

Modelling Competence in Community Interpreting: Expectancies, Impressions and Implications for Accreditation

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
PhD in the Faculty of Humanities

2010

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Abstract

The aims of this thesis are to propose and explore a competence model for community interpreting, and to discuss implications of the model for accreditation of community interpreters in the UK. The thesis first focuses on selected approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence in order to show that translation and interpreting studies fail to offer foundations for a model of community interpreter competence. The deficiencies identified in these approaches concern mostly a prevailing tendency to discuss the question of competence in terms of components. This, in turn, seems to result in prescriptive views on competence in translation and interpreting studies.

With a view to overcoming those deficiencies, the thesis discusses achievements of intercultural communication studies, arguing that scholarly contributions within this discipline are helpful in seeking theoretical foundations for a new model. Having shown the applicability of the model of intercultural communication competence to the current project, the thesis puts forward a model of community interpreter competence. Drawing on relevant assumptions, the proposed model postulates approaching the question of competence as a matter of subjective impressions governed by fulfilment of individual expectancies.

This correspondence between competence impressions and expectancy fulfilment is claimed to constitute the decisive factor in the process of impression formation. For this reason, the assumptions and propositions of the model are used to derive a principle which describes the correspondence concerned. This principle is then tested through analysis of transcripts of interviews conducted with all three participants of interpreter-mediated encounters. The analysis successfully points to the correspondence between competence impressions and expectancy fulfilment.

Finally, the thesis explores the conclusions and implications of the analysis by proposing enhancement to the framework of interpreter accreditation in the UK. The proposals aim to enrich the framework by widening the range of individuals, methods and sources used to assess a candidate's competence. This enrichment acknowledges the expectancy-based nature of impressions related to community interpreter competence.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr Maeve Olohan, whose supervision and continuous support made this thesis possible. I would also like to thank all other members of CTIS staff, as well as my fellow students, who contributed to this thesis in various ways.

I couldn't imagine going through the whole process without the personal support of my partner, Agnieszka, who constantly believed in me, even at the moments when I didn't. For this, and for all other help I received from her, I would like to thank here.

My special thanks also go to Prof. Aleksander Szwedek, of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland and Dr. John Kearns, of Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, Poland, whose invaluable guidance helped me particularly in the initial stages of my adventure with translation studies.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUM	Anxiety/Uncertainty Management
CI	Community Interpreter
CIC	Community Interpreter Competence
CILT	The National Centre for Languages
DPSI	Diploma in Public Service Interpreting
EPA	Evaluation, Potency and Activity
ICC	Intercultural Communication Competence
INCA	Intercultural Competence Assessment
IoL	The Chartered Institute of Linguists
NPSA	National Patient Safety Agency
PACTE	Proceso de Adquisición de la Competencia Traductora y Evaluación
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to propose and explore a model of community interpreter competence (CIC model) with a view to investigating its implications for and applications in the existing framework for community interpreter (CI) accreditation in the UK. Given the complex character of the notion of competence, the thesis will first analyse fairly abundant research studies in translation competence and relatively limited research on interpreting competence. This will demonstrate that translation studies fails to offer a theoretical basis on which a CIC model can be constructed. Having discussed premises and assumptions underlying intercultural communication studies, the thesis will then argue for the suitability of the intercultural communication competence (ICC) model proposed by Spitzberg (2009) in developing a CIC model and will elaborate on relevant adaptations to that model to accommodate the specificities of interpreting. Then, a principle will be derived from the CIC model and tested in relation to selected aspects of this model in order to show the correlation between expectancies and competence impressions. Finally, the thesis will explore how that correlation can be useful in enhancing the current framework for CI accreditation in the UK.

There seems to be a general consensus regarding what constitutes community interpreting, although the difficulty in forming a comprehensive definition lies in the fact that community interpreting covers a number of activities. Offering a neat and compact definition subsuming all of them is a genuine challenge, which may account for the large number of labels referring to community interpreting, such as *liaison interpreting*, *public service interpreting*, *cultural interpreting*, *dialogue interpreting* and *escort interpreting*, to name just a few. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* defines community interpreting as ‘interpreting which takes place in the public service sphere to facilitate communication between officials and lay people’ (Wadensjö 2009:43). This definition can be supplemented with the discussion of roles performed by CIs during their assignments.

In one of the attempts to discuss these roles, Roberts (1997) draws on a number of scholars to describe a CI’s activities during an encounter. For example, *active participation* concerns their involvement in a triadic exchange in terms of not only a ‘linguistic channel’ through which participants’ utterances are relayed but also as a third participant who facilitates interaction by bridging differences between communication conventions, such as ‘openings, closings, turn-taking, signalling understanding or lack thereof’ (Roberts 1997:10). *Assistance* refers to the part of a CI’s responsibilities often expected by foreigners who are clients of a host country institution and who are unable to access the institutional and cultural realms of a host country in any other way than via a CI. This

expectancy tends to result in clients asking CIs for help in matters which are not necessarily connected with the subject of an interpreted meeting. Similar to *assistance*, *cultural brokering* is related to a CI's moderation of cultural differences which may impede communication between participants. *Advocacy*, which seems to raise most controversies, stems from an assumption that, since a client's position is underprivileged, it is the CI's responsibility to inform the clients about their rights in specific circumstances and to ensure they have access to relevant information (Roberts 1997:13 citing Giovanni 1992). On the other hand, however, Roy (1990), who conducted research in the interpretation of American Sign Language and English, does not support the idea of helping her clients to take over the control of the interaction. As pointed out later by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, *advocacy* 'may only polarize the situation between the two parties and may well contribute to the failure of the communication that the interpreter is trying to establish' (Roberts 1997:14). Finally, *conciliation* describes a CI's behaviour towards resolving issues which can appear in a given encounter due to tensions between nationals and minorities living in a host country (Schneider 1992:57 cited in Roberts 1997:14).

A slightly different approach has been taken by Pöchhacker (2000), who, rather than explore label-like descriptions of roles and activities, conducted a number of questionnaires among interpreters, service providers (doctors, nurses, therapists) and patients in twelve Vienna hospitals. The questionnaires aimed to determine the extent to which a CI was expected to go beyond mere rendition of utterances. Pöchhacker (2000:53) identified nine potential tasks, which included the following:

1. simplifying technical language for the clients;
2. explaining technical terms for the clients;
3. summarising clumsy long utterances for the clients;
4. omitting utterances which are not to the point to avoid losing time;
5. explaining foreign cultural references and meanings;
6. clarifying indeterminate statements by immediate follow-up questions to the client;
7. alerting parties to any misunderstanding in the conversation;
8. asking questions and giving information at the request of the provider;
9. filling in forms with the clients.

His findings show that most service providers in health care and social settings are likely to expect a CI not to confine themselves to interpreting but to take other steps to ensure that service recipients (clients) have full access to a service provided. Similarly,

according to his findings, CIs tend to feel responsible for facilitating the interaction between service providers and service recipients, depending on the situation; i.e. CIs want to '[enhance] the provider's understanding of the foreign cultural background and [to ensure] an efficient flow of interaction by taking charge of clarification and pointing out misunderstandings' (Pöchhacker 2000:63-64).

The question of a CI's roles has also been addressed by Wadensjö (1998). Based on Goffman's findings (1961, 1967 and 1981) and supported with vast empirical data, her study demonstrates that a CI, similarly to the other two interactants, is perceived as a legitimate participant whose status is constantly being negotiated throughout an encounter; moreover, she shows that community interpreting comprises two inseparable and intertwined aspects (roles), i.e. utterance rendition and interaction coordination (Wadensjö 1998:106). The role of a CI as a coordinator can be approached from two points of view: text-oriented and interaction-oriented. The text-oriented approach involves two types of coordination; *implicit coordination* refers to the fact that the way a CI renders an utterance will determine which participant will take his or her turn following an interpreter's utterance; by contrast, *explicit coordination* concerns actual additions or omissions in a rendered utterance. The interaction-oriented approach, rather than look at language use as a sequence of utterances, focuses 'on bridging between others' respective perspectives [and] providing or sustaining the conditions for a shared communicative activity between the primary parties' (Wadensjö 1998:110). This may result in the CI taking various initiatives, such as requesting to follow the turn-taking order and invitations to start or stop talking.

One of the conclusions from the debate on a CI's roles is that interpreters performing in triadic intercultural encounters attended by a representative (employee) of a host country institution and a client of this institution tend to assume responsibilities exceeding linguistic mediation. However, little agreement has been achieved concerning what constitutes those other responsibilities. One of the possible reasons for the lack of this agreement is considerable diversity in numerous aspects pertaining to community interpreting; not only do CI-mediated encounters involve participants coming from different cultures but these participants also enjoy varied status in terms of power relations, especially in circumstances involving, for example, asylum applications and interviews. Consequently, each of the participants in a given encounter may entertain various and often conflicting expectancies concerning a CI's roles.

Therefore, dealing with a notion of competence in community interpreting will be a challenge because it is virtually impossible to enumerate all the roles which CIs perform. Another challenge in discussing competence is the abstract nature of the concept in question. As will be shown in the initial part of the current thesis, a number of scholars in

translation and interpreting studies have attempted to overcome this challenge by confining their considerations to a theoretical debate. This has led to a number of contributions concerning competence in translation and interpreting studies which tend to approach competence as an abstract entity consisting of a certain number of components. However, an apparent deficiency in this approach lies in the fact that the validity of conclusions arrived at without support of empirical data could easily be undermined. It is argued in this thesis that the study of competence needs to involve both theoretical (abstract) and practical (concrete) aspects by means of a competence model and the testing of hypotheses concerning CI competence.

Therefore, in this thesis CI competence will be discussed in terms of a model, which is a suitable tool for handling such an abstract concept as competence. As stated by Hermans (2009:179), models are useful because they are considered to be ‘hypothetical constructs which operate at a higher level of abstraction than the concrete detail of individual phenomena and may be used as an explanatory framework to account for the world of phenomena’. In other words, it is the explanatory force of a model that is its key advantage in discussing competence, which is missing in approaching competence merely as a list of components. This means that even if one approached competence as a sum of components, one would be likely to produce more valid conclusions if competence was discussed in terms of a model. This would provide an opportunity to, for instance, explain the relationship among the components. Another advantage of this ‘explanatory feature’ of a model is that it allows testing by drawing on empirical data, which will invaluablely contribute to increasing the validity of conclusions.

The significance and usability of a model in discussing competence has been recognised by intercultural communication studies, on which the thesis will draw to propose a CIC model. Intercultural communication studies will be a basis for a CIC model not only because of its well-established application of model theory in discussing competence but also because of its proximity to community interpreting, i.e. triadic exchange involving participants from various cultures will be assumed to share certain theoretical grounds with intercultural communication studies.

This thesis will address the following research questions:

- 1. To what extent do current approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence provide a basis for the development of a competence model for community interpreting?*
- 2. How can the Intercultural Communication Competence model be adapted to develop a competence model for community interpreting?*

3. *Given the central role of expectancy fulfilment in impression formation, how can the correlation between expectancy fulfilment and impression of a CI's competence be theoretically specified and empirically approached?*
4. *How can this correlation serve to enhance the current framework for CI accreditation in the UK?*

Chapter I will discuss the extent to which current approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence can serve as a departure point for proposing the CIC model. It will first summarise current approaches to competence in translation studies and in interpreting studies, as well as those in professional circles in the UK. The chapter will then critically assess them and argue that certain assumptions adopted by these approaches seem to be incompatible with the nature and complexity of competence. Finally, the chapter will deal with the key issues arising from the discussed approaches in order to lay foundations for a CIC model.

Chapter II will introduce the ICC model to discuss the ways in which it can be adapted to constitute a basis for developing a CIC model. The chapter will start with a discussion of academic findings offered by intercultural communication studies and will argue for the applicability of this discipline in search for a CIC model. It will then focus on the ICC model in order to claim that it can be used as a departure point for proposing a CIC model. Following the presentation of Spitzberg's (2009) model, the chapter will deal with the modifications required for adjusting the ICC model to assumptions and premises prevailing in community interpreting in order to propose and discuss a CIC model.

Chapter III will deal with the methodology that will enable the researcher to verify the correlation between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions. The chapter will first present the rationale for formulating an overarching expectancy principle to be tested in relation to selected aspects of the CIC model. Having discussed methodological issues identified in intercultural communication studies, the chapter will review available data-collection methods to argue for the suitability of the semi-structured interview as the most appropriate tool for data collection in this project and will present the interview design. Finally, the chapter will elaborate on the researcher's approach to data collection and analysis.

Chapter IV will analyse the data with a view to empirically approaching the relationship between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions. This will involve analysing the transcripts of interviews to check if an interpreter's behaviour satisfies the expectancies of participants to a CI-mediated encounter. This chapter will focus on nine interviews, which have been conducted with each of the three participants following three different meetings mediated by a CI. Conclusions reached in this analysis will be

supplemented with the analysis of selected excerpts from interviews conducted following another two CI-mediated meetings. The chapter will be concluded with a discussion of implications of the overarching expectancy principle for the CIC model.

Chapter V will draw on the implications of the principle tested to propose the enhancement of the existing framework for CI accreditation in the UK. It will first recapitulate the shortcomings of the professional approach to competence adopted by the Institute of Linguists (IoL). It will then focus on the areas of improvement, i.e. the IoL criterion statement (IoL 2007) and assessment procedures, both of which are included in a document entitled *Diploma in Public Service Interpreting*. The chapter will show how the criterion statement and assessment procedures can be improved by taking into account the implications from the principle tested in Chapter IV. The proposals for improvement will be supported with ideas from other disciplines, such as research and clinical training. This will be followed by a discussion of implications from the proposals.

The conclusion will summarise the results of the research project and will discuss what impact these results may have for future investigation of competence in translation studies. In particular, the chapter will discuss the importance of the link between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions theoretically established and empirically approached throughout the thesis. The conclusion will also deal with the implications that the approach to competence in terms of subjective and individual impressions will have on community interpreter training.

CHAPTER I

COMPETENCE IN TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING: ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVES

The purpose of this chapter is to critically analyse current academic and professional approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence in order to establish whether it is possible for the thesis to draw on their findings in formulating a model of competence and to justify why it may be necessary to look outside translation studies for such a model. The chapter consists of six main sections. The first two sections (1.1 and 1.2) present current approaches to translation competence and to interpreting competence with a view to preparing the ground for an evaluation of their shortcomings and deficiencies in section 1.3. Approaches to interpreting competence as seen from the professional perspective are critically reviewed in sections 1.4 and 1.5. The last section of the chapter (1.6) concludes the discussion of approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence as seen from both academic and professional perspectives; it also addresses problems connected with the lack of explicit definitions of such key terms as *competence*, *performance*, *skills* and *knowledge* and explains the need for an alternative model, which will be proposed in Chapter II.

One of the issues that need to be considered in the discussion of approaches to and models of competence is that competence as a complex concept defies a simple definition. At the same time, there are various contributions which tackle topics in one way or another closely connected with competence, e.g. studies of performance. Therefore, this review, especially as far as interpreting competence is concerned, will include research that may not deal with competence *per se* but that discloses implicit approaches to competence through the analysis of performance.

Another issue is that in the last thirty years, which have witnessed a number of attempts to describe and define notions of translation competence and interpreting competence, numerous scholars and professionals have expressed their various views on this issue. Both the variety and quantity of opinions on the subject and on the nature of competence pose numerous problems when it comes to discussing relevant research in order to review existing findings and seek a departure point for proposing a model.

A different problem is the fact that a number of approaches that have been put forward draw little on one another, and this concerns not only the interdisciplinary but also the intradisciplinary level of discussion. For example, very few, if any, text linguistics approaches to competence relate to approaches advocated by cognitive sciences, and scholars specialising within one domain, e.g. cognitive linguistics, hardly seem to engage

in critical debate with their fellow scholars' approaches to competence. Consequently, when one looks at the overall output of research in translation studies regarding competence, one sees a mosaic of independent, rather than interdependent, studies, which are exceptionally difficult to comment on in a systematic manner. Therefore, in order to ensure a systematic discussion, this chapter will deal with models and approaches according to the disciplines from which they originated.

Another problem lies in the lack of agreement concerning differences and similarities between *translation competence* and *interpreting competence*. While some scholars and professionals argue strongly for complete separation of the two concepts, others favour a certain overlap between them; for example, al-Qinai (2002) recognises both similarities and differences between translation competence and interpreting competence, Gile (1995) subsumes interpreting and translation under one Translation heading and the Institute of Linguists (IoL 2007) includes written translation in examinations for professional interpreters. Although this thesis will deal with interpreting competence as a concept separate from translation competence, the fact remains that research on translation competence seem to be more abundant, which makes it worthwhile to explore conceptual terms applied by relevant approaches, with a view to determining whether some of these terms can serve as a basis for analogy in proposing a new model of interpreting competence. Therefore, exploring research on translation competence will ascertain if any mechanisms and methods of dealing with translation competence could potentially be adapted and applied in proposing a model for community interpreting, which is why a substantial part of this chapter will critically discuss findings concerning translation competence.

1.1 Academic approaches to translation competence

Early academic contributions to translation competence tended to rely heavily on the role of a second language and linguistics. For example, Ballard (1984) assumes that in order to translate well, it is sufficient to master the two languages, as well as the vocabulary of the field in which one translates, e.g. to translate a chemical text, one needs to be a chemist or have comprehensive knowledge in chemistry (Ballard 1984:18). A slightly different approach is taken by Nord (1991), who argues that although proficiency in a second language is a vital element, it is only a pre-requisite to translation competence, which, in her view, consists of four competences; *linguistic competence* (native and foreign language), *cultural competence* (knowledge of both source and target cultures), *factual competence* (knowledge of specialised fields) and *technical competence* (use of resources and tools). Finally, Wilss (1982) explicitly states that native language competence and

second language competence need to be linked by what he refers to as *interlingual supercompetence* which is responsible for ‘integrat[ing] the two monolingual competences on a higher level’ (Wilss 1982:58). It is then interesting to see that all the three scholars see second language competence in a certain relation to translation competence. While Ballard (1984) places an equals sign between the two, Nord (1991) thinks of second language competence as one of the four areas of translation competence and Wilss (1982) argues for superiority of translation competence over second language and native language competence.

The 1990s see a growth in the appreciation of the complexity of translation competence on the part of translation studies, although the relevant models still tend to lack in-depth analysis of the notion of *competence*. For example, Hatim and Mason (1997:206), drawing on text linguistics and pragmatics in the form of relevance theory, propose a three-part model of translation competence, each of which subsumes skills that interact with one another. In order to translate a text, a translator needs to be able to appreciate the standards of textuality that make it a communicative whole rather than a random chunk of sentences. This involves a translator being able to recognise the relation which a text in question bears to previous texts, that is, how this text relates to what the audience already knows (Hatim and Mason 1997:18). Secondly, a translator needs to be able to recognise what makes a text appropriate in a given situation and what the author intended to achieve by writing this particular text (Hatim and Mason 1997:19-20). Recognition of the textuality standards also necessitates an ability to acknowledge the way in which a text is organised in terms of cohesion (syntactic consistence) and coherence (logical consistence). Finally, a translator has to manifest a capacity to appreciate the degree to which a text is known or new, i.e. informativity of the text (Hatim and Mason 1997:26). All of these abilities will allow a translator to process a source text in such a way that they know what effect a text will exert on its recipients. Thus, the translator’s transfer skills will enable him or her to produce a target text which fulfils the standards of textuality and has the equivalent effect on the target text recipients. In order to achieve that, a translator will use their skills of manipulating the text’s effectiveness, efficiency and relevance (Hatim and Mason 1997:206).

Another discipline drawn on in approaching translation competence is psychology and psycholinguistics. For example, Campbell (1998) proposes a model which consists of three components; *target language textual competence* concerns ‘the ability to deploy the resources of the target language in a highly specialised way’ (Campbell 1998:155), *disposition* refers to a translator’s personal traits and qualities influencing their performance and *monitoring competence* deals with a translator’s awareness of quality of

their output. Although Campbell maintains that ‘there are good reasons why the components should be independent’ (Campbell 1998:155), one of his undoubted contributions to an overall discussion of translation competence is the fact that he recognises certain dynamism of his model by stating that components are subject to development over a period of time.

Findings in psycholinguistics are applied by Presas (2000), who distinguishes among as many as four types of translators, categorising them in terms of the reception-production process they apply while translating. The *associative translator* focuses on changing the linguistic code from L1 to L2, which excludes prior comprehension of the source text; the *subordinated translator* first translates and then comprehends the text by means of assigning a textual element in one language to a textual element in the other language, which allows the translator to refer to his or her mental content; the *compound translator* filters a textual element in one language through his or her mental content (summation of both languages) to produce a textual element in the other language; finally, the *coordinated translator* makes use of two mental images by assigning a textual element in L1 to a mental image in L1, which interacts with a mental image in L2, which, in turn, is associated with a textual element in L2 (Presas 2000:24-25). According to Presas (2000:26), of all the four types of translators, the last one represents expert translation competence, since the performance of the first three types of translators often results in interference. At the same time, a *coordinated bilingual* is still a novice translator, who needs ‘reorientation of bilingual competence towards interlingual competence’ (Presas 2000:27) to become an expert translator.

Some approaches to translation competence have clearly been influenced by cognitive science. One of its major goals is to explain how knowledge about the world is organised in the human brain. This is one of the aims of the competence model put forward by Bell (1991), who suggests that translation competence can be seen as an expert system. The *knowledge base* is the combination of all the knowledge in a particular domain, while the *inference mechanism* is the interface that makes it possible to access this knowledge. Thus, source and target language knowledge can be subdivided into three components. The first one, syntactic knowledge, refers to constituents of language and the ability to use them in a grammatically acceptable manner. The second, semantic knowledge, comprises the ability to make the text achieve an appropriate informative level. The third component is pragmatic knowledge, which enables a translator to recognise a text form as well as its propositional and illocutionary function (Bell 1991:206). The *inference mechanism* involves decoding and encoding texts, which, in turn, involves the ability to understand source texts and to compose target language texts (Bell 1991:40). Similar attempts to look

at translation competence as a structured entity are visible in Wilss's (1996) approach, whose focus has shifted from the earlier idea of *interlingual supercompetence* to that of knowledge, of which there exist two types: declarative and procedural (Wilss 1996:63). Following a cognitive line of reasoning, he claims that knowledge is organised in schemata, i.e. 'cognitive units enabling us to cope with a situation [...]' (Wilss 1996:61). He then goes on to apply this theory in translation studies, concluding that every time a translator handles a source text, they do so by activating their experience with the texts that they have already processed. It follows that the more texts a translator has translated, the more his or her experience with given types of texts is enriched, to the extent that eventually his or her knowledge becomes stereotypical (Wilss 1996:72), which helps to improve the translator's performance.

Another scholar who draws on cognitive linguistics is Shreve, who originally referred to translation competence as experience-driven knowledge (Shreve 1997:121), including a translator's capacity to remap the specific meaning of a source language text and its purpose onto a target language text. Shreve has later enhanced his definition of translation competence by stating that it consists of 'multiple translation-relevant cognitive resources' (Shreve 2006:154); those resources derive from procedural and declarative knowledge, stored in the translator's long-term memory, that a translator has gained throughout his or her experience and training (Shreve 2006:154). He also defines another stage of translation competence, which covers four cognitive domains (knowledge of both languages, knowledge of both cultures, knowledge of text types and features and translation knowledge) which may, in the circumstances of *deliberate practice*, develop in certain directions, called *expertise trajectories*, thus leading to modifications in the schematic structure of the four domains. As a result, the process of translation task performance will require less effort than in the case of a novice translator; it will also be faster and more automatic (Shreve 2006:159). Therefore, similarly to Moser-Mercer (2008), who deals with expertise in interpreting, as discussed in section 1.2, Shreve has made an important contribution to the studies of translation competence by shifting his attention to the translator's actual performance, even though a lack of a fuller exploration of the *competence* notion in theoretical terms seems to undermine his model of expert-driven knowledge.

Another perspective on translation competence has been proposed by social constructivists, who recognise the fact that a translator functions in social settings and that this aspect needs to be addressed in discussing translation competence. For example, Toury (1995) challenges the hypothesis of innateness put forward by Harris and Sherwood (1978). Toury argues that mere bilingualism is insufficient for externalization of translation

competence and that '[...] some additional factors are needed [...] most probably, a certain combination of personality and environmental circumstances' (Toury 1995:246). He claims that in order for translation competence to develop, a translator needs to undergo *socialisation*, which refers to receiving feedback from the participants (including mainly, though not exclusively, commissioners) of the translation event. Such feedback allows a translator to evaluate his or her performance during specific tasks, which, in turn, is likely to improve their competence. Modifications to translation competence are governed by two counteracting factors: adaptability (a translator's ability to approach new situations in an appropriate manner) and specialisation (Toury 1995:253).

A social constructivist approach to translation competence is also evident in Vienne (1998), who purposefully excludes the linguistic aspect of translation competence in order to focus on four factors of a non-linguistic nature that are crucial to the successful performance of translators. The first factor is the translator's ability to assess the circumstances in which the translation process is going to take place with a view to establishing the context, the audience and the form of the text (Vienne 1998:2). Following that, a translator needs to be able to determine the sources of information that he or she is likely to require during the translation process; this ability, which constitutes the second factor, also involves the translator's capacity to arrange and absorb terminology used in the particular translation task. The third factor refers to the translator's ability to cooperate with a commissioner in order to negotiate various qualities of the target text, for example, word choice. Finally, the fourth factor is connected with the translator's skill of approaching and cooperating with experts in a related field, e.g. doctors or lawyers (Vienne 1998:3).

In a similar manner, by focusing on a social constructivist approach that perceives a translator as part of a community, Kiraly (2000:4) successfully argues that *translation competence* has evolved throughout the years, as a result of which it is now an essential part of *translator's competence* (Kiraly 2000:13). Perceiving competence from the point of view of training, he argues that 'translators are embedded in a complex network of social and professional activity' (Kiraly 2000:12-13). Drawing on his experience as a translator and teacher, Kiraly notices that the reality in which translators used to work has changed in a number of respects; the development of information and communication technology has not only provided translators with useful tools to facilitate their performance but has also given them new challenges, e.g. learning how to make the most of the technology available (Kiraly 2000:13). Therefore, inclusive of *translation competence*, which refers to transfer abilities, *translator's competence* signifies the ability of translators to use a wide spectrum of information sources, to maintain professional contacts with their colleagues and to

perceive their own competence as an open-ended entity, which is capable of both absorbing new knowledge and adapting to continuously changing market demands.

Thus, the three scholars, Toury (1995), Vienne (1998) and Kiraly (2000) tend to focus on the actual environment in which a translator works and which somehow affects the final product. In this way, their studies contribute to enriching current approaches to and models of competence; rather than view competence as an abstract concept, they seem to have made a first step towards context-oriented and descriptive studies of translation competence, although they still rely on a one-dimensional approach which distils the notion of competence to a list of skills and dispositions.

Attempts to rectify this deficiency appear in the studies conducted by Neubert (2000), who distinguishes between primary and secondary components of competence. The primary components (also referred to as *parameters*) include language competence (in native and foreign language), textual competence (knowledge of textual features and semantic discourse), subject competence (expertise in a given field), cultural competence (awareness of source and target culture and their relation to the text) and transfer competence, which complements and integrates all the previous four components. As a result, on the one hand, the four components alone are not sufficient to constitute translation competence, but on the other hand, they are prerequisites for transfer competence. Defined as ‘tactics and strategies of converting L1 texts into L2 texts’ (Neubert 2000:10), transfer competence allows a translator to use all the four components to produce an adequate target text. Secondary features of translation competence account for the dynamic nature of translation competence and include the following (Neubert 2000:4):

1. complexity – competence covers more than one academic field
2. heterogeneity – competence requires a variety of skills
3. approximate nature – competence requires absorbing sufficient subject knowledge depending on the type of translation to be performed.
4. creativity – competence includes forming a new text in TL
5. awareness of translation situationality – competence entails appreciating new contexts in which translation acts take place
6. historicity – it involves constant change and development

Although Neubert’s approach to translation competence seems to be consistent with those discussed so far in that it treats competence in terms of components, there is an element of dynamism in his approach; that is to say, by claiming that a translator needs to

constantly monitor changes that their languages and subject fields are undergoing, Neubert seems to imply that competence may be of a more dynamic nature than previously thought, since a translator who fails to keep track of changes in their languages may become less competent.

Even more revolutionary in terms of multi-dimensionality is the competence model adopted by PACTE (2005, 2009), which moves away from a view of competence as a linear relation and list of skills and which approaches translation competence as a web of various and interdependent sub-competences. Defining translation competence as ‘the underlying system of knowledge required to translate’ (PACTE 2009:208), the PACTE group, which consists of eleven translation specialists, describes translation competence in terms of the following four features: (i) it is a type of expert knowledge, (ii) it is of a procedural nature, (iii) it includes sub-competences which interact with one another and (iv) strategic sub-competence is most important. Thus, *strategic sub-competence* denotes procedural knowledge responsible for problem solving and translation process. The function of this component is connected with undertaking and accomplishing a translation project in a sense that *strategic sub-competence* activates other sub-competences required for project completion, depending on the translation problems encountered. *Bilingual sub-competence* refers to a type of knowledge required to communicate in bilingual contexts, i.e. pragmatic, sociolinguistic, textual, grammatical and lexical knowledge. *Extra-linguistic sub-competence* denotes both general world knowledge and domain-specific knowledge. *Knowledge about translation* refers to awareness of professional aspects of translation and its function. *Instrumental sub-competence* concerns procedural knowledge connected with utilising such tools as information technologies, documentation resources, parallel texts, search engines, etc. Finally, *psycho-physiological component* encompasses three aspects: cognitive (memory, perception, attention and emotion), attitudinal (intellectual curiosity, perseverance, rigour, etc) and psychomotor (creativity, logical reasoning, analysis and synthesis). Therefore, Neubert’s and PACTE’s models of translation competence enrich the studies of translation competence with a sense of multi-dimensionality which is reflected in the relative sophistication of the models. In consequence, PACTE does not equate competence with a list of skills and abilities but instead proposes a translation competence model comprising a network of interrelated constructs.

Another approach that implies more dynamism among components of competence is that proposed by Kelly (2005:32), who enumerates seven of them, i.e. *communicative and textual competence in two languages, cultural and intercultural competence, subject area competence, professional and instrumental competence, attitudinal competence, interpersonal competence* and *strategic competence*. The dynamism and flexibility in her

approach is conspicuous in her argument that the seven areas of competence should be enriched and diversified depending on learning aims and outcomes of a particular training course, which should consider a distinction between transferable (general) competence and area-specific competence. By the same token, in her later contribution, Kelly (2008:118) discusses a competence-based profile for translator trainers to conclude that '[c]onsiderable care should be taken thereafter to incorporate local considerations into planning much-needed trainer training programmes', thus acknowledging that competence should not be treated as a universal list of definite items.

One approach to translation competence which seems to differ from most others is that proposed by Lörcher (1991), who uses think-aloud protocols to study the translation process, with particular attention paid to translation strategies. He claims that these strategies comprise four factors: they are carried out by individuals; they include a planning process; they attempt to reach a certain goal and they prompt a series of actions during the process of reaching this goal. Given the fact that translators come across translation problems, of which Lörcher distinguishes three types (reception, production and reception-production), he identifies elements of strategies used to solve translation problems that he divides into original and potential (Lörcher 1991:124-125). By following an algorithmic sequence of problem-solving steps, a translator chooses appropriate strategies, depending on what structures he or she is operating on, i.e. basic, expanded or complex. The most common strategies are checking, monitoring, rephrasing and multiple verbalisations of problems (Lörcher 1991:234). Lörcher's (1991) work constitutes a crucial contribution to the discussion about translation competence because his is one of few studies that analyses empirical data from the translation process instead of only theorising about it. What is more, rather than focus on a translator's output, Lörcher (1991) investigates mental processes occurring in a translator's mind during a translation process. Although the think-aloud method (which asks people to verbalise their thoughts during a task) has its shortcomings, the value of his contribution lies in the fact that Lörcher (1991) studied competence not only in theoretical but also in empirical terms.

The final approach towards translation competence to be presented in this section is that proposed by Pym (2003), whose minimalist views on the concept of competence highlight the weaknesses of multicomponential models of competence that tend to comprise long lists of skills and abilities. While Pym, who discusses the approach to competence in terms of translator training, acknowledges the distinction between translation competence and translator's competence proposed by Kiraly (2000), his minimalist definition seems to minimise the impact of translation competence, assigning it a lower status than translator's competence:

There can be no doubt that translators need to know a fair amount of grammar, rhetoric, terminology, computer skills, Internet savvy, world knowledge, teamwork cooperation, strategies for getting paid correctly, and the rest, but the specifically translational part of their practice is strictly neither linguistic nor solely commercial. It is a process of generation and selection, a problem-solving process that often occurs with apparent automatism.

(Pym 2003:489)

More importantly, claims Pym (2003), translation competence involves ‘two-fold functional competence’ which he summarises in the following way:

1. the ability to generate a series of more than one viable target text (TT₁, TT₂ ... TT_n) for a pertinent source text (ST);
2. the ability to select only one viable TT from this series, quickly and with justified confidence.

(Pym 2003:489)

Pym’s defence of his minimalist view on translation competence emphasises the fact that the recent development of information technology has provided a translator with numerous opportunities of accessing various parallel text segments while performing translation tasks. While this development may contribute to increasing the speed of doing a translation task, it is necessary for translation competence to include the ability to critically evaluate parallel text segments with a view to choosing an appropriate one in specific contexts. Therefore, he claims, there is little point in expanding already long lists of skills and abilities to describe translation competence, since the development of technology will always provide translators with state-of-the-art tools that can facilitate the translation process, which means the list of skills will never be complete. Instead, he recognises the necessity of emphasising a translator’s ability to choose one of the target text segments so that it fits the relevant context.

1.2 Academic approaches to interpreting competence

Compared with the amount of research conducted on translation, interpreting remains under-researched. It is therefore not surprising that there are fewer models of and approaches to interpreting competence and that their level of sophistication does not match that of translation competence models.

Similarly to translation competence models, early approaches to interpreting competence were grounded in bilingualism, marked by a tendency to equate second language proficiency with translation competence. For instance, Harris and Sherwood (1978) claim that ‘all bilinguals are able to translate within the limits of their mastery of the two languages [...] and that [...] translating is coextensive with bilingualism’ (Harris

and Sherwood 1978:155). The findings of their research are based on experiments and observations of mostly non-elicited acts of translating and interpreting performed by immigrants' bilingual children in Canada. The researchers divided all the children observed into four age groups. Based on the recorded situations, Harris and Sherwood were able to distinguish several stages in the development of natural translation ability. As early as infancy, children are capable of pretranslating, which is explained as making 'a twofold connection between a visual percept [...] and the mental images of *two* words' (Harris and Sherwood 1978:166). Around the same age, infants develop an ability of autotranslation, which means that they translate whatever has just been said, even though both parents, despite being of two different origins, understand the message. Once a child reaches the ages of 3 to 6 years, he or she is able to perform intrafamily translation, which normally entails translating for guests who are visiting the family. Following that, at the age of 5 to 8 years, bilingual children start to be conscious of translation, and their output becomes more idiomatic. Finally, at the age of 7 to 18, they often perform a number of functions for those members of family who are unable to speak the target language. This involves translating '[...] messages, conversations with visitors, mail, newspaper articles etc.' as well as performing semi-consecutive liaison interpreting in government offices (Harris and Sherwood 1978:156). Sometimes they act as cultural mediators trying to bridge the gap between two cultures, as shown by an often quoted example of a short interaction between two representatives coming from two culturally different backgrounds, interpreted by one of the immigrant's daughter (Harris and Sherwood 1978:157):

Father to BS (his daughter): *Tell him he's a nitwit.*

BS to 3rd party: *My father won't accept your offer.*

Since the insufficiency of linguistic competence alone as translation competence has already been demonstrated by numerous translation scholars, interpreting studies has started to search for improvements on bilingualism-based models. One of the researchers who claims that there is more to interpreting competence than mere bilingualism is Daniel Gile. While he argues that there are certain areas of Translation expertise which cover both translating and interpreting, particular aspects of these areas are slightly different for interpreters. One of the components of Translation expertise is 'good passive knowledge of [translators' and interpreters'] passive working languages' (Gile 1995:4), while a second component is 'good command of their active working languages' (Gile 1995:4). While translators are required to display professional writing skills in addition to linguistic transfer, interpreters are supposed to adjust the register of their output to the audience;

moreover, both translators and interpreters must possess adequate knowledge of the subject in which they translate or interpret. The distinction between translation and interpreting in this respect is that translators have an opportunity to acquire knowledge while performing a translation task. Interpreters, however, due to time constraints, need to acquire necessary knowledge prior to performing an interpreting task. Moreover, because they have hardly any opportunity to consult information sources during their performance, it is necessary for them to have a wider knowledge of the subject. Since full acquisition of expert knowledge is virtually impossible, an interpreter is forced to develop and apply a series of strategies to compensate for his or her lack of knowledge; these strategies need to be applied quickly and confidently, which constitutes another skill in the interpreting competence model (Gile 1995:112). Finally, both translators and interpreters should display some technical skills (e.g. note-taking in consecutive interpreting), as well as fulfilling certain intellectual criteria.

In addition to the components of *Translation expertise*, Gile also discusses other issues in interpreter competence; *confidence* and *resistance to stress* are exceptionally relevant qualities connected with the fact that interpreters have hardly any chance to hear and correct themselves. At the same time, they are aware that their performance is constantly monitored and evaluated. Moreover, an interpreter requires certain processing capacity, also referred to as 'mental energy' (Gile 1995:161). Processing capacity consists of three efforts: *listening and analysis*, *speech production* and *short-term memory*. Among two types of operations performed by the human brain (automatic and non-automatic), automatic operations do not cause a brain overload, whereas non-automatic operations (such as the three efforts mentioned above) require the brain's attention, the amount of which is limited and is likely to undermine the interpreter's performance if its quantity is insufficient. Therefore, although Gile, similarly to some scholars investigating translation competence, avoids dealing with the complexity of the *competence* notion by resorting to the *translation expertise* term, he contributes considerably to the development of interpreting competence studies by reaching beyond skills and knowledge and by adding some personal and cognitive qualities to his competence model.

The idea of competence consisting of components is also evident in Gentile *et al* (1996), who discuss skills required of a CI (here referred to as liaison interpreter). The main premise underlying this approach revolves around five components of competence. The first of them, *language competence*, draws on Wilss's idea of *transfer competence* (1982) and is thought of as covering the following abilities:

1. ability to produce a variety of synonymous or analogous expressions in both languages;
2. ability to capture and reproduce register variations;
3. ability to recognise and reproduce domain-specific expressions in a form which will be regarded as 'natural' by the respective users;
4. ability to combine verbal and non-verbal communication cues from the source language and reproduce them in appropriate combinations in the target language;
5. ability to identify and exploit rhythm and tone patterns of the languages in order to determine and utilize the 'chunks' of speech so as to maximize the efficiency of the interpreting;
6. ability to speedily analyse the utterance in the context of the communication in order to anticipate the direction in which the argument is proceeding and the strategy being used in developing the argument.

(Gentile *et al* 1996:66)

The second component, *cultural competence*, involves such elements as knowledge enabling an interpreter 'to comprehend the totality of the communicative intent of the speaker' (Gentile *et al* 1996:66). This, in turn, is related to 'extra-linguistic knowledge about the world of the respective speakers, and is acquired through knowledge of social conventions, institutional practices, taboos, anthropologically and historically relevant elements of the cultures' (Gentile *et al* 1996:66-67). *Appropriate techniques* is a term referring to the next component of competence, which covers an interpreter's knowledge of communication dynamics involving the following: control over an event, voice production techniques, identification of participants' various roles, spatial arrangements among speakers, etc. (Gentile *et al* 1996:67). The role of the fourth component, *memory*, in community interpreting remains unclear. Gentile *et al* (1996) argue that, if an output of a CI, who relies on note-taking technique while working in the consecutive mode, is inaccurate, it is difficult to determine whether this inaccuracy should be attributed to a CI's poor memory or their misunderstanding of the original message (Gentile *et al* 1996:68). The last component, *professional competence*, involves the ability to make independent judgements relating to certain aspects of triadic exchanges (e.g. ethics and emotions) and to cooperate with colleagues (Gentile *et al* 1996:68).

Thus, Gentile *et al* seem to follow the pattern of approaching interpreting competence in componential terms by prescribing what skills and abilities are required from a competent CI. On the other hand, their approach can also be seen as innovative; for example, their view of competence seems to accommodate more subjective aspects. This is visible when they refer to *transfer competence* and a CI's ability to produce expressions which will be perceived as natural by interpreter users. Since every user may judge the same expression as more or less natural, CI competence may, to some extent, be a matter of individual opinion.

Drawing extensively on Gentile *et al* (1996), Smirnov (1997) discusses what he refers to as competence of a liaison interpreter, which in his opinion can be discussed in

terms of five components. *General language proficiency* and *specialised lexical competence* are responsible for both an interpreter's linguistic performance and their handling of such aspects as dialect and specialised terminology. *Communicative competence* is defined as 'a human ability to function dialogically in a language, whether it is one's native language or a foreign one' (Smirnov 1997:219). Following that, *bicultural competence* is defined as an interpreter's ability to produce behaviour which is socially acceptable to both participants in a specific situation. Finally, *understanding of roles and professional ethics* is mentioned as a prerequisite of competent behaviour. Although Smirnov (1997) admits that the diversity of settings in which CI mediation is required varies to a considerable degree, he states that CIs should at least be aware of such diversity.

A more recent contribution to CI competence was made by Abril (2006), who derives the essence of each subcomponent from Kelly (2005) and adjusts her own propositions to community interpreting by drawing on Pöchhacker (2004), Sawyer (2004) and Mason (1999); for example, she includes the knowledge of registers and dialects in her first subcomponent (communicative subcompetence).

The majority of other interpreting scholars seem to share an approach which equates interpreting competence to a list of skills and abilities as well as some personal qualities. For instance, Choi (2003), who draws on both research and her interpreting practice, believes that interpreting competence necessarily involves five prerequisites (Choi 2003:99-100):

1. a thorough knowledge of the source language;
2. competence in the subject matter of the speech to be interpreted;
3. expression skill such as intelligibility in the target language;
4. mastery of the technique of interpretation;
5. knowledge of the culture of the source and target languages.

These prerequisites allow her to distinguish three areas of interpreting competence; the first area is *linguistic competence* which is defined as the ability '[to find] equivalents for ideas in order to pass along a message' (Choi 2003:100). This also involves appreciating differences in which various languages use words and linguistic structures to express concepts. For this reason, an interpreter needs to be able to understand the dynamic meaning of a given word which is used in a particular context (which can be cultural, geographical, etc.), even though this word or expression tends to signify something else in everyday contexts. Following that, he or she needs to be able to express this particular meaning in the target language. Secondly, *thematic competence* is an interpreter's

knowledge of the subject handled in the discourse that he or she is interpreting. Finally, *communicative competence* refers to an interpreter's capacity to attend to the overall message, including its non-verbal part; it follows that an interpreter should demonstrate their alertness to non-linguistic elements of the discourse, such as gestures, face expressions, pitch, tone, etc (Choi 2003:108). While Choi, unlike Gile, does not resort to using a synonym for *competence*, her contribution seems to follow the one-dimensional approach equating skills with competence.

Following a similar approach, Kornakov (2000:246) focuses on *techniques of interpreting* as a vital part of interpreters' skills. He mentions five:

1. listening in L1;
2. understanding in L1;
3. memorising the information in L1;
4. mentally translating, compressing and editing message from L1 into L2;
5. verbalising the message in L2 (consecutive interpreting) and verbalising the message in L2 while listening to the new portion in L1 (simultaneous interpreting).

The first skill involves attention and concentration, especially if an interaction takes place in unfavourable conditions. As far as attention is concerned, it needs to be divided, since listening usually coincides with the second skill, which is understanding. This skill, in turn, requires guessing and predicting skills (Kornakov 2000:247) due to the fact that interpreters may encounter certain problems with the speech in the source language; for example, fast pace of speech, dialects and peculiar articulation, spontaneous interruption in speech, etc. The next skill, *memorising the information in L1*, covers the interpreter's ability to use instant, short, medium and long term active memory. *Mental translation* refers to 'the ability to compose edited texts based on certain key-words (or symbols for consecutive interpreting) or good 'editing' and text comprehension' (Kornakov 2000:127). Finally, *verbalisation* involves speaking and listening at the same time, as well as processing the text in the case of simultaneous interpreting, or decoding keywords and expressing their meaning in the target language in the case of consecutive interpreting (Kornakov 2000:248).

Pöchhacker (2004:166) divides interpreting competence into two areas: *personal qualities and abilities* and *special skills and expertise*. The first group includes cognitive abilities (intelligence, intuition, memory) and moral/affective qualities (tact discretion, alertness, poise). He draws on van Hoof (1962) to add physical qualities (stamina and strong nerves), intellectual qualities (language proficiency and wide general knowledge)

and mental qualities (memory skills, judgement, concentration and divided attention) (Pöchhacker 2004:166). As far as the second group, special skills and expertise, is concerned, bilingualism is mentioned as a point of departure in interpreting competence. Following that, (simultaneous) interpreting competence, also referred to by Pöchhacker as expertise, is said to consist of ‘task-specific skills, [such as] selective processing, efficient output monitoring and allocation of working memory resources’ (Pöchhacker 2004:168). Finally, *interactional skills* and *strategies for knowledge acquisition* are mentioned, the former focusing on the ability to participate in briefings and negotiate working conditions, while the latter includes the use of tools and technology (Pöchhacker 2004:168).

Some scholars’ views on competence can be presupposed by analysing their approach to interpreter training, even though they tend to avoid using and explaining the term *competence*. For instance, Moser-Mercer (2008), who deals with skill acquisition in interpreting, draws on performance psychology, which ‘aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the psychological skills and knowledge necessary to facilitate and develop peak performance’ (Moser-Mercer 2008:1). An underlying assumption of her discussion about skill acquisition (and, consequently, her view on competence) is work by Blumberg and Pringle (1982), who argued that human performance is shaped by three factors: *opportunity*, *willingness* and *capacity*. *Opportunity* describes the physical environment where an interpreter performs. *Willingness* refers to an interpreter’s motivation and attitude to a task and is regulated by three mechanisms: task-motivation processes (effort thought sufficient to achieve success), task-learning processes (seeking new strategies) and meta-task (goal achievement monitoring) processes (Moser-Mercer 2008:5). *Capacity* refers to capabilities (Moser-Mercer 2008:4), which consists of three levels and has a complex structure; the highest level overarching the other two is referred to as *general intelligence*, defined as ‘the highest-level ability’ (Moser-Mercer (2008) drawing on Carroll (1993)). The lower level, called *Stratum II*, involves eight types of abilities: *fluid intelligence*, *crystallised intelligence*, *general memory*, *learning*, *broad visual perception*, *broad auditory perception*, *broad retrieval ability* and *processing speed*. Finally, the lowest level, *Stratum I*, involves a list of factors, which is grouped into level factors, speed factors and rate factors. These factors correspond to *Stratum II* abilities (Moser-Mercer (2008) drawing on Carroll (1993)). Although her perspective may bear similarity to most of the approaches discussed so far, one aspect in which Moser-Mercer (2008) differs from them is that, rather than enumerate components guaranteeing competent behaviour, she focuses on factors which shape interpreting performance. In this way, she reveals her view that interpreter competence, which here seems to be understood as *capacity*, is more of a dynamic entity interacting with and dependent on the environment,

i.e. *opportunity* and an interpreter's motivation, i.e. *willingness*, as opposed to a set of static elements which predict the same interpreting behaviour in all situations.

A similar approach to interpreting competence can be inferred from Lee (2008), who, while focusing on interpreting performance assessment, mentions in passing what he understands as interpreting competence. In his opinion, it includes 'the knowledge of languages and culture, cognitive ability, note-taking skills, and emotional and physical strength' (Lee 2008:165-166). Although he does not elaborate on the nature of those components of competence, it is clear that his view of competence is not confined to skills and knowledge, since it entails such aspects as *emotional strength* and *physical strength*. Moreover, his contribution is worth noting because one of his assumptions is that quality of interpreting performance may be determined by factors other than interpreting competence (Lee 2008:165-166). This constitutes a shift from a context-independent approach to competence to a context-dependent one, which portrays competence as a construct functioning in a complex web of other determinants influencing interpreting performance, for example, the speaker's speech rate (Lee 2008:166).

Finally, similarly to translation studies, interpreting studies also refers to a notion of *expertise* in discussing competence interpreting and training. As claimed by one of the leading scholars on expertise (Ericsson 2000:191), expert performance 'is primarily acquired through the engagement in designed training activities, namely deliberate practice'. In spite of focusing his initial studies on such areas as chess, medicine, music and sports, Ericsson (2000) successfully argues that the rationale of what he refers to as *an expert-performance approach* can be adapted for both simultaneous and consecutive interpreting. This can be conducted in three steps; first, one needs to identify 'superior performance of expert interpreters over other less skilled individuals' (Ericsson 2000:206). Following that, one needs to find tasks which can be performed in real time and which reflect the superior performance identified in the first step. This should also involve investigating the mechanisms governing the expert performance. Finally, this should be followed by exploring both the mechanisms themselves and the practical activities that have led to their acquisition (Ericsson 2000:207). Therefore, although Ericsson's contribution is concerned mainly with performance rather than competence, there is a clear competence-related implication coming from his studies, i.e. unlike some skill-based approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence which share a view of competence as a set of static components, Ericsson's study of expert performance acquisition seems to imply that competence is subject to evolution and development.

1.3 Critique of academic approaches to competence

Most approaches to competence discussed so far seem to treat the issue of competence prescriptively rather than descriptively, i.e. they focus on what an ideal translator or interpreter should do in an ideal situation. While this approach may have validity in an interpreter training curriculum, a descriptive and empirically tested model of competence that refers to what actually happens (as opposed to what should happen) will probably be more useful in the present investigation of CI competence, simply because prescriptive approaches to competence are difficult to test and apply in real-life situations. That is to say, prescriptive approaches to competence fail to account for the manner in which all these elements (skills, abilities, personal qualities, techniques, strategies, prerequisites, etc) become visible in the translator's or interpreter's actual performance. For instance, if a translator or an interpreter has produced an inaccurate rendition of a phrase in the target language, accounting for this inaccuracy by applying prescriptive approaches to or models of competence would pose considerable difficulties, since these approaches and models fail to address the possible way(s) in which a translator's or interpreter's (in)competence can be perceived in the actual performance.

Furthermore, most approaches to interpreting competence discussed in this chapter refer to simultaneous interpreting, whereas community interpreting and simultaneous interpreting are different in several crucial respects. For this reason, even if one or more of the approaches to interpreting competence encouraged a more descriptive perspective, they might still lack applicability to community interpreting on account of the complexity inherent in the nature of community interpreting itself.

Another weakness that may be noticed in some of the approaches to competence considered above is their definiteness, i.e. they provide lists of skills/abilities and types of knowledge and fail to acknowledge that these lists may be incomplete. For instance, being a translator today requires more IT literacy than it did previously. Thus, there is a certain danger in equating a competence model to a list of skills; the danger stems from the fact that the expectancies that service users/commissioners have of translators and interpreters are always changing, which requires constant modification of the items on the list. Besides, the skills and abilities allegedly constituting competence tend to depend on the discipline of the studies which have been applied in a given model. Therefore, translation competence and interpreting competence models grounded in text linguistics will discuss, among others, the skill of recognising such textual features as cohesion, coherence, intertextuality in the source text, as well as the ability to establish those features in the target text; by contrast, psychology-based competence models will quote a list of intelligence types, qualities and strategies as components of translation competence and

interpreting competence; and yet another competence model which derives its assumptions from cognitive sciences will refer to mapping abilities, types of knowledge and expertise. Consequently, the major weakness of the definite, list-like nature of ability-oriented models of competence emerges from the fact that the same concept is described in terms of different skills and abilities. Although it may seem fairly justifiable that two different disciplines, for example, psychology and text linguistics, apply different terminology in their studies, the fact remains that some of the text linguistics-based approaches tend to neglect psychology-oriented aspects and vice versa. Thus, a convincing model of competence comprising lists of skills and abilities would have to refer to numerous disciplines and be inclusive of all skills and abilities potentially applied in the course of translation (interpreting) process, while, as already argued elsewhere (Pym 2003), the number of translation and interpreting skills can be endlessly multiplied and hardly ever exhausted.

Additionally, some of the current approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence seem to imply that competence can be judged objectively. As has already been mentioned in the present section, the strong tendency to provide a list of skills and abilities and to equate them with competence may contribute to the impression that the boundaries of competence can be clearly delineated. For example, one of the translator abilities mentioned in Hatim and Mason's competence model (1997) is a text-processing skill. This implies that if somebody does not have this skill, they cannot be regarded as a competent translator. The shortcoming lies in the perception of the skills, which are treated in terms of binary features, i.e. a translator either possesses this skill or they do not, while a more feasible approach would be to treat the whole concept of competence as a construct subject to gradation (and to speak of more or less competent translators rather than of competent and incompetent ones). Besides, the competence models listing skills and abilities do not really provide methods of competence assessment, which probably stems from the fact that, because scholars have no means of probing potential and latent components of competence, it is virtually impossible to objectively assess the competence viewed as an abstract and objective concept. By contrast, approaching competence as a subjective description of its concrete realisation can provide solid empirical data, which, in turn, can increase the validity and credibility of relevant findings.

Finally, translation studies as a discipline does not offer a thorough investigation into competence, and most of the current approaches can be regarded as one-dimensional, i.e. they tend to confine themselves to providing a list of 'components' constituting competence. Even though some of the scholars appreciate the interdisciplinary nature of the concept of *competence* by applying models from other disciplines (e.g. Lörcher,

Shreve and Presas), the majority of approaches discussed above tend to lack the in-depth analysis that translation competence and interpreting competence deserve. As has already been observed (Pym 2003), most translation and interpreting studies dealing with competence tend to use relevant synonyms, such as *knowledge, expertise, abilities, skills*, etc, to speak about competence. This approach results in several weaknesses undermining the competence models proposed. Firstly, rather than offer testable hypotheses, the models are based on assumptions that are difficult to verify and operationalise. Therefore, unsupported by any solid model of competence, most of the approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence are unconvincing because they focus on a theoretical discussion of competence without dealing with its empirical aspect. Secondly, although certain scholars investigating translation competence and interpreting competence do relate their work to their colleagues' competence models, most of them offer completely new models. As a result, so many unrelated competence models have been proposed in recent years that any attempt to organise, categorise, refer to or even summarise them is exceptionally difficult and time-consuming, and causes a genuine obstacle for any scholar planning to determine a point of departure for their research in competence.

However, it must be admitted that the above critique applies to the above approaches to and models of competence to a varying degree. One of the reasons for this variation is that different scholars discussed competence for different purposes. For example, Kelly (2005), who looks at translation competence from the point of view of curriculum design and training, does not mean to reduce the complexity of competence to seven areas of competence but to indicate what could be considered in formulating learning aims in translation training. Another example is PACTE (2000), whose model implies an understanding of competence as continuum rather than dichotomy by recognising a hierarchy of and interaction among components of translation competence. Finally, scholars approaching competence in terms of expertise, for example, Shreve (2006), appreciate the role of (expert) performance in the discussion of competence and do not confine their discussion to hypothesising about competence.

To conclude, in order to overcome the shortcomings of competence models proposed by translation studies, the competence model to be proposed in this thesis will draw on an empirically tested model of competence which focuses on intercultural communication. As will be argued in Chapter II, this discipline shares many conceptual assumptions with interpreting studies; secondly, it offers a well-established and well-researched model of competence that, following possible modifications, can be applied to community interpreting.

1.4 Competence in translation and interpreting: the UK professional perspective

Community interpreting may have first been recognised as a profession in the UK in 1983, when a venture referred to as the Community Interpreter Project was granted funding from the Nuffield Foundation. The project gave birth to the Certificate of Community Interpreting, the syllabus of which was revised in 1994 and this marked the beginning of professional evolution leading to the creation of the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (Corsellis 2000). The change in terminology from ‘community interpreting’ to ‘public service interpreting’ was motivated by the fact that the word ‘community’ tended to be associated with the European Community and might have falsely signalled an exclusion of non-EU languages from the project (Corsellis 2000:80).

The professional evolution of community interpreting is reflected in at least two major documents that have shaped the approach to CI competence which is shared by most professional circles in the UK; these two documents will be used as a source for determining professional approaches to interpreting competence because they were issued by the institutions that deal with interpreting standards and interpreter accreditation on a national scale in the UK. The first of them is the *National Occupational Standards in Interpreting* published by the National Centre for Languages (CILT 2006) and the second one is *Diploma in Public Service Interpreting* (IoL 2007) issued by the Chartered Institute of Linguists. The *National Occupational Standards in Interpreting* provides a general framework and guidelines for awarding bodies and teaching/training institutions, while the other document sets out accreditation and assessment criteria for public service interpreting in particular. In a way, then, the former document is a point of reference for specific procedures delineated in the latter.

1.4.1 Interpreting competence in the National Occupational Standards

The National Centre for Languages is a government-funded institution which cooperates with various groups connected with languages and language services to create and maintain a network of specialists in languages. This in turn helped them to put forward a document referred to as the *National Occupational Standards in Interpreting*, which ‘describe[s] what an individual needs to do, know and understand in order to carry out a particular job role or function’ (CILT 2006:1). The *National Occupational Standards in Interpreting*, whose first version was released in 2001, was later revised in 2006. The areas covered by the document which are crucial to the current discussion are the interpreter definition and roles, and the interpreting standards.

Without distinguishing clearly among different types or modes of interpreting, the document defines interpreting as ‘the process where one spoken or signed language is

transferred into another spoken or signed language' (CILT 2006:11). It then focuses on a summary of professional interpreter's behaviour according to the standards elaborated on later in the document:

[...] the professional interpreter interprets between two languages in such a way that effective communication takes place between the participating language speakers/signers. [...] the professional interpreter has full command of the spoken/signed languages in which s/he interprets. S/he reflects accurately the information and ideas, cultural context and intention of the speaker/signer. [...] The professional interpreter is impartial. While s/he promotes effective communication and clarifies language and cultural misunderstandings where appropriate, s/he does not act as an advocate for clients.

(CILT 2006:11)

This excerpt from the document which provides CILT's general understanding of an interpreter's role and obligations, already displays a certain tendency that prevails throughout the whole document; some of the crucial terms employed by the document in question, such as *effective* communication, *impartial* interpreter or *full* command of language, are devoted little or no explanation. As a result, the guidelines delineated in relevant sections of the document leave much room for subjective interpretation, as will be discussed in detail in the sections to follow.

As for interpreting standards, the document seems to postulate a distinction between two levels of competence; professional competence (numbered 1 next to the unit letter in Table 1) and advanced professional competence (numbered 2 in Table 1). All the interpreting standards are divided into four areas: *preparation*, *interpreting performance*, *professional development* and *support functions*, while each of these areas is divided into units, as in Table 1:

Overviews of the National Occupational Standards in Interpreting	
Area of standards	Description
Preparation	A1 – preparation for an interpreting assignment;
	A2 – extension of existing preparatory skills;
Interpreting performance	B1 – unidirectional interpretation on a professional level;
	B2 – unidirectional interpretation on an advanced professional level;
	C1 – bidirectional interpretation on a professional level;
	C2 – bidirectional interpretation on an advanced professional level;
Professional development	D1 – development of performance as a professional interpreter (performance self-evaluation, development planning and implementation);
	D2 – enhancement of performance as an advanced professional interpreter (performance self-evaluation, development planning and implementation);
Support functions	E1 – support interpreting through sight translations of routine written documents;
	E2 – support interpreting through sight translations of complex written documents;
	F1 – support interpreting through draft written translations of routine written documents;
	F2 – support interpreting through draft written translations of complex written documents;
	G – working with other interpreters;
	H – evaluating and improving language services to meet client and user needs;
	I – acting as a mentor to trainee and colleague interpreters.

Table 1. Overview of National Occupational Standards adapted from the National Centre for Languages (CILT) (2006:13)

Of these four areas, it is *interpreting performance* that seems to be the most relevant to the current study, although the other three areas also reveal the terms in which professionals think about competence. The *preparation* area discusses what types of knowledge are necessary for an interpreter to perform tasks required prior to an assignment, such as deciding whether their competence is sufficient for a given assignment, agreeing on contract details, preparing domain-specific glossaries, etc. (CILT 2006:15). The

professional development area refers to this type of an interpreter's knowledge which allows them to critically assess their own performance and to effectively apply this criticism in their further professional development (CILT 2006:27). The *support functions* area dwells upon the knowledge necessary for an interpreter to identify with their own professional environment by means of cooperating with and acting as a mentor to their colleagues, drawing on quality assurance systems, analysing their customers' needs, etc (CILT 2006:40-41).

As far as the *interpreting performance* is concerned, Unit C1 (bidirectional interpretation on a professional level) and Unit C2 (bidirectional interpretation on an advanced professional level) directly correspond to the role of a CI. The National Occupational Standards discuss those two units in two aspects; first, the document provides a list of *knowledge and skills* that an individual needs to have to perform the job; second, it refers to *performance criteria*, i.e. specific instances of behaviour that an interpreter needs to show during an actual assignment. The list of knowledge and skills comprises the following:

Unit C1 – knowledge and skills

To interpret two-way effectively, you must have knowledge of:

- (K1) the process of interpreting from and into two languages;
- (K2) the language in which you interpret, with the ability to function at level 5 for your first language; and level 4 for your other language(s) [...];
- (K3) the cultures of the languages in which you interpret and their conventions for communication, and the implications of these aspects for the delivery of two-way interpreting assignments;
- (K4) register (frozen, formal, informal, colloquial and intimate), the transfer of register from one language into the other and techniques to use when the registers of the language users do not match each other;
- (K5) the modes of consecutive and simultaneous/whispered interpreting;
- (K6) techniques to achieve effective communication in a two-way exchange
- (K7) techniques to manage communication if it breaks down in one or more of the following ways:
 - you need to check on meaning
 - the degree of complexity, technicality or emotional charge is beyond your ability to deal with it
 - an apparent lack of understanding or misunderstanding hinders communication between the source and target language users
 - your position and/or that of the users hinders communication
 - the users' conduct prevents you from interpreting effectively
 - the users are communicating too fast or too slowly
 - the users communicate all at once or fail to observe appropriate turn-taking
- (K8) the role of the interpreter and the principles of professional practice
- (K9) the domain(s) in which you interpret and how to work with professionals in their field
- (K10) the use of technology, health and safety requirements and how to trouble-shoot when there is a technical problem
- (K11) techniques of taking notes when interpreting in consecutive mode

(CILT 2006:27)

The performance criteria specified by The *National Occupational Standards* include the following fourteen aspects:

When you interpret two-way, you must show that:

1. you interpret accurately the meaning expressed by users who are communicating with each other across two languages
2. your interpretation reflects the flow of communication between the source and target language users
3. any omissions and inaccuracies are minor and do not significantly affect the meaning of the base message in either language
4. your interpretation is sufficient to reflect the language users':
 - a. register, attitude and tone as expressed through verbal and non-verbal communication
 - b. roles and relationships with each other
5. you interpret consecutively and/or simultaneously/whispered
6. you interpret factual information, concepts and opinions
7. you handle standard varieties of language and common regional dialects
8. you paraphrase the meaning of complex terms and phrases, if you do not know the direct equivalent in the target language
9. you support effective communication throughout the assignment and take action if communication breaks down
10. you explain your role as an interpreter when you arrive on site, if necessary
11. you use technology effectively and safely, such as microphone, video link and telephone
12. you adjust communication to the medium and technology used
13. you take notes during consecutive interpreting, where required
14. your conduct is consistent with the principles of professional practice and your professional or registration body's code of conduct.

(CILT 2006:27)

As far as Unit C2 (advanced professional interpreter) is concerned, the knowledge is similar to Unit C1 (professional interpreter), but the performance criteria seem to be more detailed (see overleaf).

When you interpret two-way, you must show that:

1. you interpret the meaning expressed by people engaged in two-way interaction
 - a. precisely and fluently in both target languages
 - b. maintaining a consistently satisfactory performance throughout the assignment
2. you reflect both language users'
 - a. register, tone and speed of production
 - b. attitude, irony, sarcasm and innuendo
 - c. non-verbal communication
 - d. social and cultural norms
 - e. respective roles and relationships
3. you interpret
 - a. factual information, concepts and opinions
 - b. standard language and any regional or national dialects
 - c. complex language, specialist terms and jargon
4. you paraphrase the meaning of complex terminology and phrases, if there is no direct equivalent in the target language
5. your interpretation reflects the flow of communication between the source and target language users
6. you support effective communication throughout the assignment and take action if communication breaks down
7. you take effective notes during consecutive interpreting where required
8. you make effective use of the interpreting booth and any technology, where appropriate
9. your conduct is consistent with the principles of professional practice and your professional or registration body's code of conduct

(CILT 2006:29)

Whereas in Unit C1 (professional interpreter), criterion 1 merely states that interpretation of meanings uttered by the two parties needs to be accurate, the same criterion in Unit C2 (advanced professional interpreter) gives more details regarding accuracy, such as an interpreter's precision and fluency in both languages and their satisfactory performance during interaction. Another identifiable difference lies in the criteria concerning reflection of both parties' languages in interpretation, as in Criterion 4 in Unit C1 and Criterion 2 in Unit C2; while the former states that interpretation should reflect both parties' language in terms of register, attitude and tone as expressed via verbal and non-verbal language, the latter also refers to an interpreter's duty to reflect parties' irony, sarcasm and innuendo, as well as social and cultural norms.

Furthermore, the two levels seem to entail different techniques of dealing with complex phrases; while a professional interpreter (Unit C1, Criterion 8) is expected to use a paraphrasing method if they do not know an equivalent in the target language, an advanced professional interpreter (Unit C2, Criterion 4) needs to use paraphrasing only if the target language has no direct equivalent of the term or phrase in question. This clearly implies that an advanced professional interpreter needs to know all existing equivalents.

It is immediately obvious from the excerpts above that, although the document refers to knowledge and skills, it actually focuses on knowledge only. This may be due to

the fact that there may be no clear clear-cut border between knowledge and skills (this issue is discussed in detail in section 1.6); moreover, some argue that skills are in fact a type of knowledge and that knowledge can be divided into declarative knowledge and procedural knowledge (Wilss 1996). This may explain why in K6 in Unit C1, for instance, the document refers to the knowledge of ‘techniques to achieve effective communication in a two-way exchange’ (CILT 2006) and seems to imply that K6 concerns both the knowledge of relevant techniques and one’s ability to use them in specific circumstances.

Another feature deserving some attention is a possible contradiction in the performance criteria; for example, Criterion 1 in Unit C1 states that whatever both parties utter during a triadic encounter must be interpreted in an accurate manner. At the same time, Criterion 9 in the same unit refers to the need to sustain interaction between the two parties if communication flow breaks down; in practice, the latter criterion leaves an interpreter with an opportunity to express words that are their own and that have not been uttered by either of the party involved in a given interaction. At the same time, the fact that an interpreter utters words which are not a rendition of either party’s utterance could be regarded as inaccurate interpretation.

Moreover, although the document makes an attempt at putting forward what it refers to as objective performance criteria, the way these are formulated leaves much room for personal and subjective evaluation and judgement; for example, Criterion 1 in Unit C1 deals with the concept of accuracy in interpreting which, in itself, is an exceptionally subjective aspect, given how many various versions of interpretations can be acceptable in a given context and how much a given context determines which interpretation is more or less accurate. Otherwise expressed, the criterion refers to accuracy but fails to acknowledge the subjectivity of judgements of accuracy.

1.4.2 Interpreting competence in Diploma in Public Service Interpreting

Whereas the National Occupational Standards in Interpreting deal with most types of interpreting in a relatively general manner, they constitute a framework for the specific guidelines delineated in a handbook entitled *Diploma in Public Service Interpreting*, published in 1994 and revised in 2007 by the IoL Educational Trust. Formerly known as the Certificate in Community Interpreting, the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI) has received accreditation from the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). The QCA is an institution cooperating with the government with a view to creating, reforming and maintaining the national curriculum (QCA 2009), and one of their contributions is the National Qualification Framework, which puts forward nine levels for qualification recognition, from adult literacy (entry level) to specialist awards and

doctorates (level 8) (QCA 2006). The DPSI has been included in the National Qualification Framework at level 6 (equivalent to an undergraduate degree).

A description of the performance expected of individuals holding the diploma is summarised in the introduction to the document in question:

In order to work reliably and effectively, Public Service Interpreters must have:

- a good command of English and the Other Language, as they may need to act as interpreters for both English-speaking and non-English-speaking clients;
- a familiarity with, and objective understanding of, the cultures in question;
- competence in the relevant interpreting and translating techniques;
- an ability to function professionally in all situations;
- a commitment to the professional code of conduct and guide to good practice as laid down by the National Register of Public Service Interpreters;
- a sound knowledge of the structures, procedures and commonly used terminology of the professional areas in which they work;
- complete impartiality of attitude, speech and script.

Interpreters are often given little time to prepare for work in a given situation. They must therefore possess the requisite skills and information which will enable them to respond immediately and effectively to their clients' needs in a particular context.

(IoL 2007:3)

A candidate's ability to produce the required behaviour is checked during a three-unit examination, as illustrated in Table 2.

<u>UNIT 1 (30 minutes):</u> CONSECUTIVE AND WHISPERED INTERPRETING		<u>UNIT 2 (20 minutes):</u> SIGHT TRANSLATION INTO AND FROM ENGLISH		<u>UNIT 3 (2 hours):</u> WRITTEN TRANSLATION INTO AND FROM ENGLISH	
1A	bilateral consecutive interpreting and whispered interpreting into English	2A	sight translation into English	3A	written translation into English
1B	bilateral consecutive interpreting and whispered interpreting from English	2B	sight translation from English	3B	written translation from English

Table 2. Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI) examination format adapted from the Institute of Linguists (IoL) (2007:5)

In order for a candidate to pass the whole examination, they have to pass all six tasks; if they fail either task in Unit 1, they need to resit the whole Unit 1 within five years. If they fail either task in Unit 2 or in Unit 3, they may resit the specific task only within five years.

Both tasks in Unit 1 draw on a role play situation which involves four people: a candidate, an examiner and two interlocutors. The examiner, who ensures that the whole process complies with IoL standards, has the right and duty to intervene if necessary; for example, they alert interlocutors if they speak too fast or too quietly. The interlocutors, in

turn, simulate a conversation by reading from a script, although they are also instructed to make sufficient effort to ensure that the exchange resembles spontaneous and natural interaction. The role play is designed in such a way that both consecutive and whispered interpreting are incorporated within one task. Unit 2 involves a candidate studying a piece of formal text (not longer than 180 words) for up to five minutes, followed by their oral rendition into the target language, also lasting less than five minutes. Finally, for Unit 3, candidates have one hour for each task consisting in the production of a translation of a text not exceeding 250 words. Unit 3 is the only part of the examination in which candidates are allowed to use dictionaries and other references as long as they are in hard copy (electronic sources are not permitted).

The assessment criteria for Unit 1, the unit of most relevance to the current study, cover three areas: *accuracy*, *delivery* and *language use*. In each of the three areas a DPSI candidate can achieve a maximum score of 12 points. The marking scale is additionally divided into four bands: A(10-12), B(7-9), C(4-6), D(1-3); a more detailed criterion statement is presented in Table 3.

	Accuracy	Delivery	Language Use
Band A	Mark Range 10-12	Mark Range 10-12	Mark Range 10-12
	The candidate: -conveys sense of original message with complete accuracy -transfers all information without omissions, additions and distortions -demonstrate complete competence in conveying verbal content and familiarity with subject matter	The candidate: -demonstrates complete competence in language -switches effortlessly between languages -interprets clearly and smoothly -reflects tone, emotion and non-verbal signs appropriate to situation -displays a courteous and confident manner -remains unobtrusive and impartial -handles intercultural references correctly -displays good management strategies intervening appropriately and only when necessary to clarify or ask for repetition or prevent breakdown of communication	The candidate: -demonstrates excellent command of grammar, syntax, vocabulary, specialist terminology, with minimum paraphrasing -chooses language and register entirely appropriate to situation -has clear, distinct pronunciation -has an accent which in no way affects ease of comprehension
Band B	Mark Range 7-9	Mark Range 7-9	Mark Range 7-9
	The candidate: -accurately conveys sense of original message -makes only one or two minor omissions/distortions not affecting correct transfer of information or complete comprehension	The candidate: -demonstrates good competence in language -switches easily between languages -interprets for most part easily and smoothly -reflects tone, emotion and non-verbal signals of interlocutors -displays a courteous and confident manner -remains unobtrusive and partial -handles intercultural references correctly -intervenes justifiably and appropriately -makes occasional slip or sign of nervousness but not leading to communication problem	The candidate: -demonstrates good command of grammar, syntax, vocabulary, and specialist terminology -paraphrases in clear concise way, where appropriate -chooses language, register largely appropriate to situation -has clear, distinct pronunciation -has an accent which in no way or only occasionally affects ease of comprehension
Band C	Mark Range 4-6	Mark Range 4-6	Mark Range 4-6
	The candidate: -adequately conveys sense of original message -makes no serious inaccuracies, omissions or distortions affecting comprehension or transfer of information	The candidate: -demonstrates adequate competence in language -switches between languages without major problem -shows some confidence while interpreting -makes reasonable attempt to reflect suitable tone, emotion and demeanour -displays a manner, delivery and interventions, occasionally not completely appropriate, but not leading to irretrievable breakdown of communication	The candidate: -demonstrates adequate command of grammar, syntax, vocabulary and specialist terminology -keeps paraphrasing to acceptable level -may choose inappropriate language/register at times but not impairing overall transfer of information -may occasionally display faulty pronunciation or a pronounced accent but without impairing message
Band D	Mark Range 1-3	Mark Range 1-3	Mark Range 1-3
	The candidate: -does not, or only partially, convey sense of original message -makes serious inaccuracies, omissions, distortions affecting comprehension and transfer of information -demonstrates inadequate grasp of language and/or subject matter	The candidate: -demonstrates inadequate competence in language -has problems switching between languages -lacks confidence and clarity -does not attempt to reflect tone, emotion relevant to situation -sounds flat and mechanical or too loud and overbearing -fails to apply suitable management strategies where appropriate, e.g. asking for repetition/clarification -makes excessive requests for repetition/clarification	The candidate: -has inadequate command of grammar, syntax, vocabulary and specialist terminology -uses excessive and inaccurate paraphrasing which distorts meaning -uses register which prevents successful transfer of message -has a strong accent, intonation or stress patterns, making it difficult to understand meaning of message

Table 3. DPSI Assessment Criterion Statements for Task 1 – Interpreting (IoL 2007:11)

According to the criterion statements in Table 3, *accuracy* tends to manifest itself in the (in)frequency of omissions, distortions and additions in the utterances produced by a DPSI candidate in relation to an interlocutor's utterances. In other words, precision of rendition seems to be measured on a textual level by means of identifying parallel lexical items in source and target language. In the same vein, the four bands within which accuracy is evaluated define a DPSI candidate's possible rendition as *completely accurate* (Band A), *accurate* (Band B), *adequately accurate* (Band C) and *inaccurate* or *partially accurate* (Band D), where the lowest band displays the highest degree of inaccuracy resulting in an utterance being incomprehensible.

Delivery is related to a series of behaviours expected of a DPSI as a bilingual mediator between two interlocutors: switching language easily, attending to interlocutors' tone of voices, showing confidence in performance and managing the interaction effectively. If a candidate has difficulty in switching between languages, they are likely to receive a mark in Band D, while another candidate who switches effortlessly between languages will receive a mark in Band A. Also evaluated is a tone of conversation, i.e. if a candidate preserves original tone of the conversation they will receive a mark within Band A, as opposed to those who ignore this aspect and confine themselves to rendering verbal content only and who are likely to receive a mark in Bands B to D, depending on the extent to which the tone of the conversation has been neglected. Finally, intervening in interaction seems to be regarded as professional as long as it does not occur too often or if it serves the sole purpose of preventing a flow of conversation from collapsing; by contrast, intervening too often with a view to asking for repetition or clarification, as well as failure to intervene in the case of interaction breakdown, is likely to result in a mark in Band D.

Language use describes various linguistic aspects of a DPSI candidate's performance; for instance, command of vocabulary is believed to be better (Band A) if fewer paraphrases are used by a candidate. Moreover, a candidate who fails to maintain consistency in register between the two languages is likely to receive a lower mark, especially if it distorts the meaning of the message. Finally, assessment of the *language use* criterion also relates to a candidate's accent and pronunciation. If the message interpreted by a candidate is difficult to understand due to a thick accent or mispronunciation the mark received may be lower in comparison with a candidate with clear pronunciation.

1.5 Critique of UK professional approaches to interpreting competence

Similarly to the majority of academic approaches to competence in translation studies, UK professionals, as emerges from the two documents discussed above, seem to perceive competence as one entity consisting of a specific number of components; for

instance, CILT (2006), in referring to bidirectional interpretation on a professional level (Unit C1 in Table 1), uses eleven different knowledge and skills descriptions (from K1 to K11) and fourteen performance criteria to talk about competence of interpreters. By the same token, IoL (2007) refers to assessment of three areas of an interpreter's performance (*accuracy, delivery and language use*), each of which is further subdivided into more specific interpreting behaviours. Even though both CILT (2006) and IoL (2007) suggest that these criteria and descriptions are only for guidance, the fact remains that discussing competence in terms of a list of specific components constituting a larger whole is likely to imply that the list is exhaustive; furthermore, this approach to competence may result in interpreters being viewed in dichotomised categories; that is, those who possess all knowledge types and skills mentioned on the list are competent, while others are incompetent. While IoL (2007) introduces four bands (A to D) to refer to different degrees of a DPSI candidate's competence, the bands nonetheless draw on specific lists of (seemingly exhaustive) criteria.

Secondly, CI competence, as seen from the UK professional perspective, tends to be based, to a large extent, on linguistic competence. CILT (2006), in addition to mentioning linguistic aspects of an interpreter's performance such as reflecting register, speaking fluently, etc, refers to elements of an interpreter's performance such as taking notes and coordinating exchange between both interactants if it breaks down, but IoL (2007) seems to prioritise linguistic competence. This is evident in the fact that all three areas of assessment (*accuracy, delivery and language use*) are described in linguistic terms. For example, the *accuracy* area employs such key terms as 'complete accuracy', 'conveying verbal content', 'transfer [...] information without omissions' (IoL 2007:11). Although the *delivery* section refers to certain non-linguistic aspects of a candidate's performance, such as 'interprets clearly and smoothly', 'displays good management strategies' and 'remains unobtrusive and impartial', the lack of definition of all these terms may make the criteria difficult to apply in practice. Finally, the *language use* area refers to more linguistic features, such as 'excellent command of grammar, syntax, vocabulary' and 'clear, distinct pronunciation'. Therefore, while the document does point out aspects such as management strategies and courteous behaviour on an interpreter's part, it still seems to devote relatively little importance to the non-linguistic aspects of a candidate's performance.

In addition, the fact that only an examiner evaluates a DPSI candidate's live performance and that this examiner merely observes but does not participate in a mediated dialogue severely restricts the examiner's point of view, since they may have difficulty evaluating those aspects of intercultural mediation that extend beyond text-level rendition

and language proficiency. For example, such assessment is likely to neglect pragmatic and social levels of interaction. Even though both documents do occasionally refer to *courteous manner* and *effective communication*, the question that needs to be posed is whether an examiner who acts as a third-party observer and who is not actively involved in the exchange would be able to assess if a DPSI candidate's behaviour in a given situation is socially acceptable. A similar criticism applies to the questionable role of an external observer in assessing pragmatic aspects of an interpreted dialogue, since an examiner who is not involved in an actual interaction may have difficulty evaluating a DPSI candidate's contribution to communication goal fulfilment. This, in turn, raises the question of whether focusing on linguistic aspects of a DPSI candidate's performance helps in stating whether and to what extent a DPSI candidate fulfils the role of a mediator facilitating effective communication between two interactants from different cultural backgrounds.

Another deficiency in the UK professional approach to CI competence, which can be identified in the two documents in question, is the manner in which certain aspects of competence are referred to. While the documents may reflect attempts to search for an 'objective' means of assessing competence, it is likely that certain aspects will always be a question of subjective judgement; for example, a notion of *accuracy*, employed by the IoL (2007) as one of the three areas subject to assessment, has four levels falling into the four bands from A to D (IoL 2007:11): *complete accuracy*, *accuracy*, *adequate accuracy* and *partial accuracy*. Despite the fact that each level of *accuracy* is defined and is said to be assessed in terms of information omissions, additions and distortions, it is unlikely that these are the only aspects used in making assessments. Furthermore, the number of omissions and additions which need to occur for an interpreter's performance to be assessed as merely *accurate* (as opposed to *completely accurate*) is left to the examiner's subjective judgement. The same criticism may be applied to the four bands used in the assessment of *language use*, one aspect of which is *command of grammar*, which IoL (2007:11) describes as *excellent*, *good*, *adequate* and *inadequate*. Similarly to assessment of *accuracy*, recognising the difference between a DPSI candidate who demonstrates a *good* command of grammar and another candidate who manifests an *adequate* command of grammar relies on an examiner's personal opinion of what constitutes a command of grammar. As a result, performance assessment made by an examiner may be neither transparent nor comprehensive. In addition, even if an examiner's assessment is subject to moderation, a moderator who has access to a recording only cannot access a candidate's performance in the same way as an examiner who was present during an examination.

A separate issue is the question of an interpreter's impartiality. Although both CILT (2006) and IoL (2007) state what is meant by an 'impartial' interpreter by saying that

an interpreter should not intervene in the exchange (except for instances when clarification is required and when communication is going to break down but for an interpreter's intervention), the question remains as to whether one can objectively state whether circumstances in which a given DPSI candidate has intervened justify this intervention. What is more, the two documents fail to provide definition of 'impartial', as the notion itself is more complex than an interpreter merely abstaining from interference in the exchange. Another aspect of the same problem is the use of the notion of impartiality itself and a question whether there is any point for a CI, who is 'immersed' in a social interaction, to aspire to be impartial if they are part of this interaction.

1.6 The need for a new model

As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, one of the benefits of modelling competence is that it allows the researcher, by virtue of representation or analogy, to discuss an abstract concept in concrete terms. Although competence in translation studies generates a great deal of diverse discussion in both academic and professional circles, those who embark on discussion of competence tend to formulate conclusions which could be referred to as approaches rather than models, as evident in the sections above. For this reason, there is an obvious need to propose a model that not only resolves some of the issues arising from the approaches presented in the previous sections but also proposes an in-depth analysis of the concept in question by drawing on relevant methodology and theoretical frameworks and by showing how their implications are applicable in the real world. As argued in the Introduction to this thesis, the strength of models lies in their capacity to account for the link between abstract hypotheses relating to theory and concrete manifestation of this theory in practice.

The first aspect that needs to be clarified and that will become one of the underlying assumptions in the model to be proposed is the status of performance in the discussion of competence. As already indicated above, while some approaches to competence tend to completely neglect performance in their discussion, others do refer to performance; for instance, Wilss (1982), Bell (1991) and others tend to deal with competence as a sum of relevant skills and areas of knowledge, although their discussion focuses on competence from a purely conceptual or theoretical standpoint. By contrast, scholars such as Lörcher (1991) and PACTE (2000) do draw on empirical studies when discussing competence in translation studies, although they fail to say how performance is related to competence. Even those who appreciate the importance of performance in the debate on competence seem to avoid stating explicitly what role performance plays in the

discussion of competence; for some scholars, performance appears to be equivalent to competence, for others, performance may be an objective indication of competence.

The discussion of the relation of competence to performance seems to have started with Chomsky's (1965) exploration of linguistic competence and performance; he strongly advocated a clear separation between the two. He contends that the then prevailing linguistic theories were

concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

(Chomsky 1965:3)

He emphasises the necessity of distinguishing between *knowledge of language* that an individual has at their disposal and the specific *use of language* in particular context and reality involving such restrictions as, among others, time and memory. He then goes on to introduce a matter-of-degree term, i.e. *acceptability*, claiming that acceptable utterances are those that 'are perfectly natural and immediately comprehensible without paper-and-pencil analysis, and in no way bizarre or outlandish' (Chomsky 1965:10). He was thus one of the first scholars to point out that *competence* is a form of knowledge and that performance which is less acceptable does not need to stem from lack of competence and can be related to other constraints.

Although his views on competence and performance were innovative at that time and although his linguistic theories are still critically acclaimed by some scholars, a great deal of his work has faced fierce criticism; for instance, Matthews (1994) refers to a few inconsistencies as far as Chomsky's understanding of *competence* and *performance* is concerned. He challenges Chomsky's view that 'the rules relating competence to performance must be independent of any particular language' by claiming that hesitations in utterances may be explained not only by rules of hesitation but also by rules of grammar underlying a specific language. Moreover, Matthews (1994:166) questions the lack of in-depth analysis regarding the competence-performance dichotomy and argues that generative grammar fails to sufficiently explore the concept of acceptability.

One of the scholars who rejected Chomsky's distinction between *competence* and *performance* is Miller (1975). A researcher in psycholinguistics and communication disorders, he assumes that a great deal of disagreement concerning the two concepts in question results from understanding them in different ways and he attempts to explore possible versions of competence and performance. Within his discussion, one of the ways which he thinks competence and performance are viewed in is a *developmental* perspective,

which is applied in the studies on children's speech development. One of its main assumptions is that children's competence exceeds their performance, which is based on observations showing that children are able to understand certain complicated phrases and constructions but they do not use them in their own speech (Miller 1975:202). Another way of viewing the competence-performance dichotomy is what he refers to as a *situational version of competence*; this approach stems from observations of children both in the class and in the playground which shows that a child who performs poorly in a classroom tends to successfully complete the same or similar linguistic task in a playground. This tempted some psycholinguists to claim that there are two levels of competence; the first one is the basic knowledge of language, while the other one is responsible for how this knowledge is used in particular situations (Miller 1975:202). Finally, Miller presents his views on the dichotomy in question by claiming that competence and performance are totally autonomous concepts and that the link between the two is overemphasised. An implication of this approach would be to discard attempts to explain anything connected to *competence* by means of drawing on *performance* and vice versa, and to focus on studying them separately (Miller 1975:203).

A milestone in the critical review of Chomsky's distinction between competence and performance was marked by Hymes (1971, 1972), who claimed that Chomsky's dichotomy posed certain deficiencies:

The term 'competence' promises more than it in fact contains. Restricted to the purely grammatical, it leaves other aspects of speakers' tacit knowledge and ability in confusion, thrown under a largely unexamined concept of 'performance'.

(Hymes 1971:55)

Hymes (1972) argues that there is more to competence than knowledge of language rules, since what a speaker needs to be competent is also knowledge of how those rules are used in specific social situations. This argument led to the creation of the concept of *communicative competence* (Hymes 1972), which comprises knowledge of language and the ability to use language in social life. By the same token, Hymes (1972) revised the terms in which *performance* is discussed. As pointed out by Duranti (2001:21), while Chomsky (1965)'s notion of *performance* was discussed primarily in terms of speech production and speech perception, '[f]or Hymes, as for folklorists and aesthetic anthropologists, performance is a realm of social action, which emerges out of interaction with other speakers, and as such it cannot be described in terms of individual knowledge'. According to Duranti (2001:21), Hymes (1972)'s contribution also changed linguists' approach to creativity, which, in Chomsky's terms, consisted in producing an unlimited number of utterances on the basis of a limited number of rules. A revised approach to

creativity, which draws on implications coming from *communicative competence*, ‘refers to the ability (and sometimes necessity) to adapt speech to the situation or the situation to speech, as well as the ability to extend, manipulate, and reframe meanings in ways that are related to or identical to what we call poetic language’ (Duranti 2001:21).

As evident from the above debate, the notions of *competence* and *performance* have evolved from the concept of a speaker’s language production and language reception in an isolated environment to the concept of a speaker being involved in a specific social situation comprising other speakers interacting with one another. To appreciate the relevance of *competence* and *performance*, as well as the contribution of the above-delineated debate, the model to be proposed will clearly define the relation of performance to competence; that is to say, the new model will not equate *competence* with *performance*; nor will it claim that *competence* and *performance* are completely autonomous concepts. Instead, the model will support the notion of *communicative competence* as defined above and will claim that, understood in this way, competence tends to be a question of subjective judgement triggered by an individual perception of *performance* occurring in a specific situation.

Another feature of the approaches discussed in section 1.1, 1.2 and 1.4 is that the majority of them discuss competence from a purely conceptual or theoretical perspective. Only a few of them, for instance, PACTE (2000), Campbell (1991), Lörcher (1991) take a step further by demonstrating validity of their conceptual assumptions through empirical data. A completely different focus of interest is displayed by professional bodies in the UK; as shown by the two key documents reflecting the development of interpreting as a profession (IoL 2007 and CILT 2006), interest in conceptual and academic research and its output on the part of the profession is relatively minimal; in other words, IoL (2007) may acknowledge CILT (2006) as a point of reference for their framework, but CILT (2006) explicitly states that the standards they have proposed result from contributions of interpreters, trainers, awarding bodies and teachers. Moreover, professional bodies have produced documents that precisely formulate what behaviours are expected of interpreters, and what skills and knowledge areas these behaviours are manifestations of, and yet none of these formulations appear to be supported by any theoretical or academic considerations.

Another point that appears to be problematic is the definition of core terms, such as skills and knowledge. Given that very few scholars provide a comprehensive definition of those terms, this situation poses problems when one attempts to identify a notion of competence drawing on current scholarly contributions in the field. Some scholars tend to think of competence as closer to knowledge, while others see it as closer to skills, and the fact that the difference between skills and knowledge is not well defined makes the debate

even more complex. For instance, CILT (2006) in their discussion of interpreter competence entitles a relevant section *Knowledge and Skills*; however, when it comes to discussing the two terms in question, an opening sentence is formulated as follows: ‘To interpret two-way effectively, you must have knowledge of’ (CILT 2006:27). This statement is followed by a number of points designated as K1, K2 ... K11 (K standing for *knowledge*) and at no point in this section does the document refer explicitly to skills. This seems to imply that CILT (2006) either disregards skills or treats them as a type of knowledge. If the latter, this approach would be consistent with the scholars drawing their view of competence from cognitive science, such as Shreve (2006), who not only distinguishes between declarative knowledge and procedural knowledge but also introduces a notion of translation expertise, but does not elaborate on how translation expertise relates to translation competence. By contrast, Hatim and Mason (1997) provide an example of how competence is treated as tantamount to skills only. Similarly to the rest of the approaches, Hatim and Mason’s (1997) elaboration lacks a definition of the key term, i.e. ‘skills’, and its relation to knowledge; moreover, it fails to address why knowledge was completely disregarded. Finally, there are numerous approaches which claim that competence in general encompasses both skills and knowledge, implying that the former is more concerned with a practical aspect of competence (knowing how), while the latter is connected with a theoretical aspect of competence (knowing what).

Among various approaches to skills and knowledge, one of the key contributions has been developed within psychology, elaborating on the nature of knowledge and skills when discussing human learning and cognitive development. The following excerpt summarises their approach shared by Anderson (1983) and other scholars:

[...] the initial stage of skill development is characterized by the acquisition of declarative knowledge (i.e., explicit knowledge of how to perform the task). During this stage, the learner must attend to this declarative knowledge in order to successfully perform the task. Through practice, a set of specific procedures develop that allows aspects of the skill to be performed without using declarative knowledge. When the skill is proceduralized, it can be performed with almost no access to declarative knowledge and often without concurrent awareness of the specific details involved.

(Sun *et al.* 2001:205)

As the excerpt shows, the developmental nature of knowledge and that of skills are somewhat different. A learner’s *declarative knowledge* is utilised first in order to complete a task in the initial stages of learning. In the course of time and practice, a learner develops what could be referred to as *procedural knowledge*, which enables them to perform a task with occasional use of *declarative knowledge*. The final stage is *skill proceduralisation*,

which entails a learner performing a given task with no necessity of accessing *declarative knowledge*.

As claimed by Sun *et al* (2001), there are several approaches to the distinction above, but most of them seem to share common ground. For example, Smolensky (1998) introduces the terms *conceptual processing* and *subconceptual processing*. While *conceptual processing* is related to *declarative knowledge* and is something that can be accessed, *subconceptual processing* is related to the use of knowledge that resulted from developing procedures and that cannot be accessed. By the same token, Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1987) strongly argued that as far as skill development is concerned, one needs to distinguish between *analytical thinking* and *intuitive thinking*. Testing their assumptions via the analysis of how a learner of chess performs at various stages of learning, they claimed that in skill development, it is *analytical thinking* that plays the major role, which is then (as knowledge procedures develop) taken over by *intuitive thinking* (Dreyfus and Dreyfus 1987). Finally, some scholars, for instance Reber (1989), argue the importance of distinguishing between *conscious processing* (connected with accessibility of consciousness to *declarative knowledge*) and *unconscious processing* (connected with lack of this accessibility).

Similarly to the debate on the distinction between *competence* and *performance*, the discussion about *skill*, which is ‘procedural’ by nature and about *knowledge*, which is ‘declarative’ by nature, seems to accommodate various, and potentially conflicting, opinions. However, there appears to be a certain consensus among some scholars regarding *skills* and *knowledge*. In line with this consensus, the new model will acknowledge that *knowledge* is related to the aspect of human cognitive and mental entity that can be accessed consciously, whereas *skill* will be understood as something that can be performed by accessing *declarative knowledge* and that, in the course of time, can undergo proceduralization.

Unlike the current approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence, it will be argued that the perspective advocated so far, i.e. that competence can be divided into components covered by either knowledge or skills, is incomplete. There is a two-fold implication of this acknowledgement; first of all, there must be more to competence than skills and knowledge; more importantly, competence does not need to have a component-like structure, but it may well have a dimension-like structure. In other words, skills and knowledge are undeniably crucial in the discussion regarding competence, but instead of treating the two concepts as components of competence, the new model will treat them as constructs of competence. The difference between components and constructs

lies in the fact that component implies a static nature, while a construct is understood as a dynamic entity interacting with other constructs.

Furthermore, a considerable number of the approaches to competence appear to be detached from the reality in which interpreters are functioning, which is evident in at least two respects. First of all, although a number of scholars dealing with competence in translation studies make contributions both conceptually and empirically, their conclusions, while substantive and valid, often fail to show how what has just been proposed is useful to translation and/or interpreting practice. Secondly, the majority of approaches in translation studies discuss competence in prescriptive terms. For this reason, there seems to be an obvious need for competence to be discussed in descriptive terms, as well. In other words, while numerous scholars, trainers and practitioners deal with various components of competence and put forward more and more skills and types of knowledge that an interpreter should have in order to be competent, a model accommodating what an interpreter actually does during an assignment and how what they do is perceived and described by participants involved in this assignment would counterbalance the research dominated by prescriptive approaches. Therefore, the new model needs to be applicable to real life, that is to say, it must be evident what benefits can be drawn from the model in relation to interpreting practice.

Finally, the new model will attempt to break with the objectivism present in the majority of approaches to competence in translation studies, which, to a large extent, treat competence in terms of a component-like structure. For instance, one of the criteria in a DPSI candidate's assessment states that they should act in a 'courteous manner'; while it may be relatively easy for an examiner to anticipate what actions are generally perceived as polite in their own culture, it is much more difficult to do the same for another culture. It follows that an interpreter's behaviour generally seen as acceptable in one culture may be seen as less polite, if not impolite, by an individual from another culture. This, in turn, implies a need to talk about interpreting competence in terms of individual and subjective perception determined by cultural backgrounds of those involved in an interpreter-mediated event.

This break with objectivism is central to the proposed model. As a result, it is based on several basic assumptions; first of all, seeing competence as a continuum is superior to seeing it as a dichotomy, since a dichotomous approach will only acknowledge extreme values, for example, competent interpreter vs. incompetent interpreter. By looking at the concept in question as a continuum between the two extremes, one can speak about more competent interpreters or less competent interpreters. Secondly, approaching competence only in prescriptive terms fails to produce comprehensive results; composing a list of

required skills and types of knowledge is productive to an extent, but there is a need to supplement that approach with descriptive aspects, that is, with what happens in real-life situations. Finally, the new model will be based on the assumption that if performance is one of the few tangible aspects indicative of one's competence, then it is next to impossible to claim that competence is something that can be described in fully impartial terms; that is to say, the current approaches to competence seem to imply that there is only one instance of performance that can be regarded as competent (IoL 2007). What the new model will argue is that in triadic interactions, which tend to involve people from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds, it is very difficult, or even impossible, to speak about performance as something that is universally competent. Therefore, it will be necessary to assume that competence as such can be regarded as a matter of subjective judgement.

CHAPTER II

THE MODEL OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE AS A BASIS FOR A MODEL OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETER COMPETENCE

The purpose of this chapter, which consists of eight main sections, is to discuss Spitzberg's model of intercultural communication competence in detail and to propose relevant amendments with a view to formulating the CIC model. Section 2.1 summarises the origins and the underlying assumptions of Spitzberg's research on intercultural communication competence. Section 2.2 focuses on the most recent version of Spitzberg's (2009) model of intercultural communication competence, focusing on various levels of competence explored by Spitzberg. The suitability and adaptability of the ICC model for community interpreting is evaluated in section 2.3. Following that, section 2.4 draws on the main assumptions regarding intercultural communication competence to formulate analogical assumptions for the CIC model to be proposed in this thesis. Section 2.5 presents the model in detail by focusing on the systems of the model, while section 2.6 deals with its structure. Section 2.7 summarises the CIC model proposed in this chapter, whereas section 2.8 addresses relevant conclusions and implications.

There are various reasons why intercultural communication is an appropriate field in which the basis for the CIC model can be sought. First of all, there is no doubt that interpreting studies and intercultural communication studies share similar conceptual assumptions, i.e. intercultural communication studies deals with interaction between individual members of various cultures (Rogers and Hart 2002), while community interpreting, which is subsumed by interpreting studies, is concerned with, among other things, facilitating interaction between individuals speaking various languages and coming from various cultural backgrounds. Secondly, the discussion of competence has been taking place in intercultural communication for a long time, which has resulted in a thoroughly tested competence model, which has been updated on a number of occasions. This guarantees that the model of intercultural communication competence chosen to serve as a starting point will form a reliable foundation for proposing a CIC model. The reliability of this foundation will be guaranteed not only because there is a transparent overlap of assumptions between the two disciplines, i.e. the one researching interaction between individuals from different cultures and the one researching CI-mediated interaction, but also because intercultural communication studies seems to have put much more emphasis on designing and testing models of competence, rather than hypothesising about general approaches to competence.

Intercultural communication could be said to have begun with Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead's idea of cultural relativism, i.e. 'the degree to which a cultural practice is not judged by the standards of another culture' (Rogers and Hart 2002:3). Exploration of intercultural communication was later enriched by Efron's (1972) research on the effect of culture on non-verbal behaviour, Ruth Benedict's analysis of culture shock and Oberg's (1960) study of sojourners, i.e. 'individuals who live in another culture with the intention returning to their home culture within a few years' (Rogers and Hart 2002:3).

Within intercultural communication studies, intercultural communication competence has been a focus of various scholars' attention for a long time. As pointed out by Wiseman (2003:192), various labels that used to refer to intercultural competence involve 'cross-cultural adjustment, cross-cultural adaptation, intercultural understanding, overseas success, personal growth/adjustment, cross-cultural effectiveness, and satisfaction with overseas experience'. It then comes as no surprise that models and theories dealing with competence in intercultural context are plenty. For example, Byram (2000), whose theoretical framework has been used in Intercultural Competence Assessment (INCA) project (2004) to supplement Common European Framework for intercultural competence assessment, approaches competence in terms of five constructs (*attitudes, knowledge of social processes, skills of interpreting other culture and relating to it, skills of discovery and interaction and critical cultural awareness /political education*). He further claims that an interculturally competent person is someone who is able to critically and analytically understand their own and the other culture and to see the relationships between given cultures and societies. Another scholar, Gudykunst (1995), proposes what he refers to as anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) theory by claiming that there is a correspondence between interactants' effective communication and their anxiety in a sense that anxiety prompts interactants to reduce anxiety or uncertainty about a given situation. By the same token, Ting-Toomey (1988), who focuses on appropriateness of interaction, proposes *face negotiation theory* to argue that competent interactants negotiate their cultural and social standing (i.e. face) throughout intercultural interaction.

As Wiseman (2003) argues, in spite of this variety in approaches to and conceptualisations of competence, the past twenty years have seen a certain consensus in the understanding of intercultural communication competence, which has come to be conceptualised as 'involv[ing] the knowledge, motivation, and skills to interact effectively and appropriately with members of different cultures' (Wiseman 2003:192). As will be shown in the course of this chapter, it is Brian Spitzberg's numerous contributions regarding the model of intercultural communication competence that have had a major impact on shaping this consensus. The choice of his model a basis for developing the CIC

model is dictated by the fact that Spitzberg's (2009) model, as will become apparent in this chapter, accommodates most of the dimensions of the above models, i.e. cultural awareness /understanding, effectiveness and appropriateness.

2.1 The origins and evolution of Spitzberg's model

The model of Intercultural Communication Competence (Spitzberg 2009) evolved over many years. Its origins can be traced back to Spitzberg and Cupach (1984), who dealt with what they referred to as a model of relational competence. The focus on 'relational competence' signalled the model's interest in perceptions of the relationship held by interactants in dyadic interactions (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:151). The model consisted of two aspects: (i) a set of seven assumptions shaping the framework for dealing with intercultural competence and (ii) components of the model itself.

The seven assumptions underlying the model are as follows (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:100-116):

1. Competence is perceived appropriateness and effectiveness.
2. Competence is contextual.
3. Competence is a matter of degree.
4. Competence is both molar and molecular.
5. Competent communication is functional.
6. Competence is an interdependent process.
7. Competence is an interpersonal impression.

As far as the first assumption is concerned, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:100) argue that *appropriateness* tends to be understood in terms of social and contextual restrictions and that it is one of the crucial factors conditioning impressions of communication competence. By the same token, the other factor, *effectiveness*, refers to a goal-achievement aspect of communication and is defined by Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:102) as 'the achievement of interactant goals or objectives, or as the satisfaction of interactant needs, desires, or intentions'. The second assumption refers to the contextual nature of competence. Spitzberg and Cupach draw on a number of empirical studies to arrive at the conclusion that, while there are certain patterns of behaviour that tend to be typical of certain contexts, it does not mean that every context will always be suitable for a given behaviour, which tends to result from a given relationship between interactants. In other words, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:107) argue that '[b]ehaviors that are socially *proscribed* in one situation may be relationally *prescribed* in another'. In the third assumption, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:110) claim that competence should be approached in terms of a continuum rather than a dichotomy; that is to say, because criteria for *appropriateness* and *effectiveness* can fluctuate, the same can happen to the perception

of competence, which is why speaking of interactants as more or less competent is more appropriate than distinguishing merely between competent and incompetent ones. In the fourth assumption, communication competence is argued to be subject to both molar and molecular aspects of assessment. The scholars explain that '[m]olecular behaviors provide specific communicative indicants of competence and provide a reference point for skill enhancement [whereas] molar impressions provide evaluative outcome criteria' (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:111), although they admit that little is known regarding the way that interactants choose between molecular aspects of behaviour assessment (for example, 'She asked me questions') and molar impressions (for example, 'She was trustworthy'). Spitzberg and Cupach's (1984:112) next assumption deals with the functionality of competent communication by claiming that communication is a process leading to a functional outcome, i.e. communication is undertaken because individuals want to achieve certain ends and it is goal achievement that will be a factor in shaping competence impressions. According to the sixth assumption, competence should be viewed as an interdependent process; that is, whenever communication competence is investigated, it should explore all interactants' impressions entertained at a given time, since '[a]n individual is competent *only* in the context of a relationship' (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:114). Finally, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:115) put forward a summarising assumption which claims that competence constitutes interpersonal impressions. This assumption is based on the following premise from McFall (1982):

First, competence does not actually reside in the performance; it is an *evaluation* of the performance by someone. Its evaluative nature is reflected in the fact that alternative terms, such as adequate, effective or good, could be substituted without seriously changing the meaning. Second, the fact that *someone* is making the evaluation means that it is subject to error, bias, and judgemental inferences; different judges using the same criteria may evaluate the same performance differently. Third, since the evaluation always must be made with reference to some set of implicit or explicit *criteria*, the evaluation cannot be understood or validated without knowing the criteria employed; thus, the same performance may be judged to be competent by one standard and incompetent by another.

[McFall (1982:13-14) cited in Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:115)]

Thus, the final assumption seems to be a natural and logical implication of the other six assumptions put forward by Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) and paves the way for the model of intercultural communication competence (the ICC model) proposed later by Spitzberg (1994) and subsequently revised in (2000) and (2009).

These assumptions constitute one aspect of the model. The other aspect is its five components: *motivation, knowledge, skills, criterion outcomes* and *context*. The first component is claimed to be 'general affective response [...] likely to be the first or initial process in determining the competence of an interactant's impression management'

(Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:119). Motivation is said to be influenced by *altercentrism*, *anxiety* and *involvement*. The first of the three constructs refers to having an interest in and paying attention to the other interactant in an encounter; *anxiety* is connected with one's tendency to avoid encounters, mainly caused by negative experience of those encounters; *involvement* 'concerns the degree to which the individual perceives the topic, situation, or other to involve his or her conception of self and self-reward' (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:120).

Having reviewed a number of approaches to *knowledge*, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:123) describe it as 'the possession of, or ability creatively to acquire, the requisite cognitive information necessary to implement conversationally competent behaviors in an interpersonal context'. This refers to 'repertoires of behavioral patterns, tactics, and strategies that constitute a given individual's social heuristic for enacting dialogue' (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:123). The scholars further claim that although *knowledge* is not directly observable, it is possible to identify several indicators that testify about an individual's rule knowledge, which is argued to exist on the following three levels: *linguistic rule knowledge* (manifested in syntactic and grammatical relations), *social rule knowledge* (seen in understanding standards of appropriateness in a given context) and *interpersonal rule knowledge* (represented by an individual's familiarity with rules in a given relationship) (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:127). Moreover, *rule knowledge* can also be indicated in such cognitive processes as *cognitive complexity*, *role-taking skills* and *empathy*. The first process, cognitive complexity, concerns the number of schemata used by an individual for evaluating and comprehending social episodes. The second, role-taking skills, refers to 'an ability cognitively to decenter or reconstruct the perceptual set of an other' (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:128) and the third process, empathy, refers to reconstructing the other interactant's affective condition. Apart from that, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:128) emphasise the significance of *relation-specific knowledge* to the *knowledge* component, i.e. individuals who have been in any relationship for some time communicate more easily than do two complete strangers, who have little or no knowledge of their relationship to each other.

Without providing an explicit definition of *skill* at this stage, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) elaborate on the next component of their model in the following way:

An individual may be motivated to interact competently, and may also know what needs to be done, yet find it difficult actually to enact the desired behavioral sequences. Such difficulties would not indicate a motivation or knowledge deficit, but a skill deficit instead.

(Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:129)

Arguing that *skill* is the component without which an individual would ‘find it difficult to actually enact the desired behavioral sequences’ (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:129), the scholars distinguish its four dimensions: *other-oriented behaviors*, *social anxiety*, *expressiveness* and *interaction management* (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:136). Similarly to the constructs influencing *motivation*, as discussed above, *other-oriented behaviors* (also referred to as *altercentrism*) may be understood as an interactant’s actions that disclose an interest in the other interactant. The *social anxiety* dimension of *skill*, later labelled as *composure* (Spitzberg 2009:386), refers to avoiding anxiety cues. An interactant’s behaviours related to *expressiveness* cover ‘vividness of facial expressions, vocal modulation, gesturing, postural shifts, and the like’ (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:136). Finally, *interaction management* concerns actions ensuring a smooth flow of dyadic communication. Appreciating the fact that the terms like *altercentrism* and *social anxiety* have appeared in their discussion of *motivation*, the scholars indicate a need to discuss mutual interdependence or independence of *motivation*, *knowledge* and *skills*. Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) draw on a number of contributions to indicate that research findings in this respect are inconclusive. On the one hand, some scholars claim ‘that constructs reflecting motivation, knowledge, and skills are conceptually separable and often empirically unique’ (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:130); on the other hand, however, Spitzberg and Cupach mention research that shows otherwise, for example, Eisler *et al* (1978), whose study indicated that individuals who are socially skilled tend to be both knowledgeable of interaction and motivated to interact.

The next component of the model of relational competence is *outcomes*, which ‘provide criteria of competent interaction [such as] communication satisfaction, feeling good, interpersonal attraction, interpersonal solidarity, relational satisfaction, relational trust, negotiation and conflict satisfaction, and certain forms of intimacy’ (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:137). The scholars identify an overlap among all those criteria by referring to McFall (1982:17), who claims that it is the effect of an interaction that will serve as an ultimate criterion for evaluating performance.

Finally, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) focus on *context*, as the final component of their relational model. Having discussed various studies on context, the scholars draw on Heise (1977), who formulates an approach to the question of context via *affect control theory*. Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) summarise the theory in the following manner:

According to affect control theory, any individual's feelings toward an object (such as a person, situation, or activity) can be plotted along the dimensions of evaluation, potency, and activity (EPA). These feelings have two facets: a stable underlying fundamental sentiment and a transient state that sometimes deviates from the underlying sentiment. For example, a person may have a stable sentiment of positive evaluation regarding a mother interacting with her infant. However, the transient evaluation may become negative if the mother is interpreted as spoiling the infant.

(Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:148)

Another contribution that Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) utilise in their model is Smith-Lovin's (1979) application of affect control theory to offer a congruence hypothesis, which can be summarised as follows:

[I]f an actor engages in an act that is not in keeping with the pace or tempo of the surrounding social environment, he or she may lose evaluation (i.e., other's opinion of the actor may be lowered). Engaging in very active expressive behaviors (for example, dancing or playing) in a very quiet place (for example, a church or library) might lower others' evaluation of the actor, as might quiet and withdrawn behaviour in a place where lively expressive behaviour is usual. Conversely, behavior appropriate to the setting may enhance evaluation.

[Smith-Lovin (1979:41) cited in Spitzberg and Cupach (1984:149)]

Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) conclude by stating that a given interactant is more likely to be perceived as competent not only if they appear to be motivated, skilled and knowledgeable but also if they act in accordance with positive expectancies entertained in a certain context.

The majority of the ideas put forward by the two scholars enabled Spitzberg (1989:241) to argue that the existing shortcomings in research on intercultural communication competence can only be rectified when 'cross-cultural models and theories of communication are refined in the intercultural context'. Referring to the subject of his interest as *interpersonal communication competence in the intercultural context*, Spitzberg (1989) elaborates on the most problematic issues in researching a theory of intercultural communication competence. Firstly, he successfully argues that most of the approaches to intercultural communication competence are dominated by 'a practice that can be cynically referred to as the "list" technique' (Spitzberg 1989:243), which refers to certain scholars' tendency to present skills and abilities as components of competence. The weakness of this approach, argues Spitzberg, lies in the fact that even though 'each list appears as a somewhat cogent and potentially practical identification of facilitative skills or characteristics [...] several of the individual lists are derived from the a priori conceptions of the authors rather than empirically validated components' (Spitzberg 1989:243). Secondly, he notices that the lists evoke 'the illusion of validity',

since they seem to have passed a test for inclusion. This illusion can often be reinforced whenever certain consistency appears across the lists, even though a particular item on the list (for instance, *empathy*) may be differently understood by different scholars. Finally, Spitzberg recognises another shortcoming in the actual structure of competence models, which is the fact that they are confined to vertically depicted lists of skills and abilities, thus failing to explore potential horizontal relations among them. A potentially dangerous result of the failure to acknowledge these relations is that this approach will not fully recognise conceptual complexities of competence. Consequently, this will only partly enhance a comprehensive understanding of competence, especially in terms of how specific components are interacting with one another in actual interaction.

To remedy these deficiencies Spitzberg (1989) concludes his paper with several suggestions which underlie the competence model proposed in Spitzberg (1994) and revised later in Spitzberg (2000) and Spitzberg (2009). One of them stresses the importance of a two-fold approach to the question of competence components; on the one hand, Spitzberg emphasises the necessity to investigate the factors that increase the probability of the behaviour being viewed as competent; on the other hand, he highlights the need to explore the nature of a process which leads to the perception of given behaviour as competent. At this point Spitzberg (1989) claims that the increase in the probability of perceiving the actual behaviour as competent is directly related to the increase in 'motivation to communicate, knowledge of communicative process and context, and skill in implementing motives and knowledge, given the constraints of the context' (Spitzberg 1989:250). As far as the process governing the impression of competence is concerned, Spitzberg draws on studies conducted by Pavitt and Haight (1985, 1986a, 1986b), which state that interactants' behaviour is compared to 'a cognitive prototype of the ideal communicator' (Spitzberg 1989:250). As a result, the greater the discrepancy between the prototypical behaviour and the interactant's actual behaviour, the more likely it is that the interactant will be viewed as less competent.

Spitzberg (1989) also recognises the importance of expectancies; they contribute to competence impressions and can be conceptualised in terms of four dimensions (Spitzberg 1989:251): *valence* (relating to evaluation, i.e. good vs. bad), *potency* (relating to power relations, i.e. strong vs. weak), *surgency* (relating to activity/intensity, i.e. noisy-quiet), and *socialization*, i.e. 'the extent to which a person is cognizant of, and rational about, the larger cultural context and rules of conduct involved' (Spitzberg 1989:251). Thus, the degree to which an interactant's behaviour is considered competent is directly proportional to the degree to which he or she complies with the other interactant's expectancies.

To conclude, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984), as well as Spitzberg (1989), shaped the key notions and assumptions underlying Spitzberg's subsequent research on a model of intercultural communication competence. One of these assumptions is that *motivation*, *skills* and *knowledge* are the core components of competence. This, however, should not be confused with the way most of the approaches discussed in Chapter I treat competence; that is, Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) do not claim that competence consists of three components; instead, they claim that *motivation*, *skills* and *knowledge* are pre-requisites or conditions that need to be satisfied for performance to occur in the first place. This is connected with another assumption prevailing in Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) and in Spitzberg (1989), namely the notion that interactants are not inherently competent or incompetent, but that it is their communicative performance, evaluated throughout an episode by their co-interactants, that is responsible for generating co-interactants' impressions of interactants' competence. These impressions are shaped, among other things, by fulfilment of the two criteria of effectiveness and appropriateness, i.e. if an interactant's behaviour is seen as producing a desired result and as complying with contextual expectancies, it is likely that a co-interactant will have positive impressions of an interactant's competence. As seen in section 2.2, the interdependence between these (and other) criteria and competence impressions entertained by interactants is thoroughly explored in Spitzberg's model.

2.2 Spitzberg's model of Intercultural Communication Competence

Spitzberg's earlier work, e.g. Spitzberg and Cupach (1984), Spitzberg (1989), Spitzberg and Brunner (1991), was a precursor to the model of Intercultural Communication Competence proposed in 1994 and last revised in 2009.

One of the main features underlying the model is that it conceptualises intercultural communication competence on three different levels. The three levels are referred to as systems. The *individual system* 'includes those characteristics an individual possesses that facilitate competent interaction in a normative social sense' (Spitzberg 2009:382), i.e. this level deals with conditions that need to be fulfilled for any communicative behaviour to occur. The *episodic system* deals with an interactant's behaviour and impressions generated during a single episode of intercultural interaction. Finally, the *relational system* relates to impressions of competence that evolve throughout a longer period of time covering a series of episodes involving the same interactants. The three systems constitute a hierarchy, as depicted in Figure 1:

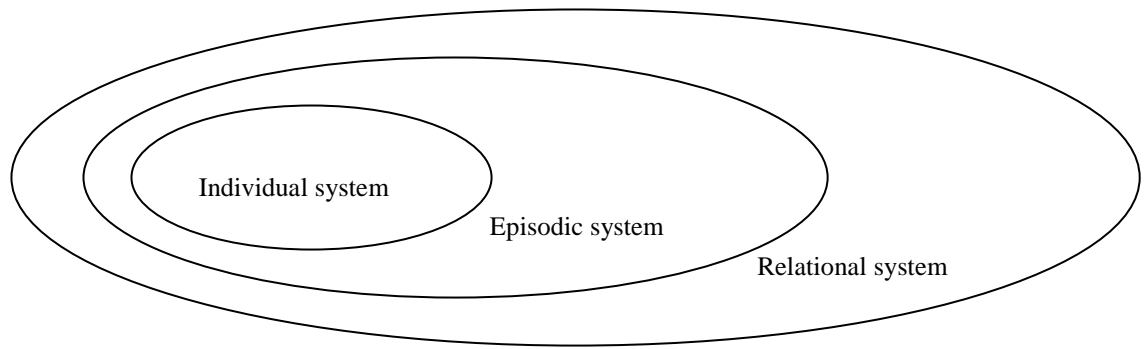


Figure 1. The hierarchy of levels of analysis (Spitzberg 2009)

Each system has a set of propositions assigned to them, which, according to Spitzberg (2009), determine impressions of intercultural communication competence. The hierarchical nature of the systems implies that ‘each successive system subsumes the logic and predictions of the former [including its propositions]’. The systems and their corresponding propositions (Spitzberg 2009:383-391) are presented in Figure 2:

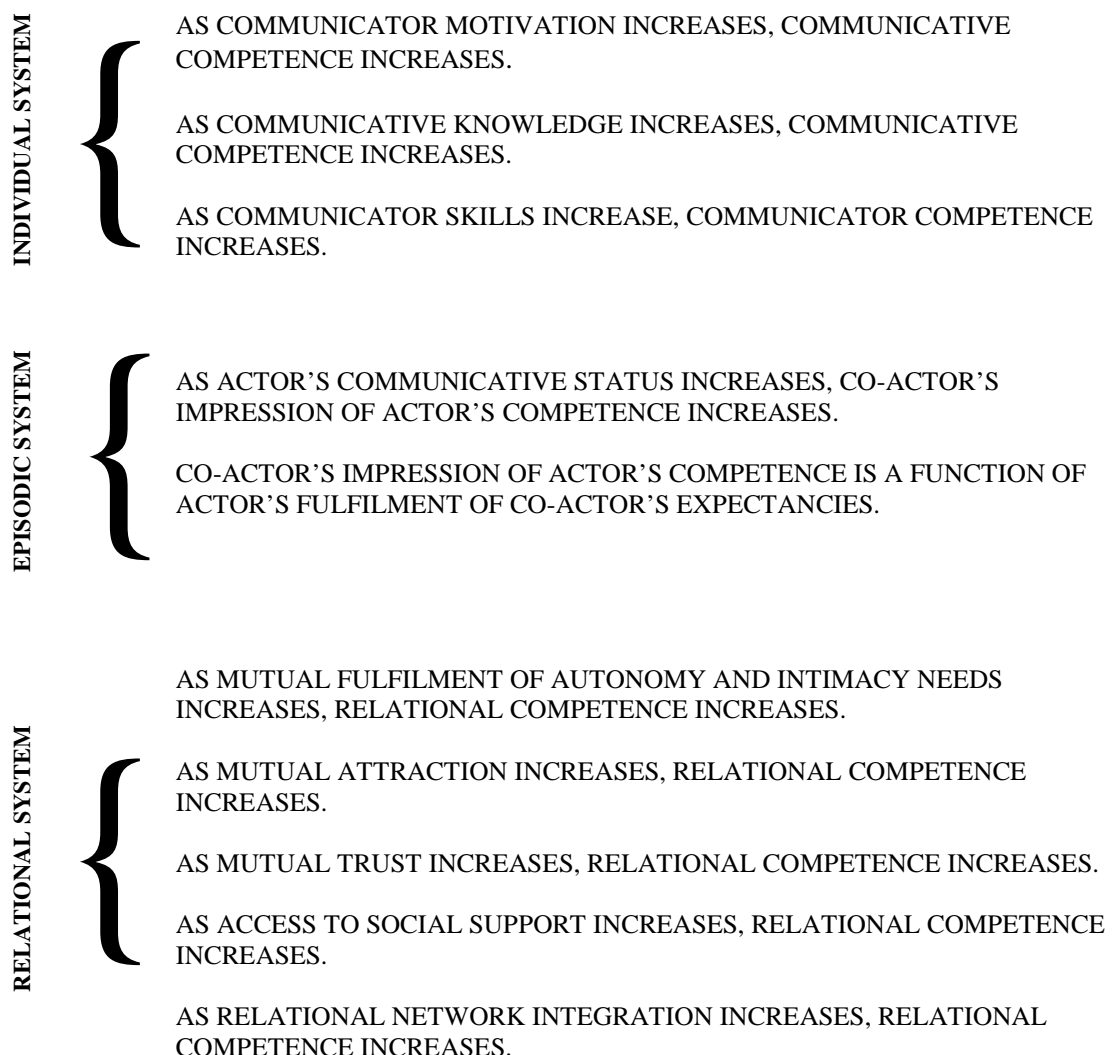


Figure 2. Systems and propositions in the ICC model (Spitzberg 2009:383-391)

2.2.1 Individual system

The first level of analysis, together with the first three propositions from the list above, corresponds to the characteristics that a communicator needs to have in order to be able to perform in an intercultural encounter. The first proposition in the *individual system* is AS COMMUNICATOR MOTIVATION INCREASES, COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE INCREASES and concerns the link between motivation and competence. The proposition refers to constructs that contribute to the increase in a communicator's motivation to engage in a dyadic interaction. One of the constructs directly affecting motivation to communicate is *confidence*, which, to a large extent, depends on individual characteristics and experience. For example, a person who 'is nervous meeting strangers is likely to be less confident when encountering a new person from a different culture' (Spitzberg 2009:384). The importance of consequences will also play a major role in motivation because a communicator may feel less confident if the result of the interaction considerably affects an important aspect of his or her life, for example, negotiating a vital contract for the company.

Another construct dealt with by the proposition is *reward-relevant efficacy beliefs*, which are defined as 'self-perceptions of ability to perform a given set of behaviours' (Spitzberg 2009:384). Those beliefs are usually task-specific and are also influenced by the previous experiences. Therefore, the stronger a communicator believes they are able to perform in specific circumstances, the more they feel motivated to engage in the interaction. For example, a foreigner who has recently arrived in the UK may be less willing to communicate with an immigration officer if the first interaction between the foreigner and the immigration officer was unpleasant for the former.

Moreover, motivation may be influenced by so-called *approach dispositions*, which Spitzberg defines as 'personality characteristics that prompt someone to value communicative activity' (Spitzberg 2009:384). Such dispositions or characteristics may concern people with high self-esteem and intercultural tolerance, who enjoy 'high levels of sensory stimulation' (Spitzberg 2009:384), who feel that they control their environment and whose level of social anxiety is low (Neuliep and McCroskey 1997). Therefore, being less sociable and more introvert tends to prevent certain individuals from entering an interaction, not necessarily because they feel unable to perform in a given situation but because they generally do not take pleasure in communicating with others.

Finally, the *cost-benefit ratio* of a situation needs to be taken into account, since it has considerable effect on motivation. Any possible benefits from the interaction are weighed against potential costs. Whenever a communicator perceives an increase in benefits in relation to the costs that may be incurred, they are more motivated to engage in

the interaction; even if the situation is of a 'no-win' type, a communicator seeks the solution that implies as little damage as possible.

The second proposition in the *individual system* is AS COMMUNICATIVE KNOWLEDGE INCREASES, COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE INCREASES and deals with the manner in which a communicator's interaction knowledge affects his or her competence. The proposition deals with four constructs which are believed to affect a communicator's interaction knowledge: *task-relevant procedural knowledge*, *mastery of knowledge acquisition strategies*, *identity and role diversity* and *knowledge dispositions*. *Task-relevant procedural knowledge* refers to the manner of implementing interaction knowledge in a particular instance of communication. Spitzberg (2009:385) claims that this specific type of knowledge refers to patterns and routines which are so well absorbed that little or no attention is paid to the process itself. In this way, an increase in competence is likely to be observed if a communicator 'actually knows how to perform the mannerisms and behavioral routines of a cultural milieu' (Spitzberg 2009:385).

Mastery of knowledge acquisition strategies also contributes to an increase in a communicator's knowledge. These strategies are frequently looked at through the espionage metaphor and include the following:

1. interrogation (asking questions);
2. surveillance (observing others);
3. information exchange (disclosing information to elicit disclosure from others);
4. posturing (violating some local custom and observing reactions to assess value of various actions);
5. bluffing (acting as if one knows what one is doing and letting the unfolding action define one's role);
6. engaging double agents (using the services of a native or mutual friend as informant).

(Spitzberg 2009:385)

Besides, a considerable influence seems to be exerted on the interaction knowledge by *identity and role diversity*. A communicator's knowledge increases in proportion to the frequency of his or her exposure to various types of people and situations. These may include societal activities (jobs and tasks), roles (parent, confidant), groups (political party, religious affiliation, volunteer organisation, cultures and co-cultures). For instance, any individual who has frequently acted as a conflict mediator will have more knowledge of the interaction in this specific role, whereas the same individual acting as a casual legal advisor for the first time will be less knowledgeable of the communication process in these specific circumstances.

Finally, *knowledge dispositions*, strongly connected with personal characteristics, include the following: self-monitoring, listening skills, empathy, role-taking ability, nonverbal sensitivity, perceptual accuracy, creativity and problem-solving ability. These refer mainly to information processing and knowledge management; whereas an interactant may be able to absorb much information during the interaction, this does not necessarily mean they will be able to use it in a way that increases the effectiveness and appropriateness of an encounter. It is the ways (connected with personal traits) in which the individual applies this knowledge that may lead to the increase in the perception of an interactant as competent.

The third and last proposition in the *individual system* is AS COMMUNICATOR SKILLS INCREASE, COMMUNICATOR COMPETENCE INCREASES and accounts for the manner in which skills may increase a communicator's competence. According to Spitzberg (2009:385), skills are 'repeatable, goal-oriented actions or action sequences'. Spitzberg makes it clear that no skills are universally competent and that they need to be assessed via a contextual frame; for instance, the majority of cultures use a smile as a means of communicating certain messages, but this does not imply that smiling is always competent behaviour (Spitzberg 2009:386). The following constructs are said to influence a communicator's skills:

1. altercentrism - this refers to the ability to focus on the other communicator's needs, which can be manifested via eye contact, asking questions, attending to the other communicator's topic, suitable body posture;
2. conversational coordination - this covers all the aspects responsible for the smooth flow of the interaction, such as avoiding long response delays and disruptive interruptions, providing transitions between themes and maintaining suitable pace, rhythm and punctuation of the conversation;
3. conversational composure - this construct implies the ability to avoid anxiety cues (nervous twitches, tapping of feet, lack of eye contact, breaking vocal pitch, etc); by contrast, composure may also imply steady volume, relaxed posture, self-assured tones of verbal and non-verbal expression;
4. conversational expressiveness - this entails the ability to provide animation, intensity and variability in the interaction and can be manifested via vocal variety, facial affect, generally speaking, 'the ability to display culturally and contextually appropriate affect and energy level through speech and gesture' (Spitzberg 2009:386);

5. conversational adaptation - this refers mainly to ‘subtle variation of self’s behavior to the behavioral style of others’ (Spitzberg 2009:386), maintaining consistency between verbal and non-verbal actions and accommodation of both the actions of the other communicator as well as one’s own goals in the interaction. Adaptation is normally achieved via such aspects of behaviour as ‘shifts of vocal style, posture, animation, and topic development’ (Spitzberg 2009:387).

2.2.2 Episodic system

According to Spitzberg (2009:387), the fact that an individual is motivated to interact and that they have relevant knowledge and skills does not necessarily mean that in particular circumstances they will be perceived as competent by the other communicator. The reasons for a communicator being recognised as (in)competent can be inferred from two propositions included in the episodic system, which covers not only the *individual system* (along with its three propositions) but also the actual realisation of a communicator’s competence in a specific episode.

The first proposition in the *episodic system* is AS ACTOR’S COMMUNICATIVE STATUS INCREASES, CO-ACTOR’S IMPRESSION OF ACTOR’S COMPETENCE INCREASES and it refers to the relation between an increase in communicative status and an increase in perceived competence. The proposition is elaborated on by discussing constructs influencing the communicative status, which is defined as ‘all those factors that enhance a person’s positive evaluation’ (Spitzberg 2009:387). The first construct refers to the increase in a co-actor’s impression of an actor’s competence, which results from the increase in an actor’s motivation, knowledge and skills. This is the extension of the equivalent proposition from the individual system, stating that if a person can act competently according to social norms, they will also be able to do so in a specific episode of interaction. Spitzberg (2009) points out that this is true in a two-fold sense; on the one hand, since norms form part of most people’s lives, anyone who is competent in a normative sense will be likely to be regarded as competent regardless of interaction type; on the other hand, a co-actor is likely to positively view competence of an actor, if the actor ‘is motivated to interact competently with a particular co-actor, knowledgeable about this particular co-actor, and skilled in interacting with this particular co-actor’ (Spitzberg 2009:387). This means that it is an actor’s motivation, knowledge and skills used in a particular episode of intercultural communication that affect a co-actor’s impressions of this actor’s competence.

The next construct that reinforces the first proposition in the *episodic system* deals with the relationship between a co-actor's impression of an actor's competence and the contextual obstruction of an actor's performance. This means that a co-actor needs to determine to what extent an actor's effective performance results from his or her competence and to what extent it derives from contextual factors. Spitzberg (2009:388) explains this by giving an example of a physically unattractive but sociable actor who is considered communicatively more competent than an attractive actor. The higher level of competence can be accounted for by the contextual difficulty which an unattractive actor has been seen to overcome; the attractive actor, by virtue of being attractive, appears to be able to achieve the same outcome more easily.

The next construct of the proposition addresses the interdependence between a co-actor's impression of an actor's competence and an actor's achievement of successful outcomes in other encounters. This implies that the increase in the number of successful outcomes achieved by an actor results in the increase in a co-actor's impression of an actor's competence. For example, a negotiator who is in charge of a numerous negotiations in which he or she is successful is likely to be considered competent, in spite of possible contextual factors which may make the task seem easier and potentially evoke the impression that the performance has been competent because of favourable circumstances (Spitzberg 2009:388).

Finally, the last construct contributing to the increase in the communicative status concerns the connection between an actor's attributed communicative status and a co-actor's perception of an actor's status. This is based on the assumption that an actor's current communicative status will normally be the point of reference for a co-actor's evaluation of the actor's competence. As a result, an actor with an already established status is more likely to be viewed as a competent communicator by a co-actor; for instance, well-known individuals will have a higher communicative status at the beginning of an interaction.

The second proposition in the *episodic system* is CO-ACTOR'S IMPRESSION OF ACTOR'S COMPETENCE IS A FUNCTION OF ACTOR'S FULFILMENT OF CO-ACTOR'S EXPECTANCIES and it tackles the association between a co-actor's impression of an actor's competence and an actor's fulfilment of a co-actor's expectancies. Since the impression of an actor's competence is subject to development within a given context, this impression is partly determined by fulfilment and/or violation of a co-actor's expectancies, which can be analysed in terms of three different dimensions [already applied by Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) and Spitzberg (1989)]: evaluation, potency and activity, also referred to as the EPA dimensions (Spitzberg 2009:388). As explained elsewhere (Heise 1988 and Osgood *et al*

1975), a human's experience of reality leads to an affective response that can be mapped onto a three-dimensional scale; the first dimension is evaluation, which involves a dichotomy between such contrasts as good–bad, nice–awful, sweet–sour, etc. Potency describes distinction between strong–weak, powerful–powerless, and activity refers to such associations as noisy–quiet, alive–dead and young–old (Heise 1988:6-7).

Thus, every time an interpersonal encounter takes place, certain expectancies are formed along those three dimensions concerning what is predicted and appropriate behaviour in a given context. The notion of context is understood by Spitzberg as consisting of four levels which condition interactants' expectancies; *culture* refers to 'a function of race, nationality, or ethnic identification [as well as] issues of cultural rule systems, norms and perceptual orientations to the word' (Spitzberg and Brunner 1991); *relationship* signifies a type of interpersonal relationship between interactants; *place* is simply referred to as physical environment and *function* concerns the type of goals pursued in interaction, which can be different if interaction constitutes a conflict and if it is an informal and friendly meeting (Spitzberg 2009:382). The four-level context (*culture*, *relationship*, *place* and *function*) determines how an interactant's contextual expectancies develop along the EPA dimensions. For example, there may be an actor whose *cultural norms* tell him not to be loud in public places, whose *relationship* with a co-actor could be described as neighbours, who is with his neighbour (co-actor) he met by chance in a *place* like a church and who believes that the *function* of their conversation is to exchange current news. Given this context, the actor may expect the conversation to be friendly (evaluation), to be balanced in terms of the amount of news shared (potency) and to be quiet (activity).

According to Spitzberg (2009:388-390), there are five constructs within expectancies which influence formation of competence impressions:

1. fulfilment of positive expectancies;
2. violation of negative expectancies;
3. fulfilment of prototype expectancies;
4. reciprocity of positive affect and compensation of negative affect;
5. the compensation of power relations between an actor and co-actor.

To exemplify the first construct, if a co-actor is an interviewer who expects the interview to be interesting (evaluation), his or her position to be dominant (potency) and the interview to be quick and quiet (activity), then an actor (interviewee) has more chances of being found competent by the interviewer if all the expectancies concerning the

interviewee's behaviour in the situation described by the three dimensions have been fulfilled (Spitzberg 2009:389). By contrast, by violating one or more of a co-actor's positive expectancies, an actor is running the risk of being found less competent.

The next construct accounts for the manner in which an actor's violation of a co-actor's negative expectancies affects the co-actor's impression of the actor's competence. The situation from the previous point could be reversed if the co-actor's expectancies are negative; for example, if a student expects that a class they are going to will be stressful (evaluation), that it will be dominated by a teacher (potency) and that it will be monotonous (activity), then the teacher is likely to be viewed as more competent if s/he violates the negative expectancies of an co-actor, for instance, by making the class more enjoyable, student-oriented and diversified.

Fulfilment of prototype expectancies is the next construct relating to the second proposition in the *episodic system*. Spitzberg (2009) claims that the more an actor fulfils a co-actor's prototype expectancies, the more likely a co-actor is to view this actor's behaviour as competent. Every individual who engages in interaction has a certain prototype of a competent communicator. As far as the impression of competence is concerned, the more an actor's behaviour corresponds to a co-actor's prototype expectancies of competent communicator, the more likely it is that the co-actor will regard the actor as competent.

The next construct addresses the manner in which a co-actor's impression of an actor's competence increases as a result of the actor's reciprocity of positive affect and compensation of negative affect. As concluded by Andersen (1998) and Spitzberg (1989), interactants are likely to be recognised as competent if they are able to match their responses to the preceding speaker's positive reaction, as well as if they are able to respond neutrally or positively to the other interactant's negative reaction (Spitzberg 2009:390).

The final construct in the proposition concerns the compensation of power relations between an actor and co-actor. This is based on the assumption that, unlike competitive power relationships, complementary power relationships are viewed as more competent (Spitzberg 2009:390). Taking a job interview as an example, a co-actor (interviewer), who, by definition, has more power than an actor (interviewee), will more likely find the interviewee competent if the latter yields to the frame imposed by the former. By contrast, if the interviewee tried to take control of the interview process, his/her performance may be perceived as less competent.

2.2.3 Relational system

The last level at which intercultural communication competence can be analysed is the *relational system*. The propositions in this system deal with perceptions of intercultural communication competence experienced by communicators who have been in a well-established relationship formed throughout a series of episodes.

The first proposition in the *relational system* is AS MUTUAL FULFILMENT OF AUTONOMY AND INTIMACY NEEDS INCREASES, RELATIONAL COMPETENCE INCREASES and it refers to the mutual fulfilment of autonomy and intimacy in terms of two counterbalancing needs experienced by every individual. While the need for intimacy covers the need for ‘human contact, connection, belonging, inclusion, camaraderie, communal activity, and nurturance’ (Spitzberg 2009:390), the desire for autonomy involves ‘self-control, independence, power, privacy, and solitude’ (Spitzberg 2009:390). The dialectical tension between those two needs manifests itself in the fact that lonely people tend to look for company. Once the company has been found and the need fulfilled, an individual’s behaviour is not dominated by that need any more, as a result of which an individual seems to focus on another need. In this way, people’s behaviour in a relationship is seen as competent, i.e. if they are able to respond to each other’s fluctuating needs (Spitzberg 1993). Thus, the increase in the fulfilment of autonomy and intimacy needs is directly responsible for the increase in relational competence.

The second proposition in the *relational system* is AS MUTUAL ATTRACTION INCREASES, RELATIONAL COMPETENCE INCREASES. Spitzberg (2009) quotes a number of researchers [Feingold (1988), Burleson and Denton (1992), as well as Eagly *et al* (1991)] to demonstrate that the more attracted the partners are to each other, the more probable it is for them to interact competently during the span of the relationship. This stems from the fact the most people tend to take pleasure in communicating with those who share their worldview and that attraction seems to be (sometimes wrongly) associated with similarity. Even though differences do not necessarily have to exert negative influence on the interaction, they appear ‘to make the *process* of communication more effortful and difficult, and thereby generally less rewarding’ (Spitzberg 2009:391).

The last three propositions in the *relational system* are as follows: (i) AS MUTUAL TRUST INCREASES, RELATIONAL COMPETENCE INCREASES, (ii) AS ACCESS TO SOCIAL SUPPORT INCREASES, RELATIONAL COMPETENCE INCREASES and (iii) AS RELATIONAL NETWORK INTEGRATION INCREASES, RELATIONAL COMPETENCE INCREASES. Mutual trust facilitates competent interaction in the relationship because the more interactants trust each other, the more honest, direct and spontaneous the communication seems to be. In the course of time, the context of mutual trust provides a stimulating environment for a

‘productive and satisfying communicative relationship’ (Spitzberg 2009:391). As for social support, since one of the most common problems faced by an individual who comes to a foreign country is having to face cultural differences in general sense, any help offered to him or her (lending money, offering advice etc) decreases the chances of any crises arising in the relationship. Finally, Spitzberg (2009) argues that the competence of the relationship is likely to be facilitated if both interactants are able to integrate relational networks they have already developed with the relational networks to be developed during the interaction (Spitzberg 2009:391).

The three systems and their inclusive nature is portrayed in Figure 3:

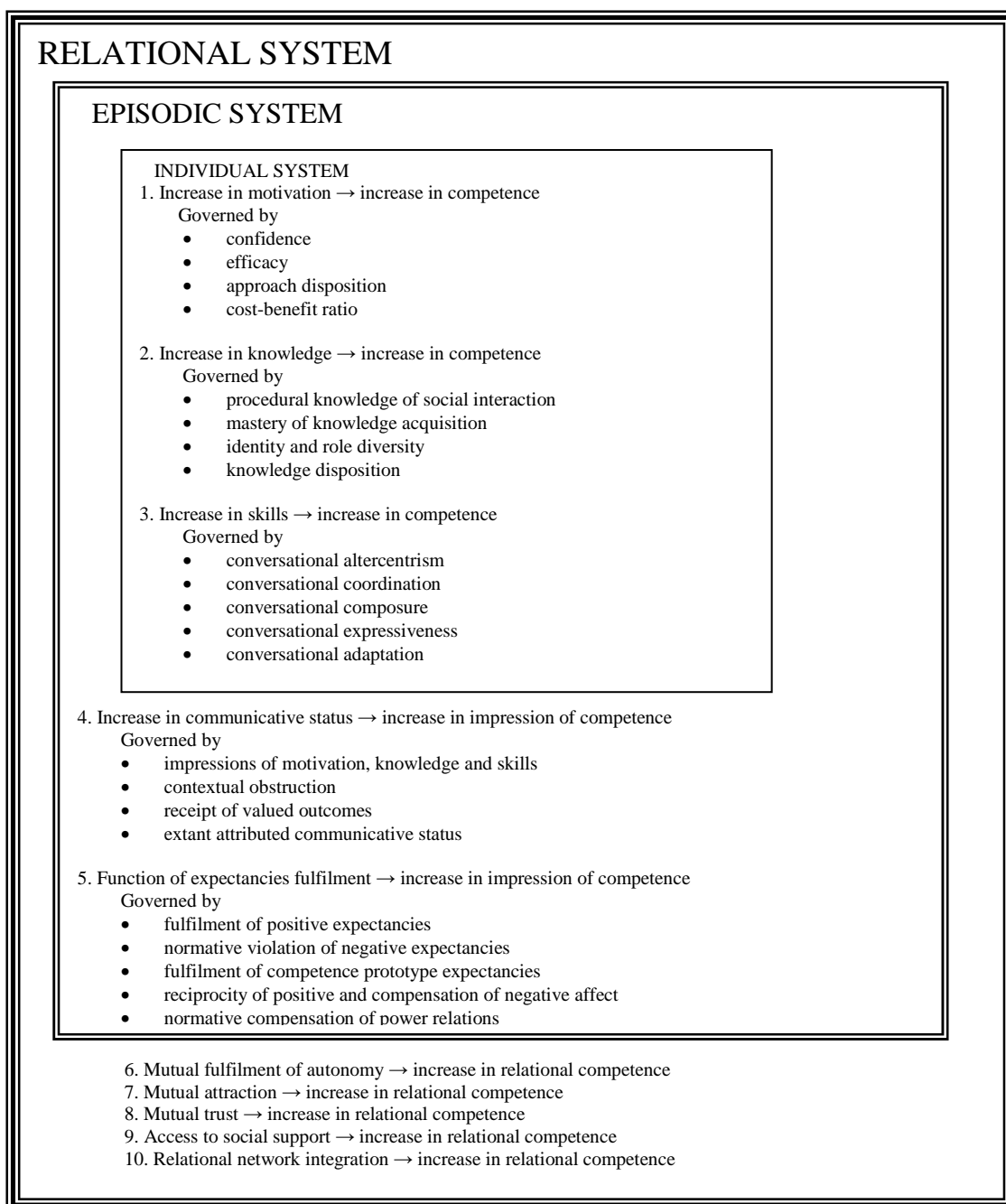


Figure 3. Summary of systems and propositions in Spitzberg’s (2009) model

This set of propositions constitutes an integral part of the ICC model, which is graphically depicted in Figure 4.

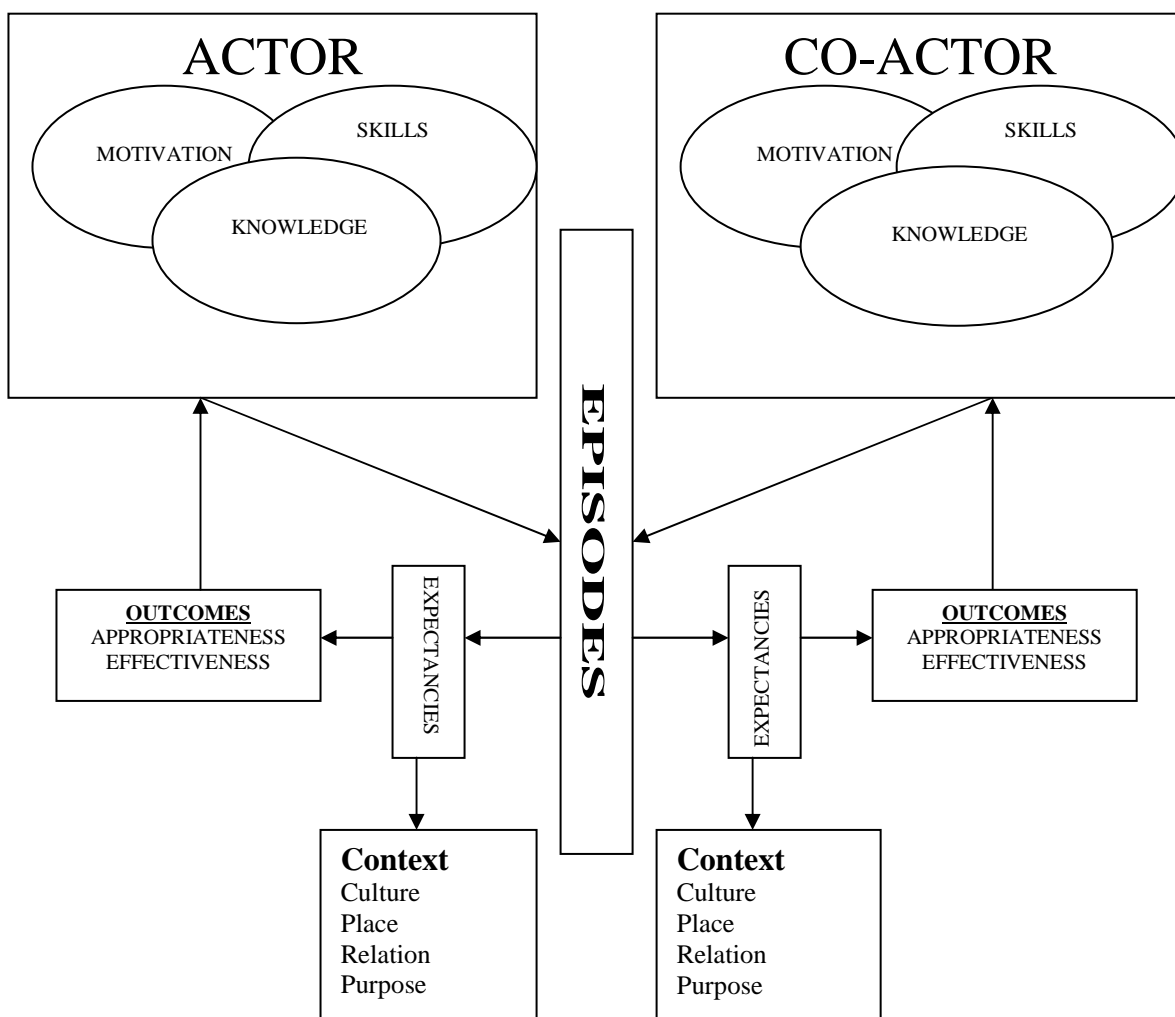


Figure 4. A structure of Spitzberg's (2009:383) model

The structure of the ICC model and the set of propositions imply the following pattern of impression formation; an actor and co-actor, both of whom are knowledgeable in intercultural communication, skilled in implementing this knowledge and motivated to communicate, will engage in a single episode (or a series of episodes) of intercultural communication. As interaction progresses, both interactants will evaluate each other's communicative status (mainly concerned with impressions of each other's skills, knowledge and motivation in a given episode of interaction) and their own expectancy fulfilment. Individual expectancies will be determined by the four levels of context as described above and will mainly serve to judge the appropriateness of an interactant's behaviour. Finally, impressions of competence will be influenced by the effectiveness of communicative behaviour. Although this schematic description is presented in a linear order, it is not meant to imply that these are specific phases of impression formation but is intended merely to summarise what constructs affect this formation.

2.3 Evaluation of the Intercultural Communication Competence (ICC) model

The above model of competence differs substantially from those proposed by most translation studies scholars. First of all, Spitzberg's model approaches the concept of competence as consisting of the three core components: motivation, knowledge and skills. Far from perceiving those areas as summaries of specific elements, Spitzberg presents them as governed by constructs described by specific propositions. Thus, as opposed to the majority of translation studies scholars, whose approaches tend to focus on idealised situations and fail to acknowledge the diversity of interpreter's performance, the model proposed by Spitzberg attempts to 'develop an integrative model of intercultural competence that is consistent with the theoretical and empirical literature and provides specific predictions of competent behaviour' (Spitzberg 2009:382). Although Spitzberg's (2009) model also refers to prototype expectancies, these denote prototypes of individual rather than cultural nature, which means that prototype expectancies are likely to vary among individuals within the same culture. By contrast, the majority of translation studies scholars use idealised performance as the only manifestation of competence. Thus, Spitzberg's (2009) model achieves a high degree of testability and applicability, since not only does it draw on well-established theoretical foundations researched for a long time but also it addresses concrete instantiations of competence in terms of constructs governing perceptions of competent behaviour.

Secondly, unlike most of the scholars discussed in Chapter I, whose studies of translation competence and interpreting competence fail to acknowledge the importance of context, Spitzberg admits that context, which he characterises along the dimensions of *culture, place, relations* and *purpose*, considerably affects the outcome of an interaction and, therefore, the perception of competence. The context-bound approach adopted by Spitzberg (2009) makes his model more reliable, since it accounts for the mechanisms governing interactants' impressions of competence, as opposed to the approaches which treat competence as an objective concept detached from subjective reality.

The contextualised character of the ICC model is further reinforced by demonstrating relational dependence and interaction between the components of the model. For example, as indicated by the arrows in Figure 4, knowledge, skills and motivation not only affect but also are themselves affected by the outcome of the interaction. This shows that Spitzberg views competence as something which interacts constantly with reality, which stands in contradiction to most of the assumptions regarding competence proposed by translation studies scholars, who focus on describing competence in abstract terms only and who fail to address its actual interaction with reality, such as the manner in which context affects and shapes (the impression of) competence.

The subjectivity of the ICC model is manifested in its bilateral structure, i.e. the model is based on two participants, each of whom contributes in one way or another to the outcome of an interaction. It is worth noting that a number of scholars studying interpreting competence, while focusing on long lists of skills and abilities that they regard as fundamental to interpreting, seem to have overlooked the simple fact that an interpreted event involves more than one participant. As a result, there may be circumstances in which, however competent an interpreter may be, their actual performance may be judged as incompetent for a number of reasons beyond an interpreter's influence, for example, if the interpreted participant has been unable to express themselves clearly and coherently or if the pace of delivery prevented comprehension. Spitzberg's model rectifies this deficiency by acknowledging that the judgement of competence is shaped by a number of constructs which shape participants' subjective inferences of each other's competence. As can be deduced from Figure 4, these inferences are influenced by such subjective criteria as appropriateness and effectiveness, expectancies, as well as impressions of motivation, skills and knowledge in a particular episode of dyadic interaction.

Next, the model breaks with an *a priori* approach to the issue of competence depicted as an idealised model for performance; instead, competence is viewed as *a posteriori* experience, which can constitute solid and concrete grounds for further discussion based on actual empirical data. As mentioned above, although Spitzberg's (2009) model draws on the concept of a cognitive prototype as well, he does so with reference to individual prototypes to account for the potential variety of competence impressions triggered by the same performance. By contrast, the approaches to competence put forward by most translation studies scholars seem to imply that there is only one ideal and competent performance.

Moreover, the model recognises the intercultural background of the interaction, perfectly corresponding to the encounters mediated by CIs, whose main task is to enable interaction between the representatives of different cultures. This often results in both participants' discrepant perceptions being determined by the context and relevant expectancies. It is worth noting that the ICC model refers to two contexts (Figure 4) in spite of the fact that the act of communication (interaction) frequently requires that the two participants share the same context. This can be explained by Spitzberg's approach to context as a complex, multi-dimensional concept, which covers culture, place, relations and purpose. Thus, taking community interpreting circumstances into account, the three participants will only partly share the context, since, while all of them will be in the same place, their goals and backgrounds are likely to differ.

Therefore, Spitzberg's model seems to reliably reflect the conditions and circumstances in which interpreter-mediated intercultural interaction takes place, as long as certain adjustments and modifications are made to take account of the triadic nature of the interaction.

Criticism of Spitzberg's (2009) model could be raised due to the fact that the three core areas of competence (*skills, knowledge* and *motivation*) are presented as lists of items, which is a technique criticised earlier by Spitzberg (1989). However, Spitzberg (2009) is not claiming that intercultural communication competence consists of a given number of elements; instead, he identifies a given set of constructs which govern the perception of competence. Thus, Spitzberg stresses the validity of a descriptive approach grounded in concrete instantiation of competence as perceived by particular interactants in a context-bound interaction.

Another critical remark came from Cawley (2001), who attempts to undermine the validity of Spitzberg's model in the following way:

For Spitzberg, participants are actors whose competence is based on each one being able to infer of the other a friendly, trustworthy and assertive nature - these being behaviourally indicated by the fact that the actor "socialises", "keeps secrets" and "expresses opinions". While it is possible to see the logic of each individual meshing their knowledge, skills and motivation to communicate (some tautology appears present here), the behavioural outcomes in this output-based model do not appear to have escaped the influence of the local culture. Would a (culturally) non-assertive Japanese be viewed as an incompetent communicator? How might "secret-keeping" be analysed? The focus on outcomes suggest [sic] that attention is drawn less to the processes which continuously redefine the relationship than to what are termed *episodes* by the author. This appears to limit any diagnostic value that the model might offer.

(Cawley 2001:7)

Cawley's (2001) criticism may be valid in the sense that the examples provided by Spitzberg (2009:389) elaborating on a cognitive prototype of a competent communicator have been influenced by Spitzberg's own culture. In other words, his schematic representation of the competent communicator contains such examples of behaviour as *socialising, keeping secrets* and *expressing opinions*; however, Spitzberg (2009:389) makes it explicit that these are examples only and that 'a prototype in this usage is basically a cognitive outline of concepts, analogous to a mental map of the competence territory'. Therefore, without a doubt it is Spitzberg's manner of exemplifying this aspect of the model that seems to have been subject to cultural influences, whereas the model refrains from prescribing what behaviours approximate a prototype of competent communicator. In that sense, the model itself can be considered to be culturally universal.

Another critical remark about Spitzberg's (2009) model can be made with reference to attributed communicative status. Whereas the relevant proposition clearly focuses on a

positive communicative status of a communicator, it fails to acknowledge a scenario in which an individual who enters an interaction enjoys a negative attributed status. As a matter of fact, the whole model seems to be centred around positive side of competence impressions. This can be seen in the way Spitzberg (2009) formulates his propositions, which deal with circumstances and conditions evoking ‘an increase in competence’, thus neglecting to discuss what could decrease them and how competence impressions could be affected by this decrease.

Finally, Spitzberg (2009) appears to disregard certain risks connected with the fact that his model draws so heavily on individual expectancies. Although his way of approaching competence definitely enriches our general understanding of the concept, his model fails to admit that other factors may also shape one’s impressions of competence, for example cultural and social norms in which an individual has been brought up.

Despite certain criticism of Spitzber’s contributions, his model provides solid and reliable grounds for developing the CIC model. As can be observed in section 2.4 and 2.5, Spitzberg’s model can be successfully adapted into the CIC model, which rectifies the deficiencies of the approaches discussed in Chapter I and which recognises complexities of triadic interaction.

2.4 Assumptions of the Community Interpreter Competence (CIC) model

This short section will draw on Spitzberg and Cupach’s (1984) seven assumptions regarding the model of relational competence that have been addressed in the previous section of this chapter. While the model to be proposed draws on Spitzberg’s (2009) model, his earlier assumptions (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984) constitute an important framework for the ICC model (Spitzberg 2009). The assumptions can be modified to accommodate CI-mediated encounters as follows:

1. Community interpreter competence is perceived appropriateness and effectiveness.
2. Community interpreter competence is contextual.
3. Community interpreter competence is a matter of degree.
4. Community interpreter competence is both molar and molecular.
5. Community interpreter-mediated competent communication is functional.
6. Community interpreter competence is an interdependent process.
7. Community interpreter competence is an interpersonal impression

Similarly to the first assumption of the model of relational competence (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984), CI competence will be assumed to be related to the impressions generated by perception of *appropriateness* and *effectiveness* of a CI’s behaviour. This assumption points to the perceptual nature of the main concept in question; that is to say,

for interlocutors, a CI's competence will not be an abstract issue that is given or universal but an impression based on the CI's specific interactive behaviour. One of the differences in the way *effectiveness* is understood in the ICC model and the CIC model is that Spitzberg's (2009) understanding of this concept involved an actor and co-actor satisfying their own goals; however, in the model proposed, *effectiveness* will refer to the perception of a CI's contribution to the fulfilment of the goals pursued by a service provider [referred to as an actor in Spitzberg's (2009) model] and by a service recipient [referred to as a co-actor in Spitzberg's (2009) model]. In other words, the more a CI is perceived as contributing to these two interactants' goal fulfilment, the more they are likely to see him/her as more effective. As for a CI's perception of his/her own *effectiveness*, this perception will be determined by the extent to which a CI thinks s/he has fulfilled his/her own goals. *Appropriateness* then concerns a CI's compliance with the norms binding for a given context.

The second assumption breaks with the idea of universal competence, which seems to be a prevailing tendency in the approaches to competence in translation studies (Chapter D), especially as far as skill-based approaches are concerned. Similarly to the ICC model (Spitzberg 2009), the CIC model will rule out the notion that competence is a summation of skills guaranteeing competent behaviour in every situation. Instead, the CIC model will acknowledge the fact that different behaviours are more or less acceptable in different situations and that it is the CI's adaptation of their performance to a particular context that will have substantial influence on interlocutors' impressions of the CI's competence. It is therefore argued that the competence of the CI is contextually contingent rather than universal.

The next assumption states that evaluations of appropriateness and effectiveness constitute a continuum, rather than a dichotomy. Thus, the model to be proposed will emphasise that the impressions generated by a CI's fulfilment of criteria will be a matter of degree rather than dichotomy, i.e. a CI will be perceived as more or less competent rather than as either competent or incompetent.

The fourth assumption states that CI competence is subject to evaluations on both a molar and molecular level. The molecular level will refer to the judgement of a CI's specific behaviour or state, while the molar level will address a more general and abstract evaluation of a CI's trait. For example, a judgement of a CI's behaviour on a molecular level could be 'the interpreter helped me to clarify this problem', while a more general (molar) judgement could be formulated as 'the interpreter was helpful'. Little, however, is known about the relation between these two levels of judgement.

In accordance with the fifth assumption, CI-mediated interaction will be regarded as a functional event. In other words, it is widely acknowledged that communication takes place for a reason and that a communication event occurs because its participants pursue their own goals. This assumption seems to work as well in community interpreting, since a CI is often required when the two participants' linguistic competence is insufficient for seeking fulfilment of their own goals without a CI's mediation.

The fact that CI competence is an interdependent process is the next assumption based on Spitzberg and Cupach (1984). This has at least two implications. First, all participants of a triadic exchange (service provider, service recipient and CI) are continuously assessing a CI's competence, which means that *competence* in general is dynamic in nature; the fact that a CI has been judged as competent by either interactant at the beginning of the session does not rule out the possibility that the same interactant will change their judgement by the end of the session. Secondly, because *competence* will be assumed to be related to subjective and individual impressions in the context of a given encounter involving individuals and their relationship to one another (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:114), it is necessary to explore all participants' impressions of a CI's competence.

Finally, the model to be proposed will draw on the overarching assumption that CI competence is subject to interpersonal impression. Given the fact that there exists an endless set of potential contexts, each imposing different requirements and involving different interactants, it seems pointless to assume that a CI who is viewed as competent in one of these contexts by one set of interactants will be viewed in a similar manner in totally different settings involving completely different participants.

2.5 Systems and propositions of the CIC model

Similarly to Spitzberg's (2009) model, the CIC model will be presented in a two-fold manner. First, a set of modified systems and their corresponding propositions will be adapted to suit the premises underlying CI-mediated interaction. Secondly, the section will focus on the structure of the model, depicting relations between various constructs exerting influence on impressions of CI competence.

It needs to be made clear at this point that the thesis will focus on the part of the model that deals with competence of a CI. Although the whole model will consist of three participants (service provider, service recipient and CI), the core skills of the first two participants will not be considered. One might argue that a service provider's and a service recipient's *knowledge*, *skills* and *motivation* are crucial when it comes to discussing impressions of CI competence; because these two interactants feel their competence is

insufficient to enter a dyadic exchange, their judgement of a CI's competence will be likely to be positive. While a service provider's and a service recipient's incompetence in intercultural communication may in fact contribute to shaping their expectancies towards an interpreter, the third research question of the thesis is to explore the correspondence between expectancy fulfilment and impressions of CI competence.

Similarly to Spitzberg's model, the model of CI competence will encompass certain levels of analysis and relevant propositions, as presented in Figure 5.

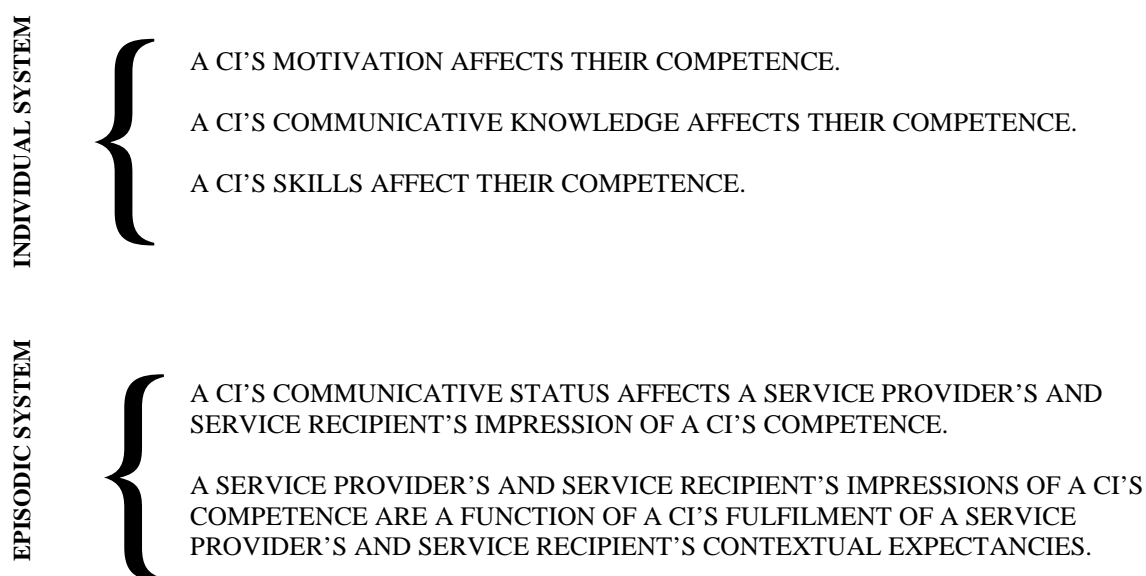


Figure 5. The systems and propositions of the CIC model

As can be observed in Figure 5, there are several adaptations with reference to the original model. First, the CIC model focuses on the *individual system* and the *episodic system* only. The reason for this is that scenarios in which the *relational system* would be applicable are relatively unlikely, since these would have to include a series of encounters over a lengthy period of time involving the same interpreter performing for the same service provider and service recipient. Although such situations do happen, for example, in the case of a patient attending regular CI-mediated sessions with the same psychologist, these are quite rare. Another amendment in relation to the original model (Spitzberg 2009) lies in replacing terms *actor* and *co-actor* with *service provider* and *service recipient* respectively. A *service provider* is understood as an individual in the host country who is employed by a state or community institution (NHS, local government, town council, advice bureau, etc.). A *service recipient* refers to an individual from another country who needs a CI to access the services of the institution where a service provider works. Finally, the wording in which the propositions were formulated in the original model has been changed. Whereas Spitzberg (2009) used a causal relationship which could be summarised in the following way: AN INCREASE IN X CAUSES AN INCREASE IN COMPETENCE, the CIC model will use a more general term 'affect'. The reason for this change is that Spitzberg's

(2009) formulation focuses on ‘increase’ whereas the CIC model will consider a more comprehensive influence on competence impressions (including a possibility of ‘decrease’). Another instance of amendment to the proposition wording concerns the proposition dealing with ‘extant attributed communicative status’. Spitzberg’s formulation of this proposition (Figure 2) describes the interdependence between an actor’s attributed communicative status and an increase in the communicative status of this actor. The relevant proposition in the CIC model highlights the interdependence between a CI’s extant attributed communicative status and an impression of a CI’s competence (not communicative status). This change makes the wording of this proposition consistent with that of others. At the same time, it does not change the overall meaning, since, according to the original wording, communicative status influences impressions of competence anyway. The last amendment to the wording is related to adding ‘contextual’ to the proposition dealing with influence of expectancy fulfilment on competence impressions (*episodic system*). This change can be justified by the fact that the relevant propositions and constructs included in the *episodic system* of the ICC model and, consequently, the CIC model concern contextual expectancies but the wording of the proposition fails to make this fact explicit.

The final change in relation to the ICC model concerns discarding the ‘receipt of valued outcomes’ construct in the *episodic system*, as seen in section 2.5.2. In the ICC model, the construct is related to an actor’s perception of a co-actor’s success in achieving conversational goals in various situations; as it seems to concern a perception that has been generated over a period of time rather than within a single episode, it appears to belong to the *relational system*, while this thesis focuses on the *episodic system*. One of the possible reasons why *an actor’s receipt of valued outcomes* has been included in the *episodic system* is that Spitzberg wanted to include a scenario in which an actor who is known as achieving success in specific fields, for example, negotiations enters a conversation with a co-actor who is aware of this actor’s successes (Spitzberg 2009:388). Since this scenario is less likely in community interpreting, in the CIC model, a service provider’s or service recipient’s awareness of a CI’s possible achievements will be covered by the attributed communicative status construct.

The model can be analysed at two levels; the first level, referred to as the *individual system*, comprises propositions dealing with a CI’s motivation, knowledge and skills. Otherwise expressed, the *individual system* propositions concern those constructs which enable a CI to engage in the interaction and without which their performance would be impossible. The *episodic system*, on the other hand, covers propositions relating to constructs that contribute to impressions that a service provider and service recipient are

likely to have of a CI's competence, as perceived in a specific episode of intercultural mediation.

2.5.1 Individual system

The *individual system* of the CIC model covers propositions dealing with motivation, knowledge and skills without which a CI would be unable to engage in intercultural mediation. The first proposition in the *individual system* is A CI'S MOTIVATION AFFECTS THEIR COMPETENCE. Analogous to the constructs influencing an actor's motivation in the ICC model, a CI's motivation in the CIC model is influenced by the following constructs:

1. confidence
2. reward-relevant efficacy beliefs
3. approach dispositions
4. cost-benefit ratio of a situation

Confidence is connected not only with personality but also with experience. Consequently, if an individual feels uneasy meeting and working with strangers, a personal trait referred to as *social anxiety* in Spitzberg's model, they are less likely to work as professional CIs. A CI's *confidence* may also be determined by their actual experience in mediated interaction, which can increase or decrease their confidence. Finally, the implications of the interaction are likely to exert certain influence on a CI's confidence, i.e. if a given CI-mediated encounter is perceived by a CI as having potentially far-reaching consequences (e.g. an asylum-seeker interview or police hearing), a CI's confidence may decrease.

Reward-relevant efficacy beliefs were referred to earlier as an individual's conviction of their ability to produce given behaviour (Bandura 1982). They constitute a construct that is more task-specific and also related to the familiarity with a given type of context. For example, a CI who has been working in the legal context for ten years is more than likely to have high efficacy beliefs about their ability to perform competently in another legal assignment. However, the same beliefs will be considerably lower if they were to mediate in an intercultural encounter in an unfamiliar medical context.

Approach dispositions, earlier described as personal features allowing a person to appreciate communication (Spitzberg 2009:384), affect the motivation to engage in communication activities (Neuliep and McCroskey 1997 and Mendelson *et al* 1997). In the context of the CIC model, the personal characteristics that may positively influence a CI's

motivation to engage in intercultural interaction include *high self-esteem* and *intercultural tolerance*, while the lack of these two characteristics may prevent individuals who do not find social encounters rewarding from choosing to become CIs.

Another construct derived from the ICC model is *cost-benefit ratio of a situation*. In the CIC model, this implies that a CI's motivation might be decreased if the potential benefits of the interaction are relatively low in relation to the costs that need to be faced engaging in mediated interaction. In the case of CIs, it may refer to a situation when an interpreter is aware that an interaction that s/he is about to mediate will be an exceptionally unpleasant experience (e.g. in an A&E ward) that will not be compensated by any aspects of the profession that s/he normally finds rewarding. In general terms, a CI who thinks that the cost of engaging in intercultural interaction outweighs the benefits resulting from the interaction is likely to refuse to do it or may do it with low motivation, which, in consequence, could contribute to decreasing the overall competence in a particular episode.

The second proposition in the *episodic system* is A CI'S COMMUNICATIVE KNOWLEDGE AFFECTS THEIR COMPETENCE and it deals with *interaction knowledge*, which is governed by the following four constructs:

1. task-relevant procedural knowledge
2. mastery of knowledge acquisition strategies
3. identity and role diversity
4. knowledge disposition

The first construct involves the knowledge of how communication and interaction unfold in various settings. For example, if a given assignment takes place in a GP's surgery, a CI, to interact competently, will have to know the institutional order relevant for this particular office in a particular country, i.e. how a patient normally addresses a doctor and vice versa, if there are any standard questions that a doctor may ask a patient, what questions these are, etc.

The second construct helps a CI to act competently in unfamiliar contexts. Spitzberg names several strategies, some of which can be used by CIs in new settings; for example, *interrogation* (asking questions) might be a useful strategy whenever a term or phrase appears that is restricted to a particular profession and of which a CI is unaware; furthermore, *bluffing* is the strategy that could involve a CI pretending that they have not heard the last utterance, even though they have, with a view to making the interlocutor repeat it, which would give a CI enough time to decide how to render the complex phrase

in a target language; finally, *surveillance* (observing other interactants) may be a useful strategy for a CI to familiarise themselves with the code of conduct in particular settings.

In the CIC model, *identity and role diversity* refers to this part of interaction knowledge which is related to numerous roles that CIs are likely to assume as well as the knowledge of potential roles in which other interactants may appear. For example, if a CI has regularly participated in situations where they calmed interlocutors down due to high tensions during interactions, their rich knowledge of role diversity may contribute to the increase in interaction knowledge; by contrast, speaking loudly and raising one's voice during an interaction might be a perfectly acceptable manner of speaking in one of the interactant's culture; in these circumstances it may be unnecessary for a CI to quieten a particular interlocutor so that their behaviour does not interrupt the whole interaction.

Finally, the possession of knowledge alone only partially constitutes the possible contribution to the knowledge of interaction, since *knowledge disposition* also needs to be taken into account. This construct is related to personal traits that enable a CI to apply knowledge in practice and these include, among others, *empathy*, *creativity*, *perceptual accuracy* and *nonverbal sensitivity*.

The third proposition in the *individual system* is A CI'S SKILLS AFFECT THEIR COMPETENCE. The constructs dealt with by relevant propositions are as follows:

1. conversational altercentrism
2. conversational coordination
3. conversational composure
4. conversational expressiveness
5. conversational adaptation

Conversational altercentrism refers to focusing one's attention on the other interactant(s). In community interpreting, this construct could manifest itself through a CI being attentive to both a service provider's and service recipient's contribution to an encounter. Thus, maintaining the topic, listening actively, and keeping eye contact are examples of behaviours that are likely to contribute to the increase in a CI's skills. However, it should be noted that these behaviours, rather than be treated as universals, should be approached in relation to their context (Spitzberg 2009:386). This entails that while long eye-contact, for example, may be regarded as competent behaviour in some cultures and in some contexts, this may differ in other contextual and cultural frames.

Conversational coordination involves the use of strategies to ensure a smooth flow of the interaction. Since the involvement of two distinct cultural backgrounds in the

encounter may result in discrepancies between the manners of interaction, this construct refers to performance featuring such behaviours as dealing with response delays, managing disruptive interruptions and maintaining an appropriate pace of a conversation. In community interpreting, this will refer to applying strategies that will optimise the manner of interaction to enable participants to pursue their respective goals.

Conversational composure relates to the avoidance of behaviours pointing to a CI's anxiety. The instances of such behaviour could include a broken tone of voice, interrupted utterances, tapping feet, etc. By contrast, an increase in a CI's skills could be observed whenever they are able to perform in a manner that in a given context shows that a CI controls their own interactive behaviour. This might comprise such cues as a steady pitch, clearly-formulated utterances and smooth flow of statements.

The next construct, *conversational expressiveness*, refers to a CI's ability to perform with appropriate energy levels, as manifested in suitable verbal and nonverbal behaviours, which may positively affect their interactive skills.

Finally, *conversational adaptation* is responsible for a CI's behaviour which aims to maintain a fragile balance between their own interactive style and those of the other two interactants. It follows that a CI's moderated adaptation of their own style to those of the other two interlocutors, which is not to be mistaken for imitating others' styles, positively increases a CI's skills and contributes to an increase in their competence.

It is important to note that the above application of Spitzberg's propositions to a CI's competence is restricted to the *individual system*, which is based on the assumption that 'the more motivated, knowledgeable, and skilled a person is, the more competent this person is likely to be' (Spitzberg 2009:387). Therefore, the propositions presented above refer to the constructs that may potentially add to a CI's competent performance, and yet they do not guarantee that a CI's behaviour will be perceived as competent by specific participants in a given episode of intercultural mediation. In order to have a comprehensive understanding of how a CI's interactive behaviour is evaluated by other participants in the interaction, one needs to adapt Spitzberg's *episodic system* to the current CIC model.

2.5.2 Episodic system

As shown in Figure 6, the *episodic system* comprises two main propositions; the first one concerns *communicative status*, while the other one elaborates on *expectancies*. However, it needs to be made explicit that, similarly to Spitzberg's model, in the CIC model, the *episodic system* is inclusive of the *individual system*, as these two systems are hierarchical in nature. That is to say, the *individual system* involves motivation, knowledge and skills, which are necessary for a CI to generate any interpreting performance. The

episodic system, by contrast, will be relevant in accounting for a service provider's and service recipient's impressions of a CI's competence shaped by the actual performance, i.e. realisation of a CI's motivation, knowledge and skills in a particular episode.

The first proposition in the *episodic system* is A CI'S COMMUNICATIVE STATUS AFFECTS A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S IMPRESSIONS OF A CI'S COMPETENCE. In the ICC model, communicative status has been defined as 'all those factors that enhance [a] person's positive evaluation [by other interactants]' (Spitzberg 2009:387). Therefore, in the CIC model, a CI's communicative status is likely to influence a service provider's and service recipient's impression of a CI's competence. Following the logic of Spitzberg's propositions of the *episodic system*, a CI's communicative status is affected by the following constructs:

1. impression of skills, knowledge and motivation
2. contextual obstruction
3. attributed communicative status

The first construct is the extension of one of the *individual system* propositions and concerns impressions coming from of a CI's *skills, knowledge* and *motivation* in a particular episode. This means that any behavioural indicators of a CI's *skills, knowledge* and *motivation* observed in a particular episode of a CI-mediated encounter may affect the communicative status of a CI. This, in turn, may affect an overall perception of a CI's competence. It then should be noted that each interactant may have different impressions regarding the actual manifestation of *skills, knowledge* and *motivation*. Thus, a single instance of a CI's behaviour could lead to an increase in their communicative status as perceived by a service provider and, simultaneously, to a decrease as perceived by a service recipient.

Contextual obstruction refers to the circumstances in which interaction is taking place and to the effect that these may have on participants' impressions of a CI's competence. This means that a service provider, service recipient and CI are likely to evaluate a CI's performance as competent on account of favourable or in spite of unfavourable contextual factors. For example, when a CI is able to overcome such obstacles as an interactant's unclear manner of speaking, the presence of background noise, fast pace of producing utterances by one of the interactants, etc., then a CI tends to be perceived as more competent than if they performed equally well in more favourable circumstances.

Attributed communicative status is a concept similar to *communicative status*; the only difference lies in the fact that while the latter refers to the status gained during an interaction, the former entails the status assigned to an individual prior to an interaction. This construct may be valid whenever a CI with good or bad reputation mediates an intercultural encounter. However, even if a CI is perceived by interactants as a participant of a high *attributed communicative status*, it may still happen that during the encounter their actual *communicative status* is lowered by other factors, which could affect respective impressions of the interpreter's competence.

The second proposition in the *episodic system* is A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S IMPRESSIONS OF A CI'S COMPETENCE IS A FUNCTION OF A CI'S FULFILMENT OF A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S CONTEXTUAL EXPECTANCIES. Similarly to Spitzberg's (2009) model, expectancies in the CIC model will be assumed to develop along the EPA dimensions: *evaluation*, *potency* and *activity* (Osgood *et al* 1975, Heise 1988). Thus, expectancies in the CIC model will be governed by five constructs:

1. fulfilment of a service provider's and service recipient's positive expectancies
2. normative violation of a service provider's and service recipient's negative expectancies
3. fulfilment of prototype expectancies
4. normative reciprocity of positive affect and compensation of negative affect
5. compensation of power relations between interactants.

As for the first construct, one can imagine a hypothetical situation in which a service provider or a service recipient entertain the following expectancies along the EPA dimensions: they expect a session mediated by a CI to be helpful (*evaluation*) in clarifying some issues, dominated by a CI (*potency*) and quick (*activity*) so that time and money are saved; a service provider's or a service recipient's judgement of a CI's behaviour may be positively influenced by a CI fulfilling positive expectancies entertained by these two participants in the context perceived along these three dimensions.

The second construct is a logical reversal of the first one. Whenever a service provider or service recipient has negative expectancies regarding any aspect of an intercultural encounter, a CI's breach of these negative expectancies is likely to contribute to an increase in a CI's competence, as perceived by a service provider or service recipient.

As far as *prototype expectancies* are concerned, according to Spitzberg (2009) and cognitive studies in general, every individual tends to approach their surrounding reality in

terms of comparison. In the case of competence perception in intercultural settings, one of the factors that may affect the evaluation of a CI's competence by a service provider or service recipient is the extent to which the interpreter's actual behaviour overlaps with a service provider's or service recipient's individual prototype of a competent communicator (Spitzberg 2009:389). The only aspect that will be dealt with differently in the CIC model is that the prototype in question will be a prototype of a competent CI. Therefore, the more a CI's behaviour complies with a service provider's or service recipient's relevant prototype, the more likely it is for them to find a CI's performance competent.

The fourth construct is based on an analogical rule in Spitzberg's model presented earlier in the chapter, i.e. if a CI returns positive affect expressed by a service provider or service recipient (for instance, by a smile), respective perceptions of a CI's competence is likely to be increased; a similar effect may take place in the case of a CI compensating negative affect (e.g. an unpleasant facial expression on a service provider's or service recipient's part may be compensated by a pleasant facial expression on a CI's part).

The final construct within the *expectancies* proposition is related to the fact an interaction of any type (employer-employee relations, husband-wife discussions) tends to be perceived as competent by interactants if the power balance is complementary (Spitzberg 2009:390). Thus, if all the parties of the interaction try to be dominant, then there is little likelihood that the goal(s) of the interaction will be reached, which decreases chances of interactants being perceived as competent. A similar result may appear if all the participants of the encounter are passive; therefore, the highest probability of interactants being regarded as competent will be when all the parties are able to reach a complementary consensus in terms of power relations. In the context of CI-mediated encounters, this construct may well refer to the flexibility of a CI; for instance, if both a service provider and service recipient display little initiative to speak, a CI, consciously or subconsciously, often appears to give verbal and non-verbal cues to encourage either party to take the floor. By contrast, if either party seems to be dominant in the interaction and the interaction unfolds without a CI's coordinative action, then a CI may choose to place less focus on their role as an interaction coordinator.

2.6 The structure of the CIC model

The structure of the CIC model depicting all the participants and their involvement in triadic interaction is shown in Figure 6.

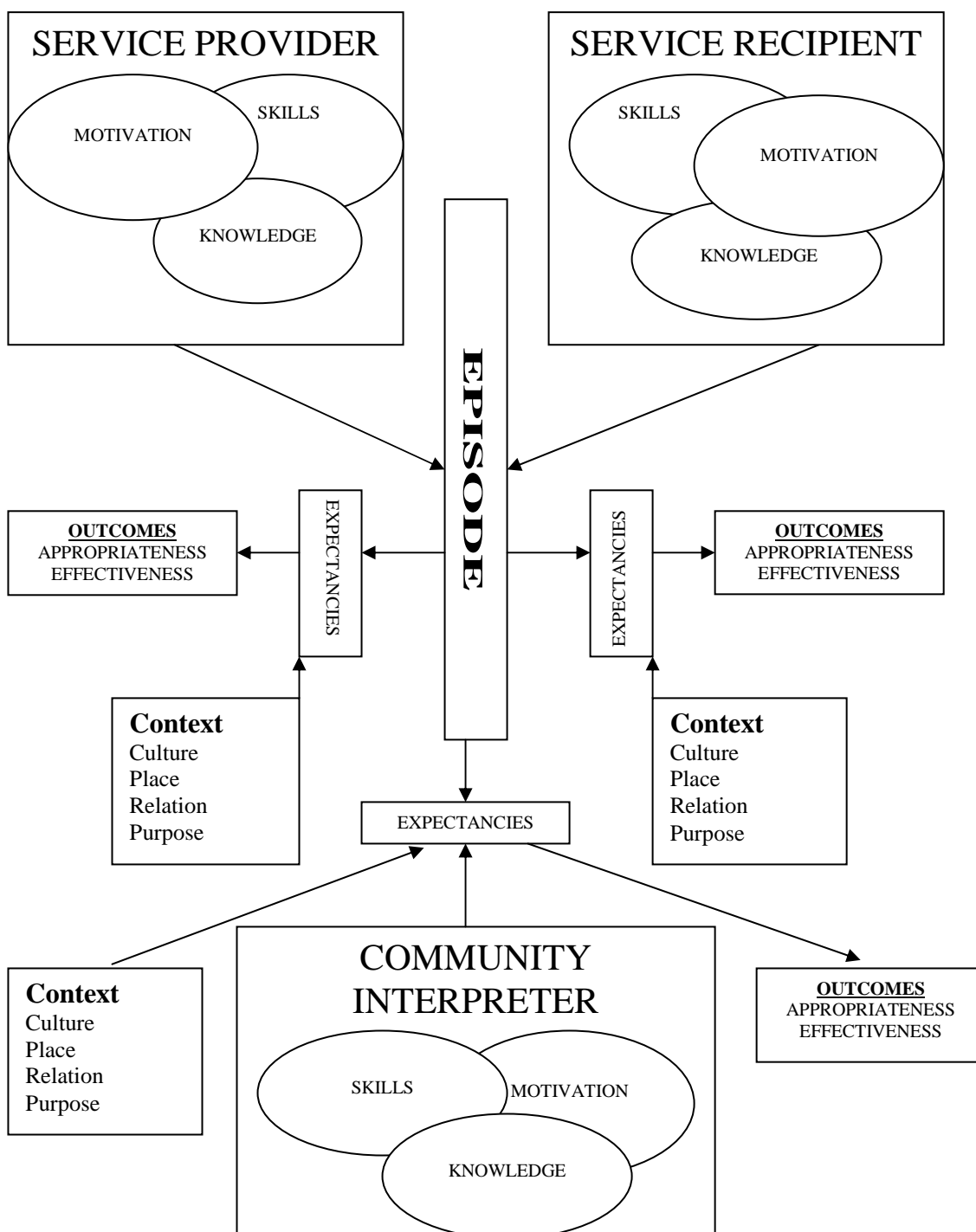


Figure 6. The structure of the CIC model

The schematic representation of the CIC model is fairly similar to Spitzberg's (2009) model, but includes certain modifications. First of all, the CIC model has three participants; a service provider, a service recipient and a CI. The addition of the last participant is based on well-grounded assumptions (e.g. Wadensjö 1998) that CIs, rather than act as linguistic conduits attending only to the verbal content of the exchange, tend to

be involved in coordination of the exchange as well. Thus, CIs may be regarded as participants in the same way as the other two interlocutors, even though the status of all interactants is likely to be negotiated throughout the interaction. Therefore, the model of dyadic interaction has been converted into a model of triadic interaction, involving a CI whose *skills, knowledge* and *motivation* will enable interaction between the other two interlocutors. It follows that a CI will bring in their own *expectancies* which will determine impressions of their own competence.

The next amendment involves the scope of impressions. Whereas Spitzberg's (2009) model dealt with reciprocal impressions of competence (i.e. an actor's impressions of a co-actor's competence and vice versa), the CIC model, while recognising the existence of a service provider's and a service receiver's skills, knowledge and motivation, will focus on impressions that all three participants (service provider, service recipient and CI) entertain towards a CI who is performing in a single episode of intercultural interaction (as argued earlier in this chapter, the *relational system* is much less relevant to the current study). The summary of the levels at which impressions will be dealt with is given in Table 4.

	LEVELS OF ANALYSIS OF A COMMUNITY INTERPRETER'S COMPETENCE		
	by a community interpreter	by a service provider	by a service recipient
INDIVIDUAL SYSTEM	a CI's self-assessment of their <i>skills, knowledge</i> and <i>motivation</i>	<i>non-applicable</i>	<i>non-applicable</i>
EPISODIC SYSTEM	a CI's impressions of their own competence based on their performance in a single episode of interaction	a service provider's impressions of CI competence based on a CI's performance during a single instance of interaction	a service recipient's impressions of CI competence based on a CI's performance during a single instance of interaction
RELATIONAL SYSTEM	<i>non-applicable</i>	<i>non-applicable</i>	<i>non-applicable</i>

Table 4. Levels of a community interpreter's (CI) competence judgement

A service provider's and service recipient's impressions of their own competence at all levels will be regarded as irrelevant to the perception of a CI's performance, although it should be pointed out that it is their negative self-assessment of their own communicative competence in intercultural settings in the first place that creates a need for a CI's mediation. If both a service provider and a service recipient positively valued their own communicative competence in each other's languages, a dyadic interaction in intercultural settings would be possible and a CI's participation would not be required. As noted above,

the *relational system* is going to be disregarded because it is relatively uncommon for one CI to be assigned a series of encounters involving the same participants.

2.7 Summary of the model

As has already been stated, Spitzberg's model and, consequently, the CIC model proposed in this thesis draw heavily on the assumption that communicative competence to a considerable extent overlaps with a social judgement in particular intercultural settings. Therefore, the constructs presented in Figure 8, which are included in the *individual system*, will be accorded relatively less attention in the remainder of the thesis. Since this thesis is to propose and explore a model that will describe a CI's competence as perceived in specific intercultural settings, it seems justified to focus primarily on the *episodic system*, rather than on the *individual system*, which merely accounts for competence in a normative sense. Moreover, measuring and verifying innate knowledge, skills and motivation before these are actually manifested in a CI's concrete behaviour would entail considerable difficulty in terms of empirical data collection. However, because the *episodic system* is also affected by the *individual system*, the latter needs to be acknowledged as a part of the former, as presented in Figure 7.

EPISODIC SYSTEM

INDIVIDUAL SYSTEM

COMMUNITY INTERPRETER'S

SKILLS

affected by

conversational altercentrism
conversational coordination
conversational composure
conversational expressiveness
conversational adaptation

KNOWLEDGE

affected by

task-relevant procedural knowledge
mastery of knowledge acquisition strategies
identity and role diversity
knowledge disposition

MOTIVATION

affected by

confidence
efficacy beliefs
approach dispositions
cost-benefit ratio

- **A CI'S COMMUNICATIVE STATUS AFFECTS A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S IMPRESSIONS OF A CI'S COMPETENCE.**

Constructs affecting a CI's communicative status:

- impressions of skills, knowledge and motivation
- contextual obstruction
- attributed communicative status

- **A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S IMPRESSIONS OF A CI'S COMPETENCE ARE A FUNCTION OF A CI'S FULFILMENT OF A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S CONTEXTUAL EXPECTANCIES.**

Constructs affecting contextual expectancy fulfilment:

- fulfilment of an actor's and co-actor's positive expectancies
- normative violation of an actor's and co-actor's negative expectancies
- fulfilment of prototype expectancies
- normative reciprocity of positive affect and compensation of negative affect
- compensation of power relations between interactants

Figure 7. Summary of propositions and constructs in the CIC model

2.8 Conclusions and implications

This model clearly rectifies most of the deficiencies identifiable in the current approaches to interpreting competence, especially regarding their focus on the prescriptive nature of competence and their failure to test these approaches. However, there are a number of issues in the proposed model which require further research and debate. First, although the CIC model breaks with the tendency to enumerate long lists of skills, it enumerates constructs which influence competence impressions. Similarly to the criticism of approaches to competence portrayed in Chapter I, one could argue that the list of constructs in the CIC model will never be exhaustive, since competence impressions may be influenced by constructs which may have been overlooked and which have not been included in the CIC model.

Another issue that requires further research and debate is the *individual system* of the CIC model. Given that it took Spitzberg over a decade to offer constructs governing *skills, knowledge* and *motivation*, doing the same for this model exceeds the scope of the

current project. Therefore, the CIC model assumes that *knowledge, skills and motivation* in its *individual system* are governed by the propositions analogical to the ICC model, except that those in the CIC model will concern bilingual communication mediated by a CI. However, for the time being, this assumption is purely speculative and would need to be tested, especially if one considers possible implications of such an assumption; that is, if the propositions for the *individual system* in the ICC model, which deals with dyadic and monolingual interaction, are applied by virtue of analogy to the CIC model, which deals with triadic and bilingual interaction, the difference between bilingual speaker competence and CI competence might be considered as minor. Certainly, further research focusing on the *individual system* would be required.

Despite these weaknesses, the CIC model has a number of strengths. One of them is the fact that the model rectifies one of the deficiencies discussed in Chapter I, i.e. the lack of models in interpreting studies and the prevalence of approaches focusing on theoretical discussion. The CIC model enriches the current discussion on competence by proposing a model which is testable in practice.

Another strength of the CIC model is that it deals with one of the shortcomings of current approaches to competence that were discussed in Chapter I, in that it encourages a descriptive rather than a prescriptive approach to competence. While the majority of approaches to competence dealt with by interpreting studies tend to refer to what should happen in situations mediated by competent interpreters, the CIC model draws on the rationale put forward by Spitzberg and his colleagues in arguing that discussion on interpreting competence may be equally, if not more, fruitful if it is approached in more descriptive terms, i.e. exploring what actually happens in situations mediated by interpreters. The CIC model prompts a consideration of competence in more descriptive terms by adopting Spitzberg's rationale for his research into intercultural communication competence, i.e. that competence is subject to performance-generated evaluation resulting in impressions entertained by participants involved in a specific episode of interaction.

Finally, the CIC model seems to be one of the first models dealing specifically with CI competence. Although research into community interpreting has been gaining momentum in recent years, most research seems to focus on such areas as defining the roles of CIs, professionalization of community interpreting, as well as CI training. While exploration of these areas, especially the last one, does entail discussion of CI competence, the discussion seldom focuses on competence as such, which means that CI competence is not addressed adequately. Therefore, the CIC model enriches the current debate with a thorough investigation of the concept of competence by drawing on intercultural

communication studies, which has a long tradition of useful contributions to the study of competence.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY FOR DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The aim of this chapter is to propose a methodology for testing a principle derived from the CIC model. This chapter consists of seven sections. Section 3.1 formulates and justifies a principle derived from the CIC model to be tested in the thesis. Section 3.2 deals with methodological issues in intercultural communication. Section 3.3 reviews various data-collection methods (including those applied in intercultural communication studies) in order to offer the most suitable method for the current project in section 3.4. A method selected for data collection is elaborated on in section 3.5. Section 3.6 delineates an approach to data collection and analysis, while the last section (3.7) concludes the methodology chapter.

3.1 Deriving a principle from the CIC model

While the complexity of the CIC model has the unquestionable advantage of accounting for the complexity of CI competence, testing the whole model will appear problematic, since the scope of the thesis is limited. This forces the researcher to focus on one of the aspects of the CIC model that will be subject to testing. In this thesis, testing will focus on interactants' expectancies. One of the reasons for this choice is the decisive role of expectancies in the process of CI competence impression formation. The choice can be further supported by the fact that there has been a great deal of investigation into the role of expectancies in impression formation in general.

An interest in the influence of expectancies on impression formation began with the foundation and exploration of *affect control theory* by Osgood *et al* (1975) and Smith-Lovin (1979), and it has been more recently explored by Heise (2007), who proposes the following:

1. You (and every individual) create events to confirm the sentiments that you have about the identities of yourself and others in the current situation.
2. Your emotions reflect your sentiment about yourself and the kinds of validations or invalidations that you are experiencing at the moment.
3. If your actions don't work to maintain your sentiments, then you re-conceptualize the identities of others or yourself.
4. Confirming sentiments about your current identity actualizes your sense of self, or else produces inauthenticity that you resolve by enacting compensating identities.
5. In the process of building events to confirm your sentiments, you perform social roles that operate the basic institutions of society.

(Heise 2007:3-4)

The key idea in Heise's (2007) argument is that people tend to perceive reality in such a way as to confirm their expectancies. For example, an individual who has positive expectancies of a given aspect of reality, e.g. a driving lesson, will perceive (create) this event in such a way as to confirm their positive expectancies about it. If, however, it turns out that this individual's experience of the driving lesson is far from what was expected (i.e., it is negative), they are likely to re-formulate the positive expectancy regarding driving lessons into a more negative one.

Given the centrality of expectancies in impression formation, this thesis will test what will be referred to as an overarching expectancy principle. The overarching expectancy principle will stem from and bear some analogy to the proposition dealing with contextual expectancies and will be formulated as follows: IMPRESSIONS OF A CI'S COMPETENCE ARE A FUNCTION OF A CI'S FULFILMENT OF INTERACTANTS' EXPECTANCIES. Similarly to contextual expectancies proposition in the *episodic system* (Figure 7), the overarching expectancy principle will deal with positive, negative and prototype expectancies, although the degree to which these types of expectancies are addressed in testing will vary, as explained later in section 3.5. However, testing the overarching expectancy principle will discard the last two constructs of contextual expectancy proposition, i.e. *normative reciprocity of positive affect and compensation of negative affect* and *compensation of power relations between interactants*, on the grounds that these do not concern expectancy fulfilment directly and that they merely describe the relation between particular behaviour and competence impressions. Finally, the overarching expectancy principle will differ from the contextual expectancy proposition in the *episodic system* (Figure 7) in a sense that it addresses all three interactants' expectancies, rather than only a service provider's and service recipient's ones. This is connected with the inclusion of a CI's impressions of their own competence in testing the principle, as discussed in section 3.2.

The overarching expectancy principle will be tested in relation to the following three aspects of the *episodic system* in the CIC model: the proposition tackling a CI's communicative status (A CI'S COMMUNICATIVE STATUS AFFECTS A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S IMPRESSIONS OF A CI'S COMPETENCE), the assumption of the CIC model concerning goal fulfilment (A CI'S COMPETENCE IS PERCEIVED EFFECTIVENESS AND APPROPRIATENESS) and the proposition dealing with contextual expectancies (A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S IMPRESSIONS OF A CI'S COMPETENCE ARE A FUNCTION OF A CI'S FULFILMENT OF A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S CONTEXTUAL EXPECTANCIES). Although the assumption concerning goal fulfilment is portrayed in Chapter II as one of the underlying principles of the CIC model,

rather than part of its *episodic system*, its inclusion in testing is dictated by the fact that its two facets (effectiveness and appropriateness) are criteria influencing impressions of competence in the *episodic system*, as can be inferred from the structure of the model portrayed in Figure 6.

Testing the principle in relation to the three aspects will mean drawing on the relevant constructs to propose variables describing a CI's specific behaviours. This, in turn, will make it possible to pinpoint the areas of a CI's performance in which expectancy fulfilment will be gauged. Thus, testing the overarching expectancy principle in relation to the proposition dealing with a CI's communicative status will include the following variables: (A) impressions of CI's motivation, knowledge and skills (subsequently referred to as MKS impressions), (B) contextual obstruction and (C) attributed communicative status. Including the assumption dealing with goal fulfilment in testing will mean treating the two facets of the assumption (effectiveness and appropriateness) as the following variables: (D) effectiveness and (E) appropriateness.

Involving the proposition dealing with contextual expectancies in testing will be slightly more complex. The contextual expectancy proposition in the *episodic system* is as follows: A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S IMPRESSIONS OF A CI'S COMPETENCE ARE A FUNCTION OF A CI'S FULFILMENT OF A SERVICE PROVIDER'S AND SERVICE RECIPIENT'S CONTEXTUAL EXPECTANCIES. As shown by Figure 7, the contextual expectancy proposition in the CIC model covers five constructs, (i) positive expectancies, (ii) negative expectancies, (iii) prototype expectancies, (iv) normative reciprocity of positive affect and compensation of negative affect and (v) compensation of power relations between interactants. These constructs concern expectations regarding a CI's behaviour in a context which can be perceived along the three EPA dimensions (evaluation, potency and activity). Thus, if a CI fulfils an interactant's positive expectancies in a situation that this interactant perceives as friendly (evaluation), fruitful (potency) and hectic (activity), the CI's behaviour is likely to positively affect this interactant's impressions of the CI's competence. However, one of the deficiencies of the EPA dimensions lies in their generality; for example, *evaluation* can in fact cover *potency* and *activity*, since 'fruitful' and 'hectic' concern evaluation in a similar way as 'friendly' does. Thus, although the validity of the EPA dimensions has been established over years, their weakness surfaces when it comes to proposing more specific variables related to these dimensions.

The problem with application of the EPA dimensions to social phenomena has also been recognised by Spitzberg and Brunner (1991:31), who claim that although the EPA dimensions 'are supported by research and appear to have considerable generality, they are

easier to apply to non-social objects than to processual relations in a relational context'. In other words, Spitzberg and Brunner (1991) argue that there is an alternative way of looking at the dimensions relating to expectancies in a social encounter. The two scholars point to contributions by Wish *et al.* (1980) and Wish and Kaplan (1977), who originally established a set of five dimensions along which a perception of the context can develop:

1. cooperation–competition
2. intense–superficial
3. task orientation–non-task orientation
4. formal–informal
5. dominance–equality

As defined in one of the original contributions establishing these dimensions (Wish 1976), the first dimension was established on the basis of such qualifications of interaction as compatible vs. incompatible goals and desires, friendly vs. hostile, harmonious vs. clashing etc, which seems to correspond to *evaluation* from EPA. The second dimension, corresponding to *activity*, refers to 'the level of intensity, activity, or involvement in the relation' (Wish 1976:315). The third dimension will be regarded as a constant value rather than a variable and will be discarded, since all the interpreted interaction will be assumed to be task-oriented. The next dimension refers to a general perception of the meeting between formal and informal. Finally, the last one covers such perceptions as equal vs. unequal power, democratic vs. autocratic, etc. (Wish 1976:313-314) and this one is similar to *potency*. Therefore, the alternative way of looking at contextual dimensions does not undermine but enhances the EPA dimensions.

Given the modification discussed above, the context in testing the overarching expectancy principle will be assumed to develop along the following four dimensions:

1. cooperation–competition
2. intense–superficial
3. formal–informal
4. dominance–equality

The four dimensions along which the context can be perceived will be used as the variables (F, G, H, I) related to the contextual expectancy proposition to be included in testing the overarching expectancy principle. The group of the four variables will be referred to as *social context* to distinguish it from the four dimensional context of the CIC model (*culture*,

place, relations and purpose), which determines the expectancies of individuals entering a CI-mediated encounter.

Table 5 includes the overarching expectancy principle to be tested, the three aspects of the CIC model and corresponding variables.

OVERARCHING EXPECTANCY PRINCIPLE:		
Impressions of a CI's competence are a function of a CI's fulfilment of interactants' expectancies in relation to the following aspects of the CIC model:		
Proposition:	Assumption:	Proposition:
<p>A CI's communicative status affects a service provider's and service recipient's impressions of a CI's competence.</p> <p>Variables connected with communicative status:</p> <p>Variable (A): MKS impressions</p> <p>Variable (B): contextual obstruction</p> <p>Variable (C): attributed communicative status</p>	<p>CI competence is perceived effectiveness and appropriateness.</p> <p>Variables connected with goal fulfilment:</p> <p>Variable (D): effectiveness</p> <p>Variable (E): appropriateness</p>	<p>Impression of a CI's competence are a function of a CI's fulfilment of interactants' contextual expectancies.</p> <p>Variables connected with social context:</p> <p>Variable (F): cooperation–competition</p> <p>Variable (G): intense–superficial</p> <p>Variable (H): formal–informal</p> <p>Variable (I): dominance–equality</p>

Table 5. Variables in groups included in testing the overarching expectancy principle.

Therefore, testing the overarching principle will involve gauging interactant's expectancy fulfilment within the three groups of variables. The communicative status group will involve three variables, which concern an interactant's impressions triggered by a CI's application of their motivation, knowledge and skills (variable A), a CI's resolution of possible situational difficulties (variable B) and an extant communicative status attributed to a CI by interactants (variable C). The second group will involve a CI's contribution to an interactant's goal fulfilment (variable D) and appropriateness of a CI's behaviour (variable E). The last group will deal with a CI's behaviour in a social context perceived by interactants along variables F - I.

3.2 Methodological issues in intercultural communication

Spitzberg and Cupach's (1984) development of the model of interpersonal communication competence marks not only one of the first steps towards creating the ICC model (Spitzberg 2009) but also crucial advances in addressing the methodological aspects of researching communication competence. One of the essential assumptions addressed by

Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) is that communication competence is the matter of social evaluation. This gives rise to the question as to who should be evaluating competence: those who are actually engaged in interaction or third-party observers? Clearly in favour of the former, both scholars argue that

[...] the judgement of competence made by a third-party observer lacks the relationship-specific knowledge that would inform such judgements for the interactants. Communicators possess a distinct perceptual position as well as personal and relational data to rely upon in assessing the conversational competence of self and other. An interactant is the only person who knows whether his or her conversational objectives were achieved, and the conversational partner is in the best position to know whether such goals were obtained via appropriate interaction.

(Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:94)

As discussed in Chapter II, Spitzberg and Cupach's (1984) assumption that communication competence is related to social judgement is also one of the underlying assumptions of the CIC model. Therefore, any party evaluating a CI's competence in a given encounter will actually need to be part of this encounter rather than a third-party observer. By contrast a third-party observer, as a result of their de-contextualised position, would disregard one of the most crucial communicative aspects that determine perceptions of competence, i.e. effectiveness. For this reason, the method to be chosen for testing the overarching expectancy principle will focus on evaluations by actual participants of triadic exchanges. This will include a CI, which is why the formulation of the overarching expectancy principle refers to 'interactants' instead of 'service receiver' and 'service provider' This approach will ensure access to all the groups of variables (*communicative status, goal fulfilment and social context*) and to all participants, whose expectancy fulfilment in relation to these variables will be gauged.

Another issue addressed by Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) concerns the discrepancy between the two perspectives from which competence tends to be perceived: the cognitive perspective and the behavioural perspective. Those who favour the behavioural perspective argue that an individual is said to have a skill if they are able to produce behaviour that represents this skill; by contrast, those who support the cognitive perspective focus on the perceptions of behaviour rather than behaviour itself (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:95-96). The scholars argue that focusing only on one perspective seriously undermines the validity of research in communication and that encompassing both specific instances of behaviour and perceptions of interactants needs to be considered. Therefore, the method chosen for data collection in this thesis will attempt to cover both the cognitive perspective and the behavioural perspective, although the cognitive

perspective will be given priority on the grounds that, as stated in section 2.4 in Chapter II, the CIC model treats competence in terms of individual impressions

This discussion does not end at this point, since the selection of relevant methodology must be determined by the way communication competence is defined and conceptualised (Lustig and Spitzberg 1993). For example, if competence is treated as a synonym of *ability*, it is knowledge of skilled performance rather than manifestation of skilled performance that is required (e.g. McCroskey 1982). By contrast, if competence is perceived as '[a] *skill* conceived as a repeatable goal-oriented sequence of actions' (Argyle 1981), actual behaviour will be evaluated. Furthermore, those who investigate competence in terms of *effectiveness* will consider the perception of goal fulfilment (e.g. Parks 1985); finally, scholars analysing competence as centred around *appropriateness* (e.g. Hymes 1972) will explore the subjective impressions of interactants in social contexts. As stated in section 3.1, testing will revolve around expectancy-based impressions of competence arising from perception and evaluation of a CI's performance. For this reason, the combination of the conceptualisations offered above will be required, i.e. it will cover perception of a CI's skilled, knowledgeable and motivated performance which contributes to an interactant's goal fulfilment and which complies with an interactant's perception of a context.

Among other issues concerning methodology a question arises as to whether competence is perceived in terms of state or in terms of trait. State-oriented approaches 'assume that competence is reflected in a particular communication episode rather than in behavioral tendencies across events or contexts' (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:85). On the other hand, trait-oriented approaches treat competence 'as a function of an individual's self-reported tendency to perform certain communicative behaviors across communication situations' (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:85). Furthermore, as far as state-oriented approaches are concerned, one can distinguish between assessment at the molar level, concerned with an overall impression resulting from given behaviour (for example, *she was trustworthy*), and at the molecular level addressing given behaviour (for example, *she asked me questions*) (Spitzberg and Cupach 1984:110-111). The methodology to be applied in this research will focus on the state-oriented one. This is due to the fact that if the trait-oriented approach were adopted in this project, the CIC model would have to allow for the *relational system*; because testing the CIC model within the *relational system* would exceed the scope of the project, the model focuses on single episodes of CI-mediated encounters, and for this reason the approach to competence as a state will dominate. As discussed in Chapter II, viewing competence as state rather than trait necessitates taking into account the distinction between the molecular level of competence

evaluation (i.e. reference to specific actions, e.g. 'She helped me to solve the problem') and its molar level (i.e. reference to impressions generated by specific actions, e.g. 'She was helpful'). This will be accomplished in a similar way adopted for resolving the issue between the cognitive and the behavioural view of competence, i.e. wherever possible, the method to be chosen for data collection will accommodate both molar and molecular impressions of competence.

3.3 Review of data-collection instruments

In interpreting studies, data-collection tools seem to vary, depending on the study. For example, Pöchhacker (2000), who explores CIs' and service providers' perceptions of an interpreter's tasks, applied a questionnaire comprising a list of a CI's potential tasks to be chosen by respondents as the closest ones to their perception. In another study, Maltby (2008), who investigates interpreting and translation policies in the selected UK institutions, used the interview to elicit relevant staff's understanding of company policies. The same tool was used by Anker (1991) cited by Inghilleri (2003), who discusses her model of norms in interpreting activity.

As for data-collection tools in intercultural communication studies, Spitzberg (1988) divides them into self-reference measures (eliciting an actor's self-assessment of their behaviour) and other-reference-measures (relating to an actor's assessment of a co-actor's communicative behaviour). His review of the methods points to surveys as the main data collection tool. The respondent is asked to express their level of agreement to a given statement by putting their answer on a Likert-type response format, which contains five items, from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' (Spitzberg 1988:92). This method presents both possibilities and limitations; on the one hand, questionnaires are easy in terms of application, i.e. it is less taxing and time-consuming for a participant to fill in a questionnaire in comparison with asking them to agree to an interview, which may take much more time and can be found intimidating if recorded. However, although a researcher may find this tool more practical, proving validity of results obtained from data gathered by means of surveys can be fairly challenging. First of all, the number of subjects needs to be relatively high for the results to reach statistical validity. While it may be relatively easy in the case of researching dyadic interaction, finding an equally large number of triadic encounters is still possible but likely to take much more time. Secondly, because questionnaires tend consist of box-ticking and gap-filling, they always pose a risk that subjects will approach them too lightly and complete the questions without considering them seriously. Finally, if questionnaires are administered to a subject who does not speak English and who, effectively, deals with translated questions, a researcher

has little, if any, opportunity for verifying if the way a subject understood a question fulfils the researcher's aims.

Another data collection instrument is an interview, which has some disadvantages connected with its application in practice; it normally takes more time than a questionnaire, which may result in a potential subject's reluctance to participate; furthermore, subjects may also resist being interviewed if audio or video recording is involved. However, there are some advantages that seem to outweigh the drawbacks and that make an interview more suitable for the current project. Asking questions to a subject during an interview, as well as asking for clarification if necessary, provide an opportunity for deeper insight into the substance of a subject matter, which means that the number of subjects could be relatively lower. An opportunity to ask additional questions is especially important in the case of conducting cross-cultural research, which, by the force of events, entails approaching individuals from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Even if a researcher realised in the middle of an interview that their subject is not speaking to the point, the researcher could ask additional question to clarify this point for the subject. Finally, the fact that a researcher engages in an actual interaction with their subject during an interview increases the likelihood of this subject to be more committed to a task due to a personal aspect of the process, i.e. the researcher's actual involvement in data collection.

Developments in social research methods have resulted in numerous types of interviews, some of which include *structured interview*, *standardized interview*, *intensive interview*, *semi-structured interview*, *structured interview*, *qualitative interview*, *in-depth interview* and *oral history interview* (Bryman 2001:110). One of the criteria for organising these types into coherent groups is by degree of structure (Minichiello et al 1990:89), as presented in Table 6:

Degree of structure	Interview types
<p style="text-align: center;">High</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↑</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Medium</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Low</p>	<p>Structured interviews Standardized interviews Survey interviews Clinical history taking</p> <p>In-depth interviews Survey interviews Group interviews</p> <p>Clinical interviews Oral or life history interviews Group interviews</p>

Table 6. Typology of interviews (adapted from Minichiello *et al* (1990:89))

Drawing on the above continuum and despite the fact that it seems relatively difficult to draw a clear-cut line between particular types of interviews, a number of social research scholars, such as May (2001), Benney and Hughes (1984), Fielding (1988) and Bryman (2001) have distinguished among four most discrete types of interview: structured interview, semi-structured interview, unstructured interview and group/focus interview.

The basic premise of structured interviews lies in the perceived neutrality of an interviewer during an interviewing process and the implications of this premise. Consequently, an interviewer asks a specific number of questions ‘in the same way so that any differences between answers are held to be real ones and the result of the interview situation itself’ (May 2001:121). Moreover, questions are asked in the same order and there is no room for paraphrasing them, since this might breach a principle of standardisation governing this method (Benney and Hughes 1984).

Similarly to the structured interview, the semi-structured interview has a certain uniformity in its organisation of relevant questions, which are asked in the same or similar manner to every single interviewee participating in the project. This type of interview, however, differs from the previous one in allowing certain flexibility on an interviewer’s part and, consequently, on an interviewee’s part. This implies an interviewer’s more considerable ‘latitude to *probe* beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewee’ (May 2001:123). As a result, while an interviewer should adhere to the main structure of the interview, they have some room to respond to the content of the answers provided as long as the consequent and supposedly brief interaction does not deviate too considerably from the main theme of the interview (Bryman 2001:314).

The unstructured interview entails an interviewer’s direct involvement in the process of obtaining information from interviewees. Otherwise expressed, unlike in the case of structured interviews and semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews assume an interviewer’s active engagement in a dialogue with an interviewee, who is allowed to ‘answer questions within their own frame of reference’ (May 2001:124). One of the implications of this method is an interviewer’s ability to build rapport with interviewees as to generate them to speak about their own experiences, emotions and opinions in their own terms (Simeoni and Diani 1995).

As for the group/focus interview, it can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured (Punch 2005) and involves an interviewer engaging in an open discussion about the topic in question with a group of interviewees, typically in the number between eight and twelve, even though there is no prescriptive limit as to how many interviewees can participate in this type of interview (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990). The difference between the group interview and the focus interview lies in the type of interaction among

all participants. While in the case of the group interview, the interaction is more organised, since it involves answering questions of each person in turn (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999), during the focus interview participants are encouraged to enter actual conversations with one another.

3.4 Data-collection method for the CIC model

Because of the way in which CI competence is conceptualised in this thesis (as discussed in section 3.2), testing the overarching expectancy principle requires a method that compromises between structured and unstructured interview. Although the questionnaire was the most common tool used by Spitzberg (1988), it entails at least two limitations: a necessity to involve a relatively large number of participants to achieve statistical validity and a lack of provision of latitude in probing an interactant's opinions, which seems to demand a more interactive tool than the questionnaire.

Group/focus interviews will be ruled out as well, since its inapplicability lies in the fact that the interviewees would be asked to share their impressions of a CI's competence with other interviewees, which might be intimidating if, for example, a service recipient would like to share some unfavourable opinion regarding a service provider. Moreover, another obvious limitation of this tool is the lack of a common language. The three interactants would be unable to discuss any topics, since the service provider's and the service recipient's inability to communicate with one another is the reason why an interpreter is asked to mediate in the first place.

Slightly more dilemmas need to be handled when one considers choosing among structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Although unstructured interviews allow for variety that is inextricably connected with cross-cultural studies, this instrument requires the researcher to build a relevant rapport with a given interviewee to ensure the depth of an interviewer's probing into an interviewee's impressions. Given that each interpreter-mediated interaction will be followed by three interviews, a time issue comes into play, i.e. a lengthy interview with one of the interactants may discourage the other two from waiting for their turn, especially in the case of a CI who is often paid by the hour and who may have to be on their way to another assignment. Second, the model involves addressing specific aspects and variables that have been shown to contribute to an individual's impression of a CI's competence in intercultural communication. Allowing interviewees to speak freely about their experience with a CI poses a risk of the discussion deviating from the specific aspects that need to be elicited for the model to be tested. On the other hand, structured interviews allow an interviewer to precisely formulate questions eliciting competence impressions. However, as has been noticed earlier in this chapter,

reliance on exact formulation of the questions may be ineffective when applied to cross-cultural studies which involve not only translation of questions into another language but also referring to concepts and values that may have a different status and position in a given culture.

These considerations point to the semi-structured interview as the optimal tool for collecting the relevant data. On the one hand, the interview will feature uniform and standardized questions that will address the variables that are assumed to contribute to the overall impression of a CI's competence. On the other hand, apart from a structured interaction resulting from asking the same (and translated if necessary) questions to each participant, interviewees will be provided with room for clarification and elaboration. It follows that an interviewee will be able to ask for clarification to ensure their full understanding of the translated questions and the interviewer will have the opportunity to explore further the interviewee's answers, should that be deemed necessary.

Following the choice of a semi-structured interview as a tool for data collection, one of the issues that need resolving is when this interview should be conducted, i.e. before or after an interpreted event, or both. One plausible solution would be to gather data from participants before and after an interpreted event. The questions asked before would elicit positive and negative expectancies that a participant entertains prior to an interpreted event, while the questions asked after this event would ask the participant about the degree to which the expectancies mentioned in the first interview have been fulfilled. Nevertheless, this approach demonstrates several limitations. To start with, time constraints have to be taken into consideration, i.e. it is very unlikely for all three participants to be at the researcher's disposal both before and after an interpreted event. An additional discouraging factor for participants asked to be interviewed prior to a session can be their anxiety caused by the nature of a meeting, for example, if it takes place in clinical settings and concerns health problems; by contrast, once the session has finished, the participants' possible anxiety may be relieved, which will considerably increase their motivation to contribute to the project. Another problem in conducting interviews before a session lies in the fact that the questions may unnecessarily make participants think about answers they will want to give after the session. This, in turn, may result in their impressions and the way they word those impressions being distorted, whereas testing aims to interfere as little as possible not only with what the participants say but also how they express their impressions. It is the latter feature which tends to reveal how an interactant views a CI's competence and what expectancies they entertain towards a CI. All these factors clearly indicate that the most suitable time for administering the interview is as soon after a CI-mediated session as possible, as this will allow the researcher to infer participants' impressions based on their

relatively recent experience, which will enable them to both speak about the fulfilment of their expectancies and support their impressions with specific examples from a session.

In concluding this discussion, it seems worth mentioning why the current methodology will ignore one of the most common data-collection methods applied in interpreting studies, i.e. conversation (audio/video) recording and discourse analysis. While this method is recognised as one of the most effective in interpreting studies research involving a number of aspects, such as linguistic, communicative, verbal/non-verbal behaviour, etc, the method is not appropriate for answering the research questions which deal with competence as perception and evaluation of performance rather than actual performance. Otherwise expressed, the assumptions of the CIC model are strongly related to individual and subjective judgements, perceptions and impressions entertained by those involved in the interaction. It implies that recording what actually happens during a given CI-mediated interaction seems to be fairly irrelevant given that the focus of the project is to explore impressions of competence as perceived by specific individuals, especially since the same behaviour may seem more competent to one interactant and less competent to another.

3.5 Interview content and structure

Before the content and structure of the interview are elaborated on, it is necessary to discuss a few general points concerning operationalisation, i.e. the way in which the interview enabled lay people (interactants) to talk about their impressions and expectancy fulfilment so that the researcher can relate their account to the variables. One of the ways to ensure this is to use jargon-free formulations of relevant questions, as will be seen in the explanation of the interview questions below.

Piloting the interview questions led to a further conclusion which is that participants find it much easier to answer the questions if these follow a transition from general and simple to specific and complex. This transition will be reflected in the following way; questions will start with the groups of variables concerning *communicative status*, since it has much in common with expressing their general opinion of a CI's performance, which participants have always been eager to answer. This will be followed by elicitation of *goal fulfilment* variables, which may be more taxing for respondents, since they need to think about their aims of a CI-mediated meeting and reflect on a CI's contribution to these aims. The last group of variables, covered by *social context*, seemed to be the most difficult ones because respondents are asked to describe CI-mediated interaction in specific terms given by the researcher; for this reason, this group of questions comes last.

The order of questions appeared to be important within specific variables as well. In most of the questions, and especially in the case of probing expectancy fulfilment related to social context, a given set of questions starts with a general one, which serves as a lead-in question. By contrast, a question about expectancy fulfilment always comes last in each group. Although it is a *yes-no* question, which sounds very easy to answer, the reason for placing it as the last one is for a respondent to understand what a given variable concerns. Thus, the most common order of questions within each variable is as follows: a general question, a question about general impression (molar aspect), a question about examples of behaviour (molecular aspect) and a question about expectancy fulfilment.

Each variable is addressed with one main (core) question, which is followed up by more detailed questions. Except for few instances, the follow-up questions have a similar function in the majority of variables, i.e. asking an interviewee to support their (molar) opinions with concrete (molecular) examples. This helps an interviewer to see if the question has been understood properly and makes it possible for them to re-formulate a question if necessary. Another type of follow-up question in this interview is the question about the fulfilment of expectancies in relation to a specific variable.

The interviews with participants are conducted in their native language. This decision has been made on the assumption that most service providers and service recipients will speak only one language, which is why an interpreter's mediation is required. As for interviews conducted by the researcher with interpreters, although both are able to speak English and Polish, interviews will be conducted in their native Polish, which can be justified by the fact that Polish interpreters will be able to refer to their personal and individual perceptions more accurately if they are allowed to express themselves in their own cultural and linguistic terms.

The content of the semi-structured interview conducted with service providers, service recipients and interpreters will be determined by the variables in Table 5, while the questions to be asked to service providers and service receivers are presented in Table 7 (the Polish version of the questions to be asked to service recipients and to CIs is included in Appendix 1).

	Variable	Questions
Communicative status	MKS impressions: variable (A)	Can you tell me about the interpreter's work in this session? How did s/he perform in your opinion?A ₁ . What makes you think that's the case?A ₂ . Did you expect them to perform that way?A ₃ . How could their performance be improved?
	Contextual obstruction: variable (B)	Do you think the situation posed any difficulty for the interpreter's job? (if yes)B ₁ . How do you think she handled this difficulty?B ₂ . Did you expect the interpreter to deal with this difficulty in this way?
	Attributed communicative status: variable (C)	In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?
Goal fulfilment	Effectiveness: variable (D)	What was your goal in this session?D ₁ . Did you achieve your goal?D ₂ . Did the interpreter help you to do that?D ₃ . Did you expect the interpreter to help you do so?
	Appropriateness: variable (E)	Can you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this particular situation?E ₁ . Do you think the interpreter behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?E ₂ . Could you give any examples of the behaviour like that?E ₃ . Did you expect behaviour like that from the interpreter?
Social context	Cooperation–competition: variable (F)	What was the spirit or atmosphere during the meeting?F ₁ . Would you say this spirit was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?F ₂ . How did you expect the interpreter to behave in that atmosphere?F ₃ . Did s/he do as you expected?
	Intense–superficial: variable (G)	Did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?G ₁ . Did you sense emotional detachment or emotional involvement or something in between during the meeting?G ₂ . How did you expect the interpreter to behave in this situationG ₃ . Did s/he do as you expected?
	Formal–informal: variable (H)	Can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?H ₁ . Would you say it was more formal or informal or something in between?H ₂ . How did you expect the interpreter to behave in this situation?H ₃ . Did s/he do as you expected?
	Dominance–equality: variable (I)	Who seemed most/least dominant during the encounter?I ₁ . How did you expect the interpreter to behave in the situation dominated by [participant]?I ₂ . Did s/he do as you expected?
	General elicitation of negative (positive) expectancies	Before the meeting, did you have any fears or concerns (positive feelings) or any kind of negative (positive) expectations regarding any aspect of the session (outcome, interpreter's performance, situation itself)? Did those fears come true? (Were those positive expectations fulfilled?)
	General impression of a CI's competence	In terms of overall assessment, how would you grade the interpreter's competence on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is very incompetent and 10 is very competent?

Table 7. Other-reference interview questions

The first three variables (A, B and C) concern a CI's communicative status.

Variable (A) refers to impressions of a CI's motivation, knowledge and skills, as perceived

by an interactant in a single episode of a CI-mediated session. The questions asked to interactants is as follows: ‘Can you tell me about the interpreter’s work in this session? How did s/he perform in your opinion?’. The question uses the verb ‘perform’ and it is preceded by a ‘user-friendly’ lead-in question about the interpreter’s work, which not only renders this way of asking the participants to express their opinion much more familiar but also creates the impression that the questions to follow will not be difficult. In this question, Variable (A) is operationalised by referring to a CI’s performance. The choice of ‘compressing’ those impressions of a CI’s motivation, knowledge and skills into a single concept of ‘performance’ has been triggered by at least two factors. First, understanding a distinction between skills and knowledge may be unclear, as it is even in academia. Therefore, a question eliciting two sets of impressions regarding a CI’s both skills and knowledge respectively would not yield satisfactory results because formulating a question that clearly addresses two distinct types of impressions is virtually impossible. Second, in Spitzberg’s (2009) model motivation, knowledge and skills are three separate constructs at the level of the *individual system*, but at the level of the *episodic system* impressions of motivation, knowledge and skills are treated as one construct. This may indicate that Spitzberg (2009) thinks of the nature of those three constructs in a different way when it comes to discussing their instantiation in an actual episode of intercultural communication. Since the CIC model, to a large extent, follows the logic of the ICC model, the instantiation of a CI’s motivation, knowledge and skills will be operationalised as impressions of a CI’s interpreting performance.

A follow-up request for justification (A₁) (Table 7) aims at stimulating an interviewee to justify their judgement. This should result in an interviewee providing specific examples, which will give evidence for assertions of negative or positive impressions regarding an interpreter’s competence. Following that, the (A₂) question elicits whether the interpreter’s behaviour within variable (A) complies with an interactant’s expectancies. This is achieved by asking a *yes-no* question about the expectancy fulfilment in relation to examples of an interpreter’s behaviour given by an interactant. The last of the follow-up questions (A₃) addresses a fulfilment of an interactant’s prototype expectancies. This is operationalised by eliciting ideas of possible improvement to a CI’s performance. The (A₃) question has a similar function to (A₁), since both encourage an interviewee to express their views about an interpreter’s performance. Of all variables, this is the only instance where prototype expectancies are addressed. This is determined by the fact that although it has been said before that a CI’s performance is a result of skills, knowledge and motivation put into practice and that interactants would most likely have difficulty distinguishing between skills and knowledge, it is still possible for some interactants to

notice that a given CI, who makes an impression of being skilled and knowledgeable seems to lack enthusiasm (i.e. motivation). Therefore, since motivation, knowledge and skills have been ‘compressed’ into performance, the question addressing prototype expectancies is an opportunity for interactants to elaborate on the variable that is more complex than all others.

Variable (B) refers to a tendency for participants of a CI-mediated encounter to give a higher credit to a CI who has had to deal with some obstacles or unfavourable circumstances in the course of interpretation. The core question, which aims to check if, in an interactant’s opinion, a CI was forced to deal with unfavourable circumstances, operationalises *contextual obstruction* as ‘difficulties’. Although the variable itself refers to ‘contextual obstruction’, the core question purposefully refers to ‘difficulties’, since the both adjective and noun specifying the variable are too technical and would confuse interactants. If the answer to this question is affirmative, the two follow-up questions seek the assessment of handling the circumstances (B_1) and compliance of a CI’s actions directed at overcoming them with an interviewee’s expectancies (B_2). Unlike variable (A), this one addresses specific (molecular) behaviour, since it concerns a particular instance of behaviour increasing competence impressions, i.e. whether or not a CI handled contextual difficulty in a way expected by an interactant.

Variable (C), which refers to *attributed communicative status*, is elicited by means of a question addressing a ‘reputation of an interpreting profession’ or ‘general opinion of interpreters’. These two phrases turned out to be most useful in making an interactant discuss their attitude to and opinion on interpreters, which, in turn, reveals the status that a CI enjoyed when they entered a specific interaction with given interactants. The core question is not followed by any other questions regarding expectancy fulfilment, since it is treated as a reinforcement and confirmation of an interactant’s general opinion of a CI.

The next two variables are subsumed under goal fulfilment. Variable (D) refers to *effectiveness*, which is elicited in terms of a CI’s contribution to an interactant’s goal fulfilment. The core question asks an interactant to state their goal in a session. The first follow-up (D_1) enquires about the fulfilment of this goal. The next follow-up (D_2) question seeks confirmation of a CI’s contribution to this goal achievement. Finally, (D_3) enquires about fulfilment of expectancies regarding a CI’s contribution to an interactant’s goal fulfilment. The reason why *effectiveness* is addressed in this variable as a CI’s help to an interactant’s goal achievement is that employing such a question as ‘Was the interpreter effective?’ in pilot interviews generated answers relating to an overall quality of a CI’s performance. This, in turn, forced the researcher to spend additional time on focusing an interactant’s attention on a CI’s contribution the outcome pursued by an interactant.

By contrast, the core question addressing variable (E), *appropriateness*, is more general, as it asks an interactant to comment on a CI's appropriateness. The question has a two-fold function. On the one hand, it immediately follows the set of questions eliciting *effectiveness* to ascertain whether an interactant is able to comment on their expectancy fulfilment as to the appropriateness of a CI's behaviour contributing to goal achievement. On the other hand, it is a lead-in for the following four variables dealing with a CI's behaviour in a context perceived in terms of four dimensions. The core question, which asks an interactant to comment on the appropriateness of a CI's behaviour, is of a general nature on purpose. Piloting this question has disclosed that making it more specific, as in 'Can you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour in their contribution to the pursuit of your goal?', poses difficulties for interactants to process it, let alone provide examples. For this reason, once the core question has been asked, it is followed by an optional (E₁) question, which elicits whether a CI's behaviour was perceived as more or less appropriate, and which is asked if an interactant has problems answering the core question. The (E₂) question elicits examples of a CI's behaviour, which is followed by (E₃) asking about compliance of the CI's behaviour with an interactant's expectancies.

The last four variables refer to *social context* perceived along the four dimensions and a CI's fulfilment of expectancies arising from perception of this context. Variable (F) refers to the cooperation–competition continuum concerning the perception of the mood prevailing during an encounter. The researcher's inference starts with a general request for an interactant to describe a mood prevailing during a CI-mediated interaction, which focuses an interactant's attention on this aspect. The following question (F₁) provides an interactant with a continuum with three points of reference 'cooperation', 'conflict' and 'in-between' with a view to asking them to place their description on an imaginary axis. It is worth paying attention that the 'competition' part of the abstract continuum is operationalised as 'conflict', which is both more familiar to a lay person and sufficiently similar to 'competition'. This is followed by the question (F₂) asking an interactant to state their expectancies entertained of a CI acting in a situation described by them in the previous question. Following that, the question (F₃) elicits expectancy fulfilment.

The next variable, (G), deals with the perception of a sense of emotional involvement in or detachment from interaction prevailing during a session. The core question focuses an interactant's attention on emotionality by asking them about signs of emotions that may have appeared during a CI-mediated session. Following that, the question (G₁) provides an interactant with an imaginary axis involving the following three points of reference, i.e. 'emotional detachment', 'emotional involvement' and 'something

in between' and asks them which kind of 'involvement' they sensed. When a participant has identified the type of involvement prevailing during a session, the question (G₂) asks them to state their expectancies of a CI who acted in a situation described by the interactant in the previous question. Once an interactant has done so, question (G₃) elicits expectancy fulfilment.

Variable (H) concerns the register in which the conversation unfolds. The core question asks an interactant to comment on the formality of the session. Since 'formality' may be a less familiar word to some respondents, the follow-up question (H₁) provides them with an imaginary axis involving three points of reference: 'formal', 'informal' and 'in the middle'. When they have described this aspect of a CI-mediated session, the follow-up question (H₂) elicits their expectancies regarding a CI's behaviour in thus described situation. Following that, expectancy fulfilment is inferred by question (H₃).

Variable (I) refers to power relations during a CI-mediated encounter. The core question asks an interactant who seemed to be the most or the least dominant during a CI-mediated encounter. Once a dominating party has been identified, question (I₁) is asked to an interactant about their expectancies of a CI performing in a situation dominated by the individual referred to earlier. After an interactant has expressed their expectancies, their fulfilment is elicited by question (I₂).

Following the elicitation of expectancy fulfilment in relation to the nine variables, a general question is asked about an interactant's negative expectancies, which in this question are referred to as 'fears', 'concerns' and 'negative expectations' with a view to avoiding using 'expectancies', which is a technical term. If an interactant is able to identify negative expectancies, a question is asked about their fulfilment or violation. The aim of the question is of a two-fold nature. First, it establishes whether an interactant's impressions of a CI's competence may have been positively influenced by a CI's violation of an interactant's negative expectancies or negatively influenced by a CI's fulfilment of negative expectancies. Second, the question will rule out a scenario in which an interactant entertained negative expectancies but never referred to them in the interview. If it turns out in the course of an interview that an interactant has discussed mostly negative expectancies, the valence of the question will be reverted, as in 'Before the meeting, did you have any positive feelings or any kind of positive expectations regarding any aspect of the session (outcome, interpreter's performance, situation itself)?', followed by 'Were these positive expectancies fulfilled'.

The last question in the interview provides a pseudo-objective numeric scale for an interviewee so as to enable them to express their general judgement of a CI's competence based on the interaction that an interviewee has just participated in. The aim of the last

question is to make an interviewee express their judgement in form of a numeral, which will be a crucial point for the analysis in seeking correspondence between expectancy fulfilment and competence impression.

The rationale of questions for interviewing a CI (self-reference questions) is the same as for service providers and service recipients, except that some of the questions are reformulated in such a way as to seek a CI's self-assessment and the interview will be conducted in Polish (Polish version of the questions is included in Appendix 1), as shown in Table 8.

	Variable	Question
Communicative status	MKS impressions: variable (A)	Can you tell me about your performance in this session? How did it go in your opinion?A ₁ . What makes you think that's the case?A ₂ . Did you expect yourself to perform that way?A ₃ . How could your performance be improved?
	Contextual obstruction: variable (B)	Do you think the situation posed any difficulty for your job? (if yes)B ₁ . How did you handle this difficulty?B ₂ . Did you expect yourself to deal with this difficulty in this way?
	Attributed communicative status: variable (C)	In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?
Goal fulfilment	Effectiveness: variable (D)	What was your goal in this session?D ₁ . Did you achieve your goal?D ₂ . Did you expect yourself to do achieve that?
	Appropriateness: variable (E)	Can you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour for this particular situation?E ₁ . Do you think you behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?E ₂ . Could you give any examples of the behaviour like that?E ₃ . Did you expect behaviour like that from yourself?
	Cooperation–competition: variable (F)	What was the spirit or atmosphere during the meeting?F ₁ . Would you say this spirit was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?F ₂ . How did you expect yourself to behave in that situation?F ₃ . Did you do as you expected?
Social context	Intense–superficial: variable (G)	Did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?G ₁ . Did you sense emotional detachment or emotional involvement or something in between during the meeting?G ₂ . How did you expect yourself to behave in this situationG ₃ . Did you do as you expected?
	Formal–informal: variable (H)	Can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?H ₁ . Would you say it was more formal or informal or something in between?H ₂ . How did you expect yourself to behave in this situation?H ₃ . Did you do as you expected?
	Dominance–equality: variable (I)	Who seemed most/least dominant during the encounter?I ₁ . How did you expect yourself to behave in the situation dominated by (participant)?I ₂ . Did you do as you expected??
	General elicitation of negative (positive) expectancies	Before the meeting, did you have any fears or concerns (positive feelings) or any kind of negative (positive) expectations regarding any aspect of the session, like outcome, your performance, situation itself? Did those fears come true? (Were those positive expectations fulfilled?)
	General impression of a CI's competence	In terms of overall assessment, how would you grade your competence on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is very incompetent and 10 is very competent?

Table 8. Self-reference interview questions

As stated above, the logic of asking a CI the questions of impressions based on their own performance is the same as in the previous interview, except that this time, the questions aim at an interpreter's self-evaluation in terms of the ten variables. This is based on the assumption that, similarly to a service provider and service user, a CI has some

impressions of their own competence stemming from their own performance during their participation in a particular episode of intercultural communication. One of the differences between the two sets of questions lies in the inference of variable (D), i.e. while service providers and service recipients are asked about a CI's contribution to their goals, CIs will be asked about fulfilment of their own goals. Another difference is that a CI will be asked if they have fulfilled the expectancies they entertained of themselves.

The design of the interview is a result of the compromise due to a number of restrictions, i.e. little time at participants' disposal (especially service providers), participants' unwillingness to take part in lengthy interviews, patients' anxiety caused by their circumstances, etc. For this reason, the interview design poses certain limitations. The main one is connected with its high degree of 'structuredness', i.e. a pattern of nine variables elicited in an easily recognisable manner, comprising a main question, followed by a clarifying question and expectancy fulfilment question. This means that participants, who quickly recognise this pattern (especially the recurrence of a yes-no question at the end of each variable) are likely to provide brief answers when revealing their impressions of CI competence. Another issue is that most of the questions elicit specific information and do not allow a participant to elaborate on their answers, which is connected with the researcher's aim to address all the nine variables. Following that, the size and volume of the dataset gathered is limited, which may slightly affect the validity of conclusions, as recognised in section 3.6.

3.6 Approach to data collection and analysis

The interviews will be conducted with participants who fulfil the following criteria; a service provider will be an English-speaking individual employed by a UK-based institution offering a legitimate service of any nature; a service recipient will be a Polish-speaking member of the public who wants or needs to use the service and who is unable to do so due to their inability to communicate in English; a CI will be an individual who works as a CI in a professional capacity, whether part-time, full-time, self-employed, etc. In this study, all CIs are native speakers of Polish.

In a process of data collection, the researcher has followed the procedures set out by the School's ethics committee, which stipulate providing potential participants with an information sheet describing the study and giving them an opportunity to ask questions about it. The researcher also followed the procedure requiring him to seek written consent prior to conducting an interview. The process of data collection entailed the researcher cooperating with interpreters who alerted him to possible CI-mediated meetings.

There are a number of issues that need to be addressed with regard to the application of the above interviews in actual settings. First of all, the wording and the number of the questions can vary; apart from the fact that interviews with interpreters and with service recipients will be conducted in Polish, it also may turn out in the course of an interview that an interviewee will need more clarification regarding a given question or concept. The issue of wording and language in general is even more important in the light of the fact that English is the researcher's second language, which may have considerable impact both on the interaction with service providers whose first language is English, and on the data obtained. Similarly, the researcher's Polish native culture needs to be recognised as potentially affecting his interaction with interviewees.

Second of all, one should bear in mind that participants' answers may only partially reflect their actual impressions of CI competence. For example, a patient interviewed by the researcher, who is not a member of a clinical team, may be reluctant to reveal all the details of an interpreted session in a doctor's surgery for fear of disclosing personal and intimate details, even though the researcher's questions will concern a CI's performance. In another situation, which involves a service provider giving legal advice to his client, neither party may be willing to give a full account of the interpreter's performance in fear of disclosing confidential information. Besides, interpreters participating in the project, who may understand that the research is being done for purely academic purposes, may feel that their interpreting performance may in some way be under scrutiny.

Another element that may have an impact on the way in which an interview unfolds is the order in which variables are elicited. As has been noted earlier in this chapter, the focus will be placed on establishing the correspondence between fulfilled (or violated) expectancies concerning specific variables and impressions of CI competence, without investigating, at this stage, to what extent expectancies regarding given variables influence an overall impression of CI competence. Therefore, the order of eliciting expectancies and variables is not meant to reflect the hierarchy of importance in any way whatsoever. The only reason for starting the interview with the *communicative status* variables is that they allow the researcher to ask general questions regarding an interpreter's performance, which can also serve as a lead-in stage to more complicated questions. However, there may be other consequences of ordering the elicitation process in this particular way. For instance, a participant who is tired after a medical examination may provide more content to the questions about interpreting performance, which come first in the interview and at the same time, the participant may provide more succinct answers regarding *social context*, which come last in the interview.

The data to be analysed in this thesis is divided into two sets. The main dataset consists of interviews following those interpreted sessions for which all three participants agreed to be interviewed. The supplementary dataset involves interviews, conducted after interpreted sessions, which were given only by some participants. The main dataset consists of nine interviews conducted after three different CI-mediated sessions. The supplementary dataset comes from four interviews following two separate interpreted sessions. The first session in the main dataset, which took place on the premises of a Manchester hospital, was followed by interviews with each participant, i.e. a medical practitioner, a patient and an interpreter employed by the hospital on a full-time basis. The second session, which happened in the same hospital, was attended by the same interpreter with a different medical practitioner and different patient. The interviews conducted following the second session involved a patient whose condition gradually deteriorated in the course of the interview and his answers were more succinct than in the case of other participants. The third session, which took place in a Manchester advice bureau, was attended by a legal practitioner, a client and an interpreter and was followed by three interviews conducted on site.

The supplementary dataset consists of interviews conducted following two sessions. The first one took place in a London hospital and was attended by a medical practitioner (paediatrician), a mother with her child and a CI. However, the mother was not interviewed due to her emotional reaction to the news regarding her daughter's condition, which was discussed during the session. The other session was attended by a Manchester council advice employee, a client and an interpreter. The council employee was unable to be interviewed due to time restrictions. Thus, the two sessions were commented on from only two points of view in each case; the analysis of the supplementary dataset focuses on selected variables and is dealt with in the conclusion section of Chapter IV with a view to supporting some of the findings reached in the analysis of the main dataset.

There are several issues that need to be raised regarding the dataset and that influence the ensuing analysis. The modest number of interviews subject to qualitative analysis is caused by difficulties encountered during the fieldwork, of which the most severe one was service providers' lack of time on account of work overload. This, in turn, often led to situations in which only two participants agreed to be interviewed and which had to be disregarded by the researcher or treated as the secondary dataset. Overall, the researcher approached approximately thirty potential situations involving triadic interaction and only three attempts were successful, i.e. resulted in all three participants agreeing to be interviewed. Combined with a relative superficiality of the interview design in terms of 'impression probing', as discussed in section 3.5, the low number of

participants in the study requires that the conclusions reached in Chapter IV should be treated as a tendency explicit in a limited number of cases, rather than in terms of generalisable results valid for all situations. The validity of the analysis and conclusions is additionally affected by the fact that the first two sessions were attended by the same interpreter.

The data collected for this project will be presented in the form of a transcript included in appendixes to this thesis. The transcript conventions used in this analysis are borrowed from Jefferson (2002).

Symbol	Explanation/description
(2.0)	pause timed in seconds and tenths of seconds
(.)	brief pause (under 1 second)
wor-	truncated word
laughing word	wo(h)rd
()	unintelligible
(word)	uncertain
((words))	comment
WORD	loud word
question mark (?)	rising intonation
full-stop (.)	falling intonation

Table 9. Selected transcription symbols (Jefferson 2002)

In the case of interviews conducted with interpreters and service recipients, the transcripts will include an English gloss, although the analysis will concern the transcripts in their original language. Similarly, the transcription symbols from Table 9 will be used in the original utterance, whereas their translation into English will follow conventions of written language.

The analysis will revolve around nine variables presented in Table 5, which are claimed to be related to a CI's behaviours fulfilling (or violating) impressions of a CI's competence. The analysis will thus focus on various aspects of a respondent's utterance with a view to determining their expectancies within a given variable. This will mean taking into account such aspects as word choice, verbal content, possible connotations etc., since, in spite of the fact that the interview has a structure, participants may consciously or

unconsciously reveal their expectancies in the way they word their answers to the interview questions. Besides, such multi-faceted investigation may be the only way to determine whether this particular expectancy is positively or negatively valenced, which will have a decisive impact on subsequent impressions of competence triggered by expectancy fulfilment or violation. Once a participant's expectancies and their valence have been established, the analysis will verify whether they have been fulfilled or violated. Following that, the analysis will focus on the last question in the interview, which asks participants to place their impressions on a scale from 1 to 10. The analysis will then be concluded by identifying and explaining correspondence between relatively high marks and expectancy fulfilment. The analysis will ascertain whether there is a link between expectancy fulfilment and impressions of a CI's competence.

3.7 Conclusions

To conclude, the choice of the method for collecting and analysing impressions of CI competence, aiming to test the overarching expectancy principle, results from a few assumptions. First of all, because performance-driven impressions of competence are highly subjective, the methodology applying the logic of intercultural communication competence models should allow for self-reference measures and other-reference measures (Spitzberg 1988). For this reason, the interview will be conducted not only with service providers and service users but also with CIs, whose impressions of their own competence will be elicited.

Moreover, the methodology assumes that the interview should be conducted immediately after the session. This is mainly dictated by the fact that impressions do not last long and that participants will be able to give relatively more examples to support their impressions if interviews are conducted as early as possible.

Furthermore, the methodology for this project acknowledges the fact that interviewing human beings with a view to encouraging them to express their opinion on a given subject is in itself an instance of interfering with this opinion. However, every step will be taken to minimize this interference; for instance, even though conducting interviews prior to interpreter-mediated sessions might prove to be useful, especially given that an issue of expectancy fulfilment comes into play, the research project discounts it on the grounds that asking them questions before the session is likely to condition their answers given in the interview after the session.

Finally, the methodology assumes the central role of individual expectancies to formation of impressions. For this reason, the elicitation of almost every variable is accompanied with a sub-question concerning expectancy fulfilment, which will help to

answer one of the research questions, i.e. that correlation between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions can be empirically approached.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the data with a view to showing a correspondence between expectancy fulfilment or violation and impressions of competence. This chapter will consist of four sections. The first three sections (4.1, 4.2 and 4.3) will analyse the transcripts of the interviews conducted with participants following respective CI-mediated sessions. The concluding part will summarise the findings obtained in the analysis and explain what implications testing the overarching expectancy principle has to the CIC model. Finally, the chapter will discuss other implications stemming from the model with a view to applying them to enhancement of the current framework for interpreter accreditation in the UK.

4.1 Session one - Manchester hospital gym

This section deals with the interviews conducted following a CI-mediated session involving a medical practitioner (physiotherapist), a patient and an interpreter. The interpreter-mediated session took place in a hospital gym designed for patients who have had surgery and who are strongly encouraged to participate in a rehabilitation programme. Following the session, the physiotherapist was interviewed in the hospital gym; she could not leave the gym unattended and the interview had to be paused twice for several seconds because the attendants to the gym had queries for the physiotherapist. The patient and the interpreter were then interviewed, in that order, also on hospital premises.

COMMUNICATIVE STATUS

Variable A: MKS impressions

The physiotherapist's expectancies in connection with the first variable seem to have been fulfilled by the interpreter, who, according to the medical practitioner, interpreted her questions and the patient's answers:

Excerpt 1

Researcher: ok (.) so can you tell me about the interpreter's work in this session? how did he perform in your opinion?

(.)

Medical practitioner: ((she laughs)) in my opinion he performed adequately and whenever I asked the question of the patient he (.) interacted with the patient and then responded to me in English.

Researcher: so wh- what makes you think that adequately (.) that he performed adequately?

Medical practitioner: because every time I asked the question (.) he interacted with the patient and responded to me.

Researcher: did you expect him to perform that way? (.) did you expect the interpreter to per-

Medical practitioner: yeah yes.

However, as can be inferred from Excerpt 2, the medical practitioner appears to hold some objections towards the interpreter's behaviour, which, as she claims, failed to include actual demonstration of exercises; she feels that in these specific circumstances, the interpreter's demonstration of the exercises would give the patient a clear understanding of what parts of the exercises need more attention than others.

Excerpt 2

Researcher: ok (.) so how could his performance be improved? the interpreter's?

(.)

Medical practitioner: well (.) maybe they could demonstrate the exercises but the fact is that they have no background knowledge of the exercises so it would be difficult for them to (.) demonstrate effectively (.) you know (.) but (.) I mean when you're communicating you hope that they (.) they're putting the same stresses on what you're saying (.) 'cos sometimes that can make a difference (.) when you're using an interpreter (.) if they don't stress the importance of a thing then the patient doesn't fully get what you're trying to achieve.

The two excerpts above indicate that the medical practitioner's expectancies are connected with her perception of the interpreter acting in two roles. The first of them could be interpreted as that of a linguistic mediator, which is evident in the medical practitioner's reference to adequate performance in Excerpt 1, i.e. the interpreter relays every single utterance for the patient and does the same with the patient's answer intended for the medical practitioner. Secondly, the medical practitioner expects the interpreter to assume certain clinical responsibilities and to enrich his interpretation with demonstration of the exercise in question. This view has at least two interdependent implications; firstly, the medical practitioner expects the interpreter to act as a member of NHS team and, secondly, she believes that her own goals and those of the interpreter overlap to a large extent. That is to say, apart from the fact that the interpreter is supposed to translate the utterances

produced during the session, the medical practitioner also expects the interpreter to help her in the pursuit of the clinical goal of the session, which she defined later in Excerpt 13 as ‘for the patient to understand fully and clearly what exercises he’s got to do in the class’.

The patient’s perception of the CI’s performance could be described as favourable, as seen in Excerpt 3 below. The interviewee justifies his opinion by explaining that the interpreter provided him with all the directions and recommendations from the physiotherapist. The patient had dealt with the same interpreter before, in slightly different circumstances, so the patient’s expectancies of this specific interpreter had already been well established when the physiotherapy session began.

Excerpt 3

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mógłby mi pan powiedzieć o pracy tłumacza podczas tej sesji? jak według pana jemu poszło?

Well, can you tell me about the interpreter’s performance in this session? How do you think he performed?

(.)

Patient: my już kilkakrotnie ześmy mieli spotkania z panem tłumaczem i zawsze byłem zadowolony (.) bo to nie jest pierwszy raz (.) kiedy jestem w szpitalu tutaj z nim. pierwszy raz tutaj miałem wizytę jakieś dwa tygodnie czy trzy tygodnie po tym właśnie jak skrzyłem nogę no i po prostu pom- wyżu- pomógł mi lepiej zrozumieć (.) to co zalecają (.) jakie ćwiczenia mam wykonać.

We’ve already had sessions together and I have always been pleased with his work; it’s not the first time that I’ve been with him in this hospital; for the first time, I had a session about two or three weeks ago when I dislocated my leg, and he just made it easier for me to understand what exercise is recommended in my circumstances.

Researcher: czyli jak by pan (.) jak według pana dzisiaj mu poszło?

So how did he perform today in your opinion?

(.)

Patient: dzisiaj bardzo dobrze.
Today he did very well.

Researcher: a czemu pan tak sądzi?
Why do you think so?

Patient: no bo dzisiaj w sumie to był tylko (.) ćwiczenia połączone z tym co mi ta pani pokazywała no i zalecenia jakie ona mi dawała dokładnie mi wyjaśnił.

Well, today’s session was about exercises combined with what the physiotherapist showed me; he explained to me all the recommendations that the physiotherapist gave.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwał pan że tak mu właśnie pójdzie? (.) tłumaczowi?
And did you expect him to perform that way?

Patient: no my się już niejednokrotnie spotykali na różnych tłumaczeniach (.) wcześniej z tym panem się spotykałem jak pracował w urzędzie miasta i w urzędzie miasta (.) mi pomagał i pomagał mi też jeszcze kiedyś w housingu (.) złożyć aplikacje.

Well, we’ve already met on numerous sessions. I met the interpreter before, when he was employed by the city council and he helped me there, as well as when I was submitting my housing application. He helped me then too.

As evident in Excerpt 4, the patient thinks that the interpreter's communicative behaviour overlaps with what can be regarded as his prototype of an interpreter, i.e. one who interprets everything.

Excerpt 4

Researcher: a jak można by polepszyć jego tłumaczenie?

How could his performance be improved?

(7.0)

Patient: mi się wydaje że dobrze tłumaczy (.) jeżeli chodzi o te sprawy które mnie nękały tutaj teraz w szpitalu (.) to przetłumaczył wszystko.

I think he interprets well; as far as my condition is concerned, he interpreted everything.

Therefore, the patient seems to be satisfied with the interpreter's performance because the following expectancies have been fulfilled; first, the information transfer was complete (Excerpt 4) and secondly, as evident in Excerpt 3, the interpreter was perceived as acting on behalf of the medical practitioner. This can be seen in the patient's description of the interpreter's activity as 'explaining' the medical practitioner's recommendations. Given that explanation of the exercise is normally the job of the medical practitioner, the patient's understanding of the interpreter's actions as 'explaining' may imply that he expected the interpreter to act in the role of medical practitioner, to some extent. Another aspect that deserves some attention is the way in which the patient talks about the interpreter's performance in earlier sessions (Excerpt 3), i.e. the patient uses the word 'pomagał' [helped] when referring to the interpreter's contribution to the patient's housing application. In this way, the patient indicates that he expects the interpreter to act not only as a linguistic mediator in a given session but also as an individual who facilitates interaction between the foreign national and the host institution. This may imply that the patient perceives the interpreter as the only medium by which he can gain access to host institutions; moreover, this mediation is expected to be of not only linguistic but also pragmatic nature, that is, it involves help in performing other tasks, possibly including filling in forms and making phone calls on the patient's behalf. In a more general sense, the patient tends to expect the interpreter to help him in solving whatever problems may arise in dealing with UK institutions.

As far as the interpreter's perception of his own performance is concerned, he claims that his expectancies in this respect were satisfied. He believes that he performed his job well by eliminating a language barrier and ensuring a relatively free flow of information between the patient and physiotherapist, as in Excerpt 5.

Excerpt 5

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mógłbyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tej sesji (.) jak ci poszło?

So, could you tell me about your performance; how do you think it went?

(.)

Interpreter: ((laughs quietly)) mniej więcej (3.0) trudno mi powiedzieć (.) myślę że poszło dobrze pod względem tłumaczenia (.) pod względem tego co miałem tam robić (.) ale nie wiem konkretnie.

More or less- difficult to say - I think it went well as far as interpreting is concerned, in terms of what I was supposed to do, but can't say anything in more specific terms

Researcher: dlaczego tak sądzisz?

Why do you think so?

Interpreter: ponieważ (.) podtrzymałem komunikację (.) nie było bariery językowej i wszystkie informacje były przekazane.

Because I sustained communication; there was no language barrier and all the information was passed.

Researcher: czy spodziewałeś się że tak ci pójdzie?

Did you expect to perform that way?

(.)

Interpreter: tak.

Yes.

Moreover, as apparent in Excerpt 6, the interpreter is uncertain about possible improvement in his performance.

Excerpt 6

Researcher: jak można by poprawić twoje tłumaczenie?

How could your performance be improved?

(.)

Interpreter: jak można by poprawić? (.) dzisiejsze? (4.0) nie wiem

Improved? today's? I don't know.

There seems to be a point of overlap between the patient's and the interpreter's expectancies as far as interpreting performance is concerned, in that both refer to completeness of information transfer, in Excerpts 3 and 5 respectively. The interpreter implies that he sees himself responsible for sustaining interaction between the patient and the medical practitioner. This is divergent from what the other two participants expect, since the interpreter, who refers to his actions as 'sustaining communication', appears to regard himself as a linguistic mediator. As a result, when the interpreter describes his own performance, he makes no mention of expecting himself to assist any party in performing their role, even though the patient explicitly indicates that the interpreter helped him in ways other than interpreting. Besides, the interpreter justifies his impression of his own

interpreting by referring to completeness of information transfer. The fact that he expected himself to ensure that all the information has been conveyed may, on the one hand, may be indicative of his commitment to the idea of rendition completeness. On the other hand, however, this could also disclose that he expected himself to assume part of the medical practitioner's responsibilities by ensuring that the patient received all the clinical information he was supposed to receive.

Variable B: contextual obstruction

The physiotherapist did not observe any situational difficulties encountered by the interpreter:

Excerpt 7

Researcher: do you think the situation itself pose any difficulties for the interpreter's job?

(.)

Medical practitioner: no (.) no.

The patient seems to share the physiotherapist's observation in this respect, as seen in Excerpt 8:

Excerpt 8

Researcher: a czy sytuacja w której pracował tłumacz stwarzała jakieś trudności dla jego pracy? ta dzisiejsza
And did the situation in which the interpreter worked pose any difficulty for his performance?

Patient: raczej nie sędzę.
I don't think so.

Since the physiotherapist was probably used to the noise made by other people using the hospital gym and the patient may have been too absorbed to pay attention to this noise, it is only the interpreter that considered it an inconvenience in communicating:

Excerpt 9

Researcher: a czy dzisiejsza sytuacja stwarzała problemy dla twojego tłumaczenia?
And did today's situation pose any difficulties for your performance?

Interpreter: może środowisko głośnie ((laughs quietly))
Noise in the background

Researcher: i jak sobie z nimi poradziłeś?
How did you handle it?

Interpreter: zbliżyłem się do ludzi ((laughing))
I leaned towards participants

Researcher: oczekiwałeś że tak sobie poradzisz?
did you expect to handle it that way?

Interpreter: tak (.) zazwyczaj to w ten sposób w sumie wygląda (.) to nie jest też tak że (.) w trudnej sytuacji ludzie nie chcą współpracować jak gdyby (.) jeśli jakaś trudność się nadarza to każdy się ładnie dostosowuje, więc (.)

Yes – this is what the situation is about; it's not the case that in difficult situation people won't cooperate; if some difficulty appears, everyone seems to adjust nicely to circumstances, so...

The interpreter's observation regarding the noise reveals that he may have expected himself to be responsible for the overall course of the session. This would explain why the patient, who clearly focused on performing the exercise, and the medical practitioner, who concentrated on explaining the exercise to the patient, failed to notice the background noise or to regard it as a potential hindrance. It follows that the interpreter saw himself acting as a coordinator of the session by ensuring that all the information was conveyed and comprehended by the other two participants, and the background noise forced him to make additional effort to fulfil this aim.

Variable C: attributed communicative status

As far as attributed communicative status is concerned, the medical practitioner draws on her own experience to state in Excerpt 10 that she generally thinks highly of the interpreters that come to help with her patients. However, similarly to her opinion expressed regarding variable A, she maintains that the fact that what she says is relayed into another language involves a certain loss of intended emphasis, which she is unable to rectify for the same reasons that she needs an interpreter in the first place.

Excerpt 10

Researcher: in your opinion (.) what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(3.0)

Medical practitioner: what? say that again?

Researcher: in your opinion what reputation do interpreters have or what do you think of interpreters in general?

Medical practitioner: all right (.) on the whole (.) I'd say I'm fairly satisfied with the ones that we use (.) my only concern all the time (.) as I said to you earlier (.) is where they put stresses on what you're trying to achieve and you'll never (.) you'll never fully gauge that yourself because you don't speak the language so (.)

The wording chosen by the medical practitioner when asked about reputation of interpreters seems to reveal one of the criteria which are relevant to her when it comes to interpreters' reputation; by employing 'use', she indicates that she is concerned with interpreters' providing a service in interpreter-mediated sessions. This could be linked to what was observed in Excerpt 2, i.e. that the medical practitioner's expectancies towards the interpreter are closely connected with her perception of the interpreter as part of the NHS team, whose responsibilities partly involve providing the service guaranteeing the patient's well-being.

A slightly different view of the interpreter's reputation is presented in Excerpt 11, where the patient not only thinks that the interpreting profession is of high standing but also he wishes they would not have to face a series of unpleasant situations:

Excerpt 11

Researcher: a według pana jaka reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
and in your opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(5.0)

Patient: mi się wydaje że (.) że powinien mieć (.) dużą reputację bo jest to osoba która włada dwoma przynajmniej językami (.) prawda? a niejednokrotnie tak nie jest bo spotkałem się (.) mam kolegę takiego który jest tłumaczem tylko w innym mieście (.) i mówił że on w szpitalu miał bardzo takie tam nieprzyjemne sytuacje związane z (.) obsługą pacjentów bo po prostu byli w stanie albo po prochach albo po (.) albo po alkoholu no i to po prostu wpływało na ich agresywność i na pewno też nie są to przyjemne spotkania (.) tak myślę.

I think the reputation should be high because an interpreter is a person who speaks at least two languages, right? And sometimes it isn't like that because I've come across ... well, I have a friend who is an interpreter based in another town and who said that he'd experienced very unpleasant situation as far as patient service is concerned because patients were drunk or high, which resulted in their aggressive behaviour; I don't think these situations are pleasant.

The patient draws on such aspects as respect and dignity, which, according to the patient, should result from the fact that the interpreter is able to speak more than one language. The fact that the patient uses 'powinien' [should] when speaking about the interpreters'

reputation may imply that he thinks that interpreters are not sufficiently appreciated, which he supports with examples of other people's experience. This indicates that when the patient came to the session, he could think of the interpreter as enjoying high communicative status, which may have positively influenced his impressions of the interpreter's competence.

Finally, the interpreter seems to be more tentative about his assessment of the reputation enjoyed by a professional group of which he is a member. Although he does not say much about this aspect in Excerpt 12, one can sense that is reluctant to generalise about the whole group of interpreters, since each individual represents their own various standards.

Excerpt 12

Researcher: według ciebie jaką (.) jaką reputacja cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(.)

Interpreter: czasem dobrą czasem złą (.) zależy od tłumacza.
Sometimes good and sometimes bad, depending on an interpreter

GOAL FULFILMENT

Variable D: effectiveness

In terms of the fulfilment of communication goals, the physiotherapist, quoted in Excerpt 13, appears to believe that her professional aim, i.e. to make certain that the patient understands the nature of physical exercise and that he is aware of relevant safety issues while performing them, has been reached. Since the physiotherapist would have been unable to communicate all this information to the patient without the interpreter's mediation (and would have failed to reach her goal), it seems logical of her to expect the interpreter to contribute to her attempt to act as a professional physiotherapist during the session:

Excerpt 13

Medical practitioner: for the patient to understand fully and clearly what exercises he's got to do in the class and that he does them safely and independently and if he has any problems (.) well obviously it's going to be difficult but normally we (.) if he was having an interpreter with each session (.) we would say (.) if you're having problems relate back to us (.) now if they're having an interpreter only on one session then if he comes next time and he's got something that he wants relate to me (.) he's not going to be able to do that (.) you know.

Researcher: did you achieve your goal?

Medical practitioner: today? yes

Researcher: did the interpreter help you to do that?

Medical practitioner: yes.

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to help you do that?

Medical practitioner: yes.

When asked about goal fulfilment, the medical practitioner double-checks if the question concerns the session she had just run by asking 'today?' This could indicate that the medical practitioner may have experienced interpreter-mediated sessions in which the goals were not wholly fulfilled or in which she was less pleased with the outcome. The causes of the lack of goal fulfilment must remain a matter of speculation, but it is possible that they stemmed from an interpreter neglecting to demonstrate an exercise; as seen in Excerpt 2, this was an aspect of interpreting performance desired by the medical practitioner.

The patient states in Excerpt 14 that he came to the physiotherapy session to learn how to perform exercises aimed at improving the condition of his leg after the accident. His expectancies appear to have been fulfilled as far as goal achievement is concerned, since the interpreter helped him to understand the nature of the exercises, as explained in English by the physiotherapist:

Excerpt 14

Researcher: a z pana punktu widzenia (.) jaki był cel tej dzisiejszej sesji?
From your point of view, what was the aim of today's session?

Patient: pokazanie mi jak (.) po prostu mam doprowadzić swoją nogę do używalności że tak powiem.
To show me what I need to do to make my leg usable, so to speak

Researcher: a czy osiągnął pan swój cel?
Did you achieve your goal?

Patient: no (.) jeszcze nie (.) na pewno to musi jeszcze potrwać (.) tak myślę że z dwa trzy tygodnie. już jest lepiej ale po prostu dalej odczuwam ból i to jest dyskomfort dla mnie bo nie mogę podjąć pracy.
Well, not yet ... it'll take some time, I think about 2 or 3 weeks; it's better now but I still feel pain and this is quite uncomfortable for me, since I'm unable to continue working.

Researcher: tak (.) ale to mówi pan o celu dłuższego leczenia (.) samego tego spotkania cel jaki był z pana punktu widzenia? żeby?
Yes, but you are talking about a long-term goal - what was the goal of today's meeting?

Patient: żeby pokazać mi jak mam pracować na
To show me how to exercise ...

Researcher: czy TEN cel został osiągnięty?
Did you achieve this goal?

Patient: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy tłumacz panu pomógł ten cel osiągnąć?
Did the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

Patient: tak tak
Yes, yes

Researcher: a czy spodziewał się pan tego że tłumacz pomoże osiągnąć ten cel?
And did you expect the interpreter to help you achieve that goal?

Patient: no tak
Well, yes

Finally, the interpreter appears to indicate in Excerpt 15 that he satisfied his expectancies in terms of goal fulfilment by enabling communicative interaction between the patient and the physiotherapist:

Excerpt 15

Researcher: jaki był twój cel w tej sesji z twojego punktu widzenia?
What was your goal in this session from your point of view?

(.)

Interpreter: udogodnić komunikację.
To facilitate communication.

Researcher: osiągnąłeś ten cel?
Did you achieve that?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: spodziewałeś się że go osiągniesz?
Did you expect to achieve that?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

The interpreter's perception of his own goal in this session may explain why, to the medical practitioner's disappointment, he did not think of actually showing the exercise to the patient during the session. As Excerpt 15 shows, the interpreter believes that his goal was to enable communication between the medical practitioner and the patient. Thus, his perception of his own goal is different from the medical practitioner's expectancies, which involve the interpreter demonstrating the exercises to the patient.

Variable E: appropriateness

The physiotherapist, as apparent in Excerpt 16, feels her expectancies in terms of the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour have been fulfilled, although she finds it difficult to recall actual instances of the interpreter's behaviour that support her impression:

Excerpt 16

Researcher: now (.) can you comment on the appropriateness of interpreter's behaviour for this particular situation?

Medical practitioner: oh (.) very appropriate (.) yes.

Researcher: could you give me any examples (.) from the session?

Medical practitioner: you'd have to be here to have seen it (3.0) difficult to say really (.) I just knew he was.

Researcher: did you expect the behaviour like that from the interpreter?

Medical practitioner: yes

The patient (cited in Excerpt 17) believes that the interpreter's behaviour was adequate in the sense that he was at the patient's disposal during his exercises and that he intervened whenever the patient needed any assistance from the physiotherapist:

Excerpt 17

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan skomentować stosowność zachowania się tłumacza w tej konkretnej sytuacji?
Could you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter behaviour in this particular session?

Patient: nie za bardzo rozumiem
I don't quite understand

Researcher: chodzi mi o poprawność zachowania
I ask about the appropriateness of behaviour

Patient: a tak tak
Oh yes, I see

Researcher: czy wg pana zachował się mniej lub bardziej stosownie do sytuacji?
Did the interpreter behave more or less appropriate for the situation?

Patient: nie (.) no (.) odpowiednio
Well ... adequately

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan podać przykłady takiego zachowania? (.) pamięta pan jakieś przykłady?
Could you give examples of such behaviour? Do you remember any examples?
(.)

Patient: no zawsze jak z poprzednia panią żeśmy
When I had a session with another physiotherapist

Researcher: z dzisiejszego spotkania tylko
Just today's session, please

Patient: ach z dzisiejszego (.) to dzisiaj tutaj to on po prostu patrzył na mnie co ja wykonuje i w momencie w którym potrzebna mi była pomoc (.) tłumaczył
Oh, today's session... today he watched me doing the exercises and interpreted whenever I needed any help

Researcher: i czy oczekiwał pan takiego zachowania z jego strony?
Did you expect him to behave in this way?

Patient: tak
Yes

At one point in Excerpt 17, when the patient gives examples of the interpreter's appropriate behaviour, he refers to the interpreter watching him doing the exercise and intervening whenever help was required. The fact that the patient perceived the interpreter as an individual providing help and supervision in this specific session is consistent with the patient's perception of the interpreter as taking over part of the medical practitioner's responsibilities, as already discussed in the analysis of Excerpt 3.

Finally, the interpreter seems to believe that he has satisfied his expectancies regarding appropriateness by interpreting the two interactant's utterances as soon as they were expressed. As shown in Excerpt 18, the interpreter believes that this method enabled him to reflect the character of the original exchange, since whenever one party started to speak, the other one received an interpreted version almost immediately.

Excerpt 18

Researcher: a czy mógłbyś skomentować stosowność swojego zachowania do tej konkretnej sytuacji?
Could you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour for this particular situation?

(.)

Interpreter: brak ingerencji
No interference

Researcher: zachowałeś się bardziej lub mniej stosownie (.) czy coś pomiędzy?
Did you behave more or less appropriately – or something in between?

Interpreter: pomiędzy (.) myślę
In between, I guess

Researcher: pamiętasz przykłady takiego zachowania?
Do you remember any examples of this behaviour?

(.)

Interpreter: przede wszystkim bardzo pomaga (.) pomagało tłumaczenie równoległe (.) kiedy ktoś mówił to od razu uzyskiwał (.) druga (.) druga strona od razu uzyskiwała informacje więc próbowałem podtrzymać charakter rozmowy.

Most of all, interpreting things simultaneously turned out to be helpful; when one person was speaking, they immediately received ... the other party immediately received information, so I tried to sustain a character of interaction.

Researcher: spodziewałeś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony?
Did you expect to behave in this way?

Interpreter: tak (.) jest to mój sposób pracy.
Yes – this is the way I work.

This excerpt seems to confirm the interpreter's self-perception of his own role in the session, already evident in the analysis of Excerpt 15. Both Excerpts 15 and 18 contain evidence that the interpreter expects himself to mediate in the exchange between the medical practitioner and the patient and that the interpreter thinks that at no point during the session did his behaviour influence the natural course in which the session unfolded, which is what he expected of himself in this respect. Thus, Excerpt 18 seems to show that the interpreter's expectancies in respect of appropriateness mainly resided in what the interpreter refers to as 'brak ingerencji' [no interference] in reflecting the communicative behaviour of the other two participants. This contradicts the expectancies that the patient

and the medical practitioner had of the interpreter, which involve the interpreter's active engagement in the session. This also raises the question as to why all the participants, who had different expectancies, claim to have had them satisfied in spite of having witnessed the same performance on the interpreter's part. This question will recur throughout the analysis and will be shown as indicating that there is a reciprocal relation between expectancies and reality, i.e. on the one hand, reality shapes expectancies that one has towards this reality; on the other hand, expectancies determine how one perceives this particular aspect of reality. Thus, the patient who expected the interpreter to intervene in the course of the session appears to have perceived the interpreter as having done so. At the same time, the interpreter, who expected himself not to intervene in the course of the session, claims not to have done so at any point.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Variable F: cooperation–competition

Regarding the first variable within social context, as seen in Excerpt 19, the physiotherapist stated that the atmosphere approximated cooperation rather than competition. She also confirmed that this spirit of cooperation was evoked by the interpreter following the physiotherapist's requests while she was explaining the nature of the exercises to the patient.

Excerpt 19

Researcher: now (.) what was the spirit or atmosphere during the meeting?

Medical practitioner: very positive

Researcher: all right (.) would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Medical practitioner: cooperation.

Researcher: now in this cooperation situation (.) how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

(.)

Medical practitioner: just as he did (.) to cooperate in what I was asking him to do.

Similarly to the physiotherapist, the patient sensed a cooperative spirit during the session. Due to this spirit, the patient seems to have developed specific expectancies towards the interpreter's behaviour, i.e. he expected the interpreter not only to interpret into his native language but also to fulfil a social function (Excerpt 20).

Excerpt 20

Researcher: a jaka była atmosfera podczas takiego (.) tej sesji dzisiejszej?
What was the atmosphere during today's session?

Patient: miła
Nice

Researcher: a czy powiedziałby pan że była ona bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy czegoś pomiędzy?
Would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Patient: ja bym powiedział że taka (.) taka przyjazna (.) przyjazna taka na zasadzie po prostu iluś tam razy żeśmy się spotykali prawda to już inna.
I'd say it was very friendly ... in a sense it can be friendly after a few sessions of working together.

Researcher: i właśnie w takiej sytuacji w takiej atmosferze jakiego zachowania oczekiwał pan od tłumacza?
Well, in this situation ... in this atmosphere, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter?

Patient: no takiego przyjacielskiego takiego swojskiego na zasadzie nie tylko od do przetłumaczy i koniec (.) tylko jeszcze coś od siebie powie.
Friendly ... and familiar; not only interpretation from first word to the last one but also talking to me about other things.

Researcher: czy tłumacz się zachował tak jak pan oczekiwał?
Did he behave as you expected?

Patient: tak
Yes

Excerpt 20 shows that the patient's understanding of the interpreter's role may not be limited to linguistic mediation. It follows that the patient expects the interpreter to attend to his social needs before and after the session by showing some attention and interest in aspects that are not directly connected with the subject matter of the session.

Finally, as shown in Excerpt 21, the interpreter, who seems to feel that spirit of the session was one of cooperation, thought of himself as a helping body and expected himself to behave accordingly:

Excerpt 21

Researcher: a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas sesji?
What atmosphere was there during the session?

(.)

Interpreter: luźna
Relaxed

Researcher: powiedziałbyś że była bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Interpreter: współpracy
Cooperation

Researcher: jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekujesz w tej atmosferze współpracy?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this atmosphere of cooperation

(.)

Interpreter: jestem tam żeby pomóc ((he laughs)) i (.) takiego zachowania się spodziewałem.
I'm there to help and so I expected myself to behave in this way;

Researcher: czy tak się zachowałeś jak się spodziewałeś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak tak
Yes, yes

As could be inferred from the three excerpts above, each participant thought of the session as a friendly and cooperative one, although each of them held different expectancies towards the interpreter. The physiotherapist had her expectancies fulfilled by the interpreter's behaviour as a professionally helpful colleague who cooperates with her in the pursuit of her task, consisting of explaining and demonstrating the exercises to the patient. The patient, who also perceived the session as a friendly one, entertained expectancies of the interpreter fulfilling a socialising role as part of his professional task. Finally, the interpreter satisfied his own expectancies by acting in a manner consistent with the cooperative context, i.e. as a source of help for the other two participants.

Variable G: intense–superficial

While the medical practitioner states in Excerpt 22 that she noticed no signs of emotions from any participant during the session, she appears to be convinced that all of them were emotionally engaged in it and that the interpreter acted appropriately in this respect:

Excerpt 22

Researcher: did you notice (.) did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

(.)

Medical practitioner: emotions towards the patients?

Researcher: from anyone

Medical practitioner: no no

Researcher: so would you say it was more emotional engagement or emotional detachment or something in between? what was the situation like?

Medical practitioner: emotional engagement

Researcher: all right (.) and how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this emotional engagement situation?

(.)

Medical practitioner: exactly as he did (.) appropriately

Similarly, the patient, who claims in Excerpt 23 that he sensed no emotions during the session, seems to have entertained expectancies of an interpreter sustaining a relaxed and friendly atmosphere, which was not confined to the interpreter's professional and formal behaviour.

Excerpt 23

Researcher: a czy zauważył pan jakieś emocji (.) oznaki emocji podczas spotkania u kogokolwiek ze stron?
And did you notice any signs of emotion from anyone during this session?

Patient: nie
No

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji gdzie nie ma emocji u żadnej ze stron, jakiego zachowania się pan spodziewa od tłumacza?
In the situation with no signs of emotions, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter?

Patient: no jak nie ma żadnych emocji to na zasadzie no takiej luźnej rozmowy nawet a nie po prostu (.) dziękuję (.) koniec to wszystko (.) do widzenia tak ostro tak bardzo zdyscyplinowanie jak co niektórzy.
Well, in the situation of no emotions, I expected a relaxed conversation, and not just saying: 'thank you, that's all, good bye' in a very disciplined way, as some interpreters do.

Researcher: i czy tłumacz się zachował tak jak się pan spodziewał?
And did the interpreter behave as you expected?

Patient: tak
Yes

The patient's perception of the interpreter's performance in a social context, as seen in Excerpt 23, is consistent with his perception of the interpreter in the 'extended' role, that is to say, the patient appears to expect the interpreter not only to take over some

responsibilities from the medical practitioner but also to undertake actions that will make the session more enjoyable, such as engaging in more relaxed conversation as well as interpreting. This expectancy may indicate that the patient sees the interpreter as partly responsible for contributing to the atmosphere of the session.

Finally, Excerpt 24 indicates that the interpreter appears to have sensed a slight sign of emotional discomfort on the patient's part, but he believes that his most important obligation in this respect is not to react to the emotional state of the conversation, and he thinks he has accomplished this.

Excerpt 24

Researcher: a czy zauważyłeś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas spotkania?
Did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

(.)

Interpreter: ze strony pacjenta był czasem dyskomfort (.) była pewna przypadłość zdrowotna (.) ale poza tym w sumie nie.
On the patient's part, one could see he felt slightly uncomfortable because of his condition, but otherwise, no

Researcher: a czy powiedziałbyś że było to bardziej emocjonalne zaangażowanie, emocjonalny dystans czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say it was more a case of emotional engagement or emotional detachment or something in between?

Interpreter: pomiędzy (.) żadne ze stron nie przesadzała w żadną stronę
In between – either party didn't overreact in either way.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w sytuacji gdzie było to pomiędzy
How did you expect yourself to behave in this 'in between' situation?

Interpreter: podtrzymać istniejące (.) istniejący stan emocjonalny
To sustain an existing emotional state.

Researcher: czy tak się zachowałeś jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you behave as expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Thus, Excerpt 24 seems to point to the interpreter's self-perception as an individual who in no way interferes in the course of the exchange but merely reflects the existing situation, as can be inferred from the interpreter's reference to sustaining an existing emotional state. This is consistent with one of the interpreter's expectancies which has already emerged in this section, i.e. the interpreter's conviction that he should not interfere in the way the session unfolds. Such an attitude is often referred to by interpreters as remaining neutral and focused on interpreting. Although it is questionable whether it is

possible to be 'neutral' and any notion of neutrality would have to be carefully defined, the interpreter appears to have satisfied his expectancy of remaining 'in between' by acting as a faithful reflection of the bilingual situation.

Even though the participants' perceptions of situational emotionality may differ, i.e. the physiotherapist feels that the situation was a case of emotional engagement, the patient did not sense any emotions during the session and the interpreter believed there was some presence of emotions, the participants seem to unanimously agree that the interpreter performed in accordance with their respective expectancies. In other words, the interpreter claimed not to have influenced the emotional balance, the physiotherapist merely confirmed that the interpreter behaved appropriately in this respect in her view without providing specific examples and the patient was happy that the interpreter's performance involved some aspects of social interaction.

Variable H: formal–informal

The physiotherapist, in Excerpt 25, makes it clear she thinks that the whole interaction was semi-formal and that the interpreter satisfied her expectancies, although she refrains from elaborating on the type of behaviour she actually expected:

Excerpt 25

Researcher: all right (.) now can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

(4.0)

Researcher: would you say it was more formal or more informal or something in between?

Medical practitioner: in between

Researcher: and again (.) in this semi-formal situation how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

Medical practitioner: exactly as he did.

Researcher: yeah (.) which is?

(.)

Medical practitioner: engagement

The patient seems to be consistent in his expectancies of an interpreter as a 'facilitator' of a social side to the session. Therefore, his idea of the interpreter's appropriate behaviour entails the interpreter not only interpreting to him but also talking to him about other matters, as could be inferred from Excerpt 26:

Excerpt 26

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan stop- skomentować stopień formalności lub nieformalności spotkania (.) czy oficjalności lub nieoficjalności spotkania?
Can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the session? Or its official or unofficial character?

(2.0)

Researcher: czy powiedziałby pan że była to bardziej oficjalna sytuacja czy mniej oficjalna czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say it as more official or more unofficial or something in between?

Patient: raczej bym powiedział że takie coś pomiędzy taka (.) taka
I'd say it was something in between

Researcher: taka półformalna?
You mean semi-formal?

Patient: półformalna (.) nie taka na zasadzie od do przetłumaczyć i koniec tylko (.) nie taka więc emocjonalna tylko (.) tylko no (.) no miłe spotkanie.
Yes, semi-formal, in a sense of not just translating from one moment to another; not necessarily emotional involvement, but just a friendly meeting.

Researcher: w takiej półformalnej sytuacji jakiego zachowania się pan oczekiwał (.) jakiego zachowania pan oczekiwał od tłumacza?
In this semi-formal situation, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter?

Patient: no takiego jakie miał dzisiaj (.) przyjaźnie odpowiadał (.) tłumaczył (.) dodawał tam od siebie po tym tłumaczeniu.
As he did today - he answered and interpreted in a friendly way; he added a few words of his own after interpreting.

Similarly to the implications of Excerpt 23, where the patient referred to his expectancy for the interpreter to engage in a relaxed conversation with him, Excerpt 26, in which the patient mentions the interpreter's addition of his own words, indicates that the patient expects the interpreter not only to provide linguistic assistance but also to ensure the patient's social well-being before and after the session.

Finally, the interpreter, whose perception of the situation along the 'formal–informal' continuum is slightly different from the other two interviewees, seems to be consistent in his expectancy that an interpreter's behaviour should be restricted to mirroring the situation produced by the other interlocutors, as in Excerpt 27:

Excerpt 27

Researcher: a czy mógłbyś skomentować stopień formalności albo nieformalności spotkania?
Could you comment on degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

(.)

Interpreter: dosyć formalne (.) ponieważ było to spotkanie wstępne w nowym (.) w nowym miejscu więc dosyć formalne było.
Relatively formal, because it was an introductory session in a new site, so it was quite formal.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w tej takiej dosyć formalnej sytuacji?
How did you expect to behave in this quite formal situation?

Interpreter: formalnego ((he laughs))
Formally

Researcher: czyli na przykład?
Such as?

Interpreter: jeszcze raz mogę powiedzieć że podtrzymanie stanu emocjonalnego jednej jak i drugiej strony (.) odzwierciedlenia sytuacji.
Once again, I can refer to sustaining an existing emotional state of both parties and to reflecting the situation.

(.)

Researcher: czy tak się zachowałeś jak się spodziewałeś?
Did you behave as expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

This further confirms the interpreter's earlier commitment to 'sustaining an existing emotional state', which may be the interpreter's possible understanding of neutrality, although he never mentions this word in any excerpt. The way he speaks about his own role and expectancies in the situations he perceives as formal supports one of the conclusions reached earlier in the section, that is to say, the interpreter's expectancy that he 'merely' reflects the situation implies that he perceives his role in terms of a linguistic assistant only.

Variable I: dominance–equality

According to Excerpt 28, the medical practitioner expected the interpreter to be in control of the whole situation:

Excerpt 28

Researcher: all right (.) now (.) who seemed dominant during the session?

(.)

Medical practitioner: the interpreter

Researcher: all right (2.0) and how did you expect him to behave in this (.) in this situation dominated by the interpreter?

Medical practitioner: who dominated by the interpreter?

Researcher: because you said the interpreter was dominant

Medical practitioner: he was dominant because I was expressing what I wished but I didn't have any overall control (.) he had control.

Researcher: did you expect him to be dominant in this situation?

Medical practitioner: yeah

This expectancy on the medical practitioner's part implies her perception of the interpreter's role as that of a coordinator. A likely cause of this expectancy could be the fact that the interpreter was the only participant in the session who was able to manage the whole situation, in terms of communication. This, in turn, may have made the medical practitioner delegate part of her authority and responsibility to the interpreter. As a result, the medical practitioner senses that she is co-running the session with the interpreter, so she thinks of the interpreter as part of clinical team.

Similarly, the patient, cited in Excerpt 29, seems to share the physiotherapist's impression regarding the interpreter's dominance in the session, which he confirms by explaining that it is the interpreter's rendition of instructions that the patient followed. In this way, the patient had his expectancies fulfilled by the interpreter giving the instructions, although he knew they originated from the physiotherapist:

Excerpt 29

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?
Who seemed dominant during the meeting?

Patient: no raczej tłumacz
The interpreter, I guess.

Researcher: tłumacz? (.) i jakiego zachowania pan oczekiwał w tej sytuacji zdominowanej przez tłumacza?
The interpreter? What behaviour did you expect from the interpreter in a situation dominated by him?

Patient: to znaczy dominujący w tym sensie myślę że po prostu on tłumaczył a ja wykonywałem to co ta pani mi zaleciła i co mi przetłumaczył.
I mean dominant in a sense that he interpreted and I did what the physiotherapist said and what he interpreted

Researcher: i czy spodziewał się pan takiego zachowania od tłumacza?
Did you expect this behaviour from the interpreter?

Patient: tak
Yes

By contrast, the interpreter may have thought of the situation as being dominated by the physiotherapist, while he passed her instructions on to the patient.

Excerpt 30

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?
Who seemed dominant during the session?

(.)

Interpreter: fizjoterapeuta (.) osoba która prowadziła spotkanie
Physiotherapist, the person who was running the session.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w sytuacji zdominowanej przez fizjoterapeutę?
How did you expect yourself to behave in the session dominated by the physiotherapist?

Interpreter: ona udzielała wskazówek i ja przez nią udzielałem wskazówek
She gave directions and I gave translated directions.

Researcher: czy tak postąpiłeś jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak tak.
Yes, yes.

As could be inferred from the three excerpts above, there is some variation in the perception of dominance during the session. While the physiotherapist and the patient felt that it was the interpreter that was dominant, the interpreter himself thought of the physiotherapist as a person in charge. This difference may have been caused by the first two participants' inability to communicate in each other's language and their awareness of the necessity of the interpreter's presence, which caused them to pass the responsibility for

the unfolding of the session to the interpreter, who could communicate with both of them. The interpreter, on the other hand, as has become apparent in previous excerpts, seems to avoid interfering in the way the situation unfolds. Whatever the explanation for difference in perceptions, all the participants' expectancies regarding dominance have been fulfilled, which is likely to positively influence each participant's impression of the CI's competence.

Negative expectancies

As far negative expectancies are concerned, participants were asked a general question about their negative expectancies concerning any aspect of the session in question. The patient seemed to have no negative expectancies, as evident in Excerpt 31:

Excerpt 31

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miał pan jakieś obawy albo takie negatywne oczekiwania w związku z tą sesją (.) związane na przykład z pracą tłumacza (.) z wynikiem tłumaczenia (.) z rezultatem?

Before the session, did you have any fears or negative expectations about this session, which were connected with an interpreter's performance or with an outcome of interpretation?

Patient: nie
No

The physiotherapist, on the other hand, had some concerns about the interpreter's way of conveying her explanations to the patient:

Excerpt 32

Researcher: all right (.) now before the meeting (.) did you have any fears or concerns or any negative expectations about any aspect of the session (.) like interpreter's performance or the outcome?

Medical practitioner: well (.) as I say (.) I've always got those feelings when you use the interpreter that stresses are not being put in the right place (.) so you don't fully get your message across (.) but there's nothing you can do about that.

As indicated earlier, the fulfilment of the physiotherapist's negative expectancies will probably have contributed to lowering her impression of the CI's competence. Contrary to this, the negative expectancies held by the interpreter before the interpreting assignment were breached, which appears to have positively influenced his self-assessment of his competence:

Excerpt 33

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miałeś jakieś obawy albo negatywne oczekiwania dotyczące twojej pracy (.) wyniku spotkania?

Before the session, did you have any fears or negative expectations concerning your work or the outcome of the session?

Interpreter: przed każdym spotkaniem muszę powiedzieć że nie znając informacji na temat tego jakie spotkanie będzie (.) zawsze może być jakieś oczekiwanie wobec sytuacji niejasnych (.) ale nic się takiego w tym momencie nie działo w tym tłumaczeniu.

I must admit that before every session of which I have little information, such expectations are likely to appear, mainly due to unclear situations, but nothing like that was true in the case of this session.

To conclude this section, the analysis points to a likely correspondence between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions. The patient, using a scale from 1 to 10 graded the interpreter's competence as 10, had all his expectancies, which seem to be positive, satisfied and had no objections to the interpreter's performance, as evident from the excerpts analysed above. The physiotherapist, who graded the interpreter's competence as 8, felt that the majority of her positive expectancies had been fulfilled (hence a relatively high grade), although there were some aspects lowering her impression of competence, such as the violation of her expectancies due to the interpreter's confining himself to verbal explanations of the exercises to the patients instead of showing them in practice. Moreover, she had her negative expectancies fulfilled because she claimed that the interpreter may not have sufficiently emphasised some aspects of the exercises when communicating them to the patient in the target language.

A potentially curious case is the interpreter's self-evaluation of his own competence, which he grades as between 7 and 8, even though most of his positive expectancies towards his own behaviour have been fulfilled. There seem to be two occasions when his account of his expectancy fulfilment bears some evidence of the factors lowering his self-assessment of competence. The first of them is evident in Excerpt 18, dealing with the appropriateness of his behaviour (variable E), when he says that he thinks of his behaviour as being something between appropriate and inappropriate. He justifies this judgement by referring to his attempts to rely on simultaneous interpreting as a way of ensuring that the two participants immediately receive a rendered message. The second factor that may have lowered his impressions of competence is variable B (Excerpt 12), which discloses the interpreter's mixed feelings about the reputation of his profession.

These two examples seem to raise the following question, i.e. to what extent is a given variable (and construct) decisive in affecting a participant's impression of a CI's competence? As discussed in the conclusion to this chapter, it may be the case, for example, that the variable referring to the reputation of the community interpreting profession has much more effect on the interpreter's self-evaluation of his own competence,

as the interpreter belongs to this particular professional community. By contrast, the physiotherapist and the patient are both ‘third parties’ to this profession and in their case the same variable is likely to have less influence on an overall assessment.

Apart from the fact that the analysis of these interviews tests the overarching expectancy principle in relation to the three aspects of the CIC model, a further issue is worth mentioning. Although the interview elicited information about the variables concerning various aspects of the interpreter’s performance during the session, such as MKS impressions, reputation, goal fulfilment, etc, the answers provided by the interviewees display certain consistency. For example, the medical practitioner signalled on many occasions, explicitly or implicitly, that her expectancies of interpreting performance strongly draw on the idea of an interpreter assuming some responsibilities from her; the patient, on the other hand, in various excerpts analysed in this section, referred to a social aspect of the interpreter’s behaviour; finally, the interpreter’s answers in many instances show that he tends to think of himself as a participant whose performance he himself describes as ‘non-interference’ and ‘reflecting the situation’. The fact that values received from different variables confirm and reinforce a given perception of the interpreter’s performance may further acknowledge the correlation between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions.

Finally, an aspect that cannot be overemphasised is the role of expectancies in determining the impressions of an interpreter’s competence. In the above analysis, the patient had his expectancies fulfilled partly due to the interpreter’s social behaviour during the demonstration session in the gym. By contrast, the interpreter saw the same behaviour as restricted to linguistic assistance in facilitating communication between the medical practitioner and the patient, who do not speak a common language. The question that emerges then is why the same behaviour was perceived by two individuals in two different, if not contradictory, ways. A possible answer to that question is that people’s expectancies are determined in part by physical context, that is to say, different expectancies may be entertained towards an interpreter performing in a registry office than in an asylum-seeking environment or a hospital. However, the fact that the same behaviour in the same physical environment is perceived differently by different participants attending the same session is a clear indication that physical context influences an individual’s expectancies on the one hand, but also that those expectancies shape the way in which an individual perceives various aspects of a CI-mediated situation, including a CI’s communicative status and goal fulfilment. This supports the validity of testing the overarching expectancy principle in relation to not only *social context* but also other aspects of the CIC model.

4.2 Session two - Manchester Royal Infirmary

The next session took place in an X-ray room and involved three participants: a radiologist, a patient and an interpreter. Following the interpreter-mediated session, interviews were conducted on hospital premises with all three participants. It should be noted that the patient was interviewed while he awaited the results of his x-ray and that he did not feel well at this time; as a result, the researcher curtailed the interview and did not ask for clarification on occasions where he would normally have done so. The interpreter had limited time available before his next assignment, which may account for rather succinct answers on his part.

COMMUNICATIVE STATUS

Variable A: MKS impressions

The medical practitioner's expectancies regarding the interpreter's performance were partly based on his former experience with this interpreter, as indicated by Excerpt 34.

Excerpt 34

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to perfor- perform that way?

Medical practitioner: yes (.) I did (.) I think he's been before so (.) I've worked with him before so

The medical practitioner precisely formulates what performance is expected of interpreters working in the NHS settings; i.e. interpreters should ensure that patients are able to comprehend what is being explained to them by medical practitioners during the session. An interesting point, though, is that the medical practitioner, who first said that the interpreter performed well, then distanced himself from this direct assessment of the patient's comprehension by saying 'he seems to understand' (rather than 'he understood'), implying that it is only his impression. Another point to be observed is the medical practitioner's perception of the CI as the one who 'is passing information over' to the patient. The medical practitioner's choice of this expression describing the interpreter's activity may indicate that the medical practitioner thinks of the interpreter as a source of information for the patient; that is, the medical practitioner makes no reference to such concepts as 'translation' or 'interpreting' when talking about the interpreter's activity. Instead, as in Excerpt 35, he focuses on the information being delivered to the patient, which may be indicative of a certain tendency for medical practitioners to expect interpreters to assume part of clinical responsibilities.

Excerpt 35

Researcher: ok (.) so can you tell me about the interpreter's work in this session? how did he perform in your opinion?

Medical practitioner: he performed pretty well (.) the patient (.) seemed to understand everything that was explained to him (.) as far as I can tell everything that I said that was (.) passed over to the patient (.) which is what we need really.

The medical practitioner's positive impression of the interpreter's performance is confirmed in his reply to the question about possible areas of improvement in the interpreter's performance. The fact that the medical practitioner hesitated before answering the question and laughed while answering may indicate a lack of confidence in answering this question because he does not speak the other language. Secondly, he finds that the interpreter's performance fulfils all his expectancies so has no suggestions to make, focusing only on the positive aspects, i.e. the interpreter's pleasant and polite disposition towards him and the patient:

Excerpt 36

Researcher: how could his performance be improved?

(.)

Medical practitioner: I honestly don't know ((he laughs)) (.) I don't know if it could (.) he was (.) he was very pleasant with me and he was very good with the patient so (.) it was ok.

It should be noted that the medical practitioner's expectancies regarding the interpreter's performance are not confined to rendition of the exchange between the patient and the medical practitioner but also include a social aspect, and that this aspect has an impact on the medical practitioner's overall perception of the interpreter's competence. The interpreter is seen as contributing to the medical service provision by dealing well with the patient.

As mentioned above, the patient's remarks are necessarily succinct. He thinks that the interpreter's performance was perfect and justifies this opinion by referring to his ability to understand what was being said during the examination and to the fast pace of interpretation, as seen in Excerpt 37:

Excerpt 37

Researcher: no dobrze (.) czy mógłby mi pan opowiedzieć o pracy tłumacza podczas tego spotkania? jak według pana jemu poszło (.) tłumaczowi?
So, could you tell me about the interpreter's work during his session? How do you think he performed?

(.)

Patient: perfekt
Perfectly

Researcher: a skąd pan to wie? dlaczego pan tak sądzi?
How do you know that? What makes you think so?

Patient: no bo wszystko zrozumiałem (.) tak mi się wydaje i szybko tłumaczył.
Because I understood everything - I think so - and he interpreted quickly.

The fast pace of interpretation is most likely viewed by the patient as a signal of the ease with which the interpreter performed his assignment, which the patient may have attributed to the interpreter's experience in similar situations. The patient's second criterion for 'perfect' performance is his comprehension of what was said in the X-ray room. One implication of this criterion may be that the patient's understanding of the interpreter's rendition may have nothing to do with the quality of this rendition; it reveals that the patient expects the interpreter to paraphrase for him in a way that makes him understand the content of the medical practitioner's utterance, even if it contains complex medical language. If this is the case, the patient's expectancies point to his perception of the interpreter's role as both a language mediator and a clinical assistant who ensures that the patient understands the results of the examination.

As far as the fulfilment of the patient's expectancies is concerned, he claims not to have any, as in Excerpt 38.

Excerpt 38

Researcher: a czy oczekiwał pan że tak mu właśnie pójdzie?
And did you expect him to perform that way?

Patient: właściwie to nic nie oczekiwałem bo pierwszy raz to było pierwsze moje spotkanie z doktorem przez tłumacza.
I didn't expect anything because it was my first session with a doctor which involved an interpreter.

In spite of this utterance, it can be assumed that if the interpreter's pace of delivery had been slower or hesitant during the session in question and if the patient had understood less than he actually did, the patient would not have described the interpreter's performance as perfect in the earlier part of the interview. By the same token, the patient had a critical comment when asked about possible room for improvement regarding the interpreter's performance, as in Excerpt 39.

Excerpt 39

Researcher: jak można by polepszyć jego tłumaczenie?
How could his performance be improved?

(.)

Patient: głośniej może mówić tylko.
He could speak louder.

This points to the fact that the patient did have certain prior expectancies, although he did not recognise or acknowledge them as such.

As for the interpreter's impression of his own performance, he seemed pleased with it in general in Excerpt 40:

Excerpt 40

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mógłbyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie ci poszło?
Could you tell me about your performance during his session? How do you think it went?

(.)

Interpreter: dobrze (.) płynnie
Well and smoothly

Researcher: dlaczego tak sądzisz?
Why do you think so?

Interpreter: bo (.) nie było przestojów (.) szybko informacje zostały przekazywane i szybko obie strony rozumiały.
There were no stoppages; information was passed quickly and was understood by the two sides.

Researcher: spodziewałeś się że tak ci pójdzie?
Did you expect you'd perform this way?

(.)

Interpreter: tak i nie (.) trudno się spodziewać co w takich miejscach może nastąpić.
Yes and no - it's difficult to expect what may happen in places like here.

Like the patient, the interpreter implies that one of his criteria for successful performance is level of comprehension. One of the differences, though, is that, while the patient sounds concerned with his own comprehension only (Excerpt 37), the interpreter is referring to both sides' reciprocal comprehension, i.e. the interpreter feels a sense of responsibility for the overall exchange between the participants. The other element by which he justifies his self-evaluation is connected to pace of delivery, also referred to by the patient, though in slightly different terms. As Excerpt 40 shows, the interpreter talks of the lack of stoppages and speed of information transfer as a sign of smooth interpretation. When asked about his expectancies regarding his own performance (Excerpt 40), the interpreter confirms that his

expectancies have been fulfilled, although he indicates that he finds it difficult to speak about his expectancies due to the unpredictability of the professional situations in which he tends to find himself. Also, as in Excerpt 41, the interpreter's relatively good assessment of his own performance is reflected in his lack of suggestions for improvement.

Excerpt 41

Researcher: jak można by poprawić to tłumaczenie?
How could your performance be improved?
(.)

Interpreter: jak można by poprawić to tłumaczenie? (.) nie wiem ((he laughs))
How my performance can be improved? I don't know.

In general, the interpreter's expectancies concerning the participants' mutual comprehension and smoothness of delivery seem to indicate that in this session he perceived himself in the role of a linguistic mediator only.

Variable B: contextual obstruction

According to Excerpt 42, the medical practitioner could see some situational difficulty affecting the interpreter's work, although he appears to think that the interpreter successfully overcomes it.

Excerpt 42

Researcher: were there any difficulties for the interpreter in this assignment?
(2.0)

Medical practitioner: the only difficulty really was with the (.) breathing exercise that we have to do as part of the scan and it's (.) it's quite hard to explain (.) it's hard for me to explain to somebody who doesn't speak my language in the first place.

Researcher: how do you think the interpreter handled this difficulty?

Medical practitioner: they handled it (.) quite well. They (.) explained this (.) as far as I could tell (.) the patient understood what he was doing and what he was explaining and did it (.) pretty well.

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to handle this difficulty that way?

Medical practitioner: yes

The medical practitioner appears to think of his own problems in explaining the breathing exercise to the patient as an obstacle to the interpreter's performance. It should be noted that, when asked about handling the difficulty, the medical practitioner uses the plural personal pronoun, 'They handled it (.) quite well'. Whether a conscious choice or a slip of the tongue, this could indicate that he thinks of the solutions being a result of joint

effort on the patient's and the interpreter's part. Once again, however, the medical interpreter uses the patient's comprehension as one of the indicators for the interpreter's success in overcoming the difficulty in question. This, in turn, most likely results from the medical practitioner's expectancy for the interpreter to assume some clinical responsibility and act as a member of the medical team, attending to the patient's correct execution of the breathing exercise.

On the other hand, the patient failed to sense the above situation as a difficulty, which is visible in his answer in Excerpt 43:

Excerpt 43

Researcher: czy uważa pan że sytuacja w jakiej pracował tłumacz stwarzała jakieś trudności dla jego pracy?

Do you think the situation in which an interpreter was working posed any difficulties for his performance?

(6.0)

Patient: to znaczy jak?

How's that?

Researcher: czy jakieś problemy miał tłumacz? Czy były jakieś takie zewnętrzne (.) ?

Did the interpreter come across any difficulties? Were there any external ...?

Patient: nie

No

Finally, the interpreter seems to have sensed the same difficulty as the medical practitioner in Excerpt 44 :

Excerpt 44

Researcher: czy dzisiejsza sytuacja stwarzała jakieś trudności dla twojego tłumaczenia?
Did today's session pose any difficulties for your performance?

Interpreter: może że tak powiem charakter przekazywanych informacji (.) chodzi o język techniczny może (.) tylko w tych miejscach potrzebne były dalsze wytłumaczenia ale w sumie nie było takiego większego problemu.

Yes, a kind of information, so to speak, to be passed, I mean technical language; on some occasions, more explanations were required, but in general there weren't any greater difficulties

Researcher: jak sobie z nimi poradziłeś?
How did you handle them?

Interpreter: po prostu klient poprosił o więcej informacji i je dostał.
The client asked for more information and he got it.

Researcher: czy oczekiwałeś tego że w taki sposób sobie poradzisz?
Did you expect yourself to handle them this way?

Interpreter: tak (.) bo jeśli klient nie rozumiał to też bym jakoś mimo wszystko zadbał o to żeby to co miał się dowiedzieć żeby się dowiedział.
Yes, because if the client hadn't understood, I would still have had to see to it that he learnt what he was supposed to learn.

Apart from handling technical language, the interpreter sees having to provide further explanations as an obstacle. A possible reason for that may be related to what he said in Excerpt 40, where he clearly evaluates his performance positively because it was devoid of interruptions. He could feel that providing additional explanations may have disrupted the smooth flow of the exchange. Therefore, there is a tension between his perception of interpreting as linguistic mediation and the expectancies of interpreting held by other participants in the exchange.

Variable C: attributed communicative status

As Excerpt 45 implies, the medical practitioner seems to think highly of interpreters.

Excerpt 45

Researcher: in your opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(3.0)

Medical practitioner: I always expect them to be fairly intelligent (.) obviously they work in second language and (.) and (.) the most of them that come here appear too very pleasant (.) which is what he was.

The medical practitioner draws on a notion of intelligence which, in his view, is manifested in the knowledge of more than one language. Moreover, he uses the word 'pleasant' to characterise the interpreters working in the hospital. A point to note is that this is the second time the medical practitioner refers to pleasant disposition (see Excerpt 36), perhaps pointing to the fact that an interpreter's attitude to their job and their clients is a crucial factor for the medical practitioner when evaluating the work of an interpreter. Another interesting aspect of this utterance is that the medical practitioner refers to his own expectancies when talking about reputation. This may ensue from an earlier question eliciting the medical interpreter's expectancy fulfilment, but it may well reveal the subjective consideration of reputation, which is clearly expressed in 'the most of them that come here appear, too, very pleasant'. This approach to reputation is further confirmation that a number of concepts that may be regarded as 'objective' are in fact subject to individual and expectancy-governed perceptions.

When asked about the reputation of the interpreting profession, the patient mentions its necessity, as seen in Excerpt 46:

Excerpt 46

Researcher: według pana (.) jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

Patient: no to jest potrzeb- potrzebny zawód.
I think this profession is necessary.

Although succinct, the patient's utterance may disclose much about his attitude to the interpreting profession. Given that he has used the interpreter during his examination, he either speaks no English or does so to an extent that prevents him from feeling confident in that situation. Therefore, the patient's apparent inability to handle the situation on his own is likely to shape his view of interpreters as indispensable. Thus, both the patient's and medical practitioner's high opinion of the reputation of interpreters may positively influence their impressions of the interpreter's competence.

The interpreter's view of the reputation of his own profession is rather vaguely expressed in Excerpt 47:

Excerpt 47

Researcher: według ciebie jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

Interpreter: różną ((he laughs quietly)) zależy od kwalifikacji.
Various one, depending on qualifications.

One of the aspects that definitely distinguishes his views on reputation from those of the medical practitioner and the patient is that the interpreter seems to rely on formal criteria, i.e. qualifications. The other two interviewees, on the other hand, draw on their personal experience and expectancies. This difference is likely to result from the different roles played by the participants in the interaction, and the fact that the interpreter belongs to the professional group whose reputation is being queried. As a result, for the interpreter, qualifications may be the main factor influencing the reputation that the interpreting profession enjoys.

GOAL FULFILMENT

Variable D: effectiveness

As for this pragmatic aspect of the interpreter-mediated session, the medical practitioner seems to be satisfied, as in Excerpt 48:

Excerpt 48

Researcher: what was your goal in this session?

Medical practitioner: my goal was to carry out (.) explain the test and carry out the test (.) which was ()

Researcher: did you achieve your goal?

Medical practitioner: yep

Researcher: did the interpreter help you to do that?

Medical practitioner: he did.

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to help you do so?

Medical practitioner: yes

What is most significant here is the fulfilment of the medical practitioner's expectancy regarding the interpreter's assistance in the pursuit of the medical practitioner's goal. A view that the interpreter contributed to the fulfilment of his clinical goal is likely to favourably influence the medical practitioner's impression of the interpreter's competence. This is similar in the case of the patient, although he makes it less explicit in Excerpt 49.

Excerpt 49

Researcher: jaki był pana cel w tym spotkaniu tutaj?
What was your goal in today's session?

Patient: zachorowałem na (.) na klatce piersiowej coś miałem (.) jakieś objawy i musiałem przyjść do szpitala.
I fell ill with ... something appeared on my chest; I had some symptoms and I had to come to hospital.

Researcher: czy osiągnął pan swój cel w tym spotkaniu?
Did you achieve your goal in this session?

Patient: tak
Yes

Researcher: czy tłumacz pomógł panu osiągnąć ten cel?
Did the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

Patient: tak pomógł.
Yes, he did.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwał pan że tłumacz pomoże panu w osiągnięciu tego celu?
Did you expect the interpreter to help you achieve this goal.

Patient: No (.) oczekiwałem
Yes, I expected it.

In the case of the interpreter, the information he gives is slightly more complex, as in Excerpt 50:

Excerpt 50

Researcher: jaki był twój cel w tej sesji?
What was your goal in this session?

Interpreter: mam powiedzieć odnośnie tego co tam się dokładnie działo? ((researcher nodding))
tłumaczenie przed zabiegiem (.) przedstawienie informacji na temat procedury.
Regarding what has just happened in there? – it was interpreting before the examination and giving some information about the whole process.

Researcher: czy osiągnąłeś swój cel?
Did you achieve your goal?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: spodziewałeś się że go osiągniesz?
Did you expect to achieve it?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

The interpreter seems to think that his contribution to the session was successful. He sees his goals as providing information about the examination, as well as interpreting during the examination. This may indicate that the interpreter may feel obliged to take over certain duties from the medical practitioner, who is unable to provide the patient with explanations

in the patient's native language. Here, despite earlier claims, the interpreter seems to acknowledge that his role may be more complex.

Variable E: appropriateness

The medical practitioner's opinion on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour leaves no doubt that his expectancies in this respect have been fulfilled:

Excerpt 51

Researcher: all right (.) now (.) can you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for the situation?

Medical practitioner: it was (.) exemplary ((he laughs)) it is very good (.) yeah yeah.

Researcher: so would you say the interpreter behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?

Medical practitioner: very (.) very appropriately (.) yes.

Researcher: could you give examples of behaviour like that?

(.)

Medical practitioner: in real life you mean? how do you (.) just (.)?

Researcher: during this session.

Medical practitioner: during this session (.) he was (.) he was friendly with the patient and very pleasant with me.

Researcher: did you expect the behaviour like that from the interpreter?

Medical practitioner: yes (.) I expected it.

This excerpt also supports the conclusion reached earlier (see Excerpts 36 and 45) regarding the role of the interpreter's disposition to his duties and to the people he works with in the fulfilment of medical practitioner's expectancies; the medical practitioner perceives the interpreter not only as an individual who provides a rendition of the exchange but also as a professional who is expected to behave in a certain way in a professional context.

The fulfilment of expectancies is also conspicuous in Excerpt 52, which deals with the patient's perception of the interpreter's behaviour with regard to appropriateness:

Excerpt 52

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan skomentować stosowność zachowania się tłumacza w tej sytuacji?
Could you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this situation?

(5.0)

Patient: co to znaczy stosowność?
What does appropriateness mean?

Researcher: czy uważa pan że tłumacz zachował się mniej lub bardziej stosownie do sytuacji?
Do you think the interpreter behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?

Patient: Nie no ok.
No, he did OK

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan podać przykłady takiego zachowania?
And could you give examples of such behaviour?

(5.0)

Patient: ((to himself, silently)) przykłady?
Examples?

(2.0)

Patient: nie (.) no trudno mi powiedzieć (.) bo pierwszy ten (.) to było pierwsze moje (.)
Well, it's difficult to say...because this was my first time..

Regarding the interpreter's perception of his own performance in terms of appropriateness, he indicates that he fulfilled his expectancies, as in Excerpt 53.

Excerpt 53

Researcher: a czy mógłbyś skomentować stosowności swojego zachowania do sytuacji?
Could you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour for this situation?

Interpreter: myślę że było odpowiednie ze względu na to że nie trzymałem z żadną ze stron (.)
byłem tam gdzie powinienem być (.) byłem po środku
*I think it was appropriate because I didn't side with any party. I was where I should be
– right in the middle.*

Researcher: czy uważasz że zachowałeś się bardziej lub mniej stosownie do sytuacji.
Do you think you behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?

Interpreter: nie (.) nie sądzę.
No, I don't think so.

Researcher: bardziej lub mniej stosownie?
more or less appropriate?

Interpreter: no nie sądzę (.) myślę że było tak pośrodku.
No, I don't think so, I think it was just in the middle

Researcher: a mógłbyś podać przykłady takiego zachowania?
Could you give examples of such behaviour?

Interpreter: dokładne odzwierciedlenie tego co jest w rzeczywistości (.) czyli słów
wypowiedzianych (.) atmosfery rozmowy (.) mimiki nawet.
*Faithful rendition of real communication, that is, words uttered, atmosphere of
interaction or even mimicry.*

Researcher: a czy spodziewałeś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony?
Did you expect yourself to behave like that?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

In spite of the interpreter's apparent confusion surrounding the term 'appropriateness', Excerpt 53 seems to show that the interpreter's idea of appropriate behaviour is centred on his view of neutrality and of faithful rendition of complex interaction. The interpreter believes that he was able not to side with either party during the examination and that he had to render all verbal and non-verbal aspects of the exchange between the medical practitioner and the patient. This attitude is consistent with the conclusions arrived at earlier, i.e. the interpreter tends to think of his role as one which is confined to reflecting a given situation, without having an influence on how that situation unfolds.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Variable F: cooperation–competition

As could be inferred from Excerpt 54, the medical practitioner believes that the meeting was characterised by a spirit of cooperation rather than conflict and that the interpreter satisfied the medical practitioner's expectancies in this respect.

Excerpt 54

Researcher: what was the spirit or atmosphere during the meeting?

Medical practitioner: the what the what sorry?

Researcher: SPIRIT or ATMOSPHERE.

Medical practitioner: oh (.) atmosphere (.) all right (.) it was (.) some people you feel uncomfortable with but it was fine.

Researcher: would you say the spirit was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Medical practitioner: cooperation (.) definitely.

Researcher: how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this atmosphere of cooperation?

Medical practitioner: (.) just basically to (.) repeat what I said ((he laughs)).

Researcher: did he do as you expected?

Medical practitioner: yes (.) yes.

The medical practitioner appears to consider two indicators of the spirit of cooperation; he refers both to feeling comfortable in the presence of the people he works with and also to the interpreter repeating after the medical practitioner. The latter may reveal that the medical practitioner takes responsibility for the course of the examination and, consequently, the only activity that he expects of the interpreter is to render faithfully what has been said by the medical practitioner. Moreover, the medical practitioner laughs when he talks about his expectancies in this spirit of cooperation; the laughter can be interpreted in various ways as far as both its intentionality and meaning are concerned, but it may be that the medical practitioner wishes to soften the force of his expectancies. Another point to note is that the medical practitioner expects the interpreter to repeat his, not the patient's, words. This may signify that, to some extent, the medical practitioner thinks of the interpreter as his means of providing the clinical service rather than in terms of the patient's means of accessing this service. In consequence, the interpreter in this case appears to be perceived as someone expected to contribute to the quality of the hospital's service provision.

The patient at this point starts to show signs of anxiety and fatigue, which prevents him from answering all the questions posed by the researcher, as in Excerpt 55.

Excerpt 55

Researcher: a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?
And what was the atmosphere during the session?

(3.5)

Patient: trochę zamieszania (.) bo to jeden tłumaczy przez drugiego.
A bit of commotion because one of them was explaining while the other one was interpreting.

Researcher: a czy uważa pan że atmosfera była bliższa współpracy czy bliższa konfliktowi czy może coś pomiędzy?
Do you think the atmosphere was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Patient: nie (.) no bliższa współ- współ- ((stammering)) współpracy
No, it was closer to cooperation

Researcher: a jakiego zachowania oczekiwał pan od tłumacza w tej atmosferze współpracy?
How did you expect the interpreter to behave in this atmosphere of cooperation?

Patient: takie są te pytania trochę (.) nie wiem (.)
These questions are a bit ... I don't know

((patient begins to look irritated, researcher moves on to the next question))

As far as the cooperation-conflict dimension is concerned, the patient seems to have perceived the interaction in a similar way to both the patient and the medical practitioner, as in Excerpt 56.

Excerpt 56

Researcher: a jaka panowała atmosfera podczas spotkania?
What was the atmosphere during the session?

Interpreter: była trochę może nieco spięta ze względu na niewiadomą ((he laughs quietly)) która czekała pacjenta (.) ale stopniowo się rozluźniała.
It may have been slightly tense because of the unknown that the patient was about to face but it was gradually becoming more relaxed.

Researcher: a czy powiedziałbyś że była ona bliższa współpracy (.) konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
Was it closer to cooperation or competition or something in between?

Interpreter: współpracy
Cooperation.

Researcher: jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w tej atmosferze współpracy?
How did you expect yourself to act in this atmosphere of cooperation?

Interpreter: asystowania
To assist.

Researcher: zrobiłeś tak jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you do as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

The interpreter's expectancies regarding his own behaviour in the atmosphere of cooperation complement those of the medical practitioner. As one could infer from Excerpt 54, the medical practitioner felt in charge of the interpreter-mediated situation, and, as shown in Excerpt 56, the interpreter complies with the roles imposed by the medical practitioner, i.e. the interpreter sees his own role as that of an assistant in the unfolding of the situation or interaction.

Variable G: intense–superficial

Regarding the dimension of emotionality, the medical practitioner perceives the interpreter as appropriately involved in the situation in terms of emotions:

Excerpt 57

Researcher: did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?

(.)

Medical practitioner: no (.) not really.

Researcher: did you (.) sense emotional detachment or emotional involvement or something in between?

Medical practitioner: it was probably something in between (.) he wasn't (.) I mean he was (.) he was (.) trying to (.) help the patient.

Researcher: yeah.

Medical practitioner: to understand what was going on (.) he wasn't

Researcher: all right

Medical practitioner: getting too close or too far.

Researcher: how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this situation?

Medical practitioner: probably like that (.) not too close (.) not too detached.

The medical practitioner implies that appropriate involvement on the interpreter's part consists of a balance between emotional detachment and emotional involvement. A point deserving of some attention is that, by referring to the interpreter's actions as 'helping the patient to understand the examination' rather than 'interpreting', the medical practitioner seems to reveal how he perceives the interpreter's role in this particular situation. In other words, even though the medical practitioner has previously stated that he expects the interpreter to focus on rendering his words (see Excerpt 54), he may also expect the

interpreter to be of assistance to the patient, given that he is unable to communicate in English.

The patient showed signs of fatigue for the rest of the interview, so the researcher decided not to ask follow-up questions:

Excerpt 58

Researcher: a czy zauważył pan jakieś oznaki emocji podczas spotkania?
Did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

Patient: nie
No

((patient showing signs of fatigue and anxiety, the researcher moves on to the next question))

The interpreter's views regarding the emotional aspect of the encounter are expressed in Excerpt 59.

Excerpt 59

Researcher: a czy zauważyłeś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas tego spotkania?
Did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

Interpreter: poza niepokojem (.) nie
Apart from anxiety, no.

Researcher: a czy podczas spotkania wyczułeś bardziej emocjonalne zaangażowanie czy emocjonalny dystans czy coś pomiędzy?
And during the session, did you sense emotional involvement, emotional detachment or something in between?

Interpreter: emocjonalny dystans bardziej
More like emotional detachment

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania oczekiwałeś ze swojej strony w tej sytuacji emocjonalnego dystansu?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this situation of emotional detachment?

Interpreter: można by powiedzieć że (.) nazwałbym to zwierciadłem (.) odzwierciedlenia klientów (.) to znaczy zachowania klientów.
You could say ... I'd call it a mirror, i.e. reflection of clients, I mean, clients' behaviour.

Researcher: i czy zachowałeś się tak jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

The interpreter's perception of the emotionality of the situation seems to differ from that of the medical practitioner. The medical practitioner thinks that the interpreter struck a balance between emotional detachment and emotional involvement; the interpreter, on the other hand, feels that he was more emotionally detached than involved; this is revealed in his description of himself as a mirror reflecting the participants' behaviour. There appears to be certain correspondence between the fact the medical practitioner failed to notice any

signs of emotions during the meeting and the fact he sensed that the interpreter was right in the middle, between emotional engagement and emotional involvement; on the other hand, the interpreter sensed anxiety during the meeting but claims that he was emotionally detached rather than emotionally involved. Although the amount of data and depth of analysis are insufficient to support any conclusions in this respect, it is clear that the same situation can be perceived differently by different individuals, and that their perceptions may be influenced by their individual expectancies.

Variable H: formal–informal

The medical practitioner's views on the interpreter's behaviour within this variable appear to reflect his earlier tendency to view the interpreter's disposition as one of the major factors shaping his impression of the interpreter's competence. As seen in Excerpt 60, the interpreter satisfied the medical practitioner's expectancies by maintaining polite disposition towards all the participants during the encounter:

Excerpt 60

Researcher: can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Medical practitioner: it was probably closer to being informal.

Researcher: how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this informal situation?

Medical practitioner: well (.) just as he did really (.) he was very pleasant to everybody.

In the case of the patient, the exchange with the researcher reveals little due to the patient's condition referred to earlier:

Excerpt 61

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan skomentować (.) stopień formalności tego spotkania (.) czy było ono bardziej formalne czy nieformalne? (.) czy coś pomiędzy?
Could you comment on the degree of formality of this session? Was it more formal or informal or something in between?

Patient: no, form- (.) nie wiem.
It was for ... well, I don't know

Researcher: bardziej oficjalne czy nieoficjalne ?
More official or unofficial?

(.)

Patient: trudno mi cokolwiek powiedzieć bo to było moje pierwsze spotkanie (.) nie mam porównania.
It's difficult to say because it was my first session - it's hard to compare.

The interpreter, who initially had some difficulty understanding the concept of formality, seems to think that, overall, the encounter was maintained on a more formal level, as in Excerpt 62:

Excerpt 62

Researcher: a czy mógłbyś skomentować stopień formalności lub nieformalności spotkania?
Could you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the session?

Interpreter: formalne było (.) bardziej formalne
Formal - it was more formal.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w tej nieformalnej (.) w tej formalnej sytuacji, przepraszam?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this informal, I'm sorry, formal situation?

Interpreter: jeszcze raz sorki?
Say that again please?

Researcher: powiedziałaś że to było formalne bardziej (.) tak? i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś?
You've said it was more formal, right? How did you expect to behave?

Interpreter: to znaczy (.) w tym wypadku formalność rozumiałem jako profesjonalizm
In this case, I understood 'formal' as 'professional'.

(3.0)

Researcher: no dobrze a bardziej oficjalność nieoficjalność (.) tak może to określimy.
Well, let's put it as more or less official.

Interpreter: oficjalne bardziej niż nieoficjalne
It was more official than unofficial

Researcher: oficjalne? oficjalne było bardziej?
Official? Was it more official

((the interpreter nods))

Researcher: i ze swojej strony czego oczekiwałeś w zachowaniu w tej oficjalnej sytuacji?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this official situation?

(3.0)

Interpreter: wykonanie swojej pracy (.) znowu bym powiedział na temat odzwierciedlenia
To do my job, 'to reflect things', as I've said before.

Researcher: tak (.) tak (.) i tak zrobiłeś jak oczekiwałeś?
I see. And did you do as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Unlike the medical practitioner, who thought the examination was more informal (Excerpt 60), the interpreter sensed that the same encounter was more formal. This discrepancy in perception of the situation could be regarded as consistent with the personalities of the two individuals as they emerge through the interview data. The medical practitioner seems to

be someone who pays attention to other people's emotions and dispositions. The interpreter, on the other hand, seems to be primarily focused on doing his job as an impartial interpreter, which may explain why he refers to his expectancies in the formal situation as 'doing his job'.

Variable I: dominance–equality

As far as the dimension of dominance is concerned, the medical practitioner feels that it was he who was dominant in the encounter:

Excerpt 63

Researcher: yeah (.) who seemed dominant during the encounter?

Medical practitioner: ss- sorry?

Researcher: who seemed DOMINANT during the meeting?

(2.0)

Medical practitioner: me (.) I guess ((he laughs)).

Researcher: how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this (.)

Medical practitioner: probably just do what I ask (.) really ().

This reply is consistent with utterances in Excerpt 54, when asked about cooperation during the examination. In both excerpts, the medical practitioner makes it clear that he feels in charge of the situation and that what he expects is for the interpreter to follow his lead, manifested in the interpreter doing what the medical practitioner asked him to do (Excerpt 63) and rendering what the medical practitioner said to the patient (Excerpt 54). Deserving some attention is the laughter of the medical practitioner in Excerpt 63 (and also in Excerpt 54, regarding the cooperation–conflict dimension), when he indicates his superior role in leading the examination. As previously mentioned, laughter may be a technique applied by the medical practitioner to moderate the effect of his wording, i.e. to avoid sounding too autocratic. Thus, the medical practitioner's expectancies towards the interpreter in this respect seem to support one of the conclusions emerging throughout this analysis; the medical practitioner thinks of himself as being in charge of the situation and perceives the interpreter as acting in the role of assistant, helping him to conduct his clinical duties.

Finally, Excerpt 64 shows that the interpreter's perception of dominance during the examination seems to be consistent with that of the medical practitioner:

Excerpt 64

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?
Who seemed dominant during the meeting?

Interpreter: prowadzący badania
The person conducting the exam.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w sytuacji zdominowanej przez prowadzącego badania?
How did you expect yourself to behave in the situation dominated by the person conducting the exam?

Interpreter: () w zasadzie dominacja jego polegała na tym że on trzymał wszystkie te informacje a pacjent się ich dowiadywał (.) więc przełamывał barierę niepokoju no i w sumie starałem się przy tym asystować.
In fact, dominance consisted in the fact the he had all the information which the patient learnt bit by bit and break the barrier of anxiety, and I tried to assist in it.

Researcher: czy zrobiłeś tak jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you do as expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

For the interpreter, who satisfied his own expectancies regarding his own behaviour in this situation, the medical practitioner's dominance is reflected in the fact that he had full knowledge of the patient's state of health. Similarly to Excerpt 56, here the interpreter once again reveals his perception of the medical practitioner's role as someone who leads the situation and his own role as that of someone who assists the medical practitioner to convey his knowledge about the patient's state of health to the patient himself.

Negative expectancies

The medical practitioner claims that his negative expectancies concerned mainly the difficulty of explaining aspects of breathing to the patient. However, as in Excerpt 65, the negative expectancies were violated due to the interpreter's contribution, which may have increased the medical practitioner's impressions of the interpreter's competence.

Excerpt 65

Researcher: before the meeting (.) did you have any fears or concerns or any kind of negative expectations regarding any aspects of the session like outcome, translation

Medical practitioner: I was a bit worried about how the patient understands the breathing aspects of the test but it seems to have worked very well (.)

Researcher: all right.

Medical practitioner: with the interpreter's help

The patient claims not to have had any negative expectancies:

Excerpt 66

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miał pan jakieś obawy albo negatywne oczekiwania w związku z tym spotkaniem?
Before the session, did you have any fears or negative expectations about this session?

(5.0)

Patient: obawy przed tym spotkaniem? nie (.) nie miałem żadnych.
Fears before the session? No, I didn't have any.

The interpreter's negative expectancies revolved around about his own imperfections and the fact that the sessions in which he participates are often unpredictable; like the medical practitioner's negative expectancies, those of the interpreter were also violated, which may have positively influenced his impressions of his own competence, as can be inferred from Excerpt 67.

Excerpt 67

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miałeś jakieś obawy lub innego rodzaju negatywne oczekiwania związane z wynikiem tego spotkania (.) z całą pracą twoją (.) z całą sytuacją?
Before the session, did you have any fears or any negative expectations connected with the outcome of the session, the whole situation or with your work?

Interpreter: czasami mogą być jakieś obawy (.) ale to głównie polega na zgłębianiu swojej niedoskonałości i pokonywaniu niewiadomych sytuacji.
There are some fears sometimes, but it mainly consists in exploring my own imperfection and facing unknown situations.

Researcher: czy te negatywne oczekiwania się spełniły w tej sytuacji?
Did those fears come true in this situation?

Interpreter: nie
No

To conclude this section, similarly to the analysis of the data from the first session, the analysis seems to confirm the possible correlation between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions, since there are indications that most of positive expectancies entertained by all three participants have been fulfilled and that, at the same time, the interpreter enjoyed relatively high marks placed on a scale between 1 and 10 (the medical practitioner said it was 9, the patient evaluated it as 10 and the interpreter thought his competence was between 7 and 8). By the same token, those participants who claimed to have had some negative expectancies prior to the session (the medical practitioner and the interpreter) had those expectancies violated, which further contributed to an overall positive grade assigned by the participants to the interpreter.

Due to the fact that the same interpreter interpreted in both sessions, it comes as no surprise that there is a great deal of consistency in the interpreter's self-perception during these assignments. As in session one, session two appears to reveal that the interpreter feels strongly about a sense of 'neutrality' during the sessions. Even though the other two participants saw him as an assistant to the medical practitioner, the interpreter insists that he expected himself to remain neutral during this session and that he has satisfied his expectancies in this respect. The patient, whose replies to the questions posed by the researcher are exceptionally brief, appears satisfied that his positive expectancies towards the interpreter have been fulfilled. The medical practitioner's expectancies revolved around the transfer of the information to the patient and around the interpreter's attitude to all the participants during the examination. Another aspect that may contribute to the fulfilment of both the medical practitioner's and the interpreter's expectancies regarding the interpreter's performance is that both the medical practitioner and the interpreter acknowledged that it is the medical practitioner who is in charge of the whole examination and that the interpreter is acting in the assisting capacity. In other words, the medical practitioner and the interpreter seemed to have similar expectancies regarding the person in charge of the session, which is why the two participants' expectancies were fulfilled by the CI's performance.

Finally, the analysis of the interviews following session two appears to reinforce one of the conclusions reached in the analysis of the interviews of session one. That is to say, all three of the participants involved in the same session give different accounts of what happened or, to be more precise, emphasise different aspects of the interpreter's behaviour, although they were all posed similar questions and all had a high opinion of the interpreter's competence. Thus, even though participants may focus their attention on different aspects of performance, their impressions of a CI's competence appears to be determined by the extent to which given aspects of performance fulfil or violate their respective expectancies.

4.3 Session three - Citizen Advice Bureau

The following three interviews were conducted after a session at one of Manchester's advice bureaux. The session was attended by an advisor, a Polish client seeking advice and an interpreter. Each of the participants agreed to be interviewed on the premises of the advice bureau.

COMMUNICATIVE STATUS

Variable A: MKS impressions

The advisor seemed to have positive impressions about the interpreter's work, appreciating the fact that the interpreter was able to handle the client's talkative nature, as in Excerpt 68.

Excerpt 68

Researcher: right (.) so can you tell me about the interpreter's work in this session (.) how do you think she (.) performed?

(.)

Advisor: she performed well (.) one of the things (.) that I did notice was that (.) the person she was interpreting (.) did want to (.) go off and tell us the life story rather than (.) sticking to points which is a bit difficult if you're in advice situation (.) when you really want to get down to what's happened in the last few weeks (.) what the complaint is about (.) what the employer's done (.) whereas this person wanted to go on about (.) where she'd been and (that) so she needed to be pulled back a bit (.) in terms of focusing on what the problem was.

Researcher: did you expect her to perform that way (.) did you expect the interpreter to perform that way?

(.)

Advisor: yeah (.) I mean (.) the interpreter was good it (.) it was just I think a bit difficult for her (.) when the person went off for two or three minutes to (.) to notice any sort of (point) where she could stop and say anything (.) it was like the interpreter had to listen (.) to all that was being said rather than say 'no no that's not it'

Researcher: how do you think the interpreter's performance could be improved?

(2.0)

Advisor: I think that certain knowledge of what they're interpreting (.) especially in terms of (.) this is employment law (.) so some of the phrases that I'm throwing out (.) are probably very difficult to translate into Polish so if she'd had a bit of legal knowledge, it would've been easier for her.

The excerpt reveals two aspects of the interpreter's performance that are connected to the advisor's expectancies. One of them refers to the interpreter acting as a coordinator of the session, which here is evident in the advisor's reference to information management and monitoring; that is to say, the advisor expected the interpreter not only to render what the client said in Polish but to actually manage and filter the information provided, as well as to omit irrelevant points. Consequently, the advisor also expected the interpreter to assess the relevance of the information and he trusted that her assessment of this relevance would overlap with his. This, in turn, entails the advisor expecting the interpreter to contribute to his job in terms of legal counselling, since it is the interpreter who judged which chunks of the information provided by the client were relevant to the case. As a result, the interpreter

satisfied the advisor's expectancies by partly assuming the advisor's responsibilities. The other aspect of the advisor's expectancies, which were not fully satisfied, is the interpreter's legal knowledge, which the advisor found falling slightly short of what he thought was required for this session. This may further imply that the advisor expected the interpreter to be not only an expert in relevant languages but also familiar with the subject matter of the meeting.

The interpreter's performance also fulfilled the client's expectancies (Excerpt 69), which, however, seem slightly different from the advisor's.

Excerpt 69

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mogłaby mi pani opowiedzieć o pracy tłumacza podczas tej sesji (.) jak według pani jej poszło (.) tłumaczowi?

So can you tell me about the interpreter's performance during this session? How do you think she, the interpreter, performed?

Client: jeżeli w tej mówimy o dniu dzisiejszym

If we're talking about today

Researcher: tak

yes, we are

Client: jestem bardzo zadowolona (.) z resztą ((interpreter's name)) już bardzo dobre wrażenie na mnie wywarła pierwszy raz kiedy miałam ją jako tłumacza (.) w konsil tax w piter skwir tu w Manczesterze (.) z czego byłam bardzo zadowolona (.) z osobistego tłumaczenia (.) z tłumaczenia przez telefon (.) nie miałam żadnych wątpliwości jeśli chodzi o informacje jakie ja udzielałam i jakie ona mi tłumaczyła ze strony angielskiej.

I'm really pleased; in fact ((interpreter's name)) made this good impression the first time I had her as an interpreter; in council tax in Peter's Square, here in Manchester, which I was pleased with; also when she was my personal interpreter in telephone interpreting; I didn't have any doubts about the information which I gave and which she interpreted for me from English.

Researcher: a dzisiaj

And today?

Client: a dzisiaj tym bardziej

Today even more so

Researcher: i czemu?

And why?

Client: dzisiaj tym bardziej i z resztą samo jej zaangażowanie kiedy usłyszała jaka mam sytuację tam w kunsil taksie (.) po prostu sama zaoferowała mi () tą pomoc właśnie (.) że jest taka możliwość nie wie na ile się jej uda (.) uprościć osobista rozmowę żeby nie przez telefon (.) bo wtedy ona też tłumaczy bo powiedziała że to było dużo łatwiej tylko nie wiedziała czy przeskoczy ten próg ale że zrobi wszystko co będzie mogła i dziękuje bardzo (.) udało się.

Today even more so; her involvement alone, when she heard about my council tax situation; she just offered me her help, saying that there's an opportunity, though she couldn't tell how successful she'll be in simplifying personal conversation to avoid telephone conversation; because she also interpreted then and said it's much easier, but didn't know if she can overcome the problem but that she'll do her best and I'm really grateful (.) she did it.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwała pani tego że jej tak dzisiaj pójdzie?
Did you expect her to perform that way today?

Client: to znaczy wie pan co (.) takie wrażenie wywarła na mnie pierwsze świetne (.) że wiedziałam że jeśli chodzi o tłumaczenie na pewno se świetnie da radę (.) ale o przebieg sprawy o (.) wynik (.) tego nie mogłam oczekiwać po tłumaczu bo to już wiadomo że problemu które ja mam i ktoś rozwiązuje i wyjścia na nie szuka.

You know, my first impression was so great that I knew that she will handle interpreting very well; about the course of the session, its result, I obviously couldn't expect that from the interpreter because the problems I have are being solved by someone else.

Researcher: a jak można by ulepszyć (.) tłumaczenie dzisiejsze (.) czy ma pani jakiś pomysł?
How could the interpreter's performance be improved? Do you have any thoughts on that?

Client: nie (.) nie dzisiaj nie mam (.) nawet w prywatnej rozmowie takiej tam towarzyskiej (.) gdzie nie byłam na boku tylko odruchowo w wolnym czasie tłumaczone miałam o czym na przykład była rozmowa między pracownikami.
No, today I don't; even in a private conversation; when I was standing on the side, she interpreted me the content of conversation between the employees.

An aspect noticeable in the client's relatively substantial elaboration on the interpreter's performance revolves around the client's past experience with this interpreter. At one point in the excerpt, the client states that her first impression of that interpreter was very positive on the first occasion. Secondly, the main expectancy that, according to the client, was fulfilled by the interpreter is that of the interpreter's involvement in the client's case. The lengthy excerpt appears to point to the client expecting the interpreter to act in the role of a personal assistant, i.e. she would like to see the interpreter making phone calls on her behalf and offer her own ideas of how to solve the difficult situation. The client's expectancies in this respect seem to have been fulfilled by the interpreter, who ensured that the client understood an English conversation even outside the session. According to the client's account, the interpreter rendered the content of conversation between two English-speaking people into Polish, although it in no way concerned the client's case. Thus, the client's expectancies appear to slightly resemble those of the advisor's, i.e. both of them expect the interpreter to contribute to the session, not only by enabling communication between the two but also by acting as their respective assistant in pursuing their own goals.

Finally, the interpreter, as seen in Excerpt 70, exercised expectancies that concerned the transfer of the message.

Excerpt 70

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mogłabyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie ci poszło?
OK, so can you tell me about your performance during this session? how do you think you did?

Interpreter: poszło mi (.) myślę że (.) ogólnie w porządku.
I think I did fine in general.

Researcher: dlaczego tak sądzisz?
What makes you think so?

Interpreter: bo została przekazana (.) dokładnie (.) wszystko zostało przekazane tak jak osoba oczekiwała osoby oczekiwały tak myślę.
Because it was passed exactly; everything was passed exactly as the other person persons expected, I think.

Researcher: a spodziewałaś się że tak ci pójdzie?
And did you expect to perform that way?

(2.0)

Interpreter: raczej tak.
I think so.

Researcher: a co można by poprawić w twoim tłumaczeniu dzisiejszym?
And how could your interpreting be improved?

(5.0)

Interpreter: myślę że (7.0) założenie tłumaczenia jest takie że tłumacz powinien tłumaczyć wszystko (.) ale zauważyłam że osoba której tłumaczyłam (.) bardzo dużo podawała informacji dodatkowych i druga osoba w ogóle nie (.) nie było to potrzebne i widziałam że tamta osoba się niecierpliwi więc jakby tego nie tłumaczyłam ale z drugiej strony myślę że (.) być może powinnam tłumaczyć wszystko.

I think that... the assumption of interpreting is that an interpreter should interpret everything, but I've noticed that the person for whom I was interpreting gave a lot of extra information and the other person didn't...it was totally unnecessary and I saw the other person becomes impatient, so I skipped some information, but on the other hand, I have a feeling I should've interpreted everything.

One point in Excerpt 70 that deserves some attention concerns the interpreter's justification of her fairly favourable opinion regarding her own performance. The fact that the interpreter refers to the participants' expectancies may partly explain why she seems to be uncertain about her decision to filter the content of the client's utterances. That is, while she may have been aware that the client expected all her words to be interpreted into English, at the same time she claims to have noticed the impatience on part of the advisor. Therefore, the interpreter's dilemma appears to stem from her inability to fulfil both participants' respective and conflicting expectancies.

Variable B: contextual obstruction

The advisor thinks that the difficulty faced by the interpreter was resolved in a manner complying with his expectations, as in Excerpt 71.

Excerpt 71

Researcher: do you think there were any difficulties in this assignment (.) any situational difficulties?

Advisor: I can refer that to legal aspects and tech- (.) it must be totally (.) it might be easy to do just conversation or interpretation but when you're talking about technical situation when there's not enough () can be translated into English or Polish must be difficult.

Researcher: how do you think the interpreter handled this difficulty?

Advisor: very well (.) she (.) she looked thoughtfully and didn't answer (.) immediately but you could see her mind ticking over for the best words to (.) the best equivalent of Polish word to use

Researcher: did you

Advisor: to use

Researcher: did you expect her to handle it that way

Advisor: yeah (.) yeah

The fact that the advisor expected the interpreter to ensure that the accurate meaning of his utterances is preserved in the other language may stem from the advisor's attention to precision of his expression. In other words, the advisor expected the interpreter to accurately reflect the content of his utterances in the other language. In this sense, one could say that the advisor expected the interpreter to also assume the responsibility of providing accurate information in the client's language. Although it might be argued that the advisor could have referred to accuracy of the interpretation, because this was what he expected of interpreters in general, the fact remains that in Excerpt 68, the advisor seems to have expected the interpreter to filter the information provided by the client, whose information was not always relevant to the subject of the meeting. This may indicate that the advisor entertains different expectancies concerning the interpretation of his own words from those concerning the interpretation of the client's words. When it comes to rendering the client's utterances, the advisor appears to expect the interpreter to act as an assessor of what is more or less relevant to the aim of the meeting; however, when the interpreter renders an utterance into Polish, the advisor expects her to attend to the accuracy of expression as much as he himself does.

The client seems to think that the interpreter experienced no contextual problems in the session that has just taken place, as in Excerpt 72.

Excerpt 72

Researcher: a czy uważa pani że sytuacja w której to tłumaczenie się dzisiaj odbywało stwarzało jakieś trudności dla pracy tłumacza?

Do you think that the situation in which the interpretation took place posed any difficulty to the interpreter's work?

(.)

Client: raczej nie (.) nie (.) było powoli nie chaotycznie (.) dokładnie.

Not really; no, it was slow, not chaotic but thorough.

The interpreter's opinion on contextual obstruction reveals the fact that she faced certain difficulty, of which she tells in Excerpt 73.

Excerpt 73

Researcher: a czy uważasz że dzisiejsza sytuacja w której miało miejsce tłumaczenie stwarzało jakieś trudności dla twojej pracy?

And do you think that today's situation in which interpreting took place posed any difficulty for your work?

(4.0)

Interpreter: dzisiaj- (.) jeżeli chodzi o tą (.) o osoby czy ogólnie o wszystko?

today? about today? about people or everything?

Researcher: o cokolwiek (.) jakikolwiek aspekt sytuacji w której dzisiaj byłaś.

About anything; any aspect of the situation you've participated today.

Interpreter: jedną trudność sprawiło mi to że tamta osoba mówiła bardzo szybko (.) po prostu chciała bardzo dużo informacji przekazać które w ogóle po pierwsze nie były potrzebne a po drugie ciężko mi było jakby zastopować i poprosić o powtórzenie bo (.) to znaczy jak prosiłam o powtórzenie to się okazywało że jednym zdaniem można opowiedzieć (.) to wszystko.

One difficulty was that the person was talking very fast; she just wanted to pass a lot of information, which, to begin with was not so necessary, secondly I found it difficult to interrupt her and ask for repetition because, I mean, after I asked for repetition, it turned out that all could be said in just one sentence.

Researcher: i jak sobie poradziłaś z tą trudnością?

How did you handle this difficulty?

Interpreter: no właśnie tak jak mówię że (.) że prosiłam o powtórzenie ją

As I've said, I asked her to repeat

Researcher: czy oczekiwałaś że (.) że tak sobie poradzisz z tą trudnością?

Did you expect to handle it that way?

Interpreter: tak

Yes

The fact that the interpreter expected herself to ask for repetition when the client's pace of speech was too fast may indicate that the interpreter would like to ensure comprehension between the client and the advisor. It also shows that the interpreter may have thought of herself as the person in charge of coordinating the course of the session, since one can assume that if she had interpreted the client's utterances at a fast pace as well, the advisor would probably have asked for repetition anyway. By asking the client to repeat her words, the interpreter has anticipated the advisor's request and prevented the conversation from being disrupted or paused.

Variable C: attributed communicative status

When referring to an interpreter's reputation, the advisor appreciates the difficulty of that profession, as in Excerpt 74.

Excerpt 74

Researcher: now (.) in your (.) opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(2.0)

Advisor: Do you know? I haven't really thought of it (.) it's not like (.) it's not the conversation where (.) people that I work with (.) I think we'd all say that we appreciate the difficulties (.) in terms of interpreting (.) we know the difficulties in terms of (.) getting things translated from English into Polish in technical sense (.) because we have a lot of leaflets (.) you know (.) so we do appreciate the fact that it's difficult.

The advisor's appreciation of this difficulty may have had a positive effect on his overall impression of the interpreter's competence, i.e. as with variable B, overcoming difficulty tends to increase one's evaluation of an individual who is about to handle this difficulty. Therefore, the advisor's impressions of the CI's competence could be positively influenced by the fact that he came to the session with a positive opinion on CIs who he thinks perform their tasks well despite the difficulties he refers to in Excerpt 74.

The client seems to have come to the session with a relatively high opinion about interpreters, as in Excerpt 75.

Excerpt 75

Researcher: a według pani (.) jaka reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?

And in your opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

Client: wie pan co jest to moim zdaniem bardzo odpowiedzialna praca (.) naprawdę odpowiedzialna (.) bo też zależy od charakteru ludzi którym się tłumaczy coś (.) czasami (.) czasami tłumacz przetłumaczy dobrze a na przykład ktoś źle zrozumie (.) później szuka winnego w kim będzie szukał jak nie w tłumaczu (.) no mnie się wydaje że jest to bardzo odpowiedzialny jednak zawód gdzie miałam styczność w urzędach w szpitalu u lekarza więc ten tłumacz jednak no musi spełniać te warunki znajomości tego języka.

You know, I think it's a very responsible job, really responsible because it also depends on the character of people you interpret for. Sometimes the interpreter gets it right but the other person still misunderstands it. Later they're looking for the person responsible and who will they blame if not the interpreter; well, I think it is a very responsible profession. I've dealt with them in offices, hospitals, at GP's, so interpreters really need to fulfil the prerequisite of having good command of language.

The client's view on the reputation enjoyed by CIs seems to be directly connected with a sense of responsibility vested in these professionals. The fact that the client regards the interpreting profession as requiring responsibility of those who perform this profession may have a positive effect on her overall impression of the interpreter's competence; this is analogical to a situation in which representatives of other reputable professions, such as doctors, lawyers and teachers, are likely to enter any session with an already established high reputation in a given society. For this reason, the positive impressions of the interpreter's competence, as entertained by the client, could be additionally increased by the client's view on interpreters' standing in society.

Finally, the interpreter implies that some people do not appreciate how difficult the profession in question is and how much it differs from bilingualism, which becomes apparent in Excerpt 76.

Excerpt 76

Researcher: a według ciebie jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?

In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(4.0)

Interpreter: wydaje mi się że (.) osoby które miały styczność z tłumaczami zdają sobie sprawę (.) albo które (.) były na jakimś szkoleniu jak postępować w takich sytuacjach to wydaje mi się że zdają sobie sprawę że to nie jest (.) że nie wystarczy tylko znać język (.) że to jest (.) coś więcej jest potrzebne żeby być żeby być tłumaczem.

I think that people who have dealt with interpreters or those who participated in training about dealing with interpreters realise that it's not; it's not enough to speak a language; that something more is required to become an interpreter.

This means that the interpreter came to the session with mixed feelings; that is, she knew prior to the session that not all people recognise the difficulty of duties to be performed during interpreter-mediated sessions. It is relatively easy to establish that the interpreter's impressions of her own competence may be decreased by the general public's underestimation of the complexity underlying her work. Similarly, her communicative status as perceived by herself may be considerably lower than as perceived by the advisor and the client.

GOAL FULFILMENT

Variable D: effectiveness

The advisor sounds satisfied with the interpreter's help in the pursuit of his goal, which can be observed in Excerpt 77.

Excerpt 77

Researcher: from wha- (.) from you point of view, what was the goal in this session

Advisor: goal in this session is to get down (.) to the what the problem is (.) that the person's got they come to see this far (.) sometimes (.) because of the language difficulties (.) it's difficult for the (.) for the Polish person to actually (.) to say (.) we use the term 'if you have a grievance with your employer' (.) now there doesn't seem to be a situation where there's a straightforward grievance (.) just means when you got a problem with your employer.

Researcher: did you achieve your goal in this session?

Advisor: yes.

Researcher: did the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

Advisor: yes.

Researcher: and-

Advisor: it wouldn't have been possible without her.

Researcher: and so did you expect her to-

Advisor: yeah

Although the advisor seems to be absolutely clear about the essential role of the interpreter in the session, which would not have taken place without her, the example he provides in the very first part of the excerpt is less clear. One can assume that the interpreter, apart from rendering the utterances exchanged in the course of the session, was also involved in explaining and clarifying the concept which may not have an equivalent in the client's language, i.e. 'grievance'. If so, this indicates that the advisor expected the interpreter to be in charge of not only language rendition but also the client's

comprehension of technical terms. This is another indication of the advisor's expectancy for the interpreter to perform part of his role, i.e. in a monolingual meeting, the advisor might well feel responsible himself for clarifying the jargon he used.

The client's perception of her own goal fulfilment seems to be positive as well, as evident in Excerpt 78.

Excerpt 78

Researcher: z pani punktu widzenia jaki był cel w tej dzisiejszej sesji?

From your point of view, what was your goal of today's session?

Client: no żeby mi pomóc z problemami z pracodawcą który praktycznie do końca mnie nie poinformował o mojej sytuacji w pracy na tym chorobowym co jestem (.) no dużo nieścisłości (.) no w ogóle zerwał ze mną jakkolwiek taki kontakt (.) jako z pracownikiem (.) nie informując mnie o detalach (.) o rzeczach które mi się należą które powinnam wiedzieć od niego (.) usłyszałam to dzisiaj tutaj.

To help me with the problems with the employer, who didn't fully inform me about the situation at work when I was on a sick leave; lot's of inconsistencies; he wasn't in touch with me at all, as an employee, didn't inform me about the details, about things I should've known from him and which I've heard today.

Researcher: czy w tym spotkaniu osiągnęła pani swój cel?

Did you achieve your goal in this session?

Client: tak tak.

Yes yes.

Researcher: czy (.) czy tłumacz pomógł pani osiągnąć ten cel?

Did the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

Client: no oczywiście że tak.

Yes, of course she did.

Researcher: a czy spodziewała się pani tego że pomoże?

And did you expect her to do so?

Client: tak (.) byłam przekonana.

Yes, I was convinced about that.

The client's definition of her own goal draws on a concept of help in obtaining certain information that she should have obtained from her employer but was able to receive only during the interpreter-mediated session. If the CI was an individual who enabled the client to gain access to the service provided by the institution it then follows that the client's expectancies regarding goal fulfilment were satisfied because the interpreter contributed to the client's pursuit of the goal. However, the excerpt does not allow one to state explicitly if the client's perception of the interpreter's contribution involves the interpreter limiting herself to interpreting the utterances only or additionally explaining and clarifying concepts, as required.

The interpreter's perception of her goal fulfilment seems to be satisfactory, as seen in Excerpt 79.

Excerpt 79

Researcher: z twojego punktu widzenia jaki był cel sesji dzisiejszej?
From your point of view what was your goal in the session?

(5.0)

Interpreter: umożliwienie komunikacji dwóch stron (.) i pomoc w wyjaśnieniu kwestii (.) żeby tamta osoba po prostu zrozumiała właściwie wszystko.
To enable communication between the two parties and help in clarifying the issue so that the other person could understand everything.

Researcher: czy osiągnęłaś ten cel?
Did you achieve that goal?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: czy spodziewałaś się że go osiągniesz?
Did you expect to achieve that?

Interpreter: myślę że tak.
I think so.

The interpreter's expectancies within this variable explicitly concern enabling communication, which, as the excerpt shows, the interpreter understands as helping the client to comprehend complicated issues. This approach to her own role in the goal fulfilment further confirms that the interpreter expects herself to act in the role of an advisory party, aiming not only to accurately interpret the words into Polish but also to ensure that the client is able to comprehend the concepts expressed in her own language.

Variable E: appropriateness

The advisor claims that his expectancies regarding the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour have been fulfilled, to which he refers in Excerpt 80.

Excerpt 80

Researcher: all right (.) now can you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this particular situation?

Advisor: it was very appropriate (.) yes

Researcher: could you give me any examples of her appropriate behaviour?

Advisor: she was very polite (.) you know (.) introduced herself introduced everyone (.) it's what you would expect (.) you know (.) I daresay in the certain circumstances where she'd have to do something different (.) depending on (.) you know if she's interpreting for a doctor (.) interpreting for the police ((he laughs))

Researcher: ((he laughs)) so (.) so did you expect the interpreter like that (.) the behaviour like that from the interpreter in this session?

Advisor: yeah.

The advisor's expectancies connected with appropriateness appear to be related to the interpreter's social behaviour before and during the meeting. Therefore, the interpreter fulfilled the advisor's expectancies regarding appropriateness by demonstrating good manners in the work situation. The fact that the advisor understands the interpreter's behavioural appropriateness in terms of politeness may be interpreted as his perception of the interpreter's status as equal to his, i.e. the advisor seems to think of the interpreter as another professional, who came to perform her duties and help him to conduct his and who is expected to manifest professional conduct, which in this case entails polite disposition towards all the participants.

The client's perception of the interpreter's appropriateness included in Excerpt 81 could mean that her expectancies were satisfied by the interpreter's attentiveness to what was being said during the session.

Excerpt 81

Researcher: a czy mogłaby pani skomentować stosowność zachowania się tłumacza w tej konkretnej sytuacji?
And could you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this specific situation?

(3.0)

((the client looks puzzled))

Researcher: czy uważa pani że tłumacz się zachował bardziej stosownie lub mniej stosownie do tej sytuacji?
Do you think that the interpreter behaved more appropriately or less appropriately for this situation?

Client: nie (.) bardzo stosownie
No, very appropriately

Researcher: a czy pamięta pani przykłady takiego zachowania z dzisiejszego spotkania?
And do you remember any examples of this behaviour from today's meeting?

Client: tak oczywiście (.) ((interpreter's name)) cały czas obserwowała mnie i (.) nie wiem jak panu (.) temu co tutaj udzielał mi porady w każdym bądź razie bardzo uważnie słuchała co mam do powiedzenia i w miarę widziałam jak bardzo dokładnie stara się przetłumaczyć i to samo powtórzyć mnie to co ja powinnam usłyszeć (.) czego nie rozumiałam z angielskiego.

Yes, of course. She watched me all the time and, I'm not sure how to say that, the person who was giving me the advice; anyway, she very attentively listened to what I wanted to say and I saw how much she tries to interpret it exactly and to tell me what I was supposed to hear and what I couldn't understand in English.

Researcher: czy spodziewała się pani takiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza?
Did you expect such behaviour from the interpreter?

Client: tak (.) ze strony ((interpreter's name)) na pewno w 100 %.
Yes, for sure, from ((interpreter's name)), it was 100% sure.

If the advisor's understanding of appropriateness was tantamount to politeness and good manners, the client's understanding of the same concept is clearly related to the interpreter's diligence, i.e. energy and effort put into performing her duties. The difference in expectancies entertained towards the interpreter by the advisor and by the client can be explained by different roles they played in the session. The advisor, who plays the role of a professional in the session, perceives the interpreter's role in a similar way to his own, which evokes his expectancies for the interpreter to behave in what the advisor regards as a professional manner. By contrast, the client, who sees herself as a service recipient, expects high-quality service from the interpreter and these are the terms in which she perceived the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour.

The interpreter seems to be more succinct in justifying why she thinks she satisfied her own expectancies as far as the appropriateness of her behaviour during the session is concerned, as seen in Excerpt 82.

Excerpt 82

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś skomentować stosowność swojego zachowania do tej dzisiejszej sytuacji?
And could you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour for today's situation?

Interpreter: myślę że było (.) odpowiednie.
I think it was adequate.

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś podać przykłady takiego odpowiedniego zachowania z dzisiejszej sesji?
And could you give examples of appropriate behaviour from today's session?

Interpreter: ogólnie (.) ogólnie moje zachowanie plus zachowanie w trakcie tłumaczenia czyli samo tłumaczenie myślę że było adekwatne.
In general... my behaviour in general and my behaviour during interpreting, so interpreting itself, I think, was adequate.

Researcher: a czy spodziewałaś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony
Did you expect this behaviour from yourself

(2.0)

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Although the interpreter provides no specific example of what she thinks was appropriate behaviour on her part during the session, she implies that her behaviour was adequate not only during but also before and after the session. This could indicate that the interpreter regards herself to be at work, and expects herself to act accordingly, not only during an actual act of interpretation but also during the whole time that she spends with her client, which is likely to evoke the expectancy of adequate conduct throughout that period.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Variable F: cooperation–competition

The advisor claims that the interpreter satisfied his expectancies arising from the situation he perceived as cooperation, which could be inferred from Excerpt 83.

Excerpt 83

Researcher: now (.) what was the spirit or atmosphere during the (.) session?

Advisor: relaxed (.) jovial (.) you know (.) trying to keep it (.)

Researcher: would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in [between?

Advisor: oh definitely cooperation

Researcher: right (.) in this situation of cooperation how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

(3.0)

Advisor: the (.) you know (.) she she would relay the questions to the person (.) you know (.) as quickly as possible and to (2.0) to keep the person relaxed 'cos it can be tense when you're trying to get something over and you're a bit frustrated because you haven't got control you're going through (.) another person to talk to that person so there was a bit of control thing there

Researcher: did she act as you (.) as you expected?

Advisor: yeah

The advisor's acknowledgement that the client may feel anxious because she talked to him via the interpreter, as well as his expectancy for the interpreter to ease the client's anxiety, support one of the conclusions reached earlier in this section; that is, CIs are expected not only to swiftly relay the exchange between two participants but also to coordinate a session. In this particular case, coordination involves moderating side-effects of the fact that the client has restricted access to the advisor. This approach on the advisor's part could be interpreted as his expectancy for the interpreter to assume some of his responsibilities. The fact that the advisor words his expectancies towards the interpreter as 'to keep the person relaxed' reveals that he would like the interpreter to take some control over the situation, at least as far as the client's well-being is concerned.

The client also seems to be happy with the fulfilment of her expectancies towards the interpreter, although for slightly different reasons, as can be seen in Excerpt 84.

Excerpt 84

Researcher: a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?
what was the atmosphere like during the meeting?

Client: bardzo miła (.) bardzo miła.
Very nice, very nice.

Researcher: a czy powiedziała pani że była to atmosfera bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say it was closer to competition or conflict or something in between?

Client: to znaczy mi się wydaje że tutaj była taka atmosfera bardzo przyjazna (.) że tłumacz chce mi po prostu pomóc (.) nie to że on (.) jak to się mówi odwała swoją pracę bo to jest obowiązek za to bierze pieniądze nie tylko widziałam że ta dziewczyna naprawdę szczerze stara się żeby mi pomóc żeby w miarę ta jakoś moja sytuację trudną na dzień dzisiejszy rozwiązać.

Well, I mean, I think today's situation was very friendly; the interpreter just wanted to help me; not that she, as one can say, just did her duty because she was paid for it; not only; I saw this girl trying really hard to help me so that my situation, which is still difficult, could be solved.

Researcher: czy spodziewała się pani takiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza?
Did you expect this behaviour from the interpreter?

Client: ze strony tłumacza? tak.
From the interpreter? Yes.

The client's opinion of the interpreter seems to be consistent throughout most of the quoted excerpts; the client's appreciation stems from the interpreter meeting the client's expectancy by acting as a source of help. The origins of this specific expectancy cannot be established from this excerpt alone, although one may speculate that it is the client's predicament, in which she has to deal with her work problem without being able to speak the language, that makes her feel in an inferior position and require help from others. This, in turn, tends to result in clients expecting more help from interpreters than interpreters expect to give.

When asked about the atmosphere during the meeting, the interpreter reveals in Excerpt 85 that she sensed the situation as cooperation in general, though she also recognised that the client was not always cooperating.

Excerpt 85

Researcher: a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?
And what was the atmosphere during the meeting?

Interpreter: atmosfera raczej (.) nieformalna bo nawet (.) jak już jak już skończyło się tłumaczenie ale w zasadzie osoba poszła dokumenty przygotować to (.) ta druga osoba poszła przygotować dokumenty to wywiązała się nieformalna rozmowa (.) zupełnie na inny temat.

Atmosphere was... informal because even when interpreting was over but the person left to prepare some papers, so the other person left to prepare some papers, and an informal chat started about something completely different.

Researcher: czy powiedziałaś że była to atmosfera bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say the atmosphere was closer to cooperation to conflict or something in between?

(2.0)

Interpreter: bliższa współpracy (.) ale bliższa współpracy (.) taka współpraca do końca nie (.) nie była (.) tak jak już mówiłam (.) głównie dlatego że tamta osoba za dużo informacji chciała przekazać w tak krótkim czasie.
Closer to cooperation but just closer; it wasn't full cooperation, as I've said, mainly because the other person wanted to pass so much information in such a short time.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji bliższej współpracy jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś (.) jako tłumacz?
In a situation closer to cooperation what behaviour from yourself did you expect?

(9.0)

Interpreter: to znaczy () moje zachowanie jakie było czy ogólnie?
I mean, you ask what my behaviour was like?

Researcher: czy było takie jakie oczekiwałaś.
If it was like you expected it to be.

Interpreter: tak (.) myślę że tak ponieważ ta druga osoba jakby (4.0) w tamtym momencie była dominująca i (.) jakby narzuciła kierunek tłumaczenia i ja wtedy się wyłączyłam i tłumaczyłam (.) znaczy (.) tłumaczyłam po prostu wszystko.

Yes, I think so because the other person kind of at that moment was dominant and sort of imposed the direction of interpreting and I switched off and interpreted; I mean; I interpreted everything.

Researcher: czy spodziewałaś (.) czy zachowałaś się jak spodziewałaś?
Did you expect... did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

The interpreter claims to have fulfilled her expectancies by refraining from trying to make the client more cooperative and by focusing on rendition of all that was said by the client.

Although the interpreter does not say why she decided to ‘switch off’ and to ‘interpret everything’, her decision may be linked to what she said in Excerpt 70, in which the interpreter claimed that at some point she omitted what she thought was irrelevant information on the client’s part and that she was uncertain if this omission was justified. This indicates that the interpreter, to some extent, expected herself to act as ‘linguistic conduit’ in accurate rendition of participants’ utterances. Taking into account what the interpreter revealed in Excerpt 70, one can assume that Excerpt 85 shows the interpreter’s fulfilment of her expectancy regarding her behaviour in the context she perceived as ‘closer to cooperation’, i.e. ‘interpreting everything’.

Variable G: intense–superficial

The advisor seems to think that the interpreter fulfilled his expectancies entertained in a situation that he perceived as cooperation, as in Excerpt 86.

Excerpt 86

Researcher: right (.) now did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

(3.0)

Advisor: like I said just j(ovial) it was (.) we we’re trying not to keep it as () very serious solicited types conversations just to drop the odd (.) joking about the weather or (.) you know (.) what’s the weather like in Poland.

Researcher: would you say it was more like emotional engagement or emotional detachment or something in between?

Advisor: it was engagement (.) it was emotional engagement with the person that you’re trying to advise and you can see (.) they’re obviously in distress because they’ve got a problem with their employer sometimes it’s creating financial hardship for himself but you know (.) you do engage with them.

Researcher: in this situational (.) in this situation of emotional engagement how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

(.)

Advisor: it’s a re-occurring question in this () I mean I don’t expect the interpreter to (.) to do everything and behave you know () the one today behaved exemplary and that’s what I would expect.

Although the advisor does not explain in detail how he thinks the interpreter should behave in the situation of emotional engagement, an interesting point about the advisor’s account is that he mentions what he expect the interpreter not to do. Despite a lack of concrete examples, the very fact that the advisor assures that he does not expect the interpreter to do all the duties may indicate the advisor’s attempts to moderate the effect he thinks has may have created in the previous excerpts, where he clearly expected the interpreter to act in advisory capacity. In other words, on the one hand, the advisor expects the interpreter to

assist him in his duties, but, on the other hand, he seems to be aware that the interpreter's role may overlap only to some extent with his and that the interpreter also has her own duties to attend to.

When talking about emotional engagement, the client, in Excerpt 87, refers to the interpreter's involvement in solving the client's issues, which seems to largely contribute to fulfilling her expectancies arising from the situation perceived as emotional engagement.

Excerpt 87

Researcher: a czy zauważyła pani jakieś oznaki emocji podczas spotkania (2.0) jakiegokolwiek
And did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting? any signs?

(2.0)

Client: to znaczy wie pan trudno mi powiedzieć bo ja byłam bardzo zdenerwowana przed tym spotkaniem naprawdę.
You know, it's difficult to say because I was really nervous before this meeting.

Researcher: no dobrze a czy uważa pani że to spotkanie to był przykład takiego emocjonalnego zaangażowania uczestników czy może emocjonalnego dystansu czy może coś pomiędzy?
I see, and do you think that this meeting was an example of the participant's emotional engagement or detachment or perhaps something in between?

Client: to znaczy ja odniosłam wrażenie że z ludźmi którzy mi tutaj pomagali tak przedstawiciel firmy jak i tłumacz (.) że chcą (.) każdy detal mi wyjaśnić wytłumaczyć (.) i w miarę możliwości robią wszystko żeby mi pomóż w tej sytuacji w jakiej jestem.

Well, my impression was that people who were trying to help me here, both this employee and the interpreter, that they want explain every detail to me and, as much as possible, they'll do all it takes to help me in my situation.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji takiego (.) stosunku pracownika (.) do pani jakiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza się pani spodziewała? (.) w takiej sytuacji gdzie tak jak pani mówi (.) pracownicy naprawdę starają się pomóc pani.

In this situation, displaying this attitude from the advisor, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter? In the situation where, as you say, the advisor really wanted to help you.

Client: to znaczy wie pan co, tak jak poznałam panią ((interpreter's name)) w sumie na tym jednym spotkaniu w konsil taksie w urzędzie też bardzo poważnym najpoważniejszym chyba w Anglii pominąwszy władze to byłam pewna zaufania do niej (.) młodzietka dziewczyna ale bardzo się zna na rzeczy (.) jest (.) no jak (.) brakuje mi określenia odpowiedniego (.) nie traktuje swojej pracy jako typowy obowiązek (.) koniec to jest mój czas (.) nie (.) potrafi dać dodatkowo jeszcze coś i (.) za to jestem jej bardzo wdzięczna.

You know, when I met ((interpreter's name)) during this meeting in the council tax office, the most serious office in England, I guess, except the government, I was fully confident about her; a young girl but very knowledgeable about her area was, how do I say it, didn't approach her work as a typical duty, that is, 'that's my time and that's it'; no; nothing like that; she can give more and that's why I'm grateful to her.

Researcher: czy zachowała się tak jak pani oczekiwała w tej takiej sytuacji (.)
Did she behave as you expected in this situation

Client: tak
Yes

Researcher: zaangażowania?
of engagement?

Client: tak
Yes

The client's perception of the interpreter as a person who can be trusted and confided in, as well as the interpreter's fulfilment of the client's expectancies, reinforce the conclusion reached earlier in the section; that is, the client expects the interpreter to be emotionally engaged in performing her duties. As a result, the fact that the client sees the interpreter as emotionally engaged makes the client believe that she can expect more than linguistic assistance from the interpreter, which is evident, among others, in the client saying 'she can give more'. Thus, as also seen in the analysis of the previous excerpts, clients tend to expect interpreters to help them with more than language alone.

The interpreter sensed that some emotional engagement was present and she seems to be confident she behaved in accordance with her expectancies, which in this case involved refraining from engaging emotionally in the situation, as visible in Excerpt 88.

Excerpt 88

Researcher: a czy zauważyłaś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas tego spotkania?
And did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?

Interpreter: minimalne jeżeli już (.) ale raczej nie (.) no minimalne
Minimal; if any, not really; they were minimal.

Researcher: czy tę sesję byś określiła jako przykład takiego emocjonalnego zaangażowania się uczestników czy emocjonalnego dystansu czy może coś pomiędzy?
Would you describe this session as an example of the participant's emotional engagement or emotional distance or maybe something in between?

Interpreter: raczej coś pomiędzy (.) jeśli pojawiły się emocjonalne zaangażowanie to myślę że (.) tylko z jednej strony (3.0) ale niekoniecznie dotyczyło tłumaczenia tylko sytuacji.
Something in between; if any emotional engagement appeared I think it was on one side only but it may have concerned the whole situation not the interpreting.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji takiego a nie innego emocjonalnego zaangażowania jakiego (.) zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś?
In the situation of this specific emotional engagement what behaviour did you expect from yourself?

(3.0)

Interpreter: w ogóle się nie zaangażowałam ja emocjonalnie (.) o (.) tak po prostu (.) robiłam myślę to co do mnie należy czyli tłumaczyłam.
I didn't involve emotionally at all; I just... just did what my job was, that is, I interpreted.

Researcher: czy zachowałaś się tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

The interpreter's expectancy regarding the avoidance of emotional involvement may reveal that she perceives her role differently from how the client does. This difference could be explained by the fact that the interpreter came to the session to perform a job for which she will be paid, as opposed to the client who came to obtain some help in solving her problems. As a result, the interpreter may expect herself to stay focused on conducting her duties without engaging emotionally in the case itself, since such engagement could have a negative effect on her performance. Another interesting matter, which has been referred to several times in this chapter, concerns the interpreter's conviction that she was able to not to become emotionally involved in the session, whereas the client claims to be happy with the interpreter's involvement in her case. As mentioned before, this may be connected with a possible reciprocal relation between the expectancies and reality, which will be elaborated on in the conclusion to this chapter.

Variable H: formal–informal

Although Excerpt 89 does not directly reveal the expectancies exercised by the advisor from the interpreter in the situation he perceived as informal, one can sense that she fulfilled his expectancies by contributing to the relaxed atmosphere during the session.

Excerpt 89

Researcher: now (.) can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Advisor: informal.

Researcher: and how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this informal situation?

(.)

Advisor: she (.) she behaved (.) the whole idea in terms of from the organisation I work for is to try to put people at their ease and try and make sure there's no tension or anything like that bec- because that way you get more information out (.) the person's relaxed and you can relay the information back to them through the interpreter (.) in principle everybody even the interpreter can be nervous if they (.) if they're not used to the area of law or in what they're interpreting.

Researcher: so did the interpreter behave as you expected?

Advisor: yep.

The advisor's expectancy for the interpreter to help in maintaining a relaxed atmosphere, which, in turn, is supposed to facilitate the process of obtaining information from the client, discloses that the advisor is treating the interpreter as a professional partner. It could mean that, to some extent, the advisor expects the interpreter to take over some of his duties and help him in creating a favourable and friendly atmosphere that will prevent the client from

becoming anxious and that will contribute to the advisor's success in providing the client with the assistance required.

The client, who found it difficult to say what type of behaviour she expected from the interpreter in the situation she described as semi-formal, seemed to be surprised with the warm and friendly atmosphere during the session.

Excerpt 90

Researcher: a czy mogłaby pani skomentować stopień formalności czy też nieformalności spotkania?
And could you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Client: to znaczy (.) nie wiem o co chodzi
Well, I don't know what you mean.

Researcher: czy uważa pani że to spotkanie było bardziej formalne czy bardziej nieformalne czy może coś pomiędzy (.) może oficjalne nieoficjalne pomiędzy?
Do you think this meeting was more formal or more informal or something in between; or maybe more official, unofficial or in between?

Client: nie (.) to znaczy to spotkanie było ustalone i ja odniosłam wrażenie że (.) że (.) nie podchodzono do mnie jako do osoby której muszą pomóc tylko że chcą pomóc (.) nie wiem czy ja to dobrze rozumiem o co panu chodziło (.) byłam miło przyjęta i po prostu ta chęć (.) w miarę zaoferowania pomocy a nie było to na zasadzie urzędowej rozmowy bo to jest obowiązek (.) nie takiego wrażenia nie odniosłam (.) wprost przeciwnie.

No, the meeting was set in advance and my impression was that I was approached not as a person who they have to help but as a person they want to help, I'm not sure if I got the question right, I was received nicely and this willingness of offering help didn't look like formal conversation connected with duties; nothing like that; just the contrary.

Researcher: czyli takie mniej oficjalne powiedzmy.
So let's say it was less official.

Client: tak tak.
Yes yes.

Researcher: w takim mniej oficjalnym spotkaniu jakiego zachowania pani by oczekiwała od tłumacza (.) jak dzisiaj było mniej oficjalne?
In this less official meeting, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter; as you said it was less official today?

Client: to znaczy nie (.) jak byłam naprawdę miło zaskoczona (.) atmosfera taka jaka była (.) sama byłam zdenerwowana strasznie ale później po paru minutach (.) opuściły mnie te nerwy i czułam się bardzo swobodnie (.) tak jakoś.
I mean I was really pleasantly surprised; the atmosphere was so... I was nervous myself but a few minutes later, these nerves faded away and I felt at ease somehow.

Researcher: a czy tłumacz według pani zachował się tak jak pani oczekiwała w tej sytuacji mniej oficjalnej?

In your opinion did the interpreter behave in the way you expected in this less official situation?

Client: tak (.) tak (.) oczywiście
Yes, yes, of course.

Although the client does not mention how she expected the interpreter to behave, there is one aspect that may help to determine how the interpreter satisfied the client's expectancies. Namely, because the client praises the atmosphere that was maintained during the session, one can assume that the interpreter partly contributed this particular atmosphere, which the client found so suitable. In other words, one can assume that the interpreter was partly responsible for creating the atmosphere in which the client felt comfortable. The fact that the client refers to 'surprise' in Excerpt 90 may be indicative of negative expectancies, which the interpreter violated. Besides, the client mentions that during the meeting she sensed that the two professionals helped her because they wanted to, rather than because they had to. This means that the interpreter contributed to easing the client's anxiety, which was caused by the idea of the meeting. This may raise a question whether, and to what extent, interpreters, who are the only link between a client who speaks no foreign language and the institutional world which speaks this foreign language, are responsible for the well-being of clients. This question will be addressed in the conclusion to this chapter.

According to the interpreter's account in Excerpt 91, her expectancies in what she felt was an informal session seem to have been fulfilled.

Excerpt 91

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś skomentować stopień formalności albo nieformalności spotkania?
And could you comment on a degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Interpreter: było (.) nieformalne raczej ()
It was... it was less formal

Researcher: w takim nieformalnym spotkaniu (.) jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś?
In this less formal meeting what behaviour did you expect from yourself?
(5.0)

Interpreter: w trakcie tłumaczenia czy ogólnie?
During interpreting or in general?

Researcher: w trakcie tłumaczenia (2.0) powiedziałaś że było nieformalne tłumaczenie więc jakiego? (.)
During the interpreting... you said it was informal so what behaviour...?

Interpreter: ale jednak no znaczy mimo wszystko że było nieformalne (.) to znaczy atmosfera była (.) może dlatego że ja znałam te osoby i dlatego ja odczułam że było nieformalne (.) nie wiem jak ta druga strona.

But, although it was informal... I mean the atmosphere was. Maybe because I knew the person and that's why I sensed it as informal. I'm not sure about the client's feelings though.

Researcher: tak ale chodzi mi o twoje odczucie
Yes, and I ask about what you sensed.

Interpreter: tak jak mówię dla mnie to było nieformalne tłumaczenie wydaje mi się (.) ale zachowałam się adekwatnie do sytuacji bo wtedy kiedy było (.) kiedy można było sobie pozwolić na rozmowę przed czy po (.) to była rozmowa a w trakcie jednak chodziło o przekazanie konkretnych informacji.

As I say, for me it was less formal interpretation, I think. But I behaved adequately for the situation because whenever it was possible... when it was possible to have a chat before or after we had it; but during the meeting it was all about passing the information.

Researcher: czy zachowałaś się tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: myślę że tak.
I think so.

The lengthy excerpt seems to reveal that in a situation perceived by the interpreter as informal, she expected herself to act less formally as well, which in this specific situation involved having a brief social conversation with the client before and after the session. This points to the interpreter feeling responsible for the client's well-being in the place which potentially can be overwhelming to the client due to the nature of the meeting and the client's inability to speak English. This partly answers the question posed earlier, regarding expectancies for interpreters to attend to the client's other (i.e. non-linguistic) needs, such as ensuring they feel comfortable in the English-speaking environment. The fact that the interpreter expected herself to interact socially with the client indicates that she could see her job as something more than interpreting, although it is difficult to state whether the interpreter's behaviour stemmed from professional courtesy or from the fact she has already interpreted in sessions involving the same client.

Variable I: dominance–equality

In Excerpt 92, the advisor seems to believe that the meeting was equally dominated by the participants, except for a few occasions when the client spoke too much and not always to the point.

Excerpt 92

Researcher: now (.) who seemed dominant during the meeting?

(.)

Advisor: for part of the meeting it was the person who'd come for the advice (.) because she tended to want to say a lot of things and go off to tell us about different things which might not have been appropriate to the advice that she needed (.) but obviously through the course of the meeting we managed to pull it back and say (.) just (.) can you just answer the question that we're asking so it (.) it changed.

Researcher: yeah (.) so in this situation of (.) of fluctuating dominance ((the advisor is laughing)) how did you (.) how did you expect (2.0) so how did you expect the interpreter to act?

Advisor: I thought the interpreter (.) could have at some (.) some stages said (.) you know (.) maybe-maybe that's not relevant or maybe that's not the idea but she just said exactly what the person is saying.

It is evident that the interpreter violated certain expectancies exercised by the advisor, who, in the situation partly dominated by the client, expected the interpreter to intervene when the client's utterances were irrelevant to the subject matter of the session. This fact further confirms that the advisor does not expect the interpreter to confine herself to language mediation but to attend to the content of the client's speech. One can even notice in the excerpt that the advisor sounds disappointed with the fact that the interpreter rendered everything that was said by the client, which, paradoxically, tends to be generally perceived as one of the main prerequisites of successful interpreting performance.

The client seems to think that the interpreter was most dominant because she took responsibility for managing the bilingual session, as seen in Excerpt 93.

Excerpt 93

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być osoba dominującą podczas tego spotkania?
And who seemed to be dominant during this meeting?

(3.0)

Client: no nie wiem jak to panu określić bo moim zdaniem (.) na tłumaczu była najważniejsza rola (.) żeby w miarę przetłumaczyć tu pracownikowi temu menadżerowi czy dorad- panu doradcy żeby on dokładnie wiedział o co mnie chodzi a z kolei to co on miał mi do poinformowania że ona musi to też dokładnie mi przekazać żeby nie wyszły tak jak mówiłam na początku rozmowy jakieś niejasności (.) i tu mi się wydaje że rola tłumacza jest bardzo ważna.

Well, I don't know how to say that; in my opinion the interpreter played the crucial role of interpreting for the advisor so that he knew exactly what I was saying and also whatever the advisor wanted to tell me had to be exactly converted so that no inconsistencies would come up, as I said at the beginning, and here I think the interpreter's role is crucial.

Researcher: czy pani by powiedziała że to tłumacz był dominującą osobą?
So would you say it was the interpreter who dominated?

(3.0)

Client: jeżeli (.) w moim przypadku chodzi to tak (.) to szczerze powiem że tak (.) z tym że bardzo tutaj jestem wdzięczna doradcy który (.) no też bardzo miły i widać że szczerze pomaga i (.) i ten zasób wiadomości jaki ma to wykorzystuje do końca.

If, in my case, yes, to be honest; but I'm also grateful to the advisor who was also very nice and helped diligently; and that he uses his knowledge fully to this end.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwała pani że tłumacz będzie dominującą osobą?
And did you expect the interpreter to be dominant?

Client: to znaczy chyba nie ale (.) chyba nie (.) tylko że widziałam że ((interpreter's name)) robi to z takim oddaniem zaangażowaniem i no tak jak mówiłam wcześniej bez jakiegos przymusu (.) tylko z chęcią żeby mi pomóż.

I think I didn't; I didn't but I saw ((interpreter's name)) do this with devotion and engagement, as I've said before, and without being forced to anything but with willingness to help me.

It seems to be relatively difficult to assess what effect the interpreter's apparent dominance in the session had on the client's perception of the interpreter's competence, mainly

because it is hard to infer the valence of the expectancy from the excerpt. If the expectancy is negative, then the interpreter, who violated it, will have further contributed to the client's positive impressions of her competence by acting in a manner that the client perceived as devotion and engagement, which she did not expect.

Excerpt 94 shows that the interpreter fulfilled her own expectancies by accurate rendition of what was said by the advisor, who, in her opinion, was dominant in the session.

Excerpt 94

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?
And who seemed to be dominant during the meeting?

Interpreter: osoba mówiąca językiem angielskim (.) zdecydowanie.
The person who spoke English- definitely.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji gdzie osoba mówiąca językiem angielskim dominuje (.) nad sytuacją jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś?
In the situation dominated by the English-speaking person what behaviour did you expect from yourself?

(7.0)

Interpreter: czy mam to ocenić też (.) czy jakie to było czy ()?
Do you want me to assess what it was like or.....?

Researcher: już oceniłaś bo powiedziałaś że osoba w języku angielskim dominowała.
You've already assessed because you said the English-speaking person dominated.

Interpreter: tak ale ja uważam że było to bardzo pozytywne w tej sytuacji.
Yes, but I think it was positive in this situation.

Researcher: tak ale moje pytanie jest w takiej sytuacji gdzie (.) gdzie dominuje osoba mówiąca po angielsku jak według siebie samej ty powinnaś się zachować.
Yes but my question is in the situation dominated by the English-speaking person how should you behave in your opinion.

(5.0)

Interpreter: dokładnie przekazałam (.) to co ta osoba mówiła więc
I passed accurately whatever the person said so

Researcher: czy tak się (.)
did you

Interpreter: tak tak myślę że tak właśnie powinno być.
Yes yes I think it's the way it should be.

Researcher: i tak tego zachowania oczekiwałaś od siebie?
so you expected this behaviour from yourself?

Interpreter: ((nodding)) mhm

The fact that the interpreter expected herself to relay exactly what the advisor said may undermine one of the conclusions reached earlier, i.e. that the interpreter expected herself to act as a coordinator of the session. However, this discrepancy can be accounted for by the fact that the interpreter found the advisor's speech concise and relevant. By contrast, as

revealed in one of the previous excerpts in this section, the interpreter considered omitting some parts of the client's speech with a view to making it more relevant and manageable. Therefore, in this excerpt the interpreter's expectancies do not involve acting as a session coordinator, at least as far as the advisor's utterances are concerned; however, on the basis of the analysis of earlier excerpts, one may assume that if the interpreter had found it necessary to leave out some of the advisor's speech on the grounds of its irrelevance to the subject matter, she might have considered doing so.

Negative expectancies

The advisor seemed to have exercised some negative expectancies prior to the meeting, as seen in Excerpt 95.

Excerpt 95

Researcher: now (.) before the meeting (.) did you have any fears or concerns or any kind of negative expectations connected with any aspect of the session like the interpreter's work or the fact that it's mediated by the interpreter or situation itself

Advisor: only that you try and get across to the person the (.) what they need to do (.) what's happened to them (.) what the law says to them and sometimes if you're going through another person and you don't know exactly how this person is (.) is actually getting the message you have to trust the interpreter.

Researcher: did those fears come true in this session?

Advisor: no (.) I think it was a very good session and the person went away (.) thanked us for the advice and knew clearly what we was going to do on her behalf and what was going to happen within the next two or three weeks.

The interpreter's violation of the advisor's negative expectancy is likely to contribute to his positive impressions of the interpreter's competence in this session. The fact that the advisor refers to trust required of the interpreter may indicate that he has experienced or heard someone else experience interpretation that somehow jeopardised the process of message transfer during a similar meeting. Moreover, the fact that the advisor sounds concerned about the client's reception of his message via the interpreter signifies his acknowledgement of the interpreter's crucial role in the advice-giving process and of his relinquishment of certain aspects of control over the session.

The client claims to have had no negative expectancies prior to the meeting, which she explains by alluding to the positive impression she had of the interpreter in previous meetings, as in Excerpt 96.

Excerpt 96

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miała pani jakieś obawy (.) albo innego takiego rodzaju negatywne oczekiwania związane z tłumaczem (.) z pracą tłumacza?
And before the meeting, did you have any fears or concerns or any other types of negative expectations connected with the interpreter's work?

Client: nie (.) nie dlatego że (.) tak jak mówię (.) poznałam już wcześniej bo (.) miałam już w swoim przypadku innych tłumaczy gdzie byłam trochę zaskoczona zawiedziona ale tu byłam przekonana (.) że (.) że to mnie nie spotka.
No, no, because, as I've said, I've met her before; but I had other interpreters in my case, who surprised and disappointed me but today I knew that no disappointment waited for me.

Similarly, the interpreter, who has already acted in a similar capacity with the same client, seemed to have had no negative expectancies before the session, of which she tells in Excerpt 97.

Excerpt 97

Researcher: dobrze (.) a czy przed spotkaniem miałas miałaś jakieś obawy związane ze swoją pracą jako tłumacz z wynikiem tego spotkania (.) czy miałaś jakiegokolwiek negatywne oczekiwania związane z tym spotkaniem przed tym spotkaniem?

Fine, and before the meeting, did you have any fears concerning your interpreting work or the outcome of this situation; did you have any negative expectations connected with this meeting?

Interpreter: nie (.) nie miałam negatywnych oczekiwań (.) może dlatego że wiedziałam mniej więcej czego będzie to dotyczyło (.) i wiedziałam że to będzie jakieś takie trochę (.) nie do końca bardzo formalna sytuacja.
No I didn't have any negative expectations; maybe because I knew more or less what it will be about; and I knew it'll be a bit; not exactly a formal situation.

To conclude, the analysis of the interviews conducted after the session seems to indicate that there is a possible connection between the fulfilment of a participant's expectancies and their impression of an interpreter's competence. This connection can be seen in the relatively high marks awarded by participants, who were asked to express their impressions of the CI's competence in form of a numeral from 1 to 10. The advisor, who awarded 8 to the CI, has been shown to believe that most of his positive expectancies have been fulfilled. The fact that one of them was violated (Excerpt 68 and 92) may explain why the advisor did not award a higher mark. The client's high assessment of the interpreter's competence (mark 10) is consistent with the client's account of her expectancy fulfilment, most of which seems to concern positive expectancies. Finally, the interpreter's impressions of her own competence (mark 8) also acknowledges the correspondence

between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions, since only few of the positive expectancies have been violated, as in Excerpt 70.

Moreover, the analysis of interviews following session three evidently reinforces the conclusions reached in the analysis of the previous ones. One of them is that both the advisor and the client expect the interpreter to cross the boundaries of her role consisting of relaying the exchange. Both participants expect the interpreter to empathise with them and to assist them in reaching their respective goals. Because each of the two participants has different goals, it is natural that their expectancies towards the interpreter are likely to be different.

Another aspect that has been signalled throughout the analysis is the reciprocal relationship between participants' expectancies and the reality that the participants are in. The analysis of all the interview transcripts in this chapter seems to have yielded sufficiently conclusive data to point to the two-directional nature of expectancies; that is, expectancies, which are responsible for impressions of interpreter competence, are partly determined by the reality in which a participant finds themselves, for example, expectancies exercised towards an interpreter performing in a formal situation will be different from those entertained in a less formal meeting. On the other hand, however, it is the same expectancies that could govern the way that a participant perceives the reality. For example, a given participant may judge an interpreter's performance as satisfactory because all his previous experiences with interpreters have been satisfactory. Thus, a participant may think of a CI's performance in a given episode as competent because they expect it to be competent. This complies with Heise's (2007) claim regarding people's tendency to bridge the gap between what they expect of reality (fundamental sentiments) and how they feel about a given aspect of this reality at a given moment (transient sentiments). In more general terms, the participant may have favourable impressions of the interpreter's performance for various reasons; because the interpreter's performance complies with the participant's expectancies or because the participant's expectancies distort the reality in such a way that the participant perceives the interpreter's performance as favourable. This issue is vital for the considerations regarding CI competence and should be pursued in further research.

4.4 Conclusions

The analysis of all the interviews indicates a possible correlation between the expectancies of a participant of an interpreter-mediated encounter and their impressions of an interpreter's competence. A major and overarching implication coming from this correlation is that interpreter competence in principle can be approached in terms of

subjective and individual judgement. Following that, at least four other conclusions can be drawn regarding the results obtained in the process of the above data analysis.

First of all, an interpreter's performance makes participants of a CI-mediated encounter generate their own impressions of an interpreter's competence, which, similarly to expectancies, tend to vary to a considerable extent among individuals. As a result, the same episode of an interpreter's performance may evoke different impressions of the interpreter's competence. Apart from conclusions reached in the analysis of the excerpts in this chapter, the fact that the same interpreting performance may evoke different impressions is also visible in Excerpt 98 and 99, which come from the supplementary dataset (Appendix 3). These interviews were conducted following an interpreter-mediated session, attended by a benefit applicant, an advisor and an interpreter (session five in Appendix 3).

Excerpt 98

Researcher: dobrze (.) dobrze (.) czy mogłabyś mi powiedzieć o (.) o tłumaczeniu (.) o pracy tłumacza podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie jej poszło?
OK, so, can you tell me about the interpreter's work during this session? How do you think she performed?

(.)

Client: z tego co mi się wydaje no to jest w porządku (.) bynajmniej to co on mówił bezpośrednio było tłumaczone do mnie (.) nie tak że tłumacz sobie tam albo zapomniał albo coś tego (.) było dobrze.
As far as I'm concerned, she did fine; what he said was rendered directly to me (.) not that the interpreter forgot anything or something like that (.) it was good.

(.)

Researcher: a (.) dlaczego tak sądzisz?
And ... what makes you think so?

Client: bo (.) bo spotykam się z dużo tłumaczami (.) co jakieś spotkanie mam innego tłumacza i widzę po prostu różnicę między nimi nie (.) że jeden tłumacz (.) no lekarz mówi a ona mi przekaże dwa słowa a resztę (.) tak naprawdę tam może więcej tam lekarz powiedział niż ona mi przetłumaczyła (.) nie?

Because I deal with interpreters a lot, each session I get a different interpreter and just see differences in their performance, right? With one interpreter, a doctor tells a lot and the interpreter gives me two words, without the rest; in fact, the doctor may have said more than she has rendered, right?

Similarly to the client's opinion of the interpreter's performance in Excerpt 98, the interpreter's opinion seems to be favourable as well, as inferred from Excerpt 99.

Excerpt 99

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mogłabyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie ci poszło?

Well, could you tell me about your performance in this meeting? How do you think it went?

(.)

Interpreter: ogólnie (2.0) poszło mi nie najgorzej (.) to znaczy widziałam że osoba której tłumaczyłam (.) raczej wszystko rozumiała (.) tłumaczenie trwało cała (.) trwało półtorej godziny i (.) były praktycznie pojedyncze przypadki kiedy osoba której tłumaczyłam prosiła mnie żebym coś wyjaśniła bardziej (.) żeby zrozumiała lepiej.

In general, it didn't go so bad, I mean, I noticed that the person for whom I was interpreting understood everything. The interpreting took an hour and a half and there were only a few instances when the person for whom I was interpreting asked me to clarify things so that she could understand better.

However, although both the interpreter's and the client's evaluation of the interpreter's performance sound relatively similar, the difference can be seen in the way the two participants justify their opinion. The client, for example, clearly refers to her negative experience with previous interpreters whose renditions tended to contain fewer words than original utterances. These omissions seem to have been perceived by the client as the interpreters' inability to remember all the words, which could have led to creating a negative impression. However, according to the client, the interpreter performing in the session followed by the interviews did not forget any words, which will have violated the client's negative expectancy.

Evaluating her performance positively (i.e. 'not so bad'), the interpreter justifies this opinion by referring to the client's comprehension of the advisor's message. Thus, the client's and the interpreter's justifications of respective impressions show individuality and subjectivity of their expectancies. In other words, the client, who claims to have worked with interpreters whose renditions were shorter than the original message, sounds satisfied with the fact that the interpreter did not forget any portion of utterances during this session. By contrast, the interpreter's impressions of her competence seem to have been conditioned by the client's comprehension of the rendition.

The next conclusion coming from the analysis is that the variation in participants' expectancies toward an interpreter may coincide with the variety of roles that an interpreter can be expected to assume. The analysis in this chapter pointed to a tendency for participants to delegate some of their tasks and objectives to an interpreter. For example, in the case of medical practitioners, it may involve an interpreter attending to a patient's well-

being, while in the case of patients it may mean an interpreter helping a patient to schedule another appointment. However, sometimes expectancies connected with an interpreter's role may have even further implications, which can be inferred from Excerpt 100, which comes from the supplementary dataset. The excerpt comes from the interview conducted with the paediatrician (session four in Appendix 3), following an interpreter-mediated session, who is asked about possible improvement to the interpreter's performance.

Excerpt 100

Researcher: How could her performance be improved (.) in your opinion?

(2.0)

Medical practitioner: I think for this consultation I don't think I could have seen anything different (.) one thing (.) that might have been (.) if she could (.) it had been a complex situation (.) perhaps giving an opportunity for the mother to (.) to have another talk with her 'cos she's heard the information already (.) if she had a telephone contact say 'give me a ring if you want to talk this over again' (.) if that's something feasible within the service I think that would be helping.

The difference between this expectancy on the medical practitioner's part and those referred to and analysed earlier in the chapter is that the expectancy in Excerpt 100 clearly entails the interpreter providing the service outside the session. Moreover, this service would have little in common with interpreting and would mostly signify the interpreter acting as a source of clinical information for the patient who could have overlooked some questions during the session and who could have more questions following the session. This extreme case of the medical practitioner's expectancies evidently involves handing over not only an additional role but also additional responsibility to the interpreter. Whereas the analysis in this chapter focuses on the relation between impression of interpreter competence and expectancy fulfilment or violation, rather than origins of specific expectancies entertained by specific participants, one can speculate that a possible reason why participants tend to see interpreting as more than language mediation is that language is never used in isolation and for its own sake. In other words, language is always used in particular context to serve particular goals, which can explain why interpreters, who use specific languages on behalf of the other two participants, are expected to identify with the goals and means to achieve them.

Another conclusion from the analysis is that participants in an authentic communicative event (rather than a simulated one) are able to reflect on their authentic impressions experienced during an interpreter-mediated encounter. Since participants' expectancies are going to vary, so too will the ways in which they perceive the reality. This tendency was noticed in a number of excerpts quoted and analysed in this chapter, for example, when the same question asked in the same way by the researcher caused the

interviewees to focus on a different aspect of the same concept. This was most common when the question regarding an interpreter's attributed communicative status was asked, which was posed by means of referring to the reputation of the interpreting profession. As was conspicuous throughout the analysis, some participants tended to speak about interpreters' reputation through their own experience, while others referred to what, in their opinion, the public thought (or should think) about interpreters. A slightly different approach in this respect was manifested by interpreters, some of whom displayed a clear tendency to speak about their own sense of reputation through signalling that they are underestimated by other participants. Apart from relevant excerpts analysed in the course of this chapter, Excerpt 101 comes from the interview conducted with the interpreter who mediated the encounter with the paediatrician (session four in Appendix 3) and who comments on the reputation of the interpreting profession.

Excerpt 101

Researcher: według ciebie jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?

In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy? (6.5)

Interpreter: Spotkałam się z różnymi reakcjami (.) i bardzo przychylnymi i (.) spotkałam się z osobami które naprawdę doceniają naszą pracę ale też wiele razy spotkałam się z osobami które były zniecierpliwione (.) zirytowane naszą obecnością (.) które niespecjalnie chciały współpracować a jeśli już współpracowały to z jakimś wielkim trudem im to przychodziło (4.0) jakby te osoby specjalnie nie rozumieją jakoś idei pracy tłumacza które prawdopodobnie nie mówią w innym języku i nigdy nie znalazły się w sytuacji gdzie niczego nie rozumieją (.) więc trudno trudno takie rzeczy czasami (.) a spotkałam się wręcz z wrogimi reakcjami niektórych lekarzy akurat nie w tym szpitalu tylko w innym (.) którzy uważali że jest to jakby strata pieniędzy publicznych i że jeżeli osoba mieszkająca w tym kraju wybiera (.) taką opcję że nie uczy się angielskiego i nie mówi po angielsku (.) to zawsze powinna mieć ze sobą kogoś kto mówi po angielsku kto (.) by jej pomógł.

I have come across various reactions ... those that were favourable from those who really appreciate our work; but I've also come across people who were anxious and irritated with my presence during the session and who were reluctant to cooperate and when they did, I could tell their negative attitude ... it seemed as if these people somehow didn't understand the nature of my work; they don't speak a foreign language and they never ended up in a situation where they couldn't understand a word, so sometimes these things are difficult ... and I even have come across with hostile reactions from some doctors, not in this particular hospital, who thought that if a person who doesn't speak English and lives in this country chooses not to learn English, they should be always accompanied by someone who can help them out.

One can infer from the excerpt that the interpreter talks about the reputation of interpreters through her experience with the hospital staff. It can be concluded from the excerpt that the interpreter's sense of reputation enjoyed by her profession is undermined by misconception and underestimation of interpreter's roles in the clinical context. Both Excerpt 101 and Excerpt 102, the latter coming from the interview following the advice session on benefits (session five in Appendix 3), show how participants' ways of addressing their impressions can be individualized to a considerable extent.

Excerpt 102

Researcher: a według ciebie jakim statusem albo jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
And in your opinion, what status or reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(.)

Client: dobrym
Good

(3.0)

Researcher: a skąd ta opinia u ciebie?
Why do you think so?

Client: bo sama chciałabym być tłumaczem tylko nie mam głowy do na(h)uki ((she laughs))
Because I'd like to be an interpreter myself but I'm not cut out for learning

Unlike the interpreter's perception of the reputation enjoyed by the interpreting profession seen in Excerpt 101, the client's opinion in Excerpt 102 (following a different session) indicates not only a completely different perspective but also a completely different understanding of the concept. In this case, the reputation of interpreters seems to be understood in terms of an unattainable task. Thus, the fact that the same concept is understood and addressed in two different ways confirms the individual and subjective nature of competence impressions.

The next conclusion concerns validity of impressions experienced by those who actually took part in an interpreter-mediated encounter, as opposed to those entertained by an external observer assessing an interpreter's competence. The analysis above has demonstrated that an intercultural encounter never takes place for its own sake and that it always serves fulfilment of participants' respective goals. Furthermore, these goals are more than likely to vary, depending on the roles that a given participant plays during an encounter. Most importantly, if interpreter competence is a matter of subjective and individual assessment, it is the participants who are actually involved in a given encounter and who witnessed their goals pursued and expectancies violated or fulfilled who are most likely to be relied on in giving their own reflection on their perception of the communicative event because it is they who will know if and to what extent their communicative goals have or have not been fulfilled.

An implication that can be said to have emerged in the course of the data analysis is the question of hierarchy of variables in the method and constructs in the model as far as their impact on individual impressions of competence is concerned. Although the CIC model successfully identifies the link between expectancy fulfilment and impressions of competence, the data analysis conducted to test this aspect of the model does not deal with possible variation in the extent to which a given variable, or a group of variables, has an

impact on competence impressions. While one may speculate that the significance of individual variables is, similarly to expectancies, a matter of an individual participant, establishing a pattern according to which a participant values the importance of specific variables to their impressions of competence would undoubtedly contribute to the predictive nature of the CIC model.

Finally, testing the overarching expectancy derived from the CIC model has empirically approached the correspondence between expectancy fulfilment and impressions of CI competence. One of its most immediate implications to the whole model is a clear hierarchy among propositions of the CIC model in the *episodic system*. Neither the ICC model nor the CIC model implied that either of the propositions affects competence impressions to a higher degree than the others. One of the possible causes of this non-hierarchical approach is that both models dealt with expectancies in relation to context only. However, as the analysis has shown, the overarching nature of expectancies resides in the fact that an interactant's impressions of a CI's competence are generated by a CI's performance relating to any of the three aspects of the CIC model (*communicative status, social context and goal fulfilment*). Hence, a question appears whether the CIC model (and the ICC model) should acknowledge that fact that the overarching expectancy principle could be integrated into both models as an overarching proposition. Whereas doing so would require more testing than allowed by the scope of the project, the analysis conducted in this chapter has demonstrated that the centrality of expectancies in the process of competence impression formation could be treated as the next step in revising both models.

CHAPTER V

ENHANCEMENT OF FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY INTERPRETER ACCREDITATION IN THE UK

The aim of this chapter is to discuss how the findings arising from Chapter IV can be treated as a basis for proposing enhancement of the current framework for CIs working in the UK. The aim of this discussion, in turn, is to offer recommendations consistent with the expectancies-based CIC model and to explore their implications. This chapter consists of five sections. Section 5.1 refers to the conclusions discussed in Chapter IV with a view to relating them to the shortcomings of the current professional framework for UK interpreters, already discussed in Chapter I. These shortcomings are juxtaposed with the conclusions reached in Chapter IV to delineate possible ways of rectifying the existing professional framework in terms of both assessment procedure and assessment criteria stipulated in IoL (2007). The following two sections (5.2 and 5.3) deal with specific and concrete ideas for applying the conclusions resulting from testing the overarching expectancy principle to the current professional framework for the UK interpreters. The validity of these applications is supported by research in other disciplines, such as medicine and social studies, which seem to have sophisticated and versatile frameworks for dealing with competence of prospective professionals. The implications for the current framework is dealt with in section 5.4, while section 5.5 outlines general conclusions to the chapter.

5.1 CIC model vs. UK framework shortcomings

The first and foremost implication coming from the correlation between expectancies and competence impressions investigated in Chapter IV is that CI competence defies objective approaches. That is to say, on account of the fact that individuals participating in a CI-mediated encounter will exercise various expectancies towards an interpreter, their impression of the interpreter's competence will tend to vary. However, as already established in Chapter I, IoL (2007) seems to approach CI competence as if it could be assessed objectively. This is manifested in the wording of certain excerpts in the assessment criteria proposed by IoL (2007). For example, one of them states that a candidate should use the language and register appropriate for a given situation (IoL 2007:11). As already mentioned in Chapter I, the wording used to describe this criterion clearly shows IoL's (2007) assumption that appropriateness of language and register can be assessed in an objective manner.

Another manifestation of IoL (2007) attempting to approach competence in objective terms lies in the fact that very few people are involved in a candidate's assessment. Although a transcript and audio-recording are subject to subsequent moderation and although an examiner uses interlocutors' opinions to mark a candidate, it is only the examiner who has full access to a candidate's performance, i.e. interlocutors focus most of their attention on acting out a script and moderators receive an audio-recorded session and the script. The use of one examiner in the assessment of a candidate's performance demonstrates a conviction on IoL's part that a given candidate's performance would generate similar impressions of this candidate's competence with other examiners. However, the implications coming from testing the overarching expectancy principle in the CIC model show that impressions of CI competence are highly individualised.

The next shortcoming in the current professional framework is connected with the relationship between competence and performance; namely, IoL (2007) clearly suggests that performance is tantamount to competence. This is visible in the assessment procedures, which involve a candidate's evaluation conducted by one examiner who observes one instance of a candidate's performance. In other words, the IoL procedures imply that an examiner is able to assess a candidate's competence on the basis of the candidate's one instance of performance. If the examiner marks this performance as satisfactory, it may lead to the candidate being awarded a Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (if they pass the other two units, i.e. sight translation and written translation), which is the qualification that the candidate needs to be allowed to perform the job. However, the overarching expectancy principle tested in this thesis explicitly shows that performance can be treated only as inference of competence, since the same instance of performance may evoke various impressions of competence. That is to say, because a different examiner could have different expectancies of the candidate's behaviour, especially given that the criterion statement leaves a number of crucial concepts subject to interpretation, this examiner could produce a different evaluation of the candidate's performance, which in this case would be tantamount to evaluation of their competence. Therefore, current assessment procedures would benefit from increasing the number and type of competence inferences that are made on the basis of performance.

A further weakness of the current professional framework resides in the fact that the criterion statement (IoL 2007:11) seems to confine an interpreter's role to relaying utterances exchanged during a session and, to a smaller extent, to managing the session, which entails asking for repetition, providing clarification and preventing interaction from collapsing (IoL 2007:11). The transcripts of interviews analysed in Chapter IV have revealed that predicting all the roles in which an interpreter tends to be expected to assume

is next to impossible. However, one tendency that has emerged throughout the analysis is that professionals may expect an interpreter to take on some of their responsibilities, whereas service receivers tend to think of interpreters as their advocates in the pursued goals. Therefore, while it may be difficult to state to what extent an interpreter should comply with participants' expectancies, the criterion statement could at least acknowledge the variety of potential roles that an interpreter may be expected to play.

Moreover, the professional framework delineated by IoL (2007) bases its assessment criteria exclusively on a candidate's performance in simulated conditions. This may stem from the fact that the current framework focuses on a candidate's ability to relay the two participants' exchange, rather than to assume other roles and responsibilities. However, even in this respect, a simulated event mediated by an interpreter candidate poses a considerable restriction, which is connected with the fact that interlocutors receive a script from which they are reading their lines (IoL 2009). Although they are strongly encouraged to act out the script, in practice a simulated interaction will always miss crucial elements that are likely to appear in a real-life one, such as spontaneity of expression, unexpected turn-taking, misunderstandings, etc. Besides, the results obtained in the course of testing the overarching expectancy principle show that interpreters are expected to use their languages to help participants to pursue their goals. If this is so, a simulated event will in no way reveal a candidate's commitment to the pursuit of the two participants' goals, even if the participants are interviewed after a simulated event, since their goal was to pretend to be someone else. By contrast, asking participants, who have just attended an actual event mediated by an interpreter, about various aspects of the interpreter's performance would provide valuable insight into pragmatic aspects of the interpreter's performance that are clearly neglected in the criterion statement put forward by IoL (2007).

Finally, an examiner who is not involved in the interaction during an examination has only partial access to a candidate's performance, although they observe the candidate's whole performance throughout an event. However, if one of the aspects of a candidate's performance to be assessed is contribution to a participant's goal fulfilment, an examiner acting as an observer will be unable to assess whether and to what extent the candidate has attended to the goal fulfilment aspect of the interaction, since this is the aspect that can be commented on only by those who are part of the interaction. Moreover, given that there are as many as three individuals involved in an interpreter-mediated event, each one will have their own individual impressions regarding the goal fulfilling-role of an interpreter in the triadic exchange.

5.2 Framework enhancement - criterion statement

One of the aspects in which the overarching expectancy principle tested in this thesis can help in rectifying the first shortcoming referred to in the previous section and in Chapter I is to change the current approach to competence in the current framework from an objective to a more subjective one. Acknowledging that interpreter competence cannot be subject to objective measurement or observation and that any measurement or observation will actually be individual and subjective is the major enhancement to be proposed. One instance of such acknowledgement could be manifested in amending the language of the criterion statement put forward in the document in question (IoL 2007:11) in such a way that it openly admits subjectivity of an examiner's assessment. For example, one of the criteria listed in the statement in Delivery (Band A) says that a candidate deserving a mark falling within Band A 'displays a courteous and confident manner' (IoL 2007:11). However, the document fails to elaborate on such terms *courteous* or *confident*, which are open to various interpretations, i.e. what seems to be an interpreter's courteous behaviour to one individual does not have to appear in the same way to another one, especially given the fact that they may come from various cultural backgrounds involving various (and sometimes conflicting) approaches to *courtesy*. One potential way to rectify this deficiency would be to enrich the criterion statement with detailed description of what an interpreter's courteous behaviour should look like. However, apart from the fact that a separate criterion statement would have to be written for each language combination, it also remains a fact that even within one culture, individuals' perceptions and understandings of what constitutes courteous behaviour will vary enormously. Therefore, rather than attempt to define 'courtesy' or 'confidence', one could define a criterion in a way that invites personal and subjective judgement. Thus, instead of saying that a candidate who deserves a mark falling in Band A 'displays a courteous and confident manner' (IoL 2007:11), the criterion could be worded as 'there is evidence in some aspects of a candidate's performance that points to them acting in a manner that can be judged as courteous and confident in this specific situation'. Formulating the criterion in this way has several advantages. It will acknowledge the subjectivity of assessment by employing the term 'judged'. The wording will also encourage an examiner to focus on specific (molecular) behaviours of a candidate, which could help this examiner to formulate a more general (molar) judgement of the candidate's behaviour as courteous and confident. Finally, the criterion will admit that an examiner's subjective assessment of a candidate's behaviour as courteous and confident is confined to one episode of a candidate's performance in a specific situation. This, in turn, will provoke a necessity to assess this

candidate in more than one instances of interpreting performance before their competence is evaluated.

Similar amendments to criterion wording could be introduced in the case of the criterion formulated in Language Use (Band A), which is stated as ‘The candidate chooses language and register entirely appropriately to situation’ (IoL 2007:11). Testing the overarching expectancy principle has demonstrated that, similarly to many other variables, the judgement of ‘appropriateness’ depends on specific expectancies that one entertains during a CI-mediated encounter. Since these expectancies will vary across individuals and cultures, the wording of this specific criterion could acknowledge these variations in the following way: ‘In this episode of interpreting performance, the candidate has chosen language and register which the examiner has judged as entirely appropriate to this situation’. One could even take it a step further and emphasise the role of expectancies, as in ‘In this situation, the candidate has entirely satisfied the examiner’s expectations regarding an appropriate choice of language and register, as evident in the following examples’. The inclusion of ‘expectations’ in the criterion formulation would acknowledge that examiners attend to expectancy fulfilment and violation in their judgement of appropriateness of a candidate’s behaviour. Moreover, the replacement of Present Simple with Present Perfect removes an implicit assumption that if a given candidate has chosen appropriate language and register in one episode of a CI-mediated event, they will always do so during others. This, in turn, would also contribute to removing an implicit assumption that one instance of a CI’s performance is tantamount to their competence. At this point, it is necessary to emphasise that the proposed formulation of the criterion will be valid only if the current assessment procedures, which focus on assessment from the point of view of an observer, rather than a participant, are amended, as well. This is so because the overarching expectancy principle tested in Chapter IV concerned the correspondence between competence impressions and fulfilment of expectancies entertained by individuals involved in, rather than detached from, a CI-mediated interaction. Although third-party observers will have their own expectancies regarding a CI’s behaviour, they are likely to focus on different aspects of a CI’s performance in evaluating their competence. This can be rectified by introducing amendments to assessment procedures, discussed in section 5.3.

Apart from amending the wording of the criterion statement, one could also consider enhancing its content, for example, in terms of the roles performed by CIs. The question of roles is clearly neglected in the criterion statement, which focuses on bilateral linguistic transfer of exchange between participants and, to a lesser extent, coordinating the flow of exchange through clarifications and requests for repetitions if necessary (although the statement fails to precisely describe what would constitute this necessity). As evident

from the interview data, a CI tends to find themselves in situations which impose other roles, which participants expect them to play. Therefore, the criterion statement should at least acknowledge other potential roles expected of an interpreter. The data analysis revealed that professionals (service providers) frequently expect interpreters to assume some responsibilities from them, whereas clients (service recipients) often expect interpreters to act as advocates in certain situations. It is also evident from the data analysis that an interpreter needs to be at least partly involved in performing those roles to successfully complete the task. In other words, an interpreter who attends only to linguistic rendition runs the risk of communication breakdown and omission of crucial information, since much of the interaction takes place on levels other than uttered words; for example, a number of excerpts analysed in the thesis pointed to an interpreter filtering information provided by a client who tended to provide more information than was required by a doctor. Therefore, the criterion statement should reflect practice in this respect by acknowledging that a CI will be expected to engage in roles other than linguistic mediation to facilitate interaction or, in the case of conflicting roles, to show awareness of possible implications resulting from their choice of a given role.

5.3 Framework enhancement - assessment procedure

As the discussion in the previous section shows, it is not only the assessment criteria that pose certain issues but also the way in which those criteria are elicited, i.e. assessment procedures. Although the document in question explains that the quality of examination material and results is assured via such means as continuous evaluation of examination formats, board meetings, monitoring of examiners, etc (IoL 2007:44), the actual assessment procedure is described more implicitly. The most obvious issue which arises from the current approach assumed by IoL (2007) is that the assessment is based on one instance of a candidate's performance, which is observed by one examiner who gives a mark based on their own opinion and on those of two interlocutors. Following that, a completed mark sheet and a recording of a candidate's performance are forwarded to a moderator, who analyses the recorded performance to comment on the mark given by the examiner. Judging a candidate's competence on one instance of their performance yields an incomplete picture.

Before specific proposals are discussed regarding how the current assessment procedure can be improved, it is necessary to introduce a crucial term that will be used in the discussion, i.e. *triangulation*. Well established and widely used in research, social studies and clinical assessment, the term is described by, among others, Denzin (1989:237), who distinguishes among four subtypes of *triangulation*, as a strategy of investigating a

phenomenon involving various data, investigators, theories and methodologies. The first subtype, *data triangulation*, refers to collecting data from multiple sources relating to a studied phenomenon and can be further subdivided into three subtypes: *of time*, *of space* and *of person*, which entail gathering data by various people, who are at various places at various times (Denzin 1989:237). Secondly, *investigator triangulation* occurs

when the different knowledge and expertise held by members of the research team are used in the analysis of raw data. When several investigators are involved in a study, this type of triangulation helps reduce the potential bias that occurs when only a single investigator is involved

(Stuart 2007:92)

Thirdly, *theory triangulation* involves investigating the same set of data from various theoretical perspectives (Denzin 1989:239), whereas *method triangulation*, of which there are two types: *within-methods* (using different types of the same method) and *between-methods* (applying various methods) refers to variety of means in measuring or describing a phenomenon (Stuart 2007:91). For the purpose of the present discussion, the chapter will focus on *data triangulation*, *investigator triangulation* and *method triangulation* as potentially relevant in assessment procedures.

One of the main reasons why the idea of *triangulation* can be useful in discussing the interpreter assessment procedures lies in its convergence with the results obtained in testing the overarching expectancy principle of the CIC model. In other words, the CIC model, similarly to *triangulation*, acknowledges the necessity of looking at a studied phenomenon from various perspectives. Although *triangulation* has originally been used in research, it has already been applied in designing assessment procedures in many fields; for example, Stuart (2007) draws on *triangulation* to propose assessment procedures in clinical training. By the same token, the remainder of this section will apply the concept in question to put forward ideas for the enhancement of CI assessment procedures.

Thus, in the current shape, the IoL assessment procedures make little use of any type of triangulation, although one could argue for the presence of *investigator triangulation*, which in the context of the assessment procedure enhancement could be applied by increasing the number of examiners and which could be referred to as *examiner triangulation*. However, even though it could be said that there are as many as four individuals involved in the current assessment procedure proposed by IoL (2007), i.e. an examiner, two interlocutors and a moderator, interlocutors, who tend to assist an examiner in deciding on a grade, focus their attention mainly on acting out a script and a moderator verifies a mark given by an examiner on the basis of an audio recording of a candidate's performance. This means that although there is more than one party contributing to a final

mark, it is only the examiner whose central task is to propose a mark which in their opinion reflects a candidate's performance.

A possible enhancement would involve introducing more than one examiner assessing a candidate's performance, which would rectify the shortcoming concerning reliance on one point of view. At the same time, introducing examiners from various professional backgrounds (translators, linguists, members of public, etc) and with different expertise would provide multiple points of view, which, in turn, would guarantee a more comprehensive inference of a candidate's competence. More importantly, given that the principle derived from the CIC model and tested in the thesis has shown that every individual is likely to entertain different expectancies towards various aspects of a CI's performance, the introduction of more examiners would effectively contribute to enhancing the overall inference of a candidate's competence, even though they would not be involved in the actual interaction. However, one of the issues that needs to be resolved if this solution were applied is which areas of expertise should be considered when examiners are selected and trained. Since testing the principle derived from the CIC model demonstrated a clear tendency for participants to share certain expectancies to an extent [for example, some service providers (institutional employees) expect interpreters to assume part of responsibilities from them, while some service receivers (institutional clients) expect interpreters to act on their behalf during a meeting], one of the criteria in selecting examiners could be their experience in interpreter-mediated events in respective roles. That is to say, an examination in which a candidate interprets between a doctor and a patient could be observed and assessed by an experienced interpreter who has performed on a regular basis in this environment, a doctor who has been involved in regular interpreted sessions and a member of the public who has used an interpreter's service as a patient. Such triangulation of examiners, each of whom has their own expectancies towards an interpreter's performance, would considerably increase the number and variety of perspectives through which a candidate's performance could be assessed, in this way contributing to creating a more complete picture of a candidate's competence.

The next deficiency in the current framework, which could be rectified by drawing on the model of CI competence and the concept of *data triangulation*, is the fact that a candidate's assessment is conducted on a relatively small scale. A similar issue has been observed by Kelly (2005:132), who criticises a current tendency for translation examinations to 'attempt to measure all the skills making up the translator's overall competence at once'. In the case of the current framework for UK interpreters, this is visible in the fact that an examination is confined to one instance of a candidate's performance being subjected to an examiner's opinion. What is more, this performance

takes place in simulated conditions only; as a result, there is no opportunity for an examiner to see how a candidate performs in actual working conditions. This procedure could be improved by introducing what could be referred to as *evidence triangulation* (to distinguish it from *data triangulation* used in research). This enhancement would entail beginning to assess an interpreter's performance during the training, which would make it possible to identify a candidate's initial strengths and weaknesses and to observe a candidate's development in terms of overcoming weaknesses and reinforcing strengths (*evidence triangulation* in terms of *time*). Assessment would continue through a period of examination well into the first phases of their professional career. An issue that arises is at what stage a candidate should be accredited to perform in actual situations requiring bilingual assistance. One solution to this would be to award a candidate a status of trainee interpreter following their successful performance in simulated conditions. Having this status awarded to them, a trainee interpreter would be allowed to perform in real-life contexts, which would allow candidates to be observed in specific episodes of professional practice. A trainee would constantly be assessed and monitored until enough evidence has been gathered to testify that a given trainee is ready to be awarded the full status of interpreter and to be allowed to perform unsupervised. This solution would require certain confidentiality issues to be dealt with, because such a scenario would entail a trainee interpreter being accompanied by a third party (supervisor/mentor) during interactions, for example, between a doctor and a patient. A possible solution to this would be to make regulations on the institutional level (as discussed in section 5.4), which would allow a third party (supervisor/mentor) to be present in CI-mediated situations that might potentially involve confidential and intimate information being revealed throughout interaction. Although arranging and implementing such regulations may be time consuming, they would provide a supervisor/mentor with an invaluable opportunity to gather their impressions of a candidate's competence during a series of episodes involving a candidate's performance.

By the same token, evidence demonstrating a candidate's competence could be gathered in various contexts, i.e. not only during an examination. This could be referred to as *evidence triangulation* in terms of *situation*. Such an enhancement could be implemented by introducing a candidate's assessment in a classroom context, through examination conditions simulating real-life. Various simulations would involve a number of scenarios in which a CI is likely to perform when undertaking real-life assignments. What in research is referred to as *data triangulation* in terms of *persons* could be described as *evidence triangulation* in terms of *persons*. This would refer to evidence collected by any individual who would in one way or another be involved in a candidate's training and

who could be a source of expectancy-based impressions about a candidate's competence. In such a scenario, the difference between *examiner triangulation* and *evidence triangulation* in terms of *persons* would be that the former would refer to individuals who collect and assess the evidence. At the same time, *evidence triangulation* in terms of *persons* would signify individuals who can be a source of evidence, which would later be assessed by examiners. *Evidence triangulation* in terms of *persons* could mean involving such individuals as classroom teachers, classroom peers, clients, professionals and candidates themselves. The idea of gathering data from various individuals who can contribute their point of view to a candidate's assessment is consistent with the results obtained in testing the overarching expectancy principle. Although testing was concerned with fulfilment of expectancies entertained by those who were actually involved in a CI-mediated event, the key role of expectancy fulfilment to impression formation means that any individuals (interlocutors) who witness a CI's performance are able to contribute to an overall assessment of a CI's competence. Therefore, a combination of individuals expressing their opinions on a candidate might yield a more accurate and reliable image of a candidate's competence.

Finally, the assessment procedure would benefit from increasing the number and variety of means applied in the process of assessment, which, on the basis of *method triangulation*, could be labelled *assessment technique triangulation*. One of the most common techniques [and the only one used by IoL (2007)] is *observation*, of which Denzin (1989:162-165) distinguishes four types in research, depending on an observer's identity. Thus, *complete participant* (pretense) refers to an individual whose identity and role is not disclosed to a candidate/learner prior to or during an observation process and who fully interacts with other participants in the field; *participant as observer* refers to an individual making themselves known to the subject and creating 'a series of relationships with the subjects such that they serve as respondents and informants' (Denzin 1989:163); *observer as participant* concerns an observer making themselves known to the subject but forming only a formal and one-off contact with the subject via, for example, asking them to complete a questionnaire or via other highly-formalised means; finally, *complete observer* is completely detached (but revealed) to a subject and focuses on observation of a phenomenon rather than participating in it. The usability of these methods used as assessment techniques in the context of community interpreting would vary. *Complete participant* would be very difficult to apply because it would mean an observer pretending to be a service provider or a service recipient. In practice, this would entail, for instance, a fake GP having a consultation with a real patient, a real GP having a consultation with a fake patient or having both fake GP and fake patient having a consultation interpreted by a

real trainee. Whichever combination, the method and the circumstances make the application of this type of observation not only complicated but also ethically dubious. The *participant as observer* method seems to be more applicable, since it could refer to creating a long-term relationship (possibly on an institutional level) with a service provider (for instance, a solicitor) who, while completing their daily duties, could observe and comment on a trainee interpreter's performance. By the same token, the *observer as participant* method could be used by approaching a service provider or service receiver on a one-off basis with a view to asking them to complete a questionnaire regarding their observation of a trainee interpreter's performance. Finally, the *complete observer* method is currently employed in the IoL procedure by means of having an examiner observing but not participating in the actual exchange. Every type of observation used in isolation would probably yield an incomplete picture of a candidate's competence (especially the *complete observer* one, as argued by Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) with regard to competence assessment made by third-party observers). However, combining some of these types may be helpful in producing evidence from various sources, which can effectively contribute to a comprehensive picture of a candidate's competence.

Another example of *assessment technique triangulation* is the use of *questioning* (Stuart 2007:101). The methodology applied in testing the overarching expectancy principle explicitly showed that interviewing participants of an interpreter-mediated event constitutes a useful tool for eliciting those participants' impressions of an interpreter's competence. However, the method of questioning could easily be applied to a much wider context so as to involve asking questions about expectancy-based impressions to other individuals who are somehow engaged in a candidate's training, observation and assessment and who entertain their own individual expectancies regarding a candidate's competence; for example, this could mean asking a teacher to fill in a questionnaire regarding a student's performance throughout a course, asking observers (participant and non-participant) some questions to provide them with an opportunity to justify their feedback and, finally, asking questions of candidates themselves to see how they assess their strengths and weaknesses. This last one could be easily extended into another method of collecting competence inferences, i.e. *discussion* (Stuart 2007:105) with peers and teachers, which would focus on, for instance, difficulties that a candidate has experienced during an assignment, which, in turn, would reveal a candidate's impression of their own competence, following an interpreted event. Moreover, *questioning* does not need to draw on performance-related aspects only, since, for example, teachers and peers could be asked about a candidate's attitude, engagement and commitment to the role(s) of a CI. Because

these opinions will be subjective, it is important that more than one source is used to obtain impressions about a candidate's engagement in the prospective responsibilities.

Finally, an assessment technique that is consistent with the results obtained from testing the overarching expectancy principle and that is related to the type of triangulation in question is the *learning diary* (Stengelhofen 1993:134) or any written reflection of a candidate's learning and practice, already included in the curriculum of Conference Interpreting training at University of Geneva (Advanced Masters in Conference Interpreting). Since the model has shown that interpreters do entertain their own expectancies regarding their own performance and that their violation or fulfilment determines their own impressions of competence, it is easy to predict that a candidate's self-reflection and self-assessment on such aspects as learning process, weaknesses, strengths and performance may provide a potential source of inferring their competence. If this method were to be applied, a candidate could start using this method relatively early, for example, at the beginning of their course, when they could state in the diary how they expect their competence to improve. As the course progresses, their diary will be filled in on a regular basis with entries reflecting on what they have learnt during a specific session and how they have performed during practice. At some stage, a candidate could attempt to draw on their learning diary, perhaps containing scribbles and loose entries, to create a portfolio. Already used in translation training (Kelly 2005), the translation portfolio, used by prospective translators during their training to collect evidence of their learning, could easily be applied in the context of CI training and assessment. This would involve a candidate making entries to their learning diary on a regular basis with a view to providing evidence of their learning in a form recommended by a trainer. For example, a portfolio could contain a table in which a candidate could write their conclusions following their analysis of a learning diary. Such a table would address a candidate's overall reflection by means of such categories as what they expected from their performance prior to an interpreting exercise, how these expectancies were satisfied/violated and why, as well as what they think needs more attention in their training.

5.4 Implications of the framework enhancement

There are various implications that need to be highlighted with reference to the enhancement proposed. One of them is that of ethics in application of various assessment techniques. For example, if *questioning* is used in a situation involving interpretation conducted in a medical context, a number of NHS-imposed conditions related to ethics in research need to be satisfied (NPSA 2007). This would require making certain provisions and arrangements at the institutional level, i.e. between an educational establishment

running a training course and an NHS department that assessors and candidates are going to attend. Another problem that may appear if a medical context is an environment where observation and assessment will be made is that both medical practitioners and patients may suddenly declare they are unable or unwilling to contribute to a candidate's assessment, although they initially may have agreed to it. This may result from external factors typical of hospital or clinical environment, such as doctor's busy schedules and unexpected calls to emergency situations.

The next issue that needs to be tackled if such a wide range of assessment techniques is going to serve as enhancement to the current framework is whether some of the methods have to be prioritised over others and to what extent. Whereas it may be clear that various techniques have various advantages and disadvantages, the question remains as to which one should be prioritised at a given stage in interpreter training. Whereas an answer to this question would vary depending on course specifics (length of a course, language combinations, resources of an institution running a course, etc), each course, under an enhanced framework, could consist of two stages. The first stage could entail a candidate working and learning in classroom-based simulated conditions; having gathered enough evidence of satisfactory interpreting behaviour, a candidate would be awarded a status of trainee interpreter with a view to entering the second stage. This would entail him/her performing actual interpreting assignments under a supervision of an experienced interpreter/trainer. This division, as well as characteristics of each stage, would influence the choice of an assessment technique applied at a given point during a course. For example, a learning diary is one of the sources of evidence that could be applied throughout the whole course, which would enable assessors to see how a candidate's reflection on their own progress is evolving and whether it testifies of a candidate's ability to look critically at their own performance. On the other hand, applying a method of questioning to a participant during an interview to elicit fulfilment or violation of their expectancies could be minimised in role play-based classroom activities, since a participant who, for instance, plays a role of a doctor may be unable to act out the role realistically enough to force themselves to entertain expectancies towards an interpreter that a real doctor tends to have. Therefore, prioritising *observation* as a way of gathering evidence of a candidate's competence appears to be one of the most feasible assessment techniques at this stage.

However, once a candidate has been granted an interpreter trainee status and when they have started interpreting in genuine intercultural and institutional environments, such as, a non-English speaking patient seeing a GP, some situations may prevent an assessor from being physically present in the same room if a patient gives no consent to an

assessor's presence during an appointment. Another difficulty may appear if a patient does not wish to work with a trainee, which means that this particular type of evidence will need to be collected on a different occasion. For these reasons, when a candidate has reached this stage in training, it may be more feasible for the enhanced framework to focus on *questioning* as a technique of assessment, rather than *observation*. Whereas *observation* could still be applied whenever possible at this stage of interpreter training, eliciting participants' expectancy-generated impressions by means of *questioning* could turn out to be an effective way of gathering relevant evidence of an interpreter's performance. Its effectiveness would be guaranteed by the fact that the participants share their reflections based on genuine experience of being involved in an interpreter-mediated event and that *questioning* in itself would be less invasive and intimidating for patients.

Another problem which needs to be addressed if the existing framework is to be enhanced with the triangulation-based proposals concerns a question of converting all evidence gathered throughout the training and assessment period into a standardised form testifying about a candidate's competence. This need is dictated by the fact that while every technique of assessment dealt with in this chapter has a doubtless advantage of inferring competence in a different way, there is a clear disadvantage to this diversification, i.e. each piece of evidence generated by application of a given method will have a shape and form unique for this method. Thus, a *learning diary* will consist of a candidate's entries in the form of notes; an *observation* will result in an observer's comments and an audio/video tape of a candidate's performance; finally, *questioning* will produce some answers to specific questions concerning an interviewee's impressions of competence. Therefore, what needs to be devised for each technique of assessment is a set of variables/standards delineating how a given type of evidence increases or decreases a candidate's overall assessment. For example, as far as a candidate's learning diary is concerned, a set of variables would elicit such aspects as a candidate's awareness of their own progress, accurate reflection on ethical and other dilemmas present during assignments, their own impressions of their competence following each instance of interpreting performance (both simulated and real). This set of standards would be followed by a standardised mark sheet containing both a mark from an earlier established marking scale and an assessor's written evidence-based justification of the mark. In the case of *questioning*, a set of standards would depend on its addressee. For example, if it is a patient who has just participated in an interpreter-mediated appointment with a doctor, they could be asked about areas in which they think their individual and personal expectancies have been violated or satisfied by an interpreter and about their general impressions of an interpreter's competence. If the patient appeared to be unable to share

their impressions, an assessor could make use of a pre-established set of variables, similar to the one proposed in the thesis, i.e. eliciting the interpreter's performance in terms of *interpreting behaviour*, its *effectiveness* and *appropriateness* for the situation. In this case, a subject of assessment would be the ratio of positive expectancy fulfilment (and negative expectancy violation) against negative expectancy fulfilment (and positive expectancy violation), which would be awarded a mark accompanied by evidence-based justification, with a stipulation that fulfilment or breach of expectancies regarded as unreasonable or unrealistic will be ignored. On the other hand, if *questioning* in a form of a survey were addressed to a candidate's teacher, relevant questions could elicit aspects that are not directly visible during observation, such as a candidate's attitude, commitment and diligence during the whole course. A possible set of standards used in the marking process would then be determined by the teacher's opinion on each aspect. Finally, as far as *observation* is concerned, if this technique was applied by three observers (e.g. a doctor who has used interpreters on previous occasions, a patient who has used an interpreter's services during their GP appointments and an interpreter who has performed in clinical settings) assessing a candidate's performance, they could be asked to make a list of their individual expectancies that they tend to have had when they were in similar situations. While a candidate is performing, the three observers could be noting to what extent their expectancies have been satisfied or breached. This could be followed by completing a mark sheet which would contain a mark and written justification based on their individual expectancy fulfilment or violation.

Due to application of various assessment techniques, at the end of each candidate's assessment period, an awarding body would be presented with a number of mark sheets stating both a mark and its justification. The awarding body would then decide on a final mark based on the standardised form of evidence relating to a candidate's behaviour throughout an assessment period, which includes both classroom training and supervised interpretation in real-life situations. This begs the question of how final assessors should approach the mark sheets as far as the weighting of various assessment methods is concerned, i.e. whether a positive assessment of a candidate's learning diary should have the same influence on a final mark as a negative assessment of their performance in simulated conditions. A tempting solution would be to decide *a priori* which form of assessment should contribute more to a final mark; for instance, assessment of simulated performance could have more impact on the final mark than a candidate's teacher's opinion of the candidate's suitability in terms of attitude, motivation and diligence. A potential danger of adopting this solution is that the awarding body may base their decision on an arithmetic mean of all the marks. In order to promote a more flexible approach, final

assessors could approach each mark sheet individually and decide on an ad-hoc basis what influence a given mark sheet should have on the final mark. This would ensure that final assessors focus on both a mark and written opinion of assessors in order to decide on its influence on a final mark and, in consequence, on a candidate's overall suitability for the profession. This approach, although costly and time-consuming, would guarantee that an awarding body has a comprehensive picture of a candidate's competence at their disposal, consisting of various pieces of evidence and that it is the content of evidence that determines its gravity, e.g. a candidate's file containing a report about their excellent performance in observed assignments vs. other reports of their inappropriate behaviour coming from other witnesses.

Finally, one needs to bear in mind that it would be virtually impossible to apply in practice all the solutions dealt with in this chapter. One of the factors that would make it extremely difficult is the cost that would be incurred by some assessment methods. For instance, if a given training institution would like to assess their candidates by employing a number of observers, the course would most likely turn out to be too expensive for most prospective interpreters to enrol on. Besides, applying too many assessment methods in too many contexts may lead to a course taking too much time, which, in turn, is likely to discourage some candidates from taking it. One of the solutions could be to devise a national standardisation in interpreter training and assessment which would specify the scope and methods of assessment, as well as duration and requirements of the course leading to the award of the qualification. This step would be another milestone in an ongoing process of professionalization of community interpreting (Mikkelson 1996).

Another aspect to be considered in choosing the right methods of assessment is their possibilities and limitations. For instance, observation of performance provides evidence of certain but not all aspects of competence. Furthermore, although observation provides solid evidence of a candidate's performance in a form of recording, which investigated a number of times by a number of people, this assessment method needs to be applied on more than one occasion if its reliability is to be ensured (Stuart 2007:101). Even if observation is conducted on multiple occasions, however, there are aspects that this method will fail to account for, e.g. a candidate's commitment and attitude to the job. To compensate for its limitations, this method should be accompanied by, for instance, questioning of a teacher, who would be able to comment on aspects of competence that are not directly observable in performance. Therefore, in order to guarantee an adequate choice of assessment methods in terms of both variety and number, one needs to take into account the methods which are complementary to one another, that is, to ensure that the limitations of one method are compensated for by another method used during assessment.

5.5 Conclusions

The main and overall contribution to the current framework, which comes from the CIC model, is the emphasis for relevant training institutions in the UK to acknowledge the main conclusion coming from testing the overarching expectancy principle, i.e. that CI competence is, to a large extent, a matter of subjective and individual impressions triggered by a CI's fulfilment (or violation) of expectancies entertained by a given individual in a given context. Whereas some form of prescribed standards would be required with a view to establishing general guidelines concerning assessment of CI competence, it is essential that inference of competence prescribed by those standards draw on a number of various strategies ensuring that a comprehensive and accurate depiction of a candidate's interpreting competence is obtained.

The proposals for the current framework enhancement make it clear that *triangulation* is one of the main concepts that could govern possible improvement of both assessment procedure and assessment criteria currently applied in the process of CI accreditation. The validity of this concept is supported not only by the fact that the tendency to cross-reference methods and result has been widespread in a number of disciplines but also by a clear overlap between the assumptions of the concepts and the underlying assumptions of the CIC model, especially the one claiming that in a triadic exchange, every one of the three participants can be a potential source of competence impressions based on performance evaluations.

CONCLUSION

In the pursuit of fulfilling its aims, the thesis has proposed the CIC model and tested the principle derived from the assumptions and propositions of the model. This was followed by an exploration of the implications of the principle tested for the existing framework for CI accreditation in the UK. The aims of the thesis have been achieved by answering the four research questions formulated in the Introduction, which has led to the following conclusions.

The thesis has shown that current approaches to translation competence and interpreting competence fail to explore competence to a degree which allows them to provide a basis for developing a model for community interpreting. This is caused mainly by the fact that very few models have been proposed in translation studies so far and that the discussion of translation competence and interpreting competence tends to be limited to hypothesising what ‘elements’ of competence are required by a translator/interpreter to perform their assignments. One of the implications which arises from the ‘element-like view’ of competence in translation and interpreting studies is the tendency to view competence in prescriptive terms by focusing on what skills, knowledge, abilities and other virtues a translator or interpreter should have to act competently. However, because most of these views have hardly ever been approached and formulated as models, relying on them in the process of developing the CIC model proved futile.

The thesis has also demonstrated that this lack of relevant models serving as the basis for proposing new ones can be compensated by adapting the ICC model in such a way that it forms a departure point for developing the CIC model. This adaptation entailed adjusting the assumptions proposed by scholars researching intercultural communication competence to community interpreting and proposing the CIC model drawing on these assumptions. The crucial adaptation involved the conversion of the model of dyadic interaction to that of triadic interaction, which, in turn, resulted in the inclusion of a CI in the role of an interactant. Consequently, a CI’s behaviour was assumed to be evaluated by all interactants of a CI-mediated event, whose impressions are generated by their expectancy fulfilment.

Upon proposing the CIC model, the thesis focused on the *episodic system* to formulate the overarching expectancy principle to be tested in relation to the selected aspects of the model. This allowed the researcher to theoretically specify the correlation between expectancy fulfilment and impressions of a CI’s competence. This correlation was empirically approached by means of analysing the transcripts obtained from interviews with all three participants of CI-mediated encounters. This has not only shown that

expectancies play a vital role in formation of CI competence but also that their role is decisive.

Testing the principle has allowed the thesis to address the last research question, which concerns enhancing the existing framework for accreditation of community interpreters in the UK. The proposals for enhancement were determined by the implications coming from testing the expectancy principle, i.e. that assessment of a CI's competence is conditioned by fulfilment of an interactant's expectancies. For this reason, the proposal for the enhancement drew on the idea of triangulation and suggested that various individuals should be involved in assessment at various stages of a candidate's training. This would allow relevant individuals to be subjected to various aspects of a candidate's performance, which would, in turn, result in a comprehensive picture of a candidate's competence formed by subjective evaluations conditioned by individual expectancy fulfilment.

Answering the research questions has produced other contributions, as well. One of them is an attempt to bridge a gap between prescriptive and descriptive approaches to competence. As Chapter I shows, approaches to competence in translation studies and interpreting studies are dominated by prescriptivism, which involves enumerating various skills, qualities, virtues, abilities and other 'elements' of competence that an individual needs to have if they want to be competent. While the CIC model does not rule out advantages of approaching competence in prescriptive terms (in a sense, it 'prescribes' what propositions are valid in single episodes of CI-mediated interactions), its novelty lies in accommodating both approaches. This is manifested in, on the one hand, formulating the propositions and, on the other, testing the principle based on those propositions.

Another contribution of the CIC model is the fact it can help to rectify one of the shortcomings of current approaches to interpreting competence. As indicated in Chapter I, most of the approaches tend to focus only on theoretical discussion of competence; moreover, the results of this theoretical elaboration fail to address the ways in which these results can be applied in practice. While one could defend the approaches based only on theory by saying that they serve to enlarge the scope of theoretical discussion about competence in translation and interpreting studies, it remains the fact that most of the approaches hardly ever relate to one another [perhaps except for Pym (2003), who reviews other approaches before proposing his own]. Consequently, the majority of ideas regarding competence form a diverse mosaic rather than consistent stream of approaches, which was explicit in difficulties in their classification and categorisation. By contrast, the model proposed and tested in this thesis draws on well established and thoroughly tested

theoretical assumptions put forward by intercultural communication competence, and it also deals with applications of the model.

The proposal of the CIC model also contributes to the academic and professional discussion of CI competence by discussing competence from a new perspective. Namely, it is mostly professional circles that tend to rely on the idea of performance as a faithful representation of competence which can be assessed by means of objective and accurate measures. However, the implications coming from the CIC model clearly call for a change of approach to assessment of CI candidates' competence. This change would have to acknowledge the fact that performance is indicative of (not tantamount to) competence and that the competence impressions generated by performance are likely to vary.

However, although the conclusions reached in the thesis have answered certain questions, they have also generated a number of implications pointing to further research. As stated by various scholars, for example MacRae (1994), models which prove everything or which cannot be proved wrong are weak. Therefore, apart from contributing to resolving some of the questions concerning the impression-related character of CI competence, the proposal of the CIC model has indicated that there are areas which the model fails to account for and which can pave the way for further research.

One of them concerns the degree to which the propositions of the model have impact on competence impressions. Although the model has shown the correspondence between expectancy fulfilment and competence impressions by testing the overarching expectancy principle, it has not dealt with possible hierarchy among variables as far as the influence of specific expectancy fulfilment on competence impressions is concerned. Since it is relatively unlikely for each variable and construct to have exactly the same influence on competence impressions, establishing their influence hierarchy would be a vital milestone in researching CI competence.

Similarly, the issue of variables and expectancies associated with them poses a problem addressed both in this thesis and in other research (Pym 2003), which concerns definiteness of any list-like set of items; in other words, the fact that the model has put forward a given number of propositions and constructs begs a question whether they are exhaustive and whether more propositions and constructs can play their role in competence impression formation. While the nine variables based on the relevant constructs are definitely relevant, since there is an overlap between intercultural communication and CI-mediated communication, one cannot disregard the fact that the types of communication are discrepant to some degree. Therefore, a question to be asked in further research could concern pinpointing the difference between dyadic and triadic types of communication with a view to identifying variables that may have been overlooked in intercultural

communication competence and that are relevant to competence impressions in CI-mediated encounters.

Another aspect of performance-generated impressions of CI competence that has not been thoroughly discussed in the course of the thesis and that appears to be a potentially fruitful area of research is the nature and development of expectancies towards a CI, which are responsible for relevant impressions. It is worth pointing out that the data collection and analysis concerned investigation of expectancy fulfilment in individual episodes only. However, now that expectancies have been shown to play a vital role in competence impression formation, it would be exceptionally useful to undertake research seeking to investigate the nature of expectancies; such undertaking could seek to answer questions regarding formation of expectancies. This, in turn, could lead to discovering a pattern in expectancy formation, depending on, for example, the institutional context of a CI-mediated encounter; otherwise expressed, there may be certain consistency among expectancies shared by majority of institutional staff and clients. If this consistency were discovered, it would have tremendous impact on curriculum formation and training, which could focus on certain patterns of behaviour expected from CIs by service providers and service recipients in particular situations.

If one assumes that expectancies are crucial in competence impression formation, more attention needs to be devoted to the valence of expectations (i.e. negative vs. positive) and their impact on competence impressions in the CIC model. The analysis has revealed that most of the participants of the CI-mediated encounters involved in this project had positive impressions of CI competence, which resulted from a CI's fulfilment of the participants' positive expectancies. A question that could be asked is whether a participant who has positive expectancies can also at the same time entertain negative ones and, more importantly, whether negative expectancies have the same 'force' of influence as positive ones. Answers to these questions are probably related to the issue of hierarchy among propositions discussed above. One could hypothesise that, for example, if interpreting behaviour (*communicative status* proposition) is more influential than effectiveness and appropriateness (*goal fulfilment* assumption), then fulfilment of negative expectations relating to interpreting behaviour may have higher impact on competence impressions than fulfilment of positive impressions relating to effectiveness and appropriateness of a CI's behaviour.

On a more general level, a question arises regarding the nature of possible relationships between the various aspects of the CIC model. While testing the overarching expectancy principle has indicated a possible hierarchy among the aspects, what could be probed even further is the idea of expectancies influencing the *individual system*. For

example, one could seek to establish whether and to what extent a CI who has fulfilled their positive expectancies has increased their *motivation* to undertake more assignments of a similar nature. Similarly, future investigation could explore whether and how expectancy fulfilment determines development of a CI's *skills* and *knowledge*.

As for other implications of the model that are relevant for CI training, the enhancement of the current framework stipulated by IoL (2007) which is proposed in Chapter V and which draws on the CIC model clearly shows that there are a number of ways that could contribute to rectifying deficiencies in the framework. Due to the fact that the proposals offered regarding the amendments mean introducing assessment procedures during an examination and throughout a training course, there appears a clear need for standardising the whole process of CI training and assessment. Such standardisation at a national level would allow both introducing more diversity of tools for assessing a candidate through various perspectives during a course and ensuring that the same guidelines for assessment are followed by all the institutions dealing with CI training. In other words, because the enhancement of the current framework inspired by the CIC model renders a process of assessing prospective CIs more complex and time-consuming, the only way for the enhanced framework to be functional lies in its consistent implementation on a national scale.

Finally, the CIC model carries certain implications for ethics and a code of conduct designed for interpreters. The analysis of participants' impressions and expectancies has revealed that situations in which CIs work tend to be more complex in terms of roles and the nature of interaction. One of the tendencies that could be observed in the course of data analysis is for service providers to expect CIs to play their role in the service provision; for example, a medical practitioner expected a CI to explain medical terms to a patient; another member of clinical staff who, in a CI-mediated session taking place in a hospital gym, explained to a patient what exercises need to be performed to ensure a prompt recovery from a fracture, seemed to be slightly disappointed with the interpreter who, in her opinion, should have taken the initiative in demonstrating the exercise to the patient during the session. On the other hand, some service recipients, such as patients, who can be overwhelmed by the context and their inability to communicate directly with service providers, tend to expect CIs to ensure that a situation in which a meeting is taking place has a more relaxed atmosphere. Given the fact that certain expectancies entertained by service providers and service recipients can be conflicting, a question arises as to how CI are supposed to follow the main principles stated in the majority of ethical codes worldwide, i.e. that an interpreter should be 'neutral' and that their rendition should be 'accurate'. Disregarding the fact that these two terms are often understated and that little is

said regarding ‘neutrality’ and ‘accuracy’, one needs to ask the question as to whether current assumptions used in the formulation of codes of ethics in any way consider the reality in which CIs function. As shown by the analysis of participants’ impressions and expectancies, a scope of a CI’s responsibilities, as expected by participants, is much wider than that stipulated by codes of ethics focused on the two terms mentioned above. At this point one could argue that service providers and service recipients may sometimes have unreasonable expectancies and that this is why a CI should adhere to a code of ethics. Although this may be the case to some extent, one can observe certain consistency across the expectancies entertained by participants. This is why there seems to be a need to reformulate the assumptions governing relevant codes of ethics with a view to accommodating various roles of a CI. One of these roles may involve a CI assuming some responsibilities of service providers to facilitate successful interaction between two individuals, which is one of the ultimate goals of interpreter mediation in the first place.

The fact that the answers to the research questions have opened up so many avenues for future research is mainly due to the new way of viewing competence in translation and interpreting studies. Encouraging prescriptive approaches to competence, most Translation and Interpreting scholars have tended to view competence in terms of binary features, i.e. a translator or interpreter who did or did not possess a certain component of competence (such as a skill, a type of knowledge, etc.) was regarded as competent or incompetent. By contrast, the CIC model approaches competence in terms of a continuum involving subjective impressions of competence, resulting from a CI’s performance, which can be evaluated as more or less competent. By proposing an entirely new perspective from which the question of competence can be discussed, the CIC model put forward and explored in this thesis constitutes a crucial step in enriching the on-going debate on CI competence.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions for an interview with an English-speaking service provider:

A) Can you tell me about the interpreter's work in this session? How did s/he perform in your opinion?

-A₁. What makes you think that's the case?
-A₂. Did you expect them to perform that way?
-A₃. How could their performance be improved?

B) Do you think the situation posed any difficulty for the interpreter's job? (if yes)

-B₁. How do you think she handled this difficulty?
-B₂. Did you expect the interpreter to deal with this difficulty in this way?

C) In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

D) What was your goal in this session?

-D₁. Did you achieve your goal?
-D₂. Did the interpreter help you to do that?
-D₃. Did you expect the interpreter to help you do so?

E) Can you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this particular situation?

-E₁. Do you think the interpreter behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?
-E₂. Could you give any examples of the behaviour like that?
-E₃. Did you expect behaviour like that from the interpreter?

F) What was the spirit or atmosphere during the meeting?

-F₁. Would you say this spirit was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?
-F₂. How did you expect the interpreter to behave in that atmosphere of cooperation (competition)?
-F₃. Did s/he do as you expected?

G) Did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?

-G₁. Did you sense emotional detachment or emotional involvement or something in between during the meeting?
-G₂. How did you expect the interpreter to behave in this situation of emotional involvement (distance)?
-G₃. Did s/he do as you expected?

H) Can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

-H₁. Would you say it was more formal or informal or something in between?
-H₂. How did you expect the interpreter to behave in this formal (informal) situation?
-H₃. Did s/he do as you expected?

I) Who seemed most/least dominant during the encounter?

-I₁. How did you expect the interpreter to behave in the situation dominated by this person?
-I₂. Did s/he do as you expected?

• Before the meeting, did you have any fears or concerns (positive feelings) or any kind of negative (positive) expectations regarding any aspect of the session (outcome, interpreter's performance, situation itself)?

..... Did those fears come true? (Were those positive expectations fulfilled?)

• In terms of overall assessment, how would you grade the interpreter's competence on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is very incompetent and 10 is very competent?

Questions for an interview with a Polish-speaking service recipient:

A) Czy mógłby Pan (mogłaby Pani) opowiedzieć mi o pracy tłumacza podczas tego spotkania? Jak według Pana (Panie) jemu poszło?

.....A₁. Dlaczego Pan(i) tak sądzi?

.....A₂. Czy oczekiwał (a) Pan(i) że tak mu właśnie pójdzie?

.....A₃. Jak można by polepszyć jego tłumaczenie?

B) Czy sytuacja, w której pracował tłumacz stwarzała jakieś trudności dla jego pracy?

.....B₁. Jak sobie z tymi trudnościami poradził?

.....B₂. Czy oczekiwał(a) Pan(i), że w ten sposób sobie właśnie poradzi?

C) Według Pana (Pani), jakim statusem/reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?

D) Jaki był Pana (Pani) cel w tym spotkaniu?

.....D₁. Czy osiągnął Pan (osiągnęła Pani) swój cel?

.....D₂. Czy tłumacz pomógł osiągnąć Panu (Pani) ten cel?

.....D₃. Czy oczekiwał Pan (oczekiwała Pani), że tłumacz pomoże Panu (Pani) osiągnąć ten cel?

E) Czy mógłby Pan (mogłaby Pani) skomentować stosowność zachowania się tłumacza w tej sytuacji?

.....E₁. Czy uważa Pan(i), że tłumacz zachował się mniej lub bardziej stosownie do tej sytuacji?

.....E₂. Czy mógłby Pan (mogłaby Pani) podać przykłady takiego zachowania?

.....E₃. Czy oczekiwał Pan (oczekiwała Pani) takiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza?

F) Jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?

.....F₁. Czy uważa Pan(i) że atmosfera ta była bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy może coś pomiędzy?

.....F₂. Jakiego zachowania oczekiwał Pan (oczekiwała Pani) od tłumacza w tej atmosferze współpracy (konfliktu)?

.....F₃. Czy tłumacz zachował się tak jak Pan oczekiwał (Pani oczekiwała)?

G) Czy zauważył Pan (zauważyła Pani) jakieś oznaki emocji podczas tego spotkania?

.....G₁. Czy podczas spotkania wyczuł Pan (wyczuła Pani) bardziej emocjonalne zaangażowanie, emocjonalny dystans, czy coś pomiędzy?

.....G₂. Jakiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza oczekiwał Pan (oczekiwała Pani) w tej sytuacji emocjonalnego zaangażowania (dystansu)?

.....G₃. Czy tłumacz zachował się tak jak Pan oczekiwał (Pani oczekiwała)?

H) Czy mógłby Pan (mogłaby Pani) skomentować stopień formalności lub nieformalności spotkania?

.....H₁. Czy powiedziałby Pan (powiedziałyby Pani) że ton był bardziej formalny, nieformalny, czy coś pomiędzy?

.....H₂. Jakiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza oczekiwał Pan (oczekiwała Pani) w tej formalnej (nieformalnej) sytuacji?

.....H₃. Czy tłumacz zachował się tak jak Pan oczekiwał (Pani oczekiwała)?

I) Kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?

.....I₁. Jakiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza oczekiwał Pan (oczekiwała Pani) w sytuacji gdzie dominowała ta osoba?

.....I₂. Czy tłumacz zachował się tak jak Pan oczekiwał (Pani oczekiwała)?

• Czy przed spotkaniem miał Pan (miała Pani) jakieś obawy (pozytywne odczucia) lub innego rodzaju negatywne (pozytywne) oczekiwania dotyczące jakiegokolwiek aspektu spotkania? (wynik, praca tłumacza, sytuacja sama w sobie)?

..... Czy te obawy (pozytywne oczekiwania) się sprawdziły (spełniły)?

• W kategoriach ogólnej oceny, jak oceniłby Pan (oceniłaby Pani) kompetencje tłumacza w skali od 1 do 10 gdzie 1 oznacza bardzo niekompetentny a 10 bardzo kompetentny?

Questions for an interview with a Polish-speaking interpreter:

A) Czy mógłbyś (mogłabyś) mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tego spotkania. Jak według Ciebie Ci poszło?

.....A₁. Dlaczego tak sądzisz?

.....A₂. Czy oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś) że tak Ci pójdzie?

.....A₃. Jak można by poprawić to tłumaczenie?

B) Czy dzisiejsza sytuacja stwarzała jakieś trudności dla twojego tłumaczenia?

.....B₁. Jak sobie z nimi poradziłeś (poradziłaś)?

.....B₂. Czy oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś), że w ten sposób sobie poradzisz?

C) Według Ciebie, jakim statusem/reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?

D) Jaki był twój cel w tej sesji?

.....D₁. Czy osiągnąłeś (osiągnęłaś) ten cel?

.....D₂. Czy oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś), że go osiągniesz?

E) Czy mógłbyś (mogłabyś) skomentować stosowność swojego zachowania do tej sytuacji?

.....E₁. Czy uważasz że zachowałeś (zachowałaś) się bardziej lub mniej stosownie do sytuacji?

.....E₂. Czy mógłbyś (mogłabyś) podać przykłady takiego zachowania?

.....E₃. Czy oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś) takiego zachowania z twojej strony?

F) Jaka panowała atmosfera podczas spotkania?

.....F₁. Czy powiedziałbyś (powiedziabyś) że była ona bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?

.....F₂. Jakiego zachowania oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś) ze swojej strony w tej sytuacji współpracy (konfliktu)?

.....F₃. Czy zachowałeś (zachowałaś) się tak jak oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś)?

G) Czy zauważyłeś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas tego spotkania?

.....G₁. Czy podczas spotkania wyczułeś (wyczułaś) bardziej emocjonalne zaangażowanie, emocjonalny dystans, czy coś pomiędzy?

.....G₂. Jakiego zachowania oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś) ze swojej strony w tej sytuacji emocjonalnego zaangażowania (dystansu)?

.....G₃. Czy zachowałeś (zachowałaś) się tak jak oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś)?

H) Czy mógłbyś (mogłabyś) skomentować stopień formalności lub nieformalności spotkania?

.....H₁. Czy powiedziałbyś (powiedziabyś), że ton był bardziej formalny, nieformalny, czy coś pomiędzy?

.....H₂. Jakiego zachowania oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś) ze swojej strony w tej sytuacji formalnej (nieformalnej)?

.....H₃. Czy zachowałeś (zachowałaś) się tak jak oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś)?

I) Kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?

.....I₁. Jakiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś) w sytuacji gdzie dominowała ta osoba?

.....I₂. Czy zachowałeś (zachowałaś) się tak jak oczekiwałeś (oczekiwałaś)?

• Czy przed spotkaniem miałeś (miałaś) jakieś obawy (pozytywne odczucia) lub innego rodzaju negatywne (pozytywne) oczekiwania dotyczące jakiegokolwiek aspektu spotkania? (wynik, tłumaczenie, sytuacja sama w sobie)?

..... Czy te obawy (pozytywne oczekiwania) się sprawdziły (spełniły)?

• W kategoriach ogólnej oceny, jak oceniłbyś (oceniłabyś) swoje kompetencje w skali od 1 do 10, gdzie 1 oznacza bardzo niekompetentny a 10 bardzo kompetentny tłumacz?

APPENDIX 2

MAIN DATASET

SESSION ONE - MANCHESTER HOSPITAL GYM

Transcript of interview with medical practitioner (physiotherapist)

Researcher: ok (.) so can you tell me about the interpreter's work in this session? how did he perform in your opinion?

(.)

Medical practitioner: ((she laughs)) in my opinion he performed adequately and whenever I asked the question of the patient he (.) interacted with the patient and then responded to me in English.

Researcher: so wh- what makes you think that adequately (.) that he performed adequately?

Medical practitioner: because every time I asked the question (.) he interacted with the patient and responded to me.

Researcher: did you expect him to perform that way? (.) did you expect the interpreter to per-

Medical practitioner: yeah, yes.

Researcher: how could his performance be improved?

((third-party voice in the distance)): sorry to interrupt but

((recording paused for 10 seconds))

Researcher: ok (.) so how could his performance be improved? the interpreter's?

(.)

Medical practitioner: well (.) maybe they could demonstrate the exercises but the fact is that they have no background knowledge of the exercises so it would be difficult for them to (.) demonstrate effectively (.) you know (.) but (.) I mean when you're communicating you hope that they (.) they're putting the same stresses on what you're saying (.) 'cos sometimes that can make a difference (.) when you're using an interpreter (.) if they don't stress the importance of a thing then the patient doesn't fully get what you're trying to achieve.

Researcher: do you think the ((recording paused again for 7 seconds))

Researcher: do you think the situation itself pose any difficulties for the interpreter's job?

(.)

Medical practitioner: no (.) no.

Researcher: in your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(3.0)

Medical practitioner: what? say that again?

Researcher: in your opinion what reputation do interpreters have or what do you think of interpreters in general?

Medical practitioner: all right (.) on the whole (.) I'd say I'm fairly satisfied with the ones that we use (.) my only concern all the time (.) as I said to you earlier (.) is where they put stresses on what you're trying to achieve and you'll never (.) you'll never fully gauge that yourself because you don't speak the language so (.)

Researcher: from what your point (.) from your point of view what was your goal in this session?

Medical practitioner: for the patient to understand fully and clearly what exercises he's got to do in the class and that he does them safely and independently and if he has any problems (.) well obviously it's going to be difficult but normally we (.) if he was having an interpreter with each session (.) we would say (.) if you're having problems relate back to us (.) now if they're having an interpreter only on one session then if he comes next time and he's got something that he wants relate to me (.) he's not going to be able to do that (.) you know.

Researcher: did you achieve your goal?

Medical practitioner: today? yes

Researcher: did the interpreter help you to do that?

Medical practitioner: yes

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to help you do that?

Medical practitioner: yes

Researcher: now (.) can you comment on the appropriateness of interpreter's behaviour for this particular situation?

Medical practitioner: oh (.) very appropriate (.) yes.

Researcher: could you give me any examples (.) from the session?

Medical practitioner: you'd have to be here to have seen it (3.0) difficult to say really (.) I just knew he was.

Researcher: did you expect the behaviour like that from the interpreter?

Medical practitioner: yes

Researcher: now (.) what was the spirit or atmosphere during the meeting?

Medical practitioner: very positive

Researcher: all right (.) would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Medical practitioner: cooperation.

Researcher: now in this cooperation situation (.) how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

(.)

Medical practitioner: just as he did (.) to cooperate in what I was asking him to do.

Researcher: did you notice (.) did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

(.)

Medical practitioner: emotions towards the patients?

Researcher: from anyone

Medical practitioner: no no

Researcher: so would you say it was more emotional engagement or emotional detachment or something in between? what was the situation like?

Medical practitioner: emotional engagement.

Researcher: all right (.) and how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this emotional engagement situation?

(.)

Medical practitioner: exactly as he did (.) appropriately

Researcher: all right (.) now can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

(4.0)

Researcher: would you say it was more formal or more informal or something in between?

Medical practitioner: in between

Researcher: and again (.) in this semi-formal situation how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

Medical practitioner: exactly as he did.

Researcher: yeah (.) which is?

(.)

Medical practitioner: engagement

Researcher: all right (.) now (.) who seemed dominant during the session?

(.)

Medical practitioner: the interpreter

Researcher: all right (2.0) and how did you expect him to behave in this (.) in this situation dominated by the interpreter?

Medical practitioner: who dominated by the interpreter?

Researcher: because you said the interpreter was dominant.

Medical practitioner: he was dominant because I was expressing what I wished but I didn't have any overall control (.) he had control.

Researcher: did you expect him to be dominant in this situation?

Medical practitioner: yeah

Researcher: all right (.) now before the meeting (.) did you have any fears or concerns or any negative expectations about any aspect of the session (.) like interpreter's performance or the outcome?

Medical practitioner: well (.) as I say (.) I've always got those feelings when you use the interpreter that stresses are not being put in the right place (.) so you don't fully get your message across (.) but there's nothing you can do about that.

Researcher: now the final question (.) in terms of overall assessment (.) how would you grade the interpreter from 1 to 10 (.) where 1 is very incompetent interpreter and 10 is very competent interpreter?

Medical practitioner: I'd say 8.

Researcher: 8? all right (.) thank you very much for that.

Transcript of interview with patient

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mógłby mi pan powiedzieć o pracy tłumacza podczas tej sesji? jak według pana jemu poszło?
Well, can you tell me about the interpreter's performance in this session? How do you think he performed?

(.)

Patient: my już kilkakrotnie ześmy mieli spotkania z panem tłumaczem i zawsze byłem zadowolony (.) bo to nie jest pierwszy raz (.) kiedy jestem w szpitalu tutaj z nim. pierwszy raz tutaj miałem wizytę jakieś dwa tygodnie czy trzy tygodnie po tym właśnie jak skreśliłem nogę no i po prostu pom- wytłu- pomógł mi lepiej zrozumieć (.) to co zalecają (.) jakie ćwiczenia mam wykonać.

We've already had sessions together and I have always been pleased with his work; it's not the first time that I've been with him in this hospital; for the first time, I had a session about two or three weeks ago when I dislocated my leg, and he just made it easier for me to understand what exercise is recommended in my circumstances.

Researcher: czyli jakby pan (.) jak według pana dzisiaj mu poszło?
So how did he perform today in your opinion?

(.)

Patient: dzisiaj bardzo dobrze.
Today he did very well.

Researcher: a czemu pan tak sądzi?
Why do you think so?

Patient: no bo dzisiaj w sumie to był tylko (.) ćwiczenia połączone z tym co mi ta pani pokazywała no i zalecenia jakie ona mi dawała dokładnie mi wyjaśnił.
Well, today's session was about exercises combined with what the physiotherapist showed me; he explained to me all the recommendations that the physiotherapist gave.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwał pan że tak mu właśnie pójdzie? (.) tłumaczowi?
And did you expect him to perform that way?

Patient: no my się już niejednokrotnie spotykali na różnych tłumaczeniach (.) wcześniej z tym panem się spotykałem jak pracował w urzędzie miasta i w urzędzie miasta (.) mi pomagał i pomagał mi też jeszcze kiedyś w housingu (.) złożyć aplikacje.

Well, we've already met on numerous sessions. I met the interpreter before, when he was employed by city council and he helped me there, as well as when I was submitting my housing application. He helped me then too.

Researcher: a jak można by polepszyć jego tłumaczenie?
How could his performance be improved?

(7.0)

Patient: mi się wydaje że dobrze tłumaczy (.) jeżeli chodzi o te sprawy które mnie nękały tutaj teraz w szpitalu (.) to przetłumaczył wszystko.
I think he interprets well; as far as my condition is concerned, he interpreted everything.

Researcher: a czy sytuacja w której pracował tłumacz stwarzała jakieś trudności dla jego pracy? ta dzisiejsza
And did the situation in which the interpreter worked pose any difficulty for his performance?

Patient: raczej nie sądzę.
I don't think so.

Researcher: a według pana jaka reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
And in your opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(5.0)

Patient: mi się wydaje że (.) że powinien mieć (.) dużą reputację bo jest to osoba która włada dwoma przynajmniej językami (.) prawda? a niejednokrotnie tak nie jest bo spotkałem się (.) mam kolegę takiego który jest tłumaczem tylko w innym mieście (.) i mówił że on w szpitalu miał bardzo takie tam nieprzyjemne sytuacje związane z (.) obsługą pacjentów bo po prostu byli w stanie albo po prochach albo po (.) albo po alkoholu no i to po prostu wpływało na ich agresywność i na pewno też nie są to przyjemne spotkania (.) tak myślę.

I think the reputation should be high because an interpreter is a person who speaks at least two languages, right? And sometimes it isn't like that because I've come across ... well, I have a friend who is an interpreter based in another town and who said that he'd experienced very unpleasant situation as far as patient service is concerned because patients were drunk or high, which resulted in their aggressive behaviour; I don't think these situations are pleasant.

Researcher: a z pana punktu widzenia (.) jaki był cel tej dzisiejszej sesji?
From your point of view, what was the aim of today's session?

Patient: pokazanie mi jak (.) po prostu mam doprowadzić swoją nogę do używalności że tak powiem.
To show me what I need to do to make my leg usable, so to speak.

Researcher: a czy osiągnął pan swój cel?
Did you achieve your goal?

Patient: no (.) jeszcze nie (.) na pewno to musi jeszcze potrwać (.) tak myślę że z dwa trzy tygodnie. już jest lepiej ale po prostu dalej odczuwam ból i to jest dyskomfort dla mnie bo nie mogę podjąć pracy.
Well, not yet ... it'll take some time, I think about 2 or 3 weeks; it's better now but I still feel pain and this is quite uncomfortable for me, since I'm unable to continue working.

Researcher: tak (.) ale to mówi pan o celu dłuższego leczenia (.) samego tego spotkania cel jaki był z pana punktu widzenia? żeby?
Yes, but you are talking about a long-term goal – what was the goal of today's meeting?

Patient: żeby pokazać mi jak mam pracować na
To show me how to exercise on a ...

Researcher: czy TEN cel został osiągnięty?
Did you achieve this goal?

Patient: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy tłumacz panu pomógł ten cel osiągnąć?
Did the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

Patient: tak tak
Yes, yes

Researcher: a czy spodziewał się pan tego że tłumacz pomoże osiągnąć ten cel?
And did you expect the interpreter to help you achieve that goal?

Patient: no tak
well, yes

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan skomentować stosowność zachowania się tłumacza w tej konkretnej sytuacji?
Could you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter behaviour in this particular session?

Patient: nie za bardzo rozumiem
I don't quite understand.

Researcher: chodzi mi o poprawność zachowania.
I ask about the appropriateness of behaviour.

Patient: a tak tak
Oh yes, I see.

Researcher: czy według pana zachował się mniej lub bardziej stosownie do sytuacji?
Did the interpreter behave more or less appropriate for the situation?

Patient: nie (.) no (.) odpowiednio
Well ... adequately

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan podać przykłady takiego zachowania? (.) pamięta pan jakieś przykłady?
Could you give examples of such behaviour? Do you remember any examples?

(.)

Patient: no zawsze jak z poprzednia panią żeśmy
When I had a session with another physiotherapist

Researcher: z dzisiejszego spotkania tylko.
Just today's session, please.

Patient: ach z dzisiejszego (.) to dzisiaj tutaj to on po prostu patrzył na mnie co ja wykonuję i w momencie w którym potrzebna mi była pomoc (.) tłumaczył.
Oh, today's session ... today he watched me doing the exercises and interpreted whenever I needed any help.

Researcher: i czy oczekiwał pan takiego zachowania z jego strony?
Did you expect him to behave in this way?

Patient: tak
Yes

Researcher: a jaka była atmosfera podczas takiego (.) tej sesji dzisiejszej?
What was the atmosphere during today's session?

Patient: miła
Nice

Researcher: a czy powiedziałby pan że była ona bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy czegoś pomiędzy?
Would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Patient: ja bym powiedział że taka (.) taka przyjazna (.) przyjazna taka na zasadzie po prostu iluś tam razy żeśmy się spotykali prawda to już inna.
I'd say it was very friendly ... in a sense it can be friendly after a few sessions of working together

Researcher: i właśnie w takiej sytuacji w takiej atmosferze jakiego zachowania oczekiwał pan od tłumacza?
Well, in this situation, in this atmosphere, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter?

Patient: no takiego przyjacielskiego takiego swojskiego na zasadzie nie tylko od do przetłumaczy i koniec (.) tylko jeszcze coś od siebie powie.
Friendly ... and familiar; not only interpretation from first word to the last one but also talking to me about other things.

Researcher: czy tłumacz się zachował tak jak pan oczekiwał?
Did he behave as you expected?

Patient: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy zauważył pan jakieś emocji (.) oznaki emocji podczas spotkania u kogokolwiek ze stron?
And did you notice any signs of emotion from anyone during this session?

Patient: nie
No

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji gdzie nie ma emocji u żadnej ze stron, jakiego zachowania się pan spodziewa od tłumacza?

In the situation with no signs of emotions, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter?

Patient: no jak nie ma żadnych emocji to na zasadzie no takiej luźnej rozmowy nawet a nie po prostu (.) dziękuję (.) koniec to wszystko (.) do widzenia tak ostro tak bardzo zdyscyplinowanie jak co niektórzy.

Well, in the situation of no emotions, I expected a relaxed conversation, and not just saying: 'thank you, that's all, good bye' in a very disciplined way, as some interpreters do.

Researcher: i czy tłumacz się zachował tak jak się pan spodziewał?

And did the interpreter behave as you expected?

Patient: tak

Yes

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan stop- skomentować stopień formalności lub nieformalności spotkania (.) czy oficjalności lub nieoficjalności spotkania?

Can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the session? Or its official or unofficial character?

(2.0)

Researcher: czy powiedziałby pan że była to bardziej oficjalna sytuacja czy mniej oficjalna czy coś pomiędzy?

Would you say it as more official or more unofficial or something in between?

Patient: raczej bym powiedział że takie coś pomiędzy taka (.) taka

I'd say it was something in between.

Researcher: taka półformalna?

You mean semi-formal?

Patient: półformalna (.) nie taka na zasadzie od do przetłumaczyć i koniec tylko (.) nie taka więc emocjonalna tylko (.) tylko no (.) no miłe spotkanie.

Yes, semi-formal, in a sense of not just translating from one moment to another; not necessarily emotional involvement, but just a friendly meeting.

Researcher: w takiej półformalnej sytuacji jakiego zachowania się pan oczekiwał (.) jakiego zachowania pan oczekiwał od tłumacza?

In this semi-formal situation, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter?

Patient: no takiego jakie miał dzisiaj (.) przyjaźnie odpowiadał (.) tłumaczył (.) dodawał tam od siebie po tym tłumaczeniu.

As he did today - he answered and interpreted in a friendly way; he added a few words of his own after interpreting.

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?

Who seemed dominant during the meeting?

Patient: no raczej tłumacz

The interpreter, I guess.

Researcher: tłumacz? (.) i jakiego zachowania pan oczekiwał w tej sytuacji zdominowanej przez tłumacza?

The interpreter? What behaviour did you expect from the interpreter in a situation dominated by him?

Patient: to znaczy dominujący w tym sensie myślę że po prostu on tłumaczył a ja wykonywałem to co ta pani mi zaleciła i co mi przetłumaczył.

I mean dominant in a sense that he interpreted and I did what the physiotherapist said and what he interpreted.

Researcher: i czy spodziewał się pan takiego zachowania od tłumacza?

Did you expect this behaviour from the interpreter?

Patient: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miał pan jakieś obawy albo takie negatywne oczekiwania w związku z tą sesją (.) związane na przykład z pracą tłumacza (.) z wynikiem tłumacza (.) z rezultatem?
Before the session, did you have any fears or negative expectations about this session, which were connected with an interpreter's performance or with an outcome of interpretation?

Patient: nie
No

Researcher: nie (.) dobrze i ostatnie pytanie w kategoriach ogólnej oceny jakby ocenił pan tłumacza kompetencje tłumacza od 1 do 10 gdzie 1 to jest bardzo niekompetentny tłumacz a 10 to bardzo kompetentny tłumacz?

Well, the final question now; in terms of overall assessment, how would you grade an interpreter's competence from 1 to 10, where 1 is a very incompetent interpreter and 10 is a very competent interpreter?

(.)

Patient: nikt nie jest idealny (.) prawda (.) także wiadomo każdemu mogły się tam jakieś potknięcia zdarzyć ale tak jak mi się wydaje (.) z mojej strony (.) to dla tego pana dałbym 10.

No one is perfect, right, so anyone can make mistakes but I think I would grade this particular interpreter as 10.

Researcher: dobrze (.) dziękuję bardzo.
Very well, thank you very much.

Transcript of interview with interpreter

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mógłbyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tej sesji (.) jak ci poszło?
So, could you tell me about your performance; how do you think it went?

(.)

Interpreter: ((laughs quietly)) mniej więcej (3.0) trudno mi powiedzieć (.) myślę że poszło dobrze pod względem tłumaczenia (.) pod względem tego co miałem tam robić (.) ale nie wiem konkretnie.
More or less- difficult to say - I think it went well as far as interpreting is concerned, in terms of what I was supposed to do, but can't say anything in more specific terms

Researcher: dlaczego tak sądzisz?
Why do you think so?

Interpreter: ponieważ (.) podtrzymałem komunikację (.) nie było bariery językowej i wszystkie informacje były przekazane.
Because I sustained communication; there was no language barrier and all the information was passed.

Researcher: czy spodziewałeś się że tak ci pójdzie?
Did you expect to perform that way?

(.)

Interpreter: tak.
Yes.

Researcher: jak można by poprawić twoje tłumaczenie?
How could your performance be improved?

(.)

Interpreter: jak można by poprawić? (.) dzisiejsze? (4.0) nie wiem
Improved? today's? I don't know.

Researcher: a czy dzisiejsza sytuacja stwarzała problemy dla twojego tłumaczenia?
And did today's situation pose any difficulties for your performance?

Interpreter: może środowisko głośnie ((laughs quietly)).
Noise in the background.

Researcher: i jak sobie z nimi poradziłeś?
How did you handle it?

Interpreter: zbliżyłem się do ludzi ((laughing))
I leaned towards participants

Researcher: oczekiwałeś że tak sobie poradzisz?
Did you expect to handle it that way?

Interpreter: tak (.) zazwyczaj to w ten sposób w sumie wygląda (.) to nie jest też tak że (.) w trudnej sytuacji ludzie nie chcą współpracować jak gdyby (.) jeśli jakaś trudność się nadarza to każdy się ładnie dostosowuje, więc
Yes – this is what the situation is about; it's not the case that in difficult situation people won't cooperate; if some difficulty appears, everyone seems to adjust nicely to circumstances, so...

Researcher: jaki był twój cel w tej sesji z twojego punktu widzenia?
What was your goal in this session from your point of view?

(.)

Interpreter: udogodnić komunikację
To facilitate communication

Researcher: osiągnąłeś ten cel?
Did you achieve that?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: spodziewałeś się że go osiągniesz?
Did you expect to achieve that?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy mógłbyś skomentować stosowność swojego zachowania do tej konkretnej sytuacji?
Could you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour for this particular situation?

(.)

Interpreter: brak ingerencji
No interference

Researcher: zachowałeś się bardziej lub mniej stosownie (.) czy coś pomiędzy?
Did you behave more or less appropriately – or something in between?

Interpreter: pomiędzy (.) myślę
In between, I guess

Researcher: pamiętasz przykłady takiego zachowania?
Do you remember any examples of this behaviour?

(.)

Interpreter: przede wszystkim bardzo pomaga (.) pomagało tłumaczenie równoległe (.) kiedy ktoś mówił to od razu uzyskiwał (.) druga (.) druga strona od razu uzyskiwała informacje więc próbowałem podtrzymać charakter rozmowy.

Most of all, interpreting things simultaneously turned out to be helpful; when one person was speaking, they immediately received ... the other party immediately received information, so I tried to sustain a character of interaction.

Researcher: spodziewałeś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony?
Did you expect to behave in this way?

Interpreter: tak (.) jest to mój sposób pracy.
Yes – this is the way I work.

Researcher: a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas sesji?
What atmosphere was there during the session?

(.)

Interpreter: luźna
Relaxed

Researcher: powiedziałbyś że była bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Interpreter: współpracy
Cooperation

Researcher: jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekujesz w tej atmosferze współpracy?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this atmosphere of cooperation?

(.)

Interpreter: jestem tam żeby pomoc ((laughs)) i (.) takiego zachowania się spodziewałem.
I'm there to help and so I expected myself to behave in this way.

Researcher: czy tak się zachowałeś jak się spodziewałeś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak tak
Yes, yes

Researcher: a czy zauważyłeś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas spotkania?
Did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

(.)

Interpreter: ze strony pacjenta był czasem dyskomfort (.) była pewna przypadłość zdrowotna (.) ale poza tym w sumie nie.
On the patient's part, one could see he felt slightly uncomfortable because of his condition, but otherwise, no.

Researcher: a czy powiedziałbyś że było to bardziej emocjonalne zaangażowanie, emocjonalny dystans czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say it was more a case of emotional engagement or emotional detachment or something in between?

Interpreter: pomiędzy (.) żadne ze stron nie przesadzała w żadną stronę.
In between – either party didn't overreact in either way.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w sytuacji gdzie było to pomiędzy?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this 'in between' situation?

Interpreter: podtrzymać istniejące (.) istniejący stan emocjonalny.
To sustain an existing emotional state.

Researcher: czy tak się zachowałeś jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you behave as expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy mógłbyś skomentować stopień formalności albo nieformalności spotkania?
Could you comment on degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

(.)

Interpreter: dosyć formalne (.) ponieważ było to spotkanie wstępne w nowym (.) w nowym miejscu więc dosyć formalne było.
Relatively formal, because it was an introductory session in a new site, so it was quite formal.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w tej takiej dosyć formalnej sytuacji?
How did you expect to behave in this quite formal situation?

Interpreter: formalnego ((he laughs))
Formally

Researcher: czyli na przykład?
Such as?

Interpreter: jeszcze raz mogę powiedzieć że podtrzymanie stanu emocjonalnego jednej jak i drugiej strony (.) odzwierciedlenia sytuacji.
Once again, I can refer to sustaining an existing emotional state of both parties and to reflecting the situation.

(.)

Researcher: czy tak się zachowałeś jak się spodziewałeś?
Did you behave as expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?
Who seemed dominant during the session?

(.)

Interpreter: fizjoterapeuta (.) osoba która prowadziła spotkanie
Physiotherapist; a person who was leading a session

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w sytuacji zdominowanej przez fizjoterapeutę?
How did you expect yourself to behave in the session dominated by the physiotherapist?

Interpreter: ona udzielała wskazówek i ja przez nią udzielałem wskazówek.
She gave directions and I gave translated directions.

Researcher: czy tak postąpiłeś jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak tak
Yes, yes.

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miałeś jakieś obawy albo negatywne oczekiwania dotyczące twojej pracy (.) wyniku spotkania?
Before the session, did you have any fears or negative expectations concerning your work or the outcome of the session?

Interpreter: przed każdym spotkaniem muszę powiedzieć że nie znając informacji na temat tego jakie spotkanie będzie (.) zawsze może być jakieś oczekiwanie wobec sytuacji niejasnych (.) ale nic się takiego w tym momencie nie działo w tym tłumaczeniu.

I must admit that before every session of which I have little information, such expectations are likely to appear, mainly due to unclear situations, but nothing like that was true in the case of this session.

Researcher: i ostatnie pytanie (.) w kategoriach ogólnej oceny od 1 do 10 gdzie 1 to niekompetentny tłumacz a 10 to kompetentny tłumacz (.) jakbyś siebie ocenił?
And the final question; in terms of overall assessment from 1 to 10, where 1 is an incompetent interpreter and 10 is a competent one, how would you grade yourself?

Interpreter: 8 (.) 7

Researcher: 8? dobra dziękuję.
Very well, thank you.

SESSION TWO - MANCHESTER ROYAL INFIRMARY

Transcript of interview with medical practitioner (technician)

Researcher: ok (.) so can you tell me about the interpreter's work in this session? how did he perform in your opinion?

Medical practitioner: he performed pretty well (.) the patient (.) seemed to understand everything that was explained to him (.) as far as I can tell everything that I said that was (.) passed over to the patient (.) which is what we need really.

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to perform that way?

Medical practitioner: yes (.) I did (.) I think he's been before so (.) I've worked with him before so

Researcher: how could his performance be improved?

(.)

Medical practitioner: I honestly don't know ((he laughs)) (.) I don't know if it could (.) he was (.) he was very pleasant with me and he was very good with the patient so (.) it was ok.

Researcher: were there any difficulties for the interpreter in this assignment?

(2.0)

Medical practitioner: the only difficulty really was with the (.) breathing exercise that we have to do as part of the scan and it's (.) it's quite hard to explain (.) it's hard for me to explain to somebody who doesn't speak my language in the first place.

Researcher: how do you think the interpreter handled this difficulty?

Medical practitioner: they handled it (.) quite well (.) they (.) explained this (.) as far as I could tell (.) the patient understood what he was doing and what he was explaining and did it (.) pretty well.

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to handle this difficulty that way?

Medical practitioner: yes

Researcher: in your opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(3.0)

Medical practitioner: I always expect them to be fairly intelligent (.) obviously they work in second language and (.) and (.) the most of them that come here appear too very pleasant (.) which is what he was.

Researcher: what was your goal in this session?

Medical practitioner: my goal was to carry out (.) explain the test and carry out the test (.) which was ()

Researcher: did you achieve your goal?

Medical practitioner: yep

Researcher: did the interpreter help you to do that?

Medical practitioner: he did.

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to help you do so?

Medical practitioner: Yes

Researcher: all right (.) now (.) can you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for the situation?

Medical practitioner: it was (.) exemplary ((he laughs)) it is very good (.) yeah yeah.

Researcher: so would you say the interpreter behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?

Medical practitioner: very (.) very appropriately (.) yes.

Researcher: could you give examples of behaviour like that?

(.)

Medical practitioner: in real life you mean? how do you (.) just (.)?

Researcher: during this session.

Medical practitioner: during this session (.) he was (.) he was friendly with the patient and very pleasant with me.

Researcher: did you expect the behaviour like that from the interpreter?

Medical practitioner: yes (.) I expected it.

Researcher: what was the spirit or atmosphere during the meeting?

Medical practitioner: the what the what sorry?

Researcher: SPIRIT or ATMOSPHERE.

Medical practitioner: oh (.) atmosphere (.) all right (.) it was (.) some people you feel uncomfortable with but it was fine.

Researcher: would you say the spirit was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Medical practitioner: cooperation (.) definitely.

Researcher: How did you expect the interpreter to behave in this atmosphere of cooperation?

Medical practitioner: (.) just basically to (.) repeat what I said ((he laughs)).

Researcher: did he do as you expected?

Medical practitioner: yes (.) yes.

Researcher: did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?

(.)

Medical practitioner: no (.) not really.

Researcher: did you (.) sense emotional detachment or emotional involvement or something in between?

Medical practitioner: it was probably something in between (.) he wasn't (.) I mean he was (.) he was (.) trying to (.) help the patient.

Researcher: yeah

Medical practitioner: to understand what was going on (.) he wasn't

Researcher: all right

Medical practitioner: getting too close or too far.

Researcher: how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this situation?

Medical practitioner: probably like that (.) not too close (.) not too detached.

Researcher: can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Medical practitioner: it was probably closer to being informal.

Researcher: how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this informal situation?

Medical practitioner: well (.) just as he did really (.) he was very pleasant to everybody.

Researcher: yeah (.) who seemed dominant during the encounter?

Medical practitioner: ss- sorry?

Researcher: who seemed DOMINANT during the meeting?

(2.0)

Medical practitioner: me (.) I guess ((he laughs)).

Researcher: how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this (.)

Medical practitioner: probably just do what I ask (.) really ().

Researcher: before the meeting (.) did you have any fears or concerns or any kind of negative expectations regarding any aspects of the session like outcome, translation

Medical practitioner: I was a bit worried about how the patient understands the breathing aspects of the test but it seems to have worked very well (.)

Researcher: all right

Medical practitioner: with the interpreter's help

Researcher: final question (.) in terms of overall assessment (.) how would you grade the interpreter's competence on a scale from 1 to 10 (.) where 1 is very incompetent and 10 is very competent?

(.)

Medical practitioner: a 9 probably (.) yeah a 9.

Researcher: all right

Medical practitioner: thank you (.) is that everything?

Researcher: ok (.) thank you very much.

Transcript of interview with patient

Researcher: no dobrze (.) czy mógłby mi pan opowiedzieć o pracy tłumacza podczas tego spotkania? jak według pana jemu poszło (.) tłumaczowi?
So, could you tell me about the interpreter's work during his session? How do you think he performed?

(.)

Patient: perfekt
Perfectly

Researcher: a skąd pan to wie? dlaczego pan tak sądzi?
How do you know that? What makes you think so?

Patient: no bo wszystko zrozumiałem (.) tak mi się wydaje i szybko tłumaczył.
Because I understood everything - I think so - and he interpreted quickly.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwał pan że tak mu właśnie pójdzie?
And did you expect him to perform that way?

Patient: właściwie to nic nie oczekiwałem bo pierwszy raz to było pierwsze moje spotkanie z doktorem przez tłumacza.
I didn't expect anything because it was my first session with a doctor which involved an interpreter.

Researcher: jak można by polepszyć jego tłumaczenie?
How could his performance be improved?

(.)

Patient: głośniej może mówić tylko.
He could speak louder.

Researcher: czy uważa pan że sytuacja w jakiej pracował tłumacz stwarzała jakieś trudności dla jego pracy?
Do you think the situation in which an interpreter was working posed any difficulties for his performance?

(6.0)

Patient: to znaczy jak?
How's that?

Researcher: czy jakieś problemy miał tłumacz? Czy były jakieś takie zewnętrzne (.) ?
Did the interpreter come across any difficulties? Were there any external ...?

Patient: nie
No

Researcher: według pana (.) jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

Patient: no to jest potrzeb- potrzebny zawód.
I think this profession is necessary.

Researcher: jaki był pana cel w tym spotkaniu tutaj?
What was your goal in today's session?

Patient: zachorowałem na (.) na klatce piersiowej coś miałem (.) jakieś objawy i musiałem przyjść do szpitala.
I fell ill with ... something appeared on my chest; I had some symptoms and I had to come to hospital.

Researcher: czy osiągnął pan swój cel w tym spotkaniu?
Did you achieve your goal in this session?

Patient: tak
Yes

Researcher: czy tłumacz pomógł panu osiągnąć ten cel?
Did the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

Patient: tak pomógł.
Yes, he did.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwał pan że tłumacz pomoże panu w osiągnięciu tego celu?
Did you expect the interpreter to help you achieve this goal.

Patient: No (.) oczekiwałem
Yes, I expected it.

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan skomentować stosowność zachowania się tłumacza w tej sytuacji?
Could you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this situation?

(5.0)

Patient: co to znaczy stosowność?
What does appropriateness mean?

Researcher: czy uważa pan że tłumacz zachował się mniej lub bardziej stosownie do sytuacji?
Do you think the interpreter behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?

Patient: Nie no ok.
No, he did OK.

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan podać przykłady takiego zachowania?
And could you give examples of such behaviour?

(5.0)

Patient: ((to himself, silently)) przykłady?
Examples?

(2.0)

Patient: nie (.) no trudno mi powiedzieć (.) bo pierwszy ten (.) to było pierwsze moje (.)
Well, it's difficult to say... because this was my first time.

Researcher: a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?
And what was the atmosphere during the session?

(3.5)

Patient: trochę zamieszania (.) bo to jeden tłumaczy przez drugiego.
A bit of commotion because one of them was explaining while the other one was interpreting.

Researcher: a czy uważa pan że atmosfera była bliższa współpracy czy bliższa konfliktowi czy może coś pomiędzy?
Do you think the atmosphere was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Patient: nie (.) no bliższa współ- współ- ((stammering)) współpracy
No, it was closer to cooperation.

Researcher: a jakiego zachowania oczekiwał pan od tłumacza w tej atmosferze współpracy?
How did you expect the interpreter to behave in this atmosphere of cooperation?

Patient: takie są te pytania trochę (.) nie wiem (.)
These questions are a bit ... I don't know.

((patient begins to look irritated, researcher moves on to the next question))

Researcher: a czy zauważył pan jakieś oznaki emocji podczas spotkania?
Did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

Patient: nie
No

((patient showing signs of fatigue and anxiety, the researcher moves on to the next question))

Researcher: a czy mógłby pan skomentować (.) stopień formalności tego spotkania (.) czy było ono bardziej formalne czy nieformalne? (.) czy co pomiędzy?
Could you comment on the degree of formality of this session? Was it more formal or informal or something in between?

Patient: no, form- (.) nie wiem.
It was for ... well, I don't know

Researcher: bardziej oficjalne czy nieoficjalne ?
more official or unofficial?

(.)

Patient: trudno mi cokolwiek powiedzieć bo to było moje pierwsze spotkanie (.) nie mam porównania.
It's difficult to say because it was my first session - it's hard to compare.

Researcher: a kto według pana był osobą dominującą w tym spotkaniu?
And in your opinion, who was dominant in this session?

(6.0)

Researcher: czy może nikt (.) czy może wszystkie były tak samo dominujące?
maybe no one or maybe all people were equally dominant?

(6.0)

Patient: nie wiem (.) trudno mi powiedzieć.
I don't know, it's difficult to say.

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miał pan jakieś obawy albo negatywne oczekiwania w związku z tym spotkaniem?
And before the session, did you have any fears or negative expectations about this session?

(5.0)

Patient: obawy przed tym spotkaniem? nie (.) nie miałem żadnych.
Fears before the session? No, I didn't have any.

Researcher: a w kategoriach takiej ogólnej oceny (.) jak oceniłby pan kompetencje tłumacza w skali 1 do 10 gdzie 1 to jest bardzo niekompetentny a 10 to jest bardzo kompetentny?
And in terms of overall assessment, how would you grade the interpreter's competence from 1 to 10, where 1 means very incompetent and 10 very competent?

(5.0)

Researcher: jaka ocenę by pan dał?
What grade would you give?

(3.0)

Researcher: od 1 do 10
From 1 to 10

(.)

Patient: 10 kompetentny?
10 is competent, right?

Researcher: tak (.) 10 to jest bardzo kompetentny a 1 to bardzo niekompetentny - taka skala.
Yes, 10 is very competent and 1 is very incompetent ... it's a kind of scale.

Patient: nie wiem (.) 10.
Don't know ... 10

Researcher: 10 (.) dobrze (.) to wszystko
10, good, that's all

Transcript of interview with interpreter

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mógłbyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie ci poszło?
Could you tell me about your performance during his session? How do you think it went?

(.)

Interpreter: dobrze (.) płynnie
Well and smoothly.

Researcher: dlaczego tak sądzisz?
Why do you think so?

Interpreter: bo (.) nie było przestojów (.) szybko informacje zostały przekazywane i szybko obie strony rozumiały.
There were no stoppages; information was passed quickly and was understood by the two sides.

Researcher: spodziewałeś się że tak ci pójdzie?
Did you expect you'd perform this way?

(.)

Interpreter: tak i nie (.) trudno się spodziewać co w takich miejscach może nastąpić.
Yes and no - it's difficult to expect what may happen in places like here.

Researcher: jak można by poprawić to tłumaczenie?
How could your performance be improved?

(.)

Interpreter: jak można by poprawić to tłumaczenie? (.) nie wiem ((he laughs))
How my performance can be improved? I don't know.

Researcher: czy dzisiejsza sytuacja stwarzała jakieś trudności dla twojego tłumaczenia?
Did today's session pose any difficulties for your performance?

Interpreter: może że tak powiem charakter przekazywanych informacji (.) chodzi o język techniczny może (.) tylko w tych miejscach potrzebne były dalsze wytłumaczenia ale w sumie nie było takiego większego problemu.

Yes, a kind of information, so to speak, to be passed, I mean technical language; on some occasions, more explanations were required, but in general there weren't any greater difficulties

Researcher: jak sobie z nimi poradziłeś?
How did you handle them?

Interpreter: po prostu klient poprosił o więcej informacji i je dostał.
The client asked for more information and he got it.

Researcher: czy oczekiwałeś tego że w taki sposób sobie poradzisz?

Did you expect yourself to handle them this way?

Interpreter: tak (.) bo jeśli klient nie rozumiał to też bym jakoś mimo wszystko zadbał o to żeby to co miał się dowiedzieć żeby się dowiedział.

Yes, because if the client hadn't understood, I would still have had to see to it that he learnt what he was supposed to learn.

Researcher: według ciebie jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?

In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

Interpreter: różną ((he laughs quietly)) zależy od kwalifikacji

Various one, depending on qualifications.

Researcher: jaki był twój cel w tej sesji?

What was your goal in this session?

Interpreter: mam powiedzieć odnośnie tego co tam się dokładnie działo? ((researcher nodding))

tłumaczenie przed zabiegiem (.) przedstawienie informacji na temat procedury.

Regarding what has just happened in there? – it was interpreting before the examination and giving some information about the whole process.

Researcher: czy osiągnąłeś swój cel?

Did you achieve your goal?

Interpreter: tak

Yes

Researcher: spodziewałeś się że go osiągniesz?

Did you expect to achieve it?

Interpreter: tak

Yes

Researcher: a czy mógłbyś skomentować stosowność swojego zachowania do sytuacji?

Could you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour for this situation?

Interpreter: myślę że było odpowiednie ze względu na to że nie trzymałem z żadną ze stron (.) byłem tam gdzie powinienem być (.) byłem po środku

I think it was appropriate because I didn't side with any party. I was where I should be – right in the middle.

Researcher: czy uważasz że zachowałeś się bardziej lub mniej stosownie do sytuacji.

Do you think you behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?

Interpreter: nie (.) nie sędzę.

No, I don't think so.

Researcher: bardziej lub mniej stosownie?

More or less appropriate?

Interpreter: no nie sędzę (.) myślę że było tak pośrodku.

No, I don't think so, I think it was just in the middle.

Researcher: a mógłbyś podać przykłady takiego zachowania?

Could you give examples of such behaviour?

Interpreter: dokładne odzwierciedlenie tego co jest w rzeczywistości (.) czyli słów wypowiedzianych (.) atmosfery rozmowy (.) mimiki nawet.

Faithful rendition of real communication, that is, words uttered, atmosphere of interaction or even mimicry.

Researcher: a czy spodziewałeś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony?

Did you expect yourself to behave like that?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a jaka panowała atmosfera podczas spotkania?
What was the atmosphere during the session?

Interpreter: była trochę może nieco spięta ze względu na niewiadomą ((he laughs quietly)) która czekała pacjenta (.) ale stopniowo się rozluźniała.
It may have been slightly tense because of the unknown that the patient was about to face but it was gradually becoming more relaxed.

Researcher: a czy powiedziałbyś że była ona bliższa współpracy (.) konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
Was it closer to cooperation or competition or something in between?

Interpreter: współpracy
Cooperation

Researcher: jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w tej atmosferze współpracy?
How did you expect yourself to act in this atmosphere of cooperation?

Interpreter: asystowania
To assist

Researcher: zrobiłeś tak jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you do as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy zauważyłeś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas tego spotkania?
Did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

Interpreter: poza niepokojem (.) nie
Apart from anxiety, no.

Researcher: a czy podczas spotkania wyczułeś bardziej emocjonalne zaangażowanie czy emocjonalny dystans czy coś pomiędzy?
And during the session, did you sense emotional involvement, emotional detachment or something in between?

Interpreter: emocjonalny dystans bardziej.
More like emotional detachment.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania oczekiwałeś ze swojej strony w tej sytuacji emocjonalnego dystansu?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this situation of emotional detachment?

Interpreter: można by powiedzieć że (.) nazwałbym to zwierciadłem (.) odzwierciedlenia klientów (.) to znaczy zachowania klientów.
You could say ... I'd call it a mirror, i.e. reflection of clients, I mean, clients' behaviour.

Researcher: i czy zachowałeś się tak jak oczekiwałeś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy mógłbyś skomentować stopień formalności lub nieformalności spotkania?
Could you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the session?

Interpreter: formalne było (.) bardziej formalne
Formal - it was more formal.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałeś w tej nieformalnej (.) w tej formalnej sytuacji, przepraszam?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this informal, I'm sorry, formal situation?

Interpreter: jeszcze raz sorki?
Say that again please?

Researcher: powiedziałaś że to było formalne bardziej (.) tak? i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałaś?
You've said it was more formal, right? How did you expect to behave?

Interpreter: to znaczy (.) w tym wypadku formalność rozumiałem jako profesjonalizm
In this case, I understood 'formal' as 'professional'.

(3.0)

Researcher: no dobrze a bardziej oficjalność nieoficjalność (.) tak może to określimy.
Well, let's put it as more or less official.

Interpreter: oficjalne bardziej niż nieoficjalne
It was more official than unofficial

Researcher: oficjalne? oficjalne było bardziej?
Official? Was it more official?

((the interpreter nods))

Researcher: i ze swojej strony czego oczekiwałaś w zachowaniu w tej oficjalnej sytuacji?
How did you expect yourself to behave in this official situation?

(3.0)

Interpreter: wykonanie swojej pracy (.) znowu bym powiedział na temat odzwierciedlenia
To do my job, 'to reflect things', as I've said before.

Researcher: tak (.) tak (.) i tak zrobiłaś jak oczekiwałaś?
I see. And did you do as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?
Who seemed dominant during the meeting?

Interpreter: prowadzący badania.
The person conducting the exam.

Researcher: i jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałaś w sytuacji zdominowanej przez prowadzącego badania?
How did you expect yourself to behave in the situation dominated by the person conducting the exam?

Interpreter: () w zasadzie dominacja jego polegała na tym że on trzymał wszystkie te informacje a pacjent się ich dowiadywał (.) więc przełamywał barierę niepokoju no i w sumie starałem się przy tym asystować.
In fact, dominance consisted in the fact the he had all the information which the patient learnt bit by bit and break the barrier of anxiety, and I tried to assist in it.

Researcher: czy zrobiłaś tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did you do as expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miałaś jakieś obawy lub innego rodzaju negatywne oczekiwania związane z wynikiem tego spotkania (.) z całą pracą twoją (.) z całą sytuacją?
Before the session, did you have any fears or any negative expectations connected with the outcome of the session, the whole situation or with your work?

Interpreter: czasami mogą być jakieś obawy (.) ale to głównie polega na zgłębianiu swojej niedoskonałości i pokonywaniu niewiadomych sytuacji.
There are some fears sometimes, but it mainly consists in exploring my own imperfection and facing unknown situations.

Researcher: czy te negatywne oczekiwania się spełniły w tej sytuacji?
Did those fears come true in this situation?

Interpreter: nie
No

Researcher: a w jakich kategoriach (.) to znaczy w kategoriach ogólnej oceny jakbyś siebie ocenił od 1 do 10 gdzie 1 to jest bardzo niekompetentny tłumacz a 10 to jest bardzo kompetentny.
And in what terms ... I mean ... in terms of overall assessment, how would you grade yourself from 1 to 10, where 1 is a very incompetent interpreter and 10 is a very competent one?

Interpreter: w tym wypadku? 8, 7
In this case? 8,7

Researcher: dziękuję bardzo
Thank you very much.

SESSION THREE - CITIZEN ADVICE BUREAU

Transcript of interview with advisor

Researcher: right (.) so can you tell me about the interpreter's work in this session (.) how do you think she (.) performed?

(.)

Advisor: she performed well (.) one of the things (.) that I did notice was that (.) the person she was interpreting (.) did want to (.) go off and tell us the life story rather than (.) sticking to points which is a bit difficult if you're in advice situation (.) when you really want to get down to what's happened in the last few weeks (.) what the complaint is about (.) what the employer's done (.) whereas this person wanted to go on about (.) where she'd been and (that) so she needed to be pulled back a bit (.) in terms of focusing on what the problem was.

Researcher: did you expect her to perform that way (.) did you expect the interpreter to perform that way?

(.)

Advisor: yeah (.) I mean (.) the interpreter was good it (.) it was just I think a bit difficult for her (.) when the person went off for two or three minutes to (.) to notice any sort of (point) where she could stop and say anything (.) it was like the interpreter had to listen (.) to all that was being said rather than say 'no no that's not it'

Researcher: how do you think the interpreter's performance could be improved?

(2.0)

Advisor: I think that certain knowledge of what they're interpreting (.) especially in terms of (.) this is employment law (.) so some of the phrases that I'm throwing out (.) are probably very difficult to translate into Polish so if she'd had a bit of legal knowledge, it would've been easier for her.

(.)

Researcher: do you think there were any difficulties in this assignment (.) any situational difficulties?

Advisor: I can refer that to legal aspects and tech- (.) it must be totally (.) it might be easy to do just conversation or interpretation but when you're talking about technical situation when there's not enough () can be translated into English or Polish must be difficult.

Researcher: how do you think the interpreter handled this difficulty?

Advisor: very well (.) she (.) she looked thoughtfully and didn't answer (.) immediately but you could see her mind ticking over for the best words to (.) the best equivalent of Polish word to use.

Researcher: did you

Advisor: to use

Researcher: did you expect her to handle it that way?

Advisor: yeah (.) yeah

Researcher: now (.) in your (.) opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(2.0)

Advisor: Do you know? I haven't really thought of it (.) it's not like (.) it's not the conversation where (.) people that I work with (.) I think we'd all say that we appreciate the difficulties (.) in terms of interpreting (.) we know the difficulties in terms of (.) getting things translated from English into Polish in technical sense (.) because we have a lot of leaflets (.) you know (.) so we do appreciate the fact that it's difficult.

Researcher: from wha- (.) from you point of view, what was the goal in this session?

Advisor: goal in this session is to get down (.) to the what the problem is (.) that the person's got they come to see this far (.) sometimes (.) because of the language difficulties (.) it's difficult for the (.) for the Polish person to actually (.) to say (.) we use the term 'if you have a grievance with your employer' (.) now there doesn't seem to be a situation where there's a straightforward grievance (.) just means when you got a problem with your employer.

Researcher: did you achieve your goal in this session?

Advisor: yes

Researcher: did the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

Advisor: yes

Researcher: and-

Advisor: it wouldn't have been possible without her.

Researcher: and so did you expect her to-

Advisor: yeah

Researcher: all right (.) now can you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this particular situation?

Advisor: it was very appropriate (.) yes.

Researcher: could you give me any examples of her appropriate behaviour?

Advisor: she was very polite (.) you know (.) introduced herself introduced everyone (.) it's what you would expect (.) you know (.) I daresay in the certain circumstances where she'd have to do something different (.) depending on (.) you know if she's interpreting for a doctor (.) interpreting for the police ((he laughs))

Researcher: ((he laughs)) so (.) so did you expect the interpreter like that (.) the behaviour like that from the interpreter in this session?

Advisor: yeah

Researcher: now (.) what was the spirit or atmosphere during the (.) session?

Advisor: relaxed (.) jovial (.) you know (.) trying to keep it (.)

Researcher: would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Advisor: oh definitely cooperation.

Researcher: right (.) in this situation of cooperation how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

(3.0)

Advisor: the (.) you know (.) she she would relay the questions to the person (.) you know (.) as quickly as possible and to (2.0) to keep the person relaxed 'cos it can be tense when you're trying to get something over and you're a bit frustrated because you haven't got control you're going through (.) another person to talk to that person so there was a bit of control thing there.

Researcher: did she act as you (.) as you expected?

Advisor: yeah

Researcher: right (.) now did you notice any signs of emotions during the session?

(3.0)

Advisor: like I said just j(ovial) it was (.) we we're trying not to keep it as () very serious solicited types conversations just to drop the odd (.) joking about the weather or (.) you know (.) what's the weather like in Poland.

Researcher: would you say it was more like emotional engagement or emotional detachment or something in between?

Advisor: it was engagement (.) it was emotional engagement with the person that you're trying to advise and you can see (.) they're obviously in distress because they've got a problem with their employer sometimes it's creating financial hardship for himself but you know (.) you do engage with them.

Researcher: in this situational (.) in this situation of emotional engagement how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

(.)

Advisor: it's a re-occurring question in this () I mean I don't expect the interpreter to (.) to do everything and behave you know () the one today behaved exemplary and that's what I would expect.

Researcher: now (.) can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Advisor: informal

Researcher: and how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this informal situation?

(.)

Advisor: she (.) she behaved (.) the whole idea in terms of from the organisation I work for is to try to put people at their ease and try and make sure there's no tension or anything like that bec- because that way you get more information out (.) the person's relaxed and you can relay the information back to them through the interpreter (.) in principle everybody even the interpreter can be nervous if they (.) if they're not used to the area of law or in what they're interpreting.

Researcher: so did the interpreter behave as you expected?

Advisor: yep

Researcher: now (.) who seemed dominant during the meeting?

(.)

Advisor: for part of the meeting it was the person who'd come for the advice (.) because she tended to want to say a lot of things and go off to tell us about different things which might not have been appropriate to the advice that she needed (.) but obviously through the course of the meeting we managed to pull it back and say (.) just (.) can you just answer the question that we're asking so it (.) it changed.

Researcher: yeah (.) so in this situation of (.) of fluctuating dominance ((the advisor is laughing)) how did you (.) how did you expect (2.0) so how did you expect the interpreter to act?

Advisor: I thought the interpreter (.) could have at some (.) some stages said (.) you know (.) mayb- maybe that's not relevant or maybe that's not the idea but she just said exactly what the person is saying.

Researcher: now (.) before the meeting (.) did you have any fears or concerns or any kind of negative expectations connected with any aspect of the session like the interpreter's work or the fact that it's mediated by the interpreter or situation itself?

Advisor: only that you try and get across to the person the (.) what they need to do (.) what's happened to them (.) what the law says to them and sometimes if you're going through another person and you don't know exactly how this person is (.) is actually getting the message you have to trust the interpreter.

Researcher: did those fears come true in this session?

Advisor: no (.) I think it was a very good session and the person went away (.) thanked us for the advice and knew clearly what we was going to do on her behalf and what was going to happen within the next two or three weeks.

Researcher: now the final question (.) in terms of overall assessment how would you grade the interpreter's competence on a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 is a very incompetent interpreter and 10 is a very competent interpreter

Advisor: certainly an 8.

Researcher: all right thank you very much (.) excellent.

Transcript of interview with client

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mogłaby mi pani opowiedzieć o pracy tłumacza podczas tej sesji (.) jak według pani jej poszło (.) tłumaczowi?
So can you tell me about the interpreter's performance during this session? How do you think she, the interpreter, performed?

Client: jeżeli w tej mówimy o dniu dzisiejszym
If we're talking about today

Researcher: tak
yes, we are

Client: jestem bardzo zadowolona (.) z resztą ((interpreter's name)) już bardzo dobre wrażenie na mnie wywarła pierwszy raz kiedy miałam ja jako tłumacza (.) w konsil tax w piter skwir tu w Manczesterze (.) z czego byłam bardzo zadowolona (.) z osobistego tłumaczenia (.) z tłumaczenia przez telefon (.) nie miałam żadnych wątpliwości jeśli chodzi o informacje jakie ja udzielałam i jakie ona mi tłumaczyła ze strony angielskiej.

I'm really pleased; in fact ((interpreter's name)) made this good impression the first time I had her as an interpreter; in the council tax office in Peter's Square, here in Manchester, which I was pleased with; also when she was my personal interpreter in telephone interpreting; I didn't have any doubts about the information which I gave and which she interpreted for me from English.

Researcher: a dzisiaj?
And today?

Client: a dzisiaj tym bardziej.
Today even more so.

Researcher: i czemu?
And why?

Client: dzisiaj tym bardziej i z resztą samo jej zaangażowanie kiedy usłyszała jaką mam sytuację tam w kunsil taksie (.) po prostu sama zaoferowała mi () tą pomoc właśnie (.) że jest taka możliwość nie wie na ile się jej uda (.) uprościć osobista rozmowę żeby nie przez telefon (.) bo wtedy ona też tłumaczy bo powiedziała że to było dużo łatwiej tylko nie wiedziała czy przeskoczy ten próg ale że zrobi wszystko co będzie mogła i dziękuję bardzo (.) udało się.

Today even more so; her involvement alone, when she heard about my council tax situation; she just offered me her help, saying that there's an opportunity, though she couldn't tell how successful she'll be in simplifying personal conversation to avoid telephone conversation; because she also interpreted then and said it's much easier, but didn't know if she can overcome the problem but that she'll do her best and I'm really grateful (.) she did it.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwała pani tego że jej tak dzisiaj pójdzie?
Did you expect her to perform that way today?

Client: to znaczy wie pan co (.) takie wrażenie wywarła na mnie pierwsze świetne (.) że wiedziałam że jeśli chodzi o tłumaczenie na pewno se świetnie da radę (.) ale o przebieg sprawy o (.) wynik (.) tego nie mogłam oczekiwać po tłumaczu bo to już wiadomo że problemu które ja mam i ktoś rozwiązuje i wyjścia na nie szuka.

You know, my first impression was so great that I knew that she will handle interpreting very well; about the course of the session, its result, I obviously couldn't expect that from the interpreter because the problems I have are being solved by someone else.

Researcher: a jak można by ulepszyć (.) tłumaczenie dzisiejsze (.) czy ma pani jakiś pomysł?
How could the interpreter's performance be improved? Do you have any thoughts on that?

Client: nie (.) nie dzisiaj nie mam (.) nawet w prywatnej rozmowie takiej tam towarzyskiej (.) gdzie nie byłam na boku tylko odruchowo w wolnym czasie tłumaczone miałam o czym na przykład była rozmowa między pracownikami.

No, today I don't; even in a private conversation; when I was standing on the side, she interpreted me the content of conversation between the employees.

Researcher: a czy uważa pani że sytuacja w której to tłumaczenie się dzisiaj odbywało stwarzało jakieś trudności dla pracy tłumacza?
Do you think that the situation in which the interpretation took place posed any difficulty to the interpreter's work?

(.)

Client: raczej nie (.) nie (.) było powoli nie chaotycznie (.) dokładnie.
Not really; no, it was slow, not chaotic but thorough.

(.)

Researcher: a według pani (.) jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
And in your opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

Client: wie pan co jest to moim zdaniem bardzo odpowiedzialna praca (.) naprawdę odpowiedzialna (.) bo też zależy od charakteru ludzi którym się tłumaczy coś (.) czasami (.) czasami tłumacz przetłumaczy dobrze a na przykład ktoś źle zrozumie (.) później szuka winnego w kim będzie szukał jak nie w tłumaczu (.) no mnie się wydaje że jest to bardzo odpow- odpowiedzialny jednak zawód gdzie miałam styczność w urzędach w szpitalu u lekarza więc ten tłumacz jednak no musi spełniać te warunki znajomości tego języka.

You know, I think it's a very responsible job, really responsible because it also depends on the character of people you interpret for. Sometimes the interpreter gets it right but the other person still misunderstands it. Later they're looking for the person responsible and who will they blame if not the interpreter; well, I think it is a very responsible profession. I've dealt with them in offices, hospitals, at GP's, so interpreters really need to fulfil the prerequisite of having good command of language.

Researcher: z pani punktu widzenia jaki był cel w tej dzisiejszej sesji?
From your point of view, what was your goal of today's session?

Client: no żeby mi pomóc z problemami z pracodawcą który praktycznie do końca mnie nie poinformował o mojej sytuacji w pracy na tym chorobowym co jestem (.) no dużo nieścisłości (.) no w ogóle zerwał ze mną jakkolwiek taki kontakt (.) jako z pracownikiem (.) nie informując mnie o detalach (.) o rzeczach które mi się należą które powinnam wiedzieć od niego (.) usłyszałam to dzisiaj tutaj.

To help me with the problems with the employer, who didn't fully inform me about the situation at work when I was on a sick leave; lot's of inconsistencies; he wasn't in touch with me at all, as an employee, didn't inform me about the details, about things I should've known from him and which I've heard today.

Researcher: czy w tym spotkaniu osiągnęła pani swój cel?
Did you achieve your goal in this session?

Client: tak tak
Yes yes

Researcher: czy (.) czy tłumacz pomógł pani osiągnąć ten cel?
Did the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

Client: no oczywiście że tak.
Yes, of course she did.

Researcher: a czy spodziewała się pani tego że pomoże?
And did you expect her to do so?

Client: tak (.) byłam przekonana.
Yes, I was convinced about that.

Researcher: a czy mogłaby pani skomentować stosowność zachowania się tłumacza w tej konkretnej sytuacji?
And could you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this specific situation?

(3.0)

((the client looks puzzled))

Researcher: czy uważa pani że tłumacz się zachował bardziej stosownie lub mniej stosownie do tej sytuacji?
Do you think that the interpreter behaved more appropriately or less appropriately for this situation?

Client: nie (.) bardzo stosownie.
No, very appropriately.

Researcher: a czy pamięta pani przykłady takiego zachowania z dzisiejszego spotkania?
And do you remember any examples of this behaviour from today's meeting?

Client: tak oczywiście (.) ((interpreter's name)) cały czas obserwowała mnie i (.) nie wiem jak panu (.) temu co tutaj udzielał mi porady w każdym bądź razie bardzo uważnie słuchała co mam do powiedzenia i w miarę widziałam jak bardzo dokładnie stara się przetłumaczyć i to samo powtórzyć mnie to co ja powinnam usłyszeć (.) czego nie rozumiałam z angielskiego.

Yes, of course. She watched me all the time and, I'm not sure how to say that, the person who was giving me the advice; anyway, she very attentively listened to what I wanted to say and I saw how much she tries to interpret it exactly and to tell me what I was supposed to hear and what I couldn't understand in English.

Researcher: czy spodziewała się pani takiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza?
Did you expect such behaviour from the interpreter?

Client: tak (.) ze strony ((interpreter's name)) na pewno w 100 %.
Yes, for sure, from ((interpreter's name)), it was 100% sure.

Researcher: a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?
What was the atmosphere like during the meeting?

Client: bardzo miła (.) bardzo miła.
Very nice, very nice.

Researcher: a czy powiedziała pani że była to atmosfera bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say it was closer to competition or conflict or something in between?

Client: to znaczy mi się wydaje że tutaj była taka atmosfera bardzo przyjazna (.) że tłumacz chce mi po prostu pomóc (.) nie to że on (.) jak to się mówi odwała swoją pracę bo to jest obowiązek za to bierze pieniądze nie tylko widziałam że ta dziewczyna naprawdę szczerze stara się żeby mi pomóc żeby w miarę tą jakoś moją sytuację trudną na dzień dzisiejszy rozwiązać.

Well, I mean, I think today's situation was very friendly; the interpreter just wanted to help me; not that she, as one can say, just did her duty because she was paid for it; not only; I saw this girl trying really hard to help me so that my situation, which is still difficult, could be solved.

Researcher: czy spodziewała się pani takiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza?
Did you expect this behaviour from the interpreter?

Client: ze strony tłumacza tak.
From the interpreter? Yes.

Researcher: a czy zauważyła pani jakieś oznaki emocji podczas spotkania (2.0) jakiegokolwiek
And did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting? any signs?

(2.0)

Client: to znaczy wie pan trudno mi powiedzieć bo ja byłam bardzo zdenerwowana przed tym spotkaniem naprawdę.
You know, it's difficult to say because I was really nervous before this meeting.

Researcher: no dobrze a czy uważa pani że to spotkanie to był przykład takiego emocjonalnego zaangażowania uczestników czy może emocjonalnego dystansu czy może coś pomiędzy?
I see, and do you think that this meeting was an example of the participant's emotional engagement or detachment or perhaps something in between?

Client: to znaczy ja odniosłam wrażenie że z ludźmi którzy mi tutaj pomagali tak przedstawiciel firmy jak i tłumacz (.) że chcą (.) każdy detal mi wyjaśnić wytłumaczyć (.) i w miarę możliwości robią wszystko żeby mi pomóc w tej sytuacji w jakiej jestem.

Well, my impression was that people who were trying to help me here, both this employee and the interpreter, that they want explain every detail to me and, as much as possible, they'll do all it takes to help me in my situation.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji takiego (.) stosunku pracownika (.) do pani jakiego zachowania ze strony tłumacza się pani spodziewała? (.) w takiej sytuacji gdzie tak jak pani mówi (.) pracownicy naprawdę starają się pomóc pani.
In this situation, displaying this attitude from the advisor, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter? In the situation where, as you say, the advisor really wanted to help you.

Client: to znaczy wie pan co, tak jak poznałam panią ((interpreter's name)) w sumie na tym jednym spotkaniu w konsil taksie w urzędzie też bardzo poważnym najpoważniejszym chyba w Anglii pominawszy władze to byłam pewna zaufania do niej (.) młodzianka dziewczyna ale bardzo się zna na rzeczy (.) jest (.) no jak (.) brakuje mi określenia odpowiedniego (.) nie traktuje swojej pracy jako typowy obowiązek (.) koniec to jest mój czas (.) nie (.) potrafi dać dodatkowo jeszcze coś i (.) za to jestem jej bardzo wdzięczna.

You know, when I met ((interpreter's name)) during this meeting in council tax office, the most serious office in England, I guess, except the government, I was fully confident about her; a young girl but very knowledgeable about her area was, how do I say it, didn't approach her work as a typical duty, that is, 'that's my time and that's it'; no; nothing like that; she can give more and that's why I'm grateful to her.

Researcher: czy zachowała się tak jak pani oczekiwała w tej takiej sytuacji (.)
Did she behave as you expected in this situation

Client: tak
Yes

Researcher: zaangażowania?
of engagement?

Client: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy mogłaby pani skomentować stopień formalności czy też nieformalności spotkania?
And could you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Client: to znaczy (.) nie wiem o co chodzi
Well, I don't know what you mean.

Researcher: czy uważa pani że to spotkanie było bardziej formalne czy bardziej nieformalne czy może coś pomiędzy (.) może oficjalne nieoficjalne pomiędzy?
Do you think this meeting was more formal or more informal or something in between; or maybe more official, unofficial or in between?

Client: nie (.) to znaczy to spotkanie było ustalone i ja odniosłam wrażenie że (.) że (.) nie podchodzono do mnie jako do osoby której musza pomóc tylko że chcą pomóc (.) nie wiem czy ja to dobrze rozumiem o co panu chodziło (.) byłam miło przyjeta i po prostu ta chęć (.) w miarę zaoferowania pomocy a nie było to na zasadzie urzędowej rozmowy bo to jest obowiązek (.) nie takiego wrażenia nie odniosłam (.) wprost przeciwnie.

No, the meeting was set in advance and my impression was that I was approached not as a person who they have to help but as a person they want to help, I'm not sure if I got the question right, I was received nicely and this willingness of offering help didn't look like formal conversation connected with duties; nothing like that; just the contrary.

Researcher: czyli takie mniej oficjalne powiedzmy.
So let's say it was less official.

Client: tak tak
Yes yes

Researcher: w takim mniej oficjalnym spotkaniu jakiego zachowania pani by oczekiwała od tłumacza (.) jak dzisiaj było mniej oficjalne?
In this less official meeting, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter; as you said it was less official today?

Client: to znaczy nie (.) jak byłam naprawdę miło zaskoczona (.) atmosfera taka jaka była (.) sama byłam zdenerwowana strasznie ale później po paru minutach (.) opuściły mnie te nerwy i czułam się bardzo swobodnie (.) tak jakoś.
I mean I was really pleasantly surprised; the atmosphere was so... I was nervous myself but a few minutes later, these nerves faded away and I felt at ease somehow.

Researcher: a czy tłumacz według pani zachował się tak jak pani oczekiwała w tej sytuacji mniej oficjalnej?
In your opinion did the interpreter behave in the way you expected in this less official situation?

Client: tak (.) tak (.) oczywiście.
yes, yes, of course.

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być osoba dominującą podczas tego spotkania?
And who seemed to be dominant during this meeting?

(3.0)

Client: no nie wiem jak to panu określić bo moim zdaniem (.) na tłumaczu była najważniejsza rola (.) żeby w miarę przetłumaczyć tu pracownikowi temu menadżerowi czy dorad- panu doradcy żeby on dokładnie wiedział o co mnie chodzi a z kolei to co on miał mi do poinformowania że ona musi to też dokładnie mi przekazać żeby nie wyszły tak jak mówiłam na początku rozmowy jakieś niejasności (.) i tu mi się wydaje że rola tłumacza jest bardzo ważna.

Well, I don't know how to say that; in my opinion the interpreter played the crucial role of interpreting for the advisor so that he knew exactly what I was saying and also whatever the advisor wanted to tell me had to be exactly converted so that no inconsistencies would come up, as I said at the beginning, and here I think the interpreter's role is crucial.

Researcher: czy pani by powiedziała że to tłumacz był dominującą osobą?
So would you say it was the interpreter who dominated?

(3.0)

Client: jeżeli (.) w moim przypadku chodzi to tak (.) to szczerze powiem że tak (.) z tym że bardzo tutaj jestem wdzięczna doradcy który (.) no też bardzo miły i widać że szczerze pomaga i (.) i ten zasób wiadomości jaki ma to wykorzystuje do końca.

If, in my case, yes, to be honest; but I'm also grateful to the advisor who was also very nice and helped diligently; and that he uses his knowledge fully to this end.

Researcher: a czy oczekiwała pani że tłumacz będzie dominującą osobą?
And did you expect the interpreter to be dominant?

Client: to znaczy chyba nie ale (.) chyba nie (.) tylko że widziałam że ((interpreter's name)) robi to z takim oddaniem zaangażowaniem i no tak jak mówiłam wcześniej bez jakiegoś przymusu (.) tylko z chęcią żeby mi pomóc.

I think I didn't; I didn't but I saw ((interpreter's name)) do this with devotion and engagement, as I've said before, and without being forced to anything but with willingness to help me.

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miała pani jakieś obawy (.) albo innego takiego rodzaju negatywne oczekiwania związane z tłumaczem (.) z pracą tłumacza?
And before the meeting, did you have any fears or concerns or any other types of negative expectations connected with the interpreter's work?

Client: nie (.) nie dlatego że (.) tak jak mówię (.) poznałam już wcześniej bo (.) miałam już w swoim przypadku innych tłumaczy gdzie byłam trochę zaskoczona zawiedziona ale tu byłam przekonana (.) że (.) że to mnie nie spotka.

No, no, because, as I've said, I've met her before; but I had other interpreters in my case, who surprised and disappointed me but today I knew that no disappointment waited for me.

Researcher: dobrze ostatnie pytanie (.) w kategoriach ogólnej oceny jak oceniłaby pani kompetencje tłumacza w skali od 1 do 10 gdzie dziesięć (.) gdzie 1 to jest bardzo niekompetentny tłumacz a 10 to jest bardzo kompetentny tłumacz?

Well, the final question; in terms of overall assessment, how would you grade the interpreter's competence on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is a very incompetent interpreter and 10 is a very competent interpreter?

Customer: no to pani ((interpreter's name)) na pewno bym dała 10 (.) nawet z plusem.
In the case of ((interpreter's name)), I'd definitely give 10, even with plus.

Researcher: dobrze (.) dziękuję bardzo.
Good, thank you very much.

Customer: ja również.
Thank you.

Transcript of interview with interpreter

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mogłabyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie ci poszło?
OK, so can you tell me about your performance during this session? how do you think you did?

Interpreter: poszło mi (.) myślę że (.) ogólnie w porządku.
I think I did fine in general.

Researcher: dlaczego tak sądzisz?
What makes you think so?

Interpreter: bo została przekazana (.) dokładnie (.) wszystko zostało przekazane tak jak osoba oczekiwała osoby oczekiwały tak myślę.
Because it was passed exactly; everything was passed exactly as the other persons expected, I think.

Researcher: a spodziewałaś się że tak ci pójdzie?
And did you expect to perform that way?

(2.0)

Interpreter: raczej tak.
I think so.

Researcher: a co można by poprawić w twoim tłumaczeniu dzisiejszym?
And how could your interpreting be improved?

(5.0)

Interpreter: myślę że (7.0) założenie tłumaczenia jest takie że tłumacz powinien tłumaczyć wszystko (.) ale zauważyłam że osoba której tłumaczyłam (.) bardzo dużo podawała informacji dodatkowych i druga osoba w ogóle nie (.) nie było to potrzebne i widziałam że tamta osoba się niecierpliwi więc jakby tego nie tłumaczyłam ale z drugiej strony myślę że (.) być może powinnam tłumaczyć wszystko.

I think that... the assumption of interpreting is that an interpreter should interpret everything, but I've noticed that the person for whom I was interpreting gave a lot of extra information and the other person didn't... it was totally unnecessary and I saw the other person becomes impatient, so I skipped some information, but on the other hand, I have a feeling I should've interpreted everything.

Researcher: a czy uważasz że dzisiejsza sytuacja w której miało miejsce tłumaczenie stwarzało jakieś trudności dla twojej pracy?
And do you think that today's situation in which interpreting took place posed any difficulty for your work?

(4.0)

Interpreter: dzisiaj- (.) jeżeli chodzi o tą (.) o osoby czy ogólnie o wszystko?
today? about today? about people or everything?

Researcher: o cokolwiek (.) jakikolwiek aspekt sytuacji w której dzisiaj byłaś.
About anything; any aspect of the situation you've participated today.

Interpreter: jedną trudność sprawiło mi to że tamta osoba mówiła bardzo szybko (.) po prostu chciała bardzo dużo informacji przekazać które w ogóle po pierwsze nie były potrzebne a po drugie ciężko mi było jakby zastopować i poprosić o powtórzenie bo (.) to znaczy jak prosiłam o powtórzenie to się okazywało że jednym zdaniem można opowiedzieć (.) to wszystko.

One difficulty was that the person was talking very fast; she just wanted to pass a lot of information, which, to begin with was not so necessary, secondly I found it difficult to interrupt her and ask for repetition because, I mean, after I asked for repetition, it turned out that all could be said in just one sentence.

Researcher: i jak sobie poradziłaś z tą trudnością?
How did you handle this difficulty?

Interpreter: no właśnie tak jak mówię że (.) że prosiłam o powtórzenie ją.
As I've said, I asked her to repeat.

Researcher: czy oczekiwałaś że (.) że tak sobie poradzisz z tą trudnością?
Did you expect to handle it that way?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a według ciebie jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(4.0)

Interpreter: wydaje mi się że (.) osoby które miały styczność z tłumaczami zdają sobie sprawę (.) albo które (.) były na jakimś szkoleniu jak postępować w takich sytuacjach to wydaje mi się że zdają sobie sprawę że to nie jest (.) że nie wystarczy tylko znać język (.) że to jest (.) coś więcej jest potrzebne żeby być tłumaczem.

I think that people who have dealt with interpreters or those who participated in training about dealing with interpreters realise that it's not; it's not enough to speak a language; that something more is required to become an interpreter.

Researcher: z twojego punktu widzenia jaki był cel sesji dzisiejszej?
From your point of view what was your goal in the session?

(5.0)

Interpreter: umożliwienie komunikacji dwóch stron (.) i pomoc w wyjaśnieniu kwestii (.) żeby tamta osoba po prostu zrozumiała właściwie wszystko.
To enable communication between the two parties and help in clarifying the issue so that the other person could understand everything.

Researcher: czy osiągnęłaś ten cel?
Did you achieve that goal?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: czy spodziewałaś się że go osiągniesz?
Did you expect to achieve that?

Interpreter: myślę że tak.
I think so.

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś skomentować stosowność swojego zachowania do tej dzisiejszej sytuacji?
And could you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour for today's situation?

Interpreter: myślę że było (.) odpowiednie.
I think it was adequate.

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś podać przykłady takiego odpowiedniego zachowania z dzisiejszej sesji?
And could you give examples of appropriate behaviour from today's session?

Interpreter: ogólnie (.) ogólnie moje zachowanie plus zachowanie w trakcie tłumaczenia czyli samo tłumaczenie myślę że było adekwatne.
In general ... in general my behaviour in general and my behaviour during interpreting, so interpreting itself, I think, was adequate.

Researcher: a czy spodziewałaś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony?
Did you expect this behaviour from yourself?

(2.0)

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?
And what was the atmosphere during the meeting?

Interpreter: atmosfera raczej (.) nieformalna bo nawet (.) jak już jak już skończyło się tłumaczenie ale w zasadzie osoba poszła dokumenty przygotować to (.) ta druga osoba poszła przygotować dokumenty to wywiązała się nieformalna rozmowa (.) zupełnie na inny temat.

Atmosphere was... informal because even when interpreting was over but the person left to prepare some papers, so the other person left to prepare some papers, and an informal chat started about something completely different.

Researcher: czy powiedziałaś że była to atmosfera bliższa współpracy czy konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
Would you say the atmosphere was closer to cooperation to conflict or something in between?

(2.0)

Interpreter: bliższa współpracy (.) ale bliższa współpracy (.) taka współpraca do końca nie (.) nie była (.) tak jak już mówiłam (.) głównie dlatego że tamta osoba za dużo informacji chciała przekazać w tak krótkim czasie.

Closer to cooperation but just closer; it wasn't full cooperation, as I've said, mainly because the other person wanted to pass so much information in such a short time.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji bliższej współpracy jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś (.) jako tłumacz.
In a situation closer to cooperation what behaviour from yourself did you expect?

(9.0)

Interpreter: to znaczy () moje zachowanie jakie było czy ogólnie?
I mean, you ask what my behaviour was like?

Researcher: czy było takie jakie oczekiwałaś.
If it was like you expected it to be.

Interpreter: tak (.) myślę że tak ponieważ ta druga osoba jakby (4.0) w tamtym momencie była dominująca i (.) jakby narzuciła kierunek tłumaczenia i ja wtedy się wyłączyłam i tłumaczyłam (.) znaczy (.) tłumaczyłam po prostu wszystko.

Yes, I think so because the other person kind of at that moment was dominant and sort of imposed the direction of interpreting and I switched off and interpreted; I mean; I interpreted everything.

Researcher: czy spodziewałaś (.) czy zachowałaś się jak spodziewałaś?
Did you expect... did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy zauważyłaś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas tego spotkania?
And did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?

Interpreter: minimalne jeżeli już (.) ale raczej nie (.) no minimalne.
minimal; if any, not really; they were minimal.

Researcher: czy te sesje byś określiła jako przykład takiego emocjonalnego zaangażowania się uczestników czy emocjonalnego dystansu czy może coś pomiędzy?
Would you describe this session as an example of the participant's emotional engagement or emotional distance or maybe something in between?

Interpreter: raczej coś pomiędzy (.) jeśli pojawiły się emocjonalne zaangażowanie to myślę że (.) tylko z jednej strony (3.0) ale niekoniecznie dotyczyło tłumaczenia tylko sytuacji.
Something in between; if any emotional engagement appeared I think it was on one side only but it may have concerned the whole situation not the interpreting.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji takiego a nie innego emocjonalnego zaangażowania jakiego (.) zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś?
In the situation of this specific emotional engagement what behaviour did you expect from yourself?

(3.0)

Interpreter: w ogóle się nie zaangażowałam ja emocjonalnie (.) o (.) tak po prostu (.) robiłam myślę to co do mnie należy czyli tłumaczyłam.
I didn't involve emotionally at all; I just... just did what my job was, that is, I interpreted.

Researcher: czy zachowałaś się tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś skomentować stopień formalności albo nieformalności spotkania?
And could you comment on a degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Interpreter: było (.) nieformalne raczej ()
It was... it was less formal.

Researcher: w takim nieformalnym spotkaniu (.) jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś?
In this less formal meeting what behaviour did you expect from yourself?

(5.0)

Interpreter: w trakcie tłumaczenia czy ogólnie?
During interpreting or in general?

Researcher: w trakcie tłumaczenia (2.0) powiedziałaś że było nieformalne tłumaczenie więc jakiego? (.)
During the interpreting... you said it was informal so what behaviour did you ... ?

Interpreter: ale jednak no znaczy mimo wszystko że było nieformalne (.) to znaczy atmosfera była (.) może dlatego że ja znałam te osoby i dlatego ja odczułam że było nieformalne (.) nie wiem jak ta druga strona .
But, although it was informal... I mean the atmosphere was. Maybe because I knew the person and that's why I sensed it as informal. I'm not sure about the client's feelings though.

Researcher: tak ale chodzi mi o twoje odczucie.
Yes, and I ask about what you sensed.

Interpreter: tak jak mówię dla mnie to było nieformalne tłumaczenie wydaje mi się (.) ale zachowałam się adekwatnie do sytuacji bo wtedy kiedy było (.) kiedy można było sobie pozwolić na rozmowę przed czy po (.) to była rozmowa a w trakcie jednak chodziło o przekazanie konkretnych informacji.

As I say, for me it was less formal interpretation, I think. But I behaved adequately for the situation because whenever it was possible... when it was possible to have a chat before or after we had it; but during the meeting it was all about passing the information.

Researcher: czy zachowałaś się tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: myślę że tak
I think so

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?
And who seemed to be dominant during the meeting?

Interpreter: osoba mówiąca językiem angielskim (.) zdecydowanie.
The person who spoke English- definitely.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji gdzie osoba mówiąca językiem angielskim dominuje (.) nad sytuacja jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś?
In the situation dominated by the English-speaking person what behaviour did you expect from yourself.

(7.0)

Interpreter: czy mam to ocenić też (.) czy jakie to było czy ()
Do you want me to assess what it was like or

Researcher: już oceniłaś bo powiedziałaś że osoba w języku angielskim dominowała.
You've already assessed because you said the English-speaking person dominated.

Interpreter: tak ale ja uważam że było to bardzo pozytywne w tej sytuacji.
Yes, but I think it was positive in this situation.

Researcher: tak ale moje pytanie jest w takiej sytuacji gdzie (.) gdzie dominuje osoba mówiąca po angielsku jak według siebie samej ty powinnaś się zachować?
Yes but my question is in the situation dominated by the English-speaking person how should you behave in your opinion?

(5.0)

Interpreter: dokładnie przekazałam (.) to co ta osoba mówiła więc
I passed accurately whatever the person said so

Researcher: czy tak się (.)
Did you

Interpreter: tak tak myślę że tak właśnie powinno być.
Yes yes I think it's the way it should be.

Researcher: i tak tego zachowania oczekiwałaś od siebie?
so you expected this behaviour from yourself?

Interpreter: ((nodding)) mhm

Researcher: dobrze (.) a czy przed spotkaniem miałaś miałaś jakieś obawy związane ze swoją pracą jako tłumacz z wynikiem tego spotkania (.) czy miałaś jakiegokolwiek negatywne oczekiwania związane z tym spotkaniem przed tym spotkaniem?
Fine, and before the meeting, did you have any fears concerning your interpreting work or the outcome of this situation; did you have any negative expectations connected with this meeting?

Interpreter: nie (.) nie miałam negatywnych oczekiwań (.) może dlatego że wiedziałam mniej więcej czego będzie to dotyczyło (.) i wiedziałam że to będzie jakieś takie trochę (.) nie do końca bardzo formalna sytuacja.
No I didn't have any negative expectations; maybe because I knew more or less what it will be about; and I knew it'll be a bit; not exactly a formal situation.

Researcher: dobrze ostatnie pytanie jak oceniłabyś swoje kompetencje w skali 1 do 10 gdzie 1 to jest bardzo niekompetentny a 10 bardzo kompetentny tłumacz?
OK, my final question; how would you assess your competence on a scale on 1 to 10 where 1 is a very incompetent interpreter and 10 is a very competent interpreter?

(3.0)

Interpreter: 8 myślę.
Eight I think.

Researcher: dziękuję bardzo.
Thank you very much.

APPENDIX 3

SUPPLEMENTARY DATASET

SESSION FOUR - LONDON HOSPITAL

Transcript of interview with medical practitioner (paediatrician)

Researcher: ok (.) now (.) tell me about the interpreter's work in this session (.) how did she perform in your opinion?

Medical practitioner: I think she performed very well.

Researcher: ((quietly)) yeah

Medical practitioner: it was quite a complex session with a lot of information to be got across.

Researcher: ((quietly)) yeah

Medical practitioner: and (.) a very emotional situation for the mother and (.)

Researcher: what makes you think that she performed well?

(1.5)

Medical practitioner: I think she was able to get the information across accurately (.) I was giving bad news and certainly from the action of the (.) mother I think it was clear that she understood the gravity of the news (.) and I think that the (.) you know, the level of concern expressed by the interpreter and the (2.0) the fact that she (.) the interpreter self-recognised that the mother wanted to ask more questions wanted more information (.) so she did give (.) give me cues as well to give more information.

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to perform that way?

(.)

Medical practitioner: yes I did.

Researcher: how could her performance be improved (.) in your opinion?

(2.0)

Medical practitioner: I think for this consultation I don't think I could have seen anything different (.) one thing (.) that might have been (.) if she could (.) it had been a complex situation (.) perhaps giving an opportunity for the mother to (.) to have another talk with her (.) 'cos she's heard the information already if she had a telephone contact (.) say (.) 'give me a ring if you want to talk this over again' (.) if that's something feasible within the service (.) I think that would be helping.

Researcher: were there any difficulties for the interpreter in this assignment?

(2.0)

Medical practitioner: I think the difficulty was quite complex information I was giving (.) obviously (.) I can't know precisely how precisely it was being translated.

Researcher: how do you think she handled the difficulty?

Medical practitioner: I think she handled it well actually.

Researcher: did you expect her to deal with this difficulty that way?

(1.5)

Medical practitioner: I think (.) you know () I have been in the situations where the interpreters haven't handled it this well.

Researcher: in your opinion what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

Medical practitioner: I think here it enjoys a very good reputation because I think they are very much seen as part of the clinical team and () they are employed by hospital.

Researcher: from your point of view as a doctor (.) what was the goal of this session?

Medical practitioner: my goal was to (.) in part () what is quite serious bad news but also to give them the family hope that (.) treatment was available and that prognosis was not (.) was not terrible.

Researcher: did you achieve your goal?

Medical practitioner: I think they got the impression of bad news (.) I don't think they were in a position really to (.) to pick up the good news messages (.) I think this sort of problem.

Researcher: did the interpreter help you to do that?

Medical practitioner: yes (.) she certainly (2.0) interpreted what I was trying to (.) to get across (.) the more positive messages (.) she (.) she was certainly focusing on those.

Researcher: did you expect the interpreter to help you do so?

(4.0)

Medical practitioner: to an extent (.) I mean I expected her to impart information (.) I think what varies between individuals is (.) is perhaps how much of themselves they put into or how much they perhaps use their own words or their own images or their own examples to get the idea across.

Researcher: can you comment on the appropriateness of interpreter's behaviour for this particular situation?

Medical practitioner: I think it was entirely appropriate.

Researcher: would you say it was more or less appropriate?

Medical practitioner: no (.) more appropriate.

Researcher: could you give any examples of behaviour like that?

Medical practitioner: I think her (.) her clear level of concern about this family that she (.) she was taking the situation very seriously (.) she was very professional about it (.) she was (2.5) clearly getting across the seriousness of the situation.

Researcher: did you expect behaviour like that from the interpreter?

Medical practitioner: yeah.

Researcher: what was the spirit or atmosphere during the meeting?

(2.0)

Medical practitioner: it was emotional because of the situation.

Researcher: would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Medical practitioner: no, no (.) it was cooperative (.) it was (.) there was a mother trying to contain her emotions and feeling very upset and yet trying to put a bit of her face for the children.

Researcher: how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this atmosphere of cooperation?

(4.0)

Medical practitioner: well (.) I expected her to (.) you know to remain calm (.) to be (.) you know (.) you need to be sympathetic but equally you don't want herself to be upset by the scenario ().

Researcher: did she do as you expected?

Medical practitioner: yes (.) yes

Researcher: all right (.) did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?

Medical practitioner: from the interpreter or from the mother?

Researcher: from anyone.

Medical practitioner: from the mother it was very emotional (.) very tearful and very upset.

Researcher: and how did you expect the interpreter to act in this particular situation of (.)

Medical practitioner: I expected her to appear sympathetic to () she did.

Researcher: can you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Medical practitioner: I think it was (.) I think with any paediatric meeting it's (.) it's more informal than with adults (.) 'cos obviously (.) there's lots of noise (.) there's a child trying to play so I think it was (.) it was more informal than formal.

Researcher: and how did you expect the interpreter to behave in this informal situation?

Medical practitioner: I would expect her to (.) to be appropriately informal so if the child is wanting to play to try and engage with a child (.) as she did.

Researcher: all right (.) who seemed dominant during the meeting?

(3.0)

Researcher: in any sort of way? ((paediatrician laughing))

(4.0)

Medical practitioner: well (.) I think probably (.) it was me and the mother were the (.) were the dominant figures.

Researcher: and in this situation dominated by you and the mother how did you expect the interpreter to behave?

Medical practitioner: I mean (.) I expected her to be (.) yes (.) I suppose the go-in-between one (.) you know (.) trying to convert information between the two of us.

Researcher: did she do as you expected?

Medical practitioner: yes, yes

Researcher: before the meeting (.) did you have any fears or concerns regarding the interpreting or the interpreter?

Medical practitioner: I mean not this specific interpreter (.) I think (.) it always feels uncomfortable in this situation (.) giving difficult and complex news when you don't know exactly what the mother is hearing and when you can't pick up so well on her questions and (.) so yes (.) it doesn't feel like an ideal situation.

Researcher: did those fears come true in any way?

(2.0)

Medical practitioner: I don't know (.) I suppose what I've not been able to do is (.) is really indeed question the mother about what she understands (.) there's no way I could be speaking to the mother in her own language (2.0) I'd finish the consultation with a better idea of whether she understood (.) but I've certainly been in a conversation which were done entirely in English and (2.0) even though we've been talking in the same language (.) I still haven't felt they've understood the (.) so many barriers (.) not language at all (.) there're just people's perceptions of illness.

Researcher: well (.) the last question (.) in terms of overall assessment (.) how would you grade the interpreter's competence on a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 is very incompetent and 10 is competent?

Medical practitioner: I would have said sort of 8 to 9.

Researcher: all right (.) OK (.) thank you very much for that.

Transcript of interview with interpreter

Researcher: dobrze (.) to czy mogłabyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie ci poszło?
So, can you tell me about your performance during this session; how did it go in your opinion?

(5.0)

Interpreter: tłumaczenie było trudne ponieważ temat był trudny (.) zagadnienie było dosyć skomplikowane a (.) pacjentka niespecjalnie orientuje się (.) w nazewnictwie medycznym i generalnie w medycynie więc (.) skomplikowane kwestie trzeba było przedstawić w bardzo prosty i przystępny sposób.

This assignment was difficult because of the subject matter; the topic was quite complicated and the patient wasn't really familiar with medical terms and medicine in general, so complicated things had to be presented in a very simple and comprehensible way.

Researcher: i jak ci poszło? jak sądzisz?
And how did it go? What do you think?

(.)

Interpreter: myślę że poszło mi całkiem nieźle ale na pewno nie idealnie.
I think it went pretty well, but not ideally.

Researcher: a dlaczego tak sądzisz?
Why do you think so?

Interpreter: bo pacjentka wydawała się (.) jakby trochę spokojniejsza po moim wyjaśnieniu (.) na początku płakała (.) była zdenerwowana (.) jak jej zaczęłam tłumaczyć po kolei co i jak bardzo powoli (.) to uspokoiła się.
Because the patient seemed to calm down after my explanations. She cried at first and was very anxious; when I started to explain everything to her slowly and bit by bit, she calmed down.

Researcher: a czy spodziewałaś się że tak ci właśnie pójdzie?
Did you expect to perform that way?

Interpreter: nie spodziewałam się tak trudnej wizyty zaczynajmy od tego (.) nie myślałam że to będzie wizyta kontrolna (.) rutynowa całkowicie (.) to było całkowicie coś innego.
I didn't expect such a difficult session, to begin with; I thought it will be a routine check-up, while it turned up something completely different.

Researcher: a jak można by poprawić twoje tłumaczenie?
And how could your performance be improved?

(.)

Interpreter: poprawić moje tłumaczenie? (3.0) dać mi trochę więcej czasu na przetłumaczenie skomplikowanych kwestii (.) a to była szybka wizyta (.) dziecko się niecierpliwiło (.) mama była zdenerwowana a więc trzeba było troszeczkę skracać treści które były przekazywane więc pewnie gdybym miała trochę więcej czasu i trochę więcej jakby (3.5) nie wiem miejsca do namysłu to pewnie bym troszeczkę lepiej to ujęła ale to jest chyba specyfika tej pracy że trzeba szybciotko decydować.

Improve my performance? Give me more time to interpret complicated terms, and this was a very quick session; the child was being impatient and the mother was very anxious, so I had to reduce some things to be passed on, but if I had had more time, I could have had... I don't know ... more time to think and I would have expressed some things much better; but I guess having to make decisions quickly is typical of this job.

Researcher: a czy dzisiejsza sytuacja stwarzała jakieś trudności dla twojego tłumaczenia?
Did today's situation pose any difficulties for your performance?

Interpreter: tak (.) trudnością było po pierwsze skomplikowana kwestia medyczna (.) po drugie (.) to że pacjentka (.) gdybym dosłownie przetłumaczyła wszystkie informacje które przekazywała lekarka po prostu by do niej te informacje nie dotarły ponieważ była to osoba no powiedzmy niewykształcona (.) która nie jest za bardzo obyta z jakimś powiedzmy (.) wyższym stopniem abstrakcji w rozmowie coś takiego.

Yes, first of all, the medical terms posed one of the difficulties; secondly, if I had literally rendered all the information said by the doctor, this information wouldn't have reached her, since she is an uneducated person who couldn't handle abstract terms used in the conversation.

Researcher: jak sobie z tymi trudnościami poradziłaś?
How did you handle those difficulties?

(.)

Interpreter: mówiłam prostym językiem.
I spoke simple language.

(.)

Researcher: czy oczekiwałaś że w ten sposób sobie właśnie poradzisz?
Did you expect yourself to handle these difficulties this way?

Interpreter: nie ((she laughs))
No

Researcher: a czego oczekiwałaś?
And what did you expect?

Interpreter: tak jak mówię (.) oczekiwałam prostej wizyty
As I said before, I expected a simple session.

Researcher: według ciebie jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy? (6.5)

Interpreter: Spotkałam się z różnymi reakcjami (.) i bardzo przychylnymi i (.) spotkałam się z osobami które naprawdę doceniają naszą pracę ale też wiele razy spotkałam się z osobami które były zniecierpliwione (.) zirytowane naszą obecnością (.) które niespecjalnie chciały współpracować a jeśli już współpracowały to z jakimś wielkim trudem im to przychodziło (4.0) jakby te osoby specjalnie nie rozumieją jakoś idei pracy tłumacza które prawdopodobnie nie mówią w innym języku i nigdy nie znalazły się w sytuacji gdzie niczego nie rozumieją (.) więc trudno takie rzeczy czasami (.) a spotkałam się wręcz z wrogimi reakcjami niektórych lekarzy akurat nie w tym szpitalu tylko w innym (.) którzy uważali że jest to jakby strata pieniędzy publicznych i że jeżeli osoba mieszkająca w tym kraju wybiera (.) taką opcję że nie uczy się angielskiego i nie mówi po angielsku to zawsze powinna mieć ze sobą kogoś kto mówi po angielsku kto (.) by jej pomógł.

I have come across various reactions ... those that were favourable from those who really appreciate our work; but I've also come across people who were anxious and irritated with my presence during the session and who were reluctant to cooperate and when they did, I could tell their negative attitude ... it seemed as if these people [doctors] somehow didn't understand the nature of my work; they don't speak a foreign language and they never ended up in a situation where they couldn't understand a word, so sometimes these things are difficult ... and I even have come across with hostile reactions from some doctors, not in this particular hospital, who thought that if a person who doesn't speak English and lives in this country chooses not to learn English, they should be always accompanied by someone [from family] who can help them out.

Researcher: a z punktu widzenia tłumacza jaki był twój cel w tej sesji?

And from your point of view as an interpreter, what was your goal in this session?

(.)

Interpreter: przekazać informacje dla pacjenta (.) która miała być przekazana.

To pass the information that was supposed to be passed.

Researcher: osiągnęłaś swój cel?

Did you achieve it?

(.)

Interpreter: tak (.) myślę że tak.

Yes, I think so.

Researcher: a spodziewałaś się że go osiągniesz?

Did you expect to achieve it?

(3.5)

Interpreter: no zawsze się tego spodziewam (.) taki jest cel mojej pracy.

I always expect it – this is the aim of my work.

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś skomentować stosowność swojego zachowania do tej sytuacji?

And could you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour for the situation?

(4.5)

Interpreter: to musiałbyś doprecyzować.

You'd have to be more specific.

Researcher: czy wydaje ci się że twoje zachowanie było bardziej lub mniej stosowne (.) w tej konkretnej sytuacji?

Do you think your behaviour was more or less appropriate for this specific situation?

(3.5)

Interpreter: myślę że było stosowne (.) tak, myślę że było stosowne.

I think it was appropriate, yes, I think it was appropriate.

Researcher: a czy (.) pamiętasz przykłady takiego stosownego zachowania?

Do you remember examples of this appropriate behaviour?

(4.0)

Interpreter: zachowaniem stosownym było przede wszystkim (.) jakby bardzo spokojne i stonowane no spokojne i stonowane sposób przekazania tej informacji (.) bez jakiś dodatkowych uwag które mogłyby zdenerwować pacjentkę jeszcze bardziej a była już i tak zdenerwowana.

Appropriate behaviour was very calm behaviour on my part and the way I passed the information, i.e. without any additional remarks that could have upset the patient, who was already upset anyway.

(5.0)

Researcher: spodziewałaś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony?
Did you expect yourself to behave this way?

(5.0)

Interpreter: no zawsze się muszę go spodziewać bo na tym polega moja praca.
I always have to expect that; this is my job.

Researcher: a jaka panowała atmosfera podczas spotkania?
And what was the atmosphere during the session?

Interpreter: bardzo nerwowa.
Very tense

Researcher: a przyrówna- przyrównałabyś ją bardziej do atmosfery współpracy czy może konfliktu czy coś pomiędzy?
And would you compare it more to atmosphere of cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Interpreter: współpracy (.) bardziej współpracy.
Cooperation, more like cooperation.

Researcher: a jakiego zachowania oczekujesz ze swojej strony w atmosferze współpracy?
And how do you expect to behave in this atmosphere of cooperation?

Interpreter: jeszcze raz powiedz?
Say that again, please?

Researcher: jakiego (.) zachowania oczekujesz ze swojej strony w atmosferze współpracy w takiej jaka była?
What behaviour did you expect from yourself in this atmosphere of, as you said, cooperation?

(.)

Interpreter: ((quietly and absent-mindedly)) zachowania?
behaviour?

(.)

Researcher: jako tłumacz
As an interpreter

(.)

Interpreter: to znaczy ci bardziej o to (.) jakby w sensie z kim współpracuję bardziej czy ze stroną pacjent czy ze stroną lekarz, pielęgniarzka?

Do you mean which side I cooperate with more? With patient or with doctor?

Researcher: cokolwiek tutaj (.) nie chce narzucać ale po prostu
whichever, I don't want to be too prescriptive here

(.)

Interpreter: a wiem (.)
Oh, I know if

Researcher: czego się po sobie spodziewasz w takiej sytuacji współpracy?
What do you expect of yourself in this situation of cooperation?

Interpreter: w takiej sytuacji jeśli wszystko idzie gładko i mamy już tą wymarzoną atmosferę współpracy to (.) widzę siebie jako bezbarwne tło (.) tak naprawdę.

If everything goes smoothly and we have this much desired atmosphere of cooperation, I see myself as a transparent background.

(.)

Researcher: co to znaczy?
What do you mean?

(.)

Interpreter: to znaczy że nie muszę jakby za specjalnie starać żeby łagodzić jakieś sytuacje jakby żeby (.) komukolwiek w czymkolwiek pomagać (4.0) bardziej chodzi o konieczność o brak konieczności łagodzenia jakiegoś sporu (.) tu nie było żadnego sporu.
I mean I don't have to go to great lengths to ease the situation or to help anyone with anything ... I mean I don't have to resolve any conflicts ... there was no conflict here

Researcher: czy zachowałaś się tak jak spodziewałaś się (.) tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did you act as you thought, as you expected?

(.)

Interpreter: tak chyba tak
Yes, I guess I did.

Researcher: czy zauważyłaś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas tego spotkania?
Did you notice any signs of emotions during this session?

Interpreter: Tak ale z mojej strony?
Yes, but you mean from myself?

Researcher: jakiegokolwiek
Anyone

Interpreter: jakiegokolwiek (.) tak (.) tak oczywiście (.) dużo
Anyone - yes, yes, of course - plenty

Researcher: a powiedziałaabyś że (.) podczas tego spotkania wyczułaś bardziej emocjonalne zaangażowanie czy emocjonalny dystans?
And would you say that during this meeting you sensed emotional involvement or emotional distance?

Interpreter: ale czyje?
On whose part?

Researcher: u któregokolwiek
Anyone's

Interpreter: emocjonalne zaangażowanie większe oczywiście po stronie pacjentki (.) a właściwie mamy pacjentki bo to było dziecko (.) ze strony lekarki mniejsze ale też tam na pewno był jakiś stopień empatii tyle że powiedzmy bardziej wynikający jakby z charakterystyki jej pracy (.) no musi się tak zachować.

There was emotional involvement on the patient's part, or to be more exact, on the patient's mother's part, since it was a child; about the doctor, the involvement was smaller, but a degree of empathy was definitely present, which stemmed from the specificity of her work - she had to behave this way.

(.)

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji (.) gdzie jest takie a nie inne emocjonalne zaangażowanie jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekujesz?
In the situation of this specific emotional involvement, how do you expect yourself to behave?

(8.0)

Interpreter: jak najmniejszego zaangażowania emocjonalnego ponieważ to jakby zaciera jasność widzenia i wtedy po prostu (.) dana wizyta przeradza się w chaos jak jest za dużo emocji.
As little emotional involvement as possible, since it blurs the clarity of thinking and a given session becomes very chaotic if too much emotion comes into play.

Researcher: i czy zachowałeś się tak jak oczekiwałeś tego?
And did you act as you expected?

(.)

Interpreter: tak (.) chyba mi się udało.
Yes - I guess I was able to do so.

Researcher: a mogłabyś skomentować stopień formalności lub nieformalności spotkania?
And could you comment on the degree of formality or informality of the session?

(.)

Interpreter: to było takie półformalne powiedziałabym spotkanie.
I'd say it was a semi-formal session.

Researcher: i jakiego oczekiwania od siebie oczekujesz (.) jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekujesz w takim półformalnym spotkaniu?
And how did you expect ... how did you expect yourself to behave in this semiformal session?

(.)

Interpreter: no właśnie takiego półformalnego zachowania czyli powiedzmy (.) nie trzymam się jakoś kurczowo ani sztywno (.) dokładnie słowo w słowo tego co mówi lekarz (.) oczywiście informacja musi być przekazana ale tak jak mówię (.) skoro jest to takie półformalne spotkanie (.) to być może mogę sobie pozwolić bardziej na dostosowanie tonu i poziomu tej rozmowy do pacjenta.

I expected myself to behave semi-formally, that is, not to stick to exactly every single word said by the doctor; obviously, the information has to be passed on, but as I said, if this is a semi-formal session, I may take a liberty of adjusting the tone and level of the conversation to that of a patient

Researcher: i czy zrobiłaś tak jak oczekiwałaś?
And did you do as you expected?

Interpreter: nie miałam wyjścia.
I had no choice.

Researcher: kto wydawali się być dominujący podczas spotkania?
Who seemed dominant during the session?

(.)

Interpreter: lekarka
The doctor

Researcher: i ze swojej strony jakiego zachowania oczekiwałaś w sytuacji zdominowanej przez lekarzkę?
And how did you expect to behave in a session dominated by the doctor?

Interpreter: spodziewałam się (.) właściwie to była sytuacja której bym się spodziewała bo to ona
I expected her to actually, this was the situation I expected because it was her who

Researcher: nie nie ale jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony (.)
No, no what behaviour from your part

Interpreter: a ze swojej strony
Oh, from my part

Researcher: się spodziewałaś?
did you expect?

(4.0)

Interpreter: właściwie to przechodzę nad tym do porządku dziennego (.) jeśli nie ma sytuacji konfliktu czyli powiedzmy nie ma sytuacji gdzie pacjent chce (.) jakby dostać informacje od lekarza a lekarz nie chce mu jej przekazać albo jakoś tam powiedzmy powiem brzydko, wymiguje się (.) więc jeśli nie ma takiej sytuacji (.) jeśli informacja która ma być przekazana jest przekazana, to nie widzę problemu z dominacją lekarza (.) w takiej sytuacji, bo to ona jest właśnie ()

In fact, I start to get used to it – if there’s no conflict situation, for example, when a patient needs some information from a doctor and the doctor refuses to do so or tries to get out of doing so, if there’s no such situation and if the information that needs to be passed is passed, I see no problem in a doctor being a dominant person in such a situation, since it is the situation which...

Researcher: tak ale jak ty powinnaś się zachować (.) jako tłumacz?
Yes, I see ... but how should you behave as an interpreter?

(.)

Interpreter: myślę że nie powinnam tego niwelować.
I think I shouldn’t neutralise that.

Researcher: i zrobiłaś tak jak oczekiwałaś?
And did you do as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miałaś jakieś obawy lub innego rodzaju negatywne oczekiwania dotyczące jakiegokolwiek aspektu spotkania na przykład samej sytuacji w sobie, twojego tłumaczenia, twojej pracy?

And before the session, did you have any fears or negative expectations regarding any aspect of the session? e.g., session itself, your performance, your assignment

Interpreter: nie (.) nie było nic takiego
No, no, nothing like that

Researcher: ostatnie pytanie (.) w kategoriach ogólnej oceny jak oceniałabyś swoje kompetencje od 1 do 10 gdzie 1 to bardzo niekompetentny tłumacz a 10 to bardzo kompetentny tłumacz?
And the final question – in terms of overall assessment, how would you grade your competence on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is a very incompetent interpreter and 10 is a very competent interpreter?

(3.0)

Interpreter: no myślę koło 8.
Well, I think around 8.

Researcher: dobra dziękuję
Very good, thank you.

SESSION FIVE - MANCHESTER COUNCIL

Transcript of interview with client

Researcher: dobrze dobrze (.) czy mogłabyś mi powiedzieć o (.) o tłumaczeniu (.) o pracy tłumacza podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie jej poszło?
OK, so, can you tell me about the interpreter’s work during this session. How do you think she performed?

(.)

Client: z tego co mi się wydaje no to jest w porządku (.) bynajmniej to co on mówił bezpośrednio było tłumaczone do mnie (.) nie tak że tłumacz sobie tam albo zapomni albo coś tego (.) było dobrze.
As far as I'm concerned, she did fine; what he said was rendered directly to me, not that the interpreter forgot anything or something like that, it was good.

(.)

Researcher: a (.) dlaczego tak sądzisz?
And what makes you think so?

Client: bo (.) bo spotykam się z dużo tłumaczami (.) co jakieś spotkanie mam innego tłumacza i widzę po prostu różnicę między nimi nie (.) że jeden tłumacz (.) no lekarz mówi a ona mi przekaże dwa słowa a resztę (.) tak naprawdę tam może więcej tam lekarz powiedział niż ona mi przetłumaczyła (.) nie?

Because I deal with interpreters a lot, each session I get a different interpreter and just see differences in their performance, right? one interpreter a doctor tells a lot and she interpreter gives me two words, and the rest, in fact, the doctor may have said more than she has rendered, right?

Researcher: a to dzisiejsze tłumaczenie (.) jak można by poprawić?
And about today's performance, how can it be improved?

(3.0)

Client: powiem ci szczerze nie wiem jak można poprawić, nie (.) skoro na przykład mnie pasowało bo wiem to co chce wiedzieć, nie (.) co na przykład jakie pytanie zadałam, na takie dostała odpowiedź, nie?

To be frank with you I don't know how, right, if for instance it suited me because I found out what I wanted to, right? For example, I got an answer to every question I asked, right?

Researcher: i oczekiwałaś że tak jej pójdzie? znaczy tłumaczce?
Did you expect her, I mean the interpreter, to perform that way?

(3.0)

Client: no tak naprawdę to się nigdy nie wie (.) nie?
In fact, you never know what to expect, right?

Researcher: a czy uważasz że sytuacja w której pracował tłumacz dzisiaj stwarzała jakieś trudności dla jej pracy?
And do you think that situation in which the interpreter was working posed any difficulty for his job?

(5.0)

Client: no nie wiem (.) nie chyba nie raczej (.) tak mi się wydaje że nie powinno bo na wszystko co tego nie zapytała się przepraszam proszę powtórzyć albo coś takiego (.) nie?
Well, I don't know. I guess it didn't. I think it shouldn't because she didn't ask 'excuse me, can you repeat' or anything like that, right?

Researcher: a według ciebie jakim statusem albo jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
And in your opinion, what status or reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(.)

Client: dobrym
Good

(3.0)

Researcher: a skąd ta opinia u ciebie?
Why do you think so?

Client: bo sama chciałabym być tłumaczem tylko nie mam głowy do na(h)uki ((she laughs))
Because I'd like to be an interpreter myself but I'm not cut out for learning

Researcher: z twojego punktu widzenia jaki był cel tego spotkania dzisiaj?
From your point of view, what was the aim of today's meeting?

Client: no to chodziło tak naprawdę o (.) o no moje sprawy i benefits (.) jak tak dokładnie to ja sama nie wiedziałam o co chodzi (.) no ktoś po prostu no zrobił mi appointment o zasiłek (.) a tak naprawdę to ja też nie wiedziałam (.) dostałam wezwanie tylko i przyszłam.

Well, it concerned in fact my matters and benefits. Actually, I didn't know exactly what it was all about. Someone booked me an appointment concerning benefits, but I had no idea exactly; I got a letter, so I came.

Researcher: czy osiągnęłaś swój cel w tym spotkaniu?
Did you achieve your goal in this meeting?

Client: nie do końca (.) ale przyszłam z czym innym (.) a okazało się co innego (.) właśnie (.) dowiedziałam się co innego co też dla mnie jest ważne w tej sprawie.
Not completely, but I came with one thing and another thing cropped up, right, I found about something else, which is important for me too.

Researcher: a czy tłumacz pomógł ci w osiągnięciu tego celu lub w dążeniu do osiągnięcia tego celu?
And did the interpreter help you achieve this goal or pursue this goal?

Client: no oczywiście no przez to że tłumaczył.
Of course, because she interpreted

Researcher: a czy
And did you

Client: bo tak to bym nic nowego nie zrozumiała
Because otherwise I wouldn't have understood anything

Researcher: czy oczekiwałaś że pomoże ci w osiągnięciu tego celu?
Did you expect the interpreter help you achieve this goal?

(3.0)

Client: no raczej tak (.) ze względu na to że przetłumaczy to co (.) co ja po prostu chciałam (.) miałam do powiedzenia (.) nie?
I'd say yes because he interpreted all I needed to know or wanted to tell.

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś skomentować stosowność zachowania się tłumacza w tej konkretnej sytuacji?
And could you comment on the appropriateness of the interpreter's behaviour for this specific situation?

(5.0)

Client: zachowanie no zachowanie było takie no raczej normalne
Behaviour, well, behaviour was sort of normal.

Researcher: a czy uważasz że zachowała się bardziej lub mniej stosownie do sytuacji?
Would you say she behaved more or less appropriately for the situation?

(2.0)

Client: nie nie (.) tak no jak to powiedzieć no raczej tak mi się chyba wydaje jak powinien tłumacz (.) nie tak że wywyższa się (.) nie wywyższa się (.) tak jest taki taki
No, no, how should I put it; she behaved how an interpreter should behave; didn't look down on people.

Researcher: pamiętasz jakieś przykłady takiego zachowania?
Do you remember any examples of such behaviour?

Client: tak pamiętam.
Yes, I do.

Researcher: z tego spotkania?
From this meeting?

Client: nie nie nie (.) nie z tego w ogóle ogólnie bo ja przebywam (.) dużo mi tłumaczą w szpitalach (.) dużo w takich innych biurach (.) także z różnymi tłumaczami można się spotkać.
No, no, no, not from this meeting; I often go to; I deal a lot with interpreters in hospital; and also in other places, so I come across various interpreters.

Researcher: a wspomniałaś że podczas dzisiejszego spotkania zachowała się tak jak powinna (.) czy mogłabyś podać przykłady takiego zachowania jak powinna się zachować (.) czy pamiętasz jakieś?
And you've mentioned that during today's session, the interpreter behaved as she should; could you give examples of such behaviour, as it should be; do you remember any?

Client: (nie) przepraszam ale ja na przykład skupuję się bardziej na tym co co chcę przekazać tam (.) z kim załatwiam to niż tego (.) bynajmniej tłumacz siedzi koło mnie i tłumaczy mi bezpośrednio o co chodzi.
No, sorry, but I concentrate so much on what I want to get across; and with whom I'm dealing; the interpreter was sitting next to me and interpreted directly what I was saying.

Researcher: czy zachow- czy zachow- czy oczekiwałaś takiego spotkania?
Did this beh- beh- did you expect such meeting?

Client: tak tak
Yes, yes

Researcher: takiego zachowania?
such behaviour?

Client: ((nods))

Researcher: dobrze (.) a jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?
Ok, and what was the atmosphere during the session?

Client: miła
Nice

Researcher: a czy uważasz że była to atmosfera bliższa współpracy czy może bliższa konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
And do you think it was closer to cooperation or competition or something in between?

Client: nie (.) współpracy raczej współpracy bo to było o załatwieniu tego to raczej współpracy
No, rather closer to cooperation because it was about sorting something out, so it was cooperation.

Researcher: a czemu tak sądzisz?
And what makes you think so?

Client: no bo to chodziło o ten (.) no nie mogę (.) jeśli z adwokatem miałam spotkanie to nie mogę tak naprawdę do kogoś co mam jakieś pretensje coś tego że nie załatwili mnie tak jak powinni a on miał mi tylko pomoc w innym (.) no jak to się mówi (.) beneficie.

Because it concerned, well, I can't; if I have a meeting with a lawyer, I can't hold objections that someone didn't serve me properly, and here he was just to help me in advising on, what do you call it, benefits.

Researcher: a (.) jakiego zachowania oczekiwałaś od tłumacza w takiej dzisiejszej atmosferze współpracy jak to określiłaś?
And what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter in this situation of cooperation, as you said it.

Client: no tak mi się wydaje jak ten tłumacz w taki sposób zachowywać się.
Well, to behave in the way that this interpreter did, I guess.

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy oczekiwałaś takiego zachowania od tłumaczki? od pani tłumacz?
Ok was it the behaviour you expected from the interpreter?

Client: no znaczy nie wiem bo nie znam tak tłumaczy () także nie mogłabym tego powiedzieć że to oczekiwałam tego nie oczekiwałam bo nie znam.
Well, I don't know, because I don't know their work so well; so I couldn't tell exactly what I did or did not expect, because I don't know their work.

Researcher: a czy zauważyłaś jakieś oznaki emocji podczas tego spotkania?
Did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?

Client: nie (.) raczej nie
No, not really

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji gdzie nie ma żadnych emocji albo gdzie nie widzisz żadnych oznak emocji jakiego zachowania oczekujesz od tłumacza?
In the situation where there are no signs of emotions or where you don't see any signs of emotions, what behaviour do you expect from the interpreter?

(3.0)

Client: no czasami tłumacz powinien (.) jeśli czuje (.) znaczy ja podnoszę (.) czasami się tłumaczy komuś tam a ten ktoś nie potrafi zrozumieć że chodzi o to a nie o to (.) także powinien tłumacz z jednej strony wziąć trochę tych moich emocji przekazać przez siebie do tej osoby bo (.) ja po polsku wiadomo głos podniosę jakoś to dobitnie powiem a tłumacz delikatnie to mówi a tego a powinien jednak tak samo jak ja coś dobitnie powiedzieć.

Well, sometimes the interpreter should; if they sense; I mean, I raise; sometimes you explain something to a person who does not understand the point; so an interpreter should take some emotions from me and pass them over to the other person because; in Polish, I can raise my voice to say something forcefully, while an interpreter says my words delicately, though they should say them in the same way.

Researcher: czy zachował się dzisiaj tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did she behave today as you expected?

Client: tak tak
Yes, yes

Researcher: dobrze (.) a czy mogłabyś skomentować stopień formalności czy nieformalności tego spotkania?
ok (.) and could you comment on the degree of formality or informality in the meeting?

(4.0)

Client: ((repeating to herself)) stopień formalności
degree of formality

Researcher: czy uważasz że było bardziej formalne lub mniej formalne czy może coś pomiędzy?
Do you think it was more formal or more informal or maybe something in between?

Client: nie to chyba było tak (.) pomiędzy chyba (.) bo to nie było tak
Well, no, it wasn't so (.) in between I guess (.) because it wasn't so

Researcher: taka półformalna (.) tak?
Sort of semi-formal, right?

Client: taka półformalna.
Yes, semi-formal.

Researcher: w takiej półformalnej sytuacji jakiego zachowania oczekujesz od tłumacza?
In his semi-formal situation, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter?

(3.0)

Client: normalnego chyba (.) tak mi się wydaje (.) nie tak że o (.) myślami jest gdzie indziej bo też się trafiają tacy tłumacze że są myślami gdzie indziej wtedy mówią 'przepraszam co co mówisz'.
Normal, I guess; I think so; not that she (.) is daydreaming, because such interpreters do happen, whose thoughts run away and then they say 'sorry, you were saying?'

Researcher: czy tłumacz się zachował jak oczekiwałaś?
Did the interpreter behave as you expected?

Client: ten tłumacz tak.
This interpreter did.

Researcher: a kto wydawał się dominujący podczas tego spotkania?
And who seemed to be dominant during this meeting?

(6.0)

Client: tak naprawdę to ten advice chyba ((the client laughs)) był dominującym
To tell you the truth, I guess it was the advice guy who dominated

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji zdominowanej przez tego (.) przez tę osobę jakiego zachowania od tłumacza oczekiwałaś?
In the situation dominated by this person, what behaviour did you expect from the interpreter?

Client: a nie (.) ja tam się za bardzo nie przejmuję tym że on tam jest tego no wiadomo że on się więcej zna na tym niż ja słuchałam co on po prostu mówi co on chce mi przekazać i ja wiem bynajmniej tłumacz normalnie tłumaczył mi to samo co on mówił do mnie i parę razy niestety musiał mi powtórzyć co co ja mam następnym razem zrobić do kogo mam się zwrócić (.) nie?

I'm not bothered with this fact that he is such and such; obviously he knows more so I listened to what he was saying and what he wants to get across to me and I noticed the interpreter was interpreting normally what he was saying and had to repeat some things a few times, unfortunately, regarding what I'm supposed to do next and whom I should see, right?

Researcher: czy zachował się tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did the interpreter behave as you expected?

Client: tak
Yes

Researcher: dobrze a czy przed tym spotkaniem miałaś jakieś obawy albo jakiegoś rodzaju negatywne oczekiwania z wynikiem tego spotkania z pracą tłumacza z przebiegiem tego spotkania?

Fine; and before this meeting did you have any fears or any kind of negative expectations connected with the result of this meeting, with the interpreter's work or the course of this meeting?

Client: jeśli chodzi o tłumacza to też nie wiadomo jak to (.) bo na różnych tłumaczy można trafić (.) ale bardziej się może o co jestem zapytana do tego advice niż o tłumacza (.) tłumacz jako tłumacz musi przekazać (.) tak mi się wydaje nie wszyscy tak robią ale muszą przekazać to co ja chcę powiedzieć (.) no ale (.) dzisiaj no raczej no w końcu się dowiedziałam (.) nie do końca się dowiedziałam o co chodziło ale dowiedziałam się coś innego znowu (.) tą drugą kwestię o co mi chodziło.

As for the interpreter, you never know how to; well, you can come across various interpreters; but I had more fears regarding why I was asked to come rather than the interpreter; an interpreter needs to pass the message; I think so; not all of them do so, but they're supposed to say what I'm saying; well but; today, in the end, I found it out; well, not everything but I found out something new; the other matter I wanted to learn about.

Researcher: tak ale samo oczekiwanie związane z pracą tłumacza albo z tłumaczem coś negatywne albo czy były jakieś obawy?
Ok, but in terms of expectations towards the interpreter or her work, did you have any fears or negative expectations?

Client: nie nie
No, no

Researcher: dobrze i ostatnie pytanie (.) w kategoriach takiej ogólnej oceny jak oceniłabyś kompetencje tłumacza od 1 do 10 gdzie 1 to jest bardzo niekompetentny tłumacz a 10 to jest bardzo kompetentny tłumacz.

Ok, a final question; in terms of overall assessment, how would you mark the interpreter's competence from 1 to 10, where 1 is a very incompetent interpreter and 10 is a very competent interpreter?

Client: No wydaje mi się za na 9 na pewno
Well, I'd say 9 for sure.

Researcher: dobrze dziękuję bardzo
Ok, thank you very much

Transcript of interview with interpreter

Researcher: dobrze (.) czy mogłabyś mi powiedzieć o swoim tłumaczeniu podczas tego spotkania (.) jak według ciebie ci poszło?
Well, could you tell me about your performance in this meeting; how do you think it went?

(.)

Interpreter: ogólnie (2.0) poszło mi nie najgorzej (.) to znaczy widziałam że osoba której tłumaczyłam (.) raczej wszystko rozumiała (.) tłumaczenie trwało całą (.) trwało półtorej godziny i (.) były praktycznie pojedyncze przypadki kiedy osoba której tłumaczyłam prosiła mnie żebym coś wyjaśniła bardziej (.) żeby zrozumiała lepiej.

In general; it didn't go so bad; I mean; I noticed that the person for whom I was interpreting understood everything; the interpreting took an hour and a half; there were only few instances when the person for whom I was interpreting asked me to clarify thing so that she could understand better.

Researcher: czy spodziewałaś się że tak ci pójdzie?
Did you expect to perform that way

(.)

Interpreter: myślę że raczej tak
Yes, I guess I did

Researcher: a jak można by poprawić twoje tłumaczenie?
And how could your performance be improved?

(.)

Interpreter: jak można poprawić (4.0) może w zasadzie (.) powinnam być bardziej skupiona (.) to było takie tłumaczenie gdzie było bardzo dużo ludzi naokoło (.) był trochę hałas i ciągle ktoś chodził przechodził (.) także miałam trudności czasem ze skupieniem się.

How it can be improved; maybe in fact; I should have focused a bit more; it was a session where there were lots of people around; it was noisy and people were passing by; so I had difficulty concentrating.

Researcher: a czy dzisiejsza sytuacja stwarzała problemy dla twojego tłumaczenia?
And did today's situation pose any difficulty for your work?

Interpreter: jeśli chodzi o terminologię na przykład czy ogólnie o wszystkim?
In terms of vocabulary or just in general?

Researcher: o wszystkim.
In general.

(.)

Interpreter: pojedyncze przypadki jeśli chodzi o słownictwo (.) wydaje mi się (.) z tym co mam zawsze problem czyli tłumaczenie (.) nigdy praktycznie nie wiem do końca jak przetłumaczyć konkretne (.) rzeczy które się nie przekłada na polski (.) czyli na przykład nazwy instytucji nazwy jakiś urzędów i tak dalej które się nie przekładają na (.) dosłownie nie da się przetłumaczyć.

Isolated cases of vocabulary; I think that; I always have problems with rendition; in fact I never know if I should translate things that can't be translated into Polish; for instance, names of institutions, offices and so on, if they are untranslatable; I mean literally untranslatable.

(.)

Researcher: a jak sobie z nimi poradziłaś?
And how did you handle this?

(.)

Interpreter: tłumaczyłam (.) to znaczy część z nich znałam znaczenie takie jak jest właściwe (.) znaczenie słownikowe (.) takie w typowym słowniku które jest (.) które jest uznane i tak dalej aczkolwiek ta osoba nie rozumiała o co chodzi (.) wiadomo że dużo Polaków zna znaczenia w oryginale angielskim (.) więc za każdym razem musiałam praktycznie dodawać (.) musiałam po prostu mówić ten angielski oryginał.

I did interpret them; I mean I knew a dictionary meaning of some of them; typical meaning in a dictionary which is officially recognised, and so on, although this person didn't understand what I meant; it's known that lots of Poles are familiar with English names, so every time I had to \ add; I had to repeat an English word in the original.

Researcher: czy oczekiwałaś że tak sobie poradzisz z tymi trudnościami ?
Did you expect to handle it this way?

Interpreter: raczej tak bo to nie jest pierwsza sytuacja tego typu że po prostu musiałam powiedzieć oryginał.
I guess I did, since it's not the first time I've had to use an English word.

Researcher: według ciebie jaką reputacją cieszy się zawód tłumacza?
In your opinion, what reputation does an interpreting profession enjoy?

(3.0)

Interpreter: wydaje mi się że dużo ludzi nie zdaje sobie sprawy że są pewne trudności związane z (.) wydaje mi się że jest duża grupa ludzi którzy (.) którzy myślą że wystarczy znać język dobrze żeby (.) że każdy praktycznie może być tłumaczem i sobie radzić a to przecież nie o to chodzi.

I think that a lot of people don't realise that there are some difficulty with; It seems to me that a majority of people that good language command is sufficient to; that practically everyone can manage in such a situation, and this is not the point..

Researcher: jaki był twój cel w tej sesji dzisiejszej (.) w tym spotkaniu?
What was your goal in today's session; in this meeting?

Interpreter: umożliwić (.) pomóc i zrozumienie tych kwestii które ta osoba po prostu chciała zasięgnąć informacji.
To enable access to help and understanding of the matters which the person wanted to ask about.

Researcher: osiągnęłaś swój cel?
Did you achieve your goal?

(.)

Interpreter: myślę że tak (.) ale wydaje mi się że też to zależy od tej drugiej strony (.) to znaczy osoba która (.) tłumaczyłam rozmowę między prawdą (.) osobą anglojęzyczną i polskojęzyczną i tamta druga osoba (.) była bardzo kompetentna więc tak jakbym miała ułatwione zadanie ponieważ była bardzo konkretna i rzeczowa.

I guess I did; but it seems to me it also depends on the other party; I mean the person who; I interpreted conversation between; an English-speaking person and a Polish-speaking person, the other person; he was very competent, so my task was a bit easier because this person was speaking to the point.

Researcher: czy spodziewałaś się że ten cel osiągniesz?
Did you expect to achieve this goal?

(3.0)

Interpreter: odnośnie ogólnie tłumaczenia czy?
You mean interpreting in general or?

Researcher: nie no całego tego (.)
no, I mean this whole one.

Interpreter: teraz? (2.0) myślę że tak.
now? I think I did.

(.)

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś skomentować stosowność twojego zachowania do dzisiejszej sytuacji?
And could you comment on the appropriateness of your behaviour to today's situation?

(3.0)

Interpreter: myślę że było odpowiednie aczkolwiek dla osób patrzących z zewnątrz mogło (.) znaczy (.) mogło się wydawać nie aż tak profesjonalne.
I think it was appropriate, although a third-party person could say; I mean; it could appear less professional to them.

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś podać przykłady takiego odpowiedniego zachowania (.) z dzisiejszej sesji?
And could you give some examples of appropriate behaviour, from today's session?

Interpreter: odpowiednia postawa ciała (.) odpowiedni (.) nie wiem (.) ton głosu i tak dalej
Adequate body posture, adequate, I don't know, tone of voice, and so on

Researcher: a czy spodziewałaś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony?
And did you expect yourself to behave that way?

(4.0)

Interpreter: chyba tak
I think I did

Researcher: jaka atmosfera panowała podczas spotkania?
What atmosphere was there during the meeting?

Interpreter: atmosfera była raczej (.) swobodna
Atmosphere was fairly ... relaxed

Researcher: czy powiedziałaś że była bliższa współpracy czy bliższa konfliktowi czy coś pomiędzy?
And would you say it was closer to cooperation or conflict or something in between?

Interpreter: raczej współpracy.
More like cooperation.

Researcher: czemu tak sądzisz?
What makes you say that?

Interpreter: bo (.) nie było żadnych (.) po prostu osoba przyszła z konkretnym celem (.) zasięgnięcie informacji w danych kwestiach i (.) i ponieważ dostawała konkretne i rzeczowe odpowiedzi i pomoc której oczekiwała, nie było żadnych trudności (.) takie odniosłam wrażenie.

Because there were no ... the person has simply come with a specific aim in her mind; getting some information in certain matters and ... and because she got solid and particular answers and help she expected, there were no difficulty; that's my impression.

Researcher: a jakiego zachowania ze swojej strony oczekiwałaś w takiej atmosferze współpracy?
And what behaviour did you expect from yourself in this atmosphere?

(3.0)

Interpreter: ((quietly, to herself)) jakiego zachowania oczekiwałam (5.0) to znaczy chodzi ci o (.)?
What behaviour I expected...what do you mean?

Researcher: jako tłumacz (.) jesteś w atmosferze współpracy (.) jak według siebie powinnaś się zachować.
As an interpreter, you're in a situation of cooperation; how would you say you should behave?

(3.0)

Interpreter: chodzi ci o konkretne tłumaczenie czy w ogóle o całokształt
Do you mean a specific interpretation or in general

Researcher: o dzisiejsze
About today's

Interpreter: ale ogólnie o proces tłumaczenia czy w ogóle?
But about an interpreting process or about general matters?

Researcher: niekoniecznie (.) chodzi mi o całe ogólne twoje zachowanie podczas tej sesji (.) też między innymi dotyczącego tłumaczenia jako procesu ale niekoniecznie (.) nie chce tutaj niczego narzucać.
Not necessarily; I mean your overall behaviour during this session; also concerning interpreting as a process but not necessarily; I don't want to impose anything here.

Interpreter: nie no wydaje mi się że (.) nie wiem jak to wyjaśnić (4.0) jak już mówiłam że ta osoba zrozumiała wszystko co było mówione więc wydaje mi się że (.) ta współpraca jakoś dobrze przebiegała.

Well, I think...I don't know how to say that; as I said, the person understood everything that has been said so I think that; cooperation was going well.

(4.0)

Researcher: a czy (.) spodziewałaś się takiego zachowania ze swojej strony (3.0) bo mówiłaś że współpraca dobrze przebiegała (.) czy miałaś jakiś w tym wkład?
And did you... expect this behaviour from yourself; because you said that cooperation was going well; did contribute to this anyhow?

(3.0)

Interpreter: czasem (.) ponieważ znałam osobę której tłumaczyłam (3.0) mimo że właśnie było zadawane pytanie to wiedziałam jak to zadać albo trochę przeinaczyć żeby udzielona została konkretna odpowiedź tylko dlatego że wiedziałam (.) ponieważ ta osoba podała mi wcześniej jakieś informacje (.) i ja wiedziałam że na przykład ona może w tym momencie nie pamiętać o co konkretnie pyta tamta osoba.

Sometimes; because I know the person from whom I was interpreting; although she was in the middle of asking the question, I knew exactly how to pose or slightly deform it so that a specific answer could be given and the only way I knew it was because I was given some information before by this person; and I knew that for instance she might not remember at that point what the other person was asking about.

Researcher: czy takiego zachowania się ze swojej strony spodziewałaś?
Did you expect to behave that way?

Interpreter: tak ponieważ (.) to jest sytuacja taka że (.) to nie jest na przykład tłumaczenie sądowe gdzie trzeba tłumaczyć wszystko dosłownie i tak dalej (.) tutaj chodzi raczej o to żeby się zrozumieć nawzajem i no wiadomo że tłumaczyć jak najbardziej dosłownie w sensie takim żeby ta druga osoba wiedziała o co dokładnie chodzi ale tak (.) myślę że raczej tak.

Yes, because...the situation was that; it's not an example of court interpreting, where you need to render everything literally and so on; here, it's more about understanding one another; of course you need to interpret as literally as possible in a sense that the other person could know what it's all about, but I think I did expect it.

Researcher: a czy zauważyłaś oznaki emocji podczas spotkania?
And did you notice any signs of emotions during the meeting?

Interpreter: ze strony tych osób (.) w ogóle?
From these people...or in general?

Researcher: ((nodding))

Interpreter: tak ale bardzo (2.0) niewielkie.
Yes, but minor ones.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji gdzie są niewielkie oznaki emocji (.) jakiego zachowania oczekiwałaś od siebie?
In a situation involving minor signs of emotion, what behaviour did you expect from yourself?

Interpreter: to nie było (.) to nie miało w ogóle wpływu raczej na moje tłumaczenie (.) bo to były naprawdę tak (.) tak niewielkie rzeczy, że (.) w ogóle nie miały wpływu na tłumaczenie.
It wasn't ... it had no effect on my interpretation; because these were small things; so small they had no impact on my performance.

Researcher: a czy zachowałaś się tak jak oczekiwałaś w takiej sytuacji gdzie jest niewiele oznak emocji?
And did you behave as you expected in a situation involving minor signs of emotions?

(6.0)

Interpreter: myślę że tak (.) tak mi się wydaje.
I think I did; I think so

Researcher: czy powiedziałaś że był (.) jakby przykład takiego emocjonalnego zaangażowania uczestników czy może emocjonalnego dystansu czy coś pomiędzy?
would you say it was a case of emotional engagement or emotional distance on the part of participants or maybe something in between?

Interpreter: to dotyczyło tylko i wyłącznie sytuacji (.) która wynikła wcześniej a która była po prostu omawiana (.) wydaje mi się że to nie miało raczej (.) że to nie było związane z (.) z dzisiejszą sytuacją (.) o tak.

This concerned only the situation which had cropped up earlier and which was discussed there; I think it had no major impact; it had no connection with today's session, if I can say so.

Researcher: czyli jak byś określiła zaangażowanie emocjonalne uczestników? (2.0) bardziej (.) bardziej tak jakby emocjonalnie zaangażowani czy raczej emocjonalnie
So how would you describe the emotional involvement of the participants ; more ; more sort of emotionally involved or rather emotionally

Interpreter: tak tak (.) raczej zaangażowani (.) raczej zaangażowani.
Yes, yes more involved; more involved.

Researcher: i w takiej (.) takiej sytuacji takiego emocjonalnego zaangażowania jakiego (.) jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś?
In this...this situation of emotional involvement what behaviour did you expect from yourself?

(.)

Interpreter: chodzi ci o to czy też się emocjonalnie angażowałam na przykład?

Do you mean if I got involved emotionally as well

Researcher: cokolwiek czego ty oczekujesz

Whatever your expectations were

Interpreter: moje zachowanie (.) moja odpowiedź na to była praktycznie żadna (.) z tego względu że te osoby to było naprawdę tak jak już mówiłam w jakim stopniu (.) i dotyczyło zupełnie innej sytuacji (.) więc to w ogóle nie miało związku.

My behaviour... my response to it was practically none; because these people, in fact, to a small degree; it concerned a totally different situation so had nothing to do with anything.

Researcher: czy zachowałaś się tak jak oczekiwałaś?

Did you behave as expected?

Interpreter: raczej tak.

I'd say so.

Researcher: a czy mogłabyś skomentować stopień formalności albo nieformalności tego spotkania?

And could you comment on a degree of formality or informality of the meeting?

Interpreter: raczej nieformalne spotkanie

A relatively informal meeting

Researcher: w takim

in such a

Interpreter: biorąc pod uwagę że osoba która miała to spotkanie nawet do końca nie wiedziała czego będzie dotyczyć to spotkanie ((she laughs))

Given that a person who had this meeting was not fully aware of what this meeting was going to be about.

Researcher: w takim nieformalnym spotkaniu jakiego oczekiwania (.) jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś?

In this informal meeting, what expectation...what behaviour did you expect from yourself?

Interpreter: myślę że zachowałam się odpowiednio.

I think I behaved adequately.

Researcher: czyli?

that is?

Interpreter: bo (2.0) cel był właśnie taki żeby przekazać tę konkretną informację i żeby ta osoba zrozumiała i (.) z tego co ja zaobserwowałam wydaje mi się wszystkie informacje zostały przekazane odpowiednio i ta osoba (.) ogólnie była zadowolona ale jak już mówiłam (.) to miało związek z konkretnymi informacjami które uzyskała które udało się uzyskać.

Well, the aim was to pass a specific piece of information and that this person understood it; from what I've seen, all this information was passed adequately and this person; was in general pleased, but as I've said before, it had to do with specific information that was obtained.

Researcher: czy zachowałaś się tak jak oczekiwałaś?

Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak

Yes

Researcher: a kto wydawał się być dominujący podczas spotkania?

And who seemed to be dominant during the meeting?

(3.0)

Interpreter: która z (.) wszystkich osób które brały udział?
which one among ... among all the participants?

Researcher: ((nodding))

(.)

Interpreter: nie odniosłam wrażenia żeby ktoś był dominujący dlatego że (.) jak padało konkretne pytanie (.) to padała odpowiedź (.) aczkolwiek osoba której tłumaczyłam czyli osoba mówiąca językiem polskim (.) to była właśnie ta osoba która ewentualnie przejawiała jakieś emocje (.) dodawała czasem więcej informacji i tak dalej i tak dalej (.) czyli być może ona.

I had no impression that anyone was dominant because whenever a specific question was asked, an answer followed, although the person for whom I was interpreting, the one speaking Polish, it was the person you could say showed some emotions; she added some information and so on and so on, so maybe it was her.

Researcher: w takiej sytuacji gdzie jakby osoba dominowała w pewnym sensie jakiego
In this situation, when this person somehow dominated what

Interpreter: czasami (.) tak mi się (.) tak odniosłam wrażenie
sometimes, it was my impression

Researcher: w tej właśnie sytuacji jakiego (.) jakiego zachowania od siebie oczekiwałaś w takiej sytuacji częściowo zdominowanej przez osobę mówiącą po polsku?

In this situation, what behaviour did you expect from yourself, in the situation partly dominated by the Polish-speaking person?

Interpreter: starałam się (.) znaczy (.) wiadomo (.) tłumaczyłam wszystko co ona mówiła (.) niektóre rzeczy były faktycznie ważne ale inne były mniej ważne ponieważ zaczęła opowiadać rzeczy które już nie miały (tak do końca) znaczenia ale wydaje mi się że (.) zachowałam się odpowiednio.

I was trying, I mean, you know; I interpreted all she said; some things were actually important but others weren't because she started saying things that weren't that crucial but I think that I acted appropriately.

Researcher: czy zachowałaś się tak jak oczekiwałaś?
Did you behave as you expected?

Interpreter: tak
Yes

Researcher: a czy przed spotkaniem miałaś jakieś obawy albo jakiegoś rodzaju negatywne oczekiwania związane z tłumaczeniem z wynikiem tłumaczenia?
And before the meeting, did you have any fears or any kind of negative expectations connected with interpreting or interpreting result?

Interpreter: raczej nie nie miałam.
no, not really.

Researcher: dobra (.) a w kategoriach ogólnej oceny jak oceniałabyś swoje kompetencje od 1 do 10 gdzie 1 to jest bardzo niekompetentny tłumacz a 10 to jest bardzo kompetentny tłumacz?
Fine, in terms of overall assessment, how would you grade your competence from 1 to 10, where 1 is a very incompetent interpreter and 10 is a very competent interpreter

(4.0)

Interpreter: kompetentny tłumacz ((she sighs)) tak jak mówiłam obie osoby były jakby zadowolone z przebiegu spotkania, takie sprawiały wrażenie (.) informacje zostały przekazane wydaje mi się że w sposób taki że każda strona zrozumiała (.) aczkolwiek faktycznie może tam parę rzeczy odnośnie już tych co mówiłam wcześniej było nie tak więc myślę że w granicach 7-8.

Competent interpreter... as I've said both people were happy with the course of the meeting, that's the impression I got; the information was passed and I think in this way that each person understood; although I mentioned some issues before so I guess it would be between 7 and 8

Researcher: dziękuję.
Thank you.