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MASTER’S THESIS

THE NORMS OF SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING
IN TURKEY: THE INTERPRETERS’ SELF-
PERCEPTIONS ON THEIR ROLE

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as "The Norms of Sign Language Interpreting in Turkey: The Interpreters' Self-perceptions on Their Role" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

22/11/2018

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ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

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Sign language interpreting can be deemed as a new field of research in Turkey although studies on Turkish Sign Language (TİD) started about thirty years ago, and sign language interpreting has been officially recognized as a profession as of 2006 while sign language interpreters have been hired to offer free interpreting services at social service departments since 2007. Emerging from this need in the field, this thesis is an exploratory study in which the field of sign language interpreting in Turkey is investigated. The study covers the prevailing norms in the field with a special focus on the role perceptions of the sign language interpreters in Turkey as well as social and social psychological factors influencing them. The data have been gathered through qualitative research methods including semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. The interpreters' opinions on their role in the interpreting settings, and their behavioral tendencies along with official practices and legal frameworks in which sign language interpreting is conducted in Turkey reveal that the profession is still at the very beginning of its development process. The findings of the study also reveal that perceptions of the sign language interpreters regarding their role and their profession are highly influenced by the inequalities in the distribution of certain types of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) among the actors in the field, especially the members of the deaf community and the interpreters, and by the social representations (Moscovici, 1961/1976) of the deaf community among sign language interpreters.

Keywords: Sign language interpreting, The role of the interpreter, The norms of sign language interpreting, Self-perceptions of sign language interpreters, Social representations, Capital



ÖZET
Yüksek Lisans Tezi
Türkiye’de İşaret Dili Tercümanlığının Normları:
İşaret Dili Tercümanlarının Rollerine İlişkin Özalgları
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Türk İşaret Dili (TİD) ile ilgili akademik çalışmaların başlamasının üzerinden yaklaşık 30 yıl geçmesine ve 2006 yılında işaret dili tercümanlığının bir meslek olarak tanınmasıyla birlikte 2007 yılında sağrlara ücretsiz çeviri hizmeti sunmak amacıyla işaret dili tercümanlarının sosyal hizmet departmanlarında işe alınmaya başlanmasına rağmen, akademik çalışmalar açısından işaret dili tercümanlığının ülkemizde yeni bir çalışma alanı olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Alandaki eksiklikten doğan bu çalışmada ülkemizde işaret dili tercümanlığının mevcut durumu incelenmektedir. Çalışmada Türkiye’de işaret dili tercümanlığı alanında hüküm süren normlar, özellikle işaret dili tercümanlarının kendi rolleri ile ilgili düşünceleri ile algıları ve bunları etkileyen sosyal ve sosyal psikolojik etmenler araştırılarak tespit edilmiştir. Bunu yaparken de yarı yapılandırılmış röportaj ve anket gibi nitel veri toplama yöntemlerinden faydalanılmıştır. Günümüzde işaret dili tercümanlığı uygulamalarını şekillendiren resmi uygulamalar ve yasal düzenlemeler ile birlikte katılımcıların rollerine ilişkin düşünceleri ve davranışsal eğilimleri, Türkiye’de işaret dili tercümanlığının profesyonelleşme açısından gelişiminin başında olduğunu göstermektedir. Araştırmanın bulguları ayrıca çevirmenlerin mesleklerine ve rollerine ilişkin düşüncelerinin alandaki aktörler arasında dengesiz bir şekilde dağılmış (özellikle sağır bireyler ve tercümanlar) belirli sermaye türlerinden (Bourdieu, 1986) ve sağır toplumunun işaret dili

tercümanları arasındaki sosyal temsillerinden (Moscovici, 1961/1976) etkilendiğini de ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İşaret Dili Tercümanlığı, İşaret Dili Tercümanının Rolü, İşaret Dili Tercümanlığının Normları, İşaret Dili Tercümanlarının Özalgısı, Sosyal Temsiller, Sermaye.



**THE NORMS OF SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING IN TURKEY: THE
INTERPRETERS' SELF-PERCEPTIONS ON THEIR ROLE**

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIIC	The International Association of Conference Interpreters
ASL	American Sign Language
ASLI	The Association of Sign Language Interpreters
ASLIA	The Australian Sign Language Interpreters' Association
BSL	British Sign Language
Coda	Child of Deaf Adults
EFSLI	The European Forum of Sign Language
ESIM	Engelsiz Sağlık İletişim Merkezi
EU	European Union
GMAS	Give me a Sign
IDTD	İşaret Dili Tercümanları Derneği
ISN	Idioma de Señas de Nicaragua
LGP	Lingua Gestual Portuguesa
LSF	Langue Des Signes Française
MEB	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı
RID	The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf
SDH	Subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing
SEBEDER	Sesli Betimleme Derneği
SL	Sign Language
SLI	Sign Language Interpreting
TC	Total Communication
TDK	Türk Dil Kurumu
the UK	The United Kingdom
the USA	The United States of America
TID	Türk İşaret Dili
TIDBO	TID Bilim ve Onay Kurulu
TİESFED	Türkiye İşitme Engelliler Spor Federasyonu
TSMF	Türkiye Sağırlar Milli Federasyonu
TURÇEF	Türkiye Yeminli Çevirmenlik Federasyonu
VRI	Video Relay Interpreting
VRS	Video Relay Service

WASLI	World Association of the Sign Language Interpreters
WFD	World Federation of the Deaf
WHO	World Health Organization



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INTRODUCTION

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players:
They have their exits, and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts.
William Shakespeare

Capturing the essence of social roles, these lines can also be interpreted in a way that the field of interpreting — sign language interpreting in the case of the current study — is the stage where actors, namely sign language interpreters, the members of the deaf community as the main users of the interpreting service, and other participants of the interaction (service providers, employers, etc.) play their designated roles. However, the social roles a person is to play on the world stage do not consist of only one role as expressed by Shakespeare, and the fact that interpreters play various roles in different interpreting settings other than being just a language decoder-encoder has been revealed by various studies so far (e.g. Angelelli, 2004; Metzger, 1999; Roy, 1989; Wadensjö, 1998). Departing from the lack of large-scale and in-depth research on the role of the sign language interpreter in Turkey, the current thesis investigates role perceptions of sign language interpreters and explores the factors that may have an influence on them.

Although research on sign language interpreting (SLI) began in the 70s in the USA, it did not begin in other countries, especially in developing countries like Turkey, until recent years, and the researchers usually treated SLI as a separate field from spoken language interpreting (Napier, 2015), which is still the case in many countries including Turkey in terms of research, training of interpreters and professional practice. Nevertheless, there has been a shift in Translation and Interpreting Studies towards recognition of the notion that “sign languages should be included among all the languages to be considered in terms of interpreting practice” which began with the book of Pöchhacker (2004) ‘Introducing Interpreting Studies’ (Napier, 2015). As Gile (2017) also suggests, research on sign language interpreting and spoken language interpreting can benefit from each other's outcomes by

providing deeper insights on issues like perceptions, quality expectations along with linguistic and socio-linguistic factors. Indeed, aspects of SLI can be studied within the frameworks of conference, community and audio-visual settings, and even translation (translation of written texts to sign language via video recordings or vice versa), and the findings can improve our understanding especially in community interpreting considering the fact that, unlike spoken languages, SLI began to be used as a community service in the form of dialogue interpreting.

World Health Organization (WHO) states that 360 million people worldwide have disabling hearing loss. According to the 2002 Turkey Disability Survey, 0.37% of the total population has the hearing disability, and 0.38% of the total population has the speaking disability. The proportion of profoundly deaf people and profoundly mute people to the disabled population is 32.45% and 45.99% respectively. The survey also indicates that 10.31% of the speaking disability is caused by the hearing disability. Another statistic given by the 2012 Health Survey demonstrates that 2.2% of the total population has hearing problems, and 4.7% uses hearing-aids in Turkey. On the other hand, although there is no up-to-date statistical information regarding the number of deaf people, associations of the Deaf claim that there are about 3 million deaf people in Turkey.¹

Today, it is an established fact that sign languages are full-fledged languages and native languages of Deaf people (Stokoe 1960). Research has shown that when a sufficient number of deaf people come together, sign languages develop naturally among them and they form a community (Armstrong & Wilcox, 2003). According to the 2010 Brussels Declaration on Sign Languages in the European Union “Deaf and Hard of Hearing people in Europe are the users and preservers of many indigenous national sign languages and form vulnerable communities equal to other linguistic and cultural minorities”. As it can be concluded from the above statement, Deaf communities are acknowledged as minority groups, and sign languages must be treated as minority languages. However, the needs of Deaf communities are significantly different from others in that deaf people usually cannot learn the majority spoken language properly unlike the members of other spoken language minorities due to various reasons including late language acquisition which usually

¹ <http://www.tsmf.org.tr/tarihce/> , <http://uiefed.org/2-baskanin-mesaji.html> , <http://www.ief.org.tr>

results from late diagnosis of deafness, and/or inadequate education methods (Traxler, 2000; Mayberry, 2007). This means that Deaf people need sign language interpreters in almost every setting of life such as courtrooms, hospitals, schools, police stations, banks, public offices, and so on.

Nevertheless, according to the European Parliament resolution on sign languages and professional sign language interpreters dated 23 November 2016, it is not possible to talk about a sufficient number of skilled and qualified sign language interpreters in all member states, and the ratio of sign language users to sign language interpreters varies between 8:1 and 2500:1, with an average ratio of 160:1. The current situation is no different in Turkey although sign language interpreting gained official recognition in 2006, and the government started to hire interpreters in order to deliver free interpreting services at the Social Service Departments as of 2007. The main reason behind this situation mainly results from inadequate short-term courses to train sign language interpreters provided by various institutions, and lack of a standardized certification system.

The general goal of this study is to explore the field of sign language interpreting in Turkey, which is still at the beginning stage of its development since the professionalization process began just recently in 2006, with a view to paving the way for further investigations in the field by Turkish translation and interpreting studies researchers by introducing some discussions on sign language interpreting. The specific objective of the study is, on the other hand, to discover the role perceptions of sign language interpreters in Turkey and to explore the factors that may influence their perceptions, attitudes and behaviors. Three research questions have been asked to reach these objectives: (I) How do sign language interpreters perceive their role? (II) Under what conditions is sign language interpreting practiced in Turkey? and (III) What can be the factors influencing the role perceptions of interpreters?

Being an exploratory case study on the field, this research has benefitted from ethnographic approaches incorporating observation, semi-structured interview and questionnaires as research instruments. Role perceptions of the participants have been analyzed through four models proposed by Witter-Merithew (1986) while the picture of the current situation of the field of SLI in Turkey has been drawn through

Inghilleri's (2003) adaptation of Toury's (1995) concept of translation norms to interpreting settings. Finally, the findings have been discussed within the framework of two different approaches. First, the concept of capital as described by Bourdieu (1986) has been employed to discuss the position of sign language interpreters and power relationships among the actors in the field of SLI. Secondly, the effect of the participants' opinions about their role and the deaf community on their attitudes and behaviors have been examined through the theory of Social Representations developed by Moscovici (1961/1976)

The current thesis consists of three parts. Chapter One provides an extensive background for the study by introducing the readers the aspects of sign languages by explaining the extant misconceptions about them as well as providing historical information on the development of deaf communities and national sign languages around the world and in Turkey.

Chapter Two consists of the literature review, and the theoretical and methodological frameworks employed in the study. The emergence and development of the field of SLI in the world, sign language interpreting settings, research on the field and discussions about the role of the sign language interpreter are the issues covered in the literature review section. In the theoretical framework section, the concepts and theories utilized to analyze the data and to discuss the findings are explained while the research methods chosen to collect data are described in the methodology section.

Chapter Three begins with a historical explanation of the development of SLI in Turkey and continues with the description of the existing norms in the field. Later, the data obtained through interviews and questionnaires are analyzed under seven sections. The data analysis is followed by the discussions from the viewpoint of the capital concept and the theory of social representations.

The conclusion part provides a summary for the study and its findings as well as offering some research implications on SLI in Turkey that can contribute to the development of the field. Consequently, this thesis will provide a detailed picture of the field of sign language interpreting in Turkey as well as revealing how role perceptions of SL interpreters can be affected by their ideas on the deaf community and the inherent power relations within the field.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. SIGN LANGUAGES

The fact that sign languages are full-fledged natural human languages have been proved with the linguistic studies carried out since the 1950s.² However, to wipe out some common misunderstandings which still pursue today, it could be more efficient to explain what sign languages are not instead of explaining what they are.

First, most people think that all deaf people use a universal sign language understood by every deaf individual on Earth. Actually, this belief is far from the reality in that each deaf community has their own language just like oral languages of hearing people. Actually, the Ethnologue³ lists 142 sign languages on its website although some of which are extinct today.

Secondly, it is presumed that sign languages consist of only mimics or gestures of oral languages. Contrarily, although gestural encodings of oral languages are also used by sign languages (mostly incorporated into the language through interaction with the hearing community), signs in sign languages differ from non-sign gestures in terms of grammar and syntax. The difference between non-sign gestures and signs in sign language is explained by William C. Stokoe (1972: 13) as follows:

“They [signs] occur in phrases and sentences. [...] Similar or identical gestural phenomena which are not signs signify messages which need no parsing because the vehicles have no syntactic structure; each one means what it means by virtue of being what it is. Signs, however, in a sign language, mean what they mean by virtue of relation to other signs used with them as much as by being signs.”

Thirdly, fingerspelling where letters in the alphabets of dominant oral/written languages are shown through hand gestures is not sign language. Actually, if the receiver does not know the fingerspelled word in the dominant spoken language, it means that the message will not be delivered at all. Fingerspelling is heavily used by

² For the first studies see: Tervoort, 1953 and Stokoe, 1960.

³ <https://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/sign-language>

hearing people while communicating with deaf people or vice versa. Finally, while in some sign languages the letters are represented with a single hand (see ASL, LGP), in others a two-handed modality can be used (see BSL, TID).

Another misconception is that sign languages are derived from spoken languages by hearing people. On the contrary, sign languages usually emerge as a result of interaction between deaf individuals when a sufficient number of deaf people live together and form a community. We can trace back the emergence of three sign languages through historical documentation: French Sign Language (LSF), American Sign Language (ASL), and Nicaraguan Sign Language (ISN) (Armstrong & Wilcox, 2003).

LSF is claimed to be formed through the foundation of the school for the Deaf by Abbé de L'épée in Paris in mid-1700s. It is suggested that L'épée created a 'methodical signs' system to teach written French to deaf students by building on the existing signs used by the students among them. Although there is little information on the natural sign languages used between deaf people in France before or after the foundation of the school, the first book written by a deaf author (*Observations of a Deaf-Mute*), Pierre Desloges, in 1779 reveals that there are significant differences between LSF and French in terms of both grammar and lexicon⁴ (ibid).

ASL, on the other hand, emerged when Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet visited France to observe the education methods for the deaf, and then persuaded Laurent Clerc, a deaf teacher, to come to his school for the deaf founded in 1817 in Hartford to teach deaf children in sign language. Although Clerc began to teach in LSF, a new language emerged soon through incorporation between the language used by him and already existing sign language used by deaf children (ibid).

The last example is the recent case of ISN. Before the 1970s, there was no sign language in Nicaragua at all due to the fact that deaf individuals were segregated in the society, and their interaction with each other was discouraged. Few deaf students attending schools were forbidden to use the limited home signs that they developed to communicate with teachers or parents. Only after the foundation of Centro Nacional de Educacion Especial in Managua in 1977 with thirty-two deaf

⁴ See Fischer, 2002.

students, the Nicaraguan Deaf community and ISN began to emerge. (Ramsey&Quinto-Pozos, 2010)

As it can be observed with the given examples above, for a national and full-fledged sign language to emerge, educational settings creating an environment where interaction between deaf individuals can naturally occur seems to be necessary. This conclusion can also be drawn from the records related to rural (village) sign language/deaf communities where genetic deafness in families expand so much that home signs used by these families begin to be used by the whole community, both hearing and deaf. The cases of Martha's Vineyard, Al-Sayyid Bedouin, Desa Kolok, Yucatan, and Mardin sign languages and deaf communities can be given as examples to this situation. However, sign languages used in such communities cannot evolve into a systematic national language because of a decrease in the number of users as a result of deaths or migration, or because of lack of formal education. (Dikyuva, 2012; Woll & Ladd, 2003)

Sign languages or sign systems- to name more appropriately- can also appear within hearing communities to be used for special purposes in situations when the impossibility of or unwillingness in communication with speech is the case. For example; the tribes of the North American plains each of whom speak different languages used a signing system named Plains Indian Sign Language as a lingua franca to facilitate communication among them. Besides, Warlpiri people in Australia, Cistercian monks in Europe, and Trappist monks in Japan and China benefit from signing to communicate when speech is avoided due to societal or religious reasons (Woll et.al., 2004).

The misconception regarding that sign languages are artificial languages derived from spoken languages may come from the artificially created signing forms like International Sign, first attempts of which began in 1973 by World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) and which has been used at international events to facilitate communication since then (Rosenstock & Napier, 2015), or from signed forms of spoken languages used in educational settings to teach deaf children how to read and write, such as Signed Exact English which is explained below. On the other hand, although sign languages may be influenced by the surrounding dominant spoken languages just as it is the case with minority languages, and while they can borrow

grammatical /gestural structures from them, they do not have to be necessarily identical to those spoken languages. Actually, sign languages differ from oral languages in that phonemes in the latter are sequential while they are simultaneous in the former. The phonemes of sign languages are grouped into four: handshapes, location determined by where the sign is made (e.g., on the face, body, or on the right/left hand), movement, and orientation which indicates the position of hands according to each other (Fischer & Hulst, 2003).

So far, no signing communities have adopted a writing/transcription system for general use, but deaf people usually learned to read and write a spoken language. Although sign language can be recorded through video technologies and be transcribed later, video recording may not be always possible due to its intrusive nature (Senghas and Monaghan, 2002). Therefore, transcribing sign language for research has been a methodological question. There are some options to solve this problem. For example, illustrations are mostly used for SL dictionaries in order to represent sign language on paper to form printed dictionaries or for research purposes, while ‘glossing’ (compact words or phrases which convey the core meaning in signs, eg., to show the sign for ‘deaf’, ‘DEAF’ is written with all capital letter) is chosen more due to its easy to use and requiring less-training nature. However, in basic glossing, little linguistic form can be encoded, thus elaborated glossing (See Baker and Cokely, 1981) is preferable because it can demonstrate features like eye and body movements that allow for grammatical and phonological analysis. The drawback of elaborated glossing is that it demands more training and skill. Liddell and Johnson’s (1989) Movement-Hold transcription model is recommended to study aspects of grammatical agreement between subject, objects and verb, and Hamburg Notation System is suggested for phonological analysis while Berkeley Transcription System (Slobin et.al., 1999; 2000) can be used to analyze the morphological level of sign languages (Senghas and Monaghan, 2002). Finally, Sutton SignWriting and Labanotation has been developed to represent sign language and allow deaf people write in sign language. SignWriting⁵ is taught to deaf children in Brazil and can be employed as a method in ethnographic studies (ibid).

⁵ <http://www.signwriting.org>

Sign languages are among the languages which exist for around three hundred years. In order to develop, they need speaker/signers of that language to interact with each other and form a community, just like any other language. This could only be possible for sign languages towards the end of the 18th century when schools were established for deaf children and they began to build communities around them. A brief historical overview of the emergence of modern deaf communities and thus sign languages is provided below.

1.2. DEAF COMMUNITIES AND SIGN LANGUAGES AS MINORITY LANGUAGES

It is stated in the 2010 Brussels Declaration on Sign Languages in the European Union “Deaf and Hard of Hearing people in Europe are the users and preservers of many indigenous national sign languages and form vulnerable communities equal to other linguistic and cultural minorities”.⁶ As it can be concluded from the above statement, Deaf communities are acknowledged as minority groups, and sign languages are treated as minority languages. However, so as to comprehend why sign languages should be classified and treated as minority languages, we must understand the history and formation of Deaf communities and the existence of Deaf culture. The emergence of Deaf communities and Deaf culture is strongly related to the history of deaf education. The brief historical information given below regarding the development of sign language speaking Deaf communities will help the readers to understand better why studying sign language interpreting as a branch of community interpreting could contribute to the field as a more efficient way, especially in our country where sign language interpreting has not been studied thoroughly as a field yet.

For a very long time throughout the history of Europe, deaf people like most of the other disabled people were regarded as a burden on society and a punishment for sinners. This approach was mostly inspired by early Greek philosophers such as Aristotle, and Plato who suggested that deaf people could not be educated or taught any language, so they should be kept out of the society. Being able to speak was of

⁶ www.eud.eu/files/8514/.../brussels_declaration_FINAL.pdf

utmost importance for the Christian church because, according to their belief system, those who lack language skills could not understand the wisdom of God and thus could not achieve salvation, and could not be regarded as beings different from animals. This idea actually continued for a long time even after Pedro Ponce de León, a Spanish monk, proved that the deaf could be educated when he taught two deaf brothers to read and write in the 16th century. Now deaf people were seen as something to be fixed through speech training to be accepted as human beings. For example, in the 17th century Spain, mute sons were forbidden by law to be heirs to the property of their families, hence families of deaf children who were wealthy enough were rushing to the few private tutors to teach their sons to speak, read and write. The methods used by these private tutors and by the teachers working at private schools founded by Thomas Braidwood in 1760 in the UK was a combination of signing and speech teaching. However, signing in that period involved various forms of fingerspelling developed by the tutors such as John Wilkins in Britain and Juan Pablo Bonet in Spain. But as it is mentioned before only deaf children of a few rich families were able to access this education. (Monaghan, 2003)

Foundation of the first public school, by L'Abbé de L'épée in 1760 was an important event for the formation of a deaf community. It was the first school where large numbers of deaf children began to be taught. L'épée created a signing system called 'methodical signs' where he combined French grammar with the signs lacking grammar which were already used by his students. During his lifetime, L'épée not only shared his method with other teachers but also lobbied for the opening of other deaf schools. Today manualism is known as the 'French Method' thanks to the acceptance of signing as a method by L'épée. On the other hand, the first oral public school was opened by Samuel Heinicke in Leipzig almost 20 years after the L'épée's school. Even though Heinicke was a supporter of oralism, his teaching methods included fingerspelling as well. Nevertheless, he instructed many teachers around Germany, and that led oralism to be called as 'German Method'. The third public school was opened in Austria in 1779, and not surprisingly this school adopted a mixed method of both French and German probably due to its political relationships with the two countries. During the following years, numerous deaf schools based on L'épée's ideas began to be established all over the world. However, especially the

final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815 led France to lose its superiority to Germany in world politics, and thus in education as well. In addition to significant advances in education, linguistics, and biology in Germany, this political power change gradually pushed deaf schools all over the world to adopt the oralist German method within the next fifty years. As a result, the Milan Congress which was planned and organized by supporters of the oralist method took place in 1880, and the idea of banning the sign language use as an education method spread and was adopted by the deaf schools around the world. (ibid)

Nevertheless, whichever education method is used by those schools, they enabled deaf children to be together for 24 hours a day since most of them were boarding schools. Even after the banning of sign language use at schools, they could not restrict the students' signing among themselves during the breaks and in the sleeping quarters. Those students developed strong relationships and even family ties, and they came together in the deaf clubs that they founded after graduation. The Parisian Deaf Community was found in 1834 and held annual banquets to honor L'épée's birthday. The Deaf community had also an active café life in Vienna with 10 deaf clubs. In 1854, the first US Deaf club was founded by today's American School for the Deaf, and only 10 years later the Gallaudet College proved that with sufficient effort and lobbying, higher education could also include deaf people. Apart from these communities, a number of Deaf organizations began to appear just after the Milan Conference as a defense against pressures to employ the oralist method in schools for the deaf. As the number of deaf schools increased around the world, an international deaf community started to emerge. However, the proposal regarding the founding of a deaf association in 1912 International Deaf Congress in Paris was not accepted due to the lack of strong national associations in most of the countries at that time. Nevertheless, the first World Games for the deaf was held in 1926 in Paris where deaf participants from six nations attended the games and events inspired by those in the Olympics. (ibid)

The effect of oralism and prejudices against deafness strongly continued until the second half of the 20th century, especially because of the general negative views on disability. For example, in the USA, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, sterilization of deaf people was both recommended and acceptable in order to

prevent them to produce deaf children. However, political changes such as the USA's becoming the leading power of the world, technological advances like the hearing aid, the increase in the number of nation-states and growing internationalism following the World War II brought new perspectives to deafness and deaf education. For instance, growing internationalism led the foundation of the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) in 1951, which still acts as the representative of the deaf all over the world. On the other hand, developments in the hearing aid allowed various forms of deaf education, especially mainstreaming in hearing schools. Mainstreaming became effective in rich countries such as the USA, New Zealand, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland where the hearing aid could be afforded by the deaf, but in poor countries such as Nigeria and in African zones in South Africa, schools for the deaf continued to create strong deaf communities. (ibid)

Following William Stokoe's work justifying that sign languages are full-fledged natural languages by adapting the techniques to describe spoken languages in the 1960s, the use of signing in educational settings once more arose. However, it was not natural sign languages to be used in classrooms. Variations of Total Communication (TC) approach, which is the modern way of L'épée's methodical signs in which the spoken language is encoded on the hands to teach deaf children to read and write, such as Signing Exact English, began to be used at schools for the deaf (ibid).

Today, sign languages are recognized in some countries, but the level of official recognition varies. For example, Uganda, Finland, South Africa, New Zealand, Austria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Hungary, Portugal, Venezuela, and Ecuador recognize their national sign languages at constitutional level. Latvia, Estonia, Sweden, and Iceland recognize their national sign languages through a language legislation which also regulates the spoken language(s). Some countries including Slovakia, Uruguay, Brazil, Slovenia, Belgium-Wallonia, Cyprus, Belgium-Flanders, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Catalonia, Finland, and Serbia recognize their national sign languages by means of a specific sign language law or act. Colombia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Spain, and Poland recognize their sign languages via a special sign language law or act which also cover 'other communication methods'. Lithuania, Germany, Mexico, Chile, Japan, and Russia have mentioned their sign

languages in legislations on disability, education, or equality while countries including the UK, Thailand, Australia, Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland have granted recognition without an explicit legal framework, but only via a declaration or government decision.

All developments in deaf education and deaf schools as described above led to the formation of Deaf identity and culture. The term ‘deaf’ has been used for a long time, usually along with words ‘mute or blind’ to describe individuals who cannot access the world as a result of a sensory defect. However, it began to be used to refer to “a cultural community of individuals who do not hear”, in the US since the 1960s (Padden, 2000). For the members of the deaf community, deafness is far from being only a sensory condition, but it is being involved in a signing community, and participating in educational programs for the deaf, social networks, and organizations where sign language is in use (ibid). The centrality of sign language to deaf communities and culture manifests itself in the cultural practices of sign-play, story-telling, poetry, and deaf theatre the first of which founded to stage plays in the US in 1967. In this case, it can be argued that attitudinal deafness, which is defined as choosing sign language as a preferred way of communication no matter the degree of hearing loss, is a key that forms deaf communities (Woll and Ladd, 2003).

1.3. DEAFNESS AND THE DEAF COMMUNITY IN TURKEY AND TURKISH SIGN LANGUAGE

1.3.1. Historical Overview

Sign languages are known to be in use in Anatolia for 3500 years. Deaf men served at Hittitian religious ceremonies and festivals (Arıkan, 2001) and a city in Hakmis (Amasya in modern Turkey) is described as ‘the city where deaf people talk’ in Hittite cuneiform texts (Murat, 2008). Famous 11th-century Turkish works, “Kutadgu Bilig” and “Divanü Lugat’it Türk”, also inform us that deaf people used sign language to communicate (Akalin, 2013). Miles (2000) provides detailed information on deaf people in the Ottoman Palace. Miles reports that deaf people were recruited to serve in various positions specially to ensure confidentiality of

governmental issues between the 15th and 18th centuries. The sultans, sultanas and high ranked officials were also interested in learning to sign which was assumed to be a privilege in an environment where being silent was a kind of tradition. When the deaf servants got old and retired from their duties, they usually continued their lives outside the palace as craftsmen, but they regularly came to the palace to teach the signing system to the new recruits. Although we do not have any information on the structure or lexicon of the language apart from a few entries regarding some signs provided by Evliya Çelebi in his famous ‘Seyahatname’(The Travel Book), the language must have been developed enough to convey a wide range of concepts considering the fact that elder deaf taught the Qur-an to the new young deaf members of the palace. And this fact also proves that a form of fingerspelling system must also have been used to teach the names of the prophets (Akalın, 2013).

On the other hand, we do not have any information on how the lives of the deaf were outside the palace because of the great gap between the palace, its neighborhood, and the rural areas. The first deaf school was founded in 1889 in Istanbul by Austrian merchant Ferdinand Grati within his School of Commerce. The students were taught writing, geography, arts, architecture, Turkish, French and pronunciation of some words with the help of the fingerspelling alphabet developed by Grati through adapting the French fingerspelling alphabet to the sounds in Ottoman Turkish (Akalın, 2013; Gök, 1958; Günay&Görür, 2013). Miles (2009) also suggests that Pekmezian (an Armenian deaf teacher graduated from Paris Deaf School) came to the help of Mr. Grati to teach deaf students. Therefore, it is more possible that the one-handed Ottoman fingerspelling alphabet⁷ was developed with the help of Mr. Pekmezian. Unfortunately, we do not have any information on the structure of the signing system used among students and teachers, and there is no clear information on whether they communicated only through writing and/or fingerspelling or used an advanced signing system. Later, this school was annexed to the Izmir School for the Deaf opened in 1910.⁸

⁷ A two-handed alphabet similar to modern TID alphabet began to be used following the alphabet revolution in 1928, but the one-handed alphabet continued to be used for a longer time in Izmir School for the Deaf (Turgut&Taşçı, 2011).

⁸ Different sources provide different information related to the founder of the İzmir School for the Deaf. According to these sources the founder was either Karmona, a deaf tailor studied at Paris Deaf

However, oralism gradually started to become the main and only education method in deaf schools after the Republic period began in 1923, probably as a part of modernization process which included adoption and adaptation of Western viewpoints and methods. Although there has never been a law prohibiting sign language usage in Turkish history, such practices like exclusion of deaf children over 12 from deaf schools and deaf schools' being handed over to the ministry of education, and appointing managers and teachers to those schools who came from or trained in Germany caused the dissemination of oralism and restricted use of sign language, thus hindering its academical development in Turkey. Nevertheless, the deaf schools in this period still provided a meeting place to practice sign language in the social lives of students most of whom were boarders. Graduates of these schools later founded the Deaf, Mute and Blind Solidarity Association in 1930, and the Turkish National Deaf Federation (TSMF) in 1960, playing important role in keeping this signing community together. (Gök, 1958; Kemaloğlu & Kemaloğlu, 2012)

Positive attempts regarding Turkish Sign Language (TİD) began during the 1990s thanks to the support of researchers and volunteers from abroad, cooperating with deaf associations. The Ministry of Education published a book⁹ in 1995, aiming to teach TİD to adults. First academic research on TİD began in the beginning of the 2000s, and many studies have been done since then.¹⁰ However, the actual turning point for TİD was on 1 July 2005 when the phrase Türk İşaret Dili (Turkish Sign Language) passed in the disability law no. 5378 for the first time, thus reflecting the official recognition by the government. According to Article 15 of the same code, the Ministry of Education (MEB) and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies have been appointed to analyze linguistics of TİD, to prepare written and visual education materials, to create Turkish Sign Language system, and to train sign language instructors and interpreters. Within the scope of this law, the Board of Turkish Sign Language Science and Certification (TİDBO) which consists of academics and members from the Turkish Language Institute (TDK), the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Education and Turkish National Deaf Federation

School, (Miles, 2009; Kemaloğlu&Kemaloğlu,2012; Tanyeri, 2016), or Fuat Bey, a graduate of İstanbul Deaf School (Gök, 1958).

⁹ Yetişkinler İçin İşaret Dili Kılavuzu

¹⁰ For the research done so far, see *Ellerle Konuşmak: Türk İşaret Dili Araştırmaları*

(TSMF) was founded. TIDBO's duties include approving all scientific and educational materials regarding TID and certification of TID instructors and interpreters.

1.3.2. Current Situation of TID, Deafness and Deaf Accessibility in Turkey

The 2002 Turkey Disability Survey suggests that 0.37% of the total population has hearing disability, and 0.38% of the total population has speaking disability. The proportion of profoundly deaf people and profoundly mute people to the disabled population is 32.45% and 45.99% respectively. The survey also indicates that 10.31% of speaking disability is caused by hearing disability. Another statistic given by the 2012 Health Survey demonstrates that 2.2% of the total population has hearing problems, and 4.7% uses hearing aids. On the other hand, although there is no up-to-date statistical information regarding the number of deaf people, associations of the Deaf claim that there are about 3 million deaf people in Turkey today.¹¹

Deaf people in Turkey form a community within the schools and associations of the deaf just like other Deaf communities in the world. There are 61 deaf schools (41 elementary and secondary schools, and 20 vocational high schools) under the roof of the Ministry of Education. Considering the fact that there are 81 cities in Turkey, it is clear that there are not deaf schools in each city. On the other hand, there is only one university in Turkey offering only four programs for the deaf (graphic arts, ceramics, computer operator training, and architectural drawing). Finally, there is only one institution offering pre-school education for deaf children.¹² Unfortunately, neither the mentioned schools nor the university programs offer bilingual education, i.e., education in both sign language and spoken language, and they even do not have sign language classes. The university mentioned above accepts

¹¹ <http://www.tsmf.org.tr/tarihce/> , <http://uiefed.org/2-baskanin-mesaji.html> , <http://www.ief.org.tr>

¹² Çocuk Eğitim Derneği (Association for Child Education). In her article, İlkbaşıran (2016) states that this association offers bilingual education for deaf children, however, I found out that they teach children in oral methods and their teachers do not have sign language skills. İlkbaşıran mentions another preschool in the same article, but that school has been converted into a mainstream elementary school. (Related information gathered through phone calls to the mentioned institutions on 23.11.2017).

only those students who have an only mild hearing impairment, or students with a background of highly audial-verbal education. On the other hand, there are three universities offering Bachelor's degree programs for 'education of the hearing impaired'.¹³ The curriculums of the two universities include a 'Sign Language' class to be taken only in the fifth semester while the other one does not offer any sign language classes to the teachers-to-be. It is clear that a one-semester-long sign language course is not enough for teachers to acquire sufficient signing skills to communicate with their students, let alone lecturing in that language.

As for the literacy rates among Turkish deaf population, the 2002 research on the disabled in Turkey¹⁴ indicates that 37% of the deaf and hard-of-hearing population cannot read and write at all, and this illiteracy rate is three times higher than the one among the total population of Turkey (12.9 %). Nevertheless, it is highly possible that the given illiteracy rate among the deaf does not reflect the real numbers in that the mentioned research has acknowledged that having at least primary education was a sign of being literate. But recent research on the subject reflects that most deaf students graduate from above-mentioned schools either without acquiring any reading-writing skills or with very limited ones (İlkbaşaran, 2016; Kemaloğlu, 2016; Kubuş et.al., 2016). A study aiming to test reading, writing, and comprehension skills of 18 high school students and 15 young adults, carried out by İlkbaşaran (2016) in 2012-2013 also proves that deaf people in Turkey significantly lack reading and writing skills. In another research, 10 deaf people with the age range of 26-36 were interviewed by the author to find out their opinions on media accessibility (Gökce, 2018). Most of the participants reported that they had difficulty in following and understanding subtitles and complex sentences, and they also mentioned that their lack of competency in comprehending written language mainly results from the inadequate education they received at elementary and secondary schools. The fact that late language acquisition — sign language acquisition in this case — causes deaf people to have low literacy levels is

¹³ For the curriculums of these programs, see: www.anadolu.edu.tr/en/academics/faculties/172/isitme-engelliler-ogretmenligi-programi/courses, www.ktu.edu.tr/efisitmeeng-egitim.omu.edu.tr/files/İşitme%20Son.pdf.

¹⁴

https://www.google.com.tr/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwiCglu87YbXAhVKD5oKHQ5xBPEQFggrMAA&url=http:%2F%2Fwww.tuik.gov.tr%2FIcerikGetir.do%3Fistab_id%3D14&usg=AOvVaw3NgdYY8klEm_9eccpBm2Kv

demonstrated by previous research (Mayberry, 2007; Traxler, 2000). Studies carried out in Turkey also show that most deaf individuals learn sign language from their peers when they start school and/or when they involve in sports activities/clubs within deaf associations (Gökce, 2018; İlkbaşıran, 2016; Kemaloğlu, 2016;) just like their peers in the rest of the world, considering 95% of deaf children are born in hearing families (Napier & Leeson, 2016). As a result, it should be taken into consideration that literacy for deaf people does not mean being fluent in only dominant written/oral language but also being fluent in sign language.

Currently, there are five federations of the Deaf, two of which are sports federations.¹⁵ Of the remaining three federations, only one of them — Türkiye Sağırılar Milli Federasyonu (TSMF- Turkish National Federation of the Deaf) — has the authority to represent the deaf community both within the nation and worldwide. The disunity and lack of cooperation between these federations due to political reasons usually hinder effective efforts to be taken on behalf of the deaf community.¹⁶ Founded in 1960, TSMF is an official member of the WFD¹⁷, and it consists of 75 deaf associations¹⁸ located throughout the country. These associations have always been meeting places where deaf people socialize and form communities. However, advances in internet and mobile technologies have resulted in less interest and lower attendance to these clubs especially by the young deaf (İlkbaşıran, 2016). Although today they can communicate with other deaf people easily whenever and wherever they want, they still use the associations as temporary meeting points or attend events and activities organized by the associations.

On the other hand, most young deaf individuals actively engage in sports like their peers in other countries. National and international sports events allow them to meet other deaf people, and thus contribute to their linguistic, social identity and cultural improvement (Yaprak Kemaloğlu, P., 2012). Our national athletes have been attending the Deaflympics¹⁹ since 1961²⁰. There are 111 sports clubs²¹ affiliated with

¹⁵ www.tsmf.org.tr, www.sessizler.org.tr, www.tiesf.gov.tr, <http://uiefed.org/>, <http://www.ief.org.tr/>

¹⁶ Interview with Ercüment Tanrıverdi, the chairperson of the TSMF on 24.09.2017.

¹⁷ 2015 WFD Congress was held in Istanbul. <https://wfdeaf.org/news/wfd-congress-in-istanbul-turkey-28-july-2-august-2015/>

¹⁸ www.tsmf.org.tr/dernekler/

¹⁹ <http://www.deaflympics.com>

²⁰ <http://deaflympics2017.org/pt/deaflympics-tarihi-detay/44>

Türkiye İşitme Engelliler Spor Federasyonu (TİESFED- Turkish Sports Federation of the Deaf) which was founded in 1990. Turkey has been hosting international deaf sports events since 2008, and the last Deaflympics was held in Samsun in 2017. Apart from the international deaf sports events, Turkey has recently hosted international meetings like the SIGN5 Conference in 2011, and the 17th WFD Congress in 2015. Turkey has also been taking part, and developed projects related to sign language and the Deaf community such as Spread The Sign²², Give Me A Sign²³, and Sign Language Speaking Tour Guides²⁴. These national and international events along with the ease of worldwide communication thanks to video calling technology and social media accounts like Facebook help deaf people follow new developments regarding deaf education and deaf communities in other countries as well as making them desire to learn other sign and/or spoken languages.

As for deaf culture and identity issues in Turkey, although the discourse regarding deafness have recently begun to change thanks to increasing academic research, international events and communication, i.e., increase in the use of ‘sağır’ (deaf) instead of ‘işitme engelli’ (hearing impaired), the term ‘hearing impaired’ is still highly in use as a politically correct (!) term. For example, TİESFED changed the name of the İşitme Engelliler Futbol Ligi (The football league of the hearing impaired) as Sağırklar Futbol Ligi (The football league of the Deaf) in November 2017. However, this name change received strong reactions from many people who think that the word ‘sağır’ is an insult to deaf people²⁵. Upon the fierce reactions, the chairman of TİESFED, who is deaf himself, explained in a press release that the term ‘Sağır’(Deaf) is adopted by the Turkish Deaf community which is more than a disability group, with a very rich culture²⁶. However, it is also ironic when it is considered that the federation itself still accommodates the phrase ‘işitme engelli’ (hearing impaired) in its name. On the other hand, the research carried out by Yaprak Kemaloğlu (2012) reveals that deaf people mostly prefer ‘deaf’ to ‘hearing impaired’

²¹ <http://www.tiesf.gov.tr/kulupler.php>

²² <https://www.spreadthesign.com/tr/>

²³ <https://www.givemeasign.org>

²⁴ <http://www.mavipencere.org/sign-guides.html>

²⁵ http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/861427/Federasyon_dan_skandal_degisiklik...isitme_Engelliler_Ligi_ne_Sagirlar_Ligi_ismini_verdiler.html

²⁶ <http://www.fanatik.com.tr/2017/11/07/isitme-engelliler-spor-federasyonu-ndan-sagir-aciklamasi-1329632>

while identifying themselves, although this can change depending on the oral language skills and on the hearing status of the interlocutors. For example, if someone is with some oral language skills (e.g., if they can speak the oral language) and prefers to communicate via speaking with hearing people, then they tend to identify themselves as ‘hearing impaired’ since it’s the common usage in the larger society.

Today, deaf people in Turkey actively use visual social media, especially Facebook²⁷ and Youtube²⁸, to contact with deaf people around the world, and to share their ideas, their stories, short plays or films and poems or to exchange news. Deaf people also stage plays²⁹ and form bands³⁰ to share their problems with the society and to raise awareness. Unfortunately, no research on Turkish deaf culture and literature has been found so far, which is fundamental to understand the deaf community better.

²⁷ Eg., <https://www.facebook.com/Mesutdeaf/>, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1871842649793704/>, <https://www.facebook.com/TurkieTV/>

²⁸ Eg. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C6JBRPxN9jU>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CegdcaXwj8>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iWbYza9Orqo>

²⁹ <https://www.ekonomidunya.com/anadolu-sagirlar-dernegi-isitme-engelliler-tiyatrosu/15379/>

³⁰ <http://www.posta.com.tr/isitme-engelliler-rap-grubu-kurdu-1278255>

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW ON SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING AND THE ROLE OF THE SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETER, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING

2.1.1. Historical Overview

The first historical records regarding interpreting practices date back to 16th century. For example, in his doctoral dissertation, the French linguist Yves Bernard (1999) reports that Philippe II, the king of Spain, communicated with the deaf painter Juan Fernandez Navarette through sign language interpreting provided by a friend of the painter in 1568 (cited in Oral, 2016). We also know that there were sign language interpreters in the Ottoman palace through Miles (2000) citing from Deusingen (1660) that during his visit to Istanbul in 1612, the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga communicated through a 'sign translator' with the court mutes whom he invited to a banquet. The records of the Old Bailey central criminal court in London, on the other hand, indicates the existence of the first professional sworn sign language interpreters in 1771 (Stone & Woll, 2008). The first deaf interpreter appears in the history in 1817 when the headmaster of the Edinburgh school for the deaf, Mister Kinniburgh, was called to interpret at the court for an unschooled deaf woman. The deaf assistant of Kinniburgh was also present there to ensure that the deaf woman understood BSL used by the headmaster and vice versa (Stone, 2012).

The evolution of sign language interpreting as a profession is closely related to the research on sign languages justifying that sign languages are natural languages, and to the beginning of pro-sign attitudes in deaf education beginning at the second half of the 20th century. During the pre-professionalization period, missionaries and welfare workers provided guidance, interpreting, and social support for the deaf in various settings (Napier, McKee, and Goswell, 2006 cited in Napier, 2011). The daily interpreting assistance was undertaken by the family members most

of whom were children of deaf adults, and friends of deaf people. In the UK, those who wanted to work as welfare workers were supposed to undertake an interpreting exam as a part of their evaluation to prove that they were qualified enough for the position, but they were not granted a certificate or license (Roy&Napier, 2015).

The first sign language interpreter education started in the USA in the 1940s (Ball, 2013 cited in Napier & Leeson, 2016). The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) was established in the USA in 1964 with the aim of promoting recruitment and training of interpreters and preparing guidelines of terminology and a code of ethics for interpreters to follow. The RID published its book on interpreting 'Interpreting For Deaf People' in 1965 (Roy&Napier, 2015). The foundation of associations for sign language interpreters in Sweden in 1969, Denmark in 1977, France in 1978, Canada in 1979 and Scotland in 1982 followed the foundation of the RID. In 1987, the Association of Sign Language Interpreters (ASLI) was established in the UK, and the first conference on sign language interpreting by the European Community Regional Secretariat of the World Federation of the Deaf (known today as European Union of the Deaf) and the French Association of the Deaf was organized in Albi, France. The European Forum of Sign Language Interpreters (EFSLI) was founded in a few years after this conference in 1993³¹, and it was followed by the establishment of associations in Austria and Finland (1982), Netherlands (1988), Portugal (1995), and Germany (1997) leading to the foundation of World Association of the Sign Language Interpreters (WASLI)³² in 2003.

Today sign language interpreting is recognized within legal frameworks as a profession in a few countries such as Canada, Netherlands, France, Denmark, Poland, and Portugal while in most countries they work without social security or standard reimbursement, or sufficient educational opportunities. Likewise, the majority of sign language interpreters still provide service with no education or little training they receive from local associations, and most of the countries still have no accreditation system for sign language interpreters (WASLI, 2016). On the other hand, some countries present good examples in terms of sign language interpreter training. For example, degree programs ranging in duration from 2 to 4 years are

³¹ <http://efsli.org/about/history>

³² <http://wasli.org>

offered for sign language interpreters in Denmark, Netherlands, France, Canada, the USA, New Zealand, the UK, Finland, Germany, Sweden, Japan and Portugal (Council of Europe, 2005; WASLI, 2016). Napier (2009 cited in Napier, 2015) suggests that there are three models of regulation with regard to training and certification of SL interpreters around the world when compared to those regarding spoken language interpreters: 1) in the signed language interpreting specific model, regulation is set by a deaf/sign language specific body like RID in the USA; 2) in the mapped model, regulation is set by a sign language interpreting-specific body having its own policies and standards despite the fact that the professional skills are mapped onto the same standards as spoken language interpreters, such as Signature in the UK, and National Vocational Qualification framework and National Occupational Standards for Interpreting for all languages; 3) in the integrated model, there is a common system that certifies and regulates both sign and spoken language interpreters, e.g., the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters in Australia. Finally, WASLI has recently published two guidelines related to training of sign language interpreters³³ and deafblind interpreters³⁴.

There is an increasing amount of research on sign language interpreting since the 1970s (Metzger, 2006). The earliest studies heavily focused on proving the necessity of sign language interpretation for the Deaf community, qualifications of interpreters, and the effectiveness of the interpretation. Source text- target text comparisons, interpreter training, interpreting in educational, medical, legal, and religious settings, conference interpreting, working conditions of interpreters, and the role of the interpreters within community interpreting settings are among the most studied research topics by 2005 (Metzger, 2006). The Sign Language Interpreting Studies Reader (Roy & Napier, 2015) provides a collection of the earliest papers on sign language interpreting while the Studies in Interpretation Series³⁵, which has been introduced by Gallaudet University Press, includes 16 volumes dwelling on a wide range of topics regarding sign language interpreting. 9-volume Interpreter

³³

https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_4OZ36mgHIYaWpVOTlBeFdqVW5SVXg4Mk9icmgxeTE2NEZz/view

³⁴ http://wasli.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/279_wasli-db-interpreter-education-guidelines-1.pdf

³⁵ <http://gupress.gallaudet.edu/studies-in-interpretation.html>

Education Series³⁶ is another source for researchers also published by Gallaudet University Press. Research books based on doctoral dissertations of some researchers such as Metzger (1999), Napier (2002a), Roy (2000), Russel (2002), and Stone (2009) are available for academics interested in the field of sign language interpreting. Researchers also can benefit from online Journal of Interpretation³⁷ by RID, and Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education³⁸ by Oxford Academic to access many articles on sign language interpreting.

2.1.2. What Is Sign Language Interpreting?

Sign language interpreting (SLI) generally means interpreting between two languages which are different in modality, that is interpretation mostly occurs between signed and spoken languages. However, sign language interpreters also work between different sign languages (e.g. from TID to ASL) or between two spoken languages and a sign language (Bontempo, 2015). In this part, sign language interpreting is described through its differences and similarities in relation to spoken language interpreting.

It is acknowledged by the above mentioned EU resolution in 2016 that professional sign language interpreters are equal to spoken language interpreters in terms of assignments and mission tasks. Sign and spoken language interpreting have many commonalities and differences in terms of practice, values, roles and so on. Historically, unlike spoken language interpreting which emerged as a profession at conference settings, sign language interpreting first emerged and developed at community settings due to the very nature of the community for whom the service is provided. Therefore, sign language interpreters were used to interpreting bilaterally in dialogic environments long before community interpreting was recognized as a profession (Napier, 2015).

Before formal training was offered for sign language interpreters (at least in some countries mentioned above) sign language interpreters would traditionally emerge out of the Deaf community, in other words, they would be chosen by the

³⁶ <http://gupress.gallaudet.edu/interpreter-ed.html>

³⁷ <https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/joi/>

³⁸ <https://academic.oup.com/jdsde/article/21/1/1/2404217>

community members according to their signing skills and attitudes towards the community (Cokely, 2005 cited in Napier, 2015). The interpreters were people who were already accepted in the community like hearing children of deaf adults (Codas), teachers of the deaf or welfare workers (Napier, McKee and Goswell, 2010 cited in Napier, 2015)³⁹. Similar phenomena can also be observed in spoken language community interpreting where children of minority community members usually learn the majority language and provide brokering for their parents (Napier, 2015). Today the profile of sign language interpreters has changed, and as a result of the growing popularity of sign languages, many hearing people who have learnt sign language as a second language through courses have begun to work as interpreters. Today, there are also deaf sign language interpreters who mediate between the users of different sign languages or interpret from national sign languages into the International Sign especially at multilingual conferences. Apart from this, deaf sign language interpreters can provide intralingual interpreting for unschooled deaf people who do not know the national sign language, but communicate via their home signs (Napier, 2015).

When the mode of interpretation is compared, spoken language interpreters work simultaneously with special equipments in soundproof booths or consecutively in order to avoid confusion due to mixing of the sounds of original speech and interpretation while sign language interpreters usually interpret simultaneously since the silent nature of sign languages allow them to produce the interpretation at the same time as the original speech (Napier, 2015). Nevertheless, it is argued that consecutive interpreting can allow sign language interpreters to work more effectively in some situations by eliminating the stress caused by bimodal interpreting (Padden, 2000). Actually, in her study on the effect of simultaneous or consecutive interpreting at legal settings, Russell (2002) found out that interpreters interpret more accurately when they work consecutively.

Another difference between signed and spoken language interpreting is the directionality of working languages. That is, spoken language interpreters usually work into their native/A languages while sign language interpreters prefer to work

³⁹ It must be noted that the situation is still the same in most of the countries where SL interpreter training opportunities are limited or completely absent.

into their B languages, i.e., from Turkish to TID. This unusual situation mostly arises from the power imbalance resulting from the disadvantaged position of the deaf community within the larger hearing society⁴⁰. Most of the time, it is deaf people who miss information shared through the majority spoken language and who rely on hearing people to understand what is going on, thus interpreters mostly master in interpreting into sign language for this aim (Napier, 2016).

2.1.3. Sign Language Interpreting Settings

As for the interpreting fields, although sign language interpreting began as a community service and first evolved as a profession in community settings, today sign language interpreters also work at conferences, meetings, call centres, media, educational settings, professional workplaces, and important family occasions such as weddings, funerals, and so on.

Community interpreting services include interpreting at legal, medical, and social settings. Interpreting in legal settings usually applies to courtrooms, police stations, and notaries. The Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights acknowledges that criminal suspects have the right to be informed about the accusations directed to them through a language they understand and to benefit from an interpreter freely in court (Turner, 1995). Research has been done on the situation of and problems in interpreter-mediated legal settings where not only deaf parties of a trial but also deaf professionals such as deaf advocates and jury members are involved (Kyle et.al., 2012; Napier & Spencer, 2008; Russell, 2002). It is shown that many problems can arise during a trial owing to the nature of sign languages and to the visibility of the SL interpreters, such as eyegazing between the deaf participant(s) and the interpreter, or misunderstanding of a gestural linguistic component like a head nod at the court (Turner, 1995). The project Justisigns⁴¹ funded by the European Commission involves a survey about the provision of legal interpreting for deaf people across Europe (Napier & Haug, 2015). The research team received answers from agencies, educational centers, and deaf associations in 21 European

⁴⁰ See Section 2.2.

⁴¹ http://www.justisigns.com/JUSTISIGNS_Project/About.html

countries. The findings of the research show that despite the fact that sign language interpreters are largely provided in legal settings such as courts and police interviews, finding available and qualified interpreters is still a Europe-wide problem in practice (ibid). In order to solve the issue of providing well-qualified interpreters within legal settings, course materials for interpreters⁴² have been prepared within the project Justisigns. Besides, ASLI in the UK and National Consortium of Interpreter Education Centers in the USA have published best practices guidelines for sign language interpreting in legal settings⁴³⁴⁴.

Hospitals and health care centers are other places where deaf people need sign language interpreters the most. Without interpreters, deaf people face the threats of misdiagnosis and false treatment. Previous research suggests that deaf people still struggle to access health care information or to communicate with healthcare professionals through sign language (Kuenburg et.al., 2016; Napier & Leeson, 2016; Nilsson et.al., 2013). Healthcare professionals usually tend to ignore diverse needs of the members of the deaf community, that is, ignoring the fact that not every deaf person has high written language skills or can lipread, and they tend to think that they can communicate with their deaf patients ‘in a way’. There is also the problem of skilled and trained medical interpreters, especially, at mental health care settings, where diagnosis heavily depends on the linguistic and communication skills of the patient. Projects like Auslan Signbank⁴⁵ and Medisigns⁴⁶ aim to provide necessary terminology, information, and attitudes required at healthcare settings for both interpreters, healthcare professionals, and deaf people. Additionally, ASLI has published best practice guidelines for BSL interpreters working in mental health settings⁴⁷.

As the visibility of deaf communities and popularity and awareness regarding sign languages have increased, sign language interpreters are increasingly employed at settings like national and/or international conferences, panels, congresses,

⁴² http://www.justisigns.com/JUSTISIGNS_Project/Course.html

⁴³ <https://www.asli.org.uk/app/uploads/2017/05/ASLI-Legal-Interpreting-Best-Practise-LIBP-edited-April-2016.pdf>

⁴⁴ http://www.interpretereducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/LegalBestPractices_NCIEC2009.pdf

⁴⁵ <http://new.auslan.org.au>

⁴⁶ http://www.medisignsproject.eu/MEDISIGNS/About_MEDISIGNS.html

⁴⁷ <https://www.asli.org.uk/app/uploads/2017/10/MHIBP-18.3.16.pdf>

university lectures, political meetings, and press releases where the speeches are delivered mostly unidirectionally. Sign language interpreters at conference-like settings work differently than spoken language conference interpreters working in soundproof booths with special equipment in that SL interpreters position themselves mostly on the stage facing deaf people attending the occasion, and this results in high visibility of the interpreter. Thus, correct lighting and having a suitable appearance with dark clothes, little make-up and accessories are important for the success of sign language interpreting on the stage. Sign language interpreters are welcomed as members by The International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) as of 2012. In 2016, AIIC has also published guidelines for positioning of sign language interpreters at conferences⁴⁸.

Educational interpreting can be deemed to be unique to sign language interpreting. In many countries, the policy regarding deaf education is towards mainstreaming, and this raises the question of equal accessibility of course contents by deaf students (Napier & Leeson, 2016). Educational interpreters have been provided in the USA since the 1970s. Belgium, the UK, and Finland are other countries that can be shown as examples in terms of providing sign language interpreting for deaf students. Although educational interpreting is not very different from interpreting in other settings, sign language interpreters still need to have special skills to work in this area, and they are usually expected to adopt roles which are not relevant to other settings (Napier, 2011). For example, sign language interpreters working in elementary and secondary school settings are mostly expected to help with the learning process of deaf students. They are also required to have knowledge of the subjects delivered by the teacher. Furthermore, sign language interpreters function as ‘role models’ with their signing skills for deaf students who usually do not have the opportunity of learning sign language in a deaf environment (ibid). This situation gives rise to the issue of training skilled sign language interpreters for educational purposes. EFSLI and ASLIA⁴⁹ have published guidelines for sign language interpreters working in educational settings regarding required

⁴⁸ <https://aiic.net/page/7821/guidelines-positioning-of-sign-language-interpreters-in-conferences/lang/1>

⁴⁹ The Australian Sign Language Interpreters’ Association

skills and roles.⁵⁰⁵¹ Many states in the USA also have their own best practices guidelines for educational sign language interpreters.⁵²

Sign language interpreters are needed where accessibility issues for deaf people arise, and interpreting on television is one of those settings where deaf people struggle to access equally to the television contents, unlike the hearing majority. Luckily, provision of accessibility for deaf people to television contents is no longer a discussion topic although the form of accessibility services and whether they really work is still quite controversial. For example, albeit provision of accessibility for deaf people is guaranteed by laws and regulations in most countries, television companies mostly tend to deliver their television content through subtitles instead of sign language interpreting. Nevertheless, previous studies suggest that the proportion of deaf people who can comprehend the content presented in written form is not high (Conrad, 1979; Powers et.al., 1998 cited in Napier&Leeson, 2016). Today sign-interpreted programs are available in China, South Africa, Kosovo, the Arabic states, and the UK (Napier&Leeson, 2016). Recent studies carried out in China (Zhao, 2015), South Africa (Wehmeyer, 2014), and the UK (Steiner, 1998; Stone, 2009) discuss the efficacy of sign language interpreting on television, and their findings indicate that sign language interpreting presented on TV does not usually reflect the language used by deaf people, and that since deaf viewers focus more on the interpreters instead of visual materials while watching TV, provision of subtitling as an alternative source along with sign language interpreting may create more effective results (cited in Napier&Leeson, 2016).

The final important sign language interpreting setting has emerged as a result of advances in video technology and is termed as ‘video relay interpreting (VRI), or ‘video relay service (VRS) depending on the location of participants taking part in the communication, that is while the interpreter connects two people in different locations in VRS, the participants of the communication are in the same place and the interpreter connects via video technology from a remote place and provides interpreting in VRI (Bontempo, 2015). VRI is commonly used for meetings and specific types of appointments, unlike VRS which is intended mostly for phone calls

⁵⁰ <https://aslia.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/ASLIA-Educational-Interpreting-Guidelines.pdf>

⁵¹ <http://efsl.org/efsliblu/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Educational-interpreting-policy.pdf>

⁵² <https://www.education.ne.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/InterpretersGuideline.pdf>

to family members, friends, colleagues, etc. Today, VRS and VRI or similar services have been in practice in the USA, the UK, and Australia (ibid). Publishing the best practices guidelines for video interpreting in 2015,⁵³ ASLI recommends that only registered qualified interpreters with a minimum of three years community interpreting experience should be hired for VRS/VRI positions, and those interpreters should be suitably trained to work in video interpreting area.

2.1.4. Research on Sign Language Interpreting

Despite beginning in the 1970s, most of the research on sign language interpreting has been produced as of 2000 (Napier, 2011). In order to explore research topics which have attracted academics along with methods and paradigms employed, Metzger (2006) diachronically analyses ninety-seven empirical, data-based studies published in the 70s, 80s, 90s, and 2000s.

Accordingly, the research in the 70s has focused mostly on interpreter effectiveness and characteristics (e.g. Brasel et.al., 1974; Schein, 1974), and on comparison of source and target texts (e.g. Fleischer, 1975; Murphy and Fleischer, 1976; Norwood, 1976). The enactment of the law allowing deaf students to study together with their hearing peers with the assistance of a sign language interpreter caused educational interpreting to be the third most studied topic in the 70s (Metzger, 2006). Representing only the US, these studies are based on cognitive processing and target-text oriented approaches.

In the 80s, researchers began to get attracted to issues like conference interpreting (e.g. Cokely, 1985), working conditions and occupational safety of interpreters (e.g. Greenhaw, 1985; Watson, 1987) and ‘free’ versus ‘literal’ interpreting (e.g. Winston, 1989). The twenty-four studies examined by Metzger (2006) represents the UK and the US, and the paradigms (Pöchhacker, 2004) employed include the discourse-based interaction (Roy, 1989) and the interpretive theory of translation paradigms apart from the last decade’s approaches.

In addition to the topics covered in the previous decades, the twenty-seven studies covered by Metzger (2006) in the 90s include the issues of medical (e.g.

⁵³ https://www.asli.org.uk/app/uploads/2017/05/ASLI_Video_Interpreting_Best_Practice_VIBP-1.pdf

Brener, 1991; Metzger, 1995; 1999) and legal interpreting (e.g. Turner, 1995), and the role of the interpreter (see 2.2.). Representing Austria, the UK, and the US, these studies reflect only three paradigms being cognitive processing, target-text oriented and discourse-based interaction.

Metzger's paper reveals that thirty-seven studies out of ninety-seven were published between 2000 and 2005, which justifies that most of the research papers on SLI have been published as of 2000. The topics covered since the beginning of 2000 include, but are not limited to, educational interpreting (e.g. Winston, 2004; 2005), legal interpreting (Brennan and Brown, 2004; Russell, 2000; Turner and Taylor, 2001), application of consecutive interpreting in sign language interpreting settings (e.g. Russell, 2002; 2005), religious interpreting (e.g. Richey, 2003), code of ethics (Rodriguez & Guerrero 2002), and users' perceptions of sign language interpreting and interpreters (e.g. Forestal, 2005; Kurz and Langer, 2004; Napier and Barker, 2004; Witter-Merithew and Johnson, 2005).

As a prolific scholar in the field for more than 15 years (Bontempo, 2015), Napier produced a significant number of works on sign language interpreter education and interpreting practice (e.g. Napier, 2002b; 2006; 2007; 2009; 2011; 2013; 2015; and many more), leading the field. Besides, sign language linguistic scholars such as Leeson (e.g. 2011, 2012) and Stone (e.g. 2010) provide further insight and understanding to sign language interpreting.

Finally, Journal of Interpretation⁵⁴ published by RID, The Interpreter Education Series⁵⁵ introduced by Gallaudet University Press, and Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education⁵⁶ which also cover scientific articles on sign language interpreting are among the sources that researchers interested in sign language interpreting can benefit from.

2.2. THE ROLE OF THE SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETER

The term "role" is used to analyze and define dispositions of at least two participants in any social interaction (Gentile et.al., 1996). Since interpreters are

⁵⁴ <https://www.rid.org/membership/benefits/publications-overview/journal-of-interpretation/>

⁵⁵ <http://gupress.gallaudet.edu/interpreter-ed.html>

⁵⁶ <https://academic.oup.com/jdsde>

among the main actors of any communicative interaction that takes place between at least two interlocutors who do not speak each other's language, the questions of what the role of the interpreter should be and to what extent the interpreter should participate in an interaction have been raised and discussed by interpreting scholars and practitioners⁵⁷. Actually, the role of the sign language interpreter emerged and remained as a trendy discussion topic long before community interpreting began to be discussed as a professional practice in spoken language interpreting (Pöchhacker, 1999). This literature review focuses on the studies on the role of sign language interpreters, and considering that there is no research on sign language interpreters' role in Turkey yet, it consists of seminal works written in English.

In 1986, Anna Witter-Merithew's essay on the historical development of sign language interpreting profession in the USA was published in RID newsletter 'Views' (Roy&Napier, 2015). In her essay, Witter-Merithew explained four models, which are also metaphors used to understand interpreters' behavioral dispositions: the helper model, the conduit model, the communication facilitator model, and the bi-lingual / bi-cultural model. These models and metaphors explained below have been invariable themes of the discussions on sign language interpreters' role since the publication of this essay, and they are also employed in this study to determine the current development stage of the profession in Turkey.

The Helper Model: Witter-Merithew (1986) uses this metaphor to talk about pre-RID time in which untrained, unqualified individuals mostly having deaf parents provided voluntary interpreting services to help their deaf parents, relatives, friends, neighbors, and parishioners, etc. The helper model has some disadvantages for both deaf people and interpreters in that the interpreters with inadequate communication skills may cause more harm than good, and they may patronize the Deaf by behaving as they are not self-sufficient people and by speaking on behalf of them. Furthermore, interpreters mostly provide voluntary service in non-standardized and inconvenient working conditions in this model.

The Conduit Model: First used by Reddy (1976), the conduit metaphor refers to a model in which interpreters see themselves as machines whose only responsibility is to transfer information between people. Witter-Merithew (1986)

⁵⁷ See; Anderson (1976), Wadensjö (1998), Angelelli (2004)

explains that this model emerged in the field of sign language interpreting as a result of interpreters' desire to "dissociate themselves from the "helping view of the task" following the setting of professional standards and code of ethics for interpreters with the foundation of RID. Emerging by adopting the values of conference interpreters, however, this model ignores the realities of the deaf world, deaf people's special communication needs, and the fact that unlike conference interpreters, sign language interpreters have to be visible and take role in face-to-face communication settings. Main aspects of this model are maintaining impartiality and confidentiality, interpreting faithfully and accurately, and upholding a professional distance.

The Communication Facilitator Model: A new perspective emerged in mid-70's after the interpreters adopting conduit model received negative reactions from the Deaf community because of their 'cold and self-serving' attitude and denying responsibility for interpreted communication failures (ibid). The academics working in this area began to "explore alternatives to the extremes of the Conduit Model", and the interpreters began to take responsibility for meeting with the people they provided service prior to the occasion in order to discuss the role and responsibilities, and for planning positioning, lighting, and remuneration.

The Bi-lingual / Bi-cultural Model: Emerging from the academic discussions on the nature of power relations between deaf people and interpreters, and what effect each model has on these power relations in the 80s, the Bi-Bi model puts "the highest emphasis on the integrity and accuracy of the interpretation" while at the same time requiring the interpreter "to recognize the language and culture are inseparable" (ibid).

Cynthia Roy suggests that "metaphors and metaphorical descriptions have assisted our understanding of the role of the interpreter" in her 1993 article which was republished in 'The Interpreting Studies Reader' in 2002. She also claims that the way interpreters describe their profession affects the perceptions regarding their role:

"Interpreters themselves find it difficult to explain their role without resorting to conduit metaphors, and this explanation then leads to the perception of interpreters of passive, neutral participants, whose job it is mechanically to transmit the content of the source message in the form of the target message."
(Roy, 1992: 299)

Moreover, Roy argues that the conduit model is still followed by many interpreters, and although the communication facilitator model brought some significant changes to the profession in terms of raising respect for the ASL and modifying expectations of linguistic expertise of interpreters and responsibilities they take, it is still very similar to the conduit model (cited in Metzger, 1999). The conduit model “accounts only for one-way communication process” while assuming that the main parties of the interaction are equals with equal rights and social status (Roy, 1992). She also reports that it is not possible for interpreters to act like inactive machines in any interpersonal and intercultural communication event since “the only participant who can logically maintain, adjust, and if necessary, repair differences in structure and use is the interpreter” (Roy, 1993). In her doctoral dissertation (1989), Roy investigates a videotaped meeting between a university professor, a university student, and an interpreter in order to find out the choices of the interpreter when overlapping talks occur, and the sociolinguistic factors affecting those decisions (Roy, 1992). Her work reveals that the interpreter takes part as an active participant within the interaction just like the primary speakers who tacitly agree with his decisions, and that most of his decisions reflect “his understanding and interpretation of the social situation of a meeting between teacher and student”. As a result, this study shows that the interpreter who is “a competent bilingual who possesses not only knowledge of two languages but also knowledge about the social situation, the “ways of speaking” of both languages, and strategies for the management of the communication event” is solely responsible for neither success nor failure of an interpreted interaction on his own, but all participating parties share the responsibility in different degrees.

In her 1999 work, Melanie Metzger investigates frames, schemas, and footings within two interpreting settings — one mock medical interview interpreted by a student interpreter, and a real-life medical interview interpreted by a professional interpreter — in order to discover the interpreter’s involvement in and influence on the interpreted interactive encounters. Metzger proves that the traditional view of interpreter’s “neutrality” is nothing but a myth and that SL interpreters are not just conduits in a communicative interaction but its participants. She adds:

“In interpreted discourse, the interpreter has the power to influence the interaction not only through interpreter-generated utterances that are not renditions or constructions of others’ discourse, but also through a misrepresentation of the source message footings within renditions” (ibid: 204).

She adds that interpreters should be aware of the impact of their choices on the interpreted discourse and make responsible decisions. Meztger’s study also brings about another question of what she defines as the ‘paradox of neutrality’ of the interpreter by demonstrating that interpreters have also the power not to influence the interactive discourse with certain strategies as well as influencing it. She suggests that more research should be conducted to find an answer to the question of whether interpreters should fully participate or minimize their influence in interpreted interactions.

McIntire and Sanderson (1995) expose the relationship between power and the role of the interpreter, especially in legal settings. They show how power is distributed in the relationship interpreters have with their deaf and hearing clients. Revisiting the models described by Witter-Merithew (1986), they suggest that interpreters retained power from the deaf by acting as if deaf people were “powerless, incompetent, and unable to get what they needed on their own” in the helper model while in the conduit model, they tended to become ‘invisible’ by hiding behind the Code of Ethics and refusing to take any kind of responsibility, thus acting as if they had no power. Adopting a slightly gentler model, the communication facilitator interpreters began to empower themselves by at least taking some responsibility for the message, and even for the success of the communication. Finally, in the bi-lingual/bi-cultural model, interpreters acknowledge that they have the responsibility for the success of the communication which takes place between parties “who have both rights to and responsibilities for their destinies” (McIntire & Sanderson, 1995).

McIntire and Sanderson suggest that interpreters can decide in which model to work in a particular situation by taking some factors into consideration, yet they should be equipped by adequate training to allow them to make correct decisions.

“The D/deaf person’s sense of her own power should have an impact on the interpreter’s decision-making and other behaviors. But not all interpreters are equipped for this. The interpreter who has retreated to a conduit model will be of no help to the D/deaf person who has no experience working with an interpreter. The helper interpreter who sees the D/deaf consumer as helpless

will soon be brought up short by a seasoned, empowered consumer.” (McIntire and Sanderson, 1995)

Furthermore, McIntire and Sanderson claim that the powerless language such as use of superpolite forms, hedges, special lexicon, empty adjectives reflecting the speaker's feelings used by the interpreters most of whom are women or most of whose trainers are women affects how both interpreters and deaf people are perceived within interpreted communication settings in a society where deaf people are still seen as 'handicapped', and thus powerless although more and more deaf people think of themselves as a cultural minority.

In her article, Nadia Grbić (1997) also mentions the power relations affecting the interpreting task and perceived role of the interpreter. She indicates that some interpreters act in the role of benefactors, and define themselves as 'adviser, advocate, helper, and social worker'. According to Grbić, these interpreters act as if deaf people would not take responsibility of their actions without their help, and appear to be defending the rights of this defenseless group while, actually, they are holding the highest power. Besides, their practices reflect suspicion for those who are not familiar with deafness. Grbić refers to this situation as "pseudo-loyalty" in that while the benefactor interpreters feel themselves authorized to give advice and make decisions on behalf of deaf people as representatives of the "strong" (hearing) culture, they need to take the side of the "weak" (deaf) culture to prove their *raison d'être*. Grbić (1997) also criticizes the interpreters in the role of linguistic conduits who place themselves "at the bottom of the power pyramid" by calling themselves as 'non-persons' without acknowledging their potential of manipulation with the role they choose. She refers their seeming neutrality as "double pseudo-loyalty". She suggests that self-perception of sign language interpreters on their role, the assigned roles to the SL interpreters in the hearing society and in the deaf community, and the assigned roles to the deaf community by the "strong culture" as well as the existing social interpreting practices' connections to these roles are the questions that need to be answered.

Anna Mindess (2014) examines the individual, situational, and societal factors affecting the role of the interpreter to explain what is not the part of the SL

interpreter's responsibility while dealing with the linguistic or cultural elements of the interaction.

The individual factors include the clients' emotional states like being upset or depressed, personality traits like being rude or aggressive, and physical states like being drunk or ill. Mindess argues that interpreters should acknowledge deaf people's rights to use obscene language, to express hostility, and to insult intentionally whenever they want. Mentioning deaf people's complaints about the interpreters acting in the helper model who deny deaf people from access to hearing people's negative comments, Mindess also suggests that interpreters should not feel obliged to fix everything as long as they are sure those kinds of uncomfortable situations do not result from cultural differences.

Secondly, Mindess lists six factors under the heading of situational factors that the interpreter does not need to make any cultural adjustments when she encounters with them. The first factor is parallelism, that is the notions are similar in both cultures, so the interpreter does not need to make any kind of cultural adjustment. The second is the situations where deaf people do not identify themselves with Deaf culture. Some deaf people function in mainstream culture and they do not need cultural adjustments. The third factor is the degree of biculturalism of the participants. Sometimes deaf people may be fully bicultural due to either the education they received or to their families, or to their personalities while sometimes hearing people may be familiar with the Deaf culture and interested in being exposed to the elements of the culture. In either case, the interpreter can focus on interpreting the content of the message. The fourth factor is the nature of involvement between the participants. If the interaction is between people who already know each other like employers in an office or family members at a family gathering, and who probably have developed a certain code of communication between them, the interpreter does not need to intervene in the interaction besides transferring the message correctly. However, if it is a one-time interaction, or the interactions are rare and always with the presence of an interpreter, then the interpreter should be on alert for misunderstandings which may be caused by cultural differences. Mindess lists the fifth factor as the special circumstances such as educational or mental healthcare settings where the use of specific terms, words, or signs are of utmost importance,

and so they must be preserved. Finally, the last factor is the presence of a deaf interpreter who can ease communication with a deaf client from another country or with limited sign language skills, or who would be able to talk to the deaf client directly and bluntly in certain situations where similar intervention from a hearing interpreter can be regarded as insulting or inappropriate.

Finally, Mindess elaborates power imbalances and discrimination inherent in the societies that contribute to unfair outcomes in certain interpreting situations. Mindess indicates that interpreted interactions mostly occur between a hearing doctor/teacher/employer/social service worker/lawyer whose position has inherent power and a deaf patient/student/employee/applicant/client at a position with less power. Since hearing people tend to assume that deaf people share the same cultural viewpoint with them, failure of communication in such asymmetrical relations may be inevitable. Therefore, Mindess suggests that interpreters must be aware of such power imbalances despite the fact that it is not within their role to erase them.

“Although it is not the interpreter’s role to even out the power imbalance, we need to be aware of its presence. In such situations, the Deaf person may benefit from the presence of an advocate, who would work to achieve a greater balance of power between the participants” (Mindess, 2014:207).

On the other hand, Mindess argues that deaf people usually do not know what to expect from an interpreter because of constantly shifting of views on role, and that interpreters still appear to be withholding power by deciding what role to assume for themselves. She advocates that interpreters should consider preferences of deaf clients for the interpreter’s role and let them guide regarding the role in interpreted settings.

Another significant factor affecting the perceptions on and assumption of interpreters’ roles is oppression which is another form of power used by the hearing majority over Deaf people according to Mindess. She defines the Deaf community as an oppressed minority by citing Charlotte Baker-Shenk’s (1986) presentation on which the indicators of oppression of the Deaf community are listed:

1. Sign language is not recognized and its use in schools is not allowed;
2. Deaf culture is denied by teachers and counselors;
3. Deaf students are blamed for their low academic achievements without considering insufficient signing skills of their teachers;

4. Deaf people are usually viewed as abnormal and incapable of determining their own destiny by the hearing majority;
5. Deaf people have fewer employment opportunities and lower average income;
6. Deaf people are rarely at the power holding positions at the institutions which are supposed to serve them.

The common characteristics of oppressors are also described by Baker-Shenk. They include: a) the oppressors' belief that the oppressed wants to be like them; b) their paternalistic attitude exposing itself through ideas that they know the best for the oppressed, and the oppressed needs their help; c) they implicitly deny the idea of empowerment of the oppressed by resisting due to the fear of losing power (Baker-Shenk, 1986 in Mindess, 2014).

Mindess argues that unlike spoken community interpreters who are usually members of the same linguistic community with their clients, sign language interpreters are more prone to be perceived as outsiders and to face mistrust by their deaf clients because of the fact that they never share the main identity factor with deaf people (i.e. being Deaf) although they may have other shared identities like being Muslim, Jews, Black, Hispanic, etc. As a result, they may be perceived to be on the same side with the hearing majority. According to Mindess, considering these issues, sign language interpreters can choose not to act in an oppressive manner, and even when their role requires to do so, they can try to alleviate that by understanding how oppression affects deaf people, and by abstaining from audist⁵⁸ behaviors in interpreting settings.

2.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this thesis rests upon the Theory of Social Representations, which is "a social psychological framework of concepts and ideas to study psychosocial phenomena in modern societies" (Wagner, et.al., 1999), and the concept of capital by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986).

⁵⁸ First used by Tom Humphries in 1977, 'audism' is described by Harlan Lane (1992) as "the attitude perpetuated by a person who believes that he or she is superior based on his or her ability to hear, and it can be applied to deaf or hearing people who behave in the (oppressive) manner of the hearing majority" (cited in Napier& Leeson, 2016).

Angelelli (2004: 31-36) suggests that the theories on social psychology such as the Theory of Impression Formation (Brewer, 1988), the Theory of Significant Other (Stouffer, et.al., 1949), the Attribution Theory (Fiske and Taylor, 1991), and the Status Generalization Theory (Webster and Foschi, 1998) can be incorporated in research on interpreting to investigate and understand the interpersonal role of the interpreter. Indeed, the studies on interpreters' perceptions of their own constructed identities with regard to the interpreting profession or their position in signing committees, which include the works of McDermid (2008), Pollitt (2011), and Napier (2012 in Napier & Leeson, 2016), can be given as examples for socio-psychological studies in the field of sign language interpreting.

The theoretical concepts of capital and social representations have been chosen in this study since the findings indicate that the interpreters' perceptions regarding their role are not only influenced by the power relations in the field but also from their opinions on the deaf community. The theory of Social Representations, which is explained in the following section, provides a theoretical discussion for the study thanks to its all-encompassing⁵⁹ and explanatory nature for the relationship between the subject that has the representation and the object that is the object of the representation (Wagner, et.al., 1999) — the former being sign language interpreters and the latter being deaf community in our case. That is, sign language interpreters' social representations of deafness and deaf community will help us to understand and conceptualize the socio-psychological factors affecting their perceptions regarding their roles. On the other hand, the concept of capital assists us to understand the factors effecting the interpreters' position in the field and the influence of the power relations on the representations of the deaf community among the interpreters.

Apart from the theory of social representations and the concept of 'capital' from Pierre Bourdieu, the concept of 'translation norms' of Gideon Toury is employed as a model in an effort to reveal the current norms of the sign language interpreting field.

⁵⁹ Social representations theory has been employed to investigate concepts such as attributions, identity, community knowledge processes, media and communication, trust, racism, and gender in social psychology (Wagner, 2015).

2.3.1. The Theory of Professional Social Representations

As a social psychological approach to studying the regularities of social life (Wagner, et.al., 1999), social representations theory was developed by Romania born French social-psychologist Serge Moscovici (1961/1976), who describes it as “no more than one of many ways of understanding” for modern man, building on Durkheim’s concept of collective representations. Durkheim (1894) defined collective or common consciousness as “the beliefs, norms and values common to all members of a society that constitute the basis of social integration” (cited in Lopes & Gaskell, 2015). Moscovici (1984), however, discussed the seminal distinction between the social and the collective representations and suggested that these were the same phenomena, but seen from different perspectives. For example, unlike uniform and universal conceptualization of collective representations (Howarth, et.al., 2015), Moscovici’s theory of social representations are characterized by ‘multivocality’ and ‘dialogicality’ (Markova, 2003 in Sartawi, 2015) in that it accommodates the plurality of knowledge in modern times which results in the diversity in the elaboration of the social object (Sartawi, 2015).

Moscovici (1988) argues that social representations assist us to classify people and things around us, to compare and explain behaviors, and to “objectify them as parts of our social setting”. He adds that representations determine our relations with society, and social realities change depending on how a certain phenomenon is represented and perceived by individuals and society. He justifies his point by giving an example from the phenomenon of drug use which varies depending on whether it is regarded as a genetic defect, a sign of family breakdown or a cultural tradition (214). Accordingly, social representations are

“system(s) of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history”. (Moscovici, 1973: 13)

As it can be also understood from the above definition by Moscovici, social representations help us to understand how people “turn the strange into something

familiar” (Moscovici, 1988: 234). According to Howarth (2006), this kind of sense-making is “something that we do in order to understand the worlds in which we live and in doing so, we convert these social representations into particular social reality”, thus they construct practice (Stephens, 2007: 110). Social representations both produce and are the product of such “values, ideas, and practices” (Bergman, 1998: 78). In the case of sign language interpreting, for example, sign language interpreters’ behaviors tend to be shaped by their representations of the deaf community, and their role and identity while at the same time their practices and behaviors contribute to the production of new representations in the sub-group they belong to.

Social representations of a given object emerge within social groups, and values and social position of the group are influential on the emerging representations, therefore, their existence is partly defined by the existence of a number of people who share that representation (Paez, et.al., 1991:90). Through their social functions including protecting social identities, explaining relevant social events, and justifying actions towards the objects of representations (ibid), social representations give us the necessary knowledge which enables us to compare groups and cultures (Moscovici, 1988). Moscovici mentions three ways in which social representations can become social:

1. Hegemonic representations: All members of a highly structured group such as a party, city or nation can share these representations which are prevalent implicitly in all symbolic or effective practices.
2. Emancipated representations: These representations emerge as a result of the circulation of knowledge and ideas that belong to subgroups which are in more or less close contact. Each subgroup produces its own version of representations and shares it with others.
3. Polemical representations: They arise in the course of a social conflict, social controversy, and society as a whole does not share them. Polemical representations are determined by the antagonistic relations between its members and intended to be mutually exclusive. They must be viewed in the context of an opposition or struggle between groups and are often expressed in terms of a dialogue with an imaginary interlocutor. (1988: 221)

Morant (1995: 3) describes another kind of representation which she calls “professional social representations” in her work where she investigates social representations of mental illness among mental health professionals by indicating the possibility of characterizing professional groupings in terms of the social representations of the object of their work. Morant asserts that professional social representations differ from other social representations because they arise from the “unique relationship between representers and what is represented” (ibid). She identifies three features of this kind of relationship in the case of mental health professionals: (1) personal experience shapes mental health professional’s representations due to their direct contact with mentally ill people than average lay people; (2) the theoretical and abstract knowledge they receive regarding the causes and treatment of mental illnesses; (3) professional social representations emerge in social context and thus they can be spotted at all levels of institutional practice (ibid). Another example on professional social representations is the work of Polmenari and his colleagues (1987) where they investigated social representations of psychology among psychologists by analyzing how they define their work and differentiate it from other social actors in order to demonstrate how the professionalization process and social representations are closely connected. They detected four representations: (1) a psychologist defining herself as a social worker whose aim is to expose the contradictions of the society; (2) a psychologist defining herself as a psychotherapist believing that her main work tool is her personality enriched with psychoanalytic experience; (3) Psychology is a science which allows to know the individual better and help him without aiming for an impact on the social reality; (4) Psychology is a social science which also allows to intervening on the social reality as a sort of interdisciplinary expert (cited in Doise, 2013). Polmenari et.al. (1987) showed how social representations have evolved from the first representation towards a more individualistic approach in time through professionalization.

In a similar vein, an investigation on how sign language interpreters perceive and define their work and deaf people, who are the object of their work, can help us to understand the relationship between social representations and adopted roles of interpreters. In other words, we can understand why SL interpreters tend to adopt

certain roles through analyzing social representations of the deaf community and sign language interpreting profession among SL interpreters. The influence on SL interpreters' attitude and role choices can be twofold in terms of social representations theory. First, the close relationship between the interpreters and the deaf community caused by having regular contact can create professional representations of deaf people from the viewpoint of SL interpreters. The second is the interpreters' perception regarding SLI as a profession.

2.3.1.1. How do social representations emerge?

The theory of social representations is closely linked to language and discourse. Moscovici (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000) emphasizes the importance of communication to social psychology by indicating that representations are generated in the process of communication (274-275). He argues that language influences social representations in that "we cannot communicate unless we share certain representations, and a representation is shared and enters our social heritage when it becomes an object of interest and of communication" (ibid). He further highlights the significance of linguistic analysis in the study of social representations with the following quote:

"There are no social representations without language, just as without them there is no society. The place of the linguistic in the analysis of social representations cannot, therefore, be avoided: words are not the direct translation of ideas, just as discourses are never the immediate reflections of social positions" (159).

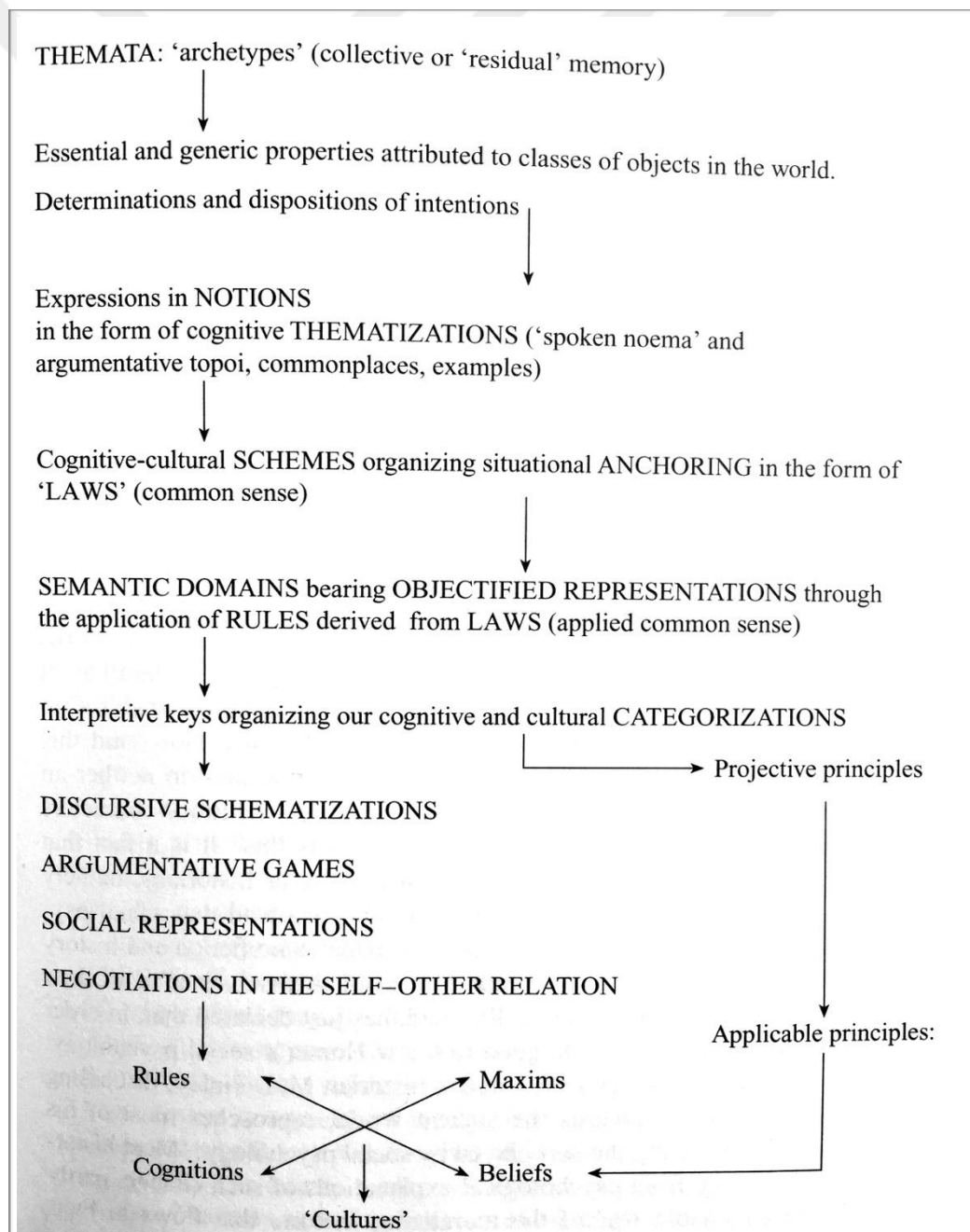
According to Moscovici, the elaboration of social representations can be discerned "through their circulation in discourse" (156) because, as he states, "all our discourses, our beliefs, our representations come after many other discourses and many other representations elaborated before us and derive from them" (177). Moscovici proposes the concept of 'themata' to explain the relationship between language, communication, discourse, and social representations.

"[S]ince its inception, the theory of social representations has rightly insisted on the deep link between cognition and communication, between mental operations and linguistic operations, between information and signification. Only on this condition has it been able to explain at one and the same time, in a non-reductive way, both the formation and evolution of practical knowledge and of what is called popular knowledge, as well as their social function. To this end, it seemed necessary to propose a concept which took account of the

importance of the hypotheses we have been discussing, as well as giving concrete form to the link between cognition and communication, between mental and linguistic operations. At least it was from this perspective that the concept of themata was proposed [...] to respond the demands of structural analysis." (160)

Being at the heart of social representations, as claimed by Moscovici, themata can be perceived as 'concept images' or 'source ideas' "which bring about the generation of new axiomatics in the evolution of our representations of the world" (177). Moscovici demonstrates in Figure 1 the evolution of themata into social representations.

Figure 1: From themata to social representations



Source: Moscovici & Duveen, 2000: 183.

Departing from the relationship between language and social representations, social representations of SLI and the role of the SL interpreter among SL interpreters have been traced by collecting clues from their remarks on what they do and how they perceive the deaf community in Turkey. The schema above shows that how interpreters make meaning of the object of their work, i.e., the deaf community, and of SLI practices may be informed by existing themata regarding Turkish deaf community and sign language in the society. In other words, existing norms in the field of SLI including the position of actors (deaf community, service providers, interpreters), policies about TID and interpreting practices can influence the essence of professional representations of SL interpreters, and thus their related attitudes, choices, and behaviors.

2.3.1.2. Can the theory of social representations explain behavior?

Social representations theory is regarded by Moscovici as final explanatory devices, but unlike the Anglo-Saxon tradition of social psychology in which linear-casual models and prescriptive powers are understood and tested in terms of causality, he argues that the “description of social representations gives them their explanatory power, not their ability to test hypothesis in a statistical sense” (Allonsdottir, et.al., 1993: 5). When a description is not considered as a prescription, the concept is open to any possible operationalization (ibid).

According to Wagner (1995) social representations can be in explanations either as “explanandum”, i.e., “dependent variable”, at the social level of assessment where “explanatory proposition is supposed to give the cause of the representation”, or as “explanans”, i.e., “independent variable”, “causing a subsequent phenomenon” at the individual level of assessment (Wagner, 1995: 13).

Moscovici (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000) argues that social representations are stimuli themselves, which means that they are independent variables in empirical investigations of behavior and action. Similarly, Wagner (1993) suggests that the

“status of representations as independent variables makes them a prime candidate to explain collective behavior on a group level or the behavior of individuals qua representatives of social groups in research” (236). As also suggested by Wagner (1995), social representations can be methodologically assessed in individual and/or social level. Perceptions, recollections, attitudes, intentions, emotions, effects and behaviors of people as well as beliefs shared among “social actors” and common in social groups are included in the individual level of assessment while social level of assessment has to do with “the collective process and social product of discourse and communication” as described by Harré (1984) which includes, for example, social institutions, economic phenomena, socio-cultural norms and so on that are not under control of single individuals (cited in Wagner, 1995). Within the framework of this study, attitudes and choices of the participant SL interpreters have been analyzed as representatives of a professional sub-group. Accordingly, in the following chapter, it will be explored whether the interpreters’ representations of their work and the deaf community influence their choices and attitudes at SLI settings.

Wagner (1993) also explains the relationship between social representations and what he calls as “socially rational thinking/behavior” through the formulation $\{P(R: S \rightarrow B)\}$, which reads as “the groups of people P holding R is strongly inclined to do B in situation S” (245). Thus, the knowledge on what an individual’s social representation with respect to a given situation is informant about possible behavior that is expected. The work of Thommen et.al. (1988) on professional beliefs and behaviors of psychotherapists is an example of research where social representations are used as independent variables to explain behavior and/or action (Wagner, 1995).

2.3.2. The Translation Norms Concept by Gideon Toury

Being one of the main concepts of target-oriented translation theories, norms are described as criteria and models indicating appropriate behaviors within a society or community (Berk, 2005; YAZICI, 2010). Conventions and norms assist us to organize our lives so that we can coexist in a sustainable way (Hermans, 2009). Toury explains this as follow:

“Norms are the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities, because their existence, and the wide range of

situations they apply to (with the conformity this implies), are the main factors ensuring the establishment and retention of social order” (Toury, 1995: 55).

Israeli translation scholar Gideon Toury, who is the first scholar to use the concept of translation norms, developed the target-oriented translation theory departing from the Polysystem Theory on which he worked with another Israeli translation scholar, Itamar Even-Zohar, during the 1970s. According to Zohar (1978) and Toury (1995) translations occupy a position in the target literary and social systems, and that position determines the translation strategies adopted by translators. If translation occupies the primary position, it creates its own norms, and adequate translations are produced based on the source text norms. However, if it has a peripheral position within the target system, then acceptable translations are produced in compliance with the target literature norms. These explanations indicate that the concept of translation norms are used as a tool to describe the existing patterns rather than establishing rules unlike the general perceptions regarding the issue.

According to Toury (1995: 56-60), there are three kinds of norms: initial norms, preliminary norms, and operational norms. Initial norms are related to the translator's choice on adopting source cultural and textual norms, or target cultural and textual norms, that is producing adequate or acceptable texts, which is determined according to the position of translations in the target system as it is explained above. Preliminary norms, on the other hand, are concerned with the directness of translation, i.e., whether the translation is performed directly from the source language or from a mediating language, and with the translation policy which determines what text types or texts will be chosen to be transferred to the target culture within a given time period. Finally, operational norms shape the decisions of the translator during the actual translation act. Toury investigates operational norms under two titles: (1) Matricial norms which govern how the linguistic material is distributed as well as textual segmentation, and the completeness of the target text compared to the source text; and (2) Textual-linguistic norms which have to do with the textual and linguistic decisions made by the translator during the translation act.

Acknowledging that translation is an activity governed by sociocultural factors and norms, Toury (1995) suggests that norms are in the center of the

translational act, and they can be applied to every translation situations including translation history and interpreting. However, Toury (1995) also emphasizes that norms do not always lead to the same results under different translational conditions, hence further research is needed in various cultural fields.

The concept of translation norms is employed as a model in this study in the way as it has been adapted to interpreting settings by Moira Inghilleri (2003) in order to expose current norms of the field of sign language interpreting in Turkey which is elaborated in section 3.2.

2.3.3. The Concept of Capital by Pierre Bourdieu

Capital, as defined by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986), is another concept employed in this study with a view to understanding the factors that affect the choices and tendencies of interpreters to behave in certain ways and to adopt certain roles in sign language interpreting settings.

Bourdieu sees the social world as a space consisting of a number of structured fields with their own rules where individuals and institutions try to obtain and hold power by obtaining and keeping different forms of capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:76). The relationship between the agents' (individuals or institutions') capital, dispositions (*habitus*), and their position in the field they operate in results in practice (Maton 2008:51). Bourdieu puts this relations in the equation: $[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$ (Bourdieu 1986: 101).

The amount and form of capital the agents hold determine the position they occupy in a specific field, thus, they struggle to reinforce their position by enriching their capital (Wacquant, 2008). According to Bourdieu capital presents itself in three forms depending on the structure, conventions, and norms of the field (Bourdieu, 1998:1-18), namely 'economic capital', 'cultural capital', and 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986: 47), which are briefly explained below.

(a) Economic capital, which includes but not limited to money, is referred by Bourdieu as "at the root of all other types of capital" (Bourdieu, 1986: 54), in that all other forms of capital can usually be acquired through economic capital, or vice versa (1986:47). As the most important form of capital which is at stake in the field of power where the value of other forms of capital are determined by individuals in

dominant positions to the extent their ability to transform into economic capital, economic capital provides the basis for other types of capital (Bourdieu, 1998). It is necessary to stress that the value of each form of capital is set by agents in dominant/powerful positions because individuals in subordinate positions do not have enough power, i.e., symbolic capital, to have an influence on these issues (Solano, 2012: 30). For example, institutions and authorities determine the value of the service provided by interpreters in the field of community interpreting. In some countries, community interpreters mostly provide voluntary service without receiving any economic remuneration since their linguistic capital, which is the capital specific to interpreting field, is not regarded as valuable (Valero Garcés, 2003 cited in Solano, 2012: 30).

(b) Cultural capital can appear in three forms (Bourdieu, 1986):

(1) as embodied cultural properties in the form of dispositions of mind which are acquired and internalized by the individual, unconsciously to an extent. Cultural capital in the embodied state such as cultural knowledge or education requires time for embodiment and incorporation. For instance, in the field of sign language interpreting, interpreters raised in deaf families are usually better-equipped in that they grow up in deaf culture and learn sign language as their first language.

(2) as objectified cultural items such as paintings, sculptures, musical instruments, books, etc.

(3) in the institutionalized state which presents as academic qualifications in the form of certificates, diplomas, or license grants, etc., which justifies the cultural competence of agents.

According to Bourdieu, language can also be considered as a sub-type of cultural capital because linguistic capital can be used by its holders to dominate others in their communicative environment and to control their capital (Bourdieu, 1992: 58). Therefore, it is fundamental to analyze any communicative act in the light of inherent power relations between the speaker of the legitimate language and the partners of the conversation who can acknowledge the speaker's linguistic authority (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 140-173). Linguistic capital can be either in embodied, e.g., in the form of mother tongue, or in institutionalized form, e.g., a degree on language or a certificate issued by a language school, and so the laws of

transmission of cultural capital apply the same to linguistic capital, which is explained by Bourdieu as follows:

“The laws of transmission of linguistic capital are a particular case of the laws of the legitimate transmission of cultural capital between the generations, and it may therefore be posited that the linguistic competence increased by academic criteria depends, like the other dimensions of cultural capital, on the level of education (measured in terms of qualifications obtained) and on the social trajectory.” (1992:61).

As for sign language interpreting settings, the main factor influencing the interpreted interaction is the power imbalance between deaf participants and hearing speakers who are usually hearing teachers, doctors, lawyers, police officers, etc., which mainly results from the linguistic capital held by hearing members of the society that is usually completely missing or at insufficient levels in deaf participants.

(c) Social capital is, as it is defined by Bourdieu, “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119). The social connections individuals usually get by joining associations, unions or political parties, which accumulate as social capital, assist them to enhance their position in a given field where these connections are deemed valuable (Bourdieu, 1986; Siisiäinen, 2003). For example, sign language interpreters who grow up in deaf communities tend to get more interpreting jobs compared to non-Coda interpreters who struggle to earn the confidence of the community to be accepted as an interpreter.

Apart from economic, cultural and social capitals explained above, Bourdieu also describes symbolic capital as a credit which is obtained through recognition, that is, when other forms of capital the individual holds are legitimized and recognized by others (Bourdieu, 1989). Symbolic capital allows its holders as recognized actors in a given field to have a say in that field. In other words, those with strong symbolic capital can determine and affect the scale of value for their products in the field they act (ibid). Similarly, in the field of sign language interpreting, interpreters strive to acquire and improve symbolic capital with a view to holding more powerful positions in the field and determining the value of their own work.

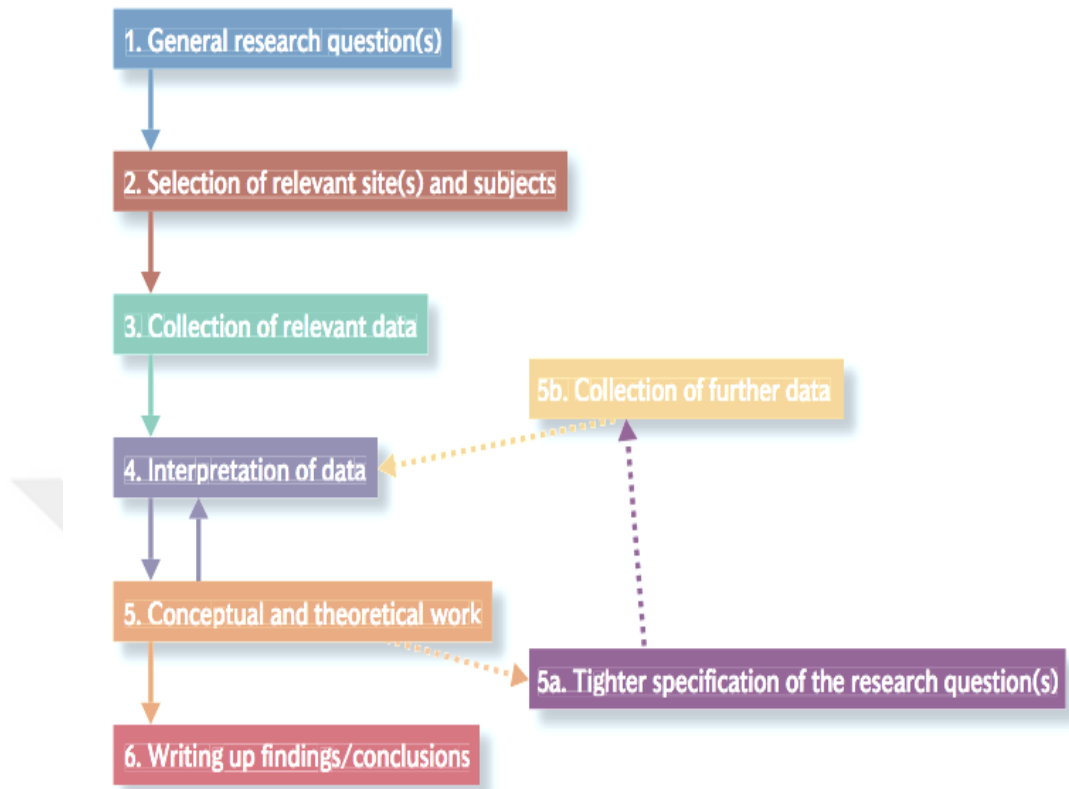
2.4. METHODOLOGY

This section contains the explanation of methodological approaches and research instruments employed for this study. The methodological approach adopted for this research is qualitative where ethnography or participant observation, qualitative interviewing, focus groups, language-based approaches such as discourse analysis and conversation analysis, the collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents are the main research methods used by researchers while conducting such research (Bryman, 2012). It is quite common for qualitative researchers to employ more than one instrument (ibid), and this study making use of ethnographic approaches also combines data obtained from research tools such as questionnaire and qualitative interview to take the best picture and gain a deep understanding of the sign language interpreters' perceptions on their role.

Ethnography, which can be described as 'writing about culture' (Marvasti, 2014), is a widely used research method in social sciences including sociology, anthropology, and linguistics (Hale and Napier, 2013; Marvasti, 2014). The ethnographic approach allows the researcher to observe the human behavior with all its nuances and contingencies while they occur in a natural setting (Marvasti, 2014) which can be called as the 'social field' (Bourdieu, 1977). Ethnographic research methods have been used by interpreting scholars such as Berk-Seligson (1990), Brennan and Brown (1997), Angelelli (2004), and Dickinson (2010) (cited in Hale and Napier, 2013).

Unlike quantitative research where the theoretical issues induce the formulation of a research question, and the collection and analysis of data, the theory is an outcome of the investigation in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). This approach to the analysis of the qualitative data is called 'grounded theory', which is also adopted for this study. However, some researchers suggest that qualitative data can and should also be employed to test the theories as well (ibid). As a matter of fact, Figure 2 demonstrates that the collection of further data to test the emerging theory can be one of the main steps of qualitative research.

Figure 2 An outline of the main steps of qualitative research



Source: Bryman, 2012: 384

The conceptual and theoretical framework of this study has been developed only after conducting the first four steps of the research as it is shown in Figure 2. Afterward, the participants have been contacted once more in order to gather more data which can enable the researcher to test the emerging concepts and theory. The way I have accessed the participants of this research and the nature of the interviews and the questionnaire I have conducted are explained below.

2.4.1. Data Collection

2.4.1.1. Reaching to sign language interpreters

The pre-investigation for this thesis research began in 2016 when I interviewed two sign language interpreters for a class assignment. One of the

interviewees was the sign language teacher of the elementary level sign language course I was attending then, who was also a freelance interpreter and the vice-chairperson of the Association of Sign Language Interpreters and Teachers in Izmir, which is not active currently. The other interviewee was a staff member of a state hospital who paid regular visits to the mentioned association. My visits to that association and the interviews I made with these two interpreters helped me to realize the existence of a specific Deaf culture and varieties of sign language interpreter profiles as well as irregularities in sign language interpreting practice. In the light of the information I gathered from that investigation, I decided to conduct a larger research to explore existing sign language interpreter profiles in Turkey and their perspective on their profession.

I started doing research for this study in September 2017, and prepared my questions by relying on the literature review I conducted on sign language interpreting and on the answers given by two interpreters I have mentioned above. I conducted my first interview with an interpreter who came from Ankara to provide sign language interpreting at the international meeting of Give me a Sign (GMAS) project in Izmir, to which I also attended as an interpreter. I also went to Istanbul in September to make interviews with the chairperson of the Turkish National Deaf Federation (TSMF), and another interpreter who is also a member of the Federation. Later in October, I contacted two more interpreters in Izmir thanks to the chairperson of Blue Window Special Education Association, which was the host association of GMAS project, where I have been volunteering for a while now, and one of those interpreters arranged a meeting for me with another interpreter in Izmir. Besides, I contacted several interpreters on Facebook in October, however only one of them accepted to make a face to face interview in Izmir, and another interpreter agreed to reply to the interview questions via e-mail.

In December, I attended the dissemination meetings of the project 'Sign Guides' to meet more interpreters, first in Istanbul and then in Ankara. There I interviewed the interpreters attending those meetings to provide sign language interpreting- one in Istanbul and three in Ankara. On the next day of the meeting in Ankara, I met the chairperson of The Association of Turkish Sign Language Interpreters by benefitting from the acquaintance between her and the chairperson of

the Blue Window Association since my prior attempts to reach her were fruitless. Upon my request, she invited two more interpreter members of the Association. Furthermore, I also contacted two interpreters who serve as sign language interpreters at the occasions of the government, however, they declined my request after seeing the questions, saying that the interviews would take too much of their time.

During the first analysis of interviews, I decided to interpret the results from the viewpoint of the Theory of Social Representations along with the concept of capital, however, realizing the need for more data for theoretical discussion, I prepared more questions to ask the participants about their perception of the deaf community. I resolved to conduct interviews on phone due to time restrictions, but I could only conduct interviews with six participants out of seventeen. As a result, I prepared a questionnaire consisting of open-ended and multiple choice questions to access more participants. The questionnaire was first sent to those eleven interpreters whom I failed to contact for the second phase interviews, and later I disseminated it on online platforms such as Facebook group pages of SL interpreters and deaf communities. After all these efforts, I reached eleven more interpreters. Thus, in the end, I have contacted 26 SL interpreters in total.

As it is described above, collecting data from sign language interpreters through interviews took approximately four months. Although I contacted more interpreters than I have interviewed, arranging the appointments was difficult and time-consuming. Besides, I chose not to interview some people whom I was led to interview due to their lack of sufficient experience. Finally, I spent one more month to conduct the mentioned telephone interviews and to collect replies for the questionnaire.

2.4.1.2. Interviews with Sign Language Interpreters

The type of interview I have employed for this study is the semi-structured qualitative interview. Although ‘unstructured interview’, in which the interviewer usually asks one single question and continues the interview by following-up the worthy points brought about by the interviewee, and ‘semi-structured interview’,

where the interviewer has a list of questions called ‘interview guide’ but the questions that are not included in the list can also be asked or some others can be omitted, are used as the main two types of interview in qualitative research, the term ‘qualitative interview’ is sometimes used by the researchers with a view to capsulizing both types (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative interview is one of the main data collection methods employed in social representations studies since the idea that common sense has a value and a purpose lies at the heart of the theory of social representations (Flick et.al., 2015). The work of Herzlich (1973) on social representations of health and illness in which she investigated representations held by individuals in France through semi-structured interviews is regarded as the first qualitative study in a strict sense (cited in Flick et.al., 2015).

Some features of qualitative interviews distinguish them from quantitative interviews (Bryman, 2012). One of these features is the greater emphasis and interest on the interviewee’s own views. In fact, the interviewee is often encouraged to wander away from the topic to collect more hits on the participants’ perspective. Another feature of qualitative interviews is that the interview is enriched by follow up questions that are not included in the interview guide, thus being more flexible since the direction of the research can change as a result of the issues emerging during the interview. Finally, unlike quantitative interviews, short and to the point answers are not welcomed in qualitative interviews, and the interviewee can be interviewed more than once if it is necessary especially when a need to test the emerging theory emerges as it is shown in Figure 2.

I have interviewed the interpreters twice as I have mentioned before. I asked 39 questions in the first phase of interviews which were conducted face-to-face with the interviewees. The questions were grouped into seven categories including educational background and vocational experience, sign language interpreting in Turkey, qualifications of sign language interpreters, interpreting strategies, the role of the interpreter, sign language interpreting on media, and the deaf community in Turkey. Nevertheless, the order and/or wording of the questions have changed depending on the conversation flow between the interviewer and the interviewee, and non-applicable questions have sometimes been omitted during the course of the interview. The duration of interviews varies between 25 minutes and 165 minutes.

In June, the second phase of interviews has been conducted with six participants via telephone due to time and source limit. Ten questions including word association for five concepts have been asked to the participants with a view to deeply exploring interpreters' representations of the deaf community. All interviews including the ones conducted on the phone have been recorded and transcribed.

2.4.1.3. Questionnaire on Social Representations

The questionnaire method has been chosen as an alternative to gather more data on Social Representations after failing to contact the interpreters interviewed in the first phase of the data collection as explained above. The questionnaire, which covers 39 questions prepared on Google Forms, includes questions targeting demographic information and family and educational background of participants, closed questions which include multiple choice questions, and open-ended questions, which also comprise a word association section in which participants are asked to write ideas and concepts they can think of regarding five concepts, where the participants are asked to write complete answers. The questionnaire has been disseminated through online platforms and e-mail.

The questionnaire consists of three sections: educational and family background and demographic information; word association, and questions on participants' opinions about SLI and Turkish deaf community. In order to gather more clues on the perspectives and perceptions of participants regarding their roles as interpreters and the deaf community, I opted for asking follow-up questions and repeating some questions by changing the wording, therefore, it can be concluded that the questionnaire has been prepared like a written form of a qualitative interview. For example, I tried to figure out perceptions of the participants on their role in the field by asking seven different questions.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ See Appendix 4

2.4.1.4. Contacting with the members of the Turkish Deaf community

When I started to learn TID in 2016 as mentioned above, it was inevitable and necessary to meet deaf people and learn about their life and culture. In 2017, I decided to conduct a research on the accessibility of Turkish Deaf community to the television contents (Gökce, 2018), and I started doing interviews. I have interviewed five deaf adults at the association where I attended sign language classes. Later in September 2017, I met a group of Deaf people who participated in the workshops organized within the GMAS project, and on the first day of the project meeting, I interviewed another five deaf participants. Although the main aim of the interviews was to find out their opinions on their accessibility to the TV contents, the questions I asked also included demographic information, their educational and family background, their ideas on current interpreting services, and their expectations from sign language interpreters.

In October 2017, I organized free English classes for deaf adults at the Blue Window Special Education Association in Izmir when I realized that they were eager to learn English. Most of the deaf adults whom I interviewed in September attended to the classes, and they encouraged their friends to join us. I taught English for almost five months there until the end of March when we had to terminate it because of irregular attendance of the participants due to their jobs or sports competitions. During the classes, a sign language interpreter accompanied me most of the time and I let her intervene whenever my signing skills fell short to explain some concepts.

I also had the opportunity to get together with different groups of deaf adults, first at the meeting of Sign Guides project in November in Izmir, and later at the dissemination meetings of the same project in Istanbul and Ankara in December as I mentioned above.

As a result, in order to be able to observe the Deaf community and to learn about their culture and realities of life, I created opportunities to spend time with them as much as possible. Finally, I also tried to access a larger number of deaf people throughout Turkey and tried to conduct a survey through an online questionnaire. To this aim, I joined their Facebook groups, and tried to talk to several deaf adults via Messenger, and explain them why and how to do the questionnaire,

however, I could not manage that because neither of them could fully understand the written Turkish language. Briefly, the time and source limit spared for this research hindered a deeper investigation to be conducted on the Deaf community.



CHAPTER THREE

THE FIELD OF SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING IN TURKEY AND THE INTERPRETERS' SELF-PERCEPTIONS ON THEIR ROLES

3.1. SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING IN TURKEY

Sign language interpreting gained official recognition as a profession in Turkey with the Regulation on Training and Working Conditions of Sign Language Interpreters published in Official Gazette in August 2006 (Kubuş, et al., 2016)⁶¹, and sign language interpreters are hired by the government in order to provide free interpreting services for the deaf at the Social Service Departments of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies as of 2007. Nevertheless, there were only 24 sign language interpreters in 63 provinces in 2013⁶², thus in order to increase the number of interpreters, the Ministry recruited more interpreters through exams in 2013, 2014, and 2015. Article 7 of the above-mentioned regulation describes the duties and authorities of sign language interpreters working in public sector, i.e., social service offices, and accordingly, interpreters are responsible for and entitled to enabling communication with people having hearing impairment and/or speech disorder; signing documents regarding interpreting services; providing sworn interpreting in legal settings; and keeping the record of interviews and interpreting services as well as filing the documents. Deaf people who are in need of sign language interpreting service are to apply to one of these offices via a written application form and arrange an appointment with an interpreter.

Apart from social service offices, sign language interpreters with certificates can work as sworn interpreters at notaries and can be summoned by the courts as an interpreter-expert when needed. Sign language interpreters must be registered at the courts to provide expert-interpreting services. The need for sign language interpreters at notaries and courts have been regulated by certain codes. For example, according to the disability code no 5378, notaries are required to employ a sign language

⁶¹ <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2006/08/20060819-1.htm>

⁶² <http://www.memurhaber.com/aile-bakanligi-63-isaret-dili-tercumani-alacak-1519837h.htm>

interpreter in the event that the person needing notarial acts is with hearing or speech disorder. The right of provision of an interpreter for persons with hearing or speech disabilities in court is granted by Article 56(2) of the Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure, yet this right is limited to taking an oath, and does not extend to use of sign language during court hearings in general (Kurban, 2016). However, this applies only when the person with hearing/speech disorder is illiterate and cannot communicate through writing. On the other hand, according to Article 263 Code of Civil Procedure no 6100, a judge listens to the deaf testifier through a sign language interpreter only if the testifier is illiterate, that is, in the event of s/he can read or write, the questions are directed and answers are received in writing (Küçükyağcı & Avcı, 2011).

Thanks to increasing visibility of the Deaf community in Turkey, sign language interpreters now appear at political meeting stages⁶³, panels⁶⁴, at meetings or training courses of companies where deaf people are employed⁶⁵, at mosques during some religious practices such as sermons⁶⁶, on theatre stages⁶⁷, at wedding ceremonies⁶⁸, and deaf sports clubs⁶⁹. However, sign language interpreters are not recruited by the state in medical and educational settings (K. Kemaloğlu, 2016; Kubus, et.al, 2016). Moreover, VRS/VRI service centers are not available yet in the country (Kubus et.al., 2016)⁷⁰, but sign language interpreters can provide VRI services themselves when their clients reach them. Nevertheless, there are some pleasing improvements recently in the name of providing access for the deaf through sign language and technology. For example, the Ministry of Health launched an application called ESIM which allows deaf patients to make video calls through

⁶³ <http://www.yasadikca.com/siyasilerin-meydanlardaki-vaatleri-isaret-diliyle-aktariliyor-25606#> (accessed on 29.01.2018)

⁶⁴ <http://www.ozgurkocaeli.com.tr/kadin-erkek-esittir-341391h.htm> (accessed on 29.01.2018)

⁶⁵ <http://www.bursadabugun.com/haber/oyak-renault-ya-bursa-da-engelli-istihdami-odulu-812042.html> (accessed on 29.01.2018)

⁶⁶ <http://www.bilecikhaber.com.tr/bozuyukte-bir-ilk-basladi-326301h.htm> (accessed on 29.01.2018)

⁶⁷ <http://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/magazin/334500.aspx> (accessed on 29.01.2018)

⁶⁸

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/video/video_haber/797252/Engelli_ciftin_nikahi_isaret_dili_ile_kiyildi.html (accessed on 29.01.2018)

⁶⁹ <https://www.haberler.com/isitme-engelli-bayan-futbol-milli-takimi-9463892-haberi/> (accessed on 29.01.2018)

⁷⁰ Although a project, namely 3rd Ear Information project, aiming to provide VRI services and coordinated by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, and the Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs, and Communication was announced in 2013, the project has not been realised yet. (<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/engelsiz-bilisim-projeleri-25178363> accessed on 29.01.2018)

interpreters 24/7 in the case of emergencies or when they need a doctor's appointment. The other example is the video call center for the deaf by Turkish Telekom, which is the main telecommunication company in Turkey. Unfortunately, these services are not effectively benefitted by the deaf, probably, due to the lack of sufficient and efficient introduction of the services to the community. They either are not aware of these services, or they just do not bother to use them because they are used to do their work with the help of their hearing family members and acquaintances. It is reported that Turkish Telecom video call center service receives only one or two calls in a month⁷¹.

Sign language interpreters have also been appearing on Turkish televisions for 25 years. The first sign-interpreted news program was broadcast on TRT-1 in 1993, and it continued for 10 years while the first and only sign-presented program was aired on TRT-2 between 1998-2004. Since then, different programs such as a talk show and a health program along with news programs have been presented with sign language interpreting on different channels. Today we have only four TV programs⁷² with sign language interpreting. Nevertheless, there are recent attempts to provide accessible TV and radio contents on the internet for the deaf and the blind. Today, three mainstream television channels (Engelsiz TRT, Engelsiz Kanal D, Engelsiz Show TV⁷³) broadcast some of their contents on their internet pages with audio description, sign language interpreting and SDH in coordination with SEBEDER⁷⁴, and Fox TV started to provide SDH option for all its broadcast stream as of April 2018⁷⁵. TRT Radio also broadcasts the sign language interpreted version of a radio programme for the disabled on Youtube⁷⁶. Another example is the annual film festival⁷⁷ held in three cities with the coordination of the municipalities and SEBEDER. During the festival, the chosen movies are shown with audio description,

⁷¹ Interview with SL interpreter Selver Aytekin on 24.09.2017

⁷² "Çalar Saat" on FOX TV, "İşitme Engelliler İçin Haber Bülteni" on TRT1, "Ana Haber Bülteni" on NTV, and "Yüzde Yüz Futbol" on NTV.

⁷³ <http://engelsiztrt.tv/>, <http://engelsiz.kanald.com.tr/>, http://www.showtv.com.tr/dizi/tum_bolumler/fatih-harbiye--engelsiz-sezon-1-bolum-34-izle/18125

⁷⁴ The Audio Description Association: <http://sebeder.org/>

⁷⁵ <https://www.fox.com.tr/Engelsiz-Izle/haber/1456/FOX-tan-bir-ilk-Isitme-ve-gorme-engelli-izleyiciler-icin-yeni-uygulama>

⁷⁶ The programme is called "Biz De Varız". The broadcast of this programme ended very recently. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mup8YPLv_Qw (05.01.2018)

⁷⁷ <http://www.engelsizfestival.com.tr/> (05.01.2018)

SDH, and sign language interpreting. There is also an increasing number of individual attempts to provide sign language interpreted video contents on Youtube.

Training of sign language interpreters began in Turkey after the first official “Sign Language Interpreter Certificate” exam was held in 2007. According to Articles 5 and 6 of the above mentioned regulation published in 2006, the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Institution⁷⁸, in cooperation with Ministry of Education, is responsible for training the staff to serve as sign language interpreters as well as appointing minimum one personnel as a sign language interpreter in each province. The personnel to be trained as sign language interpreters are chosen among those who are graduates of the departments of Social Services, Psychology, or Educational Sciences. However, the provisional article 1 also allows high school graduates having certificates to be appointed as interpreters on the condition that existing personnel is not adequate, and that no university graduate instructor of sign language teaching and interpreting can be found.

There is no university or college level sign language interpreting program in Turkey⁷⁹, but there are short-term sign language teaching and interpreter training courses. According to the course program published by the Ministry of Education in 2011⁸⁰, anyone with at least associate degree diploma can attend 210-hour Sign Language Teaching and Interpreting Course Program delivered by public education centers, deaf associations, or private courses after accomplishing 120-hour Basic Turkish Sign Language course program. The trainees who are granted a ‘course completion certificate’ upon accomplishing the course can work as a sign language interpreter and/or instructor at public education centers, in private courses, at deaf associations, at notaries as a sworn interpreter, at courts as an interpreter-expert, or as a freelance interpreter. Nevertheless, those who desire to work in public sector, i.e., social service offices, are required to achieve an exam, conditions of which are determined by a special commission whose members are chosen by TIDBO and General Directorate of Special Education Guidance and Counselling Services.

⁷⁸ Now the Ministry of Family and Social Policies

⁷⁹ The department of Turkish Sign Language and Deaf Studies has been established in Ankara University this year to offer MA and PhD programs for graduate students. However, student admissions have not started yet.

⁸⁰ https://orgm.meb.gov.tr/alt_sayfalar/dokumanlar/Isaret_dili/isaret_dili_tercuman.pdf (accessed on 29.01.2018)

The above mentioned 210-hour training program contains 8 modules to be delivered within 7 weeks, and heavily focuses on the grammar of TID and on improving signing and sign language teaching skills of trainees. Besides, the 30-hour eighth module⁸¹ is the only module allocated for sign language interpreting. This course plan proves that sign language interpreters are trained with primitive methods in Turkey. The plan lacks theoretical and practical instructions regarding discourse-based (Ingram, 2000; Cokely, 2005) settings such as conference, court, education, GP appointments, VRI, and audio-visual media. The interpreting trainees are not trained to interpret by using different strategies like on-sight translation and consecutive interpreting. Moreover, it must be noted that these courses have been planned for prospective interpreters who have learned TID as a foreign language at 120-hour course program. Therefore, while the sufficiency and efficiency of this 120-hour language learning program is controversial, it is clear that a 7-week interpreting program is not enough to train qualified interpreters, especially when the fact that trainees receive courses on both interpreting and teaching a foreign language in such a short time period is considered. The skills and quality of the instructors teaching in these courses is another controversial issue, however, this topic is beyond the scope of this study.

In order to contribute to the professionalization process of SL interpreting in Turkey and to seek solutions for the social and professional problems of SL interpreters, the Association of Turkish Sign Language Interpreters (IDTD)⁸² was founded in 2011. The IDTD has 83 registered interpreters⁸³, almost all of whom are Codas, and it is the official member of EFSLI and Certified Translation Federation of Turkey (TURÇEF). The association organizes seminars for registered interpreters on such topics as professional ethics and deaf culture as well as providing interpreter and teacher training courses⁸⁴

As for the effect of research and academics on the field in Turkey, sign language interpreting is a rather new research area for translation and interpreting scholars in Turkey although studies on Turkish Sign Language have been conducted

⁸¹ See Appendix 1

⁸² <http://www.isaretdilitercumanlaridernegi.org>

⁸³ <http://www.turcef.net/sayfa/104/isaret-dili>

⁸⁴ Interview with Banu Türkuğur Şahin, the chairperson of IDTD, on 10.12.2017

by researchers as of the beginning of the 2000s.⁸⁵ So far, two articles - one of which on translation strategies used by interpreters for words that do not exist in TID (Oral, 2015), and the other on the effect of sign language interpreting on the integration of the Deaf community to the larger society (Demirdağ & Bozacı, 2015) - have been published. In her book, Oral (2016) gives brief information on sign languages and introduces the structure of TID along with giving historical information on TID and analyzing spoken language interpreting modes and models in terms of SL interpreting. Finally, there is a recent unpublished MA thesis which analyses the current situation of SL interpreter training and of professionalization process of SL interpreting in Turkey (Conker, 2017).

3.2. NORMS OF THE FIELD OF SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING IN TURKEY

Norms of sign language interpreting in Turkey have been analyzed in this section by benefitting from Moira Inghilleri's adaptation (2003) of Toury's (1995) concept of translation norms to explore interpreting as a norm governed activity. Ascertaining current norms of the field of sign language interpreting in Turkey may help to identify and understand sign language interpreters' behaviors and the reasons lying behind them, thus uncovering problematic issues for both researchers and interpreter trainers.

Inghilleri (2003) suggests that the main factor which determines the initial norm is the cultural/linguistic dominance relationship between two languages and cultures in the interpreting setting. In other words, official language policies, social/linguistic practices of inclusion/exclusion and material provision for bi-or multi-lingual resources within fields such as economic, political, and educational fields influence the creation of certain habitus⁸⁶. She argues that the main goal of all participants in the interpreted asylum interviews is to "produce meanings that are

⁸⁵ For research on Turkish Sign Language, see Engin, A. (ed.) (2016)

⁸⁶ Pierre Bourdieu (1990) defines habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them".

acceptable for the target-culture” since it is the applicant’s duty — as a linguistic and cultural “other” — to deliver their persecution claims in an intelligible way within the target linguistic/political/cultural context (Inghilleri, 2003). Another initial norm proposed by Inghilleri (2003) is the monolingual environment existing in the courtroom despite the multilingual nature of asylum process, which shows itself as a lack of attention given on the “precise meaning expressed in languages other than the official language of the court”. In the case of sign language interpreting in Turkey, the initial norm that can affect the choices and perceptions of interpreters is the powerless minority language position of TID when compared to the majority spoken language, Turkish. The indicators of oppression given by Baker-Shenk (1986) such as lack of sign language use in schools, and of bi- or multilingual resources are a part of Deaf reality in Turkey as explained in Chapter I. Moreover, deaf people usually hold less powerful positions within the larger Turkish society due to the inadequate education they receive. One example of this situation can be seen in the TSMF — the leading organization of the Deaf community — whose chairman is a hearing interpreter instead of a deaf person. Another indicator of the Deaf community and TID being in a lesser position can also be found in the data gathered from interviews with SL interpreters for this research. The first thing that strikes the researcher during the interviews was that none of the interpreters mentioned interpreting from sign language into spoken language. All of their remarks imply that they only interpret a hearing person’s speech for deaf people to understand. This clearly demonstrates that deaf people in Turkey are mostly in an information receiving position rather than a producing one. Therefore, the initial norm for sign language interpreting in Turkey can be summarized as the powerless position of Turkish Deaf community and Turkish Sign Language against the majority hearing community and language.

Inghilleri (2003) adjusts Toury’s preliminary norm concept to interpreting contexts by suggesting that any formal or informal policy regarding the ‘right to an interpreter’ of a non-native speaker will be effective on not only the quality of interpreting but also the actual text produced. She exemplifies her argument by indicating that applicants for asylum in the US are required by law to provide an interpreter themselves, and if they fail to do so they can be registered as an unexcused failure to appear for an interview which is possible to lead to the refusal

or referral of the case. She also indicates the research findings demonstrating low importance given to interpreter accuracy in the US courts, which Inghilleri (2003) thinks are correlated with the mentioned law. In Turkey, the laws rule that deaf people are listened through a sign language interpreter in the court only when they cannot read or write in Turkish. Although interpreters are provided by the court among registered interpreters in the court system, the fact that anyone holding a course achievement certificate can register as a court interpreter shows that whether or not concerned interpreters are qualified for the position is not questioned. On the other hand, provision of SL interpreters in the departments of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies creates the illusion that anyone can benefit from free interpreting services, yet the fact that there is an insufficient number of staff interpreters throughout Turkey shows that it is not the reality. Besides, deaf students are not provided with sign language interpreters either in deaf schools, in mainstream schools, or in universities. Additionally, I would also argue that Inghilleri's (2003) adaptation of the preliminary norm concept can also be interpreted as the 'right to a qualified interpreter' in the field of sign language interpreting in Turkey considering the situation of interpreter training. As it has been explained in the previous section, interpreter candidates go through a short training program the curriculum of which varies depending on the providing institution or the trainer. It has been found in this study that most Coda interpreters have not attended to the mentioned course programs, but they have acquired 'SL interpreter and teacher' certificates either from the MEB, TSMF, or the Association of SL interpreters⁸⁷. Briefly, the preliminary norm of 'right to an interpreter' in sign language interpreting context in Turkey seems like a pseudo-right which has little representation in practice.

Finally, operational translation norms within interpreting context have to do with professional differentiation of status of interpreters in the marketplace, and the pedagogic content of formal interpreter training institutions or voluntary organizations, code of ethics, and cultural models as well as language theories that inform interpreting practice according to Inghilleri (2003). She adds that participants' (e.g., interpreters, attorneys, judges, applicants within the interpreted asylum interview/hearing settings) views regarding interpreting and research by

⁸⁷ See the following section.

translation/interpreting researchers also affect the decisions of the interpreter during interpreting act (ibid).

In respect to professional status of SL interpreters in Turkey, although sign language interpreters are officially recognized by the state and they are hired for public positions with the title ‘sign language interpreter’, and deaf people’s right to an interpreter is partly acknowledged within legal framework, the absence of degree programs, insufficiency of the content and inconsistencies in the implementation of current SL interpreter training course programs which are explained in Section 3.1, and disunity in the certification system (three type of certificates given by three different institutions) situate SL interpreters into a less powerful position within the market⁸⁸. As it is also shown and discussed below, the participants of the current study also tend to hesitate about their own expertise and professional status due to the same reasons. Insufficiency of academic works on the field (see above section) so far and disconnection between academy and practitioners may also have an influence on this.

The operational norms, namely perceptions of sign language interpreters of sign language interpreting, professional ethics, the deaf community, and their role as interpreters are further investigated below in Section 3.4.

3.3. PARTICIPANTS

Of twenty-six interpreters participating in this study, sixteen are female and ten are male. The age range of the interpreters is between twenty and forty-five. The number of interpreters living and working in İzmir, İstanbul, and Ankara are seven, four, and eleven respectively. Remaining four interpreters reside and work in Çanakkale, Eskişehir, Konya, and Bursa.

Most of the interpreters (nineteen out of twenty-six) are Coda, and all expressed that they learned sign language from their deaf parents, usually before acquiring Turkish language skills. Indeed, some interpreters mentioned that they were even made by their parents to live with their hearing relatives (mostly hearing grandparents), or a hearing relative (e.g. a young cousin) was invited to live with

⁸⁸ See also Conker, 2017

them with the aim of helping them with their spoken language skills. As for seven non-Coda interpreters who learned TID as a foreign language later in life, they told that they resolved to learn sign language after working with a deaf colleague, making a deaf friend, or realizing the necessity while working at the department of disabilities in the institution/company they work for.

Educational backgrounds of the participants vary as follows:

- * Eleven interpreters with a high school diploma,
- * Ten interpreters with a 4-year university degree,
- * Five interpreters with associate degree diplomas (a 2-year university degree).

Above mentioned degrees and diplomas of the participants are not interpreting related apart from one interpreter who is a student of a 2-year English-Turkish Applied Translation Studies associate degree program. When their answers to the question about whether they received any form of education/training related to sign language interpreting are analyzed, it is seen that thirteen Coda interpreters have not received any form of training, yet they have acquired certificates from MEB, TSMF or IDTD. Four Coda interpreters received 120h + 210h courses from either public education centers, TSMF or IDTD. There is only one Coda interpreter with sign language interpreting training background in England, who attended a BSL course program there, and completed the third cycle which consists of interpreting practices, but failed to receive the course completion certificate. Among nineteen Coda interpreters, only one could not attend any sign language interpreting related education/training because of the lack of any kind of training/certificate programs at the time when he started to work, and that interpreter is still the chairman of the TSMF. Some Coda interpreters also told that they refused to attend or complete available sign language interpreting and teaching course programs because they believed that the instructors were under-qualified and the education provided was not effective. For example, one interpreter says:

“Tercüman olmaya yönelik [eğitimler] maalesef ülkemizde A1 seviyesinde başlıyor. Eğitim veren [kişi] arkadaşım, Koda değildi ve dersin - şey yani öğretmen olan o ama - yönetilme konusunda problemler vardı. Öyleydi ve benim tek eksikim şeydi, işareti biliyorum, anlamını bilmiyorum, Türkçesini bilmiyorum. Bedeni biliyorum ama Türkçesi ne? Mesela Türk işaret dilindeki jargonlar gibi, bunları bilmiyordum. Bunu eğitimlerde tamamladım. Tercümanlık için de ayrıca bir eğitim aldım. Tercümanlar Derneği vasıtasıyla

aldım. [...]210 saatlik eğitimi tamamlamadım. Çünkü bu konudaki eksiklikleri çok fazla gördüm. Yani yeterli değildi. O yüzden tamamlamadım.”

“In our country, the training provided to be an interpreter begins unfortunately at level A1. The person who was teaching was my friend, she was not a Coda, and I mean she was the teacher, but there were problems related to class management. It was just like that, and my only insufficiency was that I knew the sign but didn't know the meaning in Turkish. I know [to show the sign with] the body, but what is the Turkish [word] for that sign? For instance, I didn't know things like jargons in TID. I completed these with courses. I received different training for interpreting. I took that course through IDTD. [...] I completed 210 h training course. Because I saw too much imperfections with that course. I mean it was not adequate. That's why I didn't complete it”.

It is clear from the interpreter's remark quoted above that she has attempted to attend both courses (120h and 210h), yet she did not complete either of them fully because she thought the trainers delivering the courses were less qualified than herself.

As for non-Coda interpreters, all but one completed 120 + 210h sign language interpreter and teacher training courses provided by public education centers. However, the non-Coda survey participant having no interpreter related training background answered affirmative to the related question about certificate ownership, and accordingly, he has a certificate from the MEB.

The participants have minimum one-year professional interpreting experience, with a maximum of 24 years. Nevertheless, it is understood from the remarks of the participants, especially during interviews, that they perceive being a professional interpreter as being able to work at official settings such as notaries, courtrooms, municipalities, social service offices, etc., usually with a financial reimbursement after receiving their certificates. Although Coda interpreters reported that they started to perform interpreting — mostly voluntarily — at their local Deaf associations which usually their parents are members of, they could only begin to be offered actual jobs when they turned 18 and received their certificates.

As for their current occupations, 4 interpreters work at social service offices of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. As mentioned in Section 3.1, their work definition does not consist of only interpreting activities, but also some office works. For example, one of the interpreters mentioned that she was mainly responsible for delivering identity cards for the disabled. 3 interpreters work at video call centers of Turk Telecom and ESİM. 8 interpreters work freelance, and 2

interpreters work at Deaf/sign language interpreter associations. One interpreter works at the information desk in a hospital, but helps deaf patients in the case of need while another interpreter works at SEBEDER, providing recorded interpreting for TV series, cartoon, etc., but also works freelance at conferences/meetings. One interpreter has started her own business recently, which is a private course center (providing classes including basic sign language and sign language interpreter and teacher training), and a translation and interpreting agency at the same time. Finally, of the remaining six interpreters, two are the chairpersons of TSMF and IDTD, and each of the rest works for a public university, a public education center, a city governance office, and the Ministry of Health.

Consequently, the demographical information gathered about the participants reveals that slightly more than 2/3 of them are female and Coda, and all of the interpreters are adults aged between 20 and 45. The minimum education degree they hold is a high school diploma, while ten of the interpreters have completed 4-year university degree programs (not related to translation/interpreting). It is found out that more than half of the Coda interpreters have not taken any sign language interpreting related education/training, but all of them have received certificates from MEB, TSMF, or IDTD, which let them work professionally. The Coda interpreters who have not preferred to attend current interpreter training programs claimed that the quality of education was poor and trainers were less qualified than themselves.

3.4. ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH DATA

3.4.1. Interpreting Strategies

Questions about the strategies they use during interpreting tasks were directed to the interviewees to get some clues regarding their attitudes during interpreting tasks. Instead of one question about strategy, I asked three different questions to identify their attitudes during the interpreting process. The first question was whether they use direct or indirect language while interpreting. The use of direct language was explained to the interviewees as using the pronoun “I, that is speaking in the 1st person, so the interpreter is the voice or signing of the speakers while indirect language was described as the use of indirect speech or interpreting in the 3rd

person. The literature suggests that professional interpreters interpret in the first person (Hale, 2004; Harris, 1990; Pöchhacker, 2004; Wadensjö 1998) while lay interpreters use the third person while rendering speeches in community interpreting (Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff, 1985; Shackman, 1984). The advantages of using direct language in interpreting include increasing the directness of communication between the interlocutors and accuracy (Hale, 2004), clarity (Galal and Galal, 1999) and impartiality (Niska, 1999) as well as minimising dominating and manipulating behavior (Lings, 1988) (Dubsloff and Martinsen, 2007).

The answers indicate that eight interpreters always transfer the speech via direct language regardless of the setting or situation whereas four interpreters admitted that they only use direct language while interpreting at conference/meeting settings. These interpreters who told that they always interpret in 3rd person at dialogic communication settings argued that the parties of the interaction usually get confused about who is speaking at these settings, and they feel strange when they attempt to do the contrary. Moreover, five interpreters reported that they always transfer the speech in 3rd person no matter what the setting is. Although some studies have shown that use of indirect speech may be necessary and more fruitful in some cases (e.g. Dubsloff and Martinsen, 2007), the data, in this case, reflect that the interpreters have difficulties in managing the interactions because of lack of adequate training.

The chairperson of TSMF made the following comment regarding the question:

“‘Ben’ dilini kullanırım. Ben çevirdiğim kişinin görüntüsüyüm sadece ama dışarıda bunu yapmayan çok tercüman var. Dolaylı anlatıyorlar, ama tecrübeli olanlar hariç... Ben de başlangıçta dolaylı olarak çeviriyordum, ama zamanla bunun doğru olmadığını deneyimlerimle öğrendim. Sonuçta mesleki eğitim almadık.”

“I use the pronoun ‘I’. I am the visual representation of the person whom I interpret for, but there are many interpreters out there who do not perform this way. They talk indirectly, except the experienced ones I used to interpret indirectly at first, but I learned that it was not the correct way in time. After all, we have not received any vocational training.”

The chairperson of IDTD also advocates using direct language while interpreting, adding that, otherwise, the interpreter would violate the ethical rules. She says:

“Tercüman orada sestir, ileti kanalıdır. Siz orada aslında yoksunuz. Sağır kültürünü bilmeyen kesinlikle uyarılmalı bu konuda. Sağır ile konuşmacıyı göz

göze getirmek zorundasınız. Siz ön plana çıkamazsınız. Siz ön plana çıkarsanız sağırı ezmiş olursunuz, bu bir etik kural ihlalidir.”

“There, the interpreter is the voice [of the deaf], the message channel. Actually, you don’t exist there. Those [interpreters] who don’t know about deaf culture should be definitely warned about this issue. You have to assist the speaker and the deaf person to have eye contact. You can’t take the center stage. If you take the center stage, it means you suppress the deaf person, which is a violation of the ethical rule.”

The above statements of chairpersons of the two prominent associations of Deaf and SL interpreter communities indicate that rendering the source message using direct language as a professional way of interpreting has begun to be acknowledged among SL interpreters in Turkey. However, it can also be deduced from the above statements and from the answers given by other interpreters that SL interpreters are still left alone to find out their own way of interpreting through experience. Irregularities in the application of sign language interpreter training courses can be considered as another factor which contributes to this situation, especially thinking that there is no clear assessment method to choose qualified interpreter trainers and that most Coda interpreters start working as an interpreter without having any vocational training.

The second question was about the strategies the interpreters employ when they come across words or terms which has no equivalent sign in TID. According to the answers I received, the strategies include using the sign(s) with the closest meaning to the concerned word, fingerspelling, explaining, exemplifying, showing the picture of or writing the word if applicable. All interpreters claimed that they use every possible strategy to make sure that deaf parties of the interaction understand the message and information correctly, especially at dialogic interactions. At conference settings, however, the interpreters tend to fingerspell the unknown word, and they only try to explain it if they have enough time to do so. An interpreter told that when there is a word with no equivalence in TID, she just fingerspells the word and tells the deaf audience that the word is related to a specific area like medicine, law, etc. Another interpreter explains this attitude change with the following statement:

“Konferansta oldu mu harflerle çeviriyorum. Eğer konferansta yazılı metni önceden görme şansım varsa, yabancı metnin altını çiziyorum ve sorabileceğim profesyonel arkadaşları arayıp soruyorum. [İşaret yoksa] alfabe veriyorum [ve] anlamını açıklamaya çalışıyorum. [Diyaloglarda ise] kelimenin açıklamasını veriyorum, birebir diyaloglarda kelimeyi yazmıyorum.”

“When it happens at a conference, I translate the letters of the word. If I get the chance to see the speech text beforehand, I underline unknown text and call some professional friends to ask the sign. If there is no sign [for the concerned word] I write the letters [with fingers] and try to explain the meaning of the word. But in dialogic interactions, I give the explanation of the word, I don’t write the word [fingerspell] at one-to-one dialogic interactions.”

The last question regarding interpreting strategies was whether the interviewees tend to transfer everything the speaker/signer speaks/signs or to summarize, modify, and/or omit or add information while interpreting. The answers given to this question reflect that the interpreters tend to simplify the language, add explanations or examples which are not in the source text itself when they observe a lack of comprehension on the deaf party, and to omit some parts of the source text if they think that the Deaf participant(s) would not be interested in the related parts or topics. Following quotes from interviews also reflect that interpreters’ attitude is closely related to the disadvantaged social position of the Deaf people due to lack of education.

“İşe ilk başladığım zamanlarda bire bir çeviri yapıyordum. Ama sonra bir şeylerin yanlış gittiğini fark ettim, sağır bir tanıdığım aracılığıyla. Çevirimi anlamıyordu. Sonra deneyimlerle anneme anlatır gibi çeviri yapmak gerektiğini anladım.”

“When I first started to work, I used to do word-for-word interpreting. But then, I realized that something was wrong with the help of a deaf acquaintance. He didn’t understand my interpretation. Later, I understood that I should translate as if I was explaining [something] to my mother.”

The phrase “like interpreting for my mother” has been used by almost all Coda interpreters, which imply that they need to oversimplify and explain the speaker’s message due to low comprehension capacity of the deaf. The chairperson of IDTD also stresses that the education and knowledge level of deaf participant of the interpreted interaction determines the strategy the interpreter resorts to:

“Hedef kitlenin bilgi düzeyine bakıyorum. O Konuyu hedef kitleye aynen ilettiğimde hedef kitle bunu anlayabilir düzeyde mi? Öncelikle ona bakıyorum. [...] Çünkü [konuşma] akademik bir konu [ile ilgili] olabilir ama hedef kitle bu konudan bihaber olabilir. Eğer öyleyse, ben onu örneklendirerek anlatıyorum. Yani gramere göre çeviriyorum ama yanına onların anlayabilmesi için bir de örnek yapıştırıyorum. Tabi bu tercümanlıkta [konferans çevirmenliği] çok zor bir şey çünkü saatle yarışılırsınız. Eğer toplumbilimse [toplum çevirmenliği] çok sıkıntı olmuyor ama konferansta sunum yapanla birebir gitmek zorundasınız., geri kalmamak zorundasınız. Onu bir şekilde ayarlıyorsunuz. İşte zaten önemli olan bu. İyi bir tercüman o ayarlamayı, o saati, o hedef kitlenin anlayabileceği düzeye indirmeyi becerebilir. [...] Eğer önemsemiyorsanız hedef kitleyi, birebir de yapabilirsiniz tabi ki.”

“I first observe the knowledge level of the target audience. Does the target audience have enough capacity level to comprehend the subject if I transfer it literally? First, I check this. [...] Because it can be an academic subject, but the target audience may be oblivious about [that subject]. If this is the case, I translate it according to the grammar [of TID], yet I give an example with that [sentence] for them to understand. This is very difficult to do in [conference] interpreting, of course, since you race against time [while interpreting at conferences]. If it is a community interpreting setting, then [doing that] is not a big problem, however, in a conference you are supposed to proceed simultaneously with the speaker, and not drop behind. You arrange [and achieve] it in some way. This is what is important. A good interpreter manages to achieve to adjust timing and to reduce the speech to the comprehension level of the target audience. [...] You can interpret one-to-one as well, of course, if you don't care about the target audience.”

Another interpreter justifies her behavior of omitting or modifying the nasty comments, use of slang, or swear words by claiming that she usually has to modify the deaf person's signing especially at formal settings like a court or business meeting because most deaf people do not know or follow acceptable forms of behavior or conversation. The following quote reflects this viewpoint:

“İşin aslı biz bazen yapmamamız gereken şeyleri de yapıyoruz tercümanlar olarak. Doğru olanı aslında sağırın direk dediğini iletmektir. [...]. Orada sadece sessiniz, sadece bir görüntüsünüz. Siz orada ne sağırsınız ne karşısındaki konuştuğusunuz. Bunu yapmamız gerekiyor. Ama öyle durumlar oluyor ki iki kültürde korumak amaçlı arada yanlış anlaşılmalara fırsat vermemek amaçlı, bazen değiştirdiğimiz oluyor tabi. Bazen üslubu değiştirdiğimiz oluyor, mesela arada küfür çıkıyor, yani bir bürokrat mesela, o bürokrata küfürü söyleyemiyorsunuz çünkü söylediğiniz an karşınızdaki zor duruma düşecek. Bazen böyle düzeltmelere de gidiyor tercümanlar.”

“As a matter of fact, as interpreters, we sometimes do things that we aren't supposed to do. The correct way is to directly transfer what the deaf person says [...]. There, you are only the voice, only a visual existence. You are neither deaf nor the person he is talking to. We should do this. But sometimes, such situations arise that we have to change [speech of deaf person] to protect both cultures and to prevent misunderstandings. We sometimes change the discourse, for example, a swearword happens to come out. I mean a bureaucrat, for instance, you can't say that swearword to that bureaucrat because the moment you say it the person facing you will be in a difficult situation. Interpreters sometimes do such corrections.”

On the other hand, among seventeen interpreters, only two of them differ from others in that they claimed they never change or modify the speech in any possible way regardless of the situation. One of these interpreters especially stressed that he is against changing words of deaf people because deaf people also have the right to use bad language, swear words, and express themselves in the way they want.

As a result, the answers to the questions about the strategical choices of the participants indicate the following results:

- (1) More than half of the interpreters employ indirect language while interpreting,
- (2) When there is no equivalent sign for a spoken word at dialogic interactions, they tend to provide an explanation for it, but not the word itself, while they usually merely fingerspell the word at conferences/meetings,
- (3) They are inclined to oversimplify the spoken message, omit the pieces from it thinking it would not interest the deaf audience, and/or omit and adjust the signed message of the deaf participant(s) thinking the deaf are not aware of the norms of the hearing society.

3.4.2. Professional Ethics of Sign Language Interpreting

The interviewees were asked what the ethical rules for sign language interpreters are in order to discover whether sign language interpreters have any awareness regarding ethics of sign language interpreting profession, and if they have, whether they abide by those ethical rules or not.

Article 12 of the regulation of the IDTD, which is published on the website of the association⁸⁹, consist of 12 rules of ethics for sign language interpreters to follow. These are;

1. Being strictly attached to the standard of confidentiality,
2. Providing service for everyone regardless of gender, religion, age, disability, or other factors,
3. Identifying the needs of the client, and evaluating the translation before and during the interpreting task, and doing necessary adjustments accordingly,
4. Transferring the message content and essence by using the language the client understands the best, and by correcting the mistakes in a responsible way,
5. Being able to transfer the message completely, and seeking support to find answers for exceptional communication hardships,
6. Avoiding providing suggestions or personal opinions,
7. Interpreting responsibly and respectfully by protecting the client's right,
8. Being familiar with laws, policies, rules, and regulations concerning the profession,

⁸⁹ <http://www.isaretdilitercumanlaridernegi.org/?pnum=4&pt=YÖNETMELİĞİMİZ>

9. Making necessary adjustments regarding specific interpreting situations,
10. Showing the clients respect,
11. Showing the colleagues respect,
12. Being engaged in professional development.

The chairperson of the IDTD mentioned that these rules were determined based on the ethical rules laid by WASLI and EFSLI of which IDTD is a member. She also claimed that the IDTD applies strict measures to its members who do not abide by these rules. However, the answers given to the interviews and the questionnaire show that only five participants learned about the ethical rules from the above-mentioned association. Three more participants told that they learned about the ethics of SL interpreting during the seminars provided by the Ministry for interpreters working at social service offices, or the courses they attended. Some of the remaining participants (18 out of 26) told that they have ideas about ethics of SL interpreting either as a result of their own experiences, that is they developed their own ideas about what is right and what is wrong evaluating their own mistakes or achievements, and the others told that they know about the ethical rules because they are Codas and they live with the deaf.

The ethical rules of SL interpreting profession gathered from the answers of the participants of this study are as follows:

- Professional attire such as plain clothing, no accessories, combed hair, etc.
- Correct positioning, and attitude on the stage
- Having necessary knowledge regarding interpreting
- Translating correctly
- Being fluent in both languages
- Being neutral, objective, and emotionally detached
- Empathizing with deaf clients
- Use of hands, mimics, and gestures fluently and aesthetically
- Using a language which deaf people can understand best
- Protecting rights of deaf people
- Conducting eye-contact with the deaf person/people and avoiding to cut in their speech
- Being reliable

- Complying with the principle of confidentiality
- Avoiding to express personal opinions

It is important to emphasize here that ethical principles such as confidentiality and giving personal opinions have only been mentioned by a few interpreters who have attended seminars or courses provided by the Ministry or the IDTD. The most frequently expressed ethical principles by the participants are professional attire (mentioned only by women) and being fluent in TID, using hands and facial expressions correctly, and thus allowing the deaf party of the interaction to understand flawlessly. It seems that participants are mainly concerned about correct language use because as explained in previous sections, they find available sign language teaching courses and methods ineffective, and they complain that there are many interpreters in the market who cannot use TID properly. Coda interpreters also complain that most of their counterparts are not careful about keeping private information they receive during interpreting tasks because of their close relationships with the members of the deaf community.

3.4.3. Skills and Characteristics of a Quality SL Interpreter

The interpreters were asked their opinions about the characteristics and skills one needs to be a qualified SL interpreter. The replies of the participants reflect that the most important skill of a good interpreter is to a good command of sign language. Especially most Coda interpreters claimed that due to low-quality education given at public education centers, some new interpreters (non-Coda) do not use TID correctly, and it is very likely that their interpretation can cause problems for Deaf people. Departing from this point, I asked the interviewees whether they think being a Coda is a prerequisite to be a SL interpreter or whether it provides an advantage in their interpreting practices. The answers given to this question indicate that only four interpreters believe that people who do not have Deaf members in their family cannot and should not be SL interpreters because they cannot learn either to sign TID or perform SL interpreting properly. One of them says:

“Koda olmak çeviriyi etkiler. Anadili işaret dili olmayan kişiler sağıruları anlayamaz, işitme engelliye yardımcı olamaz.”

“Being a Coda affects translation. Those whose native language is not sign language can't understand the deaf, [they] can't help the hearing disabled.”

Rest of the interpreters agree that non-Coda people can also be sign language interpreters only if they get an adequate education. They share the common belief that this is not possible with the current educational/training options for SL interpreters, so being a Coda is advantageous under current conditions. The chairperson of TSMF suggests that;

“İyi çeviri yapmak için Koda olmak gerekli değildir, fakat ülkemizin mevcut durumu gereği durum böyle şu an. Koda olmak bir avantajdır, anadil olarak işaret dilini kullanmak avantajdır. Biz bu avantajı kullanmak istedik. Yeterli sayıda tercüman olması için mevcut Koda sayısı yeterli değil, yani Koda var ama işaret diliyle alakası yok. Benim de iki tane kardeşim var ama işaret diliyle alakaları yok.”

“Being a Coda is not necessary to perform good interpretation, yet this is the situation as a result of the current conditions in our country. Being a Coda is an advantage, using one’s native language is an advantage. We wanted to make use of this advantage. Current number of Codas is not enough to provide the sufficient number of interpreters, that is there are Codas, but they are not interested in sign language. I also have two brothers, yet they are not interested in sign language.”

On the other hand, another interpreter told that although being a Coda gives a person opportunity to be a part of Deaf culture, it does not mean that every Coda is a fluent signer. In her words;

“Koda olmak büyük avantaj. Koda olmayanlar da çeviri yapabilir, doğru dil eğitimiyle tabi. Bunun yanı sıra, Koda olmak yeterli değil, çünkü yalnızca aileniz için çeviri yapınca genel dili öğrenmek için deneyim kazanmanız gerekiyor. [...] Koda olmak yalnızca kültürü tanımanıza yardımcı oluyor. Ama tek başına yeterli değil.”

“Being a Coda is a big advantage. Those who are not Coda can perform interpreting through adequate language education, of course. Besides, being a Coda is not enough because when you interpret only for your family, you need to gain experience to learn the general language. [...] Being a Coda only helps us to be familiar with the culture. But it is not enough alone.”

The chairperson of IDTD also stressed that knowing TID is not enough to be a qualified interpreter. She thinks that sign language interpreters first should acknowledge that they are professionals since their perceptions regarding voluntary service may cause them to ignore ethical and professional responsibilities, thus causing more harm than good.

Apart from being a fluent TID signer, other skills and characteristics of a quality SL interpreter expressed by the interviewees are as follows:

- 1 Use of body and facial expressions: Using facial expressions and body correctly is the second skill mentioned by three interpreters. They believe that using mimics help Deaf people to understand them better. All three interpreters who mentioned this skill are Coda.
- 2 Being familiar to Deaf culture: Five interpreters mentioned that it is very important to be part of the Deaf world. The chairperson of TSMF also emphasized that interpreters can and should achieve this by living with Deaf people, especially by attending and participating in Deaf associations.
- 3 Using light make-up, dark clothing, no accessories: Three female interpreters mentioned that the interpreter should not attract the attention by their colorful makeup or clothing or accessories so as not to reduce the visibility and intelligibility of the signing. However, another female interpreter claimed that an interpreter should be well-dressed, physically fit, and look nice, especially when performing on the stage because they attract a lot of attention, and unfortunately it is most of the time a reason for preference by the employers.
- 4 Interpreting correctly and clearly: Expressed by two interpreters, this feature is clearly about being familiar with TID and Deaf culture, since they mentioned an interpreter should interpret by considering the needs and linguistic skills of Deaf people.
- 5 Being Confidential: Two Coda interviewees expressed that as one of the characteristics of Deaf community, the word of mouth spreads too quickly in the Deaf world, so especially Coda interpreters can be more inclined to share information regarding their interpreting tasks with friends or family members.
- 6 Having good Turkish speaking skills: Three interpreters shared the opinion that having a good command of Turkish and eloquent speaking skills is also important for sign language interpreters. The chairperson of TSMF highlighted that an interpreter should be able to understand what is said in Turkish to provide correct translation or to explain new words in sign language.
- 7 Having good communicational skills: This skill is only expressed by one interpreter claiming that anyone without good communication skills cannot make a good interpreter.

- 8 Being understanding, patient, and positive: The interpreter who mentioned this item added that the interpreter should consider the Deaf person for whom he is interpreting like a family member, and thus should be tolerant for them.
- 9 Being responsible for self-positioning, and being punctual: An interpreter expressed that interpreters should be at the task venue before the actual interpreting task and make necessary arrangements like determining the place where she is to perform.
- 10 Making necessary preparations before the interpreting task: An interpreter should receive the speech content before the actual interpreting task if possible, and/or do research on the subject.
- 11 Having a serious attitude, and firm posture: Only one interpreter expressed that an interpreter should be like a robot on the stage and should not turn backward to see the presentation or the speaker. She added that an interpreter should also have a serious stance and should not laugh during an interpreting task.
- 12 Willingness to serve voluntarily: One interviewee suggested that an interpreter should be ready to do voluntary work for Deaf people because she will frequently come across such situations.
- 13 Legal knowledge: One of the interviewees told that a sign language interpreter should have legal knowledge, especially about the disability rights, and related laws and regulations since Deaf people usually consult the interpreters for legal advice.
- 14 Loyalty to Deaf people: An interviewee mentioned that an interpreter should be loyal to the Deaf people, not to the speaker. She should abstain from interpreting word for word and should focus on translating in a way through which the Deaf person/people can understand best. She exemplifies her point as follows;

“Konuşmacının on kelimeyle kurduğu bir cümleyi eğer işitme engelli üç kelimeyle algılayacaksa, fazladan yedi kelime konuşmacıya sadık kalmak için verilmez. Ya da tam tersi durumda, konuşmacı on kelimeyle anlatırken, bunu işitme engelli otuz kelimeyle anlayacaksa, konuşmacının on kelimesi değil işitme engellinin anlayacağı otuz kelime çevrilir.

“If a hearing disabled person is to comprehend something, which is delivered by a speaker in ten words, via [translated] three words, those seven more words are not to be given [by the interpreter] just with a view to being loyal to the speaker. On a contrary situation, if a hearing disabled person is to understand something delivered by a speaker in ten words via thirty words, then those thirty words are translated, not [only] ten words of the speaker.”

To sum up, the interviewees’ ideas on the characteristics of an ideal interpreter indicate that they are mostly concerned about being a fluent TID signer

which includes using body and facial expressions sufficiently and correctly, and being familiar with Deaf culture, thus producing comprehensible target texts that Deaf people can understand in the best way possible.

3.4.4. Sign Language Interpreters' Perceptions on Their Role

The participants were asked their opinions on what their role is in order to discover if they have any awareness on what roles they adopt during interpreting tasks. However, this question needed to be supported with further explanation on the concept of 'role' when I realized that the participants were not familiar with the concept since they asked me what I meant with that. Therefore, after explaining the role of the interpreter via four models of Witter-Merithew (1986) elaborated in Section 2.2, which are the helper model, the conduit model, the communication facilitator model, and the bi-lingual/bi-cultural model, I wanted them to evaluate both their own tendencies and their observations regarding their fellow interpreters.

Remarks of some interpreters indicate that their roles and attitudes change depending on the relation between the interpreter and her client(s). The interpreters reported that they tend to behave in a 'helping' attitude when the person they interpret for is a family member, a friend, or an acquaintance while if they have no familiarity with their client, they just interpret the conversation between parties and do nothing else. The remark of one of the interpreters on the question is as follows:

"[...] ben sağır bireyi tanıyorsam, öncesinde konuşurum kişiyle. Durumu anlar ve anlatırım. Ama öyle bir fırsatım yoksa taraf çok olmuyorum, net oluyorum, konuşulan olduğu gibi aktarıyorum. Böyle durumlarda işitme engelli müdahale etmemi istese dahi konuşmayı çevirmekten başka bir şey yapamayacağımı söylüyorum. Ama tanıdığım biriyle olay daha farklı oluyor."

"[...] if I know the Deaf person, I talk to him before the task. I understand the situation and explain it [to the Deaf person]. But if I don't have such an opportunity, then I don't take side with the person, I become clear, and I transfer what is being spoken as it is. In such a case, even if the hearing disabled person wants me to intervene, I tell him that I won't be able to do anything but translate the conversation. But it is more different with a person I know."

Furthermore, the following comments expose that some interpreters' decisions and attitudes are affected by their emotions regarding their clients caused by the disadvantaged position of deaf people within the society.

“Aslında dördünü de diyebilirim, biliyor musunuz? Yani, o kadar iç içe geçiyor ki. Bunun bir sebebinin de, nasıl diyeyim, çok uzman olunmadığı için olduğunu düşünüyorum. Çok net, çok belirgin, keskin çizgileri yok işaret dili tercümanlığının. Şimdi orada onun gerçekten vasisi de oluyorsun, yani onun o sorununu da çözmeye çalışıyorsun, çok olayın dışında da kalamıyorsun, duygusal da yaklaşıyorsun. Çünkü orada çaresiz bir durum var, her türlü yetismeye çalışıyorsun. Ama bu tercümanın işini çok zorlaştıran bir şey çünkü bu sefer yetemiyorsun, her şeye yetişemiyorsun. Aslında o saydıklarınızdan üç ve dördün (iletişim yardımcısı ve iki dilli iki kültürlü modeller) doğru olduğunu düşünüyorum.”

“You know what? I can actually tell it is all four (models). I mean, they intertwine so much. I think a reason for this is — how can I put it? — not being so professional. Sign language interpreting doesn’t have clear-cut borderlines. You [interpreters] become his [deaf person’s] guardian, I mean you try to solve his problem, [and] you can’t stay out of the situation, you have a sentimental approach. Because there is a desperate situation, [so] you try to be there in every [possible] way. But this makes the interpreter’s work even harder because you can’t save the situation every time. As a matter of fact, I think the third and fourth models you mentioned (communication facilitator model and bi-bi model) are the right ones.”

Another interpreter mentioned that they provide consultancy for the deaf:

“Biz burada yalnızca tercümanlık yapmıyoruz, aynı zamanda danışmanlık da yapıyoruz. Buraya insanlar geliyorlar, işte...üzülüyorum. Hallerine de üzülüyorum. Şimdi, çok fazla bir şey bilmiyorlar, farkında değiller. Onlara çevirmenlik yapacağımı söylerken aynı zamanda yardımcı da oluyorum. Yani diyorum ki ‘Bak böyle yaparsan daha iyi olur, şunu yaparsan daha iyi olur.’ Bu aynı zamanda bir danışmanlık hizmeti gibi oluyor.”

“We don’t perform only as interpreters here, we also perform as consultants. People come here, well ... I feel sad for them. I feel sad for the situation they are in. Well, they don’t know much about things, they are not aware of things. When I tell them that I will interpret for them, I also tell that I will help them. I mean, I tell them ‘If you do this or that, it is better for you.’ This works like a consultancy service at the same time.”

The second quote above belongs to an interpreter who works for the social service offices of the government, and — as it is very clear from his remarks — he defines himself as a consultant as well as an interpreter, mostly because of the nature of the target community he provides service for. Another interpreter made a similar comment adding that the disadvantaged status of deaf people usually brings forth financial problems, hence they frequently have to deliver voluntary service under the name of ‘help’.

Another point of view expressed by the interpreters is that the model which should be adopted is the bilingual and bicultural model, however, their comments make it clear that what they understand from the metaphors ‘channel and machine’ is just ‘using signed Turkish’, i.e., replacing the spoken words with signs in the spoken

language word order. They highlighted that if the interpreter translates literally, deaf people do not understand anything from the interpretation. What is understood from their comments is that if the interpreter knows both languages and cultures, it means that she adopts the bi-bi model, producing the correct interpretation. However, when these interpreters explained their strategies and attitudes, some mentioned that they provide consultancy for their clients (quoted above) whereas others stressed that the interpreter should only translate the conversation and make the necessary arrangements such as positioning, lighting, and so on before the task. Thus, their original stance for the bi-bi model results from misinterpreting the concept, and their actual practical tendencies are completely different. In other words, the participants who advocate the Bi-Bi model do that because they think being fluent in TID and abstaining from using signed Turkish means interpreting according to the Bi-Bi model. However, when these interpreters describe ‘what they do’ instead of ‘what they should do’, it can be observed that they are inclined to either to adopt the helper role providing consultancy and advocating or the communication facilitator role where they only arrange some technical issues along with just transferring what is said by the speakers.

Some interpreters also claimed that they have evolved from the helping role to the other roles in time through experience. I believe it is important to mention that these interpreters are all Cudas who have performed as mediators for their family members, neighbors, and acquaintances since their childhood. Here is the comment of one of these interpreters sharing this view:

“Türkiye’de şu an değişim içindeyiz aslında, yardımcıdan kanala doğru dönüşüyor. Nasıl olması gerektiğini ben hala kendimle tartışıyorum. Ama bu işitme engellinin eğitim düzeyiyle alakalı. Karşınızdaki işitme engelli ne kadar eğitimliyse o kadar az yardıma, desteğe ihtiyacı oluyor ve direk onun söylediklerini çeviriyorsun. Ama çocukluğum boyunca yardımcı rolündeydim. İşitme engelliler bize çok kızıyordu, çok müdahale ettiğimiz için ya da konuşulanların hepsini aktarmadığımız için kızıyorlardı. Hala böyle yapanlar var galiba, ben artık o çevreye çok yakın değilim. Ben artık diyalog çevirisi yapmıyorum, ya da çok nadir yapıyorum. Ama yaptığım zamanda da hep işitme engelliden taraf oluyorum. Bir tercüman her zaman işitme engellinin tarafında olmalı. Her zaman pozitif ayrımcılık yapmalı. İşitme engellinin adına konuşulmasına karşıyım. Sağırılarda da bu konuda bilinç gelişmeye başlıyor. İşitme engelliden o yönde bir teklif gelirse dahi reddediyorum.”

“We are actually in a state of transformation in Turkey, [the role of the interpreter] is transforming into the channel [model] from the helper. I still discuss it myself, asking how it should be. But, it depends on the educational level of the hearing disabled. The more educated the hearing disabled person is,

the less help and support he needs, and [so] you translate directly what he says. Yet, I was in the helper role throughout my childhood. The hearing disabled used to get angry with us much because we intervened too much, or didn't transfer everything that was spoken. I think there are still those people who work in that way. I am not so close to that environment now. I don't do dialogical interpreting anymore, or I rarely do it. But, when I do it, I always take the side of the hearing disabled. An interpreter should always take the side with the hearing disabled and should perform positive discrimination. I am against speaking on behalf of the hearing disabled. This awareness is developing among the deaf as well. Even when a deaf person makes such an offer, I refuse it."

This comment also reflects that the attitude of the interpreter may change depending on the educational level of deaf client(s). However, it is interesting that the above-quoted interpreter advocates that interpreters should always take sides with the deaf whereas she also favors the channel model and thinks that the profession is evolving towards that way in Turkey. Besides, some other interpreters (both Coda and non-Coda) made similar comments in that they mentioned the low educational level of Deaf people and the difference between deaf and hearing cultures usually cause them to 'adjust' the sentences of the Deaf party. One of them explained this as follows:

"Bazen sağırların kurduğu cümle o duruma uymuyor. Bazen çok sert konuşabiliyorlar. Onu biraz toparlamam, yumuşatmam gerekiyor. Bunun dışına çok çıkmam. [...] Mesela adam 'Teşekkür ederim' dedi. Ben samimiyeti korumak açısından 'Teşekkür ederim, minnet duyuyorum' gibi eklemeler yapıyorum."

"The sentence said by deaf people sometimes doesn't fit in the situation. They can sometimes speak harshly. I need to modify and moderate [their sentences]. I don't cross this boundary much. [...] For example, [let's say] the man says 'Thank you'. I make some additions such as saying 'Thank you, I am grateful.'"

Furthermore, the chairperson of the IDTD approves the above comment that behavioral and strategical tendencies of sign language interpreters (Codas in this case) usually change depending on the experience level of the interpreter with her following remarks:

"Aslında birçok modeli kullanıyor Türkiye'deki Kodalar. Yani, kendi yorumunu bir vasi gibi kullanan da var, bir kanal olarak kullanan da var, bir de iki dilli iki kültürlü kullananlar da var. Yani, aslında bir karmaşa var Türkiye'de. Niye karmaşa var? Çünkü ne yapması gerektiğini bilmiyor. Nasıl gördüyse öyle devam ediyor. Evet, ebeveynlerinden tercümanlıkla başlayan birisi... [...] Bizler yeri geldi annemizin annesi, babamızın babası olduk. Biz bunu benimseyerek, hep gönüllü olarak, gönülden yaparak...Ne yaptık? Vasi olarak tercümanlık yapmaya başladık. Eğer bunu meslek olarak kabul etmişse tercüman bundan biraz sıyrılıyor. Ne yapıyor? Tamam, ben artık kanalım

ama... Yanlıslara da hayır diyemiyor. Bu böyle olmak zorunda. Çünkü bu sefer sağırın hakkını da savunmaya çalışıyor. Yani eğer ben bunu yapmazsam sağır beni anlamayacak, çevirim bir işe yaramayacak. En son olarak da - hani mesleğin nirvanası denir ya - nirvanadakiler de diyor ki "Ben artık iki kültürlüyüm, işte iki kültüre de hakimim, oraya da buraya da zarar vermeden orta yolu bulmalıyım", diyor işin açıkçası. [...] Alaylı olduğu için o, her aşamayı da deneyimleriyle, atlama atlaya geçmek zorunda."

"As a matter of fact, Cudas use various models in Turkey. That is, there are ones who use their own interpretation as a guardian, who use it as a channel, and there are also those who use the bilingual and bicultural model. Well, the situation is actually complicated in Turkey. Why is it complicated? Because [interpreters] don't know what they are supposed to do. They continue to imitate what they have seen. Well yes, a person who has started interpreting for their parents... [...] We became the mother of our mothers and the father of our fathers when needed. We did that readily, voluntarily. What did we do? We started to work as a guardian. If the interpreter adopts it as a profession, she eludes that [perception]. What does she do? [She says] 'Well okay, I am a channel, but...' She can't say 'no' [when she comes across] wrongdoings, either. It has to be like this. Because she tries to defend the rights of the deaf as well. I mean [she thinks that] 'If I don't do this, the deaf won't be able to understand me, and my interpreting won't serve the purpose.' Finally, — you know they say 'the nirvana of the profession' — those who achieved the professional nirvana say: 'I am now bicultural, yes, I have command of both cultures, [so] I should find a compromise without hurting either party. [...] Since she is a lay interpreter, she has to pass each step with her own experience."

According to the chairperson of the IDTD, the tendency to help is more common among non-Coda interpreters.

"Kodalar aslında şu dönemde biraz daha profesyonel. Evet, Koda olmayanlar biraz daha hassas davranıyorlar bu işe, hani yürekten... "Ben gönüllüyüm, ben yardım ediyorum.", [diyorlar] [...] Aslında yardım etmiyorsun. 'Yardım' kelimesi sağırılar için çok kabul edilebilir bir kelime değil. Yani, aslında sen ona desteksin, yardımcı değil."

"Currently, Cudas are slightly more professional. Well yes, those who are not Coda behave more sentimentally, from their heart ... [They say] 'I am a volunteer, I am helping'. [...] Actually, you are not helping. 'Help' is not a much acceptable word for the deaf, though. I mean, you are, in fact, a support to him, not a helper."

Nevertheless, she also added that some Cudas fail to adopt a professional stance because they are not fully aware that sign language interpreting is a profession.

"Siz rolünüzü kendiniz belirleyeceksiniz aslında. Sen orada nisin? Tercüman mısın, yoksa destek mi veriyorsun? Yani, o rolden sıyrılmanız gerekiyor belki de. Kodalar belki bunu yapamayabiliyorlar zaman zaman. [...] Önce kendi belirleyecek. Meslek mi, yoksa Koda olarak devam etmek mi? Her Koda tercüman demek değil."

"You are to determine your own role, actually. Who are you there? Are you an interpreter, or providing support? That is, maybe you need to elude that role."

Codas maybe can't do that at times. [...] First, she will determine [what to choose]: The profession, or to continue as a Coda... It doesn't mean that every Coda is an interpreter."

Furthermore, the chairperson of the TSMF suggests that sign language interpreters in Turkey tend to work as a helper, and/or as an advocate of deaf people although he believes that the ideal is the bi-bi model.

"Olması gereken iki dilli iki kültürlü model. Ama Türkiye'de daha çok tercüman doktora giden hastanın velisi rolüne girer bizde. Hatta bir yerden sonra çevirmenin kendisi kavga etmeye başlar, falan. Garip bir benimseme vardır. Bu konuyu hali hazırdaki tercüman yapısıyla çözemiyoruz ne yazık ki, aşamıyoruz henüz. Olay konuşulanları çevirmenin ötesine geçiyor. İşitme engelliye yardım etme, ondan taraf olma, avukatlık yapma gibi. Sağırın beklentisi de çoğu zaman bu yönde oluyor. Örneğin, mahkemede ya da noterde çevirmenin kendisi yerine konuşmasını, hakkını savunmasını talep edebiliyor.

"What should be adopted is the bilingual-bicultural model. But here, in Turkey, the interpreter becomes the guardian of the patient at the doctor's office. He even begins to argue himself [on behalf of the deaf person] after a while. There is a strange kind of embracement [among interpreters for the deaf people]. Unfortunately, we can't solve this problem with existing interpreters, we can't get over it yet. It goes beyond translating what has been spoken. Helping the hearing disabled, taking the side with them, being an advocate for them, and like... Also, expectations of the deaf are usually in this way. For example, they may demand the interpreter to speak on behalf of them, or to assert their rights."

Through the questionnaires, I have also tried to discover how SL interpreters perceive their role. First, I asked the participants to write ideas/words/phrases they associate with 'the role of the sign language interpreter'. The answer given by the participants are: To interpret, facilitate communication, translate correctly; a difficult job; a connecting channel in communication; to enable communication of the deaf by interpreting; to be a problem-solver and advisor; a mentor illuminating deaf people's world; advocate; vital; being conscientious, practical and fluent in TID and Turkish as well as being familiar with deaf culture; to conduct the profession within professional rules and without exploiting the community; bridge; an interpreter has an active role because she completes the missing parts of the communication and acts as a bridge. Second, I asked the duties and responsibilities of a SL interpreter. Departing from the answers given during the interviews, I provided four choices including 'transferring the speech between the speakers', 'helping', 'providing consultancy', 'defending rights of deaf people'. The participants were free to choose as many options as they wanted and they were also given an 'other' option where they could add extra opinions to the list. The percentages of the options chosen by

the participants are 90,9%, 54,5%, 72,7%, and 54,5% respectively, and only one participant has added 'leading' as an extra item to the list.

Comments of the interpreters about the role demonstrate that they tend to perceive themselves as helpers, guardians, advocates, and/or consultants of the deaf people they are interpreting for. Apparently, their tendency to adopt a helping, consulting attitude results from the lack of professional perception regarding the service they provide as interpreters as well as their perceptions on the deaf as people who lack sufficient knowledge on the norms of the hearing society, who have a disadvantaged socioeconomic status especially because of insufficient education, and also from their feelings of mercy and pity for them.

3.4.5. Expectations of Deaf People From the Participants' Perspective

Reflections of the participants on expectations of deaf people from SL interpreters have been investigated to acquire clues for their opinions on the deaf community. According to the replies I have received both through interviews and the questionnaire, from the interpreters' point of view, deaf people expect sign language interpreters;

- to be fluent in sign language,
- to be familiar with Deaf culture,
- to defend their rights,
- to give opinions and provide consultancy,
- to speak on behalf of them,
- to ensure honesty and trust,
- to care more about them,
- to show respect,
- to listen to them,
- to be familiar with the subject of the interpreting task,
- to translate without changing what they say,
- to find solutions for all situations and problems,
- to provide free service.

According to the sign language interpreters who participated in this study, deaf people expect them first to have fluent and flowing signing skills and to be

familiar with Deaf culture as well as defending their rights for them, and secondly they are expected to speak on behalf of deaf people and provide consultancy and/or help them with tasks such as collecting papers required to apply to an institution, for example. The interpreters explained that they are asked to speak on behalf of deaf people, especially, when a deaf person is undereducated or illiterate, which is quite prevalent in Turkey as explained before. For instance, one of the interpreters told an anecdote about an interpreting task she undertook where the deaf client asked her to talk for him while he was pretending to sign. Another most common expectation is consultancy from the interpreter. Another interpreter mentioned that deaf people mostly come to her office or call her to ask for information on various subjects, from visa procedures to health advice. They only ask her to go with them to the related institutions when she does not know the answer or their issue is too serious or important to solve without face-to-face interaction.

The following comment uttered by one of the participants also reflect that deaf people expect interpreters to talk on behalf of them at some settings by giving the information beforehand or to provide consultancy apart from having fluent signing skills and being familiar with the deaf culture.

“Sağrlar tercümanlardan ilk olarak saygı bekliyor, nereye hizmet ettiğini bilmesini bekliyor. Bu kaniya ben kendi kendime varmadım. İşitme engelliler, sağrlar kültürünü gözlemleyerek bu kaniya vardım. Bir, saygı bekliyorlar. İki, dinlenilmek ve önemsenmek istiyorlar. Çünkü orada zaten onu dinleyebilecek sadece sen varsın, sen de dinleyip, sen de anlayıp, sen de önemsemezsen zaten karşı tarafa bunu zaten aktaramazsın. İkinci olarak, senin bir şeylere hakim olman. Yani, çeviri esnasında “ben bunu fazla bilmiyorum” çok fazla kabul etmiyorlar. Dile hakim olmanı bekliyorlar, kültüre hakim olmanı ve bilmeni bekliyorlar. Bazıları çok bencilce davranarak “ya, gelirsın, çevirirsın, bilmiyor musun, ben sana niye konuyu söyleyeceğim” diyor. Ama ben “sana daha iyi yardımcı olabilmek için konuyu bilmem lazım” diyorum. Bazen konuyu bana önceden anlatıyorlar ve gidilen yerde benim konuyu özet geçerek aktarmamı istiyorlar. Tapuyla ya da noterle ilgili bir şey olduğunda mesela, hangi evrakların hazırlanması gerektiğini, nerelere gidileceğini bilmiyorlar, bana soruyorlar, benden bekliyorlar mesela. Bunun için de bunları bilmem gerekiyor tabi.”

“Deaf people first expect respect from interpreters and to know whom they serve to. I haven’t drawn this conclusion myself. I came to this conclusion by observing the culture the hearing disabled, of the deaf. First, they expect respect. Second, being listened to and being cared (by interpreters). Because it is only you that can listen to them. If you don’t listen and care about them either, you can’t transfer this to the other side (of the communication). Secondly, to have knowledge of some things. I mean they don’t accept when you say “I don’t have much knowledge about this” while interpreting. They expect you to have a command of the language and the culture. Some of them very

selfishly say “O, you come and interpret. Don’t you already know it? Why should I tell you about the subject?”. But I say them “I should learn about the subject to help you better”. Sometimes, they tell me everything about the issue and ask me to summarize it at the place we go to. When something arises related to the land office or notary, for instance, they don’t know what papers they need and where to get them, so they ask me, they expect me to do it. So, I also need to know these, of course.”

3.4.6. Turkish Deaf Community and Culture

Deaf culture has been the second most commonly uttered concept by the participants of this study after having a good command of sign language. They mentioned deaf culture while talking about the required skills and qualities of a SL interpreter, and about their behavior and choices during an interpreting task, that is, they choose to behave in a certain way because of the cultural differences between the deaf and the hearing communities. Therefore, I asked them to define deaf culture and looked for hints in their answers regarding the concept, having in mind that their viewpoint on deaf community and culture is an influencing factor on their behaviors and strategical choices.

When I first asked the interviewees to talk about deaf culture they told that they did not think their culture is much different from that of hearing Turkish society apart from communicating through lights and touching, and the need to pursue eye contact. But, when I asked them to define Turkish deaf community, they began to give more specifically defining answers. The following quotes are some examples of the participants’ perspectives on Turkish deaf community and culture:

“İşitme engelliler daha çok eğlenceye düşkün gibi. Kapalı bir toplum. Birinin dikkatini çekmek istediğinizde ışık yakıp söndürürsün, dokunma ve el teması önemli, espriler farklı, kendi içinde ayrı bir kültürü var. Konuşan dünyanın sorunları sağırları ilgilendirmiyor. Eskiden soyut kavramlara çok hakim değillerdi, din kavramına hakim değillerdi mesela. Artık değişen dünyanın da etkisiyle, teknolojik sosyal ağlar yardımıyla bu değişiyor, artık din kavramını biliyorlar mesela.”

“The hearing disabled seem to be more pleasure-seeking people. A closed society... When you want to attract someone’s attention you turn on and off the light, touching by hands is important, jokes are different, it has a different culture inside. Problems of the hearing world don’t concern them. In the past, they didn’t use to have much knowledge about abstract concepts, they didn’t know about the concept of religion, for example. Now, as a result of the influence of the changing world, and thanks to technological social networks, this is changing, they now know about the concept of religion.”

“Bir kere benciller. Sağrlar bilmiyorum biraz üzülererek söylüyorum ama diğer engel gruplarını çok bilmiyorum, bedensel engelliler görme engelliler... Onlarla fazla bulunmadım ama. İşitme engelliler belki o özürlerinden dolayı, engellerinden dolayı daha çok şey istiyorlar. Hafif bencil ve sabırsız olduklarını düşünüyorum. Ama tabi ki durumlarının çok zor olduğunu düşünüyorum. Yani duymadıkları için de ortamda öfkelenabiliyorlar, fevriler.”

“First, they are selfish. Deaf people- I don't know, I regret to say this, but, I don't know much about other disability groups, I haven't got in touch with the blind and the physically disabled - the hearing disabled - maybe because of their handicap - they ask for more. I think they are slightly self-centered and impatient. But I think their situation is very hard, for sure. I mean, they can get flame up in an environment because they don't hear, they are bad-tempered.”

“Genel olarak dikkatinizi çekecek şey tembellik, ama sistemin getirdiği bir gerekçe bu. Yani, ülkenin eğitim sistemi maalesef böyle olduğu için, [...] hazır konmaya, zorlanmadan bir şeyler elde etmeye, yükümlülüklerden muaf tutulmaya alışıyorlar.”

“What attracts your attention generally is laziness, but it is something brought by the system. I mean, because the educational system of the country is as it is, [...] they get used to getting free rides, to gaining things without effort, to being exempt from obligations.”

“İki kültür arasındaki farklılıktan ötürü...Onların kültüründe, yani sağır kültüründe, bu kelime hakaret değilken sözlü kültürde hakaret olabiliyor. O yüzden onu biraz daha yumuşatarak söylüyorsunuz. İşin aslı bu aslında.”

“Because of difference between the two cultures While it's [a vulgar sign] not an insult in their culture, in deaf culture, it can be an insult in the oral culture. That's why you render it by moderating. The truth is this, in fact.”

The participants of the questionnaire have also been asked to describe the deaf community in Turkey. The answers given to this question are as follows:

“Since they can't manage to be a unified group, they can't receive support when they need help”.

“I don't think they are different from hearing people. I don't think they need a description, either. Once you socialize with them and remove the problem of communication, they are no different from any other people. The only thing they are lacking the most is education. And it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. A person improves himself when he is encouraged. This encouragement must be given in deaf schools.”

“The society that deserves to be paid more attention and to be involved in every aspect of life.”

“They are usually friendly, warm, positive people. Because of the mistakes in the education system, they are usually high school graduates.”

“I think they are social, active, skeptical, bad-tempered, and deaf people over middle-age fall short to communicate with their own means.”

“Outgoing but lacking self-confidence. Besides, they are in a low-class citizen status because they are deprived of education.”

“Generally, they all are good people.”

“Having problems with reading and writing (education is a serious problem), as discriminating as the hearing, interested in learning about the world and developments.”

“I think the deaf community can’t be described, you should experience them.”

It is observed in both the interviews and the questionnaire that the participants have varying views about their deaf clients. However, they all share the common idea that the current education system and methods provided for deaf people cause them to have a less powerful position in the society.

3.4.7. A Profession to Make a Living or Voluntary Service

The participants have also been asked about their perspective on sign language interpreting as a profession. In order to find out whether they see themselves as professionals or volunteers, I asked questions about general practices in terms of financial reimbursement, that is how they determine interpreting fees, and whether they are willing to offer free service, and also their ideas on the ideal situation.

As is it is discussed in Chapter 2, there are no regulations on SL interpreting practices in Turkey. The following comment of one of the interviewees summarizes the current situation of sign language interpreting as a profession.

“Uluslararası toplantılarda belirli bir ücreti var bu işin, ama küçük organizasyonlarda ise pazarlık yapıyorlar, öyle bir durumda etrafa sorarak uygun bir fiyat belirlemeye çalışıyorsunuz. Bazen yemek ve yol parası haricinde hiçbir şey almadığınız zamanlar da oluyor. Haklarımız korunmuyor. Ayrıca birçok yerde bütün gün boyunca tek çevirmen çalıştırıyorlar. Türkiye’de hala gönüllük esası var, bunu profesyonelliğe çevirmek zor görünüyor. İşiniz karşılığında para istediğinizde eleştiriyorlar bazen. ‘Bizim üzerimizden para kazanıyorsun’ diyorlar. Yine de ben hastaneye bir işitme engelli için gittiğimde o kişiden para almam, çünkü bunu devletin karşılaması gerektiğini düşünüyorum, o insan bana para vermemeli. Ama birçok insan hastaneye gidince para alıyor, onları yadırgamıyorum ama bunun Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı tarafından çözülmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Sıkıntılar üç taraflı: çevirmen, işveren ve sağırlar. Üç tarafta da bilinç yok.”

“There is a determined price of this work at international meetings, but they bargain on the price at small organizations. At such situations, you try to determine the suitable price by asking around. Sometimes, we get nothing apart from food and travel allowance. Our rights aren’t protected. Besides, they make a single interpreter work all day in most settings. Volunteering is still an issue in Turkey, it seems difficult to change it into professionalism. They sometimes criticize when you ask for money in return of your work. ‘You make money because of us’, they say. Still, I don’t take money when I go to the hospital for a hearing disabled because I think the state should cover it, that person shouldn’t pay any money. Most people take money when they go to the hospital, I don’t find it strange, but I believe this should be solved by the

Ministry of Family and Social Policies. The problems have three sides: interpreter, employer, and the deaf. None of them has the awareness."

The interpreter making the comment above complains about the lack of awareness which prevents them from working as professionals. This interpreter is one of the few participants of this study who handles the issue from the viewpoint of SL interpreters by mentioning the drawbacks of the profession. On the other hand, most of the interpreters have considered the issue from the perspective of the deaf community and have mentioned their discontent about not having a standard on interpreting fees, which, according to them, harms the community. In the following quotes, the interpreters express their disappointment over unfair fees sign language interpreters take from their deaf clients.

"İşaret dili tercümanlığının belli bir resmi kuruma bağlı olmadığı için tercümanların aldığı ücrettede bir standart yok. Bazen öyle uçuk rakamlar duyuyorum ki üzüliyorum işitme engelli adına."

"As a result of the fact that sign language interpreters aren't bound to any official institution, there is no standard of the fee interpreters take. Sometimes, I hear about such big numbers that I feel sorry for the hearing disabled."

"Mesleki konumumuz içler acısı. Serbest çalışanlar ücret konusunda çok acımasızlar. Gittikleri çeviri ortamlarında çok şey aldıklarını duyuyorum tabi sağdan soldan. Ama benim yapabilecek ya da yaptırım yapabilecek hiçbir gücüm yok. Bu konuyla ilgili Ercüment Bey ya da Banu Hanımlar standart bir şey koyarlarsa... Ben duyuyorum mesela, adam evini satıyor, gidip 1000 liraya 1500 liraya çeviri ücreti alan arkadaşlar varmış. Üzüliyorum şahsen, çünkü benim eşim de engelli. Allah korusun, yarın öbür gün bizim başımıza gelse, çat diye 1500 lira vereceğiz herhalde, galiba."

"Our professional situation is pathetic. Those working freelance are relentless about fees. I hear from here and there that they take a lot of money at the interpreting settings they have been to. But, I don't have anything to do or any power to place sanctions. If only Mr. Ercüment or Ms Banu put a standard on it... For example, I hear that a man sells his house, and there are colleagues that take 1000 lira or 1500 lira as interpreting fee. I personally feel sorry, because my husband is disabled too. God forbid, if that happens to us any day in the future, it seems we will pay 1500 lira, I guess."

Similar concerns have also been expressed by the chairperson of the TSMF, who is also an interpreter himself:

"Aile bakanlığına tercüman alınmasını sağlamak için uğraşmamızın temel amacı sağlırların çeviri hizmetinden ücretsiz yararlanmasıydı. Duyumlarımıza göre aile bakanlığı tarafından görevlendirilip ekstra ücret alan tercümanlar var. Bu işin bir standardı yok hala. Birisi tapuya gidiyor kafasına göre 1000 lira alıyor, öbürü gidiyor 100 lira alıyor. Notere gidiyor, satış falan yapıyor, birisi alıyor 500 lira, öbürü alıyor 200 lira. Neye dayanarak? Bakayım zengin mi, parası var mı, neyi satıyor, neyi alıyor? Noterde yapılan hizmetin sabit ücreti vardır. Noterler yıllarca aldı, vermedi ama."

“The main goal of our efforts to enable the Ministry of Family and Social Policies to hire interpreters was to benefit the deaf from interpreting services free of charge. We hear that there are interpreters appointed by the ministry charging the deaf with extra fees. This profession doesn’t have any standards yet. Some go to the land registry office and take 1000 lira, and others go and take 100 lira. At the notary’s, at a sale, one charges 500, the other takes 200 lira. On what basis? Let’s see if he is rich, has money? What is he selling? What is he buying? ... The service given at notary offices has a standard fee. Notaries have taken it for years, but haven’t given (it to interpreters).”

The questionnaire also includes questions about financial reimbursement. One of the questions regarding this issue is on the ways in which the participants determine their interpreting fees. The answers include (i) according to the duration of the interpreting task (36,4%), (ii) according to the subject of the interpreting task (36,4%), (iii) according to the financial status of the client(s) (18,2%), (iv) according to the closeness of the relation between me and the client(s) (36,4%), and (v) I do not charge any interpreting fee (27,3). Apart from these, two interpreters added two more options which are ‘association criteria’ and ‘my company determines the fees’. The other question in the questionnaire targeting participants’ opinions on financial reimbursement was whether they were willing to offer free interpreting service for deaf people and if yes, why would they do so. Some participants think that interpreters should not charge deaf people for their services because they believe that the main goal of interpreting is to help.

“Evet, çünkü çeviri yapma işini para için yapmayı düşünmem. Bir tercüman çeviriyi yardım için yapmalı para için değil.”

“Yes, because I wouldn’t consider interpreting to earn money. An interpreter should interpret to help, not for money.”

“Tabi ki de kabul ederim. Evet, işaret dili tercümanlığı bir meslek ama aynı zamanda bir vicdan işi, gönül işi.”

“I’d accept it, of course. Yes, sign language interpreting is a profession, but at the same time it has to do with being conscientious and from the heart.”

Besides, some other interpreters mention that they interpret for deaf people without any expectation of financial reimbursement because they feel obliged to do so as a part of their responsibility resulting from having deaf parents. They also think that interpreting services for the deaf should be covered by the government free of charge. An interpreter says:

“Evet. Bu zorunlu bir ihtiyaç olduğu için ve devletin sunması gereken bir hak olduğunu düşündüğüm için ve ailem de sağır olduğu için sorumluluk hissederim.”

“Yes. I’d feel responsible for them because it is a vital need, and my family is deaf and because I think it is a right that should be offered by the state”

Surprisingly, only a few interpreters think that their decision to ‘help’ deaf people by interpreting for them without charging a fee harms the recognition of sign language interpreting as a profession.

“Ederim, birçok kez ettik, lakin bu işaret dili tercümanlığı mesleğinin kabul görmemesine sebebiyet veriyor, vicdana çok bırakılacak bir konu değil.”
“I’d do it. I did it many times. But, it leads the sign language interpreting profession not to be recognized. It’s not an issue to be always held by conscience.”

3.5. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS FROM A BOURDIEUSIAN PERSPECTIVE

According to Bourdieu (2000), a field begins to exist when there are agents to play the game. Thus, in this specific case investigated in the current study, sign language interpreting can be regarded as a field in Bourdieusian sense in that there exist active agents which are sign language interpreters (both hired by the state and working freelance or voluntarily), members of Turkish deaf community as consumers, and members of the hearing society usually as service providers or employers. In other words, the field of SL interpreting emerges from the need for mediation between Turkish deaf community and the hearing community.

As it is explained in Chapter 2, in a certain field, when the norms of the field and required type of capital(s) come together, they result in practice. One of the research questions asked in this study is about the rules of the game, i.e., ‘What are the norms of SL interpreting in Turkey?’ The investigation of this question has revealed that sign language interpreters, although recognized as professionals within legal frameworks and in practice since they are hired by the government for the sign language interpreter positions in the social service offices, do not perceive themselves as professionals because of a lack of access to an adequate academic training program which is seen as the absence of university degree programs.

As Bourdieu suggests, the type of capital the agents hold determine their position in the field. In our case, as it is also exposed in 3.4, the most important skill of a SL interpreter is having fluent signing skills. The participants of this investigation have strongly criticized those appearing in the market as interpreters without sufficient language skills. They also mentioned that flowing signing skills,

i.e., signing like a deaf, is the most desired quality of an interpreter by deaf clients. Besides, all participants have complained that current SL learning and interpreter training courses, features of which exposed in 3.1, are insufficient to equip future interpreters with adequate language skills to perform interpreting. As a result, linguistic capital can be regarded as the most important asset SL interpreters can use to function in the field, and it is the first type of capital interpreter candidates struggle to acquire. Holding the sufficient amount of linguistic capital is also key to be accepted by the deaf community.

Coda interpreters usually enjoy the advantages of being raised in a deaf family and learning both sign and oral languages during their childhood. Their linguistic capital is one of the main factors leading them to the path of sign language interpreting. Helping by mediating for their family and the small deaf community they grew up in, most Coda interpreters usually do not have choices but pursuing an interpreting career. However, as it is discovered from the participants' answers (See 3.4), having a deaf family does not always provide them with adequate language skills to interpret in all settings. To make it clear, a hearing person can only have a limited skillset of signing if their deaf parents are not well educated and communicate only through their homesigns (See Chapter 1). In such cases, Coda interpreters need academic training or to socialize with the wider deaf community to improve their language skills.

As for non-Coda interpreters, they struggle more to acquire a position in the field because of their limited language skills and not having relations with the deaf community. Therefore, in order to enhance their linguistic skills, they provide voluntary service, and this usually allows them to increase their linguistic and social capitals.

Bourdieu argues that (2000) the agents' habitus reflects the structures of the field they operate in and its properties depend on the agent's capital and position within the hierarchy. As it is discussed in 2.2, there is an inherent power imbalance between the interlocutors of conversation at sign language interpreting settings. The habitus of deaf people does not function adequately within the social field or the field of power because they lack sufficient cultural, linguistic, social and/or economic capital to play the game, thus this causes them to occupy subordinate positions in

relation to hearing members of the society. This subordinate position of the Turkish deaf community causes SL interpreters to adopt a helping role, which is supported by the answers of the participants. SL interpreters mostly align themselves with the deaf community due to reasons such as being a member of a deaf family or feeling sorry for deaf people because of their disadvantaged status in the society.

Holding the linguistic capital of the dominant spoken language and of the language of a disadvantaged minority, SL interpreters are positioned at the heteronomous pole of the field of power. In other words, the fact that hearing SL interpreters are a part of the hearing majority by holding the linguistic capital which is lacking in the deaf community leads them to have a powerful position with regard to their deaf clients within the hierarchy. This powerful status reflects itself in the interpreters' helping, advocating, leading, and consulting attitudes. The interpreters tend to modify their deaf clients' text when they think their way of speaking is inappropriate for a specific setting, and omit from the original spoken text when they decide that the content is irrelevant to or uninteresting for the deaf. Nevertheless, they enjoy a less powerful position in relation to the hearing party(s) of the interpreted interaction since their linguistic skill of a less powerful language is not regarded as a valuable asset and interpreting for the deaf is regarded as a charity service.

The findings of the current research show that SL interpreters usually explore interpreting strategies and professional ethics through their own experience as a result of inaccessibility to a comprehensive academic interpreter education. Although they reinforce their cultural capital in the institutionalized state by collecting certificates, and those certificates open doors for them to get employed at public institutions, these certificates are usually received, especially by Coda interpreters, even without attending the current interpreter training courses. The absence of undergraduate degree programs on sign language interpreting and inconsistencies between the current interpreter training courses cause SL interpreters-to-be to find their own way, which results in the hindrance of developing a professional identity and institutionalization.

Social capital is another significant asset for SL interpreters to have a position in the field. Being accepted and known as a good interpreter by the deaf community

enables interpreters to be chosen for events, projects where sign language mediation is needed. As mentioned before, new interpreters test and improve their skills by helping at local deaf associations. Especially, non-Coda interpreters with insufficient linguistic and social capital tend to take part in voluntary settings and to offer free service with a view to being accepted by the deaf community and making a name for themselves. Moreover, SL interpreters join national deaf associations, confederations, federations, or interpreting profession related associations in order to build a network of employers and clients. All interpreters who participated in this study are members of IDTD or TSMF and/or their local deaf or disabilities related associations.

Another point that needs to be discussed is that the participants of this study do not prioritize financial gains, that is accumulating economic capital, but improving their social and linguistic capitals. Although Bourdieu reduces every form of capital to economic capital, it is possible to argue that in this specific context interpreters seek symbolic capital in the form of social recognition rather than any form of financial remuneration. Earning gratitude of deaf people by ‘helping’ through providing interpreting service without expectation of financial rewarding allows SL interpreters to improve their linguistic skills and social network which will probably provide them with prospective clients in the future.

3.6. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE THEORY OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

Two kinds of social representations have been discovered in this study: (1) The participants’ representations on their own role and profession as SL interpreters; and (2) The participants’ representations on Turkish deaf community whose members are the main consumers of SL interpreting services. The main goal of exploring interpreters’ social representations regarding their role and deaf people is to understand and identify the roles SL interpreters tend to adopt and to explore the social psychological reasons lying behind it. At the beginning of the study, the third hypothesis was that SL interpreters’ perceptions about their deaf clients are one of the factors which determines the roles they tend to adopt at interpreting settings. In

this part, the social representations identified from the findings of this study and their effect on the participants' perceptions on their role will be discussed.

The findings suggest that the participants tend to describe their work as helping, advocating, consulting, and volunteering. Their representations of being a sign language interpreter mostly focus on helping and volunteering for deaf people rather than being a professional and a language expert. The participants' answers reveal that neither Coda nor non-Coda interpreters fully trust their own and/or their counterparts' interpreting skills. As it is discussed above, the participants' insecurities about feeling themselves as professional interpreters mostly arise from the lack of institutionalized cultural capital which is observed as the absence of university degree programs, and from the fact that most Coda interpreters have not received any form of interpreting related training. Besides, insufficiency of available interpreter training alternatives shows itself in the participants' comments about their roles and attitudes. The participants are clearly confused about the adequacy of interpreting strategies they use, professional ethics, and roles and attitudes they adopt or should adopt. For example, the participants can say that an interpreter should be like a channel and should not interfere with anything other than transferring the message while, at the same time, seeing themselves in a position where they feel free to change, to modify the original text and/or to express their own ideas, or to consult.

On the other hand, it is observed that how the participants perceive deaf people has a significant effect on their strategical choices, attitudes and professional representations. As it has been explained in Chapter 2, the continuous experience of direct contact between interpreters and the deaf community, which is more than the contact between deaf people and average hearing lay people with no deaf family members or friends, shape representations of the Turkish deaf community members among SL interpreters. Actually, considering that most of SL interpreters in Turkey and most of the participants in this study are Codas, it can be said that they are even more influential on shaping representations of deaf community among SL interpreters due to their experience with their deaf family members and acquaintances since their childhood.

The participants' representations of deaf people discovered in this study can be listed as follows:

- (1) Members of Turkish deaf community are usually poorly educated, lack the capacity to comprehend most concepts of the hearing world, and have difficulty to follow the norms of accepted forms of communication and behavior in the hearing society. Because of their low education status and literacy skills, they usually lack self-confidence and have low comprehension ability besides being impatient and lazy.
- (2) Apart from interpreting, deaf people expect interpreters to give advice, to protect their rights, to defend them, to speak on behalf of them, to help by providing service without charging a fee, to make decisions for them, and to lead them.

Moscovici (1973) says that individuals master their material and social world and position themselves in them with the help of social representations. In the case of SL interpreting in Turkey, it can be argued that SL interpreters tailor certain roles for themselves according to their opinions and perceptions on the deaf community. In other words, the participants' representations of their work and roles, which are discovered as helper, advocate, consultant, and volunteer can be interpreted to result from representations of their deaf clients as members of a mostly illiterate, help-needing, and low-status community.

CONCLUSION

Being one of the few studies conducted in the field in Turkey, this study has been developed from the hypotheses emerging from the author's initial observations in the field that sign language interpreters in Turkey are inclined to adopt advocating, guiding, and patronizing attitudes towards deaf people, and that this situation results from the interpreters' perceptions regarding their profession and their role as interpreters as well as their opinions about the deaf community. I have tried to picture sign language interpreting in Turkey by investigating the norms prevailing in the field. In the following paragraphs, the summary of the chapters along with the findings of the study is given.

Chapter One consists of background information about sign languages and deaf communities for readers who are not familiar with these topics. I have explained the extant misconceptions about sign languages and the development of national sign languages and deaf communities in the world by providing a brief history of deaf education since the emergence of deaf communities and development of national sign languages are closely related to deaf education. This chapter also includes introductory information to Turkish Sign Language (TİD), deafness and the deaf community in Turkey. I have described briefly the pre-republic and post-republic period of deaf education in Turkey as well as portraying the current situation by mentioning issues like deaf schools, literacy problem, representative institutions, and Turkish deaf culture. Although we have information about the use of sign languages in Anatolia for at least 3500 years and about the prestigious position of sign language in the Ottoman palace, deaf communities could only emerge in Turkey when schools were founded for deaf students. I have also shown in this chapter that the adoption of oralism as a deaf education method with the beginning of the Republican period and exclusion of sign language from deaf schools caused the problem of illiteracy among the deaf along with hampering the academic development of TİD.

Chapter Two is divided into three parts which cover literature review, theoretical framework, and methodology. The literature review features two parts: sign language interpreting and the role of the sign language interpreter respectively. In the first part, historical evolution of SLI as a profession and sign language

interpreter training in the world has been briefly explained. The differences and commonalities between sign and spoken language interpreting have been discussed, which is followed by the description of settings where SLI widely takes place and a review of studies on SLI which have had a boom especially in the new millennium. The second part of the literature review focuses on discussions on the role of the sign language interpreter which began with the four models of SLI proposed by Witter-Merithew (1986) that were also metaphors used to understand and describe interpreters' behavioral dispositions. The theoretical framework where I have explained the theory of Social Representations developed by social psychologist Serge Moscovici (1961/1976) and the concept of capital as defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) has been introduced in the third part of this chapter. These social and social psychological approaches have been chosen to discuss the findings of the study considering the fact that sign language interpreting is a social activity by nature influenced by various social and social psychological factors just like any other interpreting activity. Finally, in the last part of this chapter, I have explained the methodological approaches and tools I have employed to collect the research data. Being a qualitative exploratory study, I have combined the data gathered through two tools namely qualitative interview and questionnaire with the participation of 26 sign language interpreters.

The third chapter of the study consists of the data analysis and discussion of the findings within the framework of the above-mentioned theoretical approaches. This chapter consists of five sections, the first of which covers the current situation of SLI and SL interpreter training in Turkey. In the second part, I have identified the norms of SLI in Turkey as a field by benefitting from Moira Inghilleri's adaptation (2003) of Toury's (1995) concept of translation norms, i.e., initial, preliminary and operational norms, exploring interpreting as a norm governed activity. Accordingly, the initial norm, which represents itself as the cultural/linguistic dominance relationship between two languages and cultures, has been identified as the oppressed and powerless position of the deaf community as a disability group within the society, which leads to the powerless minority language position of TID when compared to the majority spoken language, Turkish. Departing from Inghilleri's (2003) adaptation of preliminary norm concept as policies regarding non-native

speaker(s)' right to an interpreter, I have argued that deaf people in Turkish society have a pseudo-right to an interpreter because of factors such as lack of sufficient number of SL interpreters employed by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, exclusion of sign language from the educational settings including deaf schools, and the limited right ruled by various laws regarding access to an interpreter at the courts or notaries. I have also discussed that 'right to an interpreter' can and should also be considered as a 'right to a qualified interpreter' in such a field where accessing to a qualified interpreter is a challenge for the members of the deaf community because of non-standardized and inadequate practices in SL interpreter training, certification, and accreditation. Finally, the analysis of the research data which also consists of the participants' opinions on their role, ethical conduct, the interpreting profession, and the deaf community constituted the operational norms of the field. I have analyzed the data under seven categories: (i) interpreting strategies, (ii) professional ethics, (iii) skills and characteristics of a SL interpreter, (iv) the role of the SL interpreter, (v) expectations of the deaf from the viewpoint of the participants, (vi) the deaf community, (vii) SLI as a profession or voluntary service.

The data gathered from the interviews and the questionnaires yielded the following findings:

- The strategies the participants tend to use include interpreting through indirect language while interpreting, especially in dialogic settings, and omitting information from the original speech if they think it is not interesting or relevant for the deaf interlocutors. Most participants think that they can, and they should modify the deaf interlocutor's speech as it is not appropriate or acceptable for the norms of the hearing culture. For example, they feel free to omit aggressive or insulting expressions or to add over-polite usages. They use explication and fingerspelling to translate words that do not have an equivalent sign in TID. At conferences or meetings, however, they usually only fingerspell such words due to limited time during simultaneous interpreting.
- The participants' opinions on ethical conduct have mostly been shaped by their own experiences. For example, only five interpreters were informed about ethical rules published on the website of the association of SL interpreters. Only a few interpreters acknowledge that confidentiality and avoiding sharing personal opinions are ethical

principles that should be observed. Most participants expressed that confidentiality is a significant problem among Coda interpreters because of their close relationship with the community.

- According to the participants, being a fluent signer and using facial expressions correctly can be regarded as the most fundamental skills an interpreter should have. They complain that the field is full of incompetent interpreters who risk deaf people's interests. Being familiar to deaf culture is another important asset for the participants. Actually, coda interpreters think that due to inadequate language learning and interpreter training courses, being a Coda is an advantage to be successful in the field.
- Participants' attitudes in interpreting settings change depending on their relationship with the deaf client. If they know the deaf client personally, they are inclined to adopt a more helping, defending, guarding and intervening attitude. However, if they do not have any familiarity with the person, they prefer not to intervene, and in such cases, they act as conduits. The majority of the Coda interpreters admitted that it is usually challenging to avoid having a helping or guarding attitude because of their close relationship with the community.
- While talking about their role and responsibilities, the participants describe themselves as bridges, consultants, mentors, advocates and/or guardians. Coda interpreters are having difficulty in changing their helping, guarding and volunteering attitudes that they acquired from their brokering days for their families while non-Coda interpreters perceive themselves as community workers and helpers of the deaf. Because they feel that they owe the deaf community this service in exchange of learning their language.
- Majority of the participants believe that apart from being fluent signers and being familiar with the deaf culture, deaf people expect interpreters to speak on behalf of them or to give advice because they do not confide in their own knowledge. According to the interpreters, deaf people perceive interpreters as consultants from whom they can seek advice on various topics from medicine to law.
- Participants' views on the deaf community and culture vary. The words and phrases used by the interpreters to describe deaf people include 'lazy, aggressive, impatient, bad-tempered, selfish, and lacking self-confidence'. All participants agree that most

deaf people have difficulty comprehending abstract concepts, have low-literacy, and they do not follow the norms of the hearing society, for which the inadequacy of the deaf education is thought to be responsible.

- When their opinions on the interpreting profession were questioned, surprisingly most interpreters defended that it is a voluntary community service and should be provided free of charge for the deaf. They complained that there is no standard on interpreting fees, and they complained about ‘other’ interpreters in the field, charging their clients unfair prices. Apparently, freelance interpreters charge their clients according to their financial situation or ‘the worth of the sale or agreement’ which is subject to interpreting. The chairperson of TSMF also claimed that some Ministry interpreters charge extra fees when they are assigned to interpreting tasks. Apart from the chairpersons of the IDTD and TSMF, there were only two interpreters who were concerned about their professional status. According to them, such practices as volunteering and adopting a helping and guarding stance harm the profession and prevent the public from perceiving SL interpreters as professionals. The other participants, however, were more concerned about the deaf community. The main reason for this can be the fact that most SL interpreters also engage in SL teaching activities, and interpreting is not their main income source.

Departing from the findings of the study, it can be concluded that the operational norms of the field of SLI in Turkey can be observed in official policies regarding the right to an interpreter for the deaf, policies regarding deaf education, little research on the field and lack of practitioners engaging in research activity, inadequate interpreter training programs and disunity in certification of interpreters along with questionable competency of interpreter trainers. Moreover, the findings acquired from the participant opinions explained above led me to find another operational norm which represents itself in the practice of SLI in the helper model as explained by Witter- Merithew (1986) to describe the evolution of SLI in the US, where SL interpreters mostly provide voluntary service under non-standardized working conditions and tend to adopt patronizing and guarding attitude towards the deaf.

After identifying the norms of the field of SLI in Turkey, I have discussed the sociological and social psychological factors which may influence perceptions of the

interpreters about their role and professional position through the capital concept and the theory of social representations as mentioned before. As a matter of fact, the concept of capital facilitates our understanding of the position of sign language interpreters in the field which is closely related to the attitudes and role perceptions of the interpreters while the theory of social representations helps us to see that social actor's opinions on other actors in the field have a determining influence on their attitudes and behaviors.

The present study indicates that owning linguistic and cultural capitals represented as being fluent in TID and the deaf culture is the most fundamental asset for the interpreters to be successful in the field. However, not having any access to the university level training programs, the interpreters have difficulty in perceiving themselves as complete professionals. The answers of the participants demonstrate that although Coda interpreters are better equipped in terms of cultural and language skills when compared to their non-Coda counterparts, whose number is increasing day by day thanks to the growing popularity of sign languages around the world and booming 'sign language teaching sector' in Turkey, starting the profession with adequate language and translation/interpreting skills is not possible for either Coda or non-Coda interpreters with existing SL learning and interpreter training programs.

The inherent power imbalance within SL interpreting-mediated interactions caused by unequal types and amounts of capital held by the actors results in a hierarchical rank order among the actors in the dialogic SLI settings. Sign language interpreters usually hold a more powerful position in relation to their deaf clients whose lack of sufficient cultural, linguistic, and economic capital causes them to occupy subordinate positions in relation to hearing members of the society because they hold the linguistic capital of the dominant language of the hearing majority and act as a key opening doors to the hearing world for most deaf people. On the other hand, sign language interpreters enjoy a less powerful position in relation to the hearing party or parties of the interpreted interaction who are usually the service providers since their linguistic skill of a less powerful language is not regarded as a valuable asset and interpreting for the deaf is regarded as a charity service. Therefore, it can be argued that sign language interpreters' position in the field is heavily influenced by the inferior position of the deaf community.

Furthermore, this study also demonstrates that sign language interpreters prioritize improving their symbolic capital in the form of social recognition, which is supported by increased linguistic and cultural capitals, rather than focusing on financial gains. Nevertheless, it is clear that earning the gratitude of deaf people by ‘helping’ through providing interpreting service without expectation of financial rewarding allows SL interpreters to improve their linguistic skills and social network which will finally bring along prospective clients.

When the findings of the study were analyzed within the framework of the theory of social representations, two kinds of professional social representations were found as the outcome of the close relationship between the professional and the direct object(s) of their work. These are the representations of the SLI profession and the interpreters’ role and the social representations of the deaf community among the participants of the study. The answers given to the questions reveal that the representations of SLI among the participants include helping, advocating, consulting and volunteering. As for the second professional social representations related to the members of Turkish deaf community, I have found that perceptions of the participants about deaf people mostly include negative opinions which signal deaf people’s need for the interpreters. For example, the adjectives used by the participants to describe the deaf community include ‘friendly, undereducated, illiterate, lazy, lacking self-confidence, quick-tempered, and impatient’. The participants expressed that the inadequate education the deaf receive in Turkey aggravates the problems of the deaf community. Additionally, the participants think that their deaf clients usually expect them to give advice, to protect their rights, to speak on behalf of them, and to provide free interpreting and consulting service.

All in all, the present study demonstrates that the field of SLI in Turkey is still at the early stage of its development, where the interpreting services are still conducted in the helper model, that is the interpreters, most of whom are Coda, with inadequate skills and training to offer professional service tend to provide voluntary service in non-standardized working conditions and to adopt guarding, helping and usually patronizing attitudes toward deaf people. The following factors have been found to be the potential causes of this situation:

- lack of university-level degree programs and lack of adequate SL learning and interpreter training curricula, which causes novice interpreters to offer voluntary service to improve their linguistic and social capital, and which hampers Coda interpreters' self-perception as professionals;
- non-standardized practices in SL interpreter training, certification and accreditation;
- the powerless position of deaf people in the society, and as a result of this, social representation of deaf people among interpreters as members of a help-needing and non-self-sufficient disability group;
- lack or insufficiency of legal frameworks that regulate the access of deaf people to SLI services in various settings such as hospitals, police stations, educational institutions, television broadcasts and so on;
- Sign language interpreters' relativistic position in terms of power relationships among the actors. To clarify, it can be argued that that whereas interpreters' more powerful position as holders of the dominant linguistic and cultural capital with regard to their deaf clients may cause them to adopt the 'helping' model of interpreting, their lesser position against the hearing service providers, which is a result of their lack of 'acceptable' form of institutional cultural capital in the form of a university diploma, leads them to question their proficiency.

Although this study includes limited data due to the restricted time and resources allocated for this study, it has achieved its objectives as an exploratory study. The main limitations of this study are the limited number of interpreter participants and the lack of an analysis of interpreter mediated interaction, which require more time due to the difficulty of arranging appointments with sign language interpreters all over the country and needs the collaboration of a practitioner as a co-researcher to transcribe the interpreted interaction and to analyze it. Actually, these limitations lead to possibilities for further research. As mentioned before, sign language interpreting continues to be an under-researched area in Turkey. Therefore, case studies investigating the role of the interpreter in natural interpreted settings could create opportunities to test the findings of this research and offer deeper insights regarding the field. Additionally, studies exploring the perceptions of the deaf community with regard to the existing interpreting services and interpreters themselves could provide further information about the issues that needs to be

considered while developing future interpreter training curricula. Studies to be conducted on Turkish deaf culture and literature and development of bilingual materials and field-specific terminologies for TID are also some future research implications whose outcomes would certainly contribute to the development of the field in Turkey. Last but not least, it is indispensable for the improvement of the field that future scholarly efforts benefit from the experience of SLI practitioners, which could allow removing the gaps between practice and theory.



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APPENDICES



APPENDIX 1: The module 8⁹⁰

8. Interpreting according to TID rules

• Interpreting

- Communicating via TID in every life situation
- Transferring the desires, wishes, thoughts of a person with hearing and speech disabilities to a hearing person correctly via TID
- Interpreting written and oral texts flawlessly into TID

B. Interpreting Spoken Language into TID

1. Transferring the desires, wishes, thoughts of a hearing person to a hearing-impaired person
2. Facilitating communication between a hearing and non-hearing person through TID

C. The points to be considered

1. Recognizing the environment
2. The place where and people for whom the interpreting service will be delivered
3. Having comprehensive knowledge regarding the subject
4. Explaining the subject
5. Terminology regarding the subject
6. Correct information
7. Speaking fluently
8. Turn taking
9. Confirming information
10. Metaphors in Turkish
11. Idioms

D. Professional Ethics

1. Complying with the legal rules of the profession
2. Considering ethics of the profession
3. Putting none of the parties in difficult situations

⁹⁰ The original has been translated by the author.

E. Teaching a subject

1. Student-focused teaching
2. Preparing teaching materials and environment
3. Getting the highest efficiency
4. Employing correct techniques

F. Interpreting /Making comments

1. Interpretation of daily events
2. Interpretation of our lives
3. General knowledge



APPENDIX 2: Interview Questions (Phase I)

EĞİTİM VE MESLEKİ TECRÜBE

1. Adınız soyadınız, yaşıınız, yaşadığınız yer ve eğitim geçmişinizle ilgili bilgi veriniz.
2. İşaret dilini ne zaman ve nerede öğrendiniz?
3. Ailenizde ya da yakın çevrenizde sağır bireyler var mı?
4. Ne zamandan beri işaret dili tercümanlığı yapıyorsunuz?
5. Çocukluk döneminde aileniz ya da yakın çevreniz için çeviri yapar mıydınız, cevabınız evet ise bu deneyimin sizi ve hayatınızı nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?
6. İşaret dili tercümanlığı esas işiniz mi, yoksa başka bir iş yapıyor musunuz? Herhangi bir kuruma bağlı olarak mı yoksa serbest mi çalışıyorsunuz? Şimdiye kadar nerelerde çevirmenlik yaptınız?
7. Tercüman olmaya nasıl karar verdiniz?
8. İşaret dili tercümanı olmak için herhangi bir eğitim aldınız mı? Profesyonelleşmek için nasıl süreçlerden geçtiniz?
9. Hangi ortamlarda çevirmenlik yapıyorsunuz?

TÜRKİYE'DE İŞARET DİLİ TERCÜMANLIĞI

1. Türkiye'de işaret dili tercümanlığının mesleki konumu ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?
2. Özellikle nerelerde, hangi kurumlarda tercüman bulunması gerektiğini düşünüyorsunuz?
3. Hali hazırda var olan çeviri hizmetleri ve tercüman sayısı ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?
4. İşaret dili tercümanlarının çalışma şekillerine, niteliklerine standart getirmek için ve/ veya tercümanların haklarını korumak için yapılan çalışmalar ya da bunun için çalışan dernekler var mı?

5. İşaret dili tercümanlarının uyması gereken etik kurallar var mı? Varsa nelerdir, ve bu kuralları hangi kurum belirliyor? Siz bu kuralları nasıl öğrendiniz?

NİTELİKLER

1. Sizce iyi bir tercümanın ne gibi niteliklere sahip olması gerekiyor?
2. Tercümanlık eğitiminin daha iyi çeviri yapmak için gerekli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Halk eğitim merkezlerinin verdiği kurslar ve mevcut işaret dili tercümanlığı sertifika programları ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz, sizce yeterli mi, değilse nasıl olması gerekir? Üniversitelerde işaret dili tercümanlığı bölümleri açılması ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?
3. Koda olmak ya da olmamak nitelikli çeviri yapmayı etkiler mi, işaret dili tercümanı olmak için Koda olmak şart mıdır? Konuyla ilgili düşünceleriniz nedir?
4. Konferans, hukuk, sağlık gibi özel alanlarda çeviri yapabilmek için ne gibi eğitimler alınıyor/ alınmalı, siz bu konuda herhangi bir eğitim aldınız mı?

STRATEJİLER

1. Çeviri yaparken ne tür stratejiler kullanıyorsunuz? Örn. söyleneni olduğu gibi aktarmayı mı yoksa özetlemeyi mi tercih ediyorsunuz?
2. Karşı tarafın anlamadığı ya da anlamayacağını, bilmeyeceğini düşündüğünüz terimler, isimler vs. olduğunda nasıl bir çeviri stratejisi benimsiyorsunuz?
3. Türk İşaret Dilinde var olmayan bir kavramı çevirirken ne tür stratejiler kullanıyorsunuz?
4. Söylenenleri aktarırken 'ben' dilini mi kullanıyorsunuz yoksa dolaylı anlatım yoluyla mı çeviriyorsunuz?
5. Çeviride sizi en çok zorlayan durumlar nelerdir? Örnek verir misiniz?

ÇEVİRMENİN ROLÜ

1. Hastane, mahkeme, karakol gibi özellikle karşılıklı diyalogların söz konusu olduğu ortamlarda çeviri yaparken çevirmen nasıl bir rol benimsemelidir?
2. Çevirmenin rolü hangisi olmalıdır, siz nasıl bir rol benimsiyorsunuz? Aşağıdaki rollere göre yorumlayabileceğiniz gibi kendi yorumunuzu da ekleyebilirsiniz

(Yardımcı modeli, kanal modeli, iletişim yardımcısı modeli, iki dilli iki kültürlü model)

Yardımcı modeli: Bu modelde çevirmen konuşmacının vasiliği, yardımcılığı, avukatlığı, danışmanlığı gibi roller üstlenir ve konuşmacı ya da sağır birey yerine konuşur, kararlar alır.

Kanal modeli: Çevirmen bu modelde bir makineden farksızdır, yalnızca söylenenleri duyduğu ya da gördüğü şekilde aktarır, başka hiçbir şeye karışmaz.

İletişim yardımcısı modeli: Bu modelde çevirmen, kanal modeline ek olarak iletişimin kolaylaşmasını sağlamak amacıyla çeviri ortamının hazırlanması, çeviri yapılacak kişilerle önceden görüşme, konumunu belirleme gibi sorumluluklar üstlenir.

İki dilli iki kültürlü model: Bu modelde çevirmen her iki dile ve kültüre hakim olması gerektiğinin bilincindedir ve her iki dil ve kültürün gerektirdiği şekilde çeviri yapar. Doğru çevirinin en çok vurgulandığı modeldir.

3. Çevirmen, yanlış anlaşılmalara önlemek için kendi açıklamalarını eklemeli mi, konuşmaya ne kadar müdahale etmeli? Sağırılar bu konuda nasıl bir beklenti içindeler?

4. Sağırıların işaret dili tercümanlarından beklentisi ne oluyor? Türkiye'deki mevcut çevirmenlerin niteliksel olarak bu beklentileri karşılayıp karşılamadıkları konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

MEDYA ÇEVİRİSİ

1. Ne zamandır televizyonda çeviri yapıyorsunuz? Hangi kanallarda ve programlarda çeviri yaptınız/ yapıyorsunuz?

2. Televizyonda çeviri yapmanın zorlukları nelerdir?

3. Türkiye'de sağırıların televizyon programlarına erişimini sağlamak için ne gibi alternatifler ve çalışmalar bulunmaktadır? Söz konusu alternatiflerin yeterliliği ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?

4. Sağırılar için altyazı ile programların sunulması ve Türkiye'de mevcut durumun yeterliliği ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?

5. Sizce televizyondaki işaret dili çevirisi sağırıların beklentilerini hangi ölçüde karşılıyor? Kullandığınız işaret dili Türkiye genelinde sağırılara ne ölçüde ulaşıyor ve ne kadar anlaşılıyor?

6. Televizyonda siyaset, hukuk, ekonomi, tıp gibi alanlarda kullanılan terimleri çevirirken ne tür stratejiler kullanıyorsunuz? Kullandığınız stratejilerde sağıruları eğitme amacı var mı, varsa ne ölçüde var, hedefe ulaşıyor mu?

7. Medyanın sağır toplumunun eğitimi için kullanımı konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? Ülkemizde ne gibi çalışmalar var bu konuda?

TÜRKİYEDE SAĞIRLAR

1. Türkiye’de sağıraların en büyük sorunu nedir?

2. Sağıraların eğitim seviyeleri ve bu konuda onlara sağlanan olanaklarla ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?

3. Sağırılar en çok hangi ortamlarda tercümana ihtiyaç duyuyorlar?

4. Türk sağır kültürünü bize nasıl tanımlarsınız, konuşan ve işiten Türk toplumuyla arada farklılıklar var mı, varsa neler? Sağır bireylerle iletişimde nelere dikkat etmek gerekir?

5. Sağır bireylerin hayatında tercümanların rolü nedir?

APPENDIX 3: Interview Questions (Phase II)

1. Şimdi size sırayla beş kavram söyleyeceğim. Her kavramın size çağrıştırdıklarını söylemenizi rica ediyorum:

- sağırılık
- sağır toplumu
- sağır kültürü
- çevirmenin rolü
- işaret dili çevirmeni

2. Sizce sağır topluma karışabiliyorlar mı? Toplum içinde kendilerine yer bulabiliyorlar mı?

3. Sizce topluma karışmak için sağırın tercümanlara ihtiyacı var mı?

4. Sağırın devletin desteğine ihtiyacı var mı? Var olduğunu düşünüyorsanız bu nasıl bir destek olmalı? Neden?

5. Sağırın işiten bireylerin yardımına ihtiyacı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Neden?

6. İşiten kişiler işaret dili öğrenmeli mi? Neden?

7. Eğer bir sağır kendisi için ücretsiz çeviri yapmanızı isterse kabul eder misiniz? Neden?

8. Sağır toplumu içinde kendi rolünüzü nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

9. İşaret dili çevirmenlerinin sağır toplumunda fark yarattığını düşünüyor musunuz? (Evet ise) Nasıl bir fark?

10. Sağır toplumunu temsil ettiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz?

APPENDIX 4: Questionnaire

The online questionnaire can be accessed via the following link:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSdl-zBkUt7YpoVTj1qcXkQPhqfG1xRIQYYV59hEVCb4CfyOTA/viewform?usp=sf_link

