parties. Moreover, interpreters should act as advisors to the hiring company, as they are the one with the cultural and linguistic knowledge to facilitate the communicative process better. As a team-member the interpreter is expected to carry out more than the prescribed role. He should be part of the negotiation team and thus practice negotiating acts. He should also act as a 'spy' for the opposing negotiating party, as he is the one who can understand cues, feelings and emotions.

Despite of the strong consensus of the clients on the team-member issue, they all report to agree on the fact that they do not want their interpreters to be unjust, or unfaithful to the other party. The interpreter is there to safeguard the integrity of the meeting, but since he is paid by one negotiating team, he should try his/her best to safeguard and protect that team's interests. This point is also a contradictory one since protecting the team's interests could also mean undermining or under-representing the opposing team's interests. Nevertheless, clients appear to have a just predisposition towards their fellow- negotiating parties and the whole meeting in general even if they make such a claim.

Clients are aware of the dynamic knowledge and skills assets interpreters possess by being aware of the cultural, linguistic and paralinguistic elements of both or all negotiating parties. They believe that an interpreter can improve the negotiation outcome, or even destroy it with their choice of words, choice of stance towards the meeting and their whole demeanor in general.

The concept of demeanor was frequently used by interviewees. As explained earlier, demeanor as expressed by interviewees involves all elements such as attitude, conduct, manner, body-language, appearance, gaze, pace of talk, prosody etc.. On the first quick reading of the data, one might understand that interviewees were interested in the demeanor of the interpreter, so that they can just feel relaxed about the person that accompanies them to offer this service. On a closer reading of the data though, it is

apparent that there are further and deeper reasons why the clients need an interpreter who they consider has a good demeanor.

We can describe those reasons with reference to three different levels, i) personal, ii) interpersonal and iii) outcome related. On the personal level, clients feel that an interpreter with good demeanor confirms their skills in understanding and choosing the appropriate professional for the job. This is a confirmation of their own skill and abilities reflecting back on them, since the interpreter was their choice. Moreover, since people who carry out negotiations in business settings are usually highly ranked, they also relate their choices back to the company and vice-versa. Therefore, a bad choice of interpreter does not only reflect badly on them personally but also on the company. On the interpersonal level, they want the interpreters to be of good demeanor since this is a big part of their job. The interpreter's job is to communicate with all negotiating parties, and relay the messages in the best possible way. Inadequate demeanor, according to the client would endanger the relationship, as well as the cooperation between the negotiating parties. On the outcome related level, clients believe that an interpreter with a good demeanor that answers positively to the two levels of challenges i.e., the personal and the interpersonal can achieve a better negotiating result for both or all parties. If the interpreter is as present and visible as they need them to be, then the outcome of the meeting should be mutually beneficial.

The concept of trust was also explicitly or implicitly mentioned by all interviewees. Sometimes this element of trust was connected with the various levels of experience the interpreters hold. As mentioned previously, experience for the interviewees was segregated on different levels. These included, life, work and business related experience, which correlate well with the elements of trust and respect. When the interviewees became aware or understood that their interpreters had all or most of these levels of experience, then they exhibit greater trust and respect towards them and their job. Business people feel that when an interpreter possesses these levels of trust, he/she can then be more ready to cope with the difficulties that negotiations settings uphold and also to deal more effectively with the negotiating parties. According to the interviewees, interpreters should be able to handle and manage turn taking in the negotiations but also human resource management when needed.

In summary, in this chapter, I have examined the role of interpreters as perceived, experienced and expected by the eight business people interviewed. A semi-

constructed interview protocol was used to facilitate the interview process. The interview schedule was used as a guide to prompt the researchers mind of the issues to be discussed by the interviewee. The data collected were coded and analyzed per informant and per thematic area. A combination of an inductive and a deductive approach was used in order to create the thematic areas for analysis. The data collected and the analysis provided in this chapter will help to compare and contrast the role as perceived and practiced by interpreters (Chapter 8) compared to that perceived and needed by clients in business negotiation settings that will follow in chapter 10.

CHAPTER 9 – Study 3

9.1 Schematic representation and discussion of interview results

In this section, the results of study 3 i.e., the perceptions and experiences of business people regarding interpreters' role, will be schematically represented and analysed on the basis of McCall and Warrington's (1984) schema of negotiation interaction. The themes that emerged from the coding part of the data analysis fall into the following categories:

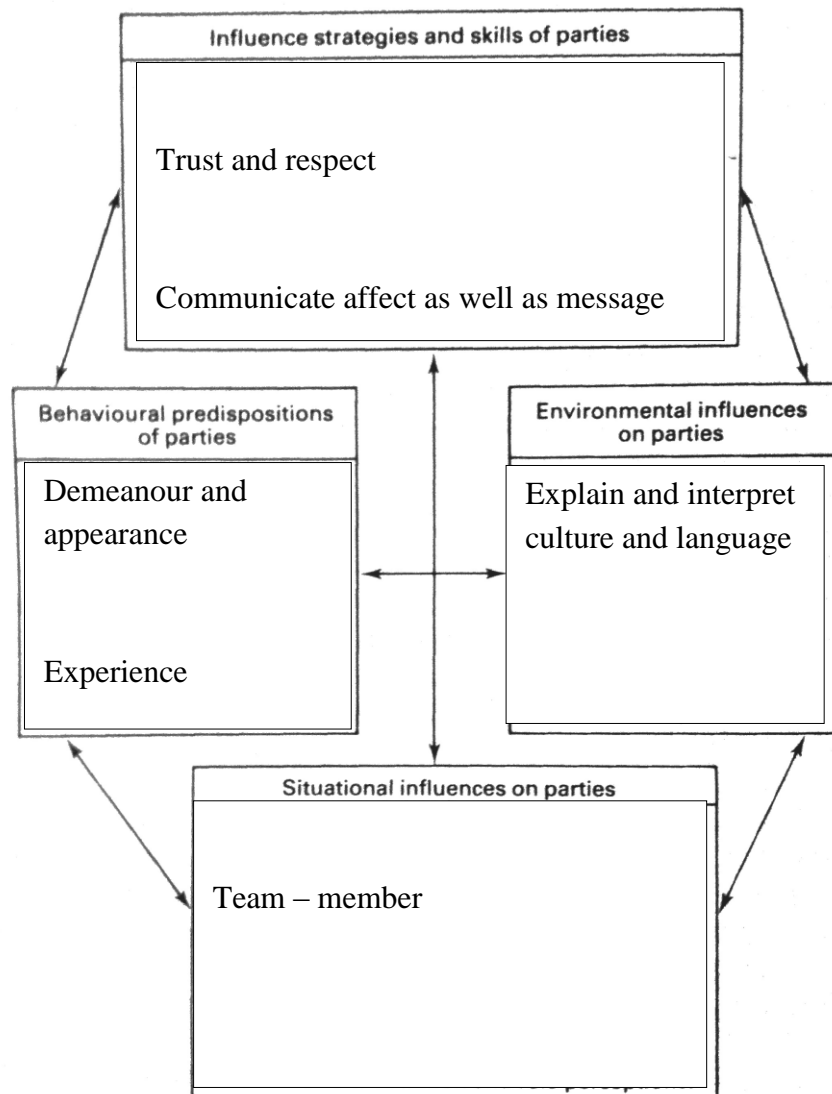


Figure 5. Schematic representation of interview data – study 3 (based on the influences presented by McCall and Warrington, 1984).

9.1.1 Influence Strategies and skills of parties

This factor as presented by McCall and Warrington (1984), mainly focuses on the ability of negotiators to successfully interact in negotiations. More specifically, it looks at their ability to listen, understand, process, react and present a case. As seen in section 2.9, the element of bidirectional or multidirectional trust and respect is central to this category. Based on the answers gathered for study 3, business people believe that trust and respect is a very important factor, not only amongst the negotiators, but also from the interpreter towards the interlocutors of the meeting and vice-versa. Trust, is also a central element when choosing an interpreter for BNM. The choice is based on the trust that business people give to interpreters so that they are able to do their job, not only based on their language skills but also based on their interpersonal and business skills.

Trust has various facets for business people; as a result its interpretation is not just based on this simple definition of reliability. They also need to trust the interpreter not to take advantage of their client's inability to communicate by themselves. Apart from reliable, they also need to be trustworthy in the communication act on behalf of them and not on the interpreter's own interests or hidden agendas.

Business people expect interpreters to take on many roles, including that of the negotiator when needed, in order to safeguard the integrity and successful outcome of the meeting. They want to trust them to carry out the communication process as they believe it should be. On these premises, business people also expect interpreters to explain or try to interpret feelings and emotions as they are presented in the meeting, either verbally or not. All interviewees presented a clear awareness that feelings and emotions are most of the times, more important to be explained in meetings rather than solely the exact words. They are aware that negotiation meeting can get emotionally charged and a lot is at stake when emotions are interpreted wrongly. Therefore, they expect the interpreter as the language and culture expert, to understand these emotionally charged words and expressions and also to understand the para-linguistically charged elements in order to exemplify them.

Business people are also aware that interpreters can become affected by the influence strategies that negotiators use. They believe that the interpreter is a visible and

active member of the negotiation process, and therefore all strategies and skills that influence the negotiators also influence interpreters.

9.1.2. Behavioural predispositions of parties

All business people interviewed for this study agreed that interpreters have and are affected by behavioural predispositions. More specifically they stated that their demeanour, appearance and experience stem from these predispositions and these elements influence them while present in the negotiation process. Therefore, clients are aware that interpreters come with their own set of beliefs and experience to the negotiating table and that these predispositions might or might not shift during the communicative event.

Since all negotiators carry their own behavioural predispositions, this fact also effects how others interact with the interpreter. Linguistic or extra-linguistic communication is affected by the behavioural predispositions and so all negotiators, including how the interpreter is affected and affect others.

Appearance and dress-code was something that was widely discussed by the interviewees in the interviews. They all concurred that the way the interpreters present themselves in a meeting, shows the level of respect towards the meeting, the negotiators and also themselves. Appropriate for the occasion dress sense portrays the self-image that interpreters want to give and their predisposition towards others and the process at hand. Appropriate appearance can also build or shake the attitudinal structuring of the interlocutors and the face of the company, which employed the interpreter. This is because the company that hired the interpreter feels that the interpreter is a professional, who belongs to his negotiation team and therefore all his team-members should follow the image that the company wants to follow.

The theme of 'demeanour and appearance' could also belong to the category of influence strategies and individual skills of parties, since this category also incorporates elements of appropriate behaviour. This behaviour however, mainly refers to that dealing with conflict and the appropriate strategies employed. As a result, this element was placed in the behavioural predispositions category since I was looking at behaviour

of interpreters in general. This interrelation and possible inclusion of the themes in various categories though, show the interdependence of these elements.

Previous interaction experience was a further element that was discussed greatly by the interviewees and belongs to that category of influences. Business people stated that the previous experience of interpreters either in the sector, or in business or in life experience in general, is paramount in order for them to feel that they are able to carry out a successful negotiation. Previous interaction experience may also give interpreters the willingness to carry out their role more actively and thus take up more roles and more risks.

9.1.3. Situational influences on parties

According to McCall and Warrington (1984), this category of influences mainly considers role obligations, the mutual dependence of parties, the distribution of power and the role perceptions of negotiators. All these elements can be found engraved onto the team-member code of the study. Interviewees explicitly talked about interpreters who have or who want to have equal degrees of responsibility as any other team member in the negotiation process. They did not refer to the equal status of interpreters but rather to equal rights and responsibilities within the communicative process.

Business people narrated various successful negotiation stories of visible interpreters, who were facilitating the communication process in more than simply linguistically. Successful interpreting in business settings for the participants of this study, was achieved by an interpreter who became part of the negotiation process and had the feeling of belonging to the team of the paying client. These data concur that clients mandate an active and participant role for interpreters.

Clients also expressively stated that they wanted interpreters to exhibit a positive and cooperative motivational and interpersonal orientation to the negotiation process. They were aware that only through this motivational orientation, interpreters in the same way as other team members, can achieve optimum results. Overall, interviewees talked about interpreters who belong to their negotiation team and who through this position, have equal power and rights in the negotiation process.

9.1.4. Environmental influences on parties

Interviewees were aware of the macro and micro cultural elements that affect the meeting and constitute environmental influences. They all stated that cultural elements affect the negotiation process and they agreed that interpreters should be knowledgeable of these environmental influences. Participants in the study believed that part of the interpreters' role is to explain or clarify any cultural elements as they come up, in case they jeopardise the negotiation or communication process. They perceive the interpreters' role as being participatory and active in the negotiation process. They believe that professional interpreters should safeguard smooth communication and thus the negotiation event through their role. Part of this role is to clarify any cultural elements as they come up either linguistically or para-linguistically.

CHAPTER 10

Final discussion – Conclusions

10.1 Overview

This study sets out to explore the role of interpreters working in business negotiation settings, both as perceived by practitioners and as expected and perceived by clients. Existing definitions of the interpreter's role have mainly been construed through the bubble of interpreters' interests and of their associations (sections 2.2 to 2.4). The role of interpreters is not defined according to the demands of the setting, the market or the clients paying for the service. It is initially defined by what translation theory prescribes (section 2.2) and by what interpreters or professional associations deem to be appropriate for their profession.

Moreover, definitions of the role were drawn in a one-size-fits-all fashion (section 2.3). Practices were blindly transferred (Angelelli, 2008) from one setting to another as prescriptions and not recommendations. As we have seen in the literature review section (2.1 to 2.5), interpreting is a situational practice, which means that the setting prescribes the role characteristics and functions for interpreters. Therefore, the role cannot be fixed in one solid model for all settings and thus scholars such as Mason (2009) prefer to refer to the responsibilities of the interpreter as a positioning rather than a role. This transfer of prescriptions from one setting to the other created the discrepancy between theory and practice, i.e., what interpreters are prescribed to do and what interpreters actually do in each setting. It is common knowledge in the interpreter's world that there are things interpreters do that are not supported by the codes or seen as prescribed roles in existing interpreting literature. This phenomenon has also been characterised by scholars (Tate and Turner, 2001) as a 'conspiracy of silence', i.e., interpreters know but they keep silent in order not to be characterised as stepping out of their prescribed role.

The prescription of role for interpreters comes hand-in-hand in the interpreting literature with the concept of invisibility (Chapter 2). Over the last decades, researchers have extensively challenged the view of the invisible interpreter (Wadensjö, 1998; Metzger, 1999; Angelelli 2001, 2004; Takimoto, 2008; Nicodemus, 2011; Hsieh and Nicodemus, 2015). Nevertheless, practitioners still seem to want to hide behind a cloak

of neutrality (Swabey et al., 2008) and practice their role as invisible language-switching facilitators. This thesis, together with other studies conducted in the past (Pöchhacker, 2000, 2008; Wadensjö, 2008; Nicodemus et al., 2011) reconfirms that interpreters are divided between the visible and the invisible doctrine and that they do not want to accept the full responsibility that their position is giving them (Swabey et al., 2008). This responsibility commissions the interpreter to practice more roles than that of transferring words from one interlocutor to another, and the extent of their role is mandated by the setting, i.e., as a situational practice (Angelelli, 2004; 2006). Even if interpreters want to follow the deontological path of the Codes of Ethics and Codes of Practice, they are often called to take decisions according to the teleology of the situation at hand and to use context-based ethical reasoning (Dean and Pollard, 2011), which is at odds with the Codes. That is why, as shown by the data of this thesis, interpreters are fused between the visible and the invisible doctrine and are thus filled with feelings of guilt when practicing out of role (Tate and Turner, 2001).

There is little interpreting literature on business negotiation settings, so not enough information exists as to what challenges interpreters face, and what are the demands or expectations that are placed upon interpreters in this setting. Moreover, there is no study that looks at the perceptions and expectations of the interpreter's role by clients, in business negotiation settings. This thesis aims to contribute another lens to the construction of a role definition that best reflects the mandate given or answers the demands of the setting. As Dean and Pollard (2005; 2011) suggest, since interpreting is a service provision profession, the role should be mandated by clients' needs, up to the extent that the interpreter's professional status or impartiality is not infringed. Therefore, looking at the needs of both the interpreter who is practicing the profession and of the client who is using the service, it is paramount to establish a service that is required, needed and responds to the needs of the market. By understanding the perceptions of the role both by interpreters and by clients in BNS, we can discover any discrepancy that exists either in the literature or in practice and then start building an understanding of why these differences or perceptions exist. Moreover, by exploring the expectations of clients, the given mandate becomes clearer and interpreters can offer better service by understanding the mandate.

This thesis is constructed by posing a hypothesis (section 1.2). This hypothesis supports the fact that BNIs are active and visible parties of interactions, as previously

proven by other studies (Wadensjö, 1998; Roy, 2000; Angelelli, 2001; Baraldi and Gavioli, 2007). As visible parties, they are expected to exceed their prescribed role as recorded in the existing literature, and take up more roles such as persuading, negotiating, accepting and rejecting positions, to name just a few. Moreover, interpreters in this setting are expected to become part of the client's team and support the company's aims and objectives as another team member of that company. They thus become part of the negotiating team.

In order to academically scrutinize this hypothesis, this thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the perceived role of interpreters in business negotiation meetings both by practising interpreters and business people?
2. What are the expectations and experiences (of business people and interpreters) regarding the interaction approaches of interpreters in business negotiation meetings?

The following sections give the answers to these questions based on the data gathered and analyzed in this three-study thesis. Following this discussion, the validity of the hypothesis will be analyzed and the implications of this study will also be subscribed. Lastly, the limitations of this study will be presented and suggestions for further study will be given.

10.2 Perceived role by interpreters

This research thesis aims to unfold the role perceptions of business negotiation interpreters, both as perceived by interpreters themselves and as perceived and needed by clients. Therefore, the thesis is divided into two main parts. One looks at the interpreter's perceptions of role and the other at the client's perceptions and needs.

In order to understand the perception of role by interpreters, two methodological tools were used. The IPRI tool, initially constructed by Angelelli (2001), sets out to investigate if the participatory role of interpreters in various settings was modified in order to investigate answers concerning the perceptions of interpreters working in business negotiations settings. The adapted tool - BNI-IPRI - was used as a scoping study in order to gather quantitative data which will inform the formation of the other

qualitative methods. BNI-IPRI was piloted and used to gather quantitative answers of interpreters concerning their perceptions of role in business negotiation settings. The data gathered were grouped per theme and analyzed statistically. Follow-up semi-structured interviews were conducted with some of the participants in order to gather in-depth qualitative information on the issues that emerged in BNI-IPRI. The tabulation of the studies, i.e. the scoping, quantitative study and the qualitative study, revealed interesting information and answers concerning the research questions.

According to the data gathered in these studies, interpreters are divided between the two poles of visibility and invisibility when it comes to practising their role. They are aware that the existing literature and the codes prescribe them to be 'invisible' and to be more in accordance to the conduit model that Reddy (1979) suggested. Interpreters that studied T&I at graduate or even higher level, are taught to abide by the neutral or invisible doctrine as prescribed by Seleskovitch and Lederer (1986) more than three decades ago. They are taught to be invisible facilitators of communication, by simply translating what they hear.

Despite the fact that the role perceptions of interpreters seem to shift in academic literature (sections 2.1 to 2.4), the participants of our study reported that they felt uncomfortable when they stepped out of this invisible mode. They felt that they were breaking the codes of conduct of the profession or that they were acting unprofessionally. Interpreters also felt uncomfortable taking on more responsibilities than simply translating the words they hear, since they were not certain how clients would feel about their participatory role. The mandate given to them by clients is not always clear and is not consistent throughout the meeting, interpreters stated. This inconsistency or lack of prior communication concerning their role makes the interpreters feel more at odds with the codes when stepping out of the conduit role.

All participants in these studies, however, presented elements of visibility and active participation, either explicitly or implicitly. Interpreters seem to follow a context-based ethical reasoning (Dean and Pollard, 2011) when they feel it is appropriate in order to safeguard the positive outcome of the communicative event. They exhibited clear understanding that business negotiation interpreting is different from other settings, due to the very character of the setting. They stated that the main aim of these meetings is to accomplish a communication line between the negotiators in order to form a relationship that will bring business to all parties. As relationship forming in

BNMs is important (as seen in sections 2.5 to 2.9), communication of feelings and emotions as well as cultural elements have to be interpreters in order to relay these paralinguistic elements not expressed orally. Moreover, *faux pas* that are common in intercultural communications have to be resolved and not relayed to the other interlocutor, unless this *faux pas* is deliberate.

Interpreters who explicitly supported their visible status stated that they felt they had no other options but to be visible if they wanted to be re-employed by business people. They claimed that they have to think of their 'professional survival' as Monacelli (2005) characterises it, and thus act as needed by clients. Interpreters feel that clients employ them for more than their linguistic skills so they have to respond to this given mandate or as Goffman (1955) claims, they should act according to the role given to them. Interpreters understand that if they want to keep up with competition, they have to offer added value to their services. This added value might come from their participatory role since this shows to the clients that they care about the negotiation at hand and about the client's interests. According to the interpreters' statements, this participation might mean helping the client in the negotiation process, by informing, persuading, negotiating or consulting. They have to be cultural advisors to the client and inform him/her of any *faux pas* in order to prevent any misunderstandings and in general act according to the setting and the clients' needs.

Interpreters realise the importance that their presence is playing to the negotiation outcome. They are not non-persons but are rather fully participating actors (Goffman, 1959) in the interpreted communicative events and their social background, context, knowledge and attitudes influence the way they perceive, analyze and render their utterances. This is in line with what Goffman (1959) claims about the elements that affect meetings. He supports the view that the 'role' people play is informed, shaped and reshaped by his/her personal front and background as well as from his/her audience. Therefore, the interpreter in BNMs is another actor that not only influences and is influenced by the front- and the back-stage actors, but also by the audience. This confirms the authority and power interpreters can exercise in business meetings and can attest to the participatory role of interpreters.

A further factor that forms the mandated role for interpreters is the setting itself. According to interpreters' views, which are in line with the negotiation literature (McCall and Warrington, 1984), the success of the communicative event in business

negotiation settings, is not based only on the language used. Its success lies with the interpersonal and motivational orientation of the negotiators, on behavioural predispositions, on the strategies used and on cultural awareness (McCall and Warrington, 1984). All these factors were used as a conceptual framework for this study, since our setting is based on negotiation meetings. The data collected in this study confirm that interpreters abide, conform and base their role performances on all these factors, and therefore have the same influencing factors as the negotiators themselves. The factors that are evident in negotiation meetings render this setting different from other liaison settings and challenging to work on. BNIs have to comprehend and abide with these factors in order to be useful at the interaction and not hinder the communication process by just being conduits (see section 2.1 to 2.4).

During the interviews (2nd study, Chapter 6), interpreters talked about ‘clients’ and ‘others’. Therefore, interpreters in this study deem the employing person or the company that pays them to be present at the CE as the client. This corroborates the statement by Gentile et.al. (2001), that even though in other liaison settings interpreters work equally for both or all parties, in business settings the reality is different and interpreters are working above all, for one party, i.e. the party paying the interpreter’s fees. Interpreters feel that the paying client has a priority to be served and they exceed their conduit role for them by trying to defend or safeguard their interests in the best possible way. They work together with the client in order to try to achieve the best possible outcome.

Despite this however, all participants in the two first studies stated that they try to defend both parties when needed and when an event comes up that might jeopardise the integrity of the communicative event, they intervene regardless to whose benefit that might be. This indicates a sense of professional integrity by the interpreters, who endeavour to be neutral between the negotiating parties. It also denotes an awareness of their status as the person in between two or more negotiation parties, who met in order to come to an agreement.

The participants of this study exhibited clear understanding that business people employ them for more than their linguistic skills. They all concurred that the way they handle situations and the ability and skills they demonstrate during the negotiation process are crucial factors of their employment. Therefore, clients depend upon the dramaturgical skills of interpreters (Goffman, 1959), i.e. how they perform their role in

the CE. Goffman's metaphor of dramaturgy can also be applied to the interactional communication of interpreters. His theory is valid even today, since this study has proven that all participants in the BNM are affected by the interpersonal and motivational orientation, as well as by their behavioural predispositions, strategies used and cultural awareness (McCall and Warrington, 1984) in various ways as demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 7. Due to the complexity of the CE, its fluctuations in intensity and constant change of strategies, the mere lexical transfer of the conduit model is not a realistic strategy by interpreters. Interpreters need to be more active actors, by explaining, modifying, negotiating and exemplifying messages and thus be active participants in the BNM. A clear majority of participants understand that the setting demands a different skill set than just linguistic skills and thus comprehend the client's need.

Overall, interpreters perceive their role as active and visible in business negotiation interactions. Even those interpreters who were initially reluctant to accept their participatory role presented clear evidence of their participation while they were narrating their experiences in the second qualitative study (Chapter 6). It is apparent from the analysis of the data that the interpreters who were more hesitant to take an openly active role chose a teleological decision-making process (Dean, 2006) in order to evaluate their actions and practice. They do not simply consider their actions in a deontological way, but rather evaluate each situation according to its immediate outcome.

Furthermore, interpreters affirmed that the setting can affect their perceived and practised role. This corroborates Angelelli's study (2001) and other relevant studies such as Roy's (1996) and Wadensjö's (1998), who support the view that the setting affects the visibility of interpreters in various communicative events. According to the qualitative data, I can also assume that the factors that affect that participation of interpreters in the setting, are also factors that affect negotiators according to the schematic representation of McCall and Warrington (1984), i.e., the behavioural predispositions of parties, situational influences, environmental influences and the influence strategies and skills used. Thus, the interpreter is another negotiator in the CE with different authority, but still with clear power, status and authority.

10.3 Perceived and mandated role by clients

The third study of this thesis looks at the perceptions, experience and needs of business people who hire interpreters to facilitate their business negotiation meetings. Semi-structured interviews were used to gather qualitative data. The results of this third study are quite revealing, since all business people corroborate with each other in terms of how the role of interpreters should unfold in these settings.

Business people have predetermined and maybe even ill-informed perceptions as to what guidelines trained interpreters have while studying to become professional interpreters. They believe that interpreters are trained to interpret literally, without adding or omitting anything to the interaction. Most of the interviewees gave a biased perception of the interpreters' training. They do not trust the education that interpreters receive while at university, as they believe that their training is inadequate and does not correspond to the needs of the business market. Business people believe that interpreters are trained simply to substitute words from one language to another, whereas what they, the clients, actually need is more than that. They assert that the market requires more skills from interpreters than just linguistic skills and that unfortunately interpreters are not prepared to supply this, since their training is inadequate, or so they believe.

Clients need interpreters to have a wide range of skills and competencies. Language competency is a prerequisite for all, but they also need interpreters who have good work experience in the setting in which they are working, thorough knowledge of the terminology used in this setting and a vast amount of life experience. Consequently, they need both hard and soft skills. They also need interpersonal skills and experience dealing with other people. According to the interviewees, these experiences and skills may help interpreters to analyze, understand and respond better to the situations they come across in meetings. This concurs with the fact that clients need interpreters to take up more roles than just that of interpreting words. They need them to be active participants in the meeting, and to contribute to the event with their interpersonal skills and cultural knowledge.

According to the results, clients comprehend that this mandate given by them to the interpreters might be very different from what is needed in other settings. Informants used examples in order to contradict the role mandate given to interpreters. They supported the view that while in other settings, interpreters' training and skills of being faithful conduits might be useful, in the settings they are working in, the needs are completely different. They concurred that due to the fact that in business settings the

interpreter is working between two or more people who met in agreement of reaching a mutual positive result for all parties, they cannot be conduits. They have to exemplify and help the communicative process. By being conduits, they can only hinder communication, according to the interviewees. This view supports Wadensjö's (1998) view that liaison interpreters work within a dialogic communicative event, and so they shape, formulate and reformulate utterances on behalf of others. Interpreters are not seen as conduits but rather as active members of the CE who perform their dramaturgical role (Goffman, 1959).

Cultural awareness was an additional element that came up during the interviews. Clients believe that interpreters should understand the cultural specificities of the negotiating parties, so that they can comprehend and analyze the communicative event better and so assist the negotiation process. Negotiation meetings are dependent on interpersonal relations (McCall et al., 1984). If cultural elements become a barrier or cause misunderstanding, this can negatively influence the relationships between negotiators and therefore the whole outcome of the meeting. According to business people's views, interpreters should have sufficient cultural knowledge of both or all the negotiating parties, so that they can efficiently regulate the meeting. Consequently, part of the mandate given by clients to interpreters is to be able to safeguard the integrity of the meeting, by protecting or ironing out the cultural elements as they arise. This view corroborates previous studies that look at the role of interpreters in various liaison settings (Angelelli, 2004; 2006) and established that interpreters are also seen as cultural experts and helpers, or as cultural brokers and advocates (Hale, 2007). This study affirms this finding in business negotiation settings, a setting never previously explored in great depth.

Following this result, it is evident that clients want active, participant interpreters in the negotiation process. The level of participation was also discussed by the interviewees, since this enabling condition of the interpreters role can also create hindrances and problematic issues, such as the interpreter exceeding their mandate and taking over the meeting against the client's expectations. Interviewees believe that the interpreter should be aware of the role boundaries and should therefore be able to understand whether he/she should intervene or not. The extent of their overt participation is not something that is examined in the present thesis, however. Since negotiation meetings are rarely linear in terms of dynamics, emotions and strategies

(sections 2.6 to 2.8), the boundaries of the interpreter cannot be defined in a clear-cut manner. The interpreter as a trained professional is asked to evaluate each situation and take decisions accordingly as they arise. The decisions should be based on the best interest of the communicative event being facilitated by the interpreters.

Overall, clients need a skilled communicator and a skilled negotiator. They need a professional who can facilitate a business negotiation meeting, with all its fluctuations either in terms of dynamics or in strategies. They need a professional who can identify with the paying company's goals and interests and will thrive in trying to bring the best possible result for the company he/she works for. They need a team member who is facilitating the negotiation communication both ways, but who is mainly interested in the best possible outcome of the paying party. Clients need a professional with a cooperative MO (sections 2.5 and 2.9) who is able to comprehend the influences of negotiators (McCall and Warrington, 1984) and in turn behave as a team member and can deal with the distribution of power as explained in section 2.8.

The mandate given by clients to interpreters in business negotiation meetings is clear, but not linear. Clients reported to need interpreters who are co-constructors and co-creators of meaning. They need team members and negotiators working with their company's negotiating team. Despite this openly enabling role, they also require interpreters to be perceptive enough to understand their boundaries and limits to this enabling condition. They expect interpreters to be active team members with equal distribution of power who comprehend the dynamics and the boundaries of their position.

Interpreters who take no action or are just being language facilitators are considered as providing a machine-like service that they do not need. An inactive interpreter can harm the negotiation process and is seen as being inadequate for the role mandated by the clients. Interpreters as skilled professionals should be able to understand more than words according to the clients' perceptions and so they should pass on these underlying meanings to the team members. Withholding information does not help the negotiation process, as a large part of the meeting's success lies with the interpersonal dynamics and relationships. As Swabey et al. (2008) state, interpreters should stop hiding behind their cloak of neutrality and start accepting the responsibility and power of their role.

10.4 Looking back at the hypothesis

By tabulating the sets of data, I noted that there was a discrepancy in how the interpreters defined and carried out their role in business negotiation settings. This discrepancy may stem from various sources. One source is the disparity of definitions in the relevant literature, as we have seen in the literature review section. Another source causing this discrepancy is the different decision-making mechanisms that interpreters use while practicing, or even the ethical structure that they base these decisions on. Overall, from the analysis of the data, I noted that interpreters either consciously or unconsciously choose to be active participants in business settings. They understand that the specificity of the setting requires not just linguistic facilitation but rather communicative facilitation at various levels. They need to be team members of the hiring team and they should act as negotiators with equal responsibility but of different status (as seen in Chapter 2). They are governed by the same set of influences as negotiators and thus they regulate their positioning according to the effect of these influences, as set out in Chapters 5, 7 and 9.

On the other hand, clients are clearer as to what they expect and what their mandate is towards the interpreters in these settings. They expect interpreters to be professionals who can relate to their company's goals and who have more than linguistic skills and abilities. They expect a professional with interpersonal skills, negotiating ability and the ability to secure a smooth communication within the negotiating parties. They expect an expert who is able to protect them and advise them, but also regulate the communicative event when needed. They expect to hire a communications professional who is also a skills negotiator of face techniques.

Taking into consideration the results of this thesis, I conclude that the hypothesis of the present thesis is validated. Interpreters in business negotiation settings take up more roles and responsibilities than just that of interpreting. They are expected to team up with the client's team and become negotiators who facilitate the communicative event.

10.5 Limitations

There were various limitations to this thesis, such as the language combination and the number of informants that took part in this study.

The data collected for the scope of this thesis were gathered from interpreters and from business people based in Greece. There was no specific language combination chosen, but data collection was done either in Greek (for the interviews) or English (for the survey). Therefore, this study was mainly restricted to the professionals that work with this language combination and are working with Greek-speaking clients.

Furthermore, as stated in section 1.4 the interpreting profession in Greece is unregulated. Therefore, it is not possible to know the number of professional interpreters and it is impossible to evaluate the amount of interpreters working in business negotiation settings specifically. For this reason, we cannot generalise the findings of this thesis beyond its immediate scope. The tabulation of data gathered from interpreters using two methods (qualitative and quantitative) can only corroborate the evidence found and give more in-depth insight on these responses.

Moreover, one criticism that this thesis can receive is the choice of schematic representation of the negotiator's influences (McCall and Warrington, 1984), which I chose as a background to represent my results. This schema explained more graphically and in detail the influences that a negotiator can have and then responded perfectly to the data found. Since the negotiation literature is quite extensive, I chose an integrated model that can graphically represent some of these works and bring it closer to the scope of this thesis.

10.6 Further research

This thesis cannot be conclusive of its claims. Further research is needed in order to waive its limitations and to extend its scope. Specifically, more research is needed with a larger number of participants and in other parts of the world, in order to be able to investigate whether the present results are valid and can be generalizable, or whether people from different countries perceive the interpreting role differently.

Moreover, while conducting this research, further questions arose such as: What are the situational influences that affect the participation levels of interpreters? Is there a way of prescribing the role limitations of interpreters? What are the factors that increase

or decrease the interpreters' desire to participate more actively in the negotiation process? These questions together with others that arose through reading could constitute the beginning of other well-needed research in the area of business negotiation interpreting. The present thesis aimed to give answers as to the perceived and expected role of interpreters in BNM both by interpreters and by clients. The implications of the data gathered and analyzed both for academia and the practice of interpreting can be the scope of a different study.

Interpreting in business settings used to be one of the first forms of interpreting (section 2.2), but still has long way to go, since international trade is becoming the norm of our globalized world. This thesis aimed to unveil the perceived and mandated roles given to business negotiation interpreters. There needs to be more research in order to shed light on the role of interpreters in this particular setting, since it is surprisingly understudied.

10.7 Final thoughts

The findings of this study suggest that business negotiations are distinctly different from other liaison settings. By understanding the complexity of the interpreter's role in this setting, the interpreter may be better equipped to provide better services. Moreover, associations and academia could use this knowledge to amend and mould their accreditation and training systems, and to respond better to market needs and the reality of challenges faced by interpreters.

Interpreting is a service provision profession and as such practitioners should take into consideration the needs of the client before delivering the service. Otherwise the service has the risk of becoming a fixed product that cannot respond to the real needs of the market. Interpreting services ought to be adaptable to setting requirements and the demands of clients. It is worth remembering the statement of Swabey et al. (2008) that interpreters often hide behind a cloak of neutrality and they forget that taking no action can be as harmful as inappropriate action at times. Interpreters should realize, accept and use the responsibility and power they are given in business negotiation settings. Only in this way may they be able to provide services as needed by the market and not as perceived through their own professional bubble.

Interpreting is a situational practice and business negotiation settings have just started to be placed under research scrutiny. This thesis presented the view that clients do not just require a language conduit in these settings. The specificity of the setting and the nature of the communicative event require more than that just a language facilitator. Behavioural predispositions, influence strategies, situational influences and environmental influences all affect the participants in the communicative event. Interpreters in this study were described both by practitioners and by clients as having the same influences as the negotiators in the event. Therefore, interpreters share equal responsibility with the other participants at the event. The challenge of this equal footing is setting boundaries. How can interpreters be trained to identify and understand their limits and boundaries? How can the interpreter's active participation not interfere or exceed the client's demands? Further studies looking into such issues would be able to take this research further and provide interesting insights.

As a situated practice and a service provision profession, interpreting should remain free of fixed role-prescriptions and be more flexible to respond to the needs of each setting. Interpreted mediated business negotiation meetings can greatly benefit from interpreters who understand and appropriately exercise their multifaceted mandate.

APPENDICES

Appendix A



The Business Negotiation Interpreter's Interpersonal Role Inventory

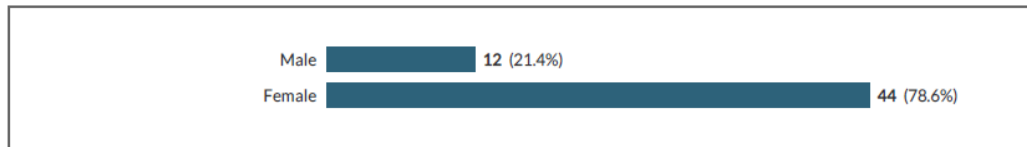
Showing 56 of 56 responses

Showing **all** responses

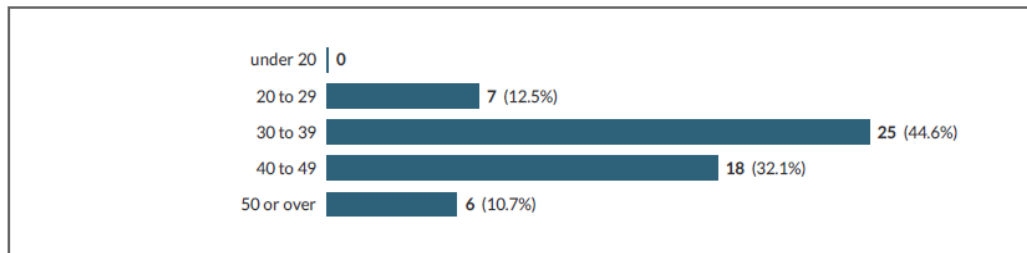
Showing **all** questions

PART A - Personal Information

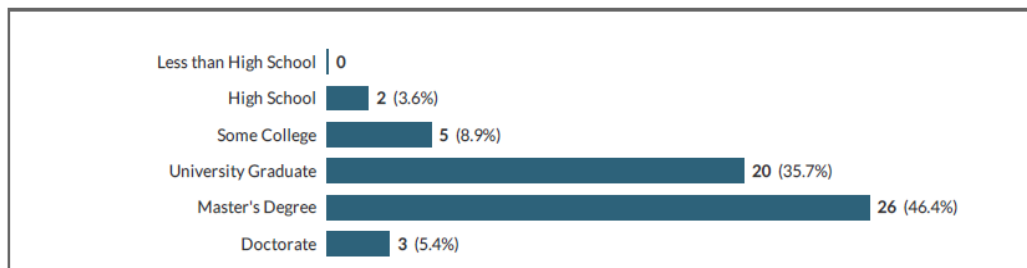
1 Gender



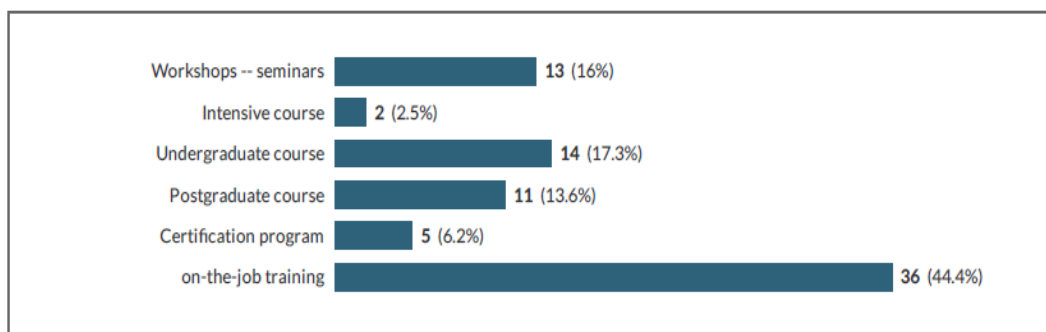
2 Age group



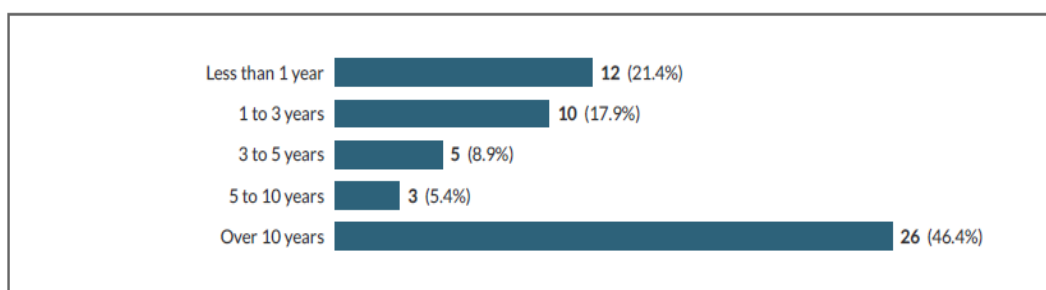
3 Level of formal education



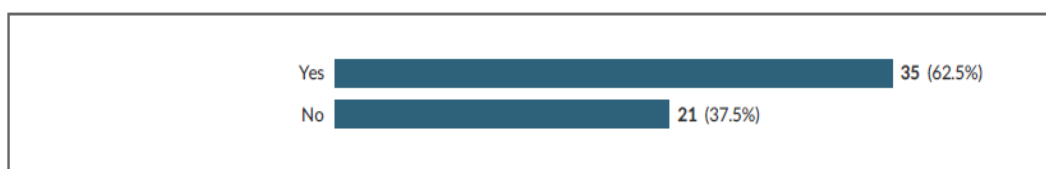
4 What type of Interpreting training did you have?



5 How long have you been practicing as a professional Interpreter?



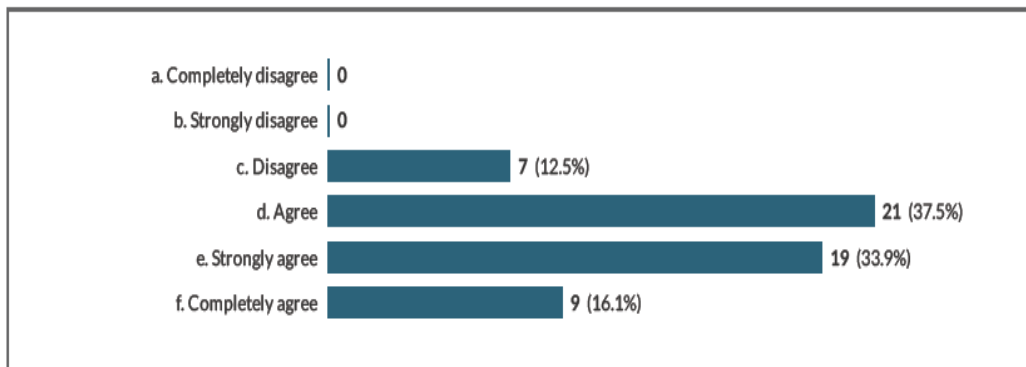
6 Is translation & interpreting your main profession, i.e. is it your main source of income?



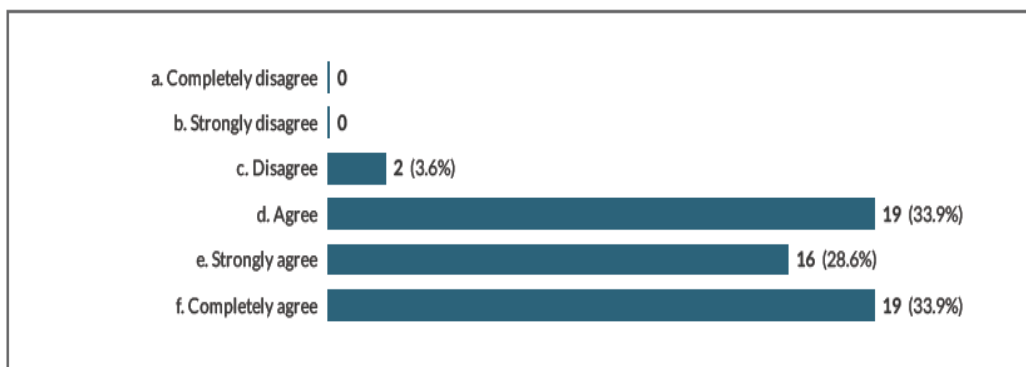
7 Please specify your working languages (native language first):

PART B -- Role specific questions

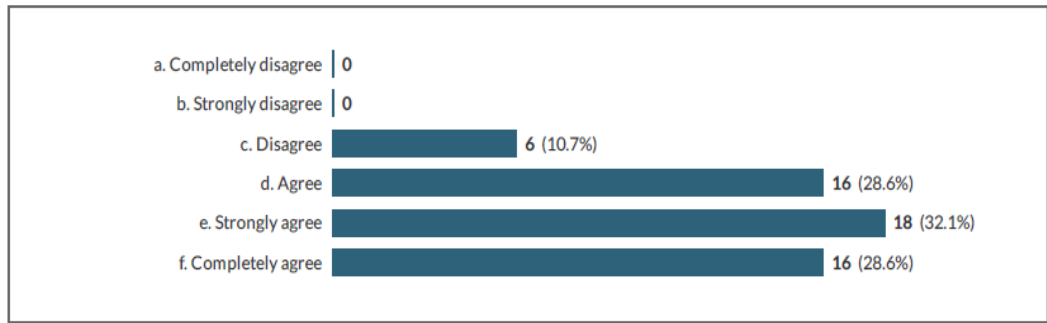
8 My client hired me because he/she trusts the way that I am handling situations.



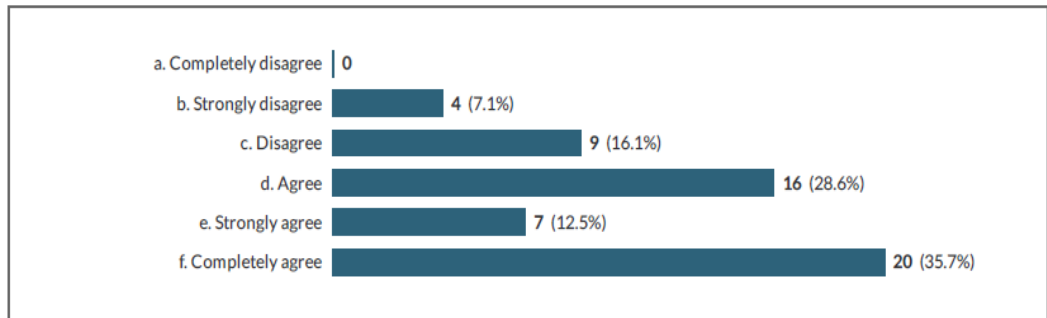
9 During my work, I am careful not to change the tone used by the parties.



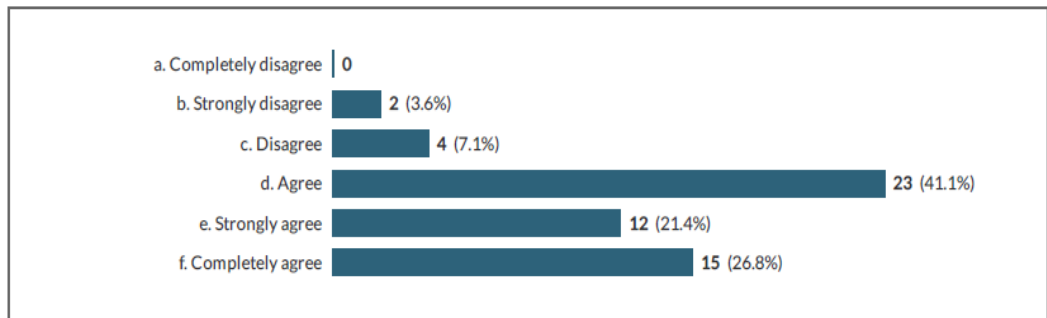
10 My work as an interpreter has to be accurate. There is no room for guessing games on feelings and emotions.



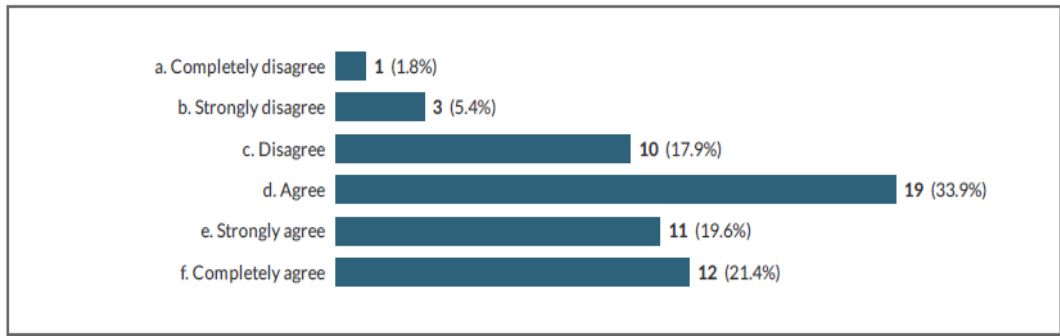
11 An interpreter is a professional who provides a service and has no voice in the interaction.



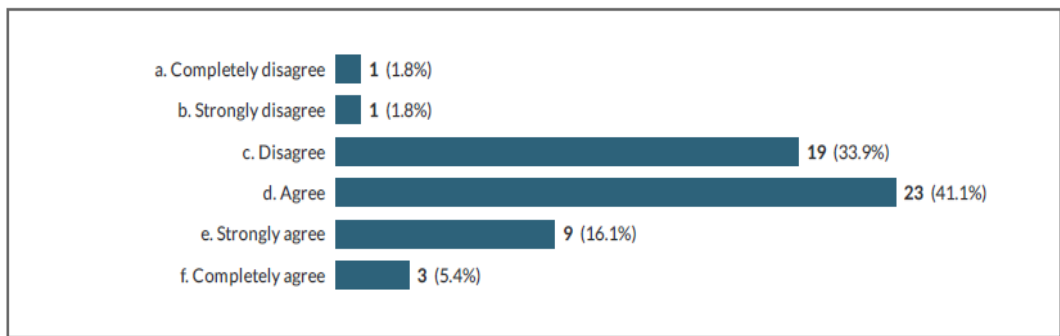
12 As an interpreter, I should adhere to the conversational conventions established by the speakers.



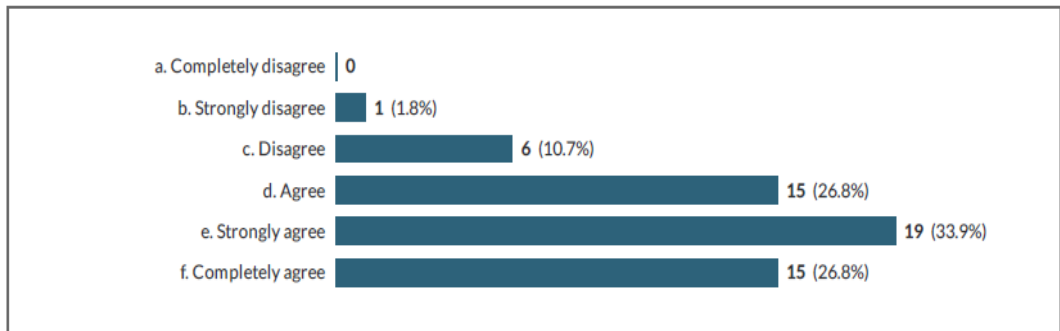
13 It is not my job to remind the parties whose turn it is to speak.



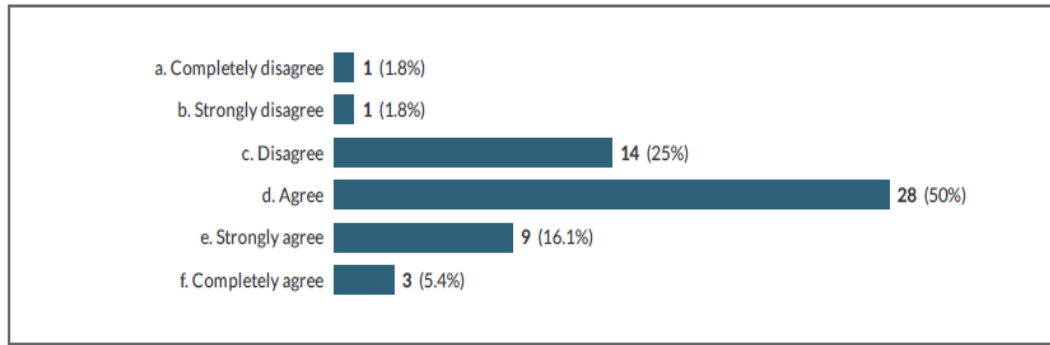
14 Assuring the parties that they will be heard means conveying their emotions even if they are not expressed by words.



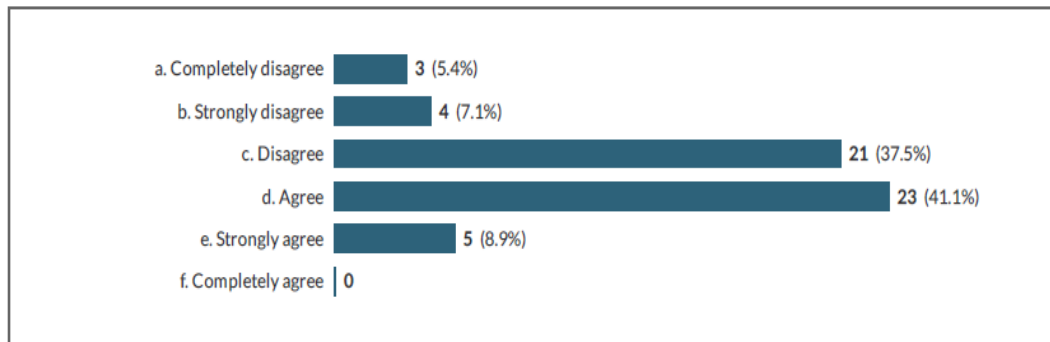
15 During an interpretation I constantly check my position to be neutral.



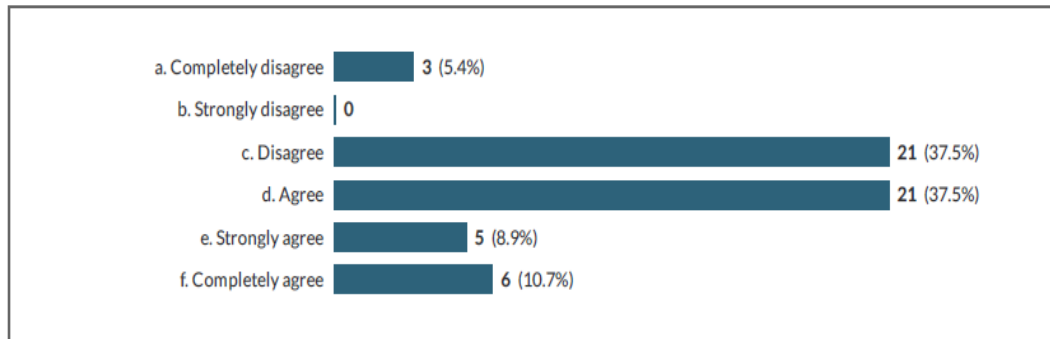
16 If a party's words are culturally inappropriate, I need to make her/him aware of that.



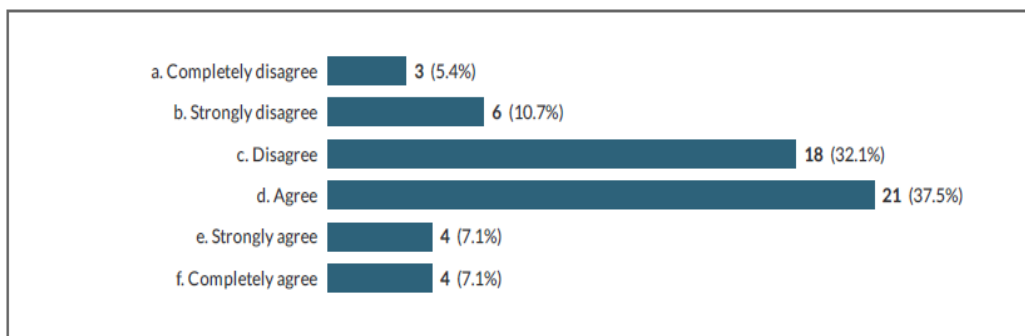
17 I use my level of formality and not that of the parties.



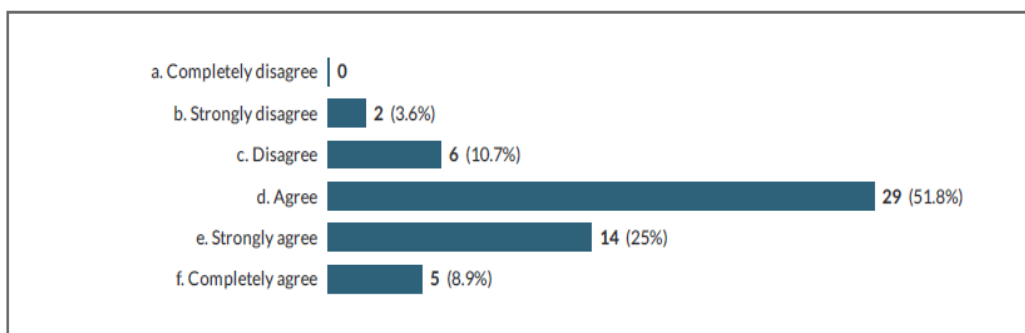
18 I never interrupt an interpretation to educate the parties on cultural differences.



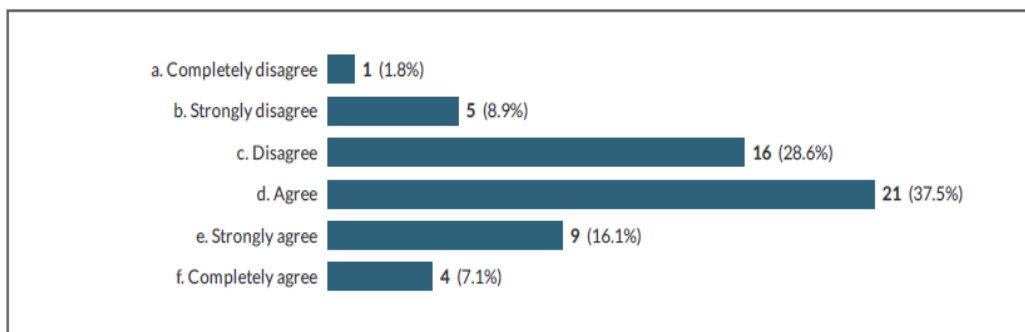
19 As long as the meaning is conveyed, the cross-cultural differences are not a problem.



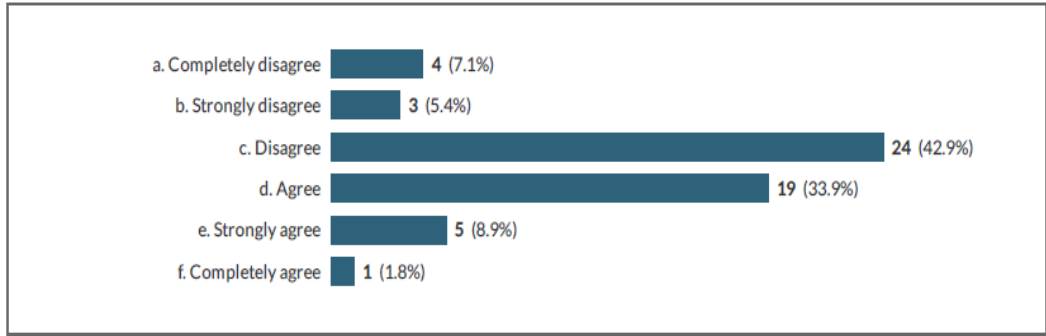
20 I know beforehand what my client's perception of my role is and therefore I am aware of my boundaries.



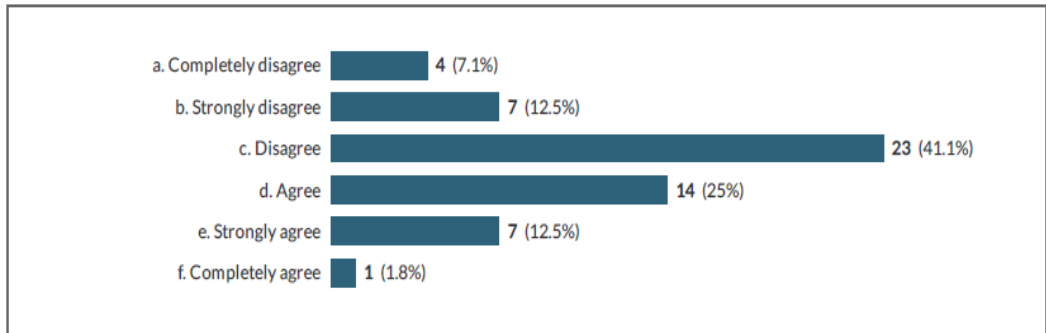
21 If the parties want their feelings and emotions to get interpreted they have to express them in words.



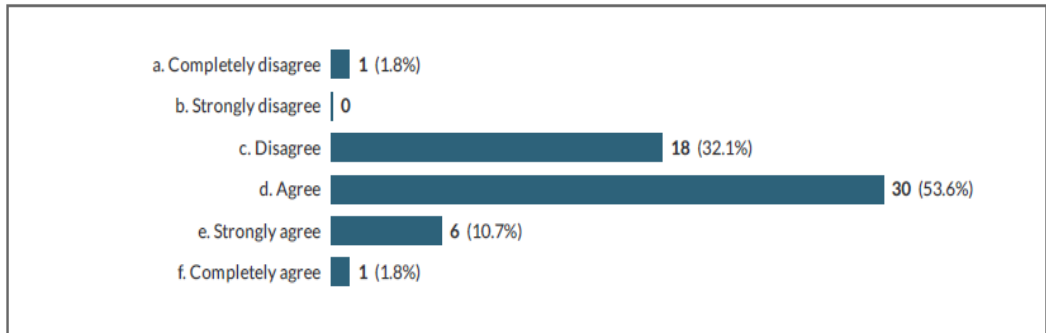
22 It is easier for me to establish trust with the party with whom I have more in common.



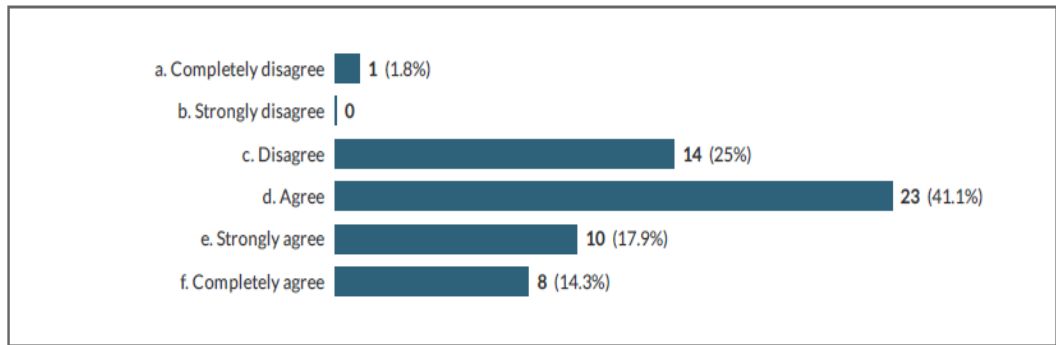
23 I can only work with what has been expressed in words.



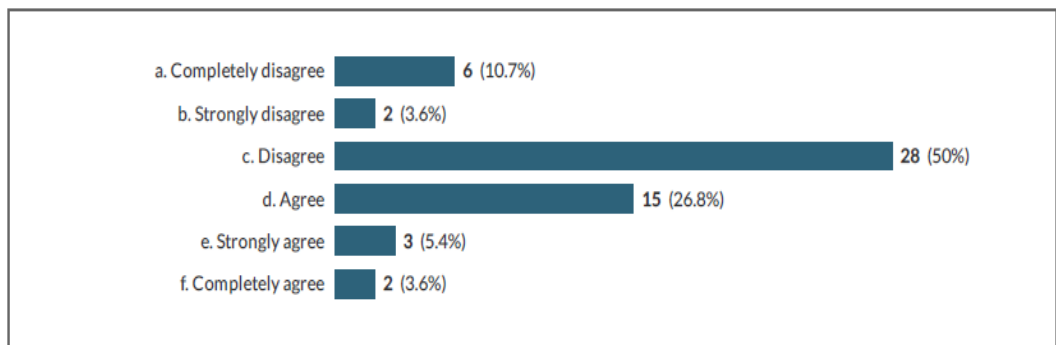
24 If one party, unaware of the other's culture, commits a faux pas, I always compensate for that.



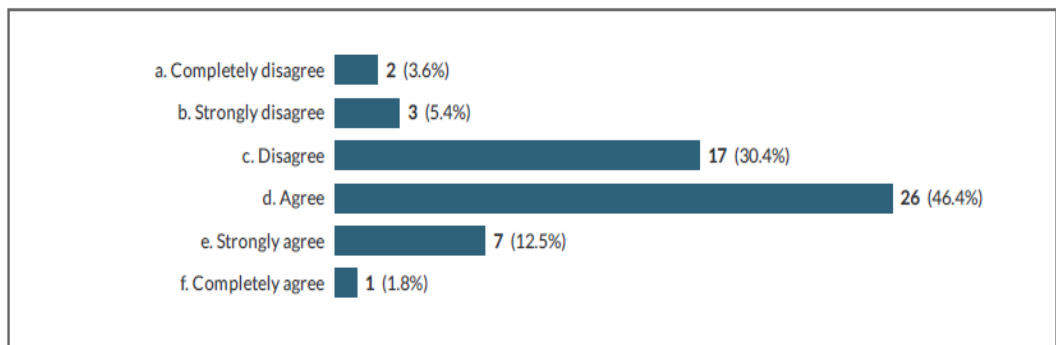
25 My job, as an interpreter, is not to balance the power differentials that exist between the parties.



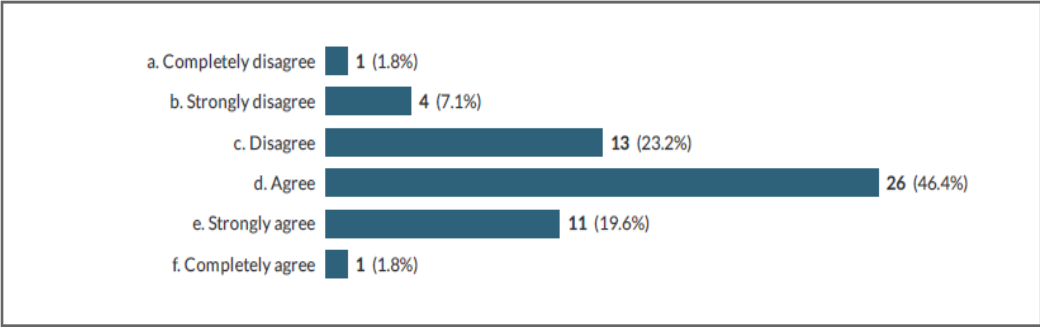
26 While interpreting, it is simply impossible to be value neutral.



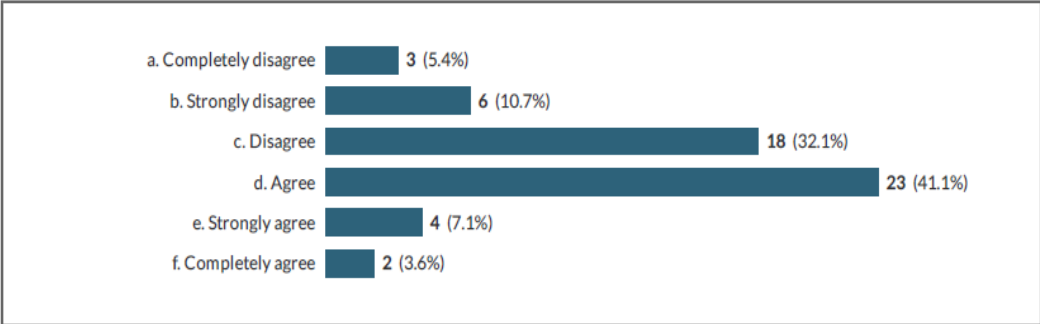
27 As an interpreter, I can control the flow of communication.



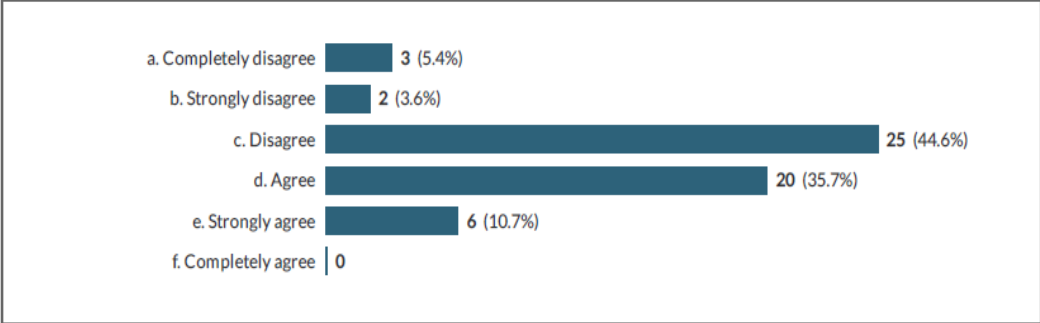
28 The boundaries of my role are never clear cut. They are modified during the interaction.



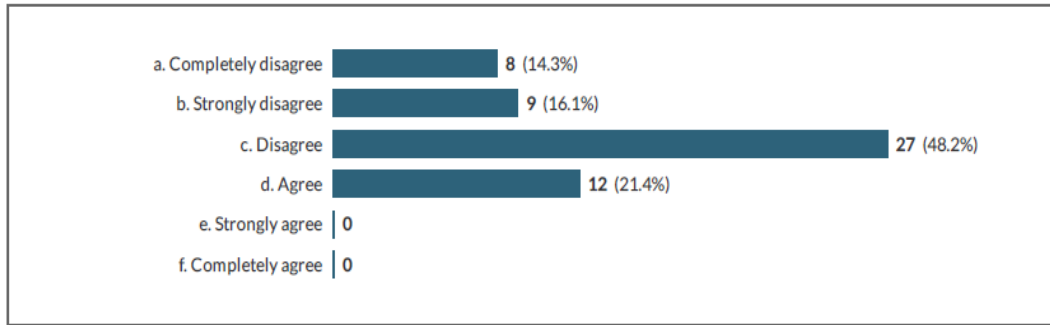
29 I have the right to interrupt the parties whenever I need to, in order to assure smooth communication.



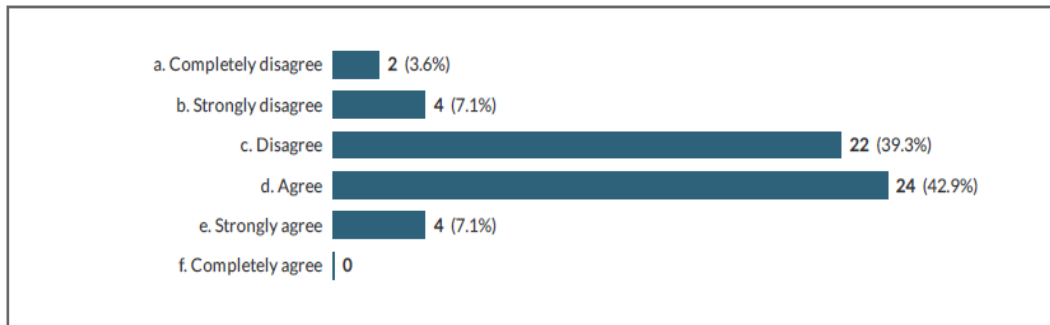
30 The subject matter under negotiation, is a factor that affects my performance in terms of active participation.



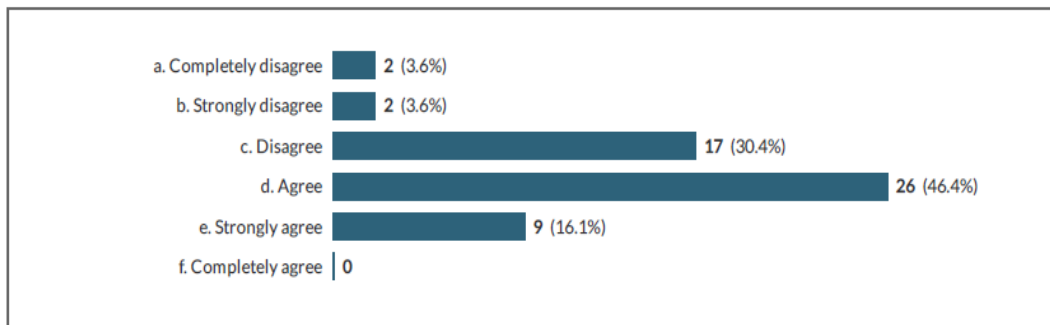
31 Even if I am working for both parties, I clearly give a voice to the party that hired me.



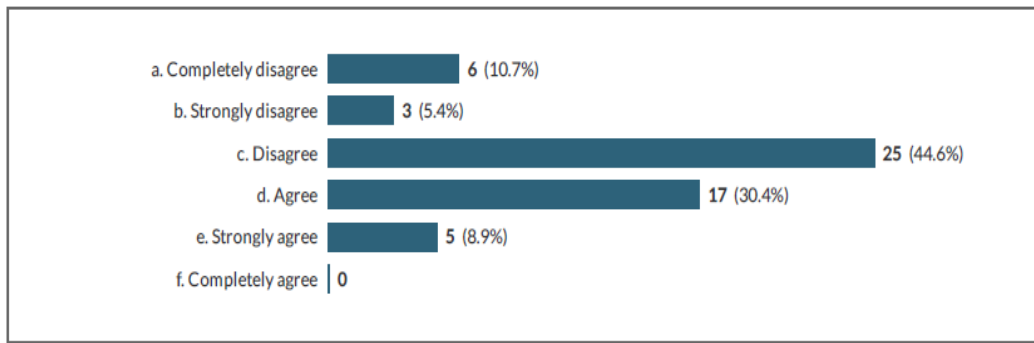
32 Sometimes interpreting tears is more necessary than interpreting the words that accompany them.



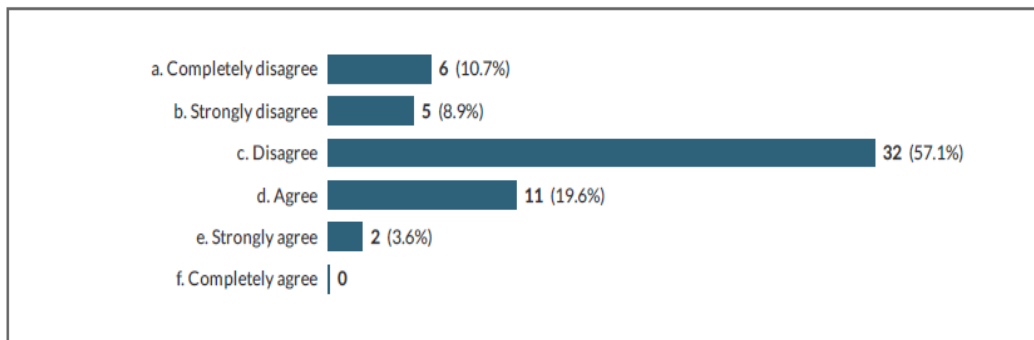
33 My job is to try to make sense of the emotional component and convey it as I interpret the words I hear.



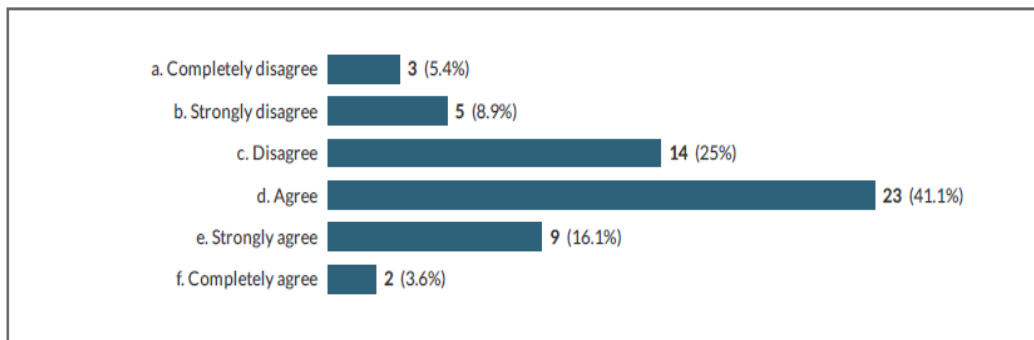
34 It is not always possible to maintain my professional stance.



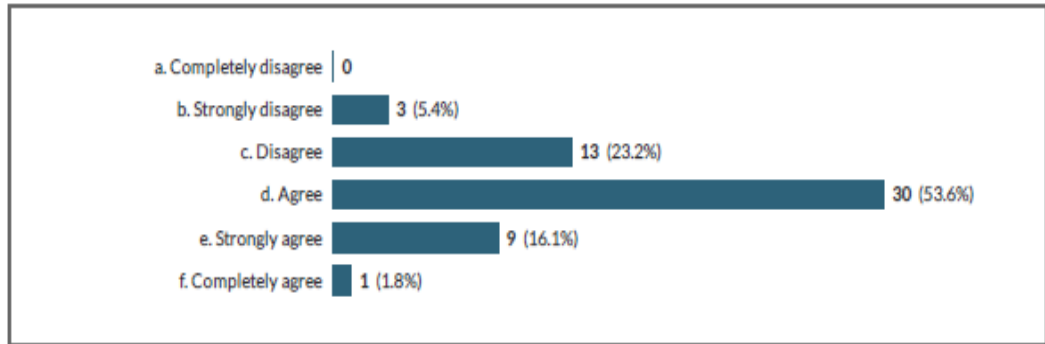
35 As an interpreter part of my role is to compensate for the power differentials between the parties.



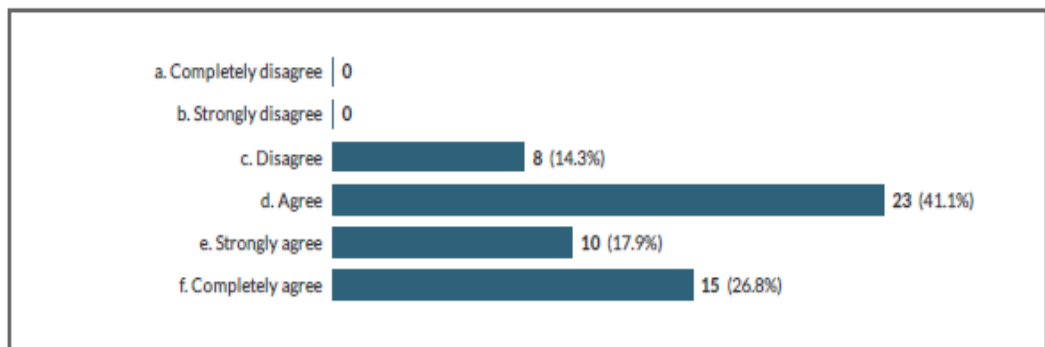
36 The setting affects my performance as an interpreter, ie how actively I should participate or how formal my role should be.



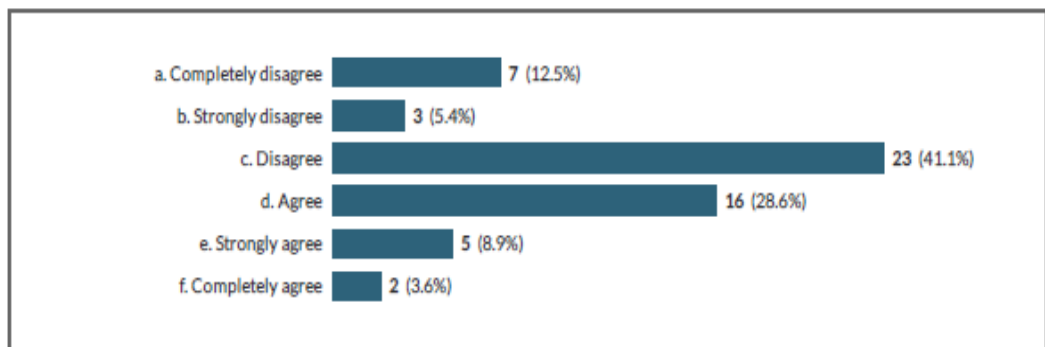
37 Even if I am hired by one company I always try to defend both companies' rights and positions in the same way.



38 I always discuss with my client before the actual negotiation begins on how s/he perceives my role.



39 The extent to which I actively participate in the negotiation depends on how I perceive the client's character.



Item 40 Deliberately left out for data protection of participants and their clients

Appendix B

	Answers relating to 'Communicate effect as well as message'
Socrates	<p><i>GR: ...Ο διερμηνέας είναι μια αντένα. Είναι μια κεραία που λαμβάνει μηνύματα και πρέπει να τα μεταδίδει. Πρέπει να είναι πολύ ευέλικτος, πολύ οξυδερκής, ακριβώς να καταλαβαίνει το πνεύμα που έχει γύρω του, ιδιαίτερα όταν είναι ανάμεσα σε δύο ανθρώπους... Όταν όμως(...) είσαι ανάμεσα σε δύο ανθρώπους, πρέπει να καταλαβαίνει πάντοτε το πνεύμα. Ναι, (πρέπει να είσαι λίγο ψυχολόγος δηλαδή...)</i></p> <p><i>(...) και ο ίδιος ο πελάτης μου που είναι εξαιρετικός, ο καλύτερος πελάτης που μπορεί να υπάρχει να παρεκτρέπεται και να του πεις έτσι ώστε να καταλάβει και να καταλάβεις και σύ ποια είναι τα όρια που πρέπει. Δηλαδή μην τον προσβάλεις και από πάνω, έτσι;</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... Interpreters are antennae. Antennae that receive messages. An interpreter should be flexible, sharp and able to understand the atmosphere around him, especially when he is amongst two people... When you are (...) amongst two people, you should also be able to understand the vibes around you. Yes, (you have to be like a psychologist...)</i></p> <p><i>(...) even if my client is the best but he goes beyond the limits, I have to tell him so that he understands and I understand the limits that should be in place. We cannot insult people, right?</i></p> <p><i>GR: ...αν κρίνω ότι αυτό αρχίζει να επηρεάζει την όλη συζήτηση ή τη σχέση μας, ναι (το μεταφράζω)... πολλές φορές όταν μιλάς με κάποιον τρίτο, με κάποιον άνθρωπο, καταλαβαίνεις και τον άνθρωπο. Καταλαβαίνεις και αυτόν, το τι θέλει και προσπαθείς να τα μεταβιβάσεις αυτά τα πράγματα.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ...if I believe that these (feelings and emotions) start to affect the whole meeting or the relationships, yes (I do translate them).... There are many times, where when you speak with someone, you understand who he is. You understand the person and what he really wants and you try to transfer those things.</i></p>
Achilles	<p><i>GR: ... η δική μου προσέγγιση στη διερμηνεία είναι ότι όλα τα εξωγλωσσικά</i></p>

	<p><i>στοιχεία θα πρέπει να περνάνε με τον ένα τρόπο ή τον άλλο. Επομένως και το συναίσθημα και η κίνηση και όποια δυσανασχέτηση φέρει πείν κατά τη γνώμη μου θα πρέπει να περάσει....</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... my approach to interpreting is that all extra-lingual elements should be conveyed in one way or another. Therefore, emotions, movements or even any discomfort should be conveyed...</i></p>
Stella	<p><i>GR: ... κάνω και τον ψυχολόγο και όχι μόνο... Είναι το άλφα και το ωμέγα. Πολύ περισσότερα μπορεί να κρύβονται εκεί, παρά απ' οπουδήποτε αλλού...</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... I also do the work of a psychologist and not only that... It's the alpha and the omega. There might be more hidden messages in there (in the feelings and emotions) rather than anywhere else.</i></p>
Maria	<p><i>GR: ...πιστεύω ότι όταν μεταφέρεις κάτι, πρέπει να το μεταφέρεις ακριβώς όπως το είπε ο άλλος. Δηλαδή να χρησιμοποιήσεις τις εκφράσεις και τις λέξεις οι οποίες θα μεταφέρουνε τόσο το λεχθέν όσο και το συναίσθημα πίσω από αυτό που είπε και την ένταση του συναισθήματος με την οποία εξέφρασε κάτι (...) αυτό που κάνω εγώ, είναι εφόσον καταλαβαίνεις τι θέλει να πεί ο άλλος ... προσπαθώ να το προσαρμόσω σε κάτι το οποίο είναι πολιτισμικά σωστό και που θα αποδώσει το συναίσθημα ή αυτό που ήθελε να πεί ο πελάτης</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ...I believe that when you interpret, you should transfer everything as it's been said. You should use expressions and words that transfer what is been said, the emotions behind those words, as well as the intensity of the feelings by which those things were expressed (...) what I usually do, is once I understand what the client wants to talk about ... I try to adapt it to something which is culturally appropriate and which is going to convey the emotions of the client.</i></p>

Appendix C

	Answers relating to 'Explain and interpret culture and language'
Socrates	<p><i>GR: ... όταν αρχίζει να παρεκτρέπεται κάπου ο δικός μου ο πελάτης, χωρίς να δώσω να καταλάβω στον άλλο που κάθεται απέναντι να καταλάβει, του δίνω να καταλάβει στη δική μου γλώσσα ότι κοίτα κάπου αυτό που πάς να πεις ίσως είναι λάθος. Δεν πρέπει να ειπωθεί έτσι.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... when my client starts to drift off, I try to make my client understand, without the other party realising that I am doing so, by saying 'look, what you are about to say is wrong. It should not be said in that way'.</i></p>
Achilles	<p><i>GR: Εκεί είναι ένα πολύπλοκο ζήτημα. Συνήθως είμαι της απόψεως ότι ο διερμηνέας δεν επεμβαίνει. Είμαι της αρχής του διαφανούς διερμηνέως, εκτός και αν η παρεξήγηση η οποία μπορεί να δημιουργηθεί έχει να κάνει με την άγνοια του πολιτισμικού περιεχομένου και του πολιτισμικού περιβάλλοντος. Σε περίπτωση που υποπτευτώ ότι πρόκειται περί αγνοίας και ότι είναι ακούσια τα λάθη τα οποία γίνονται, την πρώτη φορά θα κάνω παρατήρηση, θα κάνω μια μικρή υπόδειξη ευγενικά και εκτός πρακτικών, σε εκείνον που φαίνεται να ολισθαίνει, να υποπίπτει στο ολίσθημα (...) Δεύτερη προειδοποίηση και από κει και πέρα σταματώ να επεμβαίνω. Κάνω δύο προσπάθειες δηλαδή, να υπογραμμίσω τα σφάλματα τα οποία γίνονται και εκείνα που κατά τη δική μου εκτίμηση οφείλονται σε άγνοια. Αν όμως εξακολουθήσει τότε σημαίνει ότι είτε δεν ενδιαφέρει τον πελάτη ή το κάνει επίτηδες. Σε κάθε μια από τις δύο περιπτώσεις, θεωρώ ότι δεν είναι πλέον στη θέση του διερμηνέα να επέμβει.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: That's a complex issue (interpreting faux pas). I usually support the idea that the interpreter should not intervene. The interpreter should be transparent, unless the friction that is about to be created is due to lack of cultural awareness. Should I realise that the mistakes that are about to take place are due to ignorance and are unintended, I will intervene once. I will make a quick remark in a polite way and off the record to the person that has made that faux pas (...). I will then make a second remark and then I'll stop intervening. I will try to stop this twice, by spotting the mistakes that, according to my own belief, are due to the lack of cultural awareness. If these faux pas continue, then that might mean that the client does not care or he is</i></p>

	<i>doing this on purpose. In any of these cases, I believe that it's not in the role of the interpreter to intervene.</i>
Stella	<p><i>GR: Εγώ το κόβω (αν πει κάποιος κάτι, που είναι προσβλητικό). Το κόβω διότι στην ουσία σκέφτομαι πάντα τι στόχο έχει. Ναι μεν έχω κύριο στόχο αυτό της μετάφρασης και διερμηνείας, αλλά απότερος στόχος της διερμηνείας είναι να επιτύχουμε τον στόχο. Παρέχω δηλαδή τη διερμηνεία για να καταφέρει κάποιος κάτι. Ή μπορώ το πολύ-πολύ να του πω, 'κοιτάζτε αυτό που λέτε τώρα, είναι λίγο προσβλητικό. Θέλετε να το μεταφέρω;' Διότι μετά μπορεί να έχουν προβλήματα με τη συμφωνία και ο άλλος να μην το καταλαβαίνει ότι είναι προσβλητικό. Του το εξηγώ. Όταν ο άλλος λοιπόν σου ζητάει να κάνεις κάτι που δεν είναι στα καθήκοντά σου, πάλι εμπίπτει, γιατί είσαι γλωσσολόγος στην ουσία. Η συνάντηση δηλαδή δεν έχει να κάνει μόνο με την γλώσσα. Έχει να κάνει με την κουλτούρα, με τον πολιτισμό, με όλα. Το οποίο, πρέπει να βγει στη διερμηνεία σου. Δεν πρέπει να μεταφέρεις μόνο λέξεις.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: I don't say it (if someone says something that is insulting). I don't say it because I always think of the end target. Of course I am there to translate and interpret, but the main aim of this interpreting assignment is to succeed in the negotiation aim. I provide interpretation services so that the negotiation can be carried out successfully. Or at least I say 'Look, what you are about to say is a bit insulting. Do you want me to interpret it?' I do that because if they do not understand that it is insulting, that might create friction and spoil the negotiation. Therefore I explain. So, even when someone is asking you to do something which is not in the prescribed role, it is actually in your role, because you are the linguist. The meeting is not just dependent on the language. The culture, the civilisation behind it, etc., are all important elements which should be visible in our interpretation. We should not just transfer words.</i></p>
Maria	<i>GR: ...αυτά είναι κάποια πράγματα τα οποία προσπαθώ να τα ξεδιαλύνω πριν ξεκινήσει καν η διερμηνεία. Εξηγώ δηλαδή από πριν, ότι υπάρχουν κάποια πράγματα τα οποία τουλάχιστον για μας στην Ελλάδα μπορεί να τα θεωρήσουμε ότι είναι σωστά ή ότι είναι αστεία ή κάτι τέτοιο, αλλά από την άλλη πλευρά να μην γίνονται αποδεκτά με τον ίδιο τρόπο. Τότε προειδοποιώ τουλάχιστον ή κάνω αυτό που λέμε 'I am making them aware' ότι υπάρχει πιθανότητα αυτά που λένε</i>

να μην είναι πολιτισμικά σωστά για τον άνθρωπο στον οποίο τα κατευθύνουν. Άρα τους το βάζω αυτό στο μυαλό τους πριν ξεκινήσει καν η όλη διαδικασία. Οπότε είναι σαν να ξεκινάς ουσιαστικά επιμορφώνοντας τον πελάτη, για να μην κάνει αυτά τα faux pas κατά την διάρκεια της διερμηνείας. Τουλάχιστον έτσι μου έχει τύχει εμένα στα face to face (...) αυτό που κάνω εγώ, είναι εφόσον καταλαβαίνεις τι θέλει να πεί ο άλλος ... προσπαθώ να το προσαρμόσω σε κάτι το οποίο είναι πολιτισμικά σωστό και που θα αποδώσει το συναίσθημα ή αυτό που ήθελε να πεί ο πελάτης.

ENG: ... these are issues that I try to clarify from the very beginning. I explain (to the client) that there are some issues that for us in Greece might seem right or even funny, but that the other parties do not conceive them as such. I warn them, or at least I am making them aware, that there is a chance that what he is about to say is not culturally appropriate to the other party. I try to make them understand before going into the meeting. It's like starting off by educating the client, so that he avoids making these faux pas during the meeting. At least that is what I do in face-to-face interactions (...) What I usually do is once I understand what the client wants to talk about ... I try to adapt it to something which is culturally appropriate and which is going to convey the emotions of the client.

Appendix D

	Answers relating to 'Trust and respect'
Socrates	<p><i>Skills and training</i></p> <p>GR: ... πρέπει να είσαι πάρα πολύ καλός στον χειρισμό των ανθρώπων, να αναπτύξεις αυτή την ικανότητα, να δέχεσαι, ακόμα και όταν ξέρεις ότι ο άλλος έχει άδικο.</p> <p>...όταν πήγα να σπουδάσω στο εξωτερικό και είχαμε 4 μαθήματα γλωσσών και είχαμε άλλα 20 μαθήματα. Ο διερμηνέας είναι μια αντένα. Είναι μια κεραία που λαμβάνει μηνύματα και πρέπει να τα μεταδίδει. Πρέπει να είναι πολύ ευέλικτος, πολύ οξυδερκής, ακριβώς να καταλαβαίνει το πνεύμα που έχει γύρω του</p> <p><i>Bidirectional trust and respect</i></p> <p>... πιστεύουν ότι είναι ένα φερέφωνο. Δηλαδή πες εσύ αυτά που λέω εγώ και μην ανακατεύεσαι</p> <p>... στα σοβαρά όμως θα περιμένει να πάμε στα γραφεία της εταιρείας, τα οποία βέβαια έχει στο μυαλό του τα δικά του πρότυπα, και θα περιμένει να δει τα ανάλογα.... Μόλις όμως δεν βλέπει αυτό το πράγμα, είναι λίγο δύσκολο να πείσεις τον ίδιο και να μεταφέρει ότι θα είναι αξιοπρεπής η συναλλαγή, ότι θα τηρηθούν οι όροι, ότι θα κάνουν και θα δείξουν.</p> <p>... Το κακό είναι ότι πολλοί έλληνες επιχειρηματίες δεν καταλαβαίνουν ότι ακριβώς αυτό το πράγμα παίζει ρόλο (ο χώρος..)</p> <p>.... Το κακό είναι ότι δεν το εκτιμούνε πάντα αυτό το πράγμα (ότι τους βοηθάς)</p> <p>... όταν ο πελάτης αρχίζει και σου λέει ψέματα... Και αρχίζεις και λές, θα πρέπει να αρχίζω να λέω ψέματα ή δεν πρέπει να λέω ψέματα;... και προσπαθείς να το καλύψεις , και εμ' πάση περιπτώσει καταλαβαίνει ο άλλος... δεν έχει αντίκτυπο σε μένα αυτό. Έχει αντίκτυπο στη συναλλαγή που πρόκειται να γίνει...</p> <p><i>Skills and training</i></p> <p>ENG:... you have to be really good at handling people, you have to develop that skill, to accept things, even if you know that he is wrong.</p>

	<p><i>...when I went to study abroad, we had four language modules and 20 extra modules. Interpreters are like antennae. They receive and transmit messages. They should be very flexible, perceptive and able to understand the atmosphere around them</i></p> <p><i>Bidirectional trust and respect</i></p> <p><i>... they believe that you are just a mouthpiece: say what I say and don't get involved</i></p> <p><i>...when it comes down to it though (for closing the deal), they (the foreign delegates) are expecting to go to the offices and they are anticipating something to their own standards... When they do not see what they anticipate (in terms of infrastructure and human resources), it's a bit difficult to persuade them that the transaction shall be decent, that their terms shall be met, etc., etc.</i></p> <p><i>... The bad thing is that many Greek business people do not realise that this element (of the setting) plays an important role (in the negotiating outcome).</i></p> <p><i>... The bad thing is that they (the customers) do not always appreciate that (the fact that you help them)</i></p> <p><i>...when the customer starts lying ... then you start thinking 'should I lie or should I not lie' ... even if you try to cover up the customer's lie, the other interlocutor realises... that does not affect me. It affects the transaction that is about to happen.</i></p>
<p>Achilles</p>	<p><i>Skills and training</i></p> <p><i>GR: ... αφενός η φήμη και αφετέρου το γεγονός ότι έχω εμβαθύνει σε κάποιους τομείς ... Το γεγονός ότι έχω ένα βιογραφικό το οποίο μου επιτρέπει να επιδείξω εμπειρία σε συγκεκριμένους τομείς αυτό λειτουργεί θεωρώ ότι λειτουργεί θετικά στον πελάτη</i></p> <p><i>...Δεν είναι μόνο θέμα ορολογίας. Θεωρώ ότι για να μπορεί κάποιος να διερμηνεύσει όπως και να μεταφράσει, πρέπει οπωσδήποτε να κατανοεί τι γίνεται στο αντικείμενο. Πρέπει να κατανοεί τα βαθύτερα νοήματα, να έχει μια γνώση της διαδικασίας η οποία διέπει μια συζήτηση και να έχει οπωσδήποτε γνώση στο θέμα που διαλαμβάνεται, αλλιώς θα είναι απλά μια μεταφορά λέξεων, χωρίς να έχει περιεχόμενο επιστημονικό, χωρίς</i></p>

περιεχόμενο πολιτισμικό

... είναι αυτό (η ειδίκευση) το οποίο πιστεύω δίνει ένα συγκριτικό πλεονέκτημα σε έναν ο οποίος είναι ήδη διερμηνέας και θέλει να εμβαθύνει περισσότερο ειδικά στον χώρο των εμπορικών διαπραγματεύσεων...

Bidirectional trust and respect

... Τις μισές φορές ... μου δίνουν τις πληροφορίες που θεωρούν εκείνοι ότι χρειάζονται και αν ζητήσω κάτι παραπάνω, το έχω. Τις άλλες φορές χρειάζεται εγώ με το τσιγκέλι να βγάλω την πληροφόρηση που χρειάζομαι. Και αυτό θεωρώ έχει να κάνει με την εκπαίδευση της αγοράς εργασίας...

Skills and training

ENG: ... on one hand, the reputation and on the other hand, the fact that I am specialised in some areas... the fact that I have a CV that proves my experience in some areas, I believe that is positively affecting the client.

... It's not only terminology. I believe that in order for someone to be able to interpret and translate, he should be knowledgeable in the field. He should be able to understand the deeper meanings, to be knowledgeable of the processes of a meeting and definitely to have knowledge of the field he is interpreting. Otherwise he would just transfer words, without their scientific and cultural content.

... (specialisation) is what I believe gives the quality advantage to someone who is already an interpreter and wants to go deeper into the business negotiation settings.

In my circle of clients, this is almost taken for granted. Apart from that, my reputation and the fact that I am specialized in certain fields, such as the medical field are also important. I have worked as an interpreter for medical business negotiations many times. I am also quite experienced, as I have been working as an interpreter since 1994. The fact that I have experience in many different specializations really works for my benefit and makes my clients trust me and then refer me to other clients as well.

Bidirectional trust and respect

Half of the times they are giving me the information that they believe I

	<p><i>need, and if I ask for more, then I might have it. Other times I need to dig out the information I need. That is due to the education level of the people in the market, I believe...</i></p>
<p>Stella</p>	<p><i>Skills and training</i></p> <p><i>GR: ... πρέπει να σου πει πώς δεν θέλει τιμολόγιο, πώς θα τα βγάλει στο εξωτερικό, αν μπορεί να κάνει άλλη τιμή, αν το ΦΠΑ του δεν είναι εκείνο, αν μέσα στη συμφωνία θέλουμε κάτι κρυφό ή κάτι κανονικό, που όλα αυτά θέλουνε μια εχεμύθεια που δεν είναι ξέρεις, δεν σε ξέρω, δεν με ξέρεις</i></p> <p><i>...Όχι καμιά φορά σε κοιτάνε καλά-καλά , σου δίνουν πρώτα μια μετάφραση για να δουν τι άτομο είσαι και μετά σε προσλαμβάνουνε για κάτι άλλο... Για να δουν τον χαρακτήρα σου και αν μπορείς να επιτύχεις για αυτό που σε θέλουν, αν είσαι καπάτσα...</i></p> <p><i>Bidirectional trust and respect</i></p> <p><i>... θα πρέπει να μου εξομολογηθεί, ότι δεν έχει εξομολογηθεί στον λογιστή και στον δικηγόρο του.</i></p> <p><i>... Όχι, οι περισσότεροι πιστεύουν ότι τον ξέρεις (τον στόχο) από πριν. Θεωρούν δηλαδή ότι εσύ είσαι ο φωτεινός παντογνώστης, ότι έχεις μπει μέσα στο μυαλό τους και τα ξέρεις όλα.</i></p> <p><i>... Αν και πολλοί σκέπτονται και λένε εντάξει μωρέ σιγά τι κάνει αυτός; Το έχω ακούσει κ αυτό ...</i></p> <p><i>Skills and Training</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... he (the client) has to tell you if he needs an invoice, how he's going to make the export, if he can offer another price, how much the VAT is, if he needs something not to be written, i.e. to be hidden in the agreement; all these require a certain degree of discretion, it's not an impersonal thing...</i></p> <p><i>... Sometimes they (the clients) take a good look at you, they give you a translation first and if they ascertain that you are the person they need, they hire you for something else (interpreting assignment) as well... They want to see your character and if you have the ability to achieve what they are after, if you know your way around things...</i></p>

	<p><i>Bidirectional trust and respect</i></p> <p><i>... he should entrust to me whatever he did not say even to his accountant or his lawyer.</i></p> <p><i>...No, most of them (the clients) believe that you know it (the aim) beforehand. They believe that you know everything, that you've entered their mind and you know everything.</i></p> <p><i>...Many of them (clients) think that you are not doing anything special. I've heard that...</i></p>
<p>Maria</p>	<p><i>Skills and training</i></p> <p><i>GR: Δεν μου έχουν δείξει ότι παίζει γι αυτούς ρόλο κάτι παραπάνω από τη γλωσσική μου ικανότητα. Οπότε εγώ πιστεύω μόνο αυτό. Το βιογραφικό που θα δουν μπροστά , τα χρόνια εμπειρίας, το πόσο καιρό δουλεύει κάποιος κλ. Παραπάνω δεν νομίζω ότι λαμβάνουνε υπ όψιν τους</i></p> <p><i>Skills and training</i></p> <p><i>ENG: They haven't shown me that they consider something more than my linguistic competence. Therefore I believe that this is their only criterion. My CV, my years of experience, how long I've been in the market etc. I do not think that they take something else into consideration.</i></p>

Appendix E

	Answers relating to 'Contextual elements '
Socrates	<p><i>GR:</i></p> <p><u>Χώρος:</u> '... είναι σαν να παίζεις εντός και εκτός έδρας'</p> <p><u>Άνθρωπος:</u> '...υποτίθεται ότι είσαι και σύ επαγγελματίας, αλλά με ανθρώπους που μπορώ να συνεννοηθώ εύκολα, η δουλειά μου γίνεται πολύ ευκολότερη. Με ανθρώπους που είναι πιο σκληροί και πιο τετραγωνισμένοι θα έλεγα, είναι πολύ πιο δύσκολο να αποδώσω και γω.</p> <p><u>Αντικείμενο:</u> '...αλλιώς θα προσεγγίσεις μια συμφωνία δεκάδων ή εκατοντάδων χιλιάδων ευρώ και αλλιώς μια συμφωνία ή μια προσυμφωνία, μια απλή συζήτηση κλπ.'</p> <p><i>ENG:</i></p> <p><u>Place:</u> '... it's like playing on a foreign ground (football metaphor)</p> <p><u>Character:</u> '...I am supposed to be a professional, but with people that are easy to work with, my work becomes so much easier. With harsh people and those strict about what they believe in, my job performance becomes harder for me.</p> <p><u>Scope:</u> '...you'll have a different approach to an agreement on tens or hundreds or thousands Euros and a preliminary agreement, a simple discussion, etc.'</p>
Achilles	<p><i>GR:</i> Μετά από τόσα χρόνια, μπορώ να μιλήσω προσωπικά και να πω ότι όχι. Ούτε ο χώρος, ούτε η συμπεριφορά θα επηρεάσει τη δική μου απόδοση, ούτε τη δική μου προσέγγιση στο αντικείμενο και στη διερμηνεία.</p> <p><i>ENG:</i> After all these years I can talk for myself and say that no (nothing affects my performance). Neither the place (of negotiation), nor the character of the interlocutor shall affect my own performance, my approach to the negotiation or to my interpreting.</p>
Stella	<p><i>GR:</i></p> <p><u>Χώρος:</u> '...όταν είσαι μέσα σε ένα conference είναι πιο δύσκολη η συναλλαγή. Κρατούν τους τύπους, δεν χαλαρώνουν, έχεις πρόβλημα. Όσο πιο χαλαροί είναι οι άλλοι, τόσο πιο άνετα κυλάει η διαπραγμάτευση. Ενώ</p>

	<p>όταν είναι σε μια αίθουσα και είναι όλοι στημένοι, εκεί πρέπει και σύ να κρατήσεις διαφορετικό ύφος, δεν το μπορώ καθόλου. Δεν χαλαρώνουν καθόλου και πρέπει και σύ να κρατήσεις κάποιους τύπους κτλ.</p> <p><u>Άνθρωπος:</u> ‘... ότι χαρακτήρα και να έχει ο πελάτης, εσύ κάνεις τη δουλειά σου. Τώρα αν σε νευριάσει πάρα πολύ του λές, κοίτα το χειρίζομαι το θέμα, εντάξει;</p> <p><i>ENG:</i></p> <p><u>Place:</u> ... When you are in a conference room setting, things are more strict and by the book there. People tend to keep the formalities, they are tense and we have to deal with that. The more relaxed the interlocutors are, the easier the negotiation process. If people are stuck in a negotiation room they are stiff and I have to behave accordingly, which I do not really like. They do not relax and you have to keep all the formalities...</p> <p><u>Character:</u> ‘...never mind the character of your client, you have to do your job. If he gets on your nerves you just say to him ‘look, I can deal with that, ok?’</p>
<p>Maria</p>	<p><i>GR:</i> ‘...το μόνο πράγμα που μ’ έχει επηρεάσει ever είναι μόνο η ηλικία του πελάτη ή μάλλον η αντίληψή μου για την ηλικία και την μόρφωση του πελάτη γενικά... σε κάποιο σημείο ζήτησα να σταματήσω και να της εξηγήσω... γιατί πίστευα ότι μπορεί να μην καταλάβαινε ακριβώς τι της λέγαμε...</p> <p><i>ENG:</i> ‘...The only thing that has ever affected me was my client’s age, or, specifically, her educational level in relation to her age. ...at some point, I had to stop and explain to her ... because I wasn’t sure she could understand ...’</p>

Appendix F

	Answers relating to 'Boundaries of role and performance'
Socrates	<p><i>GR: ... Η διερμηνεία αυτή καθ αυτή, λες αυτό που ακούς. Στις εμπορικές συναλλαγές και διερμηνείες, και το πιστεύω αυτό, έχεις άλλο ρόλο.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: In interpreting settings in general, you have to say what you hear. In business meetings and interpreting settings, I believe that we have a different role</i></p>
Achilles	<p><i>GR: ... Όχι ότι προωθώ τα συμφέροντα του ενός ή του άλλου. Προσπαθώ δηλαδή με τον τρόπο μου να αφήσω την επικοινωνία και τη διαπραγμάτευση να διεξαχθεί όπως θα διεξαγόταν αν δεν υπήρχε το γλωσσικό εμπόδιο</i></p> <p><i>... θα αρνηθώ πολύ ευγενικά να συμμετάσχω (αν ζητηθεί η γνώμη μου)</i></p> <p><i>... Δυστυχώς όχι (δεν είναι ξεκάθαρος ο ρόλος μας στους πελάτες)</i></p> <p><i>ENG: I do not try to support someone's interests. I try in my own way to leave the conversation to evolve as it would have, without the language barrier.</i></p> <p><i>... I'll refuse to participate, very politely. (if they ask for my opinion)</i></p> <p><i>.. Unfortunately no (our role is not clear cut to the clients)</i></p>
Stella	<p><i>GR: ... μου αρέσει όταν ένας που δεν μπορεί να συνεννοηθεί με τον άλλο, κάνω εγώ τον μεσίτη να συνεννοηθούνε. Δηλαδή αυτή είναι η ικανοποίησή μου. Ότι εγώ κατάφερα να κάνω τον άλλο να συνεννοηθεί... μετά από τη δική μου παρέμβαση, υπάρχει συνεννόηση</i></p> <p><i>... Στο πανεπιστήμιο αυτό μας έλεγαν 'αποστασιοποίηση πάνω απ όλα'. Όταν όμως έρχεται ο άλλος με το πρόβλημα και σου λέει, ξέρεις εγώ έχω αυτά τα λεφτά και πρέπει να κάνω αυτή τη δουλειά και έρχεται και σε ρωτάει πώς τον είδες; Είναι καλός; Μπορώ να τον εμπιστευτώ; Μπορώ να κάνω εκείνο...; εγώ τι πρέπει να κάνω; Να του πώ ααα, λυπάμαι εγώ είμαι διερμηνέας και δεν μπορώ να σε βοηθήσω; ... Δεν γίνεται. Ειδικά εμένα μου έρχονται και μου ζητάνε να καταλάβω από τον ήχο, από τη φωνή στο τηλέφωνο εάν ο άλλος είναι εμπιστοσύνης.</i></p> <p><i>... κάνω τον ψυχολόγο, και όχι μόνο...</i></p>

	<p>... προσπαθώ να ισομερίσω τη διαφορά για να μη φαίνεται ότι ο ένας στερείτε από τους δύο... πρέπει να φαίνεται το ίδιο επίπεδο. Δεν είναι ότι θα κάνω κάτι εντελώς διαφορετικό. Ή αν δω ότι κάτι δεν καταλαβαίνει εκείνος, μπορώ... Αν δηλαδή θεωρεί κάτι δεδομένο ο δικός μου, το εξηγώ λίγο πιο αναλυτικά...</p> <p>... Φυσικά εναλλάσσονται (οι ρόλοι μας)... παίζεις αναλόγως με τα δεδομένα εκείνης της στιγμής. Δεν μπορείς εσύ δηλαδή να είσαι μονίμως σε ένα μοτίβο.</p> <p>ENG: ... I like it that when someone is not able to communicate with someone, I am the mediator to their communication. This is my satisfaction, that I managed to make them communicate. After my intervention, there is communication.</p> <p>... at university they used to tell us 'you have to keep your distance'. But when someone comes to you and shares his problem and says 'look I have this amount of money and I should do this job' and then he ask, 'how did you find him? Is he ok? Can I trust him? Can I do that..?' Then, what should I do? I cannot say, 'well, I am an interpreter and I cannot help'. That does not happen... especially when they come and they ask me to understand from the tone of the voice, from the voice I even hear on the telephone, if the other person is to be trusted.</p> <p>... I become a psychologist and not only...</p> <p>... I try to mediate the differences so that one interlocutor does not seem to be lesser than the other... they should seem to be of the same level. I do not do something at the top of my head. When I comprehend that the other person does not understand, I can help... If, for instance, my client takes something for granted, I try to elaborate that to the other interlocutor...</p> <p>...Of course (our role) is constantly changing. You have to play according to the atmosphere of the moment. You cannot be in just one mode.</p>
<p>Maria</p>	<p>GR: ... Εμένα η θεωρία μου είναι ότι ο μεταφραστής είναι το φερέφωνο αυτού του οποίου τα λόγια μεταφράζει. Οπότε δεν συμμετέχω εγώ ούτε ψυχολογικά και προσωπικά, σε όλα τα επίπεδα, προσπαθώ να μην</p>

	<p><i>υπάρχω, παρά μόνο να μεταφράζω ακριβώς αυτά που λέει ο πελάτης. ... Ναι (δίνω περαιτέρω επεξήγηση)</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... My theory is that the interpreter is the mouthpiece of the person translated. Therefore, I do not participate either psychologically or personally; and in all levels, I try not to exist, I just try to translate what it is being said. ...Yes, (I do elaborate further).</i></p>
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Appendix G

	Answers relating to ' Comparison with other settings'
Socrates	<p><i>GR: ...είναι μια φοβερά δύσκολη δουλειά αλλά που σε ικανοποιεί πάρα πολύ... Είναι φοβερά μεγάλη πρόκληση να ανταποκριθείς.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: It's a very difficult job but one which can give you a great satisfaction. It's a great challenge to be able to meet that challenge.</i></p> <p><i>GR: ...Στις εμπορικές συναλλαγές και διερμηνείες, έχεις άλλο ρόλο. Γι αυτό και πιστεύω ότι δεν μπορείς να είσαι απλά διερμηνέας μιας εταιρείας, πρέπει να αποτελεις μέρος της εταιρείας</i></p> <p><i>ENG...in business negotiation settings, your role is different. That's why you can't just be an interpreter of a company, you should be part of the company.</i></p> <p><i>GR: ...όταν κάποιος, για κάποιον λόγο ... δεν θέλει να τα καταλάβει, αρχίζουν να υπάρχουν προβλήματα. Έτσι μετά αυτή η πρόσκληση γίνεται λίγο δυσβάσταχτη. Άγχος, αμφιβάλλεις αν έκανες καλά τη δουλειά σου, ενώ ξέρεις ότι κάνεις καλά τη δουλειά σου, άγχος και πάλι αν αυτό θα έχει επίπτωση στο μέλλον, αν την έκανα καλά τη δουλειά μου ή δεν την έκανα...;</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ...when someone, for some reason... does not want to understand, then problems begin to exist. Then the challenge becomes even more difficult. I get nervous, I have doubts about my performance, even if I know that I did a good job, and I keep worrying whether that will affect me in the future...</i></p> <p><i>GR: ...Πρέπει να είναι πολύ ευέλικτος, πολύ οξυδερκής, ακριβώς να καταλαβαίνει το πνεύμα που έχει γύρω του, ιδιαίτερα όταν είναι ανάμεσα σε δύο ανθρώπους, γιατί μέσα στην καμπίνα είναι λίγο απομονωμένος και έχει ένα κείμενο το οποίο πρέπει να το μεταφέρει</i></p>

	<p>πιστά. Όταν όμως είσαι ανάμεσα σε δύο ανθρώπους, πρέπει να καταλαβαίνεις πάντοτε το πνεύμα.</p> <p><i>ENG: ...He has to be very volatile, smart and able to understand the atmosphere around him, especially when he is amongst two people. It is easier when you're in a cabin and you have to translate a text you have in front of you. But when you're dealing with two individuals, you always need to feel the room.</i></p>
<p>Achilles</p>	<p><i>GR: ...Είναι δύσκολο, είναι απαιτητικό και γι αυτό δεν θα συνιστούσα σε έναν αρχάριο διερμηνέα να ξεκινήσει από κει. Θεωρώ ότι είναι για έμπειρους διερμηνείς που γνωρίζουν πού πατάνε, πώς να κάνουν διερμηνεία και ποια είναι ακριβώς η θέση τους</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... It is difficult and demanding; this is why I would not recommend to a young interpreter to start there. That is a setting for experienced interpreters that know how to do their job and what their role is.</i></p> <p><i>GR: Θεωρώ ότι αυτοί οι ρόλοι συμπίπτουν ή πρέπει να συμπίπτουν</i></p> <p><i>ENG: I believe that these roles are similar or should be similar</i></p> <p><i>GR: Από κει και πέρα το γεγονός ότι δεν είναι πάντοτε φιλικές οι διαπραγματεύσεις, το κάνει να έρχεται περισσότερο κοντά στη νομική διερμηνεία, διερμηνεία δικαστηρίου. Το επιπλέον κομμάτι της πρόκλησης έχει να κάνει με την ακόμη μεγαλύτερη προσπάθεια να παραμείνει κανείς ανεπηρέαστος και ουδέτερος, κάτι το οποίο δεν σου προκύπτει για παράδειγμα σε ένα ιατρικό συνέδριο στο οποίο βρίσκεται σε καμπίνα και διερμηνεύεις ένα κείμενο, μια ομιλία.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: Furthermore, negotiations are not always amicable, and that gives it a bit of a resemblance to judicial interpretation. Another challenge is to remain unbiased and neutral. That element is never an issue in medical conferences, for instance, where the interpreter</i></p>

	<i>is inside a booth interpreting in simultaneous mode.</i>
Stella	<p><i>GR: ...αν κλείσει η δουλειά, έχεις κάνει τη δουλειά σου σωστά. Ακόμα και αν δεν γίνει η δουλειά σου, έχεις την ικανοποίηση ότι έκανες ότι μπόρεσες. Βγαίνει αμέσως αυτό. Επίσης μετά μένει και η προσωπική σχέση. Τα άλλα setting είναι πιο ψυχρά, πιο απόμακρα</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... you know first hand if the job has been successful. Even if the deal doesn't close, you know that you did the best that you could. Moreover, in that setting you establish a stronger interpersonal relationship with the interlocutors. Other settings are colder and distant.</i></p>
Maria	<p><i>GR: ... διότι στα δικαστήρια για παράδειγμα δεν μου επιτρέπετε... είναι σαν να είσαι σε ένα κουτί που πρέπει να μεταφράζεις ακριβώς ότι σου λένε, χωρίς συνώνυμα, χωρίς προσαρμογές, χωρίς τίποτα</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ...In court interpreting, for example, it is strictly forbidden... It's like being in a box and strictly to translate what you are told, without synonyms, adaptations, nothing.</i></p> <p><i>GR: ... ούτε όπως στα συνέδρια που θα μπορούσες να μιλήσεις με έναν σύνεδρο από πριν και να σου δώσει το άρθρο του, την παρουσίαση του, τον λόγο του, οπότε και πάνω κάτω να ξέρεις τι θα ειπωθεί... ναι ένας χώρος που τα πάντα είναι απρόβλεπτα. Δεν ξέρεις τι θα γίνει. Μπορεί οι διαπραγματεύσεις να πάνε καλώς και να βγει μια θετική έκβαση αλλά μπορεί να είναι σε έναν ουδέτερο τόνο ή μπορεί να γίνει και heated η όλη κατάσταση και να αρχίσει ο ένας να βρίζει τον άλλο</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... In a conference, for example, you can talk to the presenter beforehand, ask for a copy of his article, his presentation or his speech, so that you could know a bit in advance what is going to be said. Everything is unpredictable in business. You don't know what might happen. The negotiation may go well and have the expected outcome, or the situation might get heated and the interlocutors might start insulting each other.</i></p>

Appendix H

	Answers relating to 'Team member'
Socrates	<p><i>GR: ...Γι αυτό και πιστεύω ότι δεν μπορείς να είσαι απλά διερμηνέας μιας εταιρείας, πρέπει να αποτελείς μέρος της εταιρείας.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ...That's why you should be more than an interpreter; you should be part of the company.</i></p> <p><i>#GR: Θα πρέπει να έχεις καταλάβει ποιό είναι το προϊόν τους, πώς πρέπει να το αναπτύξουν και να το προωθήσουν, θα πρέπει να μοιράζεσαι το όραμα της επιχείρησης ώστε να μπορείς να το μεταδώσεις.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: You should know what their product is, how they should develop and promote it, you should share the vision of the company in order to be able to pass it on.</i></p> <p><i>GR: ...στο κάτω-κάτω της γραφής, είναι αυτός που πληρώνει. Θα πρέπει να κάνεις αυτό που σου λέει.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: at the end of the day, he's the one who'll pay you.</i></p> <p><i>GR: Ξεκινώ αρχικά από τα συμφέροντα του πελάτη μου, διότι στην ουσία απ αυτόν θα πληρωθώ, αυτόν έχω πελάτη και κατ' επέκταση αν πάει καλά η δουλειά θα συνεργαστώ κτλ.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: I begin by supporting the interests of my client, because that's where my pay check comes from and, consequently, if the business deal goes well, I'll develop a customer as well.</i></p>
Achilles	<p><i>GR: ...Δεν θέλω να ξέρω ποιος είναι ο στόχος του πελάτη, διότι δεν θέλω να με υποπτευθούν για έλλειψη διαφάνειας, ή ότι έχω κάποια κρυφή agenda. Παρά το γεγονός ότι είμαι επαγγελματίας για πολλά χρόνια, όλοι μπορούν να επηρεαστούν χωρίς να το καταλάβουν. Άρα, θα προτιμήσω να μην ξέρω τις λεπτομέρειες της διαπραγμάτευσης, αλλά θέλω να ξέρω τη γενική ιδέα...</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... I do not want to know the purpose of the client, because I do not want to be suspected for lack of objectivity, or that I have a secret agenda. Although I have been a professional for many years, anyone can</i></p>

	<p><i>be unwillingly affected. Therefore, I would rather not know specifics about the negotiation, but I want to know the general idea ...</i></p> <p><i>GR: ...θεωρούν ότι θα είμαι ένας δικός τους σύμμαχος ο οποίος θα βοηθήσει την προσπάθειά τους, προσφέροντας τυχόν επιχειρήματα ή τυχόν όπλα τα οποία δεν έχουν οι ίδιοι σκεφτεί ή δεν τους έχουν προκύψει κατά τη διαπραγμάτευση.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ... these clients consider me as an ally who will help them achieve their goals, by offering arguments they have not thought of themselves or help them during the negotiation.</i></p> <p><i>GR: Όχι ότι προωθώ τα συμφέροντα του ενός ή του άλλου</i></p> <p><i>ENG: I am not there in order to serve or promote someone's interests.</i></p>
<p>Stella</p>	<p><i>GR: ...Κοίτα, εγώ παλεύω για τον πελάτη μου. Το λογικό αυτό είναι έτσι; ... Όταν πληρώνεσαι από έναν πελάτη, λογικό είναι να πάρεις το μέρος του</i></p> <p><i>ENG: Look, I fight for my client. That's the right thing to do, isn't it?... when you are paid by one client, it goes without saying that you'll defend him</i></p> <p><i>GR: Εγώ πάντα τους ρωτάω να μου πουν 'Τι θέλεις να επιτύχεις;'</i></p> <p><i>ENG: I always ask them 'what do you want to achieve?'</i></p> <p><i>GR: Πρέπει να ξέρω ποιος είναι ο στόχος. Γιατί πολλά από αυτά που μπορεί να τα δω μπορεί να τα προσπεράσω εγώ ως ασήμαντα, αλλά με βάση αυτό που θεωρεί ο δικός μου πελάτης μπορεί να είναι σημαντικά.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: If I'm aware of the aim of the meeting, I know what is important for my client; if not, I might overlook something he considers useful</i></p> <p><i>GR: ... σε προσλαμβάνουνε για κάτι άλλο ... Για να δούν τον χαρακτήρα σου και αν μπορείς να επιτύχεις γι αυτό που σε θέλουν, αν είσαι καπάτσα.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: ...they hire you for something else... to understand your character and if you are able to achieve what they want.</i></p>
<p>Maria</p>	<p><i>GR: ...προσπαθώ να το προσαρμόσω σε κάτι το οποίο είναι πολιτισμικά σωστό και που θα αποδώσει το συναίσθημα ή αυτό που ήθελε να πει ο</i></p>

	<p>πελάτης</p> <p><i>ENG: ...I try to adapt it to something more culturally appropriate which would present the emotions or the tone that my client wanted to give.</i></p> <p><i>GR: Μου έχει τύχει δηλαδή να μου εξηγήσουν να προσπαθήσουν να με κάνουν μέρος της ευρύτερης διαδικασίας...</i></p> <p><i>ENG: It happened to me to try to persuade me to become a part of the process...</i></p>
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Appendix I

	Answers relating to 'Greek context'
Socrates	<p><i>GR: ... στην Ελλάδα, δεν πληρώνεσαι τόσο καλά ακόμα, όσο στο εξωτερικό. Στο εξωτερικό το έχουν καταλάβει αυτό το πράγμα και δίνουνε πάρα πολύ καλά λεφτά, και απαιτούσαν πάρα πολύ καλές υπηρεσίες</i></p> <p><i>EN: even though the wages in Greece are much lower than those abroad. In other countries they understand the importance of the service and they pay interpreters very well.</i></p> <p><i>GR: πιστεύω ότι οι Έλληνες πελάτες είναι λίγο δύσκολοι. Είναι σαν άνθρωποι ίσως. Γενικώς οι επιχειρηματίες δεν έχουν την ευελιξία να ακούσουνε τον διερμηνέα γιατί πιστεύουν ότι είναι ένα φερέφωνο.</i></p> <p><i>ENG: I believe that Greek clients are difficult, as characters. In general, Greek business people are not flexible in order to let the interpreter talk; they believe that interpreters are just a mouthpiece.</i></p> <p><i>GR: ...το πρόβλημα που αντιμετωπίζουμε οι Έλληνες διερμηνείς είναι ότι οι εργοδότες μας δεν έχουν καταλάβει ακριβώς τι είναι η διερμηνεία και τι απαιτείται από εμάς και τι πρέπει να μας προσφέρεται σαν διερμηνείς</i></p> <p><i>ENG:.. the problem that we, Greek interpreters, face is that our clients have not understood and do not know what interpreting is, and therefore they do not know what is needed and what should be offered to us.</i></p>
Achilles	<p><i>GR: ...Εάν δηλαδή το επάγγελμα του διερμηνέα στην Ελλάδα ήταν καλύτερα κατοχυρωμένο, η αγορά εργασίας ήξερε περί τίνος πρόκειται και ήξερε να συνεργάζεται με διερμηνείς</i></p> <p><i>EN: If the profession of the interpreter was better established in Greece, the clients would know what it is about and would know how to work alongside an interpreter</i></p>

Appendix J

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

<p>Introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to myself - to the study without giving the hypothesis - reasons for interviewing him/her - privacy of data - recording of the interview <p>General Questions and demographics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - have you studied T&I? - how long have you been working as an interpreter? In business? - in which business sectors? 	
Thematic Questions	
<i>THEMES</i>	<i>Issues...</i>
Communication rules and conventions	1. Same level of formality?
Communicate effect as well as message	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interpret only what has been expressed in words? 2. Interpret feelings and emotions? 3. How important is the emotional component?
Explain and interpret culture and language	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interpret culturally inappropriate words? 2. Explain cross-cultural differences? 3. Compensate faux pas?
Contextual elements	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Neutrality? 2. Does the subject matter under negotiation affect your performance? 3. Does the setting affect your performance? 4. Does the character of the client affect your performance?
Trust and respect	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why does your client hire you? (only language skills..?) 2. Do you feel the same about all participants in the

	<p>interaction? (or become a team member?)</p> <p>3. Do you support both/all companies with the same rigour?</p>
Boundaries of role and performance	<p>1. Is it within your role to:</p> <p>i) Express your opinion? Does it happen in reality?</p> <p>ii) Control the flow of communication?</p> <p>iii) Balance power differential?</p> <p>2. Do you discuss your role description with the client?</p> <p>3. Do you know the negotiation aim and strategy beforehand?</p> <p>4. Are the boundaries of your role clear-cut and stable within the process?</p>
<p>Closing questions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is this setting different from the others (in terms of role description)? - What do you find interesting, challenging and difficult about this setting? <p>Thank you....</p>	

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