

Interpreting without a safety harness: the purpose and power of participants in interpreted Health and Safety training for the construction industry in Ireland

Martina O'Byrne, Dott.

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
supervised by Dr. Sharon O'Brien, Prof. Jenny Williams
at the School of Applied Languages and Intercultural Studies
Dublin City University

January 2013

Acknowledgements

I would like to sincerely thank my supervisors Dr. Sharon O'Brien and Professor Jenny Williams who invited me to undertake a research project with SALIS and whose trust, guidance and expertise I treasured throughout the course of the project. I am also indebted to other members of the DCU community interpreting research group, for their many interested and interesting insights which helped me to navigate my research journey. I am grateful to all the interviewees that generously gave of their time and energy to partake in this research study, and whose comments and reflections form the single most important research asset contained in this work. I would also like to acknowledge the friendly admin staff of DCU who were ever helpful and available to my requests for practical help.

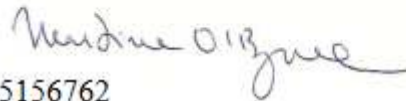
I would like to thank my parents and my family for their constant support and encouragement. I would like especially to thank my six year old son Christopher for his bravery and patience in letting his mother spend so much time on her 'book'.

I am also grateful to Dun Laoghaire County Council for funding in the form of the Higher Education grant which provided much needed practical support for my work.

Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed:



(Martina O'Byrne)

ID No.: 55156762

Date: 07/01/2013

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| TABLE OF CONTENTS..... | 4 |
| ABSTRACT | 9 |
| LIST OF FIGURES | 10 |
| LIST OF TABLES | 11 |
| TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE | 12 |
| LIST OF APPENDICES | 13 |
| CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION..... | 14 |
| I.1. STATEMENT OF THESIS TOPIC | 14 |
| I.2. BACKGROUND TO THE CURRENT STUDY | 15 |
| I.3. OVERVIEW OF METHODOLOGY | 15 |
| I.4. THESIS STRUCTURE | 17 |
| CHAPTER II. INTERPRETING IN THE AREA OF HEALTH AND SAFETY WITHIN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY IN IRELAND | 19 |
| II.1. INTRODUCTION | 19 |
| II.2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION | 19 |
| II.3. SETTINGS AND PARTICIPANTS | 21 |
| II.4. INTERPRETING MODES | 23 |
| II.5. FÁS SAFE PASS HEALTH AND SAFETY AWARENESS TRAINING PROGRAMME | 24 |
| <i>II.5.1. Registration</i> | <i>24</i> |
| <i>II.5.2. The interpreter meets the tutor</i> | <i>25</i> |
| <i>II.5.3. Form filling.....</i> | <i>25</i> |
| <i>II.5.4. Training begins.....</i> | <i>26</i> |
| <i>II.5.5. The twelve modules.....</i> | <i>27</i> |
| II.5.5.1. Module one..... | 28 |
| II.5.5.2. Module two | 31 |
| II.5.5.3. Module three | 31 |
| II.5.5.4. Modules four to six and eight to eleven | 32 |
| II.5.5.5. Module seven | 32 |
| II.5.5.6. Module twelve..... | 32 |
| II.5.5.7. Final assessment..... | 33 |
| II.6. H&S CHALLENGES TO INTERPRETING IN IRELAND | 33 |
| II.7. CONCLUSION | 35 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| CHAPTER III. LITERATURE REVIEW 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND | 36 |
| CHAPTER IV. LITERATURE REVIEW 2: HEALTH AND SAFETY INTERPRETING AND OTHER RELATED STUDIES | 59 |
| CHAPTER V. METHODOLOGY | 71 |
| V.1. INTRODUCTION | 71 |
| V.2. BACKGROUND TO CHOSEN METHODOLOGY | 71 |
| V.3. INTERVIEW WITH PARTICIPANTS IN INTERPRETED HEALTH AND SAFETY TRAINING | 73 |
| <i>V.3.1. Research tools design</i> | 74 |
| V.3.1.1. Objective of the interview | 74 |
| V.3.1.2. Designing the research tools | 75 |
| V.3.1.3. Ethical considerations | 78 |
| V.3.1.4. Respondents | 78 |
| V.3.1.4.1. Selection | 78 |
| V.3.1.4.2. Communication | 80 |
| V.3.1.4.3. Profile | 80 |
| V.3.1.4.3.1. Interpreters' demographic data | 81 |
| V.3.1.4.3.2. Tutors' demographic data | 83 |
| <i>V.4.1. Data collection and analysis</i> | 86 |
| V.4.1.1. Research tools: logistics and dynamics | 86 |
| V.4.1.1.1. E-questionnaires | 86 |
| V.4.1.1.2. Pilot interview | 86 |
| V.4.1.1.3. Interview planning | 87 |
| V.4.1.1.4. Interview length | 88 |
| V.4.1.1.5. Selection of venue | 88 |
| V.4.1.1.6. Recording and storing of data | 89 |
| V.4.1.1.7. Format | 90 |
| V.4.1.1.8. Relationship with the respondent | 90 |
| V.4.1.1.9. Note taking/informal log | 93 |
| V.4.1.1.10. Learning experience | 94 |
| <i>V.5.1. Transcription</i> | 95 |
| <i>V.6.1. Sorting and coding</i> | 96 |
| V.6.1.1. Categorisation | 97 |
| V.6.1.2. Charting | 99 |
| V.6.1.3. Working with statements from selected categories: write up of analysis | 101 |
| V.7. CONCLUSION | 103 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| CHAPTER VI. THE PURPOSE AND POWER OF THE INDIRECT PARTICIPANT | 105 |
| VI.1. INTRODUCTION: AIM, SOURCES AND STRUCTURE | 105 |
| <i>VI.1.1. Analysis</i> | <i>108</i> |
| VI.2. H&S TRAINING: THE BEGINNINGS | 108 |
| VI.3. CODE OF CONDUCT FOR TUTORS | 113 |
| VI.4. MONITOR ON TUTOR RESPONSIBILITY AND INTERPRETER INVOLVEMENT | 118 |
| VI.5. DESIGN OF THE COURSE | 124 |
| VI.5.1. DESIGN OF THE COURSE: PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT FORMATS | 124 |
| <i>VI.5.2. Design of the course: general issues</i> | <i>128</i> |
| <i>VI.5.3. Design of the course: consequences for delivery of the interpreted training</i> | <i>132</i> |
| VI.6. THE ATTITUDE OF FÁS..... | 136 |
| <i>VI.6.1. The attitude of FÁS towards course and trainees</i> | <i>136</i> |
| <i>VI.6.2. The attitude of FÁS: consequences for delivery of interpreted training ...</i> | <i>141</i> |
| VI.7. DIRECT PARTICIPANT PRETEXT AND ATTITUDE..... | 151 |
| VI.8. CONCLUSION..... | 155 |
| CHAPTER VII. THE PURPOSE AND POWER OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS 1: GENDER, CULTURE..... | 158 |
| VII.1. INTRODUCTION: AIMS, SOURCES AND STRUCTURE | 158 |
| VII.2. GENDER ISSUES – SOLUTIONS AND STRATEGIES | 160 |
| <i>VII.2.1. Interpreters.....</i> | <i>161</i> |
| <i>VII.2.2. Tutors</i> | <i>167</i> |
| VII.3. CULTURAL ISSUES – SOLUTIONS AND STRATEGIES | 173 |
| VII.4. CONCLUSION | 182 |
| CHAPTER VIII. THE PURPOSE AND POWER OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS 2: MULTIMODALITY | 183 |
| VIII.1. INTRODUCTION: MULTIMODALITY ISSUES OF TEXT AND CONTENT – SOLUTIONS AND STRATEGIES | 183 |
| VIII.2. TEXT TYPES | 184 |
| <i>VIII.2.1. Slides.....</i> | <i>185</i> |
| <i>VIII.2.2. DVDs.....</i> | <i>188</i> |
| <i>VIII.2.3. Test.....</i> | <i>192</i> |
| <i>VIII.2.4. Exercises</i> | <i>201</i> |
| <i>VIII.2.5. Real-life experiences.....</i> | <i>202</i> |
| <i>VIII.2.6. Q&A.....</i> | <i>203</i> |

| | |
|---|------------|
| <i>VIII.2.7. Registration</i> | 205 |
| VIII.3. GENERAL TEXT AND CONTENT-RELATED ISSUES | 207 |
| <i>VIII.3.1. Content character: repetitiveness and content volume</i> | 208 |
| <i>VIII.3.2. Terminology and concepts</i> | 210 |
| <i>VIII.3.3. Register, slang, jokes, swear words</i> | 217 |
| VIII.4. INTERPRETING ISSUES..... | 223 |
| <i>VIII.4.1. Interpreting modes</i> | 223 |
| <i>VIII.4.2. Coordination: non-verbal communication, pausing, rhythm</i> | 228 |
| VIII.5. CONCLUSION | 230 |
| CHAPTER IX. CONCLUSION | 232 |
| IX.1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES | 232 |
| <i>IX.1.1. Reflections on the methodology</i> | 232 |
| <i>IX.1.2. Research findings</i> | 234 |
| IX.2. CONTRIBUTION TO CI LITERATURE | 236 |
| IX.5. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH..... | 237 |
| IX.6. A CONCLUSION ON QUALITY | 237 |
| CODA: THE CONTRACTION OF THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR AND THE DEMISE OF FÁS | 239 |
| APPENDICES | 242 |
| APPENDIX A – INFORMED CONSENT FORM | 242 |
| APPENDIX B – PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT..... | 244 |
| APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (TUTOR)..... | 246 |
| APPENDIX D – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (INTERPRETER)..... | 253 |
| APPENDIX E – REC DOCUMENTATION | 259 |
| APPENDIX F – FÁS CODE OF CONDUCT FOR SAFE PASS TUTORS..... | 260 |
| APPENDIX G – SAMPLE INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTION | 263 |
| REFERENCES | 302 |

Abstract

The boom in the construction industry became one of the symbols for the period of Irish economic growth dubbed 'the Celtic Tiger'. After the accession of ten new countries to the EU in May 2004, Irish construction sites welcomed thousands of needed international workers from these new member states. Ensuring their health and safety at work became a fundamental issue. In the presence of linguistic and cultural differences interpreters were called upon to interpret during H&S training sessions for migrant workers.

The current study describes the H&S interpreting setting and why interpreters are vulnerable within it. Drawing on Inghilleri's theory of the 'configuration of the social'¹, and Mason's concept of 'pretextuality'², the study explores Inghilleri's concept of 'interpreting habitus' within which interpreters are able – through a variety of strategies – to claim certain communication rights, and as a result potentially contribute towards the constructing of new communication/social order/meanings. These aspects of the interpreting habitus in the H&S setting are explored within the contexts of culture, gender and multimodality and are considered in light of Pöchhacker's³ model of quality understood as successful communication.

¹ Inghilleri, M. 2006. Macro Social Theory, Linguistic Ethnography and Interpreting Research. *Linguistica Antverpiensia: Taking Stock: Research and methodology in Community Interpreting*, 2006(5), pp.57-68.

² Mason I. 2006. Ostension, inference and response: analysing participant moves in Community Interpreting dialogues. *Linguistica Antverpiensia: Taking Stock: Research and methodology in Community Interpreting*, 2006(5), pp.103-120.

³ Pöchhacker, F. 2002. Researching interpreting quality: models and methods. *IN: Garzone, G. and Viezzi, M. (eds.) Interpreting in the 21st Century: challenges and opportunities: selected papers from the 1st Forlì Conference on Interpreting Studies*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.95-106.

List of Figures

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure II.1. Safe Pass training programme timetable | 27 |
| Figure III.1. Conceptual spectrum of interpreting | 36 |
| Figure III.2. Quality standards for the product and service of interpreting | 56 |

List of Tables

Table V.1. Professional Experience of Interpreters, expressed in terms of years 82

Table 2. Fatal workplace injuries by economic sector 2002-2007 (NACE Revision 1)
239

Table 3. Fatal workplace injuries by economic sector 2008-2012 (NACE Revision 2)
239

Transcription Guide

Transcription of recorded interview (as featured in Appendix G)

code: **T1**= tutor1, **I1**= interpreter1, **M1**=monitor1

recording code: bold underlined **MR MIC-20...**

recording time: 14:10

questions: bold and underlined **Question 1**

questions and probes: bold **How did you....?**

inaudible statements: [] / []

foreign terms: *italics*

Quotations drawn from the recorded interviews (as featured in the chapters)

1. indented, no quotation marks
2. interviewee statements: *italics*
3. interviewer statements ***bold italics***
4. interviewer comments and additions to the quotation text: **[comment in question]** / [comment in response]
5. text omitted from quotation in text: (...) / (...)
6. inaudible statements: [] / []
7. foreign terms: normal typeface

List of Appendices

| | |
|---|-----|
| Appendix A – Informed Consent Form | 242 |
| Appendix B – Plain Language Statement | 244 |
| Appendix C – Interview schedule (Tutor) | 246 |
| Appendix D – Interview schedule (Interpreter) | 253 |
| Appendix E – REC documentation | 259 |
| Appendix F – FÁS Code of Conduct for Safe Pass Tutors | 260 |
| Appendix G – Sample interview transcription | 263 |

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. Statement of thesis topic

This study explores themes and topics pertinent to the setting of interpreted health and safety (H&S) training for the construction industry in Ireland, in particular in the context of the Safe Pass training course. The way in which the macro-context for this setting as established by the course organiser FÁS⁴ was seen to impact on the micro-dimension of the actual interpreted exchange to a large extent determined the theme of power, both external and internal to the interpreted H&S communicative event (Mason 2006, p.117), and which forms the focus of this work.

Connected to this larger theme were various recurring topics which proceeded from an analysis of the primary data, consisting in a series of interviews with direct participants of interpreted H&S training – interpreters, tutors and a monitor – and in response to an open ended research question: How does interpreting take place in the context of H&S training for the construction industry in Ireland?

The openness of this research question takes a lead from Wadensjö (1998, p.94) who writes: “Setting up non-experimental research projects on interpreter-mediated interaction, I have started from an open question, *how* interpreting happens. I did not ask *whether or not* interpreting happens in certain ways, proceeding from a hypothesis which was to be verified or falsified” [italics in original].

The main topics which emerged from the interview data and which connect to the larger theme of power are:

- Communicative strategies
- Culture
- Gender dynamics
- Multimodality

These stemmed from a research approach which was not over-determined in its design, but rather 'organic' and 'people first'. This approach resulted in a data set which

⁴ The Safe Pass Training Programme, the main setting described in this work, was designed by the Irish national training agency FÁS (cf. Coda) in collaboration with social partners (cf. II.5.5.1.) in the year 2000, and by 2002 had become an obligatory requirement for working on Irish construction sites.

was replete with unexpected reflections on the part of the direct participants, and which enabled the researcher to obtain a holistic view of the interpreting setting and to describe why interpreters are vulnerable within it. The methodology required by this approach as well as the background to and the structure of this study are described below.

I.2. Background to the current study

I joined the Community Interpreting Research Team in the Centre for Translation and Textual Studies at DCU in 2005 with a proposal to investigate 'Quality Issues in Community Interpreting during H&S Training for Construction Industry in Ireland'.

The choice of my research subject was informed on the one hand by five years of Irish community and conference interpreting experience, and on the other by my previous studies in conference interpreting in Trieste, Italy, which I completed with a Dissertation on Interpreting for asylum seekers in Ireland (O'Byrne 2004). Another reason for the choice of my research subject was a desire to improve community interpreting (hereafter abbreviated as CI) practice on the ground, and also the fact that there was little evidence in Ireland or internationally of any research dealing with community interpreting in the H&S training setting.

I.3. Overview of methodology

The first element of methodology involved the mapping out of the particular setting which is interpreted health and safety training for the construction industry. This involved compiling background data, through a preliminary informal interview with a Safe Pass manager, as well as a questionnaire which was administered to an interpreter and Safe Pass tutor.

For the purpose of the research, an e-questionnaire and a semi-structured interview were selected as suitable ethnographic research tools. With a view to following best practice, a theoretical background for the deployment of these research tools was based on Gillham (2000).

The design and deployment of these research tools aligns with Gillham's case

study research typology, with a focus on gaining “‘in-depth’ insightful information” (2000, p.16) [inverted commas in original] from a small group of respondents. The process of interviewing the participants of the interpreted H&S training sessions – interpreters, tutors and a monitor – involved the following stages:

1. initial selection of and communication with respondents;
2. addressing ethical issues arising out of the interview process;
3. design of research tools;
4. logistical considerations / relationship building with the respondents;
5. recording, transcribing, coding, sorting and analysis of data;
6. the writing up of findings.

Part of the methodology in the design of the interviews involved providing a structure which was not over-determined, but which it was hoped would stimulate respondents to reflect on further topics which would be fruitful for analysis.

The interviews were recorded in MP3 format and then transcribed manually. Following this, manual sorting was carried out based on a method proposed by Gillham (2000), in his volume *The Research Interview*. The sorting process took place in three rough phases:

1. identifying and coding substantive statements;
2. charting;
3. working with statements from selected categories and the writing up of the analysis.

Having personal professional experience in the field helped in arriving not only at the final choice of prompts, but also at the main questions themselves.

In addition an e-questionnaire was administered to all selected respondents in order to gather basic demographic data.

Part of the methodology included obtaining clearance from the University Ethics Committee prior to commencing the interview process, in order to ensure that the respondents' identity would be protected in the final writing up of the analysis.

I.4. Thesis structure

Following this Introduction, Chapter II provides detailed information on the particular interpreting setting that forms the focus of this study.

Chapter III maps out the theoretical models deemed to be suitable for the purposes of the study proceeding from a definition of interpreting which responds effectively to the features described in chapter II. As the interview data prompted an analysis of interpreted exchanges as socially and institutionally framed, the theoretical background incorporated Mason's concepts of purpose and pretextuality (2006, p.109), and Inghilleri's theory of the configurations of the social (Inghilleri 2006, p.57) opening up the possibility for an analysis of the interpreted H&S event as a convergence of the institutional, biographical and social features of direct and indirect participants. A model of quality (Pöchhacker 2002, p.97) is introduced to suit the socio-pragmatic sphere of interaction explored by the study.

Chapter IV comprises a review of the existing literature relevant to the current work. With regards to the particular interpreting setting analysed here, it was found that there was little or no research available in interpreting studies literature, a fact which emphasises one of the key contributions which this study makes. The focus then was to review and appraise literature which was relevant to the current study, but carried out in other settings, or which was relevant to the theoretical perspective adopted in this research, and reflecting the sociological and ethnographic turn in interpreting studies (Floros 2012).

Chapter V describes the methodology used in the study, and details the selection of interview respondents, certain ethical issues which needed to be addressed, the design of research tools, logistical considerations, as well as the recording, transcribing, coding, sorting and analysis of data and a final writing up of findings.

In chapter VI the macro context for the interpreted H&S training setting, set by FÁS – the course organiser – is explored, and in particular, how this impacts on the unfolding and outcome of the interpreted event in the micro-dimension.

In chapter VII, the micro-context of the actual interpreted exchange involving the tutor, interpreter and course trainees is analysed, and in particular strategies used by the main participants to negotiate communication rights within the exchange, in an

attempt to arrive at control or to reach consensus, and ultimately to negotiate meaning in particular in the context of cultural and gender-related issues.

In chapter VIII the theme of multimodality as it relates to interpreted H&S training is analysed, as expressed both in the character of the training course content with its multitude of presentation formats as well as aspects of the interpreter's own professional response to this text, including the aspect of interpreting modes.

Finally, Chapter IX provides a conclusion which summarises the findings of the research; provides a reflection on the methodology used; places the current work in the context of interpreting literature and opens up a consideration of possible avenues for future research suggested by the current study.

CHAPTER II. INTERPRETING IN THE AREA OF HEALTH AND SAFETY WITHIN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY IN IRELAND

II.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will introduce the Health and Safety (H&S) community interpreting setting for the international labour force in the construction industry in Ireland.

I will first situate this study in its historical context and describe, against the general political, economic and social background, H&S interpreting in Ireland, by describing the physical setting, the participants in the interpreted events, and the interpreting modalities used, specifically in relation to one of the H&S training formats, known as the Safe Pass Health and Safety Awareness Training Programme. I will also consider the challenges posed to CI practice in Ireland.

Unless indicated otherwise, information presented in this chapter derives from two sources:

1. data collected by the researcher from authentic accounts of interviewed participants in the interpreted Health and Safety training;
2. information drawn from the researcher's own professional experience, observations and collected materials.

II.2. Background information

On 1st of May 2004 ten accession countries⁵ became new members of the European Union. In response, Ireland, along with Norway and the UK, opened their borders to the workforce from the new member states immediately and indiscriminately, and were the only three countries to do so. Ireland, due to the inability of its own workforce to meet the requirements of the booming economy, opened its borders to as many as 50,000 economic immigrants in 2005 alone. While the numbers

⁵ Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.

of political asylum seekers in Ireland, which had been growing steadily in the 1990s, began to decrease, in 2005 the Irish Central Statistics Office (Central Statistics Office 2011) estimated that Ireland would have to accommodate 30,000 economic migrants annually over the following ten years to meet the demand for labour. Net migration peaked the following year, with 69,900 foreign workers entering the country. The total number of social security numbers issued to migrant workers, entitling them to work legally in the Republic of Ireland, at that time was 138,083. Migrant workers constituted nine per cent of the total workforce within the Irish construction industry at that time.

Despite the fact that foreign workers from other countries (mostly of Italian, Spanish, African and Asian origins) were present in Ireland in limited numbers before 2005, and continued to fill positions, in particular, in the critically understaffed medical and paramedical areas, it was the enlargement of the European Union that made work migration an issue requiring the daily attention of Irish politicians, the media and the ordinary citizens of the country. Like the ‘refugee crisis’ of a decade earlier, the EU enlargement sparked fears among the Irish people about losing their economic prosperity and social welfare. An article (O'Brien 2006) published by the *Irish Times* showed that the international workforce created employment opportunities, rather than causing job displacement, and that without it Ireland would not have been able to generate wealth to the extent that it did. The article however, pointed out that in order to safeguard the Irish labour market, it would be essential to tackle the problem of bogus subcontracting and prosecute those guilty of exploitation. This approach, in line with national trade union recommendations, takes an alternative approach to simply seeking to limit the numbers of migrant workers. The sense of political unease in Ireland at the time is reflected in another article (Reid and Cullen 2006) in which the former EU Commissionaire and newly appointed UN special representative for migration is quoted as criticising the prevailing tone of the migration debate among Irish politicians, pointing out that Ireland has been the main beneficiary in economic terms of what was being discussed in extremely negative terms (with 78 per cent of Irish people responding in Irish Times/TNS MRBI poll wishing the reintroduction of work permits for the 10 new EU members’ citizens). In response both the Minister for Justice and the Minister for Enterprise reiterated the Government’s decision not to restrict in any way economic immigration, while the opposition party criticised the

Government's lack of openness in the migration debate prior to the UN representative intervention.

One of the effects of the unprecedented wave of inward migration to Ireland was that the issue of health and safety at work progressively became one of the paramount issues concerning the foreign workforce in Ireland. One of the reasons for concern was the inability on the part of the majority of foreign workers to understand and speak English, a factor which had the potential to become a threat to the workers' own welfare and safety at work, where they were often employed in areas considered to carry high risk of injury or fatality. This was confirmed by the Health and Safety Authority in the following terms:

Non-Irish national workers make up 11 per cent of the construction workforce (31,900 workers) in 2005, research from that year shows that non-Irish national workers in the sector are a high-risk group, with disproportionately high numbers of reported accidents and injury. Non-Irish national workers are three times more likely to be fatally injured and according to figures for 2005, 16 per cent of all injuries reported to the Authority from the construction sector involved non-Irish national workers. (Sinclair, Hill and Tyers 2008)

This trend was confirmed by two studies, one Irish and one international, both coming from within medical research circles, concerning the occupational health and safety of foreign national construction workers (cf. chapter IV).

In response, occupational H&S training sessions were established, organised by government bodies at different levels, and carried out with the assistance of interpreters.

II.3. Settings and participants

Let us begin by describing the individual settings where interpreted H&S training took place. Within the construction industry, which was a forerunner for organised interpreted H&S training in Ireland, interpreting took place mostly in the following settings: Safe Pass Health and Safety awareness Training Programme courses, Construction Scheme Certification Skills training, Health and Safety site inductions, company in-house Tool Box Talks training, on-site consultations between site foremen and trade unions representatives and workers (Joint Safety Council for the Construction Industry (no date), pp.17-18).

The Safe Pass Training Programme, which will be dealt with in more detail below, and which is the main setting described in this work, was designed by the Irish national training agency FÁS (cf. Coda) in collaboration with social partners in the year 2000 (cf. II.5.5.1.), and by 2002 had become an obligatory requirement for working on Irish construction sites. This full-day training course was usually staged in public spaces such as hotel conference rooms or training centres. The course followed a seminar-style presentation and was organised for ten to twenty trainees either by a Safe Pass Tutor, an individual trained and appointed for this purpose by FÁS, or a Training Company specialised in Health and Occupational Safety. By its peak in 2006, the Safe Pass course had been delivered to 260,000 workers in total (cf. Coda).

Another form of H&S training, with its own interpreting setting, is the Construction Scheme Certification Skills (hereafter CSCS) training, offered again by FÁS and again a mandatory requirement for individuals and companies employing workers involved in trades/professions which carry a high risk of injury or fatality (such as scaffolders and slingers). This type of training, which often took place on the premises of a registered H&S training company, lasted three days and involved a theoretical and a practical exam on general H&S awareness issues, H&S legislation and specific professional areas and related safety issues. However, some construction professions (such as forklift operators) did not require CSCS training. Another type of certification offered by some training companies to construction workers was the FETAC⁶ certification. Workers with at least six months' previous practical experience were eligible to be FETAC certified.

Another example of interpreted H&S training with its own setting was the Site Safety Induction programme. This training took place on construction sites, and lasted anything from ten minutes to several hours and was mandatory for all personnel on Irish construction sites. Its aim was to inform workers on topics such as management structure, employer and employee responsibilities, site layout (welfare facilities, first aid, storage areas and equipment, traffic routes), specific hazards, emergency procedures, policies covering the proper use of personal protective equipment (hard hat, high visibility vest etc.) as well as H&S training. The delivery of this induction was the responsibility of a Project Supervisor for Construction.

⁶ Further Education and Training Awards Council.

Company in-house Tool Box Talk training is another example and could be staged by an individual company on their own premises to inform new (Irish/foreign) workers (individuals or groups) or workers preparing to work in a new workplace (for example experts in the installation and maintenance of highly specialised devices such as lifts or escalators) on issues of health and safety in their specific work environment. Tool Box Talk training, conducted by a manager or a Health and Safety Officer, an expert on health and safety employed by the company, with the aid of video or slides material, lasted anything from a few minutes to several days.

All types of training mentioned were delivered either in English or in another language (most frequently in languages of the new EU accession states, but also in Italian, Spanish and German), and generally in the presence of an interpreter.

A less formalised construction setting where interpreting was sometimes required were ad hoc consultations between site foremen or trade union representatives and workers on topics related to the safe carrying out of daily operations or general employment-related matters. These took place directly on-site and, due to their informal and ad-hoc character, sometimes required over-the-phone interpreting assistance.

II.4. Interpreting modes

Since interpreting in H&S training settings was a new phenomenon, it was not regulated and there were no guidelines as to the most suitable interpreting mode for individual settings or environments (such as Safe Pass or CSCS training). Also the interpreter user (the Safe Pass trainer/tutor or other Health and Safety trainer) often had no experience of working with interpreters, and they rarely stipulated a particular interpreting mode. Instead, the choice of interpreting mode depended on the individual interpreter's judgment and professional capabilities.

As a result, the modes employed in Safe Pass H&S Training Programme courses ranged from short consecutive (cf. chapter III) to note-supported consecutive, sight translation and occasionally to chuchotage. The latter was used at times for interpreting short films, which were an integral part of the course. (The researcher is, however, aware of at least one case of chuchotage being used throughout the entire Safe Pass H&S training programme as requested by the tutor to reduce the time

required for translation. Such a practice posed significant difficulties when performed out-loud for a twenty-member audience and the case in question will be discussed later.) Sight translation might be required for exercise questions or case-study situations formulated in writing and used during the course. The same range of modes could be found for the whole range of H&S training settings, not just Safe Pass (Construction Scheme Certification Skills training and Health and Safety site inductions and company in-house Tool Box Talks). On-site consultations between site foremen or trade unions representatives and workers were generally interpreted either in short consecutive (liaison) mode (cf. chapter III) or remotely by phone.

II.5. FÁS Safe Pass Health and Safety Awareness Training Programme

In this section, the main setting which is dealt with in this work, the Safe Pass Training programme will be described in terms of format, participants, contents, terminology and interpreting.

II.5.1. Registration

A typical Safe Pass course (SP hereafter) started at eight o'clock in the morning, with the registration of trainees carried out by a Health and Safety training company administrator who met the trainees in a hotel conference room or a training centre where the SP was taking place. In the case of a course attended by non-nationals, the interpreter, booked by the H&S training company either directly, through an interpreting agency or by a private construction company, was required to be present during the registration should any communication difficulties arise. The exchange of personal and payment details during the registration did not usually pose any interpreting difficulties; though at times the course could be overbooked (the maximum permissible number of trainees was twenty). In such situations, it was left to the interpreter to mediate the fraught communication between the trainees, who were required to return on the next available date, and the administrator.

The organising H&S company or tutor was required to give three weeks' notice to the Irish National training agency confirming the SP course, its location, as well as details about the tutor and the interpreter.

II.5.2. The interpreter meets the tutor

During registration, the tutor arrived and set up his/her AV equipment to project the course-support material (produced by FÁS) consisting of over 350 slides and three DVDs. It was at this point that the interpreter met the tutor and agreed the preferred interpreting mode and delivery for the course. Given the lack of regulations regarding SP interpreting, tutors showed a variety of attitudes toward interpreters, depending on previous experience. The tutor might satisfy him/herself on the interpreter's competence and experience, and the interpreter might ask a few questions regarding the tutor's way of delivering the modules or exercises, and agree that, for example, interpreting should take place after the tutor has finished presenting, reading and/or commenting on each individual slide.

II.5.3. Form filling

In cases where the number of trainees presenting themselves was less than ten, the organiser was obliged to call the offices of FÁS to check whether the course should be cancelled. Assuming that cancellation was not required, the course commenced with filling out the FÁS Candidate Application for Safe Pass Registration Card forms, as well as signing attendance sheets and addressing envelopes for the posting of issued Safe Pass cards to the trainees. The tutor might ask the interpreter to lead the procedure directly in the language of the trainees with the supporting English-language version projected on the screen, or alternatively they might prefer to lead the procedure in English and have it interpreted to the trainees. In the former case, the interpreter would introduce him/herself, and explain his/her role and the procedure to follow. The form-filling often took up to an hour due to language problems, or lack of experience on the parts of trainees in formal English-language environments. That being said, many foreign construction workers were highly qualified and held relatively high positions in their country of origin. For their parts, some tutors came from an academic, H&S

background, while others had years of hands-on experience within the construction industry, which often helped trainees to feel more at ease and which simplified the interpreter's initial task.

II.5.4. Training begins

At this point, the tutor would take over and open the training by mapping out the day for the trainees, either by outlining exactly the hour-by-hour timetable issued by FÁS (cf. Figure II.1. below) or else by describing the day in broad terms. The tutor usually explained that the course is composed of twelve modules, related practical exercises and a final twenty-question test, which, if successfully passed, would lead to the issuing of the Safe Pass card within six to eight weeks, and which was obligatory in order to work on any Irish construction site. The Safe Pass card was valid within the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and the United Kingdom and was renewable after four years.

**FAS Safe Pass Health and Safety Awareness Training
SAFE PASS TRAINING PROGRAMME**

TIMETABLE

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|--|
| 8.15 a.m. - 8.45 a.m. | | Registration |
| 8.45 a.m. - 9.15 a.m. | Module 1 | Promoting a Safety Culture |
| 9.15 a.m. - 10.15 a.m. | Module 2 | Duties and Responsibilities at Work |
| 10.15 a.m. - 10.30 a.m. | | Tea/Coffee Break |
| 10.30 a.m. - 10.45 a.m. | | Sample Test Paper |
| 10.45 a.m. - 11.15 a.m. | Module 3 | Accident Reporting and Prevention |
| 11.15 a.m. - 12.00 p.m. | Module 4 | Working at Heights |
| 12.00 p.m. - 12.30 p.m. | Module 5 | Excavations and Confined Spaces |
| 12.30 p.m. - 1.00 p.m. | Module 6 | Working with Electricity Underground and Overhead Services |
| 1.00 p.m. - 1.45 p.m. | | Lunch |
| 1.45 p.m. - 2.15 p.m. | Module 7 | Personal Protective Equipment |
| 2.15 p.m. - 2.45 p.m. | Module 8 | Use of hand held equipment, tools and machinery |
| 2.45 p.m. - 3.05 p.m. | Module 9 | Safe Use of Vehicles |
| 3.05 p.m. - 3.20 p.m. | | Tea/Coffee |
| 3.20 p.m. - 3.40 p.m. | Module 10 | Noise and Vibration |
| 3.40 p.m. - 4.00 p.m. | Module 11 | Manual Handling |
| 4.00 p.m. - 4.30 p.m. | Module 12 | Health and Hygiene |
| 4.30 p.m. - 5.00 p.m. | | Test |

Figure II.1. (Source: FÁS. *FÁS Safe Pass Health and Safety awareness training. Safe Pass training programme timetable.* FÁS Safe Pass Tutor hand-out.)

II.5.5. The twelve modules

The twelve modules (cf. Figure II.1. above), presented by the tutor with the support of projected presentations and handwritten notes on a white board, ranged from H&S legislation to responsibilities at work, emergency procedures and accident reporting, working at heights or with hand-held tools and manual handling. Depending on their presentation style and background, the tutors might add additional information in the form of real-life experience, interjecting anecdotes or adding various degrees of technical detail, or indeed general tangential information on the Irish work context in

terms of employer-employee relationships, giving more or less space to trainee questions on health and safety matters as well as other general questions.

All projected and orally presented module-related information was generally interpreted in short consecutive or consecutive, with projected or white board notes at times serving to replace or complement notes taken by the interpreter. It could happen that due to time constraints, a tutor might ask the interpreter to sight-translate projected information for one or more modules directly, without the tutor's intervention or even presence.

I will now summarise the contents of the twelve modules of the course (*FÁS Safe pass Health and Safety awareness training*), in order to best illustrate the vast range of topics and attendant terminology contained in the course.

II.5.5.1. Module one

Module one 'Promotion of Safety Culture' highlighted through hard statistics on the number of deaths, injuries, occupational diseases and early retirements in the workplace (and their consequences in human, economic, legal and social terms for individuals and society) the importance of developing a culture of safety awareness. It introduced the Construction Safety Partnership Plan arrived at in the year 2000 by Irish governmental bodies and authorities within the construction industry and trade unions, under which the Safe Pass training programme itself was conceived. The module set out the involvement of individual bodies such as: the Health and Safety Authority (HSA), which is the promoter, enforcer and monitor of health and safety at work, and which carries out inspections and investigations of accidents in the workplaces, publishes codes of practice and guidance, and helps to shape national H&S legislation as well as conducting and sponsoring research into H&S at work. In addition, the module outlined the involvement of FÁS, the Irish national training agency responsible for the staging of the various types of training mentioned earlier; the Construction Industry Federation (CIF), which is the construction industry's main trade unions; as well as the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU). The aim of the partnership was also touched on in the module: to create and promote a new H&S culture within the construction industry in Ireland by staging several types of obligatory and elective training; establishing several new roles within construction environments; conducting

information campaigns on H&S related issues; empowering the HSA in safeguarding health, safety and welfare at construction sites by attributing new powers to HSA inspectors; enforcing penalties for breaches of H&S norms; as well as offering third-level education in the area of H&S⁷. The Safety Statement was also introduced in this module: a document designed to enhance cooperation and communication between the employer and employees whereby the employer agrees to hire, keep up-to-date in terms of skillset, and facilitate the employee in familiarising him/herself with a statement on risk and control measure identification and emergency procedures.

This type of document was often prepared by the employer in collaboration with an SP tutor qualified for the task and translated into different languages depending on the company's needs.

Module one also dealt with major recent legislative developments in the area of H&S. Chief among these was the new *Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act* which entered into force on first of September 2005, and which constituted a decisive and long-awaited piece of H&S legislation (after the *Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 1998*) covering 100 per cent of the workforce in Ireland. Besides the overall benefit it represents for the safety and welfare at work of the entire Irish workforce, the Act specifically addressed foreign nationals working in Ireland, by taking into account the issue of 'language'. This represented a departure in Irish legislation, since up until then the national law usually referred to language and/or linguistic services such as translation and interpreting only in relation to the Irish language⁸ or asylum immigration⁹ or discrimination on the grounds of language¹⁰. The *Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 2005* refers to language in the following sections and contexts:

Without prejudice to the generality of *section 8*, every employer shall, when providing information to his or her employees under that section on matters relating to their safety, health and welfare at work ensure that the information — (a) is given in a form, manner and, as appropriate, language that is reasonably likely to be understood by the employees concerned, and (b) includes the following information — (i) the hazards to safety, health and welfare at work and the risks identified by the risk assessment, (ii) the protective and preventive measures to be taken concerning safety, health and welfare at work under the relevant statutory provisions in respect of the place of work and each specific task to be performed at the place of work, and (iii) the names of persons

⁷ E.g. Postgraduate course in Health and Safety at Work offered by Dublin City University.

⁸ Article 8 of the *Constitution of Ireland* (Phelan 2001).

⁹ Article 8 (2) of the *Refugee Act 1996* (O'Byrne 2004).

¹⁰ Article 14 of the *European Convention on Human Rights Act 2003* (O'Byrne 2004).

designated under *section 11* and of safety representatives selected under *section 25*,
(*Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 2005*, Part two, General duties of employer, Training instruction and supervision of employees: 10.1a; underlining mine)

Every employer shall bring the safety statement, in a form, manner and, as appropriate, language that is reasonably likely to be understood, to the attention of — (a) his or her employees, at least annually and, at any other time, following its amendment in accordance with this section, (b) newly-recruited employees upon commencement of employment, and (c) other persons at the place of work who may be exposed to any specific risk to which the safety statement applies.
(*Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 2005*, Part three, Safety statement 20.3; underlining mine)

The Minister may make regulations under *section 58* for or in respect of any matters including the following: (1) requirements to be imposed on employers as regards the safety, health and welfare of their employees at work with respect to — (a) the management and conduct of work activities including the prevention of improper conduct or behaviour, (b) the design, provision and maintenance of (i) places of work, (ii) safe means of access to and egress from places of work, and (iii) plant and machinery and other articles, (c) the use of any article or substance, (d) the provision, planning, organisation, performance and maintenance of systems of work, (e) the provision of information, instruction, training and supervision, including, as appropriate, such provision in an appropriate language or languages [...].
(*Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 2005*, Schedule 7 Regulations 1e; underlining mine)

To complement the Act there was also *Safety, Health and Welfare at Work (General) Regulations 1993* and *Safety, Health and Welfare at Work (Construction) Regulations 1995*, as well as regulations for specific areas of risk at work. The Regulations were issued by the Minister for Enterprise to complement the broad norms of the Act. As mentioned earlier, the HSA and CIF have the ability to issue codes of good practice, aimed at regulating specific or atypical areas of work in a particular sector (e.g. erecting, modifying and dismantling atypical scaffolding in the construction industry). The same bodies can also issue guidelines, for example *Guide to Safety, Health & Welfare in the House Building Industry*. This document cites the following among its general rules:

A method must be in place to communicate effectively with personnel on site particularly in the case of workers where English would not be the first language

(i.e. translators with each group on site at all times, safety documentation in languages of the workers, pictogram signs and risk assessment). (*Guide to Safety, Health & Welfare in the house building industry*)

II.5.5.2. Module two

Module two ‘Duties and Responsibilities at work’ listed employer and employee responsibilities regarding health and safety in the workplace, welfare facilities, preparedness for emergency situations, H&S training (‘in a format and language that is appropriate’), mutual co-operation, usage of protective clothing and equipment, general safe conduct and accident reporting procedures.

II.5.5.3. Module three

Module three clarified accident reporting and prevention, in terms of reporting procedures as performed by the employee to the employer (report and entry in the Accident book available on site) and by the employer to the HSA. It also classified categories of reportable events (fatalities, serious injuries, diseases, dangerous occurrences). The module covered prevention of accidents in terms of avoidance of risks, prevention policies, work organisation, working conditions, training and certification, instruction and supervision, correct use of equipment and its certification, as well as the maintenance and replacement of damaged articles. It introduced a fundamental concept underlying the entire course, the identification of specific hazards, and the importance of risk assessment and implementation of pre-emptive control measures. It also introduced the Safe System of Work Plan (SSWP), a pictogram-based set of guidelines for the planning of work and the identification of risk and control measures in the following areas of construction: ground works, house building and demolition works. This document, intended to link the Safety Statement directly to the working activity, has been designed to raise H&S awareness, identifying safety as a particular issue.

It could be observed that the pictogram form was designed to be particularly suited to non-English speakers (cf. Bust et al. 2008 and Tutt et al. 2011 in chapter IV). In fact, on its website, under a section titled *Primary objectives* of the SSWP the HSA authority identifies as one such objective “Communicating through the use of

pictograms so that the meaning can be understood by persons who possess little or no English” (Health and Safety Authority 2011).

The use of pictograms and colour coding was pointed out to the trainees also in relation to site signage regarding protective clothing and equipment, traffic control etc.

II.5.5.4. Modules four to six and eight to eleven

Modules four to six and eight to eleven dealt with health and safety during work in specific areas such as ‘Heights’ (e.g. ladders, scaffolds, roofs, mobile elevating work platforms (MEWP), hoists), ‘Excavations and Confined spaces’ (manholes, lift-shafts etc.) and ‘Electricity Underground and Overhead services’, employing in these specific areas the H&S principles stated in the previous three modules. Module six and ten are supported by two DVDs in English. The first of these DVDs, released by the Irish electricity supplier ESB, is an integral part of the module ‘Working with Electricity. Electricity Underground and Overhead services’. The second DVD, in module ten, deals with workplaces exposed to ‘Noise or Vibrations’. Other areas covered in these modules include: ‘Use of hand-held equipment, tools and machinery’, ‘Safe use of Vehicles on site’ (dumpers, cranes, forklifts etc.) as well as ‘Manual handling’.

II.5.5.5. Module seven

Module seven was concerned with ‘Personal Protective Equipment’ (PPE), protective clothing and equipment. Correct selection of PPE was also part of modules four to six and eight to 11.

II.5.5.6. Module twelve

Module 12, which was supported by a DVD illustrating activities of the Irish Construction Workers Health Trust (ICWHT) in the area of construction workers’ health patterns, dealt with welfare facilities and health and hygiene in the workplace,

and puts particular emphasis on diseases such as cement burns or Weil's disease, caused by poor individual and general site hygiene.

The tutor might choose to follow each or some modules with a related exercise. This could take different formats, from an interactive Q&A session led by the tutor and interpreted in short consecutive, to sight translation of projected questions. Other times the exercise consisted of a sight translation of printed questions, or a case-study description followed by related questions or tasks for the trainees.

II.5.5.7. Final assessment

During the day the tutor gave the trainees the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the format of the concluding test by running a mock test composed of five questions (e.g. 'What are the reasons for promoting safety?' Or 'How often should a scaffold be inspected?'). Each question was accompanied by a choice of possible answers A, B, C to be selected on an individual test answer sheet by each candidate.

Usually all the trainees passed the test and were given confirmation letters either by the tutor or at times by the interpreter (when the tutor had left).

Depending on the relationship established during the course between the tutor and the trainees and on the tutor's attitude towards the interpreter, the tutor might conclude the course with a 'be safe' wish to the trainees and with applause of appreciation for both the trainees and the interpreter.

II.6. H&S challenges to interpreting in Ireland

Conference and community interpreting has been present in Ireland for some time in settings such as conferences, business, diplomatic meetings, hospitals, police stations, courts, social welfare offices and refugee bodies¹¹. Within the area of community interpreting a commonly held assumption on the part of interpreter users was that "this is merely a temporary problem because the non-English speakers will learn English and then there will no longer be a need for interpretation" (Phelan 2001,

¹¹ For more information on provision of community interpreting services in Ireland cf. O'Byrne 2004.

p.1) and as a result of this perception, CI as an area of study or as a profession has not been significantly developed or regulated for in terms of quality standards, ethics or good practice.

However, this contrasts with the reality within the H&S area driven in part by the new more complex interpreting requirements. To mention just a few: while accuracy, independence and impartiality of the interpreter remain critical in the area of H&S (safety, welfare and at times lives could more or less directly depend on it), new elements, which challenge the interpreter's preparedness and professionalism, were introduced. As mentioned in the previous section on interpreting modes, in the area of H&S training the required interpreting techniques ranged from short consecutive (liaison) (cf. chapter III) to note-supported consecutive, to chuchotage, while within the refugee environment the technique did not usually extend beyond short consecutive. Also the amount of terminological preparation on the part of the H&S interpreter (technical H&S and construction related terminology) could perhaps be considered greater than that of an interpreter working in a formal or informal legal refugee environment. Last but not least, it could be argued that considering the format of H&S training sessions the interpreter was much more 'under the eye' of service users, present in greater numbers than would be the case in refugee legal settings. This factor to some extent necessitated additional 'public speaking' skills, which, along with the previously mentioned characteristics of interpreting in the area of H&S, could be considered as a skill belonging to the remit of a conference rather than community interpreter.

Whilst successful asylum seekers tend to strive to integrate into the host country by acquiring the language, in the case of economic immigrants this assumption cannot be made and it is therefore in the interest of the host country to address language related challenges. It could be argued then that the necessity on the part of the Irish state to provide interpreting services, and motivated by economic, legal and ethical concerns, guaranteed certain standards of H&S information transmission which impacted positively on the quality of the interpreting service (cf. *Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 2005*, Part three, Safety statement 20.3).

II.7. Conclusion

In this chapter we have provided detailed information on the particular interpreting setting that forms the focus of this study. It is a particularly challenging environment for an interpreter, necessitating not only extensive terminological research but also mastery of a range of interpreting modes. In addition, the role of the interpreter as mediator between a tutor and up to 20 trainees requires a range of additional skills, including public speaking and, on occasion, conflict resolution.

CHAPTER III. LITERATURE REVIEW 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section I will present the theoretical concepts underlying this study and define the main terms which will be used throughout the analytical sections of the study, starting from a definition of interpreting which will be used for the purpose of this work. While there is consensus among scholars about the necessity of distinguishing clearly different domains of interpreting (Garber 2000), many experts agree (Ozolins 2000) with what has been expressed by Pöchhacker (2002, p.96):

That ‘interpreting’ be viewed as a conceptual spectrum of different (proto) types of activity, distinguished by the extent to which they are governed by the constraints of a particular socio-cultural environment or institution. The concept of interpreting can thus be modelled as a bi-polar, inter- to intra-societal continuum.

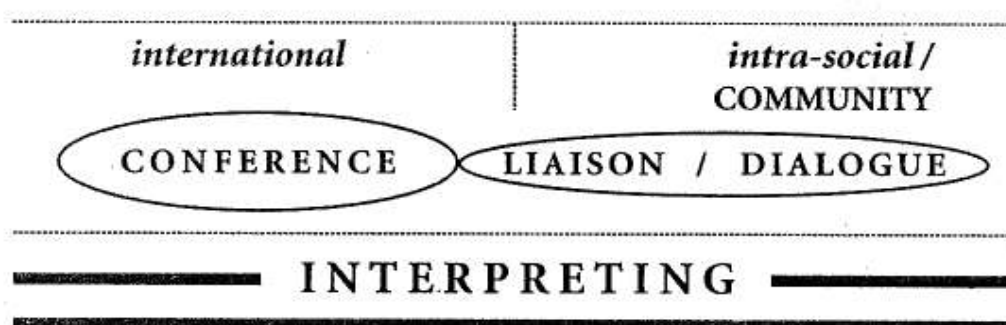


Figure III.1. (Source: Pöchhacker 2002, p.96, fig. 1. Conceptual spectrum of interpreting.)

The model above makes two basic distinctions between an international setting and a community setting, which embraces any “socio-cultural community, system or institution” (2002, p.96). The dividing line between international and community does not, however, come down neatly between the two modes of conference on the left and liaison/dialogue on the right. It is acknowledged that there is a grey middle ground. That there are even such divisions at all is, in fact, less important in this diagram than the basic fact that “interpreting as a socio-communicative practice can and should be seen as a unified concept” (2002, p.96). This conception of interpreting is particularly suitable when considering the interpreting setting at hand, which in our case is the Health and Safety training setting. This setting matches the description of one of the

types of activity in Pöchhacker's unified conceptual spectrum of interpreting (above), and which is characterised to a large extent by the constraints of the training-organising institution FÁS. As a consequence, it is an example of a 'grey' area between community and conference interpreting typified by Pöchhacker, one which gives rise to its own hybrid forms, such as the example of 'shouted chuchotage' referenced in the account of the participants in the interpreted training (cf. chapter VIII.4.1.).

When settling on a term most appropriate to describing interpreted H&S training courses, 'community interpreting' (Longley cited in Benmaman 1997, Pöchhacker 2002), 'public service interpreting' (Corsellis 1997, 2000), and 'dialogue interpreting' (Wadensjö 1998) were considered. The first two terms were found to reflect the situational distinction from conference interpreting (community interpreting takes place in various locations within the community at large), whilst the term used by Wadensjö emphasised the face-to-face or interpersonal dimension characteristic of this interpreting domain. Due to its semi-presentation format, interpreted H&S training is not best characterised by the adjective 'dialogue'. The same applies to the term public service interpreting, because within the interpreted H&S training, a variety of parties with private and commercial interests are involved, and the interpreter is engaged and remunerated by one of them. H&S interpreting is therefore best described as community interpreting since the characteristic of “fuzzy boundaries” (Pöchhacker 2002) between community and conference interpreting derives from the training being established and managed within a particular institution. I would like to argue that the term community interpreting does not preclude the nuance of the interpersonal dimension intended as communitarian or collective. I will show through the analysis of the direct participants' accounts of interpreted H&S training how the interpersonal dimension stands out in H&S interpreting, and how, combined with the overall 'macro-context' (Mason 2006, p.116, cf. definition below) of the interpreted training, it creates a “collective embodiment” (Inghilleri 2006, p.63), specific to interpreted H&S training, which Inghilleri (2006, p.61) calls 'interpreting habitus'. For the purpose of this work, I will therefore use the term community interpreting to refer to the interpreting during the H&S training.

In order to further set the scope and terms of reference, I will now define different user variables as defined by Mason, such as 'field', 'mode' and 'tenor' (1999, pp.148-149). Field denotes the setting or environment. Among the most researched

fields in the literature are police or immigration interviews (Wadensjö 1998, Dubslaff and Martinsen 2003), court hearings (Berk-Seligson, Hale, Morris cited in Mason 1999), hospital consultations (Englund-Dimitrova cited in Mason 1999) etc. Pöchhacker defines the typical community interpreting mode as “bilateral short consecutive (liaison) interpreting” (2002, p.100), however he also mentions that in some face-to-face situations, chuchotage (typical of court hearings) or remote simultaneous mode, might be used. The aspect of tenor, which is particularly pertinent to CI, refers to the relationship between interlocutors and the interpreter (Anderson cited in Mason 1999; Agar and Niska cited in Ukmar 1997, p.191) and, as is suggested by a majority of scholars, is a prime determiner of the interpreter’s role-adopting and decision-making behaviour. For the purpose of this study, the categories of field, mode and tenor, used by Mason (1999) were adopted as part of the overall framework for the analysis of the collected data.

The concept of field and some aspects of mode as intended by Mason are used to introduce and situate H&S interpreting in this work. The field investigated in this study is interpreting within an H&S training environment. Mode as defined above by Pöchhacker is also used in this study; however, it is mainly dealt with in terms of what I shall refer to as ‘multimodality’ within H&S training. Multimodality emerged as a key determiner of H&S interpreting, to the extent that it constitutes a topic in and of itself in one of the analytical sections in this study. That this is so is due to the fact that as per the definition of interpreting above, H&S interpreting constantly oscillates between community and conference interpreting. As such, it draws on several interpreting modes, ranging from sight translation to note-supported consecutive to simultaneous voice-over of DVDs without technical equipment, to bi-lateral short consecutive. In the field of H&S interpreting, multimodality encompasses an even broader range, to include certain interpreting aspects unique to this setting. I will use the term ‘multimodal’ as adopted by Bührig (2004). Interpreting within the H&S setting is multimodal in the manner in which a multitude of presentation modes or formats are used. In Bührig’s case this can be seen in the combination of verbal formats and visual materials (for instance diagrams and charts). In the case of the current study we also find a variety of verbal formats ranging from seminar-style presentation to Q&A sessions, to multiple-choice assessments as well as visuals such as DVDs, and a range of graphical aids (cf. chapter IV Bust et al. 2008, Tutt et al. 2011). From this multimodality of presentation formats during the training, multimodality in the sense of language and speech genres emerges,

be it formal, to match the style of slide-supported presentations, or informal, to reflect the construction slang or colloquialisms in the stories recounted by the H&S course tutor. The many presentation formats also imply multimodality in another sense of the word, as exemplified by Pasquandrea (2011). In this, the term denotes 'multitasking', in other words, the necessity for the interpreter user to carry out a parallel multitude of actions during an interpreted doctor-patient meeting. In the current study, it is the interpreters themselves who carry out a multitude of tasks, some of which are not strictly part of their work, for example, assisting trainees to fill out application and participation forms. Interpreted H&S training could also be considered multimodal in another sense, namely in terms of being multi-topical, with topics ranging from H&S legislation to hygiene and safety in confined spaces (cf. chapter II).

The category of tenor denotes the relationship between the indirect participant (FÁS) and the direct participants (tutor and interpreter, trainees and at times FÁS monitor) in the interpreted event. This is the domain within which we see played out elements such as the participants' mutual negotiation of control over communication, as well as the influence of the macro-context and the 'micro-context' (Mason 2006, p.116, cf. definition below) of the interpreted H&S training. Among the three variables identified by Mason, tenor is most relevant to this work. From the data, it was found that the tenor of the interpreted H&S training was dominated by the issue of power. Other themes which influenced the tenor of the interpreted event include issues of gender and culture, which will be dealt with in this study in two individual sections of the analysis. Gender and culture are part and parcel of what each direct participant carries with them to the interpreted training and what influences their communicative choices. In searching interpreting studies literature, a similar concept was found in Mason (2006, p.109), who uses the term 'pretextuality' which I will describe in further detail below. In her invocations of 'macro-dimension' and 'larger social configurations of power and control', Inghilleri (2006, p.57, cf. below) provided a useful theoretical base for the analysis of the effects of these two factors on tenor. In terms of the third aspect of tenor, 'power distribution', i.e. the manner in which the direct and the indirect participants exercise or share their power (Mason 2006, p.117, cf. below), was discovered to be directly connected to their 'world-view' (Inghilleri 2006) and 'attitude' (Mason 1999, p.149, cf. definition below). An individual direct participant's exercise of power was invariably found to be expressed in the form of strategies (cf. Tipton 2010a, chapter IV). These categories, which are useful in describing the tenor of the

participants' relationship in the context of the interpreted H&S training, were found in the work of Mason (1999, 2006) and Inghilleri (2006). In order to define in more detail the three aspects of tenor – power, gender and culture – and to reflect theoretically the micro-context, both in its discursive and socio-pragmatic aspects and the macro-dimension of the H&S interpreting, two theoretical models relevant to this study will now be considered and a third quality standards model will be examined later.

These models relate to what Floros (2012, p.106) in his contribution at the IATIS conference, called the “social” or “sociological” turn in translation studies (referring to the forthcoming volume by Inghilleri *Sociological Approaches to Translation and Interpreting*, St. Jérôme Publishing), and to a cultural/ethnographic turn in translation studies, which Mason (2006, p. 103) refers to in his contribution to *Taking Stock: Research and Methodology in Community Interpreting*, citing both Inghilleri and Cronin:

Cronin (2002: 46) makes a plea for a cultural turn in interpreting studies, so that it can “explicitly address questions of power and issues such as class, gender, race in interpreting situations”. (...) In similar vein, Inghilleri (2005b: 125) speaks of the move in Translation Studies as a whole away from concern with “translated textual products” and towards translation seen as a “social, cultural and political act”, linked to issues of power and control.

The first of these theoretical models incorporates Mason's ideas regarding the exercise of power in interpreted communication, as well as elements of his ostensive-inferential analysis, through which Mason (2006, p.108) explores how to relate “micro-level analysis of participants' utterances to the broader issues of role, power distribution, norms and so on that would be called for by a cultural/ethnographic turn”. Already in his earlier work, Mason (1999) writes on the topic of power distribution. In Mason (1999, p.159), he suggests that the theme of power, related to tenor, is among the most salient strands for future research within CI studies. Some of the situations which Mason invokes in this regard include instances of primary party skipping the interpreter's turn and missing important information from the other primary party; a ‘natural’ interpreter taking unwarranted initiative by interacting directly with the client or advising the institutional party; an interpreter being aware of ‘threats to face’ and adopting politeness strategies to protect own or addressee's face – down-toning, hedging, introducing conventional apologies.

We will find many such instances exemplified within the data analysis chapters, illustrating various power-sharing strategies used by direct participants of the H&S training.

In the same source, Mason (1999) identifies another type of power, the existence of which is borne out by the data of this study. In this instance, he argues that a certain degree of power in the speech event resides with the interpreter, who in Mason's terms fulfils the role of 'gate-keeper', and who, in this capacity, is often also the adjudicator of turn-taking (also Wadensjö 1998, p.67). According to Mason, power accrues from the interpreter's unique position as the only bi-cultural and bi-lingual participant in the exchange. Mason evokes Anderson who speaks about the interpreter controlling the communicative situation by virtue of enjoying "the advantage of power inherent in all positions which control scarce resources" (Anderson cited in Mason 1999, p.149). One concept which is pertinent to the idea that the interpreter exercises some control over the communicative situation is that of the interpreter tool, which I will use to identify certain instances of power distribution in the data. Ukmar (1997, p.198) speaks about these tools, "*strumenti che gli sono propri*", which the interpreter uses to exercise control over communication ("*mantenere il controllo della comunicazione*"). They are tools which belong to the interpreter's particular professional realm, and are used by the interpreter to exercise power over communication by means of communication itself. Mason summarises the types of power listed above as "power within the exchange" (2006, p.117), distinguishing it from another type of power which also impacts on the running and the outcome of the interpreted event, which is the "institutional power" (2006, p.117), and which according to him is "intimately bound up with discourse and ideology", where discourse is understood in the Widdowson sense of "socially constituted... conventions of belief, established values which constrain the way people think and use their language to achieve meaning" (2006, p.116).

These concepts will be used later in the study to explore and describe the distribution of power by each direct and indirect participant, including the interpreter.

Other aspects of Mason's theory which will be applied to the data include some elements of the ostensive-inferential approach to analysing interpreter-mediated communication mentioned above. Here Mason draws on "relevance theory" (Sperber and Wilson cited in Mason 2006, p.108), attempting an analysis which would include

all elements, working towards a joint construction of meaning, including the “words spoken in an interpreted exchange, the evolving micro-context and the institutional context and the pretexts of all participants” (2006, p.110). The concept of the participant’s ‘pretext’, and/or ‘purpose’, which Mason refers to above, is particularly evident in the data, and because of this it was necessary to search for a theoretical framework for it in the available literature. Here Mason (2006, p.109) expands on his own understanding of purpose and pretextuality, developing Widdowson’s idea of pretext:

As Widdowson (2004:76) observes: “What is relevant in text is what the users choose to make relevant in relation to what they are processing the language for”. These intangible purposes are what Widdowson (2004:79) calls ‘pretext’, the sum of purposes, assumptions and pre-dispositions that a user brings to his/her processing of text. Maryns (2006:6) (...) uses a very similar concept, ‘pretextuality’, defined as “the entire set of contexts people have access to before they enter the interaction”. While Maryns focuses on users’ prior experience, Widdowson allows greater space for user’s intentions but there is no reason why pretextuality should not include both.

As for purpose, Mason (2006, p.106), in relation to Wadensjö’s distinction between “talk as text” and “talk as activity” (Wadensjö 1998, p.21) quotes Green and Morgan (Green and Morgan cited in Mason 2006, p.106), who observe that

relevance and coherence, far from being linguistic properties of text, are functions of the relation between observed acts on the one hand, and goals, intentions, purposes and motivations inferred or inferable by the hearer, on the other.

Therefore interpreting research should use text as providing evidence of the participants’ plans, goals and (inter)actions, and, working back from the text to the activity from which it results, attempt to reconstitute the dynamic of ‘negotiation of meaning’ (Inghilleri 2006, p.61) between the participants. This would place the human person at the centre of the communication, and in so doing, invoke other considerations outside the text which affect communication, such as institutional constraints, power relations, role negotiation and so on. Purpose, in the current study, relates to the individual’s own subjective view of the *raison d’être* of the course, and, as we will see in the analysis sections, is a force which dictates the participant’s perspective of interpreting and of the interpreter’s task and role, and subjectively determines what is viewed and acted out as quality in interpreting by the individual indirect and direct participant.

The concept of pretextuality as employed here will embrace the definitions of both Maryns and Widdowson (above), and will therefore relate to both the prior experience and present intentions of the user and the interpreter, including elements

such as the participants' own gender or culture and their background in a biographical sense. These two elements in particular emerged from the data as having a key impact on the direct and indirect participant's attitude, as well as on strategies for power distribution and negotiation of meaning in the interpreted H&S training. All of this reflects the discourse of the macro-context, and at times contributes to creating it.

In this work, I apply the definitions of purpose and pretextuality to FÁS even though it does not directly take part in the interpreted interaction. When we consider how the term purpose is intended by Mason above: "assumptions and pre-dispositions that a user brings to his/her processing of text" or pretextuality for that matter: "the entire set of contexts people have access to before they enter the interaction" (2006, p.109) we find that although FÁS does not take part directly in the interpreted H&S training, it can, however, be seen to take part as an indirect participant, and in interpreting research, indirect participants are often included in the "communicative configuration" (Gile cited in Pöchhacker 2002, p.97). In our case, we can consider the indirect participant as taking part in three distinct ways:

1. processing the text, by creating the content of the course
2. establishing certain rules for the delivery of the content training tutors and
3. selecting monitors to enforce course standards.

Another concept, which emerged as dominant in the interpreted H&S training, and which is relevant to both the indirect and the direct participants, is that of attitude. Mason (1999, p.149) speaks of attitude in the following terms:

(...) it is the overall dynamic formed among the triad of primary parties and interpreter that within a particular social setting, which determines how the event proceeds. Where the situational constraints (field, mode), but mainly where the interpersonal dimension (tenor) of CI (i.e. attitudes, perceptions of attitudes, display of deference and condescendence) surface in: linguistic and paralinguistic features and in the way they are (or they are not) translated and in the observable outcome of the interpreted event.

Again we see that Mason places the concept of attitude in the overall context of exploring power as one of the key aspects of tenor. In this study, the attitude of the indirect participant will be shown as determining the overall establishment and management of the interpreted H&S training, while the attitude of tutors, interpreters and other direct participants determines the ways that they exercise their share of power, as well as negotiate their 'communication rights' (Inghilleri 2006, p.62) and ultimately

meaning. Attitudes of both the indirect and direct participants will be shown in this way to influence the unfolding and outcome of interpreted H&S courses.

The excerpt above also hints at the overall dynamic of the interpreted communicative situation, an aspect which will be developed further in the data analysis sections of this study. When speaking about the division of power among individual participants in the interpreted situation, Mason (1999, p.159) refers to the “overall dynamic formed among the triad of primary parties and interpreter”, maintaining that it is such a dynamic that ultimately “within a particular social setting, determines how the event proceeds”. In defining the components which constitute this dynamic, Mason includes the particular social setting, field, mode and tenor of the participants, all of which are bound to impact on the running and outcome of the interpreted event. While each individual element is fundamental in its own way, Mason underscores the fact that it is the overall dynamics that determine the unfolding and outcome of the interpreted event. Interpreting habitus (Inghilleri 2006, p.63, cf. below), which is part of Inghilleri's theorisation of the “configuration of the social in the local interpreting context” (2006, p.57) has some parallels with Mason's “overall dynamic” (Mason 1999, p.159). This is the second theoretical model which will be adopted in the data analysis in this study. Interpreting habitus is a key element of the analysis of the direct participants' accounts of interpreted H&S training, and will be shown to embrace the two already-defined categories which are fundamental to this study, namely pretextuality and attitude. The topic of power distribution during the negotiation of meaning will also be a theme that is common to both theoretical models. Based on these two models, this study will strive to keep in line with the following suggestions put forward by Mason (1999) for further research. Mason advocates pulling away from “concerns of the measurement of ‘interpreter error’, ‘correctness’, ‘equivalence’, i.e. from narrow source-text/target-text comparison towards a more procedural account”, which would see the interpreter as a “gate-keeper, coordinator and negotiator of meanings within a three-way interaction” (1999, p.159). In analysing the participants' accounts of interpreted communicative situations within the H&S interpreting setting, this study will focus on Mason's call for a bringing together of the micro- (discursive and pragmatic) and macro-dimensions (Mason 2006). In order to “align” the two dimensions, Mason defines micro-context and macro-context as:

the set of premises used in interpreting an utterance/ a subset of the [user's] assumptions about the world (Sperber and Wilson 1995:15) subject to each user's

pretextuality and constantly evolving within the exchange (re-contextualisation); (...) relevant aspects of the socio-cultural/historical context, including especially institutional constraints. (2006, p.116)

While Wadensjö (1998) and Mason (2006) base their theoretical work among other sources on 'data of speech' or the 'words spoken in an exchange', the foundation for Inghilleri's theoretical framework comes from ethnographic research, that is, interviews with participants in interpreted encounters. This aligns well with my own data which largely consists of accounts of the direct participants in interpreted H&S training sessions. For Inghilleri, the preference for an ethnographic and anthropological approach to data collection aims to make up for elements which she believes are lacking in studies conducted using discourse/conversation analysis. In the current study, the approach to data collection and the choice of methodology was dictated by the field of the interpreting setting itself, and the model for its description and analysis was found in Inghilleri (and Mason). Initially the research objective I strove for was discourse analysis based, aimed at investigating the quality of H&S interpreting. However, the social and political context prevented me from obtaining the data required by such a methodology. As a result of being limited to collecting ethnographic data, the very extent to which the macro-context impacted on the H&S setting became more and more apparent. Although the resulting impact of larger social configurations of power and control on the interpreted situation, as theorised by Inghilleri (2006, p.57), became the new focus for my investigation into the H&S interpreting setting, my original research interest in quality found expression in the third theoretical model which I will introduce below. It became the basis for some of the considerations about the quality of the H&S interpreting made in the conclusions of this work.

Before looking at the third model, let us continue our introduction to Inghilleri's theorisation. Like Mason, Inghilleri also maintains that interpreters and the norms that determine their communicative practices belong to particular communities. They are socially and politically situated, and as she puts it, they "do not come from nowhere" (2006, p.58). Like the previously quoted scholars, Inghilleri includes in her analysis elements such as "convergence of the institutional, biographical and social features within the interpreting process" (2006, p.61). However, her theory of the configuration of the social (in the local interpreting context) is of particular interest in this study because whilst it takes into account socio-pragmatic elements of the

interpreted event (Mason 1999, p.160), it seeks to set this in the broader framework of the macro-context, with elements of power, which are external to the interpreted event (cf. Mason 2006, p.117 above). Like Mason, who, as we have seen, described the interpreter as a gate-keeper, and negotiator of meaning, with the implication of the wider macro-context, Inghilleri similarly views interpreters “as pivotal players (...) caught up in larger social configurations of power and control, both internal and external to their professional field of practice” (2006, p.57). It is the interpreters’ very embeddedness within social and political processes and their position as negotiators of meaning which makes it possible to influence discursive moves in the interaction and to cause new social and communicative practices. I will now offer definitions of select terms used by Inghilleri in her theory of the configuration of the social, which will be used in the analysis of my data, and I will illustrate how they apply to the H&S interpreting setting.

In making use of these concepts of Inghilleri’s theory, this work situates itself within the same descriptivist tradition of translation and interpreting studies as hers. In the absence of socially informed models of professional activity within interpreting studies, Inghilleri draws on descriptivism within translation studies, namely on Toury’s work on ‘norms’ (Toury cited in Inghilleri 2006). She uses Hermans’ definition according to which norms have been described as “internalised behavioral constraints which embody the values shared by a community and govern those decisions in the translation process which are not dictated by the two language systems involved” (Hermans cited in Inghilleri 2006, p.58). In Inghilleri’s view the so-described norms “operate on translators/interpreters’ decision-making in a largely unconscious way and are independent of the linguistic environment alone” (2006, p.58-59).

While Inghilleri regards Toury’s work as fundamental for considering the impact of social and cultural processes on translation and interpreting activity, she finds it “overly descriptive, lacking adequate conceptualisation” (2006, p.59) for her purposes. In order to overcome such limitations, Inghilleri follows a shift in translation studies towards more sociologically and anthropologically informed approaches. According to Inghilleri, Bordieu’s social theory offers concepts which adequately show the social nature of translation/interpreting activity and the role of translators/interpreters as social and cultural agents.

According to Inghilleri, her research emerges from a debate within translation studies over whether one can properly consider translation to be an autonomous professional field in Bordieu's sense (Inghilleri 2006, p.59). In Bordieu's theory, fields stand for “historically constituted areas of activity with their specific institutions and own laws of functioning (Bordieu 1990: 87)” that “through a combination of specialised knowledge and networks of power have become established and taken for granted within specific historical contexts” (Inghilleri 2006, p.60). This is not to be confused with Mason's use of the term field, also employed in this study, to describe the interpreting setting. We will see that Inghilleri moves away from the idea of field defined in Bordieu's sense as having its own discreet network of relations and defined positions of power. However, she does continue to draw on the dynamics of the Bordieusian field where

through the *habitus* – embodied dispositions acquired through individuals' social and biological trajectories and continually shaped and negotiated vis-à-vis fields – (...) social agents establish and consolidate their positions in social space. (Inghilleri 2006, p.59) [italics in original]

Within these broad constraints, Inghilleri suggests (2006, p.60) that interpreting should be viewed not as a field in Bordieu's sense, but as an “*instantiation of a convergence of fields*” [italics in original], with its practices (social/discursive/institutional) and the relationship between them “*recontextualised*” (2006, p.60) [italics in original]. From this reading, Inghilleri proposes that interpreting constitutes a “zone of uncertainty” existing in the gaps or spaces between fields and lacking a clear social definition (2006, p.59). I will explore the possibility of treating the H&S interpreting setting, with its absence of social definition, as a zone of uncertainty.

I would like to nuance somewhat my own reading of the concepts of pretextuality and attitude, and suggest a parallel with Bordieu's definition of habitus. Pretextuality, defined by Mason as “previous experience and present intentions” (2006, p.109), will, for the purpose of this study, assume a broader sense of the entire set of “social and biological trajectories” (Inghilleri 2006, p.59) of the individual, and in a general sense will also incorporate the concept of norms, while attitude will be part of the “embodied dispositions” (Inghilleri 2006, p.59) acquired through the individual's pretext. The justification for this synthesis of the two theories should become clear in the analysis of the data, where it will be illustrated that habitus, which is formed during the interpreted H&S training by and among the direct participants (in the presence of the

macro-context of the indirect participant's share of power), is formed as a result of mutually interacting attitudes, which are in turn based on each individual's pretextuality. The habitus that emerges is negotiated between the tutor and the interpreter *vis-à-vis* their respective fields (zone of uncertainty) (Inghilleri 2006, p.59). It is in the encounter of these two fields, in the presence of the individuals' pretexts and attitudes, that mutual positions in the social space of the interpreted H&S training are negotiated and that the habitus or overall dynamics of the interpreted training (Mason 1999, p.159, cf. above) emerge. As discussed earlier, this occurs with the tacit involvement of FÁS, the course organiser, indirectly present with its own pretexts and attitudes.

One clear consequence of recognising community interpreting as a zone of uncertainty, which is acknowledged by Inghilleri, is the position of vulnerability in which interpreters find themselves because the field of interpreting itself is not fully constituted socially. My analysis will explore this question in respect to how the H&S interpreting setting is socially constituted, and how interpreters are vulnerable in it (chapter VI). Once this has been established, I will continue to apply Inghilleri's theorisation to my data (chapters VII and VIII), and show how precisely, as a zone of uncertainty, H&S interpreting is a “potentially liberatory space within a social structure in which contradictions emerge from a convergence of conflicting world-views that momentarily upset the relevant habitus” (Inghilleri 2006, p.59). As it applies to H&S interpreting, Inghilleri's theory and descriptive language therefore allow for a proper description of precisely how the social, discursive, and institutional practices and the relationship between them become recontextualised, creating “new forms of knowledge or sets of understanding” (2006, p.60) during the H&S training. I will exemplify through my data ways in which this process occurs, leading to new communicative and social practices in particular in relation to issues of culture, gender and multimodality in H&S training.

For Inghilleri, “the possibility and ultimate strength of any new form of legitimacy, however, lies in the dynamic between the hierarchical field relations, their accompanying habitus and those of the social agents involved in the reconstitution of the social order” (2006, p.60). This assertion has proven to be valid for the H&S interpreting setting where hierarchical field relations involve the course organiser FÁS, tutors, interpreters, and at times monitors as well as the trainees. In other words, in H&S

interpreting, the extent to which there can be any new way of communicating the interpreted training, as well as any new outcomes, is dependent on the interplay between the indirect participant and the direct participants of the training. It is, nevertheless, FÁS with its share of power, in liaison with the tutor, who together constitute the main determining agents in this dynamic. According to Inghilleri, such “social agents possess culturally significant forms of capital linked to their respective fields” (2006, p.60). These forms of capital are “prestige, status, authority” (2006, p.60) and, in the case of the H&S interpreting setting, it is the tutors that represent such social agents. This is a common perception among the interpreters, who, in their accounts of H&S interpreting, often state that it is the tutor who is 'in charge'. However the position of power of the tutor, as well as the scope of their capital, is not self-contained as it is all traceable back to the indirect participant FÁS.

In her theorisation of the configuration of the social, Inghilleri goes on to assert that the fields that confer prestige

are part of the larger universe of symbolic institutions that reproduce existing power relations through the production and distribution of a dominant culture that tacitly confirms what counts as legitimate linguistic and cultural knowledge in the institutional context. (2006, p.60)

The practical implications which flow from this statement will be described in detail in chapter VI. However, to briefly summarise, we can say that within the H&S context, the tutor's field is circumscribed by FÁS's vision of the tutor's position. The part that the tutor plays in relation to the interpreter reflects FÁS's view of and attitude to interpreting. In practical terms, this means that if FÁS, from its position of power, does not consider as important an in-depth interest in the interpreting processes and profession, then it is not surprising that a tutor automatically and unconsciously carries the imprint of this dominant culture with its assumptions of legitimate linguistic and cultural knowledge. To sum up, interpreting for H&S training, as an ill-defined social space, carries in itself the potential for recontextualisation and the generation of new forms of knowledge and understanding however much it remains “contingent” (Inghilleri 2006, p.60) on the power distribution by FÁS and on other dynamics of the tutor's field, as well as on the tutor him/herself. The fact that there is a gap in the tutor's position of power as a result of a lack of definition of his/her role *vis-à-vis* interpreting and the interpreter will be seen to play an important role when we come to consider the interpreter's position of contingency. All of this reflects the way Inghilleri views the

relationship between the interpreting norms and the possibility of negotiation of communicative and social practices.

While Inghilleri observes that the norms of interpreting suggest subservience, she maintains that this is only “a *potential* realisation” of the interpreter’s role and that there is space for negotiation (2006, p.60) [italics in original]. She also maintains that while there are many studies which through “micro-interactional analysis” show examples “of such negotiation” (2006, p.60), this research remains inconclusive with regards to whether and to what extent subservience is good or bad per se (2006, p.61). According to Inghilleri, this is due to the fact that the norms of interpreting are realised in ill-defined social interactional spaces in which cultural and linguistic meanings are rarely fixed but are under frequent negotiation. Inghilleri refers to this “reconfigured space”, as a “site for the emergence of a distinctive ‘interpreting habitus’ (Inghilleri 2005a)”, by which she means the “convergence within interpreted events of different world-views/meanings/utterances struggling toward consensus and/or jostling over control of what counts as legitimate linguistic and cultural knowledge” (2006, p.61). According to Inghilleri, this struggle can take many forms: situational/role confusions, contextual ambiguities, and expectations on the interpreter. These different types of struggle may all result in a degree of discordance from which “different forms of legitimate social practice may emerge” (2006, p.61). The interpreted H&S training environment is a suitable setting in which to explore Inghilleri’s theories. From the interpreting point of view, this interactional space is ‘defined’ only to the extent that it is regarded as sufficient by the indirect participant. Inghilleri’s renegotiation and convergences listed above will be shown to occur in the ill-defined context of the H&S interpreting setting. In particular, this study focuses on documenting the convergence of pretexts, purposes and attitudes of both the indirect and the direct participants of the interpreted H&S training, as well as the emergence of new communicative and social practices. The lack of definition of the community interpreting context gives rise to a situation in which particular combinations of elements come together, including the institutional, social and biographical. These elements prevail over learned interpreting norms and lead to negotiations of communication rights and meaning, and consequently yield different outcomes, ones which are particular to the unique “local interpreting context” (Inghilleri 2006, p.57) or, as Pöchhacker calls it, the “particular context of interaction” (2002, p.97).

As transpires from Inghilleri's theorisation, interpreting habitus (2006, p.58) is one of the key notions which Bordieu's theory contributes to the study of these negotiations. It allows us to go beyond the mere assessment of degree of subservience and to observe the bigger picture in the social dimension which, in turn, allows for observable reflections of the macro-context in the micro-context of the interpreted encounter. This offers the means to describe the possibility of disruption of 'dominant discursive practices' (Inghilleri 2006, p.61) and the creation of a new interactional and social order.

Let us now look at another concept used by Bordieu and adopted by Inghilleri (2006, p.61), that of 'illusio'. This concept helps keep to the fore the social dynamics which are present during the interpreted H&S training. In this context “*illusio* (from ludos, game)” [italics in original] refers to the “tacit knowledge which allows social agents (...) to make sense of what is happening around them” and it allows them to decide to which “practices, discourses, moves or forms of capital are appropriate to the moment” (Schirato and Webb cited in Inghilleri 2006, p.61). Inghilleri explains that it is likely that “participants positioned within well-established fields and their accompanying *habitus* will re-produce with a greater degree of certainty than interpreters what they feel to be the 'objective' structures of their respective fields” (2006, p.61) [italics in original]. Moreover, she says, they will possess socially and culturally significant forms of capital which guarantee them greater prestige in the social/interactional space. In the case of H&S, it is the tutors who are the social agents which fit this description. As far as interpreters are concerned, according to Inghilleri, they have less control over the space, due to the contingent nature of their role. This too is borne out by the data of this study, which shows that in the view of the course organiser, the H&S interpreters are completely contingent on the tutor. We will see, however, that depending on each particular interpreting context and the unique convergence of biographical features, the “feel for the game” (Inghilleri 2006, p.61) might vary on the part of the interpreter or tutor and impact in different ways on the overall dynamic and outcome of the interpreted situations.

In spite of the contingent nature of the interpreter's role, Inghilleri suggests paradoxically that it is this very subservience or invisibility which can spur on disruption of the dominant discursive practices. It will be shown that this is the position interpreters in H&S training sessions potentially find themselves in. Whilst being

disadvantageous, this leads the interpreter to explore the social and communicative space either individually or through the working relationship with the tutor, potentially bringing about a disruption to the dominant communicative and social practices within the H&S training.

Such disruption can take the form of what Inghilleri calls “metadiscourse on discourse” (2006, p.61). In the course of this study, before adopting the term coined by Inghilleri, I had been referring to the same phenomenon, in the context of my data, as *communication about communication*. This term was intended to describe communication by direct participants about the communicative and social/interactional practices, as prescribed by the indirect participant for the interpreted H&S training, with the aim of rendering them more mutually practicable (cf. also Tipton 2010a, chapter IV). According to Inghilleri, metadiscourse on discourse, to the extent that it leads to “greater reflection upon the limitations of the habitus”, provides participants with the possibility of transcending their given fields which can lead to “breaks or fissures within the social/interactional order” (2006, p.61-62).

Inghilleri therefore maintains that the convergence of distinct fields and habitus, as well as the contingent nature of the interpreter's role, can and often does create “discordancy within the given social/interactional space” (2006, p.62) otherwise circumscribed by the socially stronger official discourse represented by the institution. However, in its encounter with the zone of uncertainty that is interpreting, which is not socially constituted to the same extent, the discordancy can “trigger *discursive gaps* between local, interactional practices and the socially constituted norms that function to suppress contradictions and struggles over legitimate forms of communication” [italics in original]. In instances where the communication is oriented towards genuine mutual understanding, such discursive gaps (Inghilleri 2006, p.62) can lead to the possibility of changing or challenging existing communicative practices. Of course this is not always the result. The contingency of the interpreter's role often remains just that, and communication often remains oriented within the 'authorised discourse' in which the pre-existing power relations are maintained. Inghilleri's term for the former possibility is 'democratic iteration' (2006, p.62) in which the possibility of meaning, and thus social and cultural knowledge, “is not weighed down or over-determined by prior contexts or position holders” (2006, p.63). Authorised discourse, on the other hand, reflects Bordieu's view that the “efficacy of speech derives not from language but from the

institutional conditions of its production and reception” (Inghilleri 2006, p.63). In the course of the analysis, I will illustrate examples of discursive gaps – a term Inghilleri uses to articulate this dynamic. Tutors and interpreters will be found in various convergences to favour either authorised discourse or democratic iteration in the negotiating of their communication rights. They will either adhere to guidelines and practices prescribed by the institutional organiser of the training, or explore individual and collective options for leading constructive dialogue regarding cultural or linguistic meaning.

The study will test in the H&S setting two themes concerning the interpreting habitus put forward by Inghilleri. The first of these regards interpreters as “key activators” of the “transformative capacity of the habitus” (2006, p.63). In this context, using Inghilleri's conceptual framework and descriptive language within the H&S interpreting setting, this study will investigate the social/interactional conditions under which interpreters “claim communication rights as well as the extent and type of rights they may claim” (2006, p.62). Moreover it will identify strategies and tools (Ukmar 1997 above) used by interpreters in claiming their communication rights and negotiating power distribution during the interpreted H&S training. It will show instances of discursive gaps brought about by the presence of an interpreter.

The second theme which concerns the interpreting habitus and which will be explored here connects back to Mason’s concept cited above, i.e. the “overall dynamics of the interpreted situation”, which, according to Mason, determines its outcome (1999, p.159). In the institutional setting of the interpreted H&S training, each direct participant brings their own pretextuality and purpose in terms of biographical features as well as individual and shared social features. Depending on their pretextuality and social position, and on the power distribution on the part of the indirect participant, each of them strives, in interaction with the other, to find ways of communicating the H&S message. They each find their own strategies and tools to exercise their share of power and to enter into a working relationship with the other. All of this is arrived at differently by each participant, depending on the above factors, which together concur in the joint construction of meaning (Mason 2006, p.110). Inghilleri invokes similar terms when she describes her understanding of the interpreting habitus as a “collective embodiment of the convergence of world-views/meanings/utterances within the interpreted event” (2006, p.63).

Arising then from the theoretical models discussed above, the perspective which emerges from the data is the negotiation of a joint construction of meaning which takes place in the presence of a macro and a micro-dimension. This negotiation of meaning is reflected in the struggle over communication rights between the interpreter and tutor, which in turn resolves itself into the measure of quality of interpreting arrived at.

My original aim in this work was to investigate the quality of the interpreting during H&S training. While the development of the research project led away from a strict investigation into the question of quality, the wide spectrum of issues perceived by the direct participants as being part and parcel of H&S interpreting quality led to the search for a definition and a concept of quality, which would be cognisant of these perceptions and be suitable for the H&S interpreting setting. However, a balance needed to be struck here, since the variety of topics which the direct participants connected directly to quality reflects a cautionary observation made by Viezzi (1999) on the superficial treatment which the question of quality often receives in scholarly studies. He ascribes this to the difficulty in identifying exactly the requirements for quality, and to the fact that interpreting by its very nature takes place in different circumstances, and modalities, with different variables at play as dictated by the communicative situation (including different expectations and interests arising out of different roles in a communicative situation). A similar viewpoint is expressed by Inghilleri (2006, p.61) when she identifies reasons for inconsistent research findings on whether and to what extent the subservience of interpreters is a good or a bad thing. According to her, the reason for this lies in the difficulty of defining exactly the community interpreting context. It has been suggested within translation studies that translators have come to embody notions of servility and invisibility as a result of the norms of training and practice (Inghilleri 2006, p.59). Within the field and habitus of interpreting, where norms do not always apply to the ill-defined context in which interpreting happens, and where new communicative and social practices have been recorded as emerging as a result, the need arises for a description of a new practice and new or recontextualised norms, which, in turn, would yield a newly defined concept of interpreting quality, as practiced in this reconfigured space.

Having described the ill-defined space of H&S interpreting in these terms, I was able to select a theoretical model for an investigation of quality which would fit the

requirements for assessing the complex and irregular H&S interpreting landscape. Despite the fact that the scope of this work does not allow for making a full assessment of quality across all of the data, the following concept of quality, which is the third theoretical model adopted in this work, will be used throughout the analysis. It will serve as a foundation for drawing some conclusions related to quality, and could serve as pointers towards possible future research directions. Pöchhacker's model of quality standards (2002, p.97) was considered applicable to issues of quality of interpreting in the H&S setting due to its broad spectrum of views on quality, assessing on the one hand the product, and on the other, the service of interpreting. Pöchhacker's perspective on quality in interpreting, which encompasses the socio-pragmatic sphere of interaction, fits in with the theoretical approaches put forward by Mason and Inghilleri. Furthermore, Pöchhacker's broad definition of quality (2002, p.98) and the view in which quality is judged by a particular (subjective) perspective in and on the interpreting event, suits the nature of the data in this study, where queries related to quality brought up a vast range of issues and views.

Let us consider in more detail Pöchhacker's theorisation of quality in interpreting. Using the model of interpreting shown in Figure III.1 (Pöchhacker 2002, p.96) as a starting point, Pöchhacker goes on to identify various sets of criteria for assessing quality, giving rise to the schema of quality illustrated in the diagram below. Accuracy and fidelity are identified as quality criteria, focusing on a product-orientated perspective of interpreting and on the notion of interpretation or target text as a faithful image of the original discourse. This aspect of quality relates to intertextual analysis. A second aspect of quality, identified in scholarly research by Pöchhacker, relates to clarity, that is to say linguistic acceptability or *'fruibilità'* (Viezzi cited in Pöchhacker 2002) and stylistic correctness. This aspect puts more focus on a listener-oriented perspective and target-text comprehensibility. A further feature of quality beyond this two-pronged text-processing oriented perspective aims at representing fully the interests and intentions of the speaker (i.e. achieving an equivalent effect), in which the interpreter's task is understood as communicative text production.

Pöchhacker offers another perspective by offering an assessment of quality within the communicative interaction itself. In this case, quality is denoted by "successful communication among the interactive parties in a particular context of interaction" (Pöchhacker 2002, p.97). The focus is therefore on the (inter)activity of

interpreting. According to Pöchhacker, quality standards can therefore be represented through the model in Figure III.2.: “the model of quality standards ranging from a lexico-semantic ‘core’ to the socio-pragmatic sphere of interaction can be viewed as reflecting the fundamental duality of interpreting as a service to enable communication and as a text-production activity” (2002, p.97).

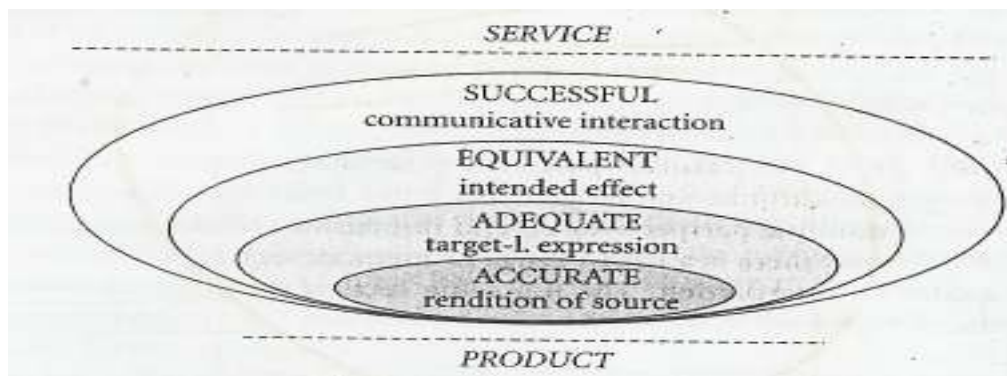


Figure III.2. (Source: Pöchhacker 2002, p.97, fig.2. Quality standards for the product and service of interpreting.)

It is clear therefore that there are different perspectives on quality which are in turn linked to differing understandings of the interpreter’s role. However, when one places a greater emphasis on interpreting as a “service to enable communication in a particular constellation of interaction, the more easily one will accept that the degree of ‘success’ [...] is necessarily judged from a particular (subjective) perspective in and on the communicative event” (2002, p.97). He goes on to list the participants of a “communicative configuration” (2002, p.98), such as the interpreter, the user, the paying client, etc. as holders of different, mostly subjective, perspectives on quality.

This model, incorporating as it does, a wide spectrum of views on quality, caters for the need in this study to include both the direct and the indirect participants of the interpreted communicative interaction. It can be argued that a typical element of CI and by extension also of H&S interpreting is the interdependence of stakeholders or participants in the interpreted event. Interpreters, by virtue of their role, are tasked with working with others, but as Harrington points out, the full spectrum of stakeholders have interests which need to be taken into account when building up a comprehensive view of the profession of interpreting (Harrington 2004). All these participants in the interpreted event, direct or indirect, have a responsibility for and interest in ensuring the

quality of interpreting. However, according to Pöchhacker's concept of perspectives on quality, these participants in the communicative configuration (Pöchhacker above) judge the degree of success from a particular (subjective) perspective. This model also takes into account the move in translation studies from concern with translation as textual product to translation seen as political act linked to issues of power and control (Inghilleri 2005b cited in Mason 2006, cf. above). Such inclusiveness of the socio-pragmatic aspects of interpreting in judging the quality of interpreting calls for an evaluation of the "social organisation" of interpreting (Wadensjö 1998), which is consistent with the perspective taken in this study. In this context, let us look closer at what Wadensjö has to contribute in this area and observe parallels and complementary aspects of Wadensjö's thought on quality with the quality model as proposed by Pöchhacker.

Wadensjö (1998, p.286) maintains that to evaluate an interpreter's performance, what is needed is a set of criteria which together define what is expected in terms of professionalism. Wadensjö's suggests that any evaluation of quality should include an assessment of the interpreter's professionalism in relation to norms for social interaction, a view which fits with the line of reasoning pursued in the current work. To allow for the "normal unpredictability of human conversation" (1998, p.286) and give room to evaluating "its social organisation" (1998, p.286), both essential characteristics of CI settings, Wadensjö suggests that translating should be perceived as but one aspect of the interpreter's performance alongside coordination and mediation. Another element to be evaluated, Wadensjö argues, would be the interpreter's professionalism in relation to norms for social interaction (1998, p.287). Other proficiency criteria, which according to Wadensjö belong here, are listed below. Many of these are cited in the accounts of direct participants of the H&S training as important elements for quality. This demonstrates both the range of areas understood at some level to be relevant to quality of interpreting, as well as a level of subjectivity in the perceptions of the direct participants. Here then are some of Wadensjö's proficiency criteria (1998, p.287): ability to attend simultaneously to various key details in the discourse; interpreter's flexibility in positioning themselves as speaker and hearer; ability to perform communicative activities on another's behalf and simultaneously distinguish what they contribute on their own; sense of timing (to help participants to find a common rhythm); ability to synchronise with the speakers rhythm or to set a slower pace of interaction; emphatic competence: making people feel at ease; enabling others to communicate

sincerely, seriously, jokingly; handle situations involving embarrassment; handling of situations where there is the temptation to avoid challenging conventions regarding the appropriateness of bringing up what are conceived as taboo topics; handling of situations where there is the temptation to smooth down cultural differences; situations characterised by the temptation to protect the parties from embarrassing each other with foreign conventions (degree of formality); handling of situations in which there could arise the temptation for the interpreter to keep from interlocutors disparities in mutual understanding.

Wadensjö's approach to CI, like that taken in the current study, is descriptive, and avoids discussion of data in terms of quality. However, she considers the prospects of applying her methodological approach to “the whole issue of evaluating (the degree of) interpreter’s professional skill” (1998, p.286). My own work aims to reflect a similar set of concerns.

To conclude this chapter: the interpreted H&S training context calls for a model of quality of interpreting, where quality is intended as successful communication and which takes into account the unique character of each interpreted training event, as well as the unique subjective view on quality of each participant. In an interpreting context such as the interpreted H&S training, it is the individuals' pretextualities, as well as the social features and the institutional context, from which the interpreted habitus emerges, and which also form perceptions of ideal successful communication (Pöchhacker above). It is these perceptions which become the measure for communication quality, collectively arrived at. The theoretical background on which this work is based allows both for such a definition of quality in the H&S interpreting setting, which I have arrived at above, and helps fulfil its main aim, namely to analyse the predominant aspect of tenor in H&S interpreting, expressed as power-sharing in both its macro and micro-dimensions.

Before proceeding to data analysis and discussion, two further steps are necessary. The first is to review previous research in the field of Health and Safety interpreting as well as any other studies relevant to this dissertation. This we will do in the next chapter. Following that, Chapter V will provide a detailed description of the methodology employed to collect and prepare the data for analysis.

CHAPTER IV. LITERATURE REVIEW 2: HEALTH AND SAFETY INTERPRETING AND OTHER RELATED STUDIES

Having set out the theoretical framework for the current study, outlining the main concepts and defining the key terms to be used in the analysis of the data, I will now review existing research in the area of interpreting during H&S training for the construction industry and other research in community interpreting, which draws on the sociological, anthropological and ethnographic approach to interpreting studies research.

With regard to field (cf. chapter III) or the interpreting setting, which, in this case, is interpreted H&S training courses, there is little or no research available in interpreting studies literature. There have been some studies relevant to the context of the current study, carried out in the medical field or driven by the construction industry. I will focus on two in particular, which either share some common ground with my own research or are particularly worthy by virtue of their scope and in-depth character.

The two projects in question originated at Loughborough University in the UK. They are both multidisciplinary in nature and were supported and funded by either public bodies or by private construction firms.

The first project (Bust et al. 2008) was carried out by a team composed of building experts and social science scholars, with the support of the European Construction Institute (ECI). In the context of global economic migration trends and in particular their impact on the composition of the construction workforce in the UK, the project set out to investigate challenges faced by health and safety systems in accommodating a multi-national and multi-cultural workforce through the translation of health and safety materials, the use of interpreters, and “visual methods for communicating health and safety messages” (Bust et al. 2008, p.585). The study aims to respond to the lack of scientific evidence in support of the effectiveness of existing tools and to the need for further research into the role of audio-visual communications on construction sites. The multidisciplinary aspect was evident in the involvement of the Civil and Building Engineering department and the Social Sciences department at Loughborough University. The project (Bust et al. 2008) invokes two themes also dealt with in my own work: multimodality, which is regarded as one of the main characteristics of the H&S setting in a multilingual and multicultural construction

context, and anthropology, which serves as a source of inspiration to draw on. There is also common ground between the setting analysed in the study (Bust et al. 2008) and the interpreting setting which I deal with, in that both are concerned with the transmission of a H&S message to a multilingual and multicultural audience, the main difference being that in the work by Bust et al. (2008, p.590) it is the “visual anthropology” of the audio-visual media used in the construction setting which forms the core data for the investigation. It could be said that another shared characteristic with my own study is the awareness of and concern for the aspect of pretextuality. The study (Bust et al. 2008) brings out the aspect of pretextuality and its impact on perception and communication of the H&S message through different forms of experiential knowledge and cultural narratives, and, in so doing, seeks to investigate ways to improve communication of the H&S message. In the words of its authors, the investigation aims “to examine how construction workers use their own experience-based knowledge (...) personal/biographical and (...) cultural” (Bust et al. 2008, p.590), in other words, their pretextuality, “in two ways: first to understand the related concepts of ‘health’ and ‘safety’; and second to interpret (audio) visual Health and Safety texts” (2008, p.590). The authors planned to use comparative analysis to examine how construction workers from different cultures and countries of origin use different experience-based cultural understandings to ensure that their working environments are ‘safe’ and ensure their own ‘health’ (on their terms although perhaps not on the terms of health and safety regulations).

Further to this, a series of well-structured pilot studies was carried out in 2006, including site visits, interviews, focus groups and questionnaires. Among the findings of the pilot study was that “the actual health and safety priorities and values of construction workers may vary from the priorities that have been developed on the basis of scientific knowledge and that are represented in health and safety regulations” (Bust et al. 2008, p.597). In other words, health and safety priorities were invariably dictated by the workers’ own pretextuality e.g. “if they [the workers] have come from a war zone it’s hard to get them to wear a hard hat” (2008, p.597). While in the pilot study it emerged that interpreters and translators are the most usual solution to problems of communication with international workers in H&S and construction contexts, the research team proposed the use of a different aspect of the multimodal H&S communication which features in my own work, that is, audio-visual material. Since the focus of the work by Bust et al. (2008) is on audio-visual means of communication in a

multilingual and multicultural setting, the study does not deal with interpreting in any great depth. However, the pilot study noted that “whilst translation of lay terms may be within the grasp of most interpreters, it is important that the personnel employed to do this are able to understand technical terms associated with the workings of the project” (2008, p.595). This theme will be picked up again in the next study under review which was carried out by the same team.

Based on the pilot study the team proposed “an analysis of existing (audio)visual texts and their production” on the one hand, and “an analysis of what the images mean to construction workers” on the other (2008, p.596). The team hoped “to be able to provide insights into how visual communications about construction sites might also tell stories that are sufficiently close to their experiences to communicate effectively about health and safety” (2008, p.600).

The relevance of this project to my own stems from its interest in the multimodal character of H&S communication, which is characteristic of the H&S construction context. The project also resonates with my own, in its use of an anthropological model for the purpose of analysing the pretextuality of the direct participants in the H&S construction setting.

The multidisciplinary team at Loughborough University continued to develop this area of research and to date it has carried out at least three other extensive research projects.

I would like to review in greater detail the third project which resulted from the pilot study above, published by the UK Construction Industry Training Board (Tutt et al. 2011). While this project does not involve interpreters as its main focus, it is of interest since it deals with a perspective not covered in my study, that of the international workers. Through interviews with the international workers and site managers, its findings validate the findings of my own study regarding a variety of multilingual and multicultural communicative situations. It recommends that the role both of interpreting and interpreters and the effect on communication of the H&S message be further researched.

The stated focus of the project was communication on health and safety matters between site managers, migrant workers and English-speaking workers. The research made use of ethnographic methods for an analysis of that which constitutes successful communication in practice. It was felt that standard interview techniques fell short of

what was required to get a fully qualitative range of perspectives from all stakeholders in the communication of the health and safety message. The research project finds its context in the increasing prevalence of migrant construction workers in the labour market, and emerging from this context is an ever more urgent requirement to evolve health and safety communication strategies in this rapidly changing environment.

The findings were comprehensive and they concerned a variety of aspects of H&S communication, while promoting existing functioning communication channels and complementing them with formalised health and safety mechanisms.

Though the research team admits to not having “language expertise” (Tutt et al. 2011, p.14), among its findings and recommendations a point is made concerning English-language training for migrant workers, as well as the role for interpreters and translators on-site. The findings in this regard showed that interpreters and translators were essential in providing a channel of communication between the site manager and migrant workers. In general, these professionals were not formally trained and the roles of translator and interpreter were often combined, with one person meeting both requirements. This resulted in a grey area of activity which reflects some of the concerns regarding the lack of regard for the distinct profession of the interpreter which emerge in my own research into the same industry. Tutt et al. (2011) also revealed that following the [UK] 1999 Health and Safety at Work Regulations, a ratio of one interpreter on-site for every four non-English speakers was generally impossible to implement in an environment where the ratio of migrant worker to native English-speaking worker is constantly on the rise. Resulting from this shortfall, it is common practice on the ground to draw contract interpreters from agencies to respond to specific situations as and when required.

One of the challenges in this context is matching the mixed set of personnel and competencies with the correct balance of standard English language ability when interpreting into the target language with the trade-specific language requirements of construction site subject matter and health and safety procedures.

In the absence of formally trained interpreters, different situations arise in which migrant personnel may take up additional responsibilities of interpreting and translation, as in the case of a manager of a Polish-owned trade subcontractor who provides interpretation and translation for 11-15 Polish workers (Tutt et al. 2011, p.16). The transition from the role of a construction agency migrant worker to a permanent

employee with the contractor is rare, however when it occurs, it tends to be linked with that worker assuming additional language responsibilities as on-site interpreter or translator. At times, safety award schemes were found to reward translation of presentations or booklets. Whilst any situation in which the safety message can be translated into the language of the workers contributes to better site health and safety, this practice is somewhat dubious given the life-saving nature of the material being translated. Furthermore it could be seen as sending out the wrong message about management attitudes to safe working onsite, as well as passing too much responsibility onto the shoulders of migrant workers whose area of competence does not include translation, and who have not been given any training in it.

Arising from these concerns is the recommendation made in the research for recognition of the key role which interpreters and translators play in the communication of the H&S message on an official level: “Official recognition of the practices of translation and interpretation is needed, especially in terms of formalising this role on site. Rewarding interpreters (...) is key” (Tutt et al. 2011, p.19).

Additionally the research called for some degree of regulation in order to guarantee the efficacy of those entrusted with this role. While standard English language tests such as IELTS or TOEFL were proposed as providing a base line of quality, the study goes further in recommending a scheme which would provide a knowledge base of the actual language skills of migrant workers, and establish standards and appropriate guidelines for remuneration, all with a view to proactively furthering the careers of migrant workers in construction who take on language-related responsibilities.

I will now briefly touch on a number of studies, which are relevant insofar as they validate the vital importance of communicating the H&S message to international workers within the construction industry. These studies come from a range of professional and academic areas, and for the purpose of this study will be discussed in chronological order.

Trajkovski and Loosemore (2006) focus on the experiences of NESB operatives (those with non-English speaking backgrounds) on Australian construction sites, and, more specifically, on their difficulties in understanding the content of mandatory government safety accreditation courses.

The following two papers also come from the healthcare field in which the serious nature of the issue of communicating the H&S message to international workers is confirmed by the views of medical doctors, who have seen a growing numbers of work-related injuries among foreign workers.

Davidson and Orr (2009) present stark statistics regarding the referral rate of injuries pertaining to foreign nationals in Ireland:

Data were collected prospectively from August 2006 to February 2007 on all work-related injuries presenting to the Plastic Surgery service in St James's Hospital, Dublin. 201 work-related injuries were recorded during the six month study period. 40% (n = 81) of the study group were foreign-national workers. Foreign-national workers account for only nine per cent of the total Irish workforce. 31% (n = 25) of the study group required a translator. Over half (55%) of all the foreign-national workers in the current study had been in their present job for less than six months at the time of injury compared to only nine per cent of Irish workers. This study highlights that foreign-national workers in Ireland are at a disproportionately high risk of occupational injury when compared to their Irish colleagues and emphasises the need for targeted occupational health and safety measures in this vulnerable group. (Davidson and Orr 2009, p.108)

Sattler et al. (2009) report on the rapid increase in admissions of hand injuries to the Department of Plastic Surgery in Cork University Hospital (Ireland) following the admission to the EU of the ten accession states, and the impact of this phenomenon on the trauma workload. As a corollary to this, the growth in expenditure on interpreter services is also examined.

The same situation as illustrated above is shown on a larger scale in the comprehensive international literature review compiled by Salminen (2011). This review collates the results of 72 studies from around the world. Whilst the emerging picture is not uniform, it is shown that on average the risk of occupational injury for foreign-born workers is considerably higher than that of native-born workers. Some of the studies buck the trend and reveal occasions in which immigrants actually have a lower occupational injury rate compared to the native population. At the top end, immigrant workers have as much as ten times the injury rate of native workers.

The last paper of interest here is the study by Evia (2011) which follows a similar trajectory to the Loughborough University work, in that it looks for solutions to H&S communication in enhancing the audio-visual aspect of H&S multimodality. In it, the Virginia (US) based author explores Hispanic construction workers who represent an at-risk population with high rates of occupational injuries. One of the reasons for this

is that this group reside on the wrong side of the digital divide and do not generally take advantage of advances in Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the workplace which are shown to benefit other ethnic groups of workers. The study recommends a form of radical localisation (Evia 2011) which goes beyond simple language and simple culture-bound transpositions of English texts showing graphic representations of accidents. Instead he advocates an inclusive approach with Latino workers and supervisors developing material including elements of humour modelled on the genre of a television situation comedy.

I will now review some studies relevant to the theoretical perspective taken in my research, and in particular those which in some way map the sociological and ethnographic turn in IS, grouped according to the categories of user variables field, mode and tenor suggested by Mason (1999, p.148-149) (cf. chapter III). With regard to tenor (Mason 1999), which covers issues that characterise the relationship between participants in the interpreted training session, there are two recent studies which are of relevance here. Like the current study, they both work with the idea that the relationship between the direct participants in the interpreted situation encompasses linguistic elements and pragmatic elements, both external and internal to the interpreters' professional field, which impact on the running and the outcome of the interpreted interaction.

Biagini (2010), in her contribution to the Critical Link (CL) 6 Conference, examines the element of reciprocity within tenor. Her paper starts with the hypothesis "that understanding in dialogue, as well as misunderstanding, involves reciprocity" (2010, p.8), and she then goes on to explore, how within the institutional setting of the court with its high level of authorised discourse, differences between the respective pretextualities of the interlocutors ("expectations and knowledge about this type of institutional encounter and, on the other, assumptions and beliefs with regard to interpreted-mediated dialogues" (2010, p.8), may lead to miscommunication. The method used by Biagini is descriptive analysis, which the author applies to a corpus of data consisting of authentic court interpreter-mediated encounters over the course of a criminal trial which was recorded in Italy, with French-speaking defendants and witnesses. By adopting a dialogical and discursive perspective, she identifies instances of miscommunication signalled by clarification requests, (meta)comments related to understanding problems, negotiations of meaning etc. She identifies the sources for

these, and goes on to analyse how the production of meaning is arrived at through the reciprocal nature of the triadic exchange where, with the presence of an interpreter, new dynamic patterns of meaning are seen to emerge. Biagini's paper highlights the importance of the mutual relationship between the participants in the interpreted encounter, as well as taking into account the individuals' pretextuality (expectations, knowledge, assumptions, beliefs) for assessing motives of miscommunication. Its aim of exploring the interpreter's contribution to the negotiation of new dynamic patterns of meaning parallels Inghilleri's concept of shared negotiation of meaning in which interpreters can play the role of activators of new communicative and social practices.

The second work on tenor which I would like to mention is Tipton (2010a). This paper looks in particular at the aspect of trust. The results of focus-group work conducted by the author in the Greater Manchester region show, how the initial basic degree of trust that exists between the interpreter and interpreter user can be challenged due to changes in social work practice and policy and as a result compensation strategies are used by the direct participants in order to allow them to carry out their work. Tipton's work is relevant in the context of the current study not only because the aspect of tenor, or trust, was one of the themes which emerged from the interviews carried out with the direct participants of the interpreted H&S training (cf. chapter VI.5.2. I2 31/972-4), but also in the way Tipton explores trust as a potential norm of interaction, which, nevertheless, bears the imprint of the institutional context. Compensation strategies, that is strategies used by direct participants to make up for the impact of the institutional power-sharing to negotiate their communication rights and meaning in the micro-context of the interpreted professional situation, have a parallel in the current study.

Tipton's paper pre-empts the theme of power, which along with that of control is an influence that is felt both external and internal to the interpreter's professional field. Some examples of recent work on power are listed below.

In her contribution to the CL6 Conference, King (2010) deals with the imbalance of power between interlocutors, focussing on the "ways in which interpreting choices – conscious or not – affect audience perception" (2010, p.41). The author uses a combination of interviews and examples of practice as evidence of what she calls "reductionist interpreting" (2010, p.41), that is a type of "interpreting which knowingly or otherwise sets limits on the meaning and/or representation of the less powerful

client” (2010, p.41). This reductionist interpreting is the result of larger, external configurations of power which cause one of the interlocutors to be in a disadvantaged position and puts pressure on choices made by the interpreter. Parallel to this is the power of the interpreter internal to the interpreted situation consisting in the choice of how to represent the client, which in turn determines the actual outcome of the interpreted encounter for the client in socio-political terms.

In her paper for the CL6 Conference Krystallidou (2010) argues that interpreting or, as she puts it, “‘mediation’ might often lead to patients’ disempowerment, as a result of choices made by the interpreter” (2010, p.42). The institutional aspect is seen to add pressure to the situation resulting in misrepresentation of the patient, again the least powerful participant in the mediated exchange. The paper discusses the extent to which the interpreter’s power determines the patient’s empowerment, the awareness on the part of interpreters and health care providers of the impact of the strategies assumed by interpreters, as well as measures necessary to safeguard the patient’s empowerment in mediated consultations. The methodology used for data collection in this study was a combination of recorded consultations and semi-structured interviews with physicians and patients in urban hospitals in Barcelona (Spain) and Flanders (Belgium). This work is relevant in the context of my own discussion on power distribution in terms of the identification of the power of the institution reflecting its own attitude to the client (empowerment policy), which might not be possible to maintain with the introduction of an interpreter engaged by the institution to deal with non-English speaking clients. The paper also explores the exercise of power on the part of the interpreter, who is acting out of their own pretextuality or purpose, and its visible consequences in the running and outcome of the interpreted encounter.

In his paper Narula (2010) deals with perceptions by service providers and service users of the interpreter’s role and function, within the context of the Health and Local Government fields of interpreting. According to Narula, the differing perceptions can result in a power struggle preventing the interpreter from maintaining professional control of the situation. The power struggle discussed here is due to interpreter users’ (service providers and service users) pretextuality in terms of perceptions of the interpreter.

Maltby's paper (2010) looks at how two voluntary sector organisations in the UK asylum context (Asylum Aid and Refugee Action) represent the idea of interpreter impartiality and neutrality in their policies, and in so doing, address interpreting practice directly. In both cases, the organisations view interpreters as more or less impartial and neutral agents. However, the very idea of impartiality is problematic when it is articulated by the institution itself as policy, as all policy areas, even simple operational objectives, are inevitably circumscribed directly or indirectly by the organisation's ideology. Maltby addresses the theme of larger institutional power relations filtering into the actions of the direct participants and through them into the running of the interpreted encounters, in a manner parallel to Inghilleri. Like Inghilleri, he argues that interpreters' customary subservience should be subsumed by a more savvy and self-aware acting out of their role in which interpreters understand themselves as more active players in the overall context of larger configurations of power and control. This is important, since the way interpreters live out their role impacts on the micro-context of the interpreted encounter and ultimately contributes to shaping overall communicative and social practices.

Williams (2012) in her contribution to the IATIS Conference 2012 discusses the issue of 'subjective theories', which pertains to ideas about translation which are held sometimes unconsciously by the receivers of translated texts (Nord cited in Williams 2012, p.110). In her paper, Williams argues "that it is not only receivers of translated texts who have subjective theories of translation but also commissioners of translations" (2012, p.110). In support of her argument Williams cites evidence from a wide range of sources including the localisation industry, corporate sector, public sector (Inghilleri cited in Williams, p.110) as well as from some European Union policies. Such subjective theories, Williams argues, are "held by influential individuals and organisations that shape the way translation is both practised and viewed across the globe" (2012, p.110) and makes suggestions on how to deal with implications of this phenomenon. Williams' paper is of relevance in the context of the current study in terms of a parallel which might be possible to draw between the concept of subjective theories of translation and the concepts of pretextuality and purpose. It also deals with issues of power distribution and larger configurations of power and control.

Apart from power and control, the current study features two other elements which I consider to be related to tenor, namely gender and culture and which constitute

subtopics of the analytical chapters on power and purpose of direct participants. Conceptually, these aspects of tenor fit under a broader category of larger social configurations of power and control (Inghilleri 2006, p.57), and are dealt with within the theoretical framework itself (cf. chapter III).

The same is true of the third subtopic of this work, multimodality, though it relates to mode as defined by Mason rather than tenor (Mason 1999). As with the two previous subtopics, multimodality is defined in the Theoretical Background chapter, with some related works quoted.

I will conclude this section by mentioning three other studies which take a Bourdieusian perspective in analysing interpreting situations in a variety of settings that are relevant to the study at hand. The first, by Valero Garcés (2012), was presented at the 2012 IATIS Conference and explores from a Bourdieusian perspective the translator's/interpreter's (in)visibility in a community (or, in the author's words, "public service interpreting and translation – PSIT" (2012, p.95) making use of Bordieu's concepts of habitus, field, *illusio* and symbolic capital (Bordieu cited in Valero Garcés 2012, p.95). In particular, she explores the role(s) of the translator and interpreter, drawing on data taken from field research in PSIT, and proposes some initial theoretical approaches for applying Bourdieu's ideas to PSIT theory.

In the second paper by Aguilar Solano (2010), the focus is on interpreting in hospitals on the southern coast of Spain. The author describes how, depending on the patients' own social background, the interpreters are perceived in differing ways by healthcare staff in each communicative encounter. The development of an interpreting habitus involves other patients, making it possible to establish a correlation between the interpreters' own capital in terms of prestige, and the patients' social and linguistic background.

Finally Tipton (2010b) maps the rise in the number of so-called 'practisearchers', using a term coined by Gile (1994 cited in Tipton 2010b, p.89) which was used to describe conference interpreters who are also engaged in research. One of the dangers of this is a possible conflict of interests which can compromise the value of insights into interpreter-mediated encounters if the 'position' of the practisearcher is not sufficiently examined in the early stages of the research process. Drawing on Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992 cited in Tipton 2010b, p.89), the author explores the "epistemological pitfalls and quandaries involved in analysing one's own universe".

The notion of practisearchers is pertinent to my own position in relation to the research topic at hand. The risks and opportunities presented by conducting research work through the so-called practitioner's gaze informed my chosen methodology which I will describe in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V. METHODOLOGY

V.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will outline the methodological approach which I adopted to conduct a research project which is qualitative, descriptive and analytical in character.

I will briefly outline the background to my chosen methodology, preliminary research questions and my initial contact with the interpreter user FÁS. This background section provides a point of entry to the rest of the chapter which is devoted to the application of each element of my chosen methodology.

The main element of the methodology consisted in the deployment of a qualitative semi-structured interview and supporting questionnaire to a representative selection of the main participants to the interpreted event in my chosen interpreting setting. I will outline the main themes underlying the design of the interview as well as the theoretical background which informed this design as well as the deployment of these research tools rooted in the work of Gillham (2000).

I then go on to provide an overall profile of the two groups of respondents I interviewed arising from responses in the questionnaires, and taking care to protect interviewees' individual identities as stipulated by the deliberation of the University Ethics Committee with whom I needed to make a formal application to conduct the research.

Following this, I will provide detail on various aspects of the actual deployment of the semi-structured interviews and describe the many challenges encountered along the way.

Finally, I will describe my chosen methodology for the sorting, categorisation, charting, and analysis of the interview data, following the theory of Gillham (2000), in his volume *The Research Interview*.

V.2. Background to chosen methodology

The initial objective of my research was to investigate quality of community interpreting during occupational health and safety training within the construction

industry in Ireland.

In order to map the interpreting setting, background data was obtained, consisting of written documents (such as Construction H&S documentation, FÁS SP training documentation, H&S statistics, examples of which can be seen in the Appendices) as well as notes, taken during or after my own interpreting practice. To the same end, a preliminary informal interview with an SP manager was conducted over the phone. A preliminary questionnaire was formulated, based on previous research experience and practical knowledge of the H&S interpreting setting, and electronically administered to a Safe Pass tutor and a Safe Pass interpreter. There were 37 questions covering basic demographic details, issues related to experience of H&S training, and some particular points related to quality.

Based on the collected background data and preliminary interviews and questionnaires, initial research questions were formulated:

- How does interpreting take place in the context of the H&S training for construction industry in Ireland?
- What is the level of quality of interpreting that is attained?

Secondary issues, which these questions provoked, were:

- How can quality of interpreting be achieved if all instruments to ensure quality standards (guidelines, material; inspections) are provided to the tutor, but are not shared with the interpreter?
- How can interpreting quality be measured considering the range of variables at play (content, speech genres and related interpreting modes, length of interpreted event, number of interpreters, non-interpreting tasks, qualifications, tutor/group specific characteristics)?

It was anticipated that the methodological approach adopted in the research study would be selected depending on the scope for collaboration with the interpreter user. To this end, and arising out of feedback from the interpreter user, a proposal to combine both a qualitative and a quantitative component was considered. It was proposed that the qualitative component would take the form of a descriptive analysis of a single day-long interpreted Safe Pass course and a day-long non-interpreted Safe Pass course, whilst the quantitative component was to consist of a survey of interpreters who have worked on Safe Pass courses.

The collaboration with FÁS, the organiser of SP H&S training and the main interpreter user began in this spirit. However, before the methodology was developed, the personnel in FÁS changed and at the behest of the new management, FÁS withdrew from the project. The possibility for mediation between myself and the research subjects, as well as the possibility to video-record was at that point excluded.

After consultation with the research team, it was agreed that two main methodological modifications were required. Firstly, instead of sourcing SP candidates, tutors and interpreter participants for the research project with the assistance of the main H&S interpreter user FÁS, participants in the research would have to be sourced through other means. And secondly it was decided that the research would focus on interviews with the participants of the interpreted event, using a semi-structured interview format conducted face-to-face (Gillham 2000).

V.3. Interview with participants in interpreted Health and Safety training

I will now describe how the process of interviewing the participants of the interpreted H&S training sessions unfolded in terms of: the selection of and communication with respondents, certain ethical issues which needed to be addressed, the design of research tools, certain logistical considerations related to the collection, recording, transcribing, coding, sorting and analysis of data, and finally the writing up of findings. In this description, space will be given to my dealings with the respondents, in order to reflect the amount of time and care invested in engaging with them throughout the research process. During the design stage of the project, this consisted in the selection of respondents and in the opening up of communication channels with them. During the data collection stage, it was expressed in initial meetings with the respondents and in the interviews themselves. At the analysis stage, it involved correctly representing and preserving the integrity of their views throughout the process of collating the material to be analysed and exposed. At all stages I strove to ensure that

the interviewer-respondent relation [is viewed] in terms of (...) ‘I – thou’ relation, in which the two share a reciprocity of perspective and, by both being ‘thou’ oriented, create a ‘we’ relationship. Thus the respondent (...) becomes an equal participant in the interaction. (Schutz and Seidman cited in Fontana and Frey 2003, p.93)

V.3.1. Research tools design

V.3.1.1. Objective of the interview

Gillham, in his volume *The Research Interview* (2000, p.1), states that “the form and style of an interview is determined by its purpose”. My initial research questions provided a starting point for the design of the semi-structured interview. However, in consultation with the research team it was determined that the interviews should not be predicated on a pre-determined set of research questions, but rather that these should be kept open to any particular emphasis that might arise from the interviews, and be formulated only following a proper analysis of the interview material itself.

Evolving out of the preliminary research questions and taking into account all of the sources gathered in the initial stages of research, five areas of focus for the research were established, as follows:

- Describing the H&S interpreting experience;
- Multimodality (variety of interpreted texts) and its impact on interpreting quality and overall communication;
- The relationship between interpreter and users and its impact on interpreting quality (Bot 2007, p.46), a particularly relevant factor considering the prolonged working time spent by the interpreter with the trainer in the H&S interpreting settings;
- Quality of interpreting, based on the respondents’ views, as explored by Wadensjö, using the concept of “ideal interpreting and actual performance” (Wadensjö 1998, p.103);
- Change was not overlooked as a topic in the context of the various changes which occurred in the area of H&S interpreting in the period between 2001 and 2002.

Although the interview topics were predetermined in this manner, it was nevertheless expected that the outcome of the interviews would elicit further questions and point to new areas of interest, as respondents were bound to actively construct knowledge around questions and responses (Holstein and Gubrium cited in Fontana and

Frey 2003, p.64).

V.3.1.2. Designing the research tools

For the purpose of this research project, an e-questionnaire and a semi-structured interview were selected as suitable ethnographic research tools. With a view to following best practice, a theoretical background for the deployment of these research tools was based on Gillham (2000). In designing these tools, my own previous experience of ethnographic research (O'Byrne 2004) proved to be instrumental, as did the preliminary interview, the previously administered questionnaires, collected field notes and observations from my own interpreting experience, as well as an in-depth professional familiarity with the interpreting environment.

The availability of my research team to pool experiences and collaborate on construction of the research tools was fundamental. Also helpful was the availability of members of my family willing to be used as 'guinea pigs' for 'trailing' the research questions. Gillham (2000, p.24) advocates such ways of perfecting the interviewing style, and gradually pruning the interview schedule and questions by taking advantage of the availability of persons outside the environment intended by the interview schedule. I will deal in the next section with the process of designing the questions and of their trialling process.

The e-questionnaire format was to be used to gather basic demographic data about the interview respondents. Two individual schedules, one for interpreters and one for tutors, were drafted to reflect the unique world occupied by these different professions. Questions were developed, which principally targeted data regarding the individual respondent's general professional training and experience on the one hand, and experience of interpreted H&S training on the other (cf. V.3.1.4.3. below).

The complete interview schedule for semi-structured interviews with questions and prompt sheets (Gillham 2000, p.45) for both tutors and interpreters corresponds to the five areas of research interest already listed and is shown in Appendix C, D. The individual questions as they appear in the Appendix were arrived at gradually over a period of several months through the repeated "revision of questions, reorganization of topics and question order" (2000, p.23).

As already stated, the topics for the interviews were informed by the research questions which aimed at describing the interpreted H&S event and the interpreting quality attained in it. Within this context, effort was made to arrive at a set of five distinctive questions in the interview schedule roughly corresponding to the five areas of interest, aimed at eliciting answers “distinctive” in their content (2000, p.21) and related to these areas of interest. The inclusion of a range of areas of interest in the schedule was in order to allow some scope for the collected data to dictate a final focus for the research.

Each of the main questions was open in nature and accompanied by a list of prompts, i.e. key points and topics (2000, p.45) to be covered within the scope of the question. These prompts were arrived at during the process of formulation and trialling of questions (see above), and drawn from the researcher’s own professional experience, from observation and from collected documents, for example, the FÁS Code of Conduct for Safe Pass Tutors (chapter VI.3). The prompts served as reminders and also as a certain guarantee of quality, as the necessity to cover all of them in the course of each individual interview ensured consistency across all interviews (Gillham 2000). In the section on coding and sorting, I will cover how the prompts were used as the basis for titles of some of the sorting categories.

One of the characteristics of the semi-structured interview form is a degree of flexibility in allowing for some closed questions in order to collect straightforward data, and some open-ended questions to facilitate the description of more complex feelings and attitudes. The use of prompts needs to be approached with care to avoid over-prompting which could result in “superimposing the researcher’s concepts, concerns and discourse” (Charmaz 2003, p.317). This is a particular temptation of the ‘practisearcher’ (cf. chapter IV) with their acquired professional knowledge of a particular setting, where the tendency could be to imply in the interview style many sub-questions and hypotheses. Instead, maintaining “expert openness”, as Gillham (2000, p.3) puts it, prevents any over-determining use of prompts in the interview. On the other hand, in the current study, having personal professional experience in the field helped in arriving not only at the final choice of prompts, but also at the main questions themselves. In keeping with the methodology, I endeavoured to take advantage of personal interpreting experience in the formulation of questions, whilst at the same time taking care not to allow these questions to be overly coloured by my own personal

perceptions which might have inhibited the respondents from communicating their own experience and feelings.

Another consideration in the design of the interview schedule concerned the order of questions asked. According to Patton (Patton cited in Hendl 2005, p.188), there are no hard and fast rules on this topic. Hendl, however, makes general suggestions regarding the succession of question types, which guided me in ordering the questions. Hendl suggests beginning the interview with “non-problematic questions” (Hendl 2005, p.169) on current activities and personal experiences. In the current study, in the case of tutors the interview schedule started with a short set of questions on demography and their experience of interpreted H&S courses. The interview schedule then continued for all respondents with an open question on the respondent’s first H&S interpreting assignment. This was designed to ease the respondent into the subject matter, to create a context, and to remind the respondent of issues arising during H&S interpreting. At this stage, questions regarding the respondent’s views of the interpreted text and the relationship with the other direct participant/s were asked. In the case of interpreters it was hoped that at this point in the interview an atmosphere of trust would have been established and that the interpreter would feel free to respond to questions concerning their own skills and interpreting knowledge among other issues. I needed to take special care to ensure that interpreters did not feel threatened by the questions, or perceive the research as a form of monitoring of their performance, especially as this section of the interview schedule regarded quality. The last question prompted the respondent to conclude with a future perspective (Gillham 2000, p.41) and referred to changes and possible improvements in interpreted H&S training.

A technical issue related to the interviewees’ H&S interpreting background came up for consideration while designing the interview schedules. I needed to decide how to incorporate questions on different types of H&S training. It was expected that most of the information provided by tutors and interpreters would concern the type of H&S training obligatory for every construction worker in Ireland, namely the Safe Pass Awareness Programme. It was however essential to cater also for those tutors and interpreters who did not work in this majority setting, but had experience of other settings, such as CSCS or Site Induction (cf. chapter II.3.). It was important to resolve this issue and not to exclude certain tutors or interpreters from the research. The issue

was resolved by the inclusion of some general questions on H&S interpreting settings in the demographic data sheet.

V.3.1.3. Ethical considerations

Due to the character of the chosen research methods, it was necessary to obtain clearance from the University Ethics Committee prior to commencing the interview process. My application to this body described the criteria which would be used to protect the respondents' identity (cf. Gillham p.16). Due to the relatively small business community in Ireland and the potential for reputational and financial damage to interpreters and tutors, it was proposed that no easily identifiable details would be given of individual participants' languages or qualifications. The deliberation of the Committee was positive and the research tools were approved as being suitable to be administered (cf. Appendix E). As will be illustrated in the following section, some other ethical considerations needed to be made with regard to communication with the respondents.

V.3.1.4. Respondents

V.3.1.4.1. Selection

Scholarly evidence shows the value of interviewing several different participants in the interpreted event, which guided the decision to invite two of the three types of direct participant in the interpreted H&S event for interview: the interpreter and the tutor.

The third type of direct participant, the H&S training candidate, was excluded because the withdrawal of FÁS from the project made it logistically far more difficult to access H&S course candidates. Another issue which prohibited the inclusion of the training candidates is the fact that any representative sample of H&S course candidates would by necessity have included speakers of a variety of languages (Wadensjö 1998, p.100). Without the assistance of interpreters, I would not have been able to conduct interviews in languages other than Czech, Slovak, Italian or English. This issue did not

arise with tutors and interpreters with whom it was always possible to communicate in English.

The objective was to collect up to 20 tutor and interpreter interviews from a good spread of respondents. Rather than aiming for a large number of respondents, which would constitute a survey-type group of respondents, the approach which was adopted was in line with Gillham's case study research typology, with the focus on gaining “‘in-depth’ insightful information” (2000, p.16) [inverted commas in original] from a small group of respondents.

With regard to sourcing the other two types of direct participant, it was not possible after the withdrawal of the indirect participant from the research project, to select prospective respondents with the latter's help. Tutors and interpreters were sourced through peer contacts, professional associations, self-employed listings and interpreting agencies. Some of them were contacted on the basis of previous professional collaboration. While it was an advantage in one sense to have had professional contact with some of the respondents, it also had its disadvantages, as mentioned above. The modality for the selection of respondents was dictated by the interviewer's habitual circles. Most of the interpreters who were selected for the research project were either academics who also did interpreting work or interpreters with a third-level linguistic education and/or interpreting training. The prevalence of more educated interpreters was reflected in their approach to their work as evidenced by their responses during the interviews. Despite all my best efforts, it was difficult, except in one case, to gain access to interpreters with a different background. A similar potential bias should be pointed out in the selection of tutors for interview. It is likely that of the tutors contacted, those who came forward for interview were those who had some sort of motivation for partaking in the research project, such as a genuine interest in interpreting, language or multiculturalism. In other cases, tutors saw their participation in the research project as a means of helping to improve the interpreting aspect of their work. Overall, there was a low response rate particularly among the tutors contacted, but also among interpreters, with only a small number making themselves available for interview. These factors dictated the choice of the semi-structured interview format as a suitable survey tool; as I did not have many respondents and had to maximise the opportunity of each interview, I could not, in

Gillham's words, "*afford to lose any of (...) [my] informants*" (2000, p.14) [italics in original].

V.3.1.4.2. Communication

Part of the process of building a relationship of trust (Gillham 2000, p.16) with the prospective respondents, which was a prerogative in allowing tutors and interpreters to share information which was valuable for the purposes of the research project, was for them to be "carefully and truthfully informed" (Fontana and Frey 2003, p.89) about the research and its aims. Therefore, the inclusion of any participant in the project was contingent on their explicit informed consent (Fontana and Frey 2003). All prospective respondents received a presentation of the project by email accompanied by an informal letter of invitation to partake in the research and the informed consent/plain language statement (cf. Appendix A, B). Conditions for participation, including a right to withdraw at any point from the research, were set forth in the accompanying letter. The informed consent was then signed on the occasion of the interview itself. All prospective participants were also informed in advance about the researcher's identity and background in interpreting.

In addition, in the initial email communication the modalities for the interview schedule were stated including the likely length of the interview, the proposed time and type of venue as well as the researcher's intention to record the exchange.

V.3.1.4.3. Profile

Interpreters (and tutors) "do not come from nowhere" (Inghilleri 2006, p.58). It could be argued that the entire premise on which the current study is based derives from this simple statement by Inghilleri. Drawing on the collected demographic data, I will now describe where the interpreters, and indeed the tutors, who took part in the research 'came from'.

Interviews were conducted with 16 respondents, of whom eight were interpreters and eight H&S trainers. The interpreter group included Czech, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, Italian, Portuguese and Russian native speakers. The H&S background of tutors ranged from third-level lecturers in H&S matters to

construction site foremen. Both groups of respondents were involved in all available types of H&S courses from Safe Pass to Site inductions.

Among the tutors, one monitor and former tutor employed by FÁS made himself available for interview. This was particularly valuable for the type of insights which his unique position as a monitor, with tutoring experience could provide (Gillham 2000, p.17). In addition his role provided an invaluable bridge with the indirect participant FÁS.

Let us now consider in more detail the demographic profile of the interpreters and the tutors who took part in the research.

V.3.1.4.3.1. Interpreters' demographic data

The age profile of the eight interpreters interviewed shows a relatively narrow bracket with six of the respondents between the ages of 25 to 35, one older interpreter of 38 years of age and one younger interpreter of 22 years of age.

Among the group of interviewed interpreters just one was male. This is quite typical for the interpreting profession and the area of community interpreting is no different in this regard.

In terms of native language, the group was representative of the migrant construction workforce in Ireland at the time, with central European languages such as Romanian, Slovak and Polish being more prominent. I also interviewed interpreters whose native language was Italian, Spanish or Portuguese.

The duration of residency of the interpreters in Ireland ranged from about two years to more than eight years. This is to be expected, given the age profile of the interpreters, but it also reflects the relatively recent influx of foreign nationals to the country at the time. All interpreters had moved to Ireland for reasons of work and study, and were not part of an earlier wave of immigration to the country.

In terms of educational background and professional experience, four of the interpreters had specialised interpreting/translation degrees from universities such as the Trieste School of Interpreting (Italy), or ELTE in Budapest. All four specialised interpreters/translators had through their university education reached a level equivalent to MA degree in the Irish university system. I will refer to these interpreters as formally

trained interpreters in my data analysis.

Other interpreters interviewed held a mixture of general BA degrees alongside additional training or certification in the area of translation or applied languages. Just one interpreter interviewed held a basic degree with no additional certification or training in interpreting or translation.

The interpreters responded to questions about their professional experience both in Ireland and abroad. Two of the respondents had gained all of their professional experience in Ireland. The division of professional experience between Ireland and outside of Ireland for the six other interpreters provides a varied picture linked to each individual's life story as shown in Table V.1.:

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|---|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Professional experience in Ireland | 3.5 | 8 | 1 year 7months | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Professional experience abroad | 6 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 |

Table V.1. Professional Experience of Interpreters, expressed in terms of years.

One interpreter counted proofreading among her professional activities. Two of the interpreters were full-time students, another two had management experience in translation agencies, and one interpreter's main occupation was unrelated to interpreting or translation.

The range of working languages varied from interpreter to interpreter with three interpreters declaring only one working language, i.e. English. Two other interpreters counted two working languages, though of these one was a Czech interpreter who listed Slovak, which is very similar to Czech, as a working language. Three interpreters listed three working languages in the following combinations:

1. Moldovan, English, French
2. English, French, Portuguese
3. English, German, Spanish

There was no obvious correlation between the number of working languages and

education, apart from the fact that institutes such as the School of Languages faculty at the University of Trieste requires students to choose two working languages for their degree.

Five of the eight interpreters were members of the Irish Translators and Interpreters Association (ITIA). No interpreter had membership of any other professional association either in Ireland or abroad, in spite of the fact that some had more professional experience abroad than in Ireland.

As for H&S interpreting experience, all interpreters had experience in interpreting Safe Pass courses, bar one whose H&S experience was limited to CSCS training. Two interpreters listed Safe Pass and CSCS as the settings in which they had experience, with the remainder having experience in three or more H&S settings including Tool Box Talks, Site Inductions, Manual Handling training and Abrasive Wheels.

The number of H&S interpreting assignments undertaken by the interpreters was quite varied, as was the number of tutors with whom the interpreters had worked over the course of their assignments. One interpreter, who described herself as an occasional interpreter in addition to her managerial work with a translation agency, had only worked on three assignments at the time of the interview, with three different tutors. At the opposite end of the scale was an interpreter with four years professional experience in Ireland who had taken on approximately ten assignments per month in a previous year working with upwards of 20 tutors in the process. For the remaining interpreters, the spread of assignments undertaken and tutors worked with is quite mixed. This underscores the ad hoc nature of service provision in this area and the lack of a register of certified interpreters which tutors and interpreter users could draw upon.

V.3.1.4.3.2. Tutors' demographic data

In contrast to the group of interviewed interpreters, the representative group of eight tutors was almost exclusively male and middle-aged. There was just one woman in the group. This means that invariably young female interpreters work with older male tutors in the H&S interpreting setting. As a result, the gender dynamic was to become one of the most prominent themes to emerge in the interviews on both sides.

All interviewed tutors were Irish, a fact which further underscores the tutor's position of power and the interpreters' contingency (Inghilleri 2006, cf. chapter III) in the communicative event.

In terms of educational and professional experience the basic type of qualification which many of the interviewed tutors cited in their educational background was described variously as Diploma in Occupational Health & Safety, Graduate Diploma in Health and Safety, Professional Diploma in Health and Safety and simply Diploma in Health & Safety. Two of the tutors did not cite any other educational qualification. For others this was supplemented by other qualifications such as an MSc in Training and Development. Another tutor held primary and Master's degrees in Civil Engineering.

Tutors described their current main occupation as follows.

Health and Safety adviser, Health and Safety Consultant, third level lecturer in construction and architectural technology, self-employed, running a one-person training providing company, Regional Safety Manager, Health and Safety adviser, self-employed trainer, and self-employed Health and Safety and Fire Consultant.

In line with the older age profile, the tutors generally had more professional experience than the interpreters, however in terms specifically of work in the area of H&S, where this was distinguished from other professional experience by the tutors it tended to account for seven to ten years, which corresponds to the period of the construction-fuelled economic boom.

Five of the eight tutors declared membership of the Institute of Occupational Health and Safety (IOSH), which was in most cases the only professional body which tutors belonged to.

As for the health and safety professional experience all bar one of the tutors had experience in delivering Safe Pass training courses. Just one tutor had experience only with the Safe Pass course, while most worked in various settings including:

- Manual Handling
- Tool Box Talks (five to ten minutes long)
- Site Inductions
- CSCS

- Abrasive Wheels
- Construction Safety Representative training

In addition to all of these standard settings, several of the tutors cited non-standard settings with terms like ‘bespoke training’ or ‘private H&S training’. In the same way as interpreters had dealt with varying numbers of tutors, tutors also engaged with a variety of interpreters. One tutor who stated that he had worked with approximately 12 interpreters went on to say that he sourced these through the ITIA registry of interpreters which is also available at FÁS.

The following are the language combinations for which the tutors had to source interpreters over the course of their work:

1. Polish, Lithuanian, Romanian, Portuguese, Slovak
2. Portuguese, Russian, German, Lithuanian, Polish
3. Polish, Russian, Bosnian
4. Polish, Czech, Russian, Italian
5. Polish, Russian and Romanian, Lithuanian, Czech
6. Romanian, Polish, Lithuanian, Chinese, French
7. Portuguese, Polish, Russian, Lithuanian, Chinese, Spanish, Italian, German, Romanian, Czech and Slovak
8. Portuguese, Spanish, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Lithuanian, German, Hungarian

One of the tutors stated that he delivered two or three courses to a mixed Czech and Slovak group:

T1 MX, 05:38- 08:31

I did a combination between Slovak, eh what's a similar language... Czech...Czech and Slovak, we did a combination one yeah, I think about two or three times we did that yeah.

Finally, the number of assignments undertaken by the tutors showed a similar range of responses as on the part of interpreters. One tutor undertook about five assignments per annum and at the opposite end of the scale another tutor undertook 100 assignments per year.

V.4.1. Data collection and analysis

V.4.1.1. Research tools: logistics and dynamics

V.4.1.1.1. E-questionnaires

The interview data was collected over a period of ten months. The process of data collection began with the distribution of the e-questionnaire. Through it the interpreters' demographic data was obtained electronically in advance of the interview. The interpreters received the e-questionnaire after giving an initial informal consent to partake in the research and having received the description of the research project along with the informed consent form. Despite the plan to distribute all questionnaires electronically prior to the interviews, in the case of tutors, their demographic details were obtained at the time of the interview itself. This was done to minimise any inconvenience to the tutors, who preferred to deal with everything at one sitting. The advantage of having some demographic details before meeting the respondents, as in the case of the interpreter group, was that I had access to some basic personal facts, as well as being aware of the interpreter's H&S interpreting experience, and I was therefore in a position to conduct the interview in a slightly more informed manner from the outset. In addition, as the questionnaires had to be deployed on the occasion of the interviews, it was necessary to add some time to allow for the demographic data to be filled out, thereby extending the length of the meeting. Regardless of how the demographic details were collected, they have been integrated into the Respondents' profile section above. In keeping with my commitments to the Ethical Committee, I have amalgamated the responses together to form a general picture, in order to allow adequate protection and anonymity to protect the interests of the individual respondents (cf. V.3.1.3.).

V.4.1.1.2. Pilot interview

Gillham advocates conducting a pilot interview as a means to “getting the *interview* right” (2000, p.53) [*italics in original*]. The pilot interview affords the opportunity to make last minute adjustments to the interview structure outside the

interview schedule itself. The interview for the current study was piloted twice, involving two interpreter-respondents in a university environment.

The interviews were designed to be approximately one to one-and-a-half hours in length. In practice, the variability in interview length was dictated mainly by the relative verbosity of individual respondents, as influenced by personality and culture.

There were no technical problems in the recording of the pilot interviews and neither did this element pose difficulty for the respondents.

In practice, the questions appeared to be well formulated from the perspective of the respondents in the pilot interviews and to follow a logical sequence thanks to the guidance of my research team.

Gillham recommends that pilot interviews be transcribed and their content fully analysed (2000, p.55). I transcribed the two pilot interviews, categorised them according to the main topics and then continued to the following interviews without conducting a full content analysis. The data accruing from the first interviews was manageable and rich in findings which were fascinating and varied, touching on many of the points which I aimed to address whilst also raising other unexpected issues.

In addition, there were some logistical issues in the data collection phase of my research due to a family move from Ireland to the Czech Republic. Each interview round (see below) was therefore planned in the context of several visits to Ireland making each collected interview a precious achievement in the overall scheme of things. The practical difficulty and expense associated with collecting data in this way resulted in a pragmatic decision to include the two pilot runs in the analysis.

V.4.1.1.3. Interview planning

As just mentioned, the logistics in conducting the interviews required a great deal of planning. While Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003) speak about a variety of practical issues related to interview planning, Gillham (2000, pp. 9-43) regards it as part and parcel of the interview itself and an essential and integral element in building the relationship with the respondent (2000, pp. 37-43).

The interviews for the current study were secured in six visits from the Czech Republic to Ireland. Each trip involved between one and four interviews, usually

conducted over the course of two days in different locations around Ireland. I will now address some of the considerations necessitated by data collection logistics as well as certain issues encountered during this phase of data collection.

V.4.1.1.4. Interview length

Since I was flying to Ireland for each round of interviews, the schedule was planned in order to maximise the number of interviews on a given trip. This was my solution to what Gillhams terms “accessibility” (2000, p.13). Interviewing several respondents in quick succession was not ideal. Although for the most part the scheduling of interviews allowed for enough extra time, and began and ended as planned, it was still impossible to determine fully the length of any interview, which ranged from one hour to one hour and 45 minutes. Several factors contributed to this variation, one being the variety of respondents both linguistically and culturally. Another factor was the range of interview venues. For example, a Slavic language speaking professional in a university environment would be more concise than a Romance language speaking interpreter in their home environment. Another reason for the variation in length of the interviews was the open-ended nature on many of the questions in the semi-structured interview format. Each interview had its own dynamic and while the framework was fixed and to an extent under my control, the experience was very much that of constructing the interview content together. As a result, it could happen that an interview ran over time which resulted in a delay for the next respondent, whose interview was scheduled in the same venue. This situation made the interviewing process very intense at times, and required additional effort on my part to concentrate fully on the next interviewee.

V.4.1.1.5. Selection of venue

As far as possible, I left the choice of venue to the respondent, principally in order to minimise the disruption to busy schedules, especially in the case of tutors, and also in order to make the respondents feel at ease (Gillham 2000, p.8). Interpreters, whose working schedule happened to be more flexible, proved to be less particular about interview location. The only requirement which I stipulated for the interview

setting was that it needed to be sufficiently quiet for the digital recording. The interviews therefore took place in hotels, cafes, restaurants, at a shopping centre, a university, and in one case in the respondent's own home. The choice of venue lent a unique character to each interview. Due to the challenges posed by scheduling the interviews from abroad, it did happen on one occasion that I was unable to check the venue in advance of the interview and it turned out to be unsuitably noisy. A solution in this instance had to be improvised with the café staff to secure a quieter space. Such unforeseen variables were outside the planned framework and had to be dealt with in a flexible manner as and when they occurred. An interview conducted in a respondent's home had several interruptions which were part and parcel of any young family home (Gillham 2000, p.8). The university setting chosen by another respondent as the most suitable venue for the interview was certainly ideal, but was not always possible.

V.4.1.1.6. Recording and storing of data

All interviews were recorded digitally on a Creative Zen MP3 player and were automatically time-stamped on the device. This time was noted in a data management document along with the name of the person interviewed, as well as the venue. The file was transferred to a password protected PC as soon as possible, deleted from the MP3 device, and at a later stage stored and backed up along with the transcriptions, using a secure encrypted password protected cloud storage solution. This solution facilitated easy sharing and transfer of material with the research project supervisor and avoided the circulation of document duplicates as email attachments. All related paperwork was stored in physical folders and organised by interview round and by individual interview.

Two of the interviews were not recorded in the manner described above and one planned interview was not recorded at all. In one case, after the interview was completed, the recording equipment went missing or was stolen, and the interview was lost. By the time I noticed that I no longer had the MP3 player, it was already the beginning of the next interviewing day with two interviews pending. Improvising, I recorded the first of these on my mobile phone. The university environment, in which the interviews happened to be taking place that morning made it possible, with the support of my research team, to arrange alternative recording equipment. The recording thus obtained was subsequently burnt onto a CD. As a result of this misadventure, I returned to the Czech Republic with just two interviews and not four as planned, since in addition to the lost interview a tutor cancelled his appointment at short notice.

V.4.1.1.7. Format

All interviews followed a similar format (Gillham 2000, p.40). After welcoming the respondent, I reiterated the purpose of the interview, confirmed the respondent's agreement to be recorded, and explained that the recording would be transcribed for analysis. I also outlined the modalities for storage of recorded material and measures to secure confidentiality. Respondents were given an additional opportunity to review the text of the plain language statement/informed_consent previously sent by email prior to signing. Once the recording equipment was tested, the interview itself followed. Certain questions were left completely to the respondent in terms of the length and scope of their response while some questions were introduced to the interviewee with an indication of the scope of response required as in the following example: "I will give you a list of issues related to quality, could you please respond yes or no, or comment briefly on the individual points?" While the basic question order was followed in all interviews, respondents were encouraged to dwell on areas which were important to them or to fill in areas not covered by the interview schedule (Gillham 2000, p.42). In addition, following Gillham's advice (2000, p.37), the interview concluded with a review of the topics covered, allowing further opportunity for material to emerge. Therefore I usually underlined at the end the particular value of each interview. Indeed as I grew in experience and confidence in my interviewing skills, I tended to follow each respondent's answer with feedback of this kind. I found that this yielded additional interesting material. At the end, I thanked each individual respondent, and committed to sending a report on the research outcomes to all participants.

V.4.1.1.8. Relationship with the respondent

"Focus hard on the person you are interviewing." (Gillham 2000, p.51)

Attention was paid at all times to the relationship with the respondent and the general atmosphere during the interview. Like Gillham (2000), I found this aspect of the interviewing process and of the research in general to be both fascinating and enjoyable. My own interest and enjoyment derived from contact and communication with others, as well as from my professional interest in H&S interpreting. The very fact of being an

interpreter myself contributed to this sense of enjoyment, and I believe that being in some way a “professional communicator” (Garzone and Viezzi 2002, p.10) was of help in the interview process (Gillham 2000, p.4).

In order to ensure a pleasant experience for the respondent I always made sure to arrive early, to take care in setting up the interview environment, and to have all the material (recording equipment and paper work) ready in advance (Gillham 2000, p.24).

For their part, the respondents were generous in their availability and interest in participating in the research. This, I believe, owes something to the natural human need to be listened to, and is something which Gillham comments on, and which to a small extent is satisfied by the interview format (2000, p.15). Secondly the participants’ real interest in their professional practice and their desire to improve it was a definite factor in their willingness to be involved in my project.

The principle of open and simple communication with the respondents was adhered to in every detail including the way in which interview modalities were communicated (Gillham 2000, p.7). The recording equipment and interview schedule were shown to the respondents at the outset of the interview and laid in front of them providing an opportunity to examine them if desired. Throughout the interview, I endeavoured to give a clear sense to the interviewee of where in the interview they were at any given stage. Keeping to the three basic, clearly marked stages of the interview (introduction, development and closure prescribed by Gillham (2000, p.24), and paying attention to the formal and social interactions at the beginning and end of the interview, were also important factors in maintaining a good relationship and good communication with the respondents.

The respondents did not mind being recorded; at times I was asked to pause the recording in order to allow the respondent to expound on some point off the record, which I considered as a positive sign of trust. Gillham also mentions at several points the importance of having knowledge of the environment (2000, p.12). In this case my own background was a source of such knowledge and was of help in building an atmosphere of trust with the respondents.

Gillham (2000, pp.30-33) points to various non-verbal elements and active listening on the part of the interviewer through facial expression, eye contact, head nods, gesture, physical proximity and contact as well as posture and orientation. This checklist was useful for me to reflect on my own use of these features. These insights

were particularly valuable when conducting an interview in a university classroom environment, for example. It was more conducive to successful communication to sit at a 90 degree angle rather than directly opposite the interviewee or behind a desk as sitting to the side carries a less authoritarian connotation and facilitates the researcher in using eye contact in a way which is not embarrassing or dominating for the interviewee (Gillham 2000, p.33). Gillham confirms what I have experienced in my own interpreting practice, namely that non-verbal aspects of communication acquire particular importance in ‘international’ communication (2000, p.31). In this respect, interviewing a young female interpreter and native speaker of a Romance language in her own home involves quite a different type of non-verbal communication than an interview with a middle-aged Irish tutor, which takes place in a cabin on a construction site. Culturally acceptable gesturing or physical contact and proximity are some obvious examples of how these situations differ.

My main effort as an interviewer was, however, devoted to what Gillham calls being “a listener”, to “decentre from oneself and focus on the person being interviewed” (2000, p.3). Care was taken that the attitude as well as the outward signs did not raise any doubts in the respondents’ minds that I was interested in what they had to say and they could express themselves freely. Gillham (2000, p.34) stresses two important elements in this respect. In addition to the outward focus on the other person mentioned above, the use of voice and silence are two essential sources of encouragement for the respondent (and are also a means of steering the interview). These aspects of communication, described so effectively by Gillham, again served me well in reflecting on the interviewing dynamics and helped me in a more conscious use of these features in the interviews. The occasional reference by a number of the respondents to my capacity to listen was confirmation that many of the elements recommended by Gillham were put to good use.

Something to note on the point about steering the direction of the interview is that, as Gillham points out, this does not entail “asking the interviewee to deal with something that he or she doesn’t want to talk about” (2000, p.46). This advice provided some useful points for reflection on something which took place naturally in the relationship with the interviewee in the real-life interview situation. Gillham (2000, p.46) uses the term ‘probes’ to denote “supplementary questions or responses” used by the interviewer to facilitate the interviewee to expand on their response. As can be seen

in the sample transcription in the Appendix G, which was transcribed from the recorded material, a number of probes are used spontaneously throughout the interview, and these can be seen to work as intended. The probes took a variety of forms and align to those enumerated by Gillham, from ‘asking for clarifications’ (Appendix G, [14:57- 15:05]: ‘How do you do that?’), ‘showing appreciation or understanding’ (Appendix G, [15:05- 16:04]: ‘You are lucky that...’), asking for ‘justifications’ (Appendix G, [35:15- 36:57]: ‘No, no, go there...’) of judgmental statements etc. This last type of probe occasionally helped the respondent to go from a shallow, negative evaluation of a particular aspect of the interpreted training to a more considered response and an attempt to understand reasons or motivations underlying the situation. Another type of probe, according to Gillham, relates to ‘relevance’ (Appendix G, [38:30- 39:05]: ‘Okay. What is it? What's the module?’) and again was naturally used during the interview as is evidenced in the transcription. This aims at enhancing the communication through assurances given to the interviewee about the interviewer’s effort to listen and understand their train of thought. In this regard, it came naturally to ask for examples of situations or interpreted expressions. According to Gillham, the most effective type of probe involves ‘reflecting’ (Appendix G, [01:37:57- 01:38:17]: ‘So you would see the interpreter's role as...’) on what was said by the interviewee. This focusses the interviewee’s attention on the essence of what was said and encourages further reflection on the part of the interviewee, while assuring him or her that the researcher has been listening and respects the emotional state behind what has been said (Gillham 2000, p.50).

Through the use of probes, the interviewer puts the interviewee in control, and in the position where it is the interviewee who is helping the interviewer to understand. According to Gillham, this does not in fact conflict with the interviewer’s being in control. “The interviewer’s control is of direction, and topics covered, and their order; the actual content is determined by the interviewee” (2000, p.45).

V.4.1.1.9. Note taking/informal log

All the above required keeping an informal log (Gillham 2000, p.19), noting down information already acquired and yet to be acquired, in addition to a variety of tasks, issues to be resolved and elements to be organised. This was done partially on paper and partially on the PC, and was filed chronologically, and divided into categories

depending on the nature of the note. Such notes included particulars to be obtained from individual respondents, and as such were used in drawing up the interview schedules and for less formal contact with the respondents, as well as allowing me to follow individual tasks and strands of research from the outset through to finalising the final drafts.

V.4.1.1.10. Learning experience

During the interview process, what became obvious was the extent to which interviewing is a learning experience. The later interviews were less rigid, in the sense that they maintained a strong structure, but one which I was able to use more and more flexibly according to the circumstances Gillham (2000, p.3). While the same questions were asked, at times more verbose respondents took longer in their responses, making it necessary to cut down on the number of questions by selecting the most important. With practice, this was done in an increasingly elegant and self-confident manner. Also the formulation of the questions themselves evolved slightly with time, for example when I realised that for cultural reasons an Irish tutor will never evaluate an interpreter's performance as good or bad, but will speak about 'poor' performance. The fact that the interpreter group was interviewed first meant that, having certain factual information and having acquired a degree of interviewing experience, I was better informed and better equipped to carry out the interviews with the tutors. Concurrent with the interviewing phase I began transcribing in order to have the interview structure foremost in mind. This was also useful in revealing certain small flaws and was instrumental in avoiding these in the next interview.

It proved to be very useful to be constantly engaged with the data in this way, and this helped to determine certain methodological choices in the later stages of the research. It became apparent that the interviews, as they were structured, were offering enough data of real interest and that several main topics were emerging. As a result I discontinued the search for an opportunity to make an authentic recording of an interpreted Safe Pass training session, and instead I shifted my focus to the elaboration of the interview data. It was this process of sorting the interview data which led to the final decisive choice of a theoretical model for use in the data analysis.

V.5.1. Transcription

As scholarly sources confirm, transcribing is a time-consuming process (Gillham, p.56). In the case of the current study, it took around 18 months (on a part-time basis) to transcribe 16 interviews. The interview recordings were each approximately one hour and 20 minutes in length, which translated into circa 25 pages per interview with an approximate word count of 400 words per page.

The recorded interviews, transferred from an MP3 recorder onto the PC were transcribed manually, using Windows Media Player for interview playback. Keyboard shortcuts for pause/resume and other functions of the program were used to manage the transcription process. While the option of using voice recognition software instead of manual transcription was considered, the manual option was preferred, as it was felt that engaging with the data by manually transferring it into a written format would facilitate a better understanding of the H&S interpreting reality as perceived by the direct participants, and that it would be beneficial for the selection of an appropriate sorting method as well as for the sorting process in general.

Following Gillham's advice (2000, p.62), I clearly identified each transcription with date, venue and respondent's name.

As for the transcription modality, everything including the question, the answer, the supplementary questions and the probes was transcribed (Gillham 2000, p.62). There is a consensus among transcribers that due to the time-consuming nature of transcribing authentic discourse, it is preferable to use conventional writing when possible (Silverman 1994). This recommendation was complied with, and a simple system of fonts and symbols was adopted (cf. Transcription guide), following in particular the example of Inghilleri (2006, p.64). These coding conventions helped to differentiate various types of utterances (interviewee, interviewer etc.) and allowed those features that were of relevance to the analysis to be included (Cicourel cited in Mason 2006). In the case of the current study, where the participants' accounts were to be analysed from the point of view of informative content, it meant that the transcription of other features, such as expressions or gestures, was kept to a minimum, except where essential. All of these guidelines and conventions helped me to transcribe the necessary information, while not making an already time-onerous task even longer.

All transcripts were then proofread by a native English speaker.

With the exception of the pilot interviews, it was not feasible to transcribe the interviews “as you go”, as advised by Gillham (2000, pp.53-54), that is immediately after recording. In some cases, the process of transcribing was slower than would otherwise be the case because the interview was less fresh in my mind.

V.6.1. Sorting and coding

During the transcription process, suitable sorting methods were considered. Initially the idea of using electronic sorting aids was considered. The NVivo sorting software was installed on my PC and I attended a one-day software training course. This involved an introduction to NVivo as a tool for organising, questioning and reporting on data in order to support the findings of a given project. The tutorial demonstrated the setting up of a database and the importing and coding of data. This training course afforded me the opportunity to assess NVivo as a sorting tool in relation to my particular project.

In the meantime, the hand-transcribed data started coming to life. Among the themes which emerged as being central to interpreted communication within the H&S setting were: power sharing, negotiations of gender and cultural differences, the unique character of the H&S interpreting setting and material, the pivotal impact of the relationship between the interpreter and the interpreter user, and the impact of all the above on the quality of the interpreted H&S communication.

It was eventually decided that the relatively small number of in-depth interviews, transcribed by hand, would also benefit from the same manual treatment in the sorting stage. This decision arrived at with the supervisor and the research team confirmed the researcher’s own personal preference, which was to avoid any possibility of distorting inherently manageable themes into something different through the use of electronic sorting. Instead manual sorting allowed for more consistent and direct contact with the data. The time allocated for this stage of the research process was therefore spent handling the data directly, rather than investing resources in learning how to operate a sorting system. The initial process of manually engaging with the data through the process of manual transcription had already yielded some interesting initial outcomes, and was therefore retained for the sorting stage. It was, however, apparent that as with the transcription process this stage too would require considerable time to

complete.

The sorting was carried out based on a method proposed by Gillham (2000), in his volume *The Research Interview*, which is based on a categorisation (numeric coding and tabulation of statements) selection and interpretation, which, as Gillham (2000, p.79) puts it “*are* required but (...) should be kept to the minimum necessary for the implications of the evidence to be apparent” [italics in original]. The sorting process occurred over a period of 18 months during which three rough phases may be distinguished: 1. identifying and coding substantive statements; 2. charting; 3. working with statements from selected categories and the writing up of the analysis. I will now briefly describe each of these stages.

V.6.1.1. Categorisation

A definitive proofread copy of each transcript was created. As suggested by Gillham (2000, pp.62-64) in his eleven point sorting method, I started by finding substantive points and identifying categories. To this end, I underlined such substantive statements in each interview. I performed this task in two phases for each interview. In addition to Gillham’s procedure and during the second phase of underlining substantive statements, I colour-coded thematic text fragments by highlighting clearly defined sections in different colours. This initial sorting yielded a first group of categories (Gillham 2000, p.60): multimodality, culture, gender, power, relationship and quality. The category of power/control was then split into two categories denoting two types of power: external/political power and power distribution internal to the interpreted exchange.

The next stage in the process, following Gillham’s advice, involved assembling categories from the data. To this end I read through the transcripts again, noting down possible titles for a list of categories. After the gruelling initial transcription process, this was to prove to be a new, daunting, but intellectually creative stage with the clear emergence of actual themes for analysis arising from the data. In the second round of reading, something that proved to be a useful addition to Gillham’s own method for deriving categories, was the use the interview schedules, questions and prompts as a checklist to cover all the categories. Due to a relatively high number of prompts informed by my inside knowledge of the H&S interpreting setting, it was logical to use

the prompts as individual sub-categories in addition to those derived from the data in the first round. Therefore, besides the first group of colour-coded categories cited above, and the list of sub/categories derived from the transcripts, there were also sub-categories described best by the prompt headings in the interview schedule. Therefore at this stage the organisation of questions in the interview schedule proved helpful beyond the interviews themselves acquiring a 'second life', as it were, in helping to categorise the data during the coding process (Gillham 2000, p.54).

Gillham (2000, p.61) summarises this stage of derivation of categories as following the principle of "exhaustiveness and exclusiveness", which are the two requirements the categories should fulfil. According to these criteria, no category should be repeated, and all need to be kept. Therefore, Gillham argues that each statement should not belong to more than one category. The ground work for this is laid at an earlier stage in the methodological procedure, through the formulation of distinctive questions in the interview schedule, which should then allow a distinctive division of statements into categories. While the questions were built around five clearly distinct areas (Gillham 2000, p.21), and the main categories were quite distinct, I did experience some overlaps both at this and at a later stage, when dealing with selected statements on the issue of power. This was due to the fact that while the categories reflected the reality of H&S interpreting which I was aiming to describe, some aspects of H&S interpreting were present in a variety of areas, creating a layered and multifaceted reflection of the situation on the ground. Therefore the issue of power and aspects of attitude emerged within several areas of interest such as gender, multimodality and culture. The converse was also true, that within the two categories of power, external and internal to the interpreted exchange, other topics such as gender, culture or multimodality were expressed. In the same way, issues of quality were found to underlie many of the emerging categories. The level of complexity of the interpreted H&S training setting dictated the structure of the dissertation, with the themes of power and quality running across the individual topics and sections. At the stage of categorisation this issue was dealt with by provisionally sorting certain marked statements into more than one category. At a later stage, when the overall structure of the dissertation became more apparent, these were migrated to whichever category they best represented. Although exclusivity was guaranteed in the final stage of sorting, the topic of power was selected with a built-in awareness that within it many other main categories and sub-categories would come to be expressed.

At this point Gillham suggests going back to the transcriptions to mark all the statements in all the interviews with a symbol chosen for each category. Whereas Gillham's method uses hand-written notes on paper copies of transcripts in the margin (2000, p.62), I preferred to make use of the 'comments' feature of the word processor software on the PC. By the end of this stage I had copies of transcripts, colour-coded according to main themes and marked using comments with the symbols for individual main categories. In addition, each comment contained an indication of the question in the interview schedule which it related to and/or a summary of the given section of the substantive statements. Where there was more to be noted, I made an extended note in a separate document, and the number of this additional note was also included in the comment for cross reference. Such notes, made throughout the sorting process for each interview, were then used during the initial write up of the analysis and became a useful tool in formulating commentaries on respondents' own accounts of their interpreted H&S training experience.

At this stage of the sorting process I noted in the informal log (cf. V.4.1.1.9.) the methodological procedure followed to this point, which resulted in several pages of notes on the methodological and formal adjustments already made and yet to be made both to the data and to future chapters. I also realised that thanks to the hands-on approach to the data and the clarity with which the topics were emerging, the structure of the first analytical chapters was forming in my mind. However, given the volume of transcribed material, I was as yet unable to use the data as effectively as required. It was clear that I would have to bring the sorting to a further, more refined stage, as suggested by Gillham (2000, p.64), by charting everything and physically breaking up the statements into individual categories. Gillham (2000) speaks about being immersed, through content analysis, in the detail of the substantive findings, which has the effect of having the mind working on two levels, carrying out the tasks of categorisation and interpretation.

V.6.1.2. Charting

Gillham speaks about creating several charts, according to questions whereby each question of the interview schedule corresponds to one chart with several categories (2000, p.64). I made two sets of charts according to the interview schedule, one for

tutors and one for interpreters. At this point, I was into a second phase of sorting or charting. To construct the sorting charts, I used the original interview schedules and extended them with additional sheets to A3 size charts. Down one side, were the list of questions and prompts, along with the titles of additional categories. Along the top, I placed the respondents' names. Each chart in a set related to a specific question in the interview schedule which in turn belonged to the broader themes of power, multimodality, gender and culture.

I had a technical issue at this stage. I needed to be able to work on a printed version, however it was not possible to print the comments – which had proved so helpful and which contained all the relevant coding material alongside the transcripts – as they were not recognised by the software as part of the print version of the document. They could only be printed separately. Therefore instead of the entire transcripts, I decided to work exclusively with the printed comments (containing title and summaries with tags). In this way, instead of having 16 interviews of approximately 25 pages each, I had approximately eight pages of statement summaries per interview, marked up with relevant tags. The comments system automatically generated its own numeration which I used for sorting purposes. At that point I was entering each statement into the chart, using the comments numbering, I was also marking the category (or multiple categories) from the sorting chart, where each statement was tabulated on the printed copy of the comments. This system allowed for easy and quick cross-referencing between the substantive statement summaries and the sorting charts.

I charted three of the 16 interviews in this way before realising just how time-consuming this task was proving. Throughout his volume, *The Research Interview*, Gillham (2000) stresses the time-consuming nature of this type of research method. Despite having been warned about the challenging nature of this work, and having had guidance from more advanced researchers, this aspect of the ethnographic research surprised me at several points of the research project, and resulted in the need to regularly reappraise, throughout the course of the research project, the overall time schedule for delivery.

While the sorting had become quite linear at this point, because the interview schedule was clearly structured and the manual sorting had followed that structure, it was necessary to allow certain processes, as described by Gillham (2000, p.73), to run their course:

categorization is characteristic of human intelligence, but so also is *interpretation*: it is part of the everyday process of living. And by the same token it is not entirely a self-conscious or even a conscious activity. When you are dealing with a wide range of rather complicated information there is a good deal of unconscious work of this kind. *And you have to allow time for this unconscious process to operate.* [italics in original]

V.6.1.3. Working with statements from selected categories: write up of analysis

Notwithstanding the above, I was able to benefit from the efforts put into the research which resulted in data characterised by “richness and vividness”, as Gillham puts it (2000, p.10). From the 16 sorted interviews, the topics of multimodality, gender and culture, emerged as significantly impacting on the quality of the interpreted H&S event. The joint elements of power and control, both internal and external to the interpreted event, were shown to have a fundamental bearing on the running and outcome of H&S interpreting. These distinct patterns of power and control which started emerging from the tabulated data required additional theoretical concepts. As a result, the methodological concerns were expanded from the micro-level features of interpreted exchanges, to how these exchanges are socially and institutionally framed, and the theoretical background was completed with elements of Mason’s ostensive-inferential analysis (Mason 2006, p. 108), in particular the concepts of purpose and pretextuality, and with Inghilleri’s theory of the configurations of the social (Inghilleri 2006, p.57). These theories opened up the possibility of an analysis of the interpreted H&S event as a convergence of the institutional, biographical and social features within the interpreting process to be explored with a focus on aspects of the interpreted H&S event relating to culture, gender and multimodality.

Having described the method for tabulating the data, Gillham (2000, p.74) speaks about organising data in advance of write up, with the main interview questions constituting main headings of sections or even chapters, and categories representing sub-headings. The current study yielded a similar result in terms of the relationship between interview questions and chapter headings, though in a less direct manner than one-to-one mapping. The core focus of the study is constituted by the theme of power distribution and its impact on interpreting quality. In itself, while the researcher suspected its presence in the H&S setting, the fundamental impact of power was one of

the elements of surprise which emerged in the study. While the theme of power lies in the background of most of the data, it came to the fore particularly in response to two of the main questions common to the interview schedules of both tutors and interpreters. These questions dealt with the interpreters' first interpreted H&S training experience, perceptions of the interpreter's task and role on the part of the tutor, as well as the mutual professional relationship between tutor and interpreter as perceived by each. Multimodality, which was addressed in a separate question in the interpreter's questionnaire, again emerged throughout the data to be dealt with in chapter VIII of the dissertation. New elements which emerged from the data and which required space in the final structure of the written report included the topics of gender and culture. These emerged distinctly for both direct participants, in particular in response to the question regarding the professional relationship.

The topics listed above stood out from the data during the process of transcription and sorting. They emerged through a process in which the research questions and the methodology impacted on each other in a dynamic way, which determined how the manual transcription impacted on the choice of coding and sorting, which in turn inspired the selection of the analytical framework and the topics to be analysed in detail.

The final stage of the process involved the selection of quotes and the writing up of the analysis. In Gillham's terms, I needed during this stage to "weave a narrative which is interpolated with illustrative quotes", and follow his recommendation regarding letting the interviewees speak for themselves and make the points which the researcher wants to put across (2000, p.74).

While engaging with the respondents' views at this stage of the research project, I tried to follow the above guidance as well the following pointers recommended by Gillham (2000, p.76): 1. using relevant quotes and giving a range and variety of answers, as well as discrepant quotes to add a qualifying insight; 2. trying to strike an honest balance by not choosing quotes to suit particular preferences. 3. keeping in mind Gillham's guideline of a 50 per cent ratio between narrative and quotes; 4. trying to give enough quotes per topic to show that a number of respondents gave a similar answer, while giving space to a variety of detail which can be shown by a range of quotations (2000, p.78).

My work with the statements emerged from a number of stages which were

repeated for each of the analytical sections. I commenced by working with the summaries of the statements in the selected category. I copied them into one document in order to be able to build a narrative structure around them. I then proceeded to work with the statements themselves. This required a certain amount of preparatory work, in that the quotes needed to be shaped as described below, before they could be used in writing up the analysis. Like the transcription and sorting stages, the experience during this stage was that the exercise of shaping the quotes continued to inform the structure of the given analytical section, showing the theoretical concepts in a new light which emerged from the data itself, and allowing all the elements to work together in the clearest possible way. Each quote was copied, highlighted in a different colour, and marked with the relevant number in a comment in the original transcript. It was copied and shortened or otherwise adjusted; using simple diacritic signs (cf. Transcription guide). The quotes were then grouped according to the narrative structure, using the additional notes written and commented upon in the process of sorting.

V.7. Conclusion

While applying the chosen research methods, under the guidance of more experienced researchers, care was taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the research procedure (Gillham 2000, p.78) from the formulation of the research questions to the final proofreading of the entire text by a number of different people. To this end a paper/electronic trail of documents in both the transcription and the sorting phase of the process was preserved (Gillham 2000, p.78). Equally, throughout the research project, special care was taken to keep in mind the respondents of the project and to preserve and protect the conditions under which they agreed to take part in the research.

The interview was designed to cover a wide variety of aspects of interpreted H&S training. While a sizable part of the data was not made use of in the final report, and it appears that the time used for categorising and sorting of the unused portions of data could have been used more effectively, I believe that the data sorting process was integral to the overall process of categorising and interpretation, for which in Gillham's words, "*you have to allow time (...) to operate*" (2000, p.73) [italics in original]. The selection of data which was used reflects most of the topics raised by the respondents themselves as being connected with or integral to the themes of power, control and

quality.

It has already been mentioned that in conducting ethnographic research in the H&S interpreting setting, having experience of H&S interpreting was an advantage, as the design and use of methodological tools was greatly facilitated through knowledge of the environment and H&S language. In the interpretation of the data, however, as a practisearcher (Gile cited in Tipton 2010b, p.89), I had to guard against any tendency of “becoming spokesperson of the group studied” (Fontana and Frey 2003, p.78).

A number of difficulties encountered in the methodological choices have already been listed above. While each stage presented new challenges, the most trying phase of the unfolding research project was undoubtedly the difficulty in achieving the interdisciplinary aspect. Methodological choices are, as stated above, dictated by the research project objectives and are bound to determine the type of findings. According to Wadensjö (1998, p.81), “a new way to describe and classify the constituting units of a communicative process may in itself make up the result of an investigation, applying qualitative method”. In the pursuit of the research objective, when the methodological concerns gradually shifted from micro to macro-features, due to larger social configurations of power and control (Inghilleri 2006, p. 57), they were explored and described using appropriate ethnographic tools and descriptive language devised by Inghilleri, and ultimately yielded some new and interesting results within the little explored interpreted H&S training setting.

CHAPTER VI. THE PURPOSE AND POWER OF THE INDIRECT PARTICIPANT

interpreters, as well as the norms generating their communicative practices, do not come from nowhere. They (...) are socially and politically situated, actively participating in the production and reproduction of macro-discursive practices. (Inghilleri 2006, p.58)

VI.1. Introduction: aim, sources and structure

The aim of this first analytical chapter is twofold. The first aim is to explore the pretextuality, or purpose in establishing and managing SP training on the part of FÁS with its explicit and implicit view of interpreting (and therefore its expectations of quality). The second aim, which is linked to the first, is to describe the macro-context of the interpreted H&S training. Let us consider in more detail these two aims.

In relation to the first aim, the concept of purpose is intended in the sense attributed to it by Mason (2006, p.109, cf. chapter III) as: “assumptions and pre-dispositions that a user brings to his/her processing of text”. Similar to purpose is the pretextuality, referenced above, which stands for: “the entire set of contexts people have access to before they enter the interaction” (2006, p.109, cf. chapter III). In this work I apply these closely related concepts to FÁS, though it does not directly participate in the interaction. Instead FÁS can be seen to ‘take part’ as an indirect participant, and in interpreting research indirect participants are often included in the “communicative configuration” (Gile in Pöchhacker 2002, p.97, cf. chapter III). In our case, we can consider the indirect participant to participate in three distinct ways:

1. by 'processing the text', by creating the content of the course;
2. by establishing certain rules for the delivery of content;
3. by training tutors and selecting monitors to enforce course standards.

As a result, FÁS is, for the purpose of this study, seen as an indirect participant, whose purpose, pretextuality and consequent attitude impacts on the unfolding and outcome of the interpreted event. The concept of attitude here is intended according to Mason's definition, as one of the aspects of the interpersonal dimension (tenor) of CI, which: “surface in: linguistic and paralinguistic features and in the way they are (or they are

not) translated and in the observable outcome of the interpreted event” (1999, p.149, cf. chapter III).

We will see in the three participative actions listed above, the type of relationship which FÁS establishes with the direct participants of the interpreted event and which is referred to by Mason as tenor (1999, p.148-149, cf. chapter III) and we will illustrate one of the predominant aspects of tenor that is power distribution (2006, p.117, cf. chapter III) exercised external to the interpreting event by the indirect participant (Inghilleri 2006, p.57, cf. chapter III).

When we come to look at FÁS's pretextuality (the first stated aim of the chapter), we move into the realm of Inghilleri's configuration of the social in the local interpreting context (Inghilleri 2006, p.57, cf., chapter III) and through this lens we can start to describe the macro-context of the interpreted H&S training (the second aim of the chapter). This description will allow us to address the following two questions posed by Inghilleri (2006, p.60): “How does the convergence of conflicting world-views that structures the interpreted event come about?” and “Why are interpreters more vulnerable than others in this social/interactional space?” In addressing these two questions it will be the indirect participants' world-view (which contributes to the structuring of the interpreted event) that will help to show some of the fundamental reasons why interpreters are vulnerable in the interpreted H&S event.

From an understanding of the indirect participant's world-view on interpreting, and power sharing in the macro-dimension, we will then be in a position, in the following analytical chapters, to move onto analysing how this contributes to the structuring of the interpreted event in its micro-dimension (Inghilleri 2006).

In order to fulfil the dual aims stated above, we will make use of primary data collected for this study, consisting in a series of interviews with direct participants of interpreted H&S training – interpreters, tutors and a monitor (cf. chapter V); as well as some related documents including the FÁS Code of Conduct for Safe Pass Tutors (sometimes referred to as the Code of Practice) and the H&S 2005 Act.

Among the interviews with the direct participants, one voice that stood out was that of the monitor. This monitor was a former tutor, and appointed by FÁS to assess and enforce on the ground the content and delivery standards of the course. The figure and views of the monitor are of fundamental importance, because they are at the same time the closest and most objective representation of the world-view of FÁS, as well as

its concrete expression on the ground. In the figure of the monitor we see the encounter between democratic iteration (in which the possibility of meaning, and thus social and cultural knowledge, “is not weighed down or over-determined by prior contexts or position holders” (Inghilleri 2006, p.63, cf. chapter III), and authorised discourse which reflects Bordieu's view that the “efficacy of speech derives not from language but from the institutional conditions of its production and reception” (Inghilleri 2006, p.63, cf. chapter III). The monitor also represents the closest point of collaboration between myself and the indirect participant FÁS.

The analysis of the accounts of the monitor, tutors and interpreters will be carried out according to five selected topics, each of which will be treated in a separate subsection below. The five selected topics are:

- the beginnings of interpreted H&S training
- provision of a Code of Conduct for tutors
- tutor responsibility and the role of the monitor
- the content and design of the course
- FÁS's attitude to designing and managing the course

Throughout the analytical section the quotations from the accounts of the interviewees, direct participants in the interpreted H&S training, will be presented in italics with the researcher's questions/prompts appearing in bold; square brackets '[]' will be used in quotations to indicate text which was not transcribed because it was inaudible in the recording; round brackets '(...)' will be used to represent a section of the quotation which was omitted. In order to preserve the anonymity of the respondents, each respondent will be identified with a number/code such as, for tutors: 'T1' and for interpreters: 'I1'. Each quotation will also carry a time stamp, indicating at what moment in the interview the quotation occurred, and which will appear beside the respondent code. For more detailed information on transcription conventions of interviewees' accounts cf. Transcription guide).

VI.1.1. Analysis

Let us now proceed to the analysis by hearing, with the stated aim of revealing the purpose and pretexts of FÁS, what the direct participants of the interpreted H&S training have to say about the beginnings of interpreted courses. In the following sections VI.2. we will be looking into three areas:

- H&S interpreting before 2005: lack of provision for foreign languages and/or guidelines for interpreters;
- Introduction of interpreting into the H&S training;
- Initiatives taken by tutors and Irish Translators' and Interpreters' Association (ITIA).

VI.2. H&S training: the beginnings

T1 19/586, 52:00- 53:00

(...) just to tell you a little story, he had twenty foreign nationals starting on a Monday morning on a construction site and he puts them all in a line and walks up and down the line and said do you all speak English? And they say yes boss. That's great, that's great, he said. I am glad to hear that you all speak English. (...) And he says... – looks up like this – and says there is a large brick going to fall on your head...and they all say yes boss.

H&S tutors report that until 2005 when the *Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act* introduced the language clause (cf. chapter II.5.5.1., *Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 2005*, Part two, General duties of employer, Training instruction and supervision of employees: 10.1a and Part three, Safety statement 20.3), situations similar to the one quoted above were not unusual and were deliberately overlooked. The need for language-related provision within H&S training came about gradually. The 2005 H&S Act was designed to cater primarily for illiteracy among Irish workers who could not read or write, or who had learning difficulties, and needed to receive H&S-related training. International workers and their specific language needs came only later. A monitor describes the situation, (corroborated by several of the interviewed tutors), as follows:

M1 14/410 (PART2), 35:29- 43:20

The initial difficulty that was raised, and I identified it actually with the social partners to get something done about it, was illiteracy. (...) I was getting phone calls from [] grown men who, God bless them, have put their children through college and thought that their children didn't know that they couldn't either read or write []. (...) But while that was going on, the interpretation had kicked in because it was twenty Poles, ten Germans or three French, four Italians, two English all wanting to do it [the SP H&S training] and (...) it got very, very difficult (...).

At a time when health and safety training began to be required by non-English speaking workers, the necessary language and interpreting related standards for the training were not in place, either in terms of course content or course delivery. One interpreter alludes to this when speaking of a course she interpreted in autumn 2005. From her account it transpired that there was no requirement for a shared common language within a single group of trainees, and that tutors generally did not operate from a unified background or set of guidelines:

I6 3/64, 06:15- 09:42

(...) it was partly an English-speaking audience (...). It definitely was not the full course that I came to know (...) later on. But there were lots of examples, I remember that. (...) Later someone introduced the exercises. (...) All the legislation must have been just kicking in, because it was one of the last ones [courses] of that sort when (...) the tutor was free to do what he wanted.

The lack of guidelines for interpreting or interpreters, either in terms of their role or qualifications persisted, even as some other aspects were becoming regulated. FÁS's efforts to comply with the new H&S legislation by catering in relation to the need for H&S training delivery into foreign languages were hampered by initial difficulties in finding qualified interpreters in Ireland. Let us hear what a tutor has to say about this stage of introducing of interpreting into H&S training:

T1 21/647, 57:20- 01:00:00

At the very start of SP program (...) FÁS wanted a very high standard of interpreting, international UN standard interpreters. Now (...) if you were that well-qualified, you wouldn't be sitting in a classroom doing an SP, you would be in Brussels doing the big-money stuff. (...) So, they kind of developed their package around that, which effectively means they left the interpreting aspect unregulated.

The tutor's account highlights a level of inaction on the part of FÁS to the emerging issue of interpreting: when the difficulty in the provisioning of qualified interpreters for the H&S training was encountered, it was left unresolved. In this context, it is not surprising that having any interpreter, even one that was not qualified, was considered an improvement, as a female interpreter says:

I2 21/644, 01:06:40- 01:07:39

(...) they used to teach this course without any interpreters. And it's a lot of improvement to have an interpreter. And, like another unqualified female interpreter, she maintains: I think I can deliver my job in a nice way (...). I have never failed in delivering my job (...). I am sure there are people who are much more capable and they can do what I do (...) in a much nicer way because they have been doing that for the last ten years of their lives (...).

Due to the absence of measures taken at an official level, self-appointed interpreters became to a certain extent the rule rather than an exception. The issue of finding people who can interpret 'in a nicer way' remained, and it was not the only difficulty facing interpreted H&S training even after some standards had been established. In fact, while some key aspects like the selection of interpreters remained virtually unregulated, other aspects of interpreted H&S training did receive a level of regulation (cf. Appendix F, FÁS Code of Conduct for Safe Pass Tutors, section 9.19). However, such regulation did not contribute to a better running of the interpreted H&S training. As one tutor's account shows, the use of in-house interpreters and the financing of interpreting by H&S companies continued as a practice even after the regulation prohibiting it:

T7 1/11-1, 02:00- 02:52

(...) sometimes the company has their own in-house interpreters, and technically we are not supposed to use them, but the company isn't going to pay for an interpreter if they are already paying for [them] in-house. They were all difficulties that were never discussed with people who were actually doing it.

On the evidence of this statement, FÁS did not actively consult with parties already and directly involved in interpreted H&S training, with an aim of addressing difficulties arising from the newly emerging interpreting aspect of the H&S training.

Let us mention another related element, which respondents mentioned in the context of the introduction of interpreters into the H&S training, that is the problematic

effects of the 'construction industry culture' on interpreted H&S training. According to some direct participants, the tutor's description below can be taken as emblematic to some extent of the pretextuality and attitude of the indirect participant:

T1 3/65, 00:41- 05:38

(...) I've had instances where the information wasn't passed on correctly (...). In other formal settings I would be more interested in the people's qualifications, [on a site] they would pick their best English speaker, and we try our best to communicate the information. Where I'm coming from is, under the 2005 Safety Health and Welfare Work Act, under the duties of employer, they have to give information in the language that the person understands. We have to be very careful about this, because (...) if we deliberately give information that we know that people don't understand it, yet we just give it out just to pass, tick a box, in that we could be held liable, you know. So we have to make sure that certainty of information is being passed on. (...) But the industry, certainly the construction industry, would be happy with any sort of amount of boxes ticked. It's kind of the attitude that they'd have, you know. A few companies would be more particular but they're the exception rather than the rule.

We will conclude this section on the introduction of interpreting into H&S training with an account of a tutor who, unlike many of his colleagues, who were critical of the functioning of the interpreted H&S courses, saw the positive side of the course. Like the others, however, he also felt that interpreting was the weak point of the H&S training programme:

T2 38/12-11, 01:46:44- 01:48:43

When that construction boom started, there was very few foreign nationals. It was only later when they started introducing translators and interpreters. And (...) Ireland (...) is probably one of the only countries that uses translators for the courses. Other countries either do it in the country's language or don't do it at all. (...) The boom was increasing, there was an influx of foreign nationals. And you know, some of them who do the SP, have a good level of English, but some were coming in with no English. So we identified that there was a problem as regards H&S on the construction sites. They were a liability not only to themselves but to the company also. And that needed to be addressed. Thankfully Ireland is not that big [], FÁS got together with the social partners and brought in... okay let us add this to the SP program. And it worked a treat.

But they stopped short, I think, of a formal training for the interpreters. Just for that program. Just even to make them familiar with the jargon.

In order to fill this gap, certain proactive tutors, interpreters, interpreting and translation agencies, as well as the ITIA, sought out a solution to some of these issues themselves:

T7 21/666, 54:32- 57:55

(...) they [ITIA] are probably trying to do that [draw up guidelines for H&S interpreting] as an association, (...) frame it in a way that people know what's expected (...). (...) It was foreseeable that that would be an issue, but it was three years, four years before any guidelines were written down. Have you seen their code of practice? Don't ask me. (...) Tutors have to comply with it and we weren't even involved in discussing the elements of it, we were told – which is never right.

T7 1/11-1, 02:00- 03:40

(...) A group of us [tutors] got together and made some suggestions. We said, find us a panel of interpreters, people who are qualified. (...) We tried to get something formal going, but it was for trainers generally, because nobody is supporting trainers, nobody is giving us any guidance, nobody is saying how do you interpret [sic]. We had [invited] a couple of girls from DCU who were talking about what an interpreter is and what is the difference between an interpreter and a translator. You know things that we wouldn't normally find out which we should have been given as a part of [tutor training]. (...) I mean it's not just in SP it's also in the CSCS, in the training as a whole.

These efforts at improvement took place at an unofficial level unsanctioned by FÁS, who did not open up any process of consultation on such emerging issues which would allow for such discussions to find their proper context.

What we have seen in this section is the way in which the interpreted H&S training course came about and how it reflects the pretext and attitude of FÁS, the indirect participant in the interpreted event, *vis-à-vis* matters related to interpreting. The interpreting aspect of H&S training was in its beginnings either not considered by the indirect participant/organiser of the course, or if so, only formally as necessitated by law. This attitude is revealing of FÁS's pretext and purpose in relation to the course and its interpreting aspect.

Let us look now in more detail at some of the specifics of this context as set by FÁS in its indirect participation in the H&S training, firstly through the Code of Conduct for tutors.

VI.3. Code of Conduct for tutors

The FÁS Safe Pass Code of Conduct for Safe Pass Tutors numbering 21 pages was first issued in 2002 and subsequently amended in 2006 (FÁS 2002/2006). In section 9 of the Code of Conduct (cf. Appendix F), FÁS sets out the standards for the delivery of interpreted H&S SP training. With the objective of exploring FÁS's approach to interpreting, let us analyse some of the principal assertions made in this section.

The first point we want to examine relates to the fact that it is the tutor's responsibility to assess the trainees' language needs and engage an interpreter only if deemed necessary, and only if the entire group needs assistance. We find this rule referenced in sections 9.2, 9.15, 9.18 and 9.19 of the code. Section 9.2 relates to the 2005 H&S Act, which introduces into law the requirement to cater for interpreted H&S training (cf. chapter II.5.5.1.), the fulfilment of which in practical terms raised a series of issues, not properly dealt with by the indirect participant, who delegated instead responsibility to the tutor. Section 9.15 of the code refers to the matter of organising courses for trainees with 'language difficulties' and states that the responsibility for the provision of an interpreter on the day lies in such cases with the tutor. Part of this responsibility involves the tutor ascertaining that the trainees possess a 'basic knowledge of English', which was impracticable given that he or she only met the foreign trainees for the first time just before the course during the registration process, which itself often took place with the assistance of an interpreter. Related to this is section 9.18, which states that an interpreter can only be engaged when an entire group is in need of language assistance; the Code of Conduct also delimits the size of an SP training group to between ten and 20 trainees. These two rules, when combined, appear again to be impracticable in the H&S training environment, where groups of non-English speaking trainees were often much smaller than the prescribed number, but could not be invited to create a multilingual group with other trainees. As a result, in practice tutors often

ignored these rules as will be shown by the direct participants' experience (cf. VII.4. T2 30/954-46A).

What the approach of the indirect participant to this aspect of interpreting during H&S training shows, is a formal character of the attention given to it, which does not involve an in-depth understanding of the problematic aspects raised or a committed search for effective solutions. Also the formulation 'language difficulties' reveals a very poor choice of words – language difficulties in a learning environment is usually taken as being related to learning difficulties, 'non-English speaking foreign nationals' would have been a better formulation. It is interesting in this regard that the indirect participant's attitude can, at times, be revealed through linguistic choices, and we will see further examples of this later (cf. the conflation of the terms translation and interpreting below).

The second assertion I would like to analyse in section 9 of the Code of Conduct is that it is the tutor's responsibility to brief the interpreter before the day of the course. Specifically, sections 9.16 and 9.17 set out the obligation on the tutor to meet the interpreter before the course in order to facilitate the interpreter's terminological preparation. As we will see from the data, meeting the interpreter in advance is one of the rules least adhered to by tutors. In practice, tutors tended to meet interpreters on the day of the course, about 15 minutes before the commencement of the course. Even in the eventuality of a previously arranged meeting, it would be too time-consuming for the interpreters to familiarise themselves, in the presence of the tutor, with the course material, comprising, as it does, 365 slides spread over 12 modules, covering different areas within the construction industry. As in the previous point, here too we see a lack of awareness on the part of the indirect participant and reluctance to engage with the practicalities (specifically space/time issues) related to the briefing/terminological preparation aspects of the interpreting practice of H&S training.

In the Code of Conduct we find a conflation of translating with interpreting on the part of the indirect participant and no apparent awareness of the multimodal nature of the interpreted event (9.19). The distinction between translation and interpreting, which can be understood in its most basic terms as the difference between oral and written transposition of text and meaning, is not made. It is also ignored by the direct interpreter user – the tutor, and at times, by unqualified interpreters themselves. In practice due to the various formats in which the 'course content' is presented in the

multimodal H&S interpreting setting (slides, exercises, DVDs), both interpreting and translation in their various forms are required, ranging from one-directional, note-supported consecutive to short consecutive, sight and written translation, and including hybrid forms such as 'shouted chuchotage' (simultaneous voice-over without technical equipment). Were such distinctions made, and the multimodal character of the interpreting event understood and apprehended by the indirect participant, it would be in a position to make various recommendations regarding different parts of the content of the course and the appropriate interpreting mode to be used to interpret them. Unfortunately this did not happen.

In relation to what constitutes an 'appropriately trained interpreter' (9.19), the Code of Conduct attempts to address this issue. As we saw in the responses of the interviewees in chapter VI.2., FÁS found it impossible to guarantee qualified interpreters for the course. The SP tutors were nevertheless expected to engage not only qualified interpreters but also 'independent' ones. In section 9.19 any interpreter is deemed appropriately qualified who holds a 'qualification from a third-level college or recognised language school'. It would be difficult for tutors to verify whether a qualification held by an interpreter coming from Central and Eastern Europe represents such a qualification as required by the Code of Conduct. Likewise, there is no mention specifically of a degree in interpreting, as it is assumed that a language school is a sufficient guarantee for a qualified interpreter. 'Qualified to translate from a given language into English' appears to neglect the fact that the SP course is, in large part, interpreted from English into a foreign language and therefore constitutes a basic false requirement.

In speaking of independence, the Code of Conduct specifies that the interpreter 'must be totally independent of the trainees', 'must not be a course organiser'; 'must not be a subject-matter expert in relation to safety management or the construction industry', and 'must not work in the company where the Safe Pass Course is delivered'. These conditions were often difficult to satisfy, since due to the lack of training and guidelines, the interpreter in the H&S setting often became heavily involved, thereby compromising his or her independence. The data showed that the cultural element, in combination with the typical gender difference (H&S interpreters in Ireland are mostly women, the tutors and H&S trainees are mainly men) also interferes with the interpreter's independence (cf. VII.3, VII.4). According to interviewees, the second

condition which stipulates that an interpreter cannot also be a course organiser has also been breached, since interpreters are at times given financial incentives to source SP trainees from the same country as themselves. Thirdly, it is a contradiction in terms for an interpreter not to be a subject-matter expert in the area in which he or she interprets. It is part and parcel of the interpreter's work to prepare in terms of terminology and concepts inherent to the subject matter of the assignment. Placing an injunction on the interpreter from doing so, or indeed actively preventing him or her from doing so – the interpreter is not allowed to have any access to SP course material in advance – prevents the interpreter from carrying out his or her work effectively. Lastly, interpreters are at times employed directly by a H&S company delivering the course as sometimes these companies prefer to have in-house interpreters (cf. above VI.2. T7 1/11-1).

By dwelling on an unhelpful and unattainable notion of independence, the Code of Conduct shows that the interpreting aspect of H&S was not properly explored, and because FÁS appeared to be unaware of the complexities of the interpreting component of H&S training it was simply not planned for. Whilst the Code of Conduct does underline independence – albeit a distorted understanding of same, it neglects to make any mention of the other essential attributes of interpreter professional conduct, as defined by any credible ethical guidelines for interpreters (cf. *ITIA Code of Ethics for Community Interpreters* (ITIA 2009); *National Standards of Practice for Interpreters in Health Care* (NCIHC 2005), that is confidentiality, impartiality and accuracy. Through their omission, it is apparent that within the H&S setting, interpreting is not fully considered as a profession in its own right. This basic attitude has a number of implications and provides the context for several of the other aspects already touched upon in this section, among which is the fact that the selection of H&S interpreters is not made following industry criteria such as qualifications and experience, which would guarantee minimum professional standards; interpreting performance is not assessed before or during the H&S training; interpreters are not given tools to carry out their work; interpreters are not allowed to collaborate with tutors within the remit of their own competency, to ensure a smooth running of the interpreted training.

A Safe Pass training course in the English language runs from 8.15 until 5 p.m. (cf. chapter I figure II.1. Safe Pass training programme timetable), or just under nine hours. For an interpreted course, there is a provision for an additional two hours, so that

the 12 modules must be presented by 6.30 p.m. and the final test completed by 7 p.m. (9.3). Although the guidelines allow for the fact that interpreting adds time to the course delivery, simply extending the duration of the course mechanically puts additional pressure on the tutor and the interpreter, with consequences which we will see later on. For now, it is sufficient to say that any requirement for an interpreter to work for eleven hours (even allowing for a lunch break and two shorter coffee breaks) can only originate from a position of ignorance and disinterest in the interpreting practice.

For the sake of completeness, let us mention also two other 'tools' offered by FÁS to tutors of interpreted H&S training – the interpreter pack and interpreter certification. According to some tutors and interpreters, in addition to the Code of Conduct the other tool allegedly provided to tutors to facilitate them in delivering interpreted courses was an 'interpreter pack'. However, most of the interpreters and tutors interviewed have never been given one and did not know of its existence. Some tutors and interpreters spoke about 'interpreter certification', as a selection method for interpreters and a way of supporting tutors in delivering interpreted courses. But like the interpreter pack, respondents spoke about it as being non-existent and it was difficult to get any real objective information on this.

In this section we have explored through the guidelines provided by FÁS in its Code of Conduct for tutors to deal with the interpreting aspect of the SP training course, certain imperatives which were impossible to satisfy:

- it is the tutor's responsibility to assess the students' language needs and engage an interpreter, if necessary – and only if the whole group needs assistance;
- it is the tutor's responsibility to brief the interpreter before the day of the course.

The section in the Code of Conduct designed to address the interpreted aspect of the training, also contains certain false assumptions or ill-informed assertions:

- confusion of translating with interpreting and no awareness of the multimodal nature of the interpreted event;
- incomplete definition of an appropriately trained interpreter;
- requirement for the interpreter to be able to translate into English;

- specific requirement for the interpreter NOT to be a subject expert.

By analysing the FÁS Code of Conduct for SP Tutors, we have explored the purpose of the course as intended by the indirect participant to the interpreted H&S training, FÁS, as well as its overall pretextuality and attitude to interpreting. We will see in due course how this attitude implicitly expresses the indirect participant's view of and attitude towards the desired level of quality in interpreting.

In a later section the consequences of the application of FÁS's Code of Conduct – and of its world-view expressed through that code – on the ground through the direct experience of tutors and interpreters, and through the feedback provided by the monitor will be explored.

VI.4. Monitor on tutor responsibility and interpreter involvement

This short section, describes in more detail FÁS's world-view with regard to interpreters and interpreting of H&S training and explores its indirect participation in the interpreted H&S training through its training of tutors and deployment of monitors. We will learn directly from a FÁS monitor about his role as intended by FÁS, which includes supervising how tutors uphold the standards of the course, both in terms of the prescribed content and the Code of Conduct. From an understanding of the role and responsibilities of the tutor, and the involvement of the interpreter as intended by FÁS, a clearer picture of FÁS's pretextuality and purpose will emerge. We will look at the position of the monitor and the tutor in the local H&S interpreting context through the lens of Inghilleri's (2006) theory of configuration of the social, and observe the consequences of FÁS's world-view lived out in this way for the interpreted communication.

In the statements below, the monitor speaks about the interpreted course, his own function and the role of the other direct participants – the tutor and the interpreter. In the Introduction it was mentioned that the figure of the monitor stood out among the interviewees, we will now see why that is so. The monitor effectively represents FÁS, and as such he speaks with the voice of the authorised discourse (Inghilleri 2006, p.62, cf. chapter III), firstly about his own role:

M1 16/490- 24 (17) (PART2), 44:23- 50:22

For the most part I don't do interpreted courses because it's so difficult, and right now I don't do courses, (...) you cannot deliver as a monitor anyway, which ethically would be wrong.

M1 3/80, 3/83-3, 10:19- 12:45

(...) part of the function of the monitor is to mentor and monitor. So it's not to go out and have a tutor, that's not, say, sticking to the standard of the course, where an interpreter might be handing out exercises for example. That's not the function of the interpreter. So you would mentor that tutor at the end of the session and say look, for your next programme I will be back, and you really need to cut this out, because it's a breach of code of conduct. [] So I will visit those people on two or three occasions. And then they feel supported, because you are coming back, you are advising them. They are getting time to rectify the behaviour. And it works very well in that case (...).

Here is how the monitor sees his own relationship with the two direct participants, as well as the tutor's responsibility and consequently the interpreter's involvement in the interpreted H&S training:

M1 30/921-44, 01:18:34- 01:21:36

Say there are problems, there is the interpreter giving out the stuff and doing the course. That's not the interpreter's problem as far as I am concerned. That's the tutor's problem. So the only relationship I will have with the interpreter is hello, pleased to meet you, thanks very much, good-bye, and can I have your name and your number for FÁS (...) and that's it. But I'll address it with the tutor why is the interpreter doing this? Well, she likes to. And I say well that's not really what I am asking. I am asking you why are you letting the interpreter do this? Right. To bring it back to where responsibility lies. Because it's very unfair to the interpreter that's in that position (...).

M1 26/803 (PART2), 01:09:58- 01:13:15

If the tutor does the program as they are supposed to do it, then the interpreter has very little involvement (...) no stress, except personality, in the course.

We see here FÁS's world-view regarding interpreting, as already encountered in the description of the early days of interpreted H&S training, and as recorded in the Code of Conduct for tutors, further reflected in three ways. Firstly it does not involve regulating the interpreter's role and task, but rather delegates all responsibility, including that of interpreting, to the tutor – whatever departs from the rule is the fault and

responsibility of the tutor. Secondly the statement reflects FÁS's lack of awareness of interpreting practice. Thirdly, the monitor's statement mirrors the fact that FÁS, in contrast to tutors, does not recognise the interpreter's role within the interpreted H&S training as a 'professional' one, which the interpreter could normally fall back on in order to negotiate possible personality issues, which might emerge, as among equals.

A nearly identical formulation to what we have just seen was also employed by a tutor:

T1 21/647, 57:20- 01:00:00

(...) I don't think that the interpreter has major stress on them except their own personality maybe.

We will see throughout the analysis that the issue of personality will indeed be a major factor impacting on the interaction between the direct participants in the interpreted H&S training setting. The two examples above demonstrate how FÁS's world-view can engender the same attitude in both monitor and tutor. Inghilleri describes this knock on effect when speaking of professional fields that “confer prestige” (2006, p.60) and which partake of a larger institutional universe that reproduces existing power relations whose dominant culture affirms and reaffirms the accepted rules for legitimate linguistic and cultural knowledge in the institutional context (2006, p.60).

In the H&S context, the tutor's field is circumscribed by FÁS's vision of the tutor's position. In practical terms, this means that if FÁS, from its position of power, does not consider an in-depth interest in the interpreting processes and profession as important, then it is not surprising that a tutor automatically and unconsciously carries the imprint of this dominant culture with the assumption that this constitutes legitimate linguistic and cultural knowledge.

While it will be further exemplified in the analysis that under certain circumstances, the above dynamic can be disrupted, generally it can be said that the knock on effect of power relations prevails leaving the interpreter's position “contingent” (Inghilleri 2006, p.60) on this distribution of power by FÁS, as well as on the tutor himself.

One type of disruption to such a dynamic of tenor between participants in an interpreted event is Inghilleri's concept of democratic iteration (2006, p.62, cf. chapter

III). The figure of the monitor, while representing the indirect participant's world-view and therefore the authorised institutional discourse, is himself not immune to expressing opinions which could be seen to invite such a disruption, as in the following account, when speaking about standards for tutor-interpreter working relationship:

M1 12/355, 12/363, 12/369, 32:36- 34:00

*FÁS don't have a standard for interpreters at all and the relationship. [] That's the gap. (...) And there really is a gap, you know. **So it's not formulated anywhere how this actually should happen.** No. And that's why FÁS just sticks to the tutor runs the program, delivers the programme, the interpreter should be interpreting only what the tutor says. And the tutor has to work out that with the interpreter, the terminology (...).*

And when speaking of interpreting, the monitor continues:

M1 14/410, 14/430, 14/441-22, 15/447, 15/464-23, 35:29- 43:20

I think it probably needs to fit in the framework, set of guidelines, a framework that FÁS would probably need to design and in hindsight I think if FÁS had identified a number of key... maybe... languages, Polish obviously, Russian, Lithuanian (...) those [] that they would have identified an X amount of tutors or interpreters through DCU or someone, you know, reputable college and then put together a programme, interpretation programme as well, that would have been spot on. And then it could have been agreed what can be used. Because there is that gap. And I have done it [the course] as a tutor, and as a monitor I have done it. And as a mentor I clearly say that I don't jump on tutors because of this or that off the standard, because they are in no man's land really in some situations.

In such statements the monitor sees and acknowledges, based on his former tutoring experience, the lack of regulations and standards for the tutor-interpreter relationship, as well as the lack of regulations for the aspect of interpreting. Whilst representing the indirect participant's world-view, the monitor simultaneously witnesses to what he and several other tutors characterise as a 'gap'. However, due to the absence of specific guidelines, the interviewed monitor does not penalise the tutor with regard to training issues related to interpreting and in this way disrupts the habitual communicative and social practices.

So far in this section, we have gained some understanding of the indirect participant's world-view made available to us through the proxy figure of the monitor. We have also seen how the 'gap' in FÁS's world-view on interpreting is compensated for

through the monitor's own opting for democratic iteration. We will now conclude this section by considering the impact which the monitor's own direct participation in an interpreted H&S session has on the interpreted communication.

The following account of a tutor shows that while the monitoring of training sessions can 'work well' from the monitor's point of view (cf. monitor above), it can at times impact on the tutor and on the group in different ways:

T7 6/185, 7/209, 8/221, 9/254 (PART2), 09:03- 18:25

Well, one or two [monitors] had some comments which helped me improve, which is fine, I don't mind that.

T7 6/185, 7/209, 8/221, 9/254 (PART3), 15:03- 18:25

What they do is they come in, they sit down they might not even introduce themselves. In fact, on no occasion has a monitor come in and said excuse me, I am just in to monitor T7's presentation or whatever. They sat down at the back of the course and the people who were there, said who is that? Now [] if I know who they are I'd introduce them and say it's okay lads, it's not you [they are after], it's me. But it is, it can be quite off-putting. (...) it should be a positive exercise to help, but it's a totally stressful, negative thing.

At times, the monitor's presence can add to a sense of stress felt by both the tutor and the interpreter, and which can affect their individual performance and the tenor:

T7 10/300, 10/313, 11/338, 12/354, 12/361 (PART2), 20:30- 27:11

(...) Normally if there is an issue [with interpreting or the running of the course in general] it's usually the first break when the interpreter raises an issue, that I was speaking too fast or whatever. And I say are you interpreting what I am saying or are you just making it up as I go along? I wouldn't put it like that, but just to help me to keep the ground rules right. And if there is FÁS around you cannot really do that because they usually hang around listening. So that can be a problem. (...) If you say something and it's taken up the wrong way by people who don't actually do the course or don't interpret (...).

While the monitor is aware of a difficulty posed by interpreted communication (cf. above M1 16/490-24 (17) (PART2): 'For the most part I don't do [in a tutor capacity] interpreted courses because it's so difficult'), at the same time he can himself

become a complicating factor in an already precarious communicative situation. This is a problem, since as many tutors and interpreters will attest, the individual tutor-interpreter communication and dynamic are – partially in reaction to the indirect participant's world-view on interpreting – key to the running and outcome of the interpreted H&S training. If the individual tutor-interpreter communication is somehow stifled, as for example by the presence of the monitor, there arises a break in the natural dynamic and the training suffers as a result. This is an effect of a lack of interpreting regulations which would legitimise such metadiscourse on discourse (cf. chapter III) which, as I will show later, is an important aspect that is excluded in the official institutional discourse.

In this section we gained an understanding of the indirect participant's world-view made available to us through the proxy figure of the monitor and comprising the following gaps:

- the lack of regulation for the interpreter's specific role and task – instead the interpreter is made contingent on the figure of the tutor;
- the lack of awareness of interpreting practice;
- the lack of recognition of the interpreter's professional status within the interpreted H&S training setting.

We have seen how FÁS's world-view is reflected and reproduced in the utterances of the monitor figure, and how this in turn engenders similar attitudes in the tutor. Although in general this 'knock on effect' prevails as a component of the official discourse, it can at times be disrupted by democratic iteration at different levels including that of the monitor himself. Finally we saw how the presence of the authority figure of the monitor at interpreted H&S training sessions had the effect of stifling those legitimate elements of the interpreter-tutor dynamic which are outside of the terms of authorised discourse and prescribed delivery rules, such as the element of metadiscourse on discourse.

In the next section we will explore the third way in which the indirect participant exercises its share of power indirectly in the interpreted H&S training through the co-authorship of the content of the course.

VI.5. Design of the course

So far we have explored two ways in which the indirect participant takes part in the H&S training for non-English speaking trainees – the drafting of the Code of Conduct for tutors and the training of tutors and deployment of monitors. This served to describe FÁS's pretextuality and purpose, as well as attitude, which the indirect participant brings to the interpreted H&S training. We will now continue investigating the indirect participant's world-view by looking at the third way in which the indirect participant FÁS takes part in the interpreted H&S training, that is its conceiving of the course itself by creating, in collaboration with the social partners (cf. chapter II), the actual design of the course in terms of content, presentation formats and layout.

Our aim here is to further establish the macro-context of the interpreted event and the reason that interpreters are vulnerable within it. This exercise is also expected to cast some light on the quality of interpreting attained in the interpreted H&S training sessions.

In this section we will address the following two areas:

1. Course design with a focus on issues which the direct participants have in terms of content, layout, quality and quantity of material, suitability of content for target audience, etc.;
2. Attendant consequences of the course design in terms of the running and outcome of the interpreted course.

VI.5.1. Design of the course: presentation of the text formats

In the Code of Conduct, FÁS prescribes the modality of presentation for text formats in the course. The presentation takes the format of a slide-supported seminar, which includes Q&A sessions, a multiple choice assessment, DVDs, etc. as detailed in chapter II, all of which take place according to a prescribed schedule. For their part, the tutors often learned through experience that in an interpreted training session some of the formats, such as the test, exercises and DVDs and also some of the main body of the training, such as the seminar-style slide-supported presentation, work better if carried out in different ways from those prescribed by FÁS. The tutors, not having the opportunity to help shape the overall design of the course, might sometimes only

partially adhere to FÁS's guidelines on text formats. The extent of the official implementation sometimes depended on whether a FÁS monitor was present. The main issues tutors have with the text presentation formats, and solutions they found for them, are presented below. They concern in particular the final assessment and exercises, as well as the presentation of the DVDs.

According to the instructions the tutors receive, the text in the final assessment is meant to be read out loud and then translated. Many tutors considered this an unnecessary waste of the already insufficient time.

T2 33/1057, 01:32:25- 01:34:31

The code of practice would tell us you must say the question [in the test] in English and then interpret, have it interpreted or translated. I don't do that anymore.

Similarly, the exercises are supposed to be read out by the tutor and subsequently interpreted. In reality, they tended to be sight-translated directly by the interpreter. Sometimes the tutor commissioned the interpreter to translate the exercises in writing and during the course the interpreter read them out in the native language of the group. As in the case of DVD subtitling, most respondents expressed the opinion (cf. chapter VI.5. I2 4/102) that translating exercises into languages the course trainees could understand should have been the responsibility of FÁS.

T6 14/432, 39:40- 42:49

*There was another problem as well over the paperwork, the exercises. You were not meant to get that paperwork translated. **Oh, so what did you do? How did you work it?** I translated it but if I had been found out, I would have had bother with FÁS.*

It is interesting to note the tutor's expression 'I translated it', meaning 'I had it translated'. Similar expressions occur frequently during interviews with tutors, showing the tutors' lack of awareness of interpreting and translation practice. In it we can detect a reflection of the attitude of the indirect participant as described in the previous section, even as in this case where the tutor contravenes an explicit guideline in the Code of Conduct.

Another of the text formats presented as a part of the course are the DVDs. Many tutors comment on their delivery:

T7 9/282, 19:50- 20:30

What about the DVDs? Well, there is about two at the moment, the electrics and the Construction Workers Health Trust. [] If FÁS are there, I show them fully. If FÁS aren't there, I'd show the electric one. If it is for non-nationals I'd show two or three sections of it. ***Right. And do you comment on it?*** Yeah. I comment on it. [] It's pretty self-explanatory – [if you touch a] cable you burn.

Both tutors and interpreters agreed that DVDs are difficult to interpret if an interpreter is hearing a DVD for the first time.

T2 33/1057, 01:32:25- 01:34:31

The biggest challenge I think is translation of the video. Definitely, no question. If they are not familiar with the content, it can be very difficult. You know what I mean? It's new content, you don't really have the opportunity to ask them to repeat or simplify it when it has been audited [].

And another tutor comments as follows:

T6 14/432, 39:40- 42:49

Then there were the videos and DVDs, what did you do at that point? I let the interpreters interpret over them. Some did and some didn't. You had to rely on them and that's what I'm saying, it depended on them.

As we can see, tutors improvised their own way of presenting the DVDs and other parts of the course, often in order to fit all the content into the day or to avoid having to expose the trainees to long un-interpreted passages of (in this case visual/audio) text.

Tutors generally preferred not to have to depend on the interpreter to decide on the interpreting mode for each text-presentation format. Firstly, tutors largely accepted through their training the Code of Conduct guidelines, as well as through the monitors' mentoring, the FÁS world-view, which entailed assuming total responsibility for the course, including the interpreting aspect. This set of contexts (Maryns cited in Mason 2006, p.109, cf. chapter III), which the tutors are exposed to before they enter any interaction with the interpreter, pre-disposed the tutor not to regard the interpreter as a professional with a specific role, task, set of responsibilities and skills, and with a share of power through which to contribute towards the joint negotiation of meaning. Secondly, it is also true that some tutors had bad experiences with untrained,

unqualified interpreters contributing to their pretextuality in terms of prior experience (Maryns cited in Mason 2006, p.109, cf. chapter III).

A non-qualified interpreter, who had difficulties in interpreting the DVD, pointed out two other related issues: firstly, the question of subtitling the DVDs, and secondly, the impact which DVD content had on the trainees when presented by an interpreter without the required skills:

I2 4/102, 12:07- 13:25

[The DVDs are] in English, I have never got any one in Portuguese. And that is another big mistake as far as I am concerned. FÁS is a very big government agency and they could have had translated all these. There is no point in a person translating it. I would sit beside the computer and I have to stop it every like fifty seconds and of course ... [] the guys are so pissed off with that, they say just let it go, you know. And you kind of try to speak at the same time as the video but of course the quality of your job will not be the same. So they should have subtitles. Subtitles would be great. All those guys know how to read and write. Most of them. As far as I know they do (...).

The comment relates to a consequence of a prescribed course presentation format and to FÁS's attitude, and which impact on the tutor, the interpreter and the trainees. The account of the interpreter above is also relevant since not every DVD is sufficiently self-explanatory, and they are very long for the trainees to sit through without interpretation.

It is apparent then that the content of the DVD often did not get fully transmitted. The often-cited formulation 'a picture paints a thousand words', which several tutors adopted, most likely directly from the indirect participant simply does not apply:

T6 14/432, 39:40- 42:49

So that means they [] would have missed out completely on a DVD? Yeah, it was like a picture paints a thousand words. That must have been pretty difficult [] like the one with the Construction Health Trust []. That was full of text and information and it would have just been left [out]? Yeah, you couldn't... you did a module at the end that took account of some of that (...). So you would explain [it] as you go through the module. At the end (...) then you were meant to put that DVD on and they were meant to sit there and not understand (...). This again is how out of touch FÁS is...

From the tutor quoted here we hear about a connection which he perceived between the course design, the delivery rules and FÁS's attitude, which he characterises as being 'out of touch', referring to the fact that the indirect participant ignored practical issues on the ground related to the interpreting aspect of H&S training, and was apparently unwilling to share of responsibility for them, or to contribute towards a solution.

Let us now look at other issues related to course design.

VI.5.2. Design of the course: general issues

While the direct participants (in particular the tutors) appreciated the overall effort which has been put into designing the course, they found certain aspects of the course design impacted negatively on the structuring of the interpreted H&S training and on their work. Among such aspects is the fact, mentioned above, that the volume of content is impossible to deliver in the given time to the given audience. Other aspects include:

1. repetitiveness of the material;
2. irrelevance of some of the content to the target group;
3. poor English formulations;
4. difficulty of working with the content both in English and in the foreign language;
5. quantity of technical construction-related terminology

Through the tutors' responses, we are yet again confronted in practical terms with the lack of power-sharing on the part of the indirect participant, as it relates to the processing of the text, i.e. of being a co-author of the course design, content and layout. The following account refers to the quantity of information contained in the course:

T2 37/1193, 01:42:17- 01:44:35

(...) the SP program itself (...) has been put together from the social partners, the Unions, the major employers, the government agencies, FÁS. And it's based on a working day. It's impossible, I find, to deliver to that level of client or student in that period of time in that environment, regardless of the breaks. There is so much

information, it's just going over the heads. Okay, FÁS is covering themselves by making sure that the legislation is covered completely (...) in a short period, and they have, in fairness to them, done a relatively good job.

Another tutor summarises the weaknesses in the course design in this way:

T7 17/509-15, 40:25- 41:44

The whole course is not designed to assist the communication (...).

...and continues, referring to another of the aspects above – irrelevance of some of the material:

T7 17/509-15, 40:25- 41:44

There are errors in the slides, there are photographs that (...) do not relate to anything in the slides. There is misconceptions in it. There is areas of no concern to individuals concerned (...). There is (...) too much theory and very little practicality.

Another tutor speaks about the quality of English and the repetitiveness of the content, which, in his opinion, was not written with the course trainees in mind (like another tutor already quoted (T2 37/1193). According to this tutor, rather than primarily seeking to ensure the health and safety of trainees, it was produced to formally fulfil the requirements of H&S legislation and to secure the indirect participant's non-liability.

T6 22/708, 01:04:19- 01:06:53

I would say the whole repetitive nature was a killer. It would destroy anybody's will to live now. It was wearing. They are not stupid people. (...) It became so difficult. [And] the paperwork... (...) The English language on that paper was disgraceful. (...) The questions [in the exercises and the final assessment] bore very little resemblance to the actual answers. (...) Even now in an English class, I have to explain the questions, so (...) very poor standard of English, you know, the material that was produced was disgraceful. It filled the time. [cf. also T6 24/787 below].

An interpreter who is not formally qualified, but is nevertheless experienced and has an academic interest in interpreting, speaks about her difficulty with the translation of construction related-terminology, in particular in the final multiple-choice assessment:

I6 7/176, 19:00- 22:16

(...) I have done a few courses, I know the material relatively well, but there are always words, every single time there are new words. And there are also words I have not

found an equivalent of and they are crucial words, some of them come up in tests, some of them are objects and you cannot really relate to them, the stop blocks for example. (...) Once you start to talk about a stop block in English, everybody knows what you are talking about. But if you try to translate it, you have to kind of explicate it, and then you give away the question, which is basically what is a stop block used for. That's one of them. And the other one was a push stick. And I could go on because there is quite a few.

Generally speaking, an interpreter, in order to be able to deal with aspects of interpreted text like the one described above, takes time to prepare for the assignment, using material relevant to the upcoming assignment. According to FÁS Code of Conduct, the interpreter cannot be an 'expert in relation to safety management or construction industry' (cf. VI.3. Code of Conduct for tutors, point 9.19). In practice this means that they are not allowed to receive any material from the SP training and do not have the opportunity to prepare the terminology contained in the course material in advance. From the account above we can deduce a lack of engagement on the part of the indirect participant regarding the basics of the interpreting profession in the running of the course with its vast range of terminology related to construction, Health and Safety and legal matters.

Moreover, in the test section of the course as mentioned by the interpreter in the above account, the formulation of the questions is a key element in the smooth running of the final test. Trainees who pass the test are deemed to have absorbed the health and safety information received during the course and this is a precondition of receiving the SP card and to gaining access to Irish construction sites. The fact that the outcome of the test in this crucial part of the course is jeopardised by a simple language and interpreting issue which has not been given due attention by the author of the content, poses a serious health and safety risk in itself. This is one of the consequences of the course design, which we will continue to look at in the following section. Before coming to that, let us hear one last account of a non-qualified female interpreter, speaking about the SP course.

The interpreter who is sharing her view below described in a previous part of the interview an experience of some awkward situations during a CSCS training (cf. chapter II.3), such as a degree of mistrust on the part of the trainees, and, at the other extreme, the overly personal relationship with the group she was interpreting for. This is

due, in part, to a lack of proper screening in the interpreter selection process, as well as a lack of training, of guidelines, of clearly defined working conditions, and the inability to gain timely access to course material and terminology, again showing a lack of awareness on the part of FÁS of and consideration for the overall process. Paradoxically enough, the shortcomings in the SP course design are brought up by this same interpreter as factors which play to 'her advantage', in the sense that they compensate gaps in her professional formation.

I2 31/972-4, 01:43:38- 01:45:35

(...) I understand that the SP is (...) eighteen people most, so it's a bigger class. Which is good because then (...) there is not so many interruptions [like in the CSCS] (...). So (...) I don't think it will be very hard to build trust between one and another. Second thing those people those people (...) have just arrived in Ireland and they don't know what's going on (...). They really want to get information before they start talking about their own opinion. And the second thing, [there] is a lot more content, so you have to rush a little bit, you don't have time for playing around, jokes, coffee. (...) So I don't think it's going to be a big deal.

In this section we have looked at the indirect participant's purpose and pretextuality, brought to the interpreted H&S course content, and those aspects which direct participants regard as impacting negatively on the structuring of the interpreted H&S training, including:

- the quantity and repetitiveness of information to be delivered in a working day
- the poor quality of English, in particular in the final assessment
- the real possibility that the final test delivery is put in jeopardy by a simple language/interpreting matter

This reveals an apparent unawareness of interpreting professional practice and instead witnesses to a formalised approach geared more towards fulfilment of legal duties than the safeguarding of the health and safety of immigrant workers.

VI.5.3. Design of the course: consequences for delivery of the interpreted training

In this section, we will learn from the direct participants about the impact of FÁS's pretext, purpose and attitude on the structuring of the interpreted H&S event, as expressed through the course design. We will hear in particular about the aspects of time pressure versus the amount of material to be delivered, and also about the formal perception of the course.

I6 8/207, 22:16- 24:37

I find it problematic when the tutor says ah, go on, and [I] practically deliver the module. Also because there are a lot of bullet points and it's not my responsibility to fill out the bullet points into sentences and make sentences.

The interpreter describes how the tutor, when pressurised by the amount of content, sometimes looked for ways to speed up the delivery of certain modules supported by bullet-point slides. In this instance the tutor asked the interpreter to deliver some of the content on her own, sight-translating directly from the bullet points. The interpreter is experienced and knows that her responsibility is to interpret what the tutor says, not to deliver primary content. This practice is problematic both from the tutor's and the interpreter's points of view, and puts the tutor in breach of point **9.19** in the Code of Conduct which states: 'When teaching Non-English speaking trainees, the tutor must engage a qualified independent interpreter to perform the function of translating the course content delivered by the tutor.' Interpreters, for their part, are not qualified to deliver H&S training and in doing so find themselves outside of their professional remit, since the interpreter is put into a position of choosing and selecting how to deliver content.

The amount of material and the degree of repetitiveness posed problems for another qualified and experienced interpreter. According to her, a course with such content 'does not fulfil the purpose of a basic awareness course'. In her experience, tutors end up not delivering all the content as a consequence of the amount of information contained in the course. She also mentions another aspect of the course design which relates to lists of items which do not get transmitted to the trainees.

I7 2/37, 14:10- 22:28

*(...) At least half of the terms that are on the slides are not being used in the course, at least, which is only reasonable because the presentation, I think, is absolutely useless and it should be redesigned. **Content-wise...** Content-wise, I think the way it is designed...It is repetitive... Yes, it does not serve the purpose of a basic awareness course. There is too much unnecessary information, and working with different tutors you learn that half of it at least goes into the bin and nobody talks about certain things. There is no point, say, enumerating or listing the illnesses or the diseases. You can give an example of one or two and that's it. So it's a good thing that you have slides there (...).*

Such lists do not appear to be designed with the intention of being delivered in full, even for English courses. However, in such cases trainees who are native English speakers would at least be able to scan through them on the relevant slide. In the case of non-English speaking candidates, this is not an option, and as a consequence they do not receive this part of the course content.

Another very qualified and experienced interpreter experienced a tutor actually did not allow her to interpret everything during an SP training because of time pressure (cf. chapter VI.6.2. I3 5/129, 13:28- 14:55).

I3 2/51, 04:11- 05:54

(...) I didn't manage to interpret everything, because it was too much, there were some parts that I was just summarising []. If I took a bit of time to look in my glossary or my dictionary he would just move on [], saying ah it's not important anyway. [laughter]

Other interpreters have confirmed that at times a tutor might dismiss questions which the interpreter might have, saying 'just leave it, it's not important'. Excessive content in combination with time pressure is therefore clearly detrimental to achieving an adequate level of accuracy in interpreted information. As we will see, direct participants also point to another consequence of the course design, which is that the basic intention of the course itself can sometimes be side-lined since it is often reduced to a race against time to deliver the prescribed content within the given time slots

A non-qualified interpreter, who has interpreted during both SP and CSCS H&S training, maintains that the H&S courses are themselves merely a formality, and that essentially there is 'no point to the course'. This severe conclusion is drawn in part because in her experience the Safe Pass course trainees are at times prompted in the final tests with the answers.

I1 23/687, 01:08:19- 01:10:43

(...) In the SP they are being helped. In the exam at the end? Yes. By the interpreter? Or during the course even by the trainer. He would say very important, pay a lot of attention because the exam... and you know that some of it is going to come up in the exam. They are being helped and so there are a lot of ethical issues [from an interpreter's professional point of view].

After a day-long course, the tutor may feel that it is in everyone's interest to complete the test and end the course swiftly. This may be one of the reasons that tutors at times 'help' trainees in the way described by the interpreter. Although the interpreter is not qualified, she is conscious of the ethical problems related to this. However, without sufficient professional status and tools to work with, and seeing the tutor trivialise the course for the sake of expedience in this way, she begins to regard the course as a formality and as a result loses much of the original motivation to carry out her work. Such predispositions, pretext in Widdowson's terms (Widdowson cited in Mason 2006, p.109), arising out of issues in the course design which the interpreter brings to the interpreted event, have a clear negative impact on the quality of the interpreting and the interpreted training in general. The issue of a single course for all workers, regardless of experience, is another problematic issue within the course design. In the following statement, we see that the interpreter characterises the course as a 'pantomime' which impacts on the way she processes the text as well as on the trainees' disposition towards the course:

I1 23/687 (PART2), 01:08:19- 01:10:43

(...) the course itself seems to be... have no... there is no point to it basically. When there are experienced workers, they don't need a course, they only need an induction. []. So everybody is aware of that. Everybody is there like a pantomime because [regardless of this awareness] they have to do that.

Another issue which is related to the 'one size fits all' nature of the SP course content, regards the considerable overlap of content between the SP course and other training courses:

I1 5/137, 5/152-3, 5/157, 6/177-4, 7/198 (PART4), 12:08- 19:43

(...) You can see the whole picture, not only from SP but CSCS. The same people sit through SP, one SCSC for dumpers, one CSCS for excavators, another CSCS for bulldozers... (...) The SP will be insisting on H&S in general (...) and then for

machinery you have the CSCS courses and the first part is the same in all of them. So they are sitting there and these are trained people who have been working for ten, twenty years in different places and they have to sit through it for four days now. They have to sit through things that they have done all their life. And that influences, has an impact on the interpreting, because they wouldn't necessarily be interested in what you are saying (...).

Interpreters (of Spanish and Portuguese) and tutors suggest solving the issue in the following way:

I2 1/10, 02:58- 06:57

(...) My first [training] was in Portlaoise, in the Osto training centre. That was around March and the course had just changed from one day with assessment to four days of CSCS. So everyone was pretty pissed off about it and I didn't even know what was going on. I arrived in the morning and I saw that Epsa [the private company which employs the Portuguese-speaking operators] wasn't very happy to have a four-day course for people who had forty years of experience. All the instructors I have been talking to... everyone thinks that you should have categories for [] courses (...).

From this statement we see that there appears to be some consensus on how to manage the content of courses in a way that serves differing needs. However as we have already seen, the indirect participant's attitude which tended towards the fulfilment of legal requirements, was not predisposed to reflecting such a consensus, by actively reviewing that which through its position of power it had already established as the dominant discourse, and which by means of its selection and training of monitors and tutors it reproduced on the ground.

A tutor expands on what is perhaps the most serious consequence of the unsuitable course design, which is that many trainees who are in a position to grasp the purpose of the course and consequently to become informed about H&S issues and precautions to avoid injury or death on the construction site, do not actually receive this professional formation:

T6 10/292, 22:45- 26:04

(...) I think we lost an awful lot of people because (...) there was very poor quality in the course material, in the content of the course, in the layout of the course, in the way it was delivered. It was very poor. If you were trying to get a message across to people, the first thing they would think in their mind, this is not very good, (...) we won't take it

seriously. I know it sounds very negative and you will hear people saying, well there was good points about it but, overall, you see people tend to escape. It's probably an Irish thing, or a political way of dealing with things. There were some good points (...), but on the balance there was an awful lot of bad points that really killed off the good points.

We have seen in this section, from the direct participants, how the structuring of the interpreted H&S event was impacted on by FÁS's lack of engagement in relation to course design.

We have also seen how time pressure in combination with the quantity of material to be delivered resulted in a side-lining of the basic intention of the course, and also how as a result, the final assessment was sometimes reduced to a formality. Finally, the most serious consequence of layout, content and mode of delivery of the course is that 'many candidates are not put in the position of grasping the purpose of the course'.

Tutors, in particular, found that the content, as well as the overall course design, organisation and management, expressed an overall 'attitude' by FÁS as we have already seen voiced by a tutor above (cf. VI.5.1. T6 14/432), and characterised as being 'out of touch'. It is this overall aspect of attitude of the indirect participant which is what we will focus on in the next section.

VI.6. The attitude of FÁS

FÁS's attitude (Mason 1999, p.149) which tutors, the monitor and some interpreters see expressed in the guidelines, organisation and management of tutor training and monitoring, as well as in the course design itself, reveals something about what the indirect participant brings to the processing of the text for the interpreted H&S training in terms of its pretextuality, i.e. interests, purposes, assumptions and predispositions.

VI.6.1. The attitude of FÁS towards course and trainees

Let us now hear directly from the direct participants as they speak about the attitude of FÁS towards the trainees and the course, comparing it to their own view of

the purpose of the course. We will also listen to a monitor's reflection on the causes of the indirect participant's attitude and related pretext and purpose.

In this context, the tutors speak of 'unapproachability', 'lack of willingness' to consult on issues linked to the interpreting aspect of H&S training or to work out solutions with the participants who are directly involved in the interpreted training. Instead, tutors are confronted with an apparently disinterested and formalised approach taken by FÁS.

T7 6/185, 7/209, 8/221, 9/254 (PART3), 11:40- 15:03

FÁS's job on the legislation is to manage the SP course presentation and to issue the SP cards. They have selected tutors on the basis of their [] experience. Not really true in all cases. And they then, theoretically, monitor (...).

The course is agreed with various social partners and the issue there is the preservation of it. It's a standardised course to everyone, fair enough. FÁS have taken upon themselves to certify trainers, they have taken upon themselves to try and take control of all the training in H&S; in fact it's been given to them. But in my opinion, they are not capable of it. Beyond their capability. So therefore they (...) have become very dogmatic and very autocratic. []

Speaking of the indirect participant's involvement in the interpreting aspect of H&S training, one tutor remarks:

T7 1/11-1, 1/23, 1/30, 2/41, 2/48, 00:00- 03:40

(...) They were all difficulties that were never discussed with people who were actually doing it [tutors, interpreters]. (...) nobody is giving us any guidance, nobody is saying how do you interpret... it's been six, seven years and it's time somebody has a proper look at it. Not that anybody would listen to you, but that's another matter [ironic laughter].

And another tutor:

T6 4/87, 4/105, 5/121, 5/135-1, 5/155-2, 6/158-3, 6/165-4, 05:09- 14:07

(...) They were so high up in their great thinking, they didn't feel the need to communicate with the likes of interpreters, the likes of myself, about how (...) the course was delivered. When they asked your opinion they were looking for a particular answer. And people knew that, they put that across. This is the problem in teaching the class.

This all funnelled down into how the class was actually taught. They were taught very badly, you know, the structure was very bad (...).

A tutor sees it in a broader context:

T7 18/553, 18/557 (PART2), 44:21- 47:21

(...) You know, you have to treat people like adults, not like children. Unfortunately FÁS, the HSA and the Unions treat people like children. It has a very negative effect (...).

Another questions the respect afforded to foreign nationals in general:

T6 13/401, 35:24- 39:40

(...) I don't think they had a lot of respect, FÁS themselves, for foreign nationals. That was my opinion. I've seen it. (...) as an organisation (...). I think they thought they were above (...). I saw somebody come in and inspect one time, and when you were filling out the registration form, they had to put their signature, and they went around and inspected the registration forms and they said That's not a signature, this person's signature is not a signature. I stood there and said what do you want me to do? But that's not a signature. Well then you tell them that it's not a signature, you go and tell that person. That's an example of the attitude, you know...

Another tutor speaks about the formalised approach of checking whether tutors are keeping the prescribed format and schedule (cf. above T6 4/87, 4/105, 5/121, 5/135-1, 5/155-2, 6/158-3, 6/165-4, 05:09- 14:07):

T6 24/787, 25/798, 01:13:08- 01:14:27

Everybody [FÁS monitors] was just interested in the fact that they [the tutors] were in the right position at the right time and that's all.

According to the tutors then, these and other aspects of the content as well as overall course design and management should have been looked after by FÁS, and discussed with tutors and interpreters. These issues range from the difficulty with multilingual groups and the use of in-house interpreters cited earlier; to the content of training courses for new and experienced workers. The subtitling of DVDs, the translation of exercises and the wording of questions and answers in the final assessment are some of the other issues raised. Just like the monitor, tutors refer to these aspects of H&S training, related to interpreting, as constituting a sort of 'gap', by which they mean those areas of H&S training which have not been regulated by FÁS:

T6 8/228, 9/264, 9/267 (PART3), 18:37- 22:45

(...) They [FÁS] were dealing with people who were coming into the country, providing a service that needed to be provided, and if they [FÁS] were interested in standards and accreditation they should have seen the area of the nuances themselves [and not delegate it to the tutor].

Instead, as a tutor puts it, FÁS was 'out of touch' (cf.VI.5.1. T6 14/432), regulating rigidly and short-sightedly in some areas, while neglecting other areas completely.

T6 4/87, 4/105, 5/121, 5/135-1, 5/155-2, 6/158-3, 6/165-4 (PART2), 05:09- 14:07

The interpreters were basically meant to interpret every single point right down to the fact that if there was an exercise, I was to read [it] in English and the interpreters were meant to read it out in the language, which was just a colossal waste of time. Sense would have dictated that the interpreters would just read out the exercise and that's it. So that's why I believe they (...) didn't have a clue about what was going on. Same with the questions at the end of the day. (...) So rigid on these silly points...

Tutors also comment on FÁS's attitude through examples like the following one (cf. VI.3. Code of Conduct for tutors):

T6 13/401, 35:24- 39:40

The interpreter was in the room, they might have been Russian or something like that. [The monitor asked:] Do they all speak Russian? I don't know, you would have to check with the interpreter, and even if she told you yes, how would you know? They weren't in touch, they were out of touch. That was a signal. Asking silly questions like that shows you are out of touch.

Another tutor spoke about FÁS's attitude as follows:

T6 4/87, 4/105, 5/121, 5/135-1, 5/155-2, 6/158-3, 6/165-4, 12:57- 14:07

(...) A little bit of power. Put a hat on your head and take over the world. They lost it. It was a culture.

This is in contrast to the attitude of many tutors, who, like the tutor below, described the main purpose of the H&S training, as they see it, as the preservation of the health and safety of the trainees:

T7 18/553, 18/557 (PART2), 46:14- 47:21

(...) I actually consider the SP was a huge golden opportunity and it hasn't achieved anything of what it could have achieved. I don't give a [] for legislation. I don't want anyone to get hurt.

The monitor, from his unique position of being a FÁS representative, while having a tutoring experience, reflected on the origins of the indirect participant's attitude. One of the possible influencing factors behind the formation of FÁS's attitude is the external pressure from a variety of sources, in other words, what could be referred to as the macro-context (Mason 2006, p.116, cf. chapter III). This, as we will see later was corroborated by interpreters themselves, who are also aware of such pressure coming into the H&S training framework from businesses, which need to have the workers on site with a relevant card as soon as possible after their arrival in Ireland, and the fact that they are prepared to pay for it. It is not always clear how much their primary motivation is the health and safety of the foreign workers and how much it is a matter of satisfying economic interests and covering themselves against possible liabilities.

A monitor says:

M1 5/134-6, 15:48- 17:17

*It's very difficult for FÁS and the social partners as these people are coming in on a Friday, they are trained on a Saturday, they are on a site on Monday, a huge amount of them are labourers, [] and they have to start work on Monday. Now if you stop that training, they don't have any work, they cannot go on site []. **There is a pressure...** There is a pressure on them, there is a pressure on FÁS and the social partners as well to try and work that out.*

And he continues:

M1 5/134-6, 15:48- 17:17

***But on the other side there is the possibility of injury or death and that's real actually.** It's real, it's very real and we would say, the SP [FÁS?] would say and the social partners would say that the SP program is purely an awareness program. It's not a competence-based program and it's just to get them aware before they go onto the site. [] And after that a Tool Box Talk takes over. And what the employer does with that is where the duty lies in terms of the safety of the individual. It's problematic because sometimes the SP is the first thing, the very first thing some people hear about safety I suppose.*

With the monitor's statement above, we get a glimpse of the indirect participant's world-view, set in a precise macro-context and yielding a specific outcome in terms of pretextuality, attitude and ultimately the modality of power-sharing in the interpreted H&S training, where the SP course is defined as 'purely an awareness program' and shaped so that it formally satisfies the needs of the H&S legislation, with ultimate responsibility for its delivery lying with the tutor. We also see a deferral of a certain amount of responsibility for the individual's safety to other types of training, which form part of the 2005 H&S Partnership Plan (II.5.5.1.). Here we are speaking of the CSCS (a 'competency based' course), also looked after by FÁS; but mainly about the Tool Box Talks, which are in the remit of private employers (cf. chapter II.3.).

In this section, we have learned about the purposes, interests, predispositions and assumptions brought by FÁS, to the processed text and about what, based on certain intangible purposes (Widdowson cited in Mason 2006, p.109) the indirect participant decided to make relevant in the text, i.e. what they were processing the language for. In the next section, we will focus on FÁS's attitude to interpreting and see in detail what this attitude meant for the relationship between tutors and interpreters. We will also look at an area where FÁS's share of power is lacking – the area of standards and professionalism in terms of interpreters and interpreting for H&S training.

VI.6.2. The attitude of FÁS: consequences for delivery of interpreted training

So far we have looked at the consequences of FÁS's (lack of) power-sharing in the design of the H&S training course, the drawing up of the Code of Conduct for SP tutors and in the management of the course through tutors and monitors. Through the direct participants' views, we have also attempted to characterise FÁS's overall attitude which is rooted in their world-view and is affected by their pretextuality as well as by the macro-context of H&S training.

In this section, I will attempt to pinpoint how this overarching attitude ascribed to FÁS by the participants affected the interpreting aspect of the H&S training, focusing in particular on the figure of the interpreter. It is important to bear in mind that, in spite of this particular focus, an interpreted event such as an interpreted H&S training course has its own inner dynamic (Mason 1999, p.149, cf. chapter III), through which all the

participants are interconnected and interdependent, participating in the joint negotiation of meaning, and as such influencing and helping to co-create the running and the final outcome of the interpreted encounter. The pretextuality and consequent attitude of FÁS, as well as other constraints coming from the macro-context, resulted in the interpreting aspects of H&S training being neglected in the design, organisation and management of the course. Overall responsibility for the course was delegated to the tutor who was charged with the implementation of the training standards established by FÁS. Through FÁS, the tutor has been given the necessary preparation, tools and support in terms of selection, training, course material, Code of Conduct, and guidance from monitors. As far as FÁS was concerned, the tutor was the right figure, equipped with and protected by all the necessary tools. However, since the training and support received by tutors was itself lacking in provision for the interpreting aspect of the H&S training, they were operating with an incomplete set of tools.

We will now see through the direct participants' eyes how the lack of provision for interpreting impacted on the tutors delegated to run the course and through them the interpreter and other direct participants. To do so, we will again examine the aspect of pretextuality, applying it this time to the direct participants. In speaking about how prepared and protected the tutors felt in reality, tutors seem to agree on five main consequences of FÁS's attitude, which generated what they characterise as 'gaps' in interpreted H&S training, which were impossible to fill by the tutor alone, although he has been given the responsibility to do so:

1. each tutor is different with a different pretextuality and, despite FÁS preparation and support, they each implement FÁS's standards differently;
2. tutors do not have sufficient resources from FÁS to fill certain gaps, which would otherwise be filled by fostering an educated awareness of the interpreting aspect of H&S through the provision of sufficient guidelines about interpreting;
3. some gaps in interpreted H&S training appear to be impossible to fill by tutors although they are regulated for in the Code of Conduct for tutors;
4. responsibility for other gaps should have been taken on board by FÁS;
5. some gaps could have been filled by the tutor, had there been a second professional figure in the exchange (the interpreter) with tools to work it

out collaboratively.

Let us now look at these five consequences in more detail. Tutors themselves feel that, despite the training and the Code of Conduct for tutors, invariably they each implement FÁS standards differently (according to their own pretext).

T2 35/1129, 01:38:17- 01:40:20

*The trouble is, there is a code for you but there is no code of conduct for the interpreter, is there? (...) That's where the personalities vary tremendously. That's the reason why the code of practice came into being for the SP...**For the tutor...**The whole purpose behind the SP programme is, regardless of the tutor, (...) regardless of the interpreter, the same information can be given in Cork, up the North, in Donegal, and the exact same result transpires (...) up until the code of practice, (...) all these tutors (...) would be totally different from one to another (...). Less so now, that the code of practice came into play. But even still it is difficult. [cf. VI.2. T1 21/647]*

The tutor's pretext is a factor, in the variability of the content delivery compared to the set FÁS standard. As we have seen earlier, each tutor has a different way of delivering different parts of the course based on experience. Some tutors offer additional resources: for example, a tutor with a trade union background might be more aware of social issues and would be willing to share information on Irish social welfare etc. with the course trainees. Apart from the tutor's pretextuality, other factors affecting the delivery style include the cultural as well as social and biographical features (Inghilleri 2006, p.61) (pretexts) of the other direct participants in a given course and the macro-context of each interpreted H&S training session. We have also seen examples of delivery styles being influenced by the presence of the FÁS monitor. Here a tutor speaks, for example, about the influence of the group composition on his delivery style:

T2 28/887-43, 01:16:01- 01:16:44

But if there is (...) a few educated people in the room that have college backgrounds they will question it [the information provided] and it's a good thing. And if I have the time I would give them the information, if not, I would tell them to hang on till the end and I'd give them a web address or a phone number. I also always mention the HSA website to them, especially for the foreign nationals.

The tutor's delivery style is, however, decisive in the quality of the course delivery and, as the monitor points out, each tutor is responsible for the training of many trainees:

M1 41:01- 43:20

(...) there is 640 tutors, the vast majority are fine, but there is a small percentage, and a small percentage of six hundred adds up to a number and that number affect up to twenty people every time they stand in front of them.

Whether the tutor acts professionally or whether, in spite of all the training and the Code of Conduct, they do not, the point made about the influence of one direct participant on many others also holds true for the interpreter and their style of interpreting: [cf. VI.6.2. T2 35/1129]

T7 23/709, 23/721, 58:48- 1:00:00

(...) if the interpreter has done 15 or 20 SPs, that's a huge experience. But there are also a range of tutors, a range of quality of tutors. Who [of the tutors] they [interpreters] did it with can also have a major effect on how they do it (...).

On this point, a simple example of how the tutor's delivery style can impact on the interpreter is given here by another tutor:

T2 16/501, 44:28- 45:18

(...) There is a German interpreter (...) she would just let the video play and she would not translate, whereas other ones would. And I'd say Martina are you not going to translate this, because I expect it to be translated. No, I just let it play. The other tutors I worked with were happy just to let it play. Pictures speak a thousand words. That saying is true, you know.

Here the interpreter not only carries their experience from one tutor to another, but she actually, perhaps unconsciously, identifies with and acts through the voice of authorised discourse (Inghilleri 2006, p.62, cf. chapter III), which she absorbed third-hand from one of the tutors which she worked with. So we can clearly see that just as a Code of Conduct helped reduce the variability in the tutors' performance, the converse also holds true, in other words the lack of training and guidelines results in significant variability in the quality of the final content delivery from the interpreter:

T2 35/1129, 01:38:17- 01:40:20

Experience is gained through delivery. But a little bit of formal training would go a long way.

The interpreters' only resource for learning how to do H&S interpreting is from the tutor, and through experience with different tutors. As a consequence, they do not learn a standard way of interpreting an H&S training course, but different ways from experiences with different tutors. There is no standard way, no training and no guidelines for interpreting of the SP H&S training provided by FÁS and while this cannot be provided by the tutor, the fact remains that the tutor has been delegated responsibility for the interpreters.

The second consequence agreed on by tutors was that they do not have resources from FÁS to fill the gaps. Despite the preparation and support by FÁS, they lack knowledge of interpreting as such, or awareness of the interpreting aspect of H&S. They do not have guidelines for interpreters at all, and they have only insufficient guidelines about working with interpreters.

With regards to knowledge of interpreting, let us by way of example compare the following two statements regarding the terminological aspect of H&S interpreting, one from a monitor and the second from a qualified interpreter.

M1 11/319-20, 12/355, 12/363, 12/369 (PART2), 29:25- 35:36

(...) a lot of the terms repeat. The only thing about that is that [] when you look at the construction industry and you pick out terminology, (...) there is a lot, but it doesn't take that long to take it down, because after three or four training programs, the interpreters are like that [clicking the fingers]

I3 5/129, 13:28- 14:55

[Speaking of her electronic glossaries] I could always look up the word very fast anyway. I think by the tenth course I wasn't looking up words any more (...).

As for guidelines on and about interpreting, tutors are again completely ill-equipped as the statements of two interpreters attest:

I3 3/78-2, 07:43- 08:30

(...) The code of conduct that you were working with was your experience and education basically? Yes, and the main interpreting behaviour code you know, the ITIA.

(...) Then you have the freelancer agreement with the companies, they have a bit of [] guidelines they call them. And then beyond that is just yourself. And your ethics...

And another interpreter says:

I7 13/398, 01:04:12- 01:06:16

Well, there is a major issue (...), I believe, because there are no guidelines. So nobody has designed any uniform or a standard way of delivering the course in the same way as tutors have the [Code of Conduct]. (...) There are training courses for tutors. So it's all clear and if the tutor decides that they are going to do it in a different way, that's their own thing. Now interpreters... (...) it's just complete mess. And (...) it doesn't help the overall quality of courses being delivered.

The two interpreters above are both relatively lucky, because they are both qualified, and their pretextuality brought to the H&S courses includes the necessary skills and know-how. In reality, the tutors are completely dependent on this, since they neither have knowledge of interpreting nor sufficient guidelines about how to work with interpreters, and, as we saw earlier, they are for the most part unable to provide these themselves. As a consequence, interpreters work with users who do not know how to collaborate with them.

The third consequence around which there appears to be consensus among tutors is that some gaps are impossible to fill although they are regulated for in the Code of Conduct. An example is the terminological preparation, which the tutor is bound by the Code of Conduct (cf. Appendix F) to provide for the interpreter, however at the same time the tutor is explicitly barred from giving any material to the interpreter. If this basic constraint did not make it difficult for the tutors to fulfil their duties regarding terminological preparation, then the sheer time required makes it impossible.

M1 11/319-20, 12/355, 12/363, 12/369, 29:25- 32:09

*The tutor is a self-employed person or they do it in-house for their company. But (...) remember, a lot of these tutors made a lot of money over a long period, and if they want to deliver the programme through interpretation, they should be making sure that they sit down and work it out with interpreters. **It would be a lot of time to work out through all that. 365 slides isn't it? Yeah. That's right, that's right. And you would need to go through every slide and there might be maybe three terms or two terms in each. There could be. That would take a lot of time...Yeah.***

In the above conversation, the monitor went on to admit that it would be impossible for the tutor to fulfil this requirement without spending two days going through the whole course content with the interpreter in his office, and this is without taking into account the fact that the interpreter might be traveling from a different part of the country, which is frequently the case. Another example of a requirement which is impossible to fulfil, but which is the responsibility of the tutor, concerns linguistically mixed groups, which are not admissible in H&S SP training (cf. VI.3. Code of Conduct for tutors).

M1 14/410, 14/430, 14/441-22, 15/447, 15/464-23 (PART2), 35:29- 43:20

*(...) When I am mentoring, I have come across a lot of mixed groups and that puts the interpreter... **And there isn't a rule at the beginning to make sure that everyone understands the language []?** Oh there is (...) in the code of practice, absolutely. That people must understand the language the course is delivered in and if you are a language speaker you cannot do it in another language, unless you have that language yourself and you cannot put a non-Irish national on an English speaking course []. **And it's the tutor's responsibility to do that, not the interpreters. Absolutely.***

In most cases, the tutor is unable to fulfil these two rules set by FÁS. Tutors and the monitor alike maintain that they are logistically unattainable, and this has consequences for everyone involved. It means that in most cases the interpreter does not receive any terminology in advance from the tutor. It also means that the interpreter may be put in the unpleasant position of having to verify the language of the course trainees, a task which neither the tutor nor the interpreter have been given tools to perform and which can negatively impact on the general atmosphere on the course.

The fourth consequence around which there is consensus amongst tutors and interpreters as well as the monitor, and which impacts on everyone involved, relates to the question of 'gaps', which FÁS should have filled. Even these 'gaps' were effectively delegated to the tutor through omission on the part of FÁS. As a result, tutors end up making glossaries for interpreters, for example, or undertaking what they perceive as 'training interpreters':

T6 8/228, 9/264, 9/267 (PART3), 18:37- 22:45

You get a new interpreter and you didn't obviously have a chance to meet them beforehand, would you tell them at the beginning, would you give them a bit of a briefing what it's going to be about? Yeah, I'd give them the material and say read

through that if you need to... it was very difficult, you were handing over bits of paper which you weren't meant to be handing over which is ridiculous [], I (...) tried to make a list of terms and terminology and I passed it on to a couple of interpreters but it became, I didn't feel that that was my... [] they should have done that (...).

T2 35/1129 (PART2), 01:38:17- 01:40:20

(...) The tutor does not need to effectively train in the interpreter. (...) It would be an added bonus, you know, it's just a suggestion, I am not saying it's an absolute necessity, but [if] you can pick any interpreter and you can say okay Martina, listen, can you do a SP for me today, okay, quarter to nine kick off let's go. You know. You can walk in twenty-five to nine (...). Whereas you have to bring interpreters in early, get them through the paper work, explain to them what we have to (...) and make sure they are okay. Especially with the new ones.

The fifth and final consequence that surfaced persistently with both tutors and interpreters, was the notion of a 'gap', which carried a set of significant implications for all direct participants. This gap refers to that unfulfilled part of power-sharing which could be made to work if the two direct participants, tutor and interpreter, were treated as professionals equipped with tools to work together. However, as we have already seen, FÁS did not consider the interpreter as a professional or interpreting as a profession in designing, organising and managing the course. This 'gap' is evidenced by the situations already quoted and many other instances, for example, the fact that while tutors were selected on the basis of certain professional prerequisites and trained accordingly, interpreters were not:

T6 11/325-5, 26:04- 30:02

*(...) **How did you organise your work with the interpreter?** It was very patchy, to be honest. **Patchy.** Yeah, it was very patchy because you weren't dealing with certified people, FÁS didn't go out of their way to include them (...). I personally believe that FÁS should have set up a bank of interpreters. **And make sure they are of a certain standard...** Yeah (...).*

As we have seen, tutors, as self-employed professionals, were remunerated for taking on responsibility for the national H&S training programme, while remuneration for interpreters was not set in any way, which jeopardised the professionalism of the interpreting performed in H&S training situations:

I7 20/595, 01:32:02- 01:33:51

(...) People in H&S (...) resort to unqualified and incompetent workforce that you cannot possibly fight with in terms of pricing. And it's all about money at the end of the day. (...) I have heard that in the country tutors use people who can communicate in foreign languages for 80 euro a day. (...) It's...a lot of people earn 80 euro a day in a café or in a shop but you cannot compete with that can you?

Since interpreters are not properly considered as professionals, it follows that they could not be entrusted with the course material. However, one of the fundamental aspects of the interpreting profession is the practice of confidentiality. The same apparent mistrust, which resulted in FÁS not giving interpreters the course content to prepare terminology and register, prevented interpreters from fulfilling another of their professional duties, the obligation to be accurate.

The issue of confidentiality from the point of view of the indirect participant is expressed through the monitor:

M1 10/307-19, 29:25- 32:09

[The interpreter] *didn't get the material in advance, he didn't get the chance to prepare, so he is [noting down vocabulary during the course] trying to do better for the next time... but they are not really allowed to do that...?* *No, certainly not, because it's off the standard. What happens is the SP program is a copyright programme and ...I give you an example of why it's so strict. (...) The idea behind the SP is that it's the same program is delivered in Dublin, Cork, Donegal, Czechoslovakia, Germany, wherever it's delivered (...), that it is exactly the same standard, (...) so that we keep the standard. But what happens is, [that] it goes all over the place and if FÁS ain't extremely tight slide-by-slide, you could nearly say then there is a real difficulty with the programme, because of the real difference between a small slip and a slip where the tests are out there all over the place and in interpreters' [] bags, and there is tests being filled out by people who haven't even been on courses. (...) That's happened. That's been going on, which is extremely detrimental to the programme. So if the standard isn't kept as tight, (...) it'll go all over the place and that's why (...).*

However, it is already clear that it is not only the tutor who is to blame. The gap has been created in the first instance by the indirect participant not recognising the interpreters' professional status and not providing them with relevant professional tools. Tutors themselves feel that the relationship between two professionals is essential for

the successful running and outcome of any interpreted H&S training session. They complain that interpreters are either not professional (i.e. not qualified or experienced), or that even if they are qualified, they have not been given tools to carry out their profession in terms of preparation or guidelines, for example. This is also confirmed by the monitor who we have heard say that with regard to non-standard approaches to interpreting; he does not punish the tutors, who, according to him are in 'no man's land' (cf. VI.4. M1 14/410).

Now that we have explored the consequences of FÁS's attitude in terms of its impact on the tutor's and in turn on the interpreter's respective roles and involvement in the interpreted H&S training, we can draw together some of the threads we have seen so far, and to approach the question initially asked with Inghilleri: why are interpreters vulnerable in this particular local interpreting context. The last consequence which we have described above sums up all the previous 'gaps' and is a common denominator for all of them as well as for FÁS's overall attitude to interpreting in H&S training. In designing, organising and managing the interpreted H&S training, FÁS did not consider the interpreting aspect of it in a due way. It did not regard interpreting as a profession and the interpreter as a professional, who contributes to the running and outcome of the interpreted training. As a result, we see no selection of interpreters and no quality control of the interpreting aspect. We see no training, briefing or guidelines for interpreters. We see no FÁS regulated remuneration system of interpreters. Instead, the interpreter is left dependent on the tutor in terms of learning about the H&S setting, material, or interpreting mode requirements. Moreover, we can go so far as to state that interpreters were effectively prevented from carrying out their work in terms of all key aspects which determine the very character and specificity of the interpreting profession:

- accuracy (NCIHC 2005, p.5) (pressure to keep up with the schedule takes precedence, rather than being put in a position to interpret what is being said by the tutor);
- confidentiality (NCIHC 2005, p.6) (material not being provided in advance);
- impartiality (NCIHC 2005, p.6) (absent guidelines for the carrying out of the final assessment).

The main consequence of FÁS's attitude for the direct participants in terms of the interpreting aspect of the H&S training then, is that in this situation tutors feel they are not protected and do not consider the tools received by FÁS to carry out the responsibility of the course entrusted to them to be sufficient. Interpreters, for their part, feel that relative to the tutors they are even less protected, that in cases they are completely uncovered and that the H&S interpreting is 'a mess' (cf. I7 13/398 above). This macro-context deriving from FÁS's world-view, attitude and power-sharing impact negatively on H&S interpreting. There is consensus about the existence of a 'gap', perceived to a greater or lesser extent by tutors, monitors and interpreters, and by which interpreters become vulnerable in the interpreted H&S event. As we will see below both tutors and interpreters are all too aware of FÁS's pretextuality and attitude, which leaves them in a somewhat precarious situation. This awareness leads many direct participants to actively engage through their own attitudes and inter-relationships with each other, and, depending on their own pretextuality, find different solutions which influence the unfolding and the outcome of the course.

VI.7. Direct participant pretext and attitude

Having described the macro-context and its impact on the direct participants in the interpreted H&S training, I would like in this section, to set the stage for the micro-context which will be fully explored in the following analytical chapters (VII and VIII). We have heard how an interpreter concluded 'it's just you and your ethics...' (cf. I3 3/78-2 above) when describing the absence of professional tools in the interpreted H&S. From the data quoted we see that interpreters as well as the other direct participants were effectively obliged, by the indirect participant's own limited exercise of its share of power, to take upon themselves a larger share of responsibility for the interpreting aspect of H&S courses. From the examples quoted above, we have seen that in the absence of guidance, they did so based on their individual pretextuality including their own assumptions about the purpose of the course and their own interests and predispositions. In other words, they brought to the interpreted H&S training their present intentions as well as prior experience in a professional, cultural and socio-biographical sense. A tutor expresses this concept (Mason 2006, p.109, cf. Chapter III) in the following way:

T6 11/325-5, 26:04- 30:02

[Speaking of working with interpreters] *You were dealing with personality on the day, [it] didn't come down to a job [it] came down to a personality.*

The issue of personality is often mentioned by direct participants, confirming the importance of the role it plays in the interpreted H&S training. Let us recall for example the tutor speaking of the interpreter who 'does not have any stress in the SP course except perhaps own personality' (cf. VI.4. T1 21/647) or a similar formulation used by the monitor (cf. VI.4. M1 26/803).

The same tutor quoted above, when speaking about how the personality of the direct participants played a key part in the interpreted H&S course, highlighted another central concept used by Mason (1999, p.149), the concept of attitude (previously explored in relation to the indirect participant in the current chapter VI):

T6 11/325-5, 26:04- 30:02

If the person came in with the wrong attitude you ended up getting a bad job done, you know. That was the problem.

As the data shows, the attitude of FÁS and the consequent power-sharing was a determining factor in the structuring of the interpreting event. In the H&S interpreting event, the structure of which is so determined, the attitude of direct participants will dictate the way in which they negotiate power sharing among themselves and ultimately influence the outcome of interpreted H&S course. Mason (1999, p.149) speaks about this in the following terms: "All of these attitudes, perception of attitudes, displays of deference or condescension are bound to surface in the linguistic and paralinguistic features of the exchange, the way they are (or they are not) translated, and, most importantly, the observable outcomes of the event". What this means in practice can be seen in the following two examples of individuals' pretexts and attitudes and their consequences for other direct participants and the interpreted course as a whole. In the first example, a tutor cannot deliver the course because an interpreter takes over the course:

T6 16/507-9, 47:54- 50:14

I suppose you got very used to working with an interpreter so it wasn't an issue but still the interpreters differed between them a lot so each time it was like getting used to a new situation. Yeah, because some wouldn't even bother waiting on you, they would just talk themselves (...). It became so bad that what they would do is that some of them would brush you aside (...) this would be about (...) like five to ten per cent and you knew they were people who didn't want to be there. They didn't want to be there and you didn't want to be there. It became so formalised then (...).

The tutor describes the attitude of the interpreter, which was to 'brush the tutor aside' and also looks for pretextuality behind the interpreter's behaviour, observing that the interpreter did not want to be there. In this situation we will see below that the tutor feels that 'you began to just cope with the situation'. At the same time, however, he describes a different situation, in which it was not a case of the interpreter's attitude or that of the tutor prevailing, but a collaboration, a working relationship forming between the two, which became a solution to FÁS's non-involvement, which is labelled by the tutor as 'rotten from the top'.

T6 16/507- 9, 47:54- 50:14

*If there was a couple [of interpreters] that were okay, you'd say okay you do part of it and then where I want to broaden on it I'll come in.... **So in theory is that really the wrong situation so they are not qualified to tell anyone about health and safety?** What they were doing was they would read some of the material on the slide and you'd know the point would be coming up (...), and you would come in []. **And that was all the result of the structure?** Yeah, because it was so rotten from the top down, you know. You began to just cope with the situation.*

The tutor finds a way 'to cope' as a result of the unrealistic FÁS course structure, content and delivery rules. In the case where the tutor and the interpreter have two distinct pretextualities and attitudes, the two direct participants would find a way of working together, and in this case divide the material to be delivered between themselves. The interpreter would then sight-translate some parts from the slides and the tutor would only check that the relevant points are coming up or comment when necessary.

Another interpreter had a similar experience with a tutor of both the incompatibility and compatibility of pretexts and attitudes. In this example, she could

not deliver the course because a tutor she was working with was, according to her, completely confused and unsystematic. It should be said that this particular interpreter had her own way of delivering the course, of 'coping'. Unlike many other interpreters, she was able to obtain the entire course material and translate it for herself prior to starting to interpret SP courses. During the course, she then followed her own script rather than the tutor's delivery. There is a reference to this in the next account about the interpreter's 'method'. Because of this system which the interpreter invented to 'cope', she may be one of those interpreters referred to by the previous tutor who 'brush the tutor aside' with her own way of delivering the course.

I7 10/288, 11/310-17, 48:29- 53:26

(...) [Speaking of tutors and the relationship with them:] *There was one tutor that was very difficult to work with, because he runs the course according to his own agenda and organised it in a very confusing way for the interpreter (...). And I know that interpreters did not want to work with him because of that. (...) At the same time he organised his own activities and he would stop in the middle of an activity or he would get confused himself or would change the topic and you know it's very difficult to keep up with that sort of approach. **So your method would not work really...** No it doesn't, and people [candidates] get confused, and they don't know what they are asked to do, and they look at you because you are an interpreter. (...) He was one of those tough cases, whereby you knew he was very involved with the whole thing, but at the same time it was just so confusing and so tiring that you could not possibly deliver it properly because of him.*

The interpreter then continues to speak about other tutors' pretexts and attitudes and about her experience of 'creating a working relationship' with the tutor as a means to 'survive'.

I7 10/288, 11/310-17, 48:29- 53:26

*Now some tutors (...) just take to whatever FÁS tells them to do and that's it. **Which is?** Well, the time sheet and the breaks and the exercises... (...). And with some tutors you just get to like them and they like you, and they feel comfortable when you are there, so they know they can do a lot of things that they could not do in a more sort of formal setting. At the same time they treat you more like a friend, so it helps you too, because when you have a bad day or when you are unwell, when you are tired, when you know that you are under-performing for whatever reason, they treat you more like a friend.*

So they say why don't we have a break, are you sure you are feeling okay and it helps a lot because this relationship becomes more human...Yeah. It's a lot of hours to spend together... Yes. So that's why you need to develop a really good relationship with a tutor. They also see how far they can go with you in terms of, say, having long breaks, doing less material and that is what everybody really wants, because the presentation is too long and the more breaks you have and the longer they are, even the lunch break, the better for everybody. So it's a matter of survival (...).

These accounts highlight the concept of attitude, while illustrating another related concept, which runs through all interviews, that is the development of a working relationship between the tutor and the interpreter. The response of the direct participants to FÁS's pretextuality and attitude and (lack of) power-sharing is therefore found in the following:

1. the individual pretext (including personality, socio-biographical features and pragmatic constraints including gender and culture both of the individuals and of the broader cultural and political context they belong to or move in). From this comes what we have referred to as the attitude of each individual and, based on this, the particular flavour of power-sharing (that is how the interpreters use their share of power and make up for the lack of power-sharing on the part of FÁS, or in Inghilleri's terms, which I will make use of in the next Chapter, how they negotiate communication rights);

2. the working relationship (tenor), which denotes the interaction, and in turn informs the running and the outcome of the course, i.e. what emerges out of the combination of the two sets of pretexts, attitudes and power-sharing.

When speaking about the working relationship, it is a given that, due to the lack of power-sharing by FÁS, as with the interpreter's professional status, this relationship, is not standardised and regulated for, and therefore cannot be taken for granted as a professional-to-professional relationship.

VI.8. Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the views of tutors, interpreters and the monitor in order to establish the pretextuality and related attitude of FÁS which, as we have seen, resulted in poor decision-making in the course design, the drafting of tutor

guidelines and in the general lack of preparedness of tutors to work with interpreters, all of which have a clear qualitative impact on the running and outcome of the interpreted training and carrying with it many gaps which become the responsibility of the tutor to fill.

Many of these gaps result from the attitude of the indirect participant in its disregard for the interpreter as a professional, or interpreting itself as a profession. A logical consequence of this is that no guidelines were put into place for the provisioning of suitably qualified interpreters, and this creates a negative feedback loop which can confirm the attitude of mistrust towards the interpreter. In addition, this 'blind spot' towards the interpreting profession excludes the possibility for a joint construction of meaning between the direct participants, and therefore can be regarded as a tacit strategy on the part of FÁS to protect the text of the course. Indeed, the guidelines for the delivery of content, and the overall attitude of indifference which the direct participants attest to, and which we have analysed in this chapter, demonstrate that from the indirect participant's point of view, the text of the course is essentially static, and needs only to be transmitted in its given form.

This is problematic, given the number of gaps which we have identified in this chapter, and can result in the direct participants taking on a degree of exercise of power in order to find solutions. As with the indirect participant, these solutions proceed from the direct participants' individual pretextuality and attitude. In this chapter we have begun to identify two types of response on the part of the direct participants – coping strategies, and strategies which rely on the relationship between the interpreter and tutor. The first approach sees the direct participants continuing to operate within the authorised discourse, with the gaps exposed, and the second approach sees the direct participants challenge in some ways institutional discourse and tend towards democratic iteration in which the interpreters professional status is given leverage to enter into a dialogue with that of the tutor and arrive at a joint construction of meaning.

The concept of attitude and the tendency to depend on the relationship to negotiate content delivery as opposed to the counter tendency towards individual solutions to 'cope' or 'survive' will be discussed further in the next chapter, along with the direct participants' views on the actual purpose of the interpreted H&S event and their conception of interpreting. In this regard, I will continue using Inghilleri's terms of democratic iteration/institutional discourse, as well as other concepts which are part of

Inghilleri's theory of the configuration of the social (Inghilleri 2006, p.57), which I will apply to the local H&S interpreting context, all the while bearing in mind the interpreted text, that is the multimodal content of the H&S course and its impact, as well as the broader macro-context of FÁS's power-sharing.

CHAPTER VII. THE PURPOSE AND POWER OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS 1: GENDER, CULTURE

VII.1. Introduction: aims, sources and structure

FÁS's world-view and related attitude set the context within which the direct participants – the interpreter and the tutor, as well as the trainees and at times the FÁS monitor – come together for the interpreted H&S training. It is the *macro drama*, in which, by means of the interpreted text and delivery rules, as well as the institutionally established tutor and interpreter roles, we see the “micro drama” (Inghilleri 2006, p.57) of the communication during the interpreted training unfold. The tutor and the interpreter share a disproportionate amount of power as conferred onto them by FÁS. In this context, these two direct participants negotiate their communication rights, and in the process they employ certain strategies, in an attempt to arrive at control or to reach consensus, and ultimately to negotiate meaning.

For the purpose of the analysis, the term ‘direct participants’ unless otherwise specified, can be taken as referring to the interpreter and/or the tutor. The FÁS monitor and/or trainees may from time to time be explicitly invoked as direct participants in the analysis.

In the previous chapter, two main strategies used by the direct participants to deal with the text, the delivery rules and the role-division as inherited from FÁS emerged. The tutor and the interpreter responded either by 'coping' on their own or by relying on their relationship with each other.

In this section I will be using concepts from Inghilleri's model of the configuration of the social, as well as Inghilleri's descriptive terminology as presented in chapter III and applying them to the local H&S interpreting context.

I will look in more detail at the strategies (Tipton 2010a, cf. chapter IV) used by the direct participants to negotiate among themselves distribution of power (Mason 2006, p.117, cf. chapter III) as well as communicative and social interactional rights (Inghilleri 2006, p.62, cf. chapter III), both individually and collectively, and the tools they engage in forming these strategies.

Moreover, the indirect participants' world-view and their attitude to the interpreted training made interpreters contingent not only on FÁS but also on the tutor – whose field and capital, and consequently *illusio* (Schirato and Webb cited in Inghilleri 2006, p.61), are themselves ill-defined in relation to interpreting. In this section, I will show that whilst remaining contingent (Inghilleri 2006, p.60), interpreters can exercise through their role a certain control over the situation through tools specific to them (Ukmar 1997, p.198), and can function as catalysts for a type of disruption of dominant communicative and social practices (Inghilleri 2006, p.61) and the emergence of discursive gaps (2006, p.62). This will be illustrated using instances of interplay between democratic iteration and authorised discourse (2006, p.63) as established by FÁS and cases of communication about communication, or metadiscourse on discourse (2006, p.61).

It will be shown that such situations lead trainees to an engagement in the discourse, leading in turn to the negotiation of new meanings, contents, sets of knowledge and practices, i.e. the creation of a new communicative and social order.

These communicative processes will be exemplified in the context of the multimodal character of the interpreted text (which covers the primary text and its delivery rules, as well as the tutor and interpreters' roles in delivering it), and within the limits of the direct participants' pretextuality, including culture and gender. The overall (triad) dynamics resulting from the combinations of the factors above will also be shown to play a part in the running and outcome of the interactions of the direct participants (including the trainees and/or a monitor) as they move in the zone of uncertainty of the social space of the interpreted H&S interaction. The following strategies used by the direct participants will be investigated in this chapter and also in chapter VIII as follows:

1. direct participants' strategies related to issues of gender (chapter VII.2.) and culture (chapter VII.3.)
2. direct participants' strategies related to the issue of multimodality of the text, i.e. strategies used to compensate for the design of the course and its consequences (chapter VIII).

The issues of gender and culture referred to above, along with the issue of power sharing – a common thread running through this work – form part of Inghilleri's overall theme of larger social configurations of power and control both external and internal to the interpreting (Inghilleri 2006, cf. chapter III). They are part and parcel of the direct participants' pretextuality, and as such stand out in the data among the factors influencing the running and outcome of the interpreted interaction.

In exploring these strategies, the following aspects will be observed:

1. Pretextuality/Attitudes as they emerge from the interviews with interpreters and tutors – the strategies used by interpreters and tutors to negotiate communication rights in the interaction depend on their own pretextuality which can include their background in terms of training and experience, their experience of H&S interpreting, their personality, culture, gender and other social and biographical or biological factors, as well as their relationship with the institution which established and managed the course;
2. Interpreters' and tutors' ways of negotiating communication rights and the extent of those rights;
3. Instances of democratic iteration in interplay with authorised discourse, metadiscourse on discourse and other disruptions of dominant communicative or social practices;
4. Interpreter contingency and tools to exercise power and control.

Using accounts of the direct participants (including interpreters, tutors and a monitor) of particular convergences within the interpreted H&S training sessions and the strategies used within them by the direct participants to negotiate communication rights, I will illustrate the particular interpreting habitus (2006, p.61, cf. chapter III) emerging within the interpreted interactions of the H&S setting.

VII.2. Gender issues – solutions and strategies

I will now use the interpreters' and tutors' various accounts of the interpreted H&S training sessions to show how gender issues naturally stand out as an area of configurations of power and control both external and internal to the interpreting (Inghilleri 2006, p.57).

Within these configurations of power, the strategy adopted to claim particular communication rights depends on pretextuality as well as on the attitude of the indirect participant FÁS in the first instance, and that of each direct participant. The indirect participant's attitude and strategy in this respect can be characterised as one of indifference. Such 'gender blindness' most likely derives from the assumption that the area of Health and Safety is a 'man's world' and part of a mind-set (pretextuality) which does not take interpreting into account. Gender, as an internal or external configuration of power, at times acts as pretextuality influencing the attitudes and related choice of strategies by tutors and interpreters in negotiating their communication rights. In other convergences they are discussed, in order to be used and have the potential to become tools to improve the communication. Hence, in the context of gender issues, meaning is sometimes actively constructed in dialogue, deviating from the standards of the indirect participants (FÁS), as predicated by authorised discourse.

VII.2.1. Interpreters

The ratio of male to female interpreters and tutors interviewed was one to seven for interpreters and seven to one for tutors. In the composition of the groups of trainees in the SP H&S courses the prevailing gender is overwhelmingly masculine. The usual scenario is a male tutor, a female interpreter and twenty male trainees. In this context, tutors and interpreters indicated in their accounts of the interpreted training a variety of gender-related issues which repeatedly surface, some of them occurring in the relationship between tutor and interpreter. One female interpreter expressed the following view:

I6 21/539, 55:34- 59:22

*[] I think it's a very male-female thing. Some of them [the tutors] are middle-aged or older and I want to be very careful because particularly in my teaching experience I had a very bad experience with that, that they would not take you seriously. But I never had it here. **Right.** So and if it does not work out [a particular instance of the interpreted communication] or if I say, oh can you slow down or can you or whatever, it's fine. (...) Once one tutor said would you mind changing your seat to the other side and this is the way I prefer it... so that's fine. (...) I think it's constant communication. **It's a control***

you are exercising but it's in relationship with the other person who has a different sort of control, isn't it? Yeah yeah. And you have to respect their control a lot I think. And you have to...you have to show them that you respect their control as well. Yeah, control over other things...that it's all under their control. (...)

Here, the interpreter relates the current experience of the relationship with the tutor to her own pretextuality in terms of previous negative teaching experience. She talks about her approach to and strategy adopted in communicating with male middle-aged tutors. Her perspective is that of 'male-female' communication, whereby according to her, each participant has a different and distinct share of power and it is part of the female role while exercising her particular share of power to manifest respect for the control exercised by the male tutor.

I6 19/487, 51:28- 52:19

(...) for me... talking about guy's stuff, to me, I kind of go wow, I've done it, [] look what I can do, [laughter] but at the same time helping him [the tutor].

Here the same interpreter is expressing a similar idea of the male-female dynamic in the negotiation of communication rights. This underlies the strategy she adopts in the interaction.

A Polish interpreter who has formal training has a conscious attitude of openness regarding the gender issue in the work place, which she believes allows the inter-gender communication to be in itself a strategy to naturally foster communication.

I7 59:56- 01:02:04

(...) there is always an element of attraction between a tutor and a female interpreter, you know, there has to be. I mean two different sexes spending so much time together. (...) Even in the way the tutor would talk to you or make jokes. [Let him] know that you know you are a woman and he is a man, it is fine, you know. I don't think it is a bad thing, I think it is actually a good thing. It can work to the better of the communication...

A young Portuguese interpreter in the following account reiterates the view of another interpreter above: that the H&S training is an assignment more suitable for a male than for a female interpreter. Interestingly enough, interpreters without formal training expressed the same idea across the board regardless of their pretextuality (the Portuguese interpreter is a student of social science, while the previous interpreter is

formally untrained but an experienced Hungarian interpreter with an academic interest in interpreting). To illustrate her point, she describes a difficulty she has as a young female interpreter when travelling to interpret H&S CSCS courses which can last several days, and during which she shares accommodation with the trainees. Her difficulties reflect yet again the institutional macro-context of the convergence, that is, the attitude of the indirect participant to the interpreting aspect of H&S training which results in a lack of provision for working conditions and which impact on the interpreter's ability to maintain her professional integrity. In addition to being Portuguese, the other converging factor is that the interpreter is untrained, with a background in social science. Her pretextuality comes to the fore in the strategy she adopts to prevent an overly personal relationship with the trainees which could stop her doing her work, when she decides to 'learn a little bit about their lives':

I2 5/146, 17:07- 18:39 and F5/146 (PART1), 18:39- 21:20

(...) I think it's much easier for a guy to accept that kind of job [interpreted H&S training assignment]. Second I think there is another thing that I find hard: you are a woman and you are dealing with like three or four days and you are sleeping in the same hotel, having dinner together with a whole bunch of Portuguese men from their thirties to the age of forty-five. And you know I don't know how it is in Czech but in the Latin languages when you say hello, you don't shake hands you give hugs. And of course you want to be friendly, because you are going to be with them for three days, so you want to make it into a nice time. And you are going to have coffee with them and you are going to wake up and you are going to have breakfast and you have that all together. So I always try to get like the nicest relationship, but sometimes they are a whole bunch of guys in their thirties or forties or whatever, all their women are back home and they have been traveling for two or three years. So you can get a lot of dirty minds [] like dirty jokes, even in relation to you. And you have to say like step back and you are not going to say that because you are not going to []. So you have to stand up and say listen, it's my job, we can have a pint all together, we can have a chat... You try to learn a little bit about their lives. Because those guys, I always feel, they are so happy when you ask do you have a family and they want to show you the pictures and that's great because they have been working [], they are meeting different people, they have been traveling around the world. Most of them have been traveling around the world a lot, like two or three years on contract jobs. But sometimes it can be like... [] if you are a girl. And I have had this experience before. Whenever you come to a place,

they say come over for dinner, of course it's in a very nice way, but it can be also [] something that's not very...and I am quite young and they know that I am quite young. And it's quite different for them to have a young male interpreter under thirty or thirty-five and a female interpreter of twenty-five. It's quite different. So what I think is I don't think it concerns DCU or Epsa, it concerns more [], but I think it's one of the difficulties that you can go through.

The interpreter's strategy is aimed at striking a balance in the rapport with the trainees which would allow her to keep a good social relationship with them throughout the duration of the course while maintaining her professional status. In her account of the interactional situation at hand, she mentions several factors external to the training situation itself, which contribute to shaping her strategy: her knowledge of cultural aspects and the social situation she shares with the Portuguese workers.

Another interpreter, a Polish woman with formal training, has quite a different attitude towards her male audience:

I7 59:56- 01:02:04

You know, it's like a teacher. For me the participants [trainees] are somewhat like students or, you know, they don't speak the language, you need to help them with this and that, so they look at you as a teacher more than anything else.

When asked about her experience interpreting for male construction workers and her relationship with them, a Spanish female interpreter without formal training responds as follows:

I1 18/549-19, 53:53- 55:07

Well, some of them want to flirt with you... (...) But as you set things in the right place there is no... I don't have a big problem with it, I try to be sociable with them and I don't have a problem talking to them [during the breaks] (...)

When asked if she asks the tutor for help in cases of difficulty, the interpreter reveals her strategy for negotiating her communication rights in such a situation:

No, no, I try to talk to them, to be sociable and if there is a problem...a flirt... you just I think if you have to, you speak their language, so you are a better person to tell them.

The interpreter derives her strategy from her control over language, which for her assumes a definitive value as an interpreter tool for the negotiation of her

communication rights, and in this way constitutes an individual strategy, the use of which is independent of any relationship with the tutor. The interpreter is not contingent on the tutor for resolving this gender-related issue. She does not even consider involving the tutor or informing him about this aspect of the convergence. The overall attitude and related strategy used by another female interpreter are quite different as is evident in the following statement:

I3 9/260-11 (PART1), 12:59- 16:35

*I don't think I have ever addressed the participants [trainees]. I did on a couple of occasions when I heard sex jokes. So in one of the cases I said to the tutor that I wouldn't continue if that happened again and, oh yeah, I said to the participants [trainees] that that would be the last joke, otherwise...**Right. And would you then inform the tutor that you had to do it?** Yeah. But in most of the courses the audience was quite okay.*

And she continues:

I3 9/260-11, 12:59- 16:35

*Yeah, I mean it's a very [male] field, one woman among the men, so I can understand why particular jokes are used []. **When you talk about the relationship or your position as a woman in front of twenty men, could you expand on that? Did you have any bad experiences or good experiences...too confidential a way of approach on the part of the participants [trainees] or...** Well, em, I wouldn't make myself very approachable first of all. **How would you do that?** I wouldn't communicate with them during the breaks too much unless there were specific questions in relation to the course. And I would [] refer them back to the tutor. And if there were private conversations like what do you think of Ireland, I would stick to very basic responses so they didn't think I wanted basically to ruin the relationship, you know, by refusing straight away [to have an informal conversation].*

The interpreter, like those before her, tries to keep her professional integrity intact, while maintaining a good relationship with the trainees. In terms of pretextuality, being a formally trained conference interpreter, she brings her conference interpreting etiquette of maintaining a distance from the audience with her to the H&S training assignments. In this regard, she mentions her strategy of referring the trainees back to the tutor with their questions. In this way, she recognises the tutor's control over the overall running of the course, including aspects of her relationship with the group. She

also stresses her contingency on the tutor, which she actually uses as a tool to negotiate her interactional rights. She then continues on the topic of the tutor's control:

Most of the participants [trainees] were very okay, (...) and especially if the tutor kind of maintains control of the class it was okay. But a couple of tutors wouldn't really be in control of the class...So what do you do in that case? Do you take the control on yourself? Well there wasn't much I could do [] so if it became very noisy I would stop and let the tutor retake control.

The interpreter's view is that it is the tutor who is in charge of the class. When, in the particular convergence she is describing here, the tutor does not effectively control the class and prevent it from becoming too noisy, the interpreter adopts an interesting strategy, which very much fulfils the criteria of an interpreter tool. Her way of exercising power over the communication by means of communication itself (Ukmar 1997, p.198, cf. chapter III) consists in stopping to communicate. By her silence she signals to the tutor that what is happening is not within her competency, and in a decisive but assertive and respectful way she steps aside so that he can 'retake control'. Perhaps this interpreter's strategy also illustrates the view already articulated by the interpreter at the beginning of this section regarding the male-female division of control. By communicating like a 'woman' and as a formally-trained professional, the interpreter is contributing to a recontextualisation of the communicative situation, by bringing to the negotiation of communication rights, which takes place between the tutor, the group and herself, the possibility of a new social and communicative practice.

The interpreter continues as follows:

In relation to being a woman in front of all those men...I think when I start off, you know, the first part of the day is a bit difficult, because everybody is looking at you. And you become aware that you are a woman, and Romania is a very patriotic [patriarchal] society, so in a way I quite expect them to misbehave. But other than that, if you just stick to a very professional way, don't make yourself very approachable...

The interpreter supports this strategy also by the dress code she chooses for the H&S training assignments. She describes what she wears as follows:

I wouldn't dress in a way that I would appeal to the participants [trainees] and I don't think I wore skirts, yeah, what can you do? [laughter].

And she concludes:

I3 13/400-15(PART1), 32:00- 34:45

(...) I found that I had a good relationship with the audience. I think it also comes down to the attitude, the tone of voice, your own attitude. Yeah, just to try to get a balance between the very professional, and sort of imposing respect and not putting them off.

Another issue interpreters reported is that of male trainees' mistrust of the professional abilities of a female interpreter in what the trainees perceived as a male field of expertise. The interpreter's control of the situation comes from her cultural knowledge external to the interpreted interaction: (she is Romanian and understands the culture underlying the trainees' attitudes), as well as from her linguistic knowledge on which she bases the strategy described below:

I3 13/400-15, 32:00- 34:45

(...) having a woman as an interpreter, having that [H&S training for construction industry] delivered through her, I think to some it was even funny ah come on, we are having a woman doing that? I didn't quite mind that [laughter] and I think my [professional] attitude did put their concerns off []. There was mistrust in that sense, a woman and an outsider to the construction industry cannot possibly provide quality interpreting in relation to that. Sometimes I would have some allies in the audience in the sense that they would have good English and they would realise that I was interpreting very well and sometimes they would even say it out loud and that was very good. Sometimes I would involve those people in the actual interpreting, sometimes they would offer some help the dynamic is quite good when they can offer that sort of help.

Having considered the range of gender-related issues and strategies adopted by interpreters, I will now examine the tutors' attitudes and strategies in this regard, continuing with the same topic brought up by interpreters, that is the trainees' relationship with the interpreter and the attitudes and strategies of the tutors and interpreters in this regard.

VII.2.2. Tutors

In the context of gender-related issues, some tutors in their accounts reflected on the fact that having a good working relationship with a female interpreter invariably

sensitised them to possible difficulties which that interpreter might be experiencing in her relation to the trainees:

T1 15/471-9 (PART1), 41:09- 42:58

*(...) Yeah occasionally [it happens that an interpreter experiences difficulties in the relationship with trainees]. Not with a group but with certain individuals in the group, you can have that. Maybe a macho attitude. **And do you address it or...** Yeah I would address it...a couple of times I would say to somebody, look all the person is doing is translating and if you have any problem come to me. Occasionally that would happen. You have to be a little bit school teacherish too at times. Although you deal with adults. You still have to sometimes say stop. This is imparting vital information, the translator is doing that, and if you resent that [] somewhere else. But never to an extent where things would get a bad feeling about them. You know. It would be a very straight-to-the-point comment just so that the person can understand that. But generally now [] hasn't had a problem now. She would see that coming and might laugh and she would cater for it.*

The tutor underlines here that in the particular interpreted interaction, disruptions can be caused by particular features of individuals converging together. The tutor describes the strategy he uses to prevent a gender-based issue from adversely affecting the communication. In the case of this tutor, as he says, the purpose of the course that the interpreter is helping to meet is to give impartial and vital information, and he must aim to fulfil this goal. He also mentions how he strives to pay attention to the overall situation in a manner which would maintain his connection with the group, while protecting the interpreter.

The tutor characterises his own way of dealing with this situation as 'teacherish'. Two interpreters used the same expression in the gender context to describe their attitude towards the group. For this tutor his overall approach to the course consists in a level of informality whilst remaining concise and within schedule. In the case where a candidate is causing disruption, he regrets that he is obliged to become a little 'teacherish'.

The tutor also mentions the possibility that the interpreter might be able to pre-empt and deal with such an issue herself.

The following account by another tutor confirms such gender-related dynamics in the relationship between the interpreter and the trainees as we have already seen:

T3 20/591-24A, 48:50- 50:13

(...) em, sometimes yeah [that similar situations do occur], because of what they think of women maybe as an authority figure yes yeah. But they did not report anything back to me. They did not say. Obviously because they wanted to keep the job as well you know. They did not say they had a difficulty you know but, as I said, there was some laughing going on or some slagging of the interpreter, but I did not know what it was.

Unlike other tutors, this tutor is aware of a gender-related difficulty which the interpreter might be experiencing with the group. Furthermore, he believes that the interpreter does not tell him about this issue for fear of losing her job. His strategy is, however, not to interfere with the interaction he senses is taking place between the interpreter and the group.

T4 13/391-25, 03:13- 05:05

*(...) It definitely depends on the person. You can see the interpreter that it does not matter to her and she is able to control and another might be less experienced. I would be maybe strong there protecting her. I just settle them in so there would be no []. I have worked with men for 20 odd years so I know it, it comes naturally to me... **So you are trying to help the interpreter or protect the interpreter basically.** Yes, in the instance where there is a kind of double meaning to the course very early on within the first twenty minutes... once there was a young guy who was a bit hung-over or whatever. I stopped it immediately because the interpreter couldn't work you know. Her integrity was gone if that was there [].*

This tutor has quite a different pretextuality than the previous one. She is a woman with considerable experience in the construction industry. She is a university professor and, as such, she is accustomed to communicating with a variety of audiences. She keeps a tight rein on her own manner of communicating, and in this she expresses her overall strategy, which is effective communication. At the same time, she is sensitive to clues about the interpreter's way of communicating. She states, like other tutors that control over the gender dynamics of the interpreted H&S training depends on each person. If the interpreter is unable to negotiate her communication rights with the group in such circumstances, then she as tutor takes over in order to protect, as she says, the interpreter's professional integrity and therefore the success of the overall communicative situation and her course.

T5 11/299, 24:32- 31:13

Tell me about...did you feel that working with an interpreter posed particular challenges to you? Yeah well, it... I was working with somebody that I never met before, it was mainly females, but I think once we got over the initial introduction and approach I was very comfortable with them, and I think they were with me as well, it went pretty well after that.

This tutor above comes from a construction background. His pretextuality of working in a mostly male environment makes the experience of working with a female interpreter slightly unusual. However he finds a strategy to overcome this in the initial introduction and approach.

T7 GX, 37:50- 38:55

*I liked dealing with her because [] was [] and she was excellent. You know. **So she was in charge in a certain way...and you were happy...**Yeah she was in charge and it took a lot of pressure off me. I only had to worry about what I was telling her. (...) It was brilliant, it was [] after that. They stopped whispering and talking among themselves and [] the mobile phone...she took the mobile phone off one chap. She said no, too much, give []. Now she was very strong in her own way. **And you were happy with that?** I was very happy with that. **You didn't feel like it was diminishing your own....** I come from a house of strong women, I am at home there. **So you were happy she was a partner and it was working well.** Yes, she was a really good partner. And there was a couple of others as well. They had different style, but they had different controls as well. And in fact I prefer dealing with [] a female interpreter as well.*

Like several other tutors, this tutor states his preference for working with a female interpreter. (This is in contrast with the perception of some interpreters (cf. VII.3.1.), that H&S is an area more suited to male than female interpreters.) He describes an interpreted interaction whereby he was working with an Eastern European interpreter, who – in his view embodied this quality of 'being a strong woman'. His own personal domestic pretextuality ('coming from a house of strong women') makes him comfortable with such interpreters and the consensus in power sharing arrived at as a result becomes part and parcel of overall strategy. As he says 'I had to worry about what I was telling her'. He either delegated to the interpreter control over the class in terms of discipline, or else negotiated with the interpreter their mutual communication rights and power sharing in the way described above. The tutor benefited from this strategy by being able to concentrate only on the delivery of content. The tutor mentions his

experience with other interpreters, in whom he looks for the same quality of control, as a result of his own pretextuality.

Talking about the relationship with the interpreter and between the interpreter and the trainees, another tutor says:

T6 19/604, 56:31- 58:05

*Some [interpreters] were very friendly, some were very... in the sense that they were professional and they knew and they had a bit of care. Some would come and say this person [a trainee] has a problem you know and they would tell me and he wants to ask you a question... **Well that means they had a good relationship with you, that they could trust you and were trying to help...** Yeah, and they would ask me questions. Some would be very dismissive, you would even see it in their... (...) It was mostly women, you know, and the women were great... **And how did you feel that dynamic worked?** Eh, it depended on..., you would get some people in the back of the room, like at school, and they would be acting up, you would have to say to the interpreter, look, if you are not happy with these people at the back of the room, I'm saying to you tell me you are not happy and we will tell them to go. And that usually put the boot in. **And again that showed that you had a good...** Because if they were messing the interpreter up, they were messing me up. I found women to be better than men as interpreters. **Because you worked with men as well...** Yeah. **Oh, that is interesting, why would you say that?** When I said 11 interpreters I was thinking about the women. I would have had three male interpreters, so it would have been up to 14 interpreters altogether. I found that male interpreters could be as formal as myself. **Oh right, so the female presence contributed somehow differently.** Yeah. **That's interesting.***

Like the female tutor, the tutor quoted above also highlights the fundamental impact of the diversity of people whose pretextuality converges in the interpreted H&S training on the unravelling and outcome of the negotiations of communication rights and the final interpreting habitus. The tutor's (T6) pretextuality in terms of background is his membership of trade unions. He is people-orientated – hence he points out the 'caring' aspect as an attribute of a professional interpreter – and in line with his altruistic approach, he makes sure the interpreter is respected. In his view, if they [the people at the back] are 'messing up the interpreter, they are messing me up'. This is part of what tutor T6 regards as the purpose of the course: to ensure that the international workers who come to his course are helped in employment and social welfare issues. With this

focus in mind, the tutor favours effective communication, concentrates on the communicative situation at hand, and is prepared to negotiate meaning within it.

T5 12/346, 31:13- 42:33

*I think (...) the relationship between the interpreter and the audience was quite good in my experience. It's always nice to have a lady present when you're... you know, people, I think people sort of, (...) are more focused, you know, and maybe a bit more careful, and in some ways, if you bring them into the course, and get them... get them, get a response from them, you know they, they... that comes through the interpreter, and the interpreter will get good vibes back from them, will get good comments back, you know, so I have more experience with lady interpreters, than I have with men, so, I would feel that it's a plus, in that sense. **Okay that it helped general atmosphere...** Yeah it does yeah, it helps the atmosphere, you know it's just, it's different it's more effective in my view.*

This tutor describes the process of recontextualisation. The interpreter in her contingent and perhaps uncomfortable position as a woman among working men is actually an agent of change within the existing communicative practices. She helps to create an interpreting habitus which according to the tutor is not only different, but positive for all parties involved and more effective for the overall running of the course. Interestingly enough, the capital that the interpreter is required to bring to this particular convergence is that of being a woman. For the tutor, working with a female interpreter becomes a strategy in itself, a strategy which allows him to better achieve the purpose of the course as he perceives it and which he considers paramount, that is imparting the H&S message. This strategy allows him to communicate to this end more successfully.

Gender dynamics provided a near constant subtext in the interviews with direct participants due to the overwhelmingly male environment in which the invariably female interpreter must operate. Given the particular setting of the training for the construction industry gender issues surfaced all the more, because of the macho attitude often present in the group.

We see that the interpreter is vulnerable in this exchange, since the attitude of the indirect participant does not take this factor into account in its guidelines. In general the gender dynamic is experienced as potentially fraught by female interpreters who nevertheless find strategies to deal with it, involving either an active balancing of their professional status and integrity with the attempt to establish a positive rapport with the

trainees, or else the establishment of a professional distance from the trainees, and the assumption of a 'teacher' type of role.

Tutors are to varying degrees aware of the challenges which the gender dynamic can present for female interpreters and are generally watchful to protect the interpreter from negative exchanges with the group. Other respondents found the same convergence to be positive with the female presence actually benefitting the atmosphere and the transmission of the health and safety message. In some cases tutors actually take advantage of the potentially positive impact which the presence of a female interpreter can provide, allowing the tutor to concentrate on the task of transmitting the course content.

VII.3. Cultural issues – solutions and strategies

The aspect of culture can be considered as one of the larger social configurations of power and control both external and internal to the interpreting (Inghilleri 2006, p.57, cf. chapter III). Within such configurations of power, the strategy adopted to claim communication rights depends in different respects on the pretextuality and therefore the attitude of each direct participant. A discursive gap occurs when the direct participants show a preference for democratic iteration over authorised discourse, and aspects of cultural knowledge are renegotiated. For example, differences in health and safety culture are sometimes discussed in order to improve communication, and in the process, meaning is actively and jointly constructed in dialogue, deviating from the indirect participants' (FÁS) standards, as dictated by the authorised discourse. Let us now explore some of the ways in which the aspect of culture impacts on the strategies used by direct participants in the interpreter training sessions.

Some tutors consider the aspect of culture to be an important element in the interpreted H&S training. In the excerpt below, the tutor talks about what he expects from the interpreter:

T3 16/456-20, 37:44- 38:36

(...) their understanding of the culture they are interpreting. So if they understand the Irish culture at least they might be able to explain that to the [group] you know.

The capital the tutor requires from the interpreter is not solely restricted to

conveying information, but also includes a degree of cultural knowledge.

T3 21/613-26, 50:13- 52:57

(...) So you would find that it is (...) important that the interpreter helps you understand the culture and that you can talk about the Irish culture with them [the group] as well. That you can compare it. So it's the...I am realising now from talking to you that a lot of it is culture rather than relaying information. Like the information stands, the information is the same [], but it's a lot about conveying the cultural difference. (...) And that's what we need to get over. (...) I have an interest in travel and history you know, not everybody does. They just want to convey the message. I am really interested when I meet someone else to find [out about them] you know.

Another tutor considers the interpreter's cultural knowledge to be an invaluable asset for successful communication, as the tutor is thereby equipped to pre-empt any ethnic tensions which may arise in a class which is culturally diverse but technically qualifies as a monolingual group (multilingual groups are not allowed by FÁS – cf. chapter VI.3. on the Code of Conduct for tutors of the SP programme).

T2 30/954-46A, 01:23:23- 01:26:05

*(...) you didn't come across situations when the culture kind of got in the way... As regards the personalities in the room...sometimes you can almost smell it. The testosterone's in the room. And they are looking at each other. And you can pick up on the accent. They can all speak Russian, you see. [] They can speak Lithuanian or Latvian... (...) And most of them speak English even though they don't let on they do. (...) And there is a little bit of, you know, there might be a Lithuanian sitting beside a Latvian and you know they are looking at each other... (...) it comes out in a way they are looking at each other. I have actually moved classes around on occasion. **Oh yeah?** Yeah, yeah. I would say, you sit down, [] you come up here, you talk more, I want to know what you have to say. Well, him is not the best he would say. And of course when I was wearing the suit and I'd be clean shaven and I'd be sitting on the chair and the questions would come, I would say well, look, I have sixteen years' experience in the industry and they would say [imitates a foreign language with inarticulate sounds], and the rest of them would laugh and she would say, they are saying you are only twenty two or twenty three and I would say thanks very much, thanks very much, I am thirty four and they would say no way no way you are thirty four [again]. And I would say you know it's my Italian blood in me and they burst out laughing. Because I actually*

mentioned that my grandfather was Italian. (...) I didn't know him, he was gone before I came along. And they would say oh we see it now, you don't look Irish you are way too short. And I'd say all the Irish are short...and they burst out laughing. But where there is a conflict I would try to pick it up myself or else I would ask the interpreter: who are we dealing with here. So she would say listen we have Latvians, Lithuanians, just keep an eye on the situation. And if it is all right after the first one or two modules you are going to be all right for the rest of the day. But where it is negative you would have a reason to kind of just separate them, you know what I mean.

The group in this example is a monolingual multi-ethnic Russian-speaking group. As the design of the course did not provide for situations like this, the tutor and interpreter must deal with the situation with the means available to them. In this case, the interpreter is equipped with enough cultural knowledge, and the relationship between herself and the tutor allows for a dialogue about such problems. The tutor himself has experience of working with Russian-speaking groups and this pretextuality helps him to sense the possibility of conflict. By making fun of his own ethnic origin, the tutor succeeds in alleviating the tension between the two nationalities. This example and the one which follows may be seen as instances of convergence in which the participants constructively take up cultural meaning to construct it there and then in a context of dialogue.

The experience of the tutor with an 'interest in history and traveling' is similar:

T3 5/120-5, 08:06- 09:37

An induction for construction might just take half an hour for all Irish people coming in [] all English-speaking. But you know it could take an hour and a half, and it's taken so long – they don't understand you know but you are trying to get it across. And then within the jurisdiction of other countries just like in Ireland you have North and South, so you make assumptions and [] some from the Ukraine and some from Leningrad and I said would you tell him you are the same as him. You are the same as him I said, and he said, I am not the same as him and I realised I insulted him you know so through the interpreter I says what does he mean and he said something to him and he said would you like to be called English from England? and I said point taken, point taken. We get mad when someone says you are English – no we are Irish. (...) And you have to take the feelings of the people from the same country into account – they don't consider themselves the same or don't speak the same.

His own pretextuality allows him to resolve the issue by recognising his own mistake or lack of sensitivity to the cultural and ethnic features of the trainees. These features are part of the particular convergence, and although they belong to the world beyond the training room, they do impact on the running and the possible outcome of the course.

As can be seen from the following convergence, the cultural aspect affects the tutor in relation not only to the group, but also to the interpreter. In this case, the interpreter's perception of authority depends on the culture he or she comes from, which in the absence of functioning regulations for the tutor-interpreter relationship, can affect the way the interpreted interaction is conducted.

T3 14/390-16, 31:52- 34:09

What about feeling in charge? Normally when you are talking to an English group you obviously....it's your course you are there to deliver it. How does it work with an interpreter? Does it in any way shift the control of the situation (...) onto the interpreter or how does it work? What's your experience? Yes, it does. Because the interpreter might become the authority figure sometimes, yeah. Yeah, you might just become a device and they are the authority figure there. (...) You know you are, just you become insignificant. Do they not respect you at the same time as being someone who is in charge? Depending on the culture.

Similar experiences emerged from accounts of other tutors and interpreters. It appears that the particular convergence of pretextualities tended to result in a variety of ways in which the course could be run. A shy middle-aged male Irish tutor, used to dealing mostly with male co-workers on the construction site, might find it difficult to deal with a female Polish interpreter with a strong personality and her own clear vision of the purpose of the course. The tutor might believe he is 'being brushed aside' (cf. chapter VI.7.), while the interpreter might feel that the course delivery depends on her.

Besides the perception of authority, culture also affects the perception of formality. Here an Irish tutor describes his own preferred style of delivery.

T3 14/390-16 (PART1), 31:52- 34:09

Do you think that in the interpreted courses the dialogue with your audience is lesser? It is. I am very informal in the way I train, you know. Mine would be a laissez faire type of joke and talk and get them to talk back. And get them involved. I like to go in and say lads, you have more experience than I have in this I have never been under

*the ground digging myself. Who has been under the ground? M1, you have been under Yeah, I have been in London, I have done tunnels and mines. Yeah, can you tell me now for the benefit of the other lads, can you tell them, what's the worst that can happen? Yeah, I was there and a tunnel collapsed and came in and two guys were killed. I find that a very good way of training you know. **And you can't do that with an interpreter?** You cannot. Because you are doing it through an interpreter and you cannot get this informal.*

The tutor does not specify why he cannot 'get informal' whilst an interpreter gives her own world-view on culture-bound informality, related to that heard by the tutor above:

I3 19/593-24, 54:50- 58:25

[] I find that Ireland in general has a very informal culture so it's not that ethics is often left aside or anything. I think it's somewhere in the background – but I think a lot of emphasis is put on informality and familiarity. And I think a lot of that affects the professional situation.

The interpreter goes on to explain how such a style of delivery affects the interpreted interaction and why it is, from her point of view, inappropriate in an H&S training context. She also describes the individual strategy she uses to negotiate her communication rights in this particular convergence of different cultural perceptions of formality:

I3 8/226-XM 7 (13), 10:40- 12:59

(...) it all starts with the tutor's form of address. He would say well lads []... it's a linguistic and a cultural thing. A Romanian woman addressing Romanian builders that way – I feel uncomfortable. And I think they feel uncomfortable. So most of the time, I wouldn't use it at all. I would say gentlemen instead, which I think is more appropriate culturally (...)

The interpreter's potential for control over the situation comes from beyond the interpreted training itself – it is her cultural perception of the training environment, of her own position as a woman and a professional in relation to her co-nationals. While she asserts her identity in terms of her cultural and gender qualities in the way she reacts, in order to negotiate her communication rights in this situation her strategy is to use an interpreting tool which involves changing the register in addressing the trainees.

The tutor affirms his awareness of the informality issue in the following example:

T3 15/439-18, 36:00- 37:44

...the feedback I get is that it's a little bit more formal because the foreigners might feel (...) uncomfortable if in a training situation there was joking or informality... They do, they do expect it to be formal (...). They might think you are a complete amadán if you come in joking. They don't expect the manager to come in joking. Or the boss. The boss does not joke. In their country the boss is someone who points the finger when you do something. Tells you what to do. He does not put his arm around you and ask you...had you a bad night? When you drink or something. He does not sympathise with you. (...)

There are other ways in which culturally-based expectations around formality emerge. In the following example, the interpreter mentions one of them when talking about her own strategies for maintaining a good working relationship with the tutor:

I3 11/320, 22:57- 24:42

I would always ask how do you want to do this, let us agree on some basic things and I found that very very useful []. I feel I eliminated a lot of problems by doing that. And I would tend not to socialise in the sense of having lunch with the tutor – although I would be pressurised into doing it. (...) I didn't have any conflict or any kind of tension with any of them [the tutors].

Here the interpreter allows her own pretextuality in terms of her cultural background to come to the fore. Whilst the Irish tutors operate within their own cultural framework, in which asking the interpreter to lunch is perfectly within the limits of a professional relationship, the Romanian interpreter does not share this perception and turns the invitation down. She does it, in fact, precisely in order to protect her professional relationship with the tutor.

The potential for culture, as a larger configuration of power and control, to impact on interpreted training is evidenced also in the different world-views of the direct participants (including the trainees) in relation to the health and safety principles, and in how health and safety is perceived and practised in different cultures. In the following instance, the tutor's strategy for negotiating his communication rights in a context loaded with cultural connotations is to orient himself towards a genuine aim for mutual understanding, in other words democratic iteration. The tutor resolves the

situation by asking about the differences:

T5 10/271-12, 24:32- 31:13

Some people came from a culture where they may not have had power tools that were operated by electricity... so they needed to understand ...you know the hazards associated with using electricity to power tools. (...) That's one [example of H&S related cultural differences] that kind of sticks out, so I found that interesting – some might be used to hand tools. Or they might be using 220 volts, which is not allowed on construction sites [in Ireland], because if you get a shock you get killed, but with 110 you don't. There were lots of little things like that, they were very interesting (...). [So] I would simply ask them in your country, how do you do this or that or the other, how do you work at heights? Well, they will tell you...

Another tutor has personal experience of different culture-bound approaches to health and safety thanks to his pretextuality, i.e. an interest in travelling. He brings his health and safety related observations from his travels back to the training room, and his strategy consists in drawing on this to bridge diversity and enhance his communication about H&S with the non-national trainees:

T3 21/613-26, 50:13- 52:57

Do you find from this point of view that the concept of H&S itself is very differently understood by different cultures or (...) lived out in different countries? Oh yeah. I saw them in Prague myself on scaffolds. I know. That's what I see too. Without... anything. And without any safety gear. And I stood around looking in amazement. I know. Me too. I have done years of training myself. (...) You know – no proper ladder, people climbing on scaffolds, [], no signs, [], swinging cranes over the public... And does it come up during the training? At least I can say that I have seen it in their country, that I was in Prague and I saw... I saw how they worked there, you know, that's not how we work here.

A Hungarian interpreter, also aware of cultural differences in the area of H&S and their impact on the interpreted interaction during training, talks about her relationship with her Hungarian co-nationals in terms of 'we'. She is gratified to hear that the tutor considers them to be 'decent people'. This pretextuality impacts on her strategy of enhancing the communication by facilitating the mutual cultural understanding between the tutor and the trainees. She also refers to a common complaint regarding repetitiveness in the text of the different training sessions which are

compulsory for workers in Ireland prior to accessing building sites or working with particular equipment. Moreover, she mentions the different system of qualifications for working with different equipment, which in Ireland is strongly health and safety driven, and which can drive away trainees coming from a less health and safety savvy culture.

I6 18/464-19, 47:00- 50:00

(...) with Hungarians there is always someone and there is no better way of putting it, pissed off with the whole thing. And (...) they would say, oh we have done it [studied the information contained in the course] or whatever. But generally they pull themselves together and that's what the tutor would say – you know I worked with Hungarians before and [they are] (...) very decent people. And it's really good to hear it. But I think it's part of it. So (...) if it comes up about anything – I don't know... you need the CSCS card here (...), here construction workers are specialised in one area – while a [person in] a lot of countries in Eastern Europe would have four different qualifications, or that would be considered different qualifications here. And they think, oh God I am not doing this and they just ...I feel [] responsibility, (...) I feel like it makes everybody's life easier if I explain that to the tutor. So, for example, if they have a question-and-answer session and they say something or they come with a question, and they feel like oh my God or something, I just say oh my God and the tutor is going to pick up on the vibe anyway. I say it's just a different thing where we come from and they say oh I have experience, I know I know [] in Germany... And I find most of the tutors very respectful towards foreigners because, because they have their experience of working abroad as well...

The interpreter's strategy is to point out such culture-bound issues to the tutor. In doing so, she shows a distinctive understanding of her own social/interactional position within the interpreted event thanks to her pretextuality. And by advising the tutor, she informs and intervenes in the course of communication between the tutor and the trainees based on her own cultural knowledge. This potentially leads to these cultural practices being taken up constructively in a context of dialogue and generating new jointly constructed meanings.

According to the same interpreter, there is also a related issue of a 'culture-bound way of communicating', which she perceives as a challenge posed by the outside context and which has an impact on the running of the interpreted training.

I6 12/302-11, 33:01- 35:10

(...) some of these people [the trainees] are just only off the flight literally. They arrived

the previous night they stayed somewhere with their backpack and how would they have any cultural experience of their own? And I can feel for them because I go home and there I behave like a Hungarian and here I behave like half-Hungarian half-Irish sort of thing and I see what they say and I see that a lot of the stuff really insults their intelligence and the tutors know it as well and then once there is an understanding it's fine. But if the tutor for some reason feels threatened or not so confident about it or simply does not like people reacting back it doesn't work. So I think that it is cultural and the tutors would say actually that it varies a lot from nationality to nationality in their experience. (...)

The interpreter again falls back on her own biographical pretextuality in the formation of her world-view regarding the trainees' perception of the course content and its delivery. The interpreter describes different instances in which a convergence of world-views can result in the tutor and the interpreter arriving at a shared world-view regarding the trainees' perceptions of the course content.

In this section, we have seen how the element of culture plays out as a larger social configuration of power and control, in which perceptions originating from the world beyond the training room, can impact on the acting out of the direct participants' negotiation of communication rights which can impact on the way in which the interpreted interaction unfolds.

Differences in cultural perception of authority and appropriateness of register in the H&S training setting can lead the interpreter to use strategies to meet the expectations of the trainees whose culture bound perceptions she shares. Such is the case where an interpreter uses a higher register, thereby choosing to de-emphasise the informal style of the Irish tutor. Some tutors can also feel cultural differences as a limitation, and adjust their style of delivery accordingly compared to courses delivered to an English speaking group.

However the aspect of culture also has a potentially transformative effect, depending on the direct participants' pretextualities and attitudes, resulting in a constructive dialogue between the interpreter and tutor around cultural perceptions and practices. Such an exchange displays a tendency towards democratic iteration over authorised discourse in which aspects of cultural knowledge are renegotiated and which helps to improve the quality of communication achieved.

VII.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the theme of purpose and power of the direct participants as expressed by general strategies related to gender, as well as culture is explored. It is clear from our analysis that the direct participants often use such strategies in an individual negotiation of communication rights, an approach prompted by the dominant discourse established by the macro-context, and within which interpreters are made contingent.

It is equally clear that in the interest of successful communication the direct participants depending on their pretextuality and overall sense of purpose can take creative steps in renegotiating cultural knowledge, arrive at joint communication strategies, through metadiscourse on discourse, and actively work towards a better quality of content delivery through professional relationships in which the professionalism of the interpreter is given greater scope to influence the outcome of the communicative situation.

CHAPTER VIII. THE PURPOSE AND POWER OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS 2: MULTIMODALITY

VIII.1. Introduction: multimodality issues of text and content – solutions and strategies

Multimodality as it applied to interpreted H&S training, takes on different guises, proceeding (as per chapter VI.5. on Course Design and chapter II. on H&S Interpreting in Ireland) from the variety of text types which characterise the course design and content of the SP H&S training course. For the purpose of this work multimodality denotes:

1. the multitude of presentation modes or formats used (Bührig 2004, cf. chapter III), which combine verbal formats and visual materials;
2. language and speech genres which emerges from the specific context of H&S training for the construction industry, be it formal or informal;
3. the range of topics and related terminology from H&S legislation to hygiene and safety in heights (cf. chapter II.5.);
4. 'multitasking' (Pasquandrea 2011, cf. chapter IV), in other words, the necessity for the interpreter to carry out a multitude of tasks, for example, assisting trainees to fill out Registration forms while interpreting;
5. the use of several interpreting modes, ranging from sight translation to note-supported consecutive to simultaneous voice-over of DVDs without technical equipment, to bi-lateral short consecutive.

The above guises of multimodality emerged from the interviews with the direct participants of the interpreted H&S training, and showed the extent to which the macro-context was reflected in the actual discursive moves and communicative choices within the interpreted interaction. In this section, we will concern ourselves with how the multimodal character of the interpreted text which carries institutional features combines with the biographical and social features brought together by the direct participants (including the trainees and the monitor) of the interpreted training. The macro-context of the interpreted H&S training is formed by the purpose, pretextuality and attitude of the indirect participant FÁS, which resulted in a distribution of power

(Mason 2006, p.117, cf. chapter III) characteristic by absence in terms of any specific provision for interpreting. This in turn impacted on the social and interactional positions of the direct participants, who ended up compensating for this by assuming an extra share of power, in order to negotiate their communication rights and the meaning emergent from the interpreted event. We will observe once again a collective embodiment which results from this configuration. We will analyse individual and mutual strategies used by tutors and interpreters to gain control or achieve consensus in the interpreted interaction, we will investigate how interpreters live out their contingency on the tutor, and to what extent their presence contributes to the emergence of discursive gaps with attendant changes to dominant discursive and social practices.

In this section, all of the above will be illustrated in relation to the multimodal character of the H&S training text in terms of range of presentation formats (VIII.2.), the text itself and content-related issues (VIII.3.), as well as some specific issues related to interpreting the above (VIII.4.).

VIII.2. Text types

The interpreted H&S training includes a multitude of presentation modes or formats (Bührig 2004, cf. chapter III), which combine verbal formats and visual materials, each of which presents the interpreter with specific challenges. Besides the formats listed above, all of which will be used here to illustrate the impact of the macro-context on the interpreted interaction and strategies the participants adopt to deal with it, there are other minor and often individually used formats, contributing to the rich and varied multimodal character of the interpreted H&S training. These alternative text formats have been, and will continue to be, mentioned at various points in the accounts of the direct participants. They are: tutor drawings, use of own image material, use of props and role play. In the following excerpt, an interpreter speaks about the latter format and about a strategy she uses to interpret this particular text format:

I6 18/464-19, 47:00- 50:00

(...) the role play I really enjoy, because you [] get to a different personality from the tutor personality and then you kind of imitate that, and that's fun (...)

Due to the limited scope of this work, only selected communicative situations

related to the main text types and strategies used in them by the direct participants will be illustrated. The formats will not be presented in the order of importance or volume they occupy in the course. Rather they will be shown as they are perceived by the direct participants and according to the frequency with which they surfaced in their accounts of the interpreted interaction. Let us now begin exploring these text formats, the strategies which the direct participants adopt and the interpreting habitus thus brought about.

VIII.2.1. Slides

The primary text that interpreters deal with in the interpreted H&S training are the 365 slides, which form a backbone of the tutor's delivery and which are delivered in the form of a PowerPoint presentation (cf. chapter II.5.2. and II.5.5.). One interpreter has this to say about them:

I4 14/402, 08:42- 23:03

(...) The slides (...). I just thought, why they don't give me the slides, the PowerPoint, and I would translate it all, but I know they just don't want that. Even nowadays there are still a few words [which I do not know when they appear on the slide to be interpreted] maybe because I am translating and interpreting so I cannot write down...

In this statement we see a reflection of the particular interpreter's pretextuality. As a formally trained translator, her strategy for dealing with the text to be interpreted would be to 'translate it'. However, the rules for course management established by FÁS do not allow tutors to share the PowerPoint text with interpreters to facilitate them in preparing for the assignment. Also during the course, the interpreter says, she is too busy interpreting and therefore unable to take down the vocabulary to do terminological research, and even after several courses, the interpreter is still unsure about some technical terms.

Another interpreter's statement reveals a different strategy to deal with the consequences of FÁS's attitude to the interpreted aspect of the H&S training. The interpreter says:

I7 2/37-0 (PART3), 19:00- 22:28

(...) it's a good thing that you have slides there, because that's the only... that's the last resort for the interpreter, who is intelligent enough to make it happen, even though they have not been prepared for it properly.

The interpreter is a formally-trained professional with plenty of experience. Her attitude is 'to make it happen' despite the fact that she was unable to prepare for the assignment in her normal way. In this situation, the slides become the instrument which she uses to make up for the lack of terminological preparation.

Another interpreter, with a degree in conference interpreting, is able to adopt various strategies to carry out her work independently of the conditions already described, and does not find the course material particularly challenging. Using the slides, she adopts two individual strategies. The first strategy is aimed at facilitating the turn-taking between herself and the tutor in delivering and interpreting the PowerPoint presentation. She uses the slides as indicators of text-chunk division. The second strategy is related to the practice of note-taking, which she mentions as being necessary during the very first H&S training she interpreted, during which the tutor did not make use of the PowerPoint presentation. In comparison to the standard conference interpreting 'note-supported consecutive' mode, which she adopted in that case, in the presence of slides the interpreter adopts the strategy of using the slides as a memory tool instead of taking notes:

I5 10/273, 17:01- 19:42

***You mentioned [that you used] the note-supported consecutive for the first assignment, which [did not have slides and therefore notes were] the only possible choice. But what about the following one? (...) Did you still take notes when you had the slides?** No I did not take any notes, it was really pretty easy to follow. I did not feel like I needed to take notes and that the second and the third assignment was [sic] pretty straightforward and that the tutor or the instructor was brilliant and he covered his slides... [they] were very full of details and everything. So it was really easy to follow. And how would you interpret it? Would you wait until he got to the end of one slide for example and then interpret what you saw there and would you remember his comment or would you go line by line? No, he was a brilliant speaker as well and he was probably used to working with interpreters as well, which was (...) even better for me, so he did kind of natural breaks in his speech, which was absolutely brilliant.*

Excellent work.

Apart from the individual strategies already mentioned, the account above shows both the interpreter's contingency on the tutor, and her reliance on the working relationship with him. The style of tutors varies greatly, and in several interpreters' accounts, tutor style is cited as being a factor determining how the interpreter negotiates her/his communication rights, as well as the overall running and outcome of the interpreted training. On the one hand, if the tutor is 'brilliant' and his delivery well received by the trainees, and if, in addition, he is 'used to working with interpreters', the interpreter's task is rendered relatively easy and is considered 'excellent' work. In such cases, depending on their pretext and perception of the course purpose, the interpreter might even decide to imitate the tutor in charge of the course, right down to the detail of his delivery style (see below I8 10/302-10). On the other hand, if the tutor's delivery's style is unstructured and difficult to follow, interpreters tend to put their own strategy in place. The choice of strategy is dictated by the interpreters' pretextuality and their perception of the purpose of the course (for an example of such a strategy where an interpreter replaces the tutor's delivery with their own version of the course cf. VIII.3.3. I7 4/110 and I7 5/112-5). This illustrates both the interpreters' contingency on the tutor, and the possibility that the interpreters might live out their role differently.

Another case which again reflects the interpreter's contingency on the socially stronger position of the tutor is described below. This interpreter is asked by a tutor to personally deliver a module in whole or in part without the tutor's intervention by sight translating directly from the slides. This situation is not unique in the interpreters' accounts, and at times appears to be used as a strategy by tutors. For the tutors' part, the pretextuality transpiring from the data causes them to delegate the delivery of the course to the interpreter for two reasons: firstly the time pressure of the training schedule designed by FÁS which does not factor in interpreting; and secondly, what a FÁS monitor called the 'laziness of some of the tutors'.

I4 18/525-4, 34:49- 36:34

(...) when he first said go on, I tried to go on [and deliver the module], but then I said do you want me to translate this slide? No, the next one, do you want me... So he understood or we just discussed it briefly and then he said okay I'll tell you which slides to translate and then once he decided which ones to translate he did not need to mention anything, I just did the course. And I sort of liked that, because I find it useless

that the tutor reads the English, and I translate, when you know Italians don't understand a word of English. I think it was a perfect combination when the tutor said this is the slide I want you to translate to them and you translate.

All of the interviewed interpreters report having had similar experiences of being asked to deliver sections of the training course independently. The interpreter above welcomes the request. Unlike other interpreters, who interpret for groups with at least some degree of knowledge of English, this interpreter has the experience, or rather, culture-bound awareness of the difficulty which many speakers of Latin-based languages have in learning foreign languages. She bases her attitude to the request made by the tutor on this pretextual awareness. Other factors impacting on her choice of strategy in negotiating her communication rights here include the experience of tutors reading the slides, and her training as a translator. As a result, she acquiesces to a certain reduction of the multimodal text of the H&S training to the text contained on the slides. As she succinctly states, 'I find it useless that the tutor reads the English, and I translate'. Other interpreters regard this practice as contentious from a professional and ethical point of view. Another interpreter expresses her own world-view in this regard by saying that she is 'not being prepared to take onto herself responsibility for the passing on of the health and safety message'. Notwithstanding the translator's background which does not include training in professional ethics in interpreting, she nevertheless does manage to negotiate with the tutor a joint strategy to tackle that particular text format.

As we have seen, as a presentation format which combines both visual and verbal material, the SP training course slides contribute to a variety of individual and collective strategies being employed by both interpreters and tutors. Individual strategies range from interpreters using the slides as a form of note taking replacement, to a turn-taking tool, to material for direct sight-translation.

VIII.2.2. DVDs

According to both tutors' and interpreters' accounts, the DVD (cf. chapter II.5.5.4. and II.5.5.6.) is one of the formats that poses the most difficulties. This is how one tutor describes how they work with interpreters in delivering content in DVD format, and in so doing negotiate their mutual communication rights.

T2 16/501-27, 44:28- 46:15

***What about the DVDs? They are all in English...** They are in English unfortunately.*

***How do you work it?** Depending on the interpreter. There is a German interpreter, and I have only worked with her twice, but the first time, even the second time, she would just let the video play and she would not translate, whereas other ones would. And I'd say Martina, are you not going to translate this? Because I expect it to be translated. No, no, no, I just let it play. The other tutors I worked with were happy just to let it play. Pictures speak a thousand words. That saying is true. You know. I wish they would...*

***What about the Construction Health Trust... Okay...There is a lot of words that are not spoken by the pictures I am afraid.** [laughs] Depending on the time frame as regards CWHT. Sometimes the computer breaks. Malfunction okay? So, I pick up the CD in my hand, show it to the interpreter and say will you translate this for me? Yes T2. Has everybody seen the CD? The DVD? [laughs] **That's the most original way of dealing with the DVDs I have ever heard.** [both laugh] And some of them will start laughing. Has everybody seen the DVD [out loud, clear diction]? (...) And the translator would say it in the way I did, whatever the language [repeats with the same diction a series of inarticulate sounds] and they just burst out laughing. I trust you, you trust me. It never happened.*

As a result of the FÁS world-view on interpreting for the H&S training, the DVDs, which are an integral part of the course, are only in English. While some of these contain only a small amount of text and do not pose particular interpreting difficulties (a cartoon-style DVD about noise or the self-explanatory DVD on accidents caused by electricity, cf. II.5.5.4.), others are designed to convey a large amount of information, much of which is culture-bound (a DVD on prevention and hygiene produced by the Irish Construction Workers Health Trust (ICWHT), cf. II.5.5.6.). Each tutor and interpreter, depending on their pretext, adopts a different strategy to compensate for what they often consider an inadequate exercise of power on the part of FÁS. Both interpreters and tutors in their individual accounts expressed a consensus that FÁS should have ensured that the DVDs were dubbed into the required languages.

The tutor in question asks the German interpreter to interpret the DVDs, while the interpreter's own pretext leads the interpreter to believe that interpreting the DVDs is not necessary. In the case of the text-rich DVD by ICWHT, the tutor, no doubt due to previous experience of interpreters struggling with the material, and also under time pressure, opts to leave out the DVD altogether.

As one interpreter says:

I3 7/198, 06:05- 07:37

The DVD, they didn't really ask me to interpret. Sometimes they would just ask me to summarise what I was seeing or what the film would say, but most of the time they would just say let them watch. (...) I don't think interpreting would have added much worth understanding (...)

This interpreter also forms her strategy in relation to DVDs based on her experience of tutors who do not require DVDs to be translated at all, or, at most, only request a summary. The strategy negotiated in this way suits the interpreter's own view of the relative importance of the content of the DVDs for the overall outcome of the training. As a result, however, the trainees do not receive parts of the course as designed. This interpreter's view of the need to interpret the DVDs is shared by one of her colleagues. She describes her own strategy, which consists of providing a short introduction to the DVDs and an explanation of culture-bound concepts contained in the DVD:

I7 5/126 (PART1), 29:54- 33:57

*(...) I think interpreting DVDs is useless. I think it should be done like, you know, the way they have the Safe System of Work Plan multilingual DVD produced by HSA in five different languages or so. That's the way it should be done. Now the ESB DVD [the electricity DVD referred to previously], I never interpreted this DVD and I was always telling the tutor that there was no point because the message is clear enough. I always made a short introduction telling people what they are going to see, what they should focus on, what sort of situations are going to be shown, and it is, I mean, clear enough. But I mean trying to do simultaneous interpreting with those DVDs. (...) **What about the Health Trust, the Construction Health Trust one?** That is even worse...there is more text in it. So again a brief explanation of what the trust is, of what they do or say... I used to do it in a way that they were, let us say, talking about health issues and I would just say in my own words that they organise medical check-ups for cholesterol, cancer, pyrometry. Because only then it makes sense. Otherwise if you were to do it word for word... because [Jesus] it's a nightmare for the viewer, it's a nightmare for you, and it just does not work. And then you have that funny story that the Irish comedian, I mean that is a good part [] because it's clear...*

In the IWCHT DVD, there is a section designed to warn viewers against an

unhealthy lifestyle. An Irish comedian is shown representing the consequences of bad habits such as smoking and overeating. While the Polish interpreter above thinks that the section is 'clear', even without being interpreted, the tutor is of a different opinion. In the account below he exposes his overall strategy with DVDs:

T2 20/624-34, 55:07- 56:37

(...) I would give a copy of the DVD to the interpreters. (...) And then in their own time... Now, if it is a new interpreter, I probably wouldn't expect him to translate if they are not familiar with what's coming up. What I would normally do is to turn the speaker down to a low volume, just high enough and close enough to the interpreter... Yes... So that she can hear or he can hear and then they would talk over the important parts. Like for instance the electricity module. [] the CWHT, I would tell him or tell her just to stick to the key points [] because a lot of it is...rubbish, you know what I mean? Because certainly the Irish guys...the Irish guys...Pat Short is the guy's name, he is a comedian, you know...so the Irish guys know who he is. But it is not the same going. Although he can be funny, it's not the same impact on the foreign nationals you know. They don't know who he is. So they are relying very heavily on the translator or the interpreter you know. I prefer if they can translate videos, if they cannot, as I said the picture [speaks a thousand words]... They should be getting enough information. (...)

The tutor's strategy of giving the DVD to the interpreter does not follow FÁS guidelines which stipulate that all material must remain solely with the tutor. If it is the first H&S training course for the interpreter, the tutor's strategy is led by the interpreter's pretextuality and the tutor does not expect the interpreter to interpret the DVD. Otherwise the tutor assumes that the interpreter will be able to do a voice-over, summarising the salient points of the DVD. It is unclear, however, who is to decide which parts of the DVD are more important and therefore to be interpreted. In any case, the interpreter is clearly contingent upon the tutor's decision for the modality of delivery of the DVD. In his account, the tutor also shows his pretextuality in terms of cultural awareness, and his opinion on the accessibility of the Irish comedian's sketch to a non-English-speaking audience differs from that of the interpreter. This same tutor regards the test as being the second most difficult interpreting format.

In summary, the DVD presentation format in the SP training course demonstrates the FÁS world-view with its lack of consideration for how such material should be presented to a non-English speaking audience. Given this lack of power

sharing, and owing to the fact that this presentation format is fully self-contained in that its information content is not communicated by the tutor in any way, it is often excluded outright from the course delivery, and represents a distinct gap of information from the trainees' perspective. In the next section, let us explore the strategies interpreters and tutors use for delivering the test.

VIII.2.3. Test

The test, or final assessment (cf. chapter II.5.5.7.), follows after the twelve course modules are delivered – in the case of an interpreted course over the space of 11 hours. FÁS's attitude to the interpreting of the H&S training impacts on several aspects of the delivery of the test, making it a presentation format which presents challenges for both tutors and interpreters. Let us see how tutors and interpreters respond to these challenges. One tutor states:

T2 33/1057, 01:32:25- 01:34:31

*(...) It's quite difficult. The code of practice [cf. chapter VI.3.] would tell us, you must say the question in English and then interpret, have it interpreted or translated. I don't do that anymore. **Okay. How do you work it?** I just let the interpreter say the questions, say the question and the three options [of the multiple choice test]. And I would say listen, if they have a problem, repeat the question or let the question go and we'll repeat it at the end. [] I find it's both time-consuming and, at the end of the day, it's mentally draining (...). So keep it short, you just translate.*

According to this tutor, the first problematic aspect of the test lies in the delivery mode prescribed by FÁS. The tutor is required to read each question and the three possible answers, followed by the interpreter's sight translation. Based on his experience with interpreted courses, the tutor takes into account the length of the training day and adopts his own strategy, as described above.

In so doing, he effectively registers a critique as a social agent (Inghilleri 2006, p.59) who is in an advantageous position compared to the interpreter, due to the field, which grants him a certain prestige, and with it, a clear definition of capital, habitus and *illusio* (Inghilleri 2006, cf. chapter III). As we have seen in chapter VI, the means to manage the course, which tutors received from FÁS, are not sufficient, or are incomplete in terms of material, training and guidelines, and this affects their social and

interactional position. Let us now look at the concerns and strategies adopted by interpreters in the context of the final assessment. Their social position is less certain and they are subject to a degree of contingency, firstly on the indirect participant FÁS and secondly on the tutor.

One concern which was brought up by interpreters relates to instances in which they were asked by trainees for help in completing the assessment. Interpreters are vulnerable in this position, due to a lack of professional status and standard tools. Their solutions and strategies are, as a consequence, unique to each, and are strongly influenced by attitude, world-view and pretextuality. A Slovak female interpreter sums up her strategy as follows:

I5 10/273 (PART1), 17:01- 19:42

*(...) they were asking me, they asked me... like... to mumble between the lines or just to let them know what would be the correct answer or whatever. **And what did you do? Did you tell the tutor or did you just pass over it?** I just passed over it. I said, no, that's not my role, that's your role.*

This interpreter is formally trained and well-experienced, which gives her the confidence to make her own judgment and a clear and emphatic decision to deal with a situation, which is in conflict with her professional ethics (Harris 2000, p.4): “what is important and should be decisive is a common-sense judgment on what is essential for effective communication and what is not”.

Another interpreter, again a trained female interpreter, has a slightly different strategy, which involves referring to her own professional conduct and the indirect participant's power to 'sack' her and the tutor if the test is not conducted according to the rules. Using this strategy, the interpreter herself acts through the institutional discourse. Like several other interpreters, she additionally relies on laying out the ground rules clearly for the trainees before the test begins, to avoid requests for help. In so doing, she resorts to the previously discussed strategy of metacommunication on communication, which she effectively uses to coordinate the communication.

I6 25/630-22, I6 25/632-23, 01:04:59- 01:07:28

*(...) They say, will you help us, and I say, no, I cannot. **Do you say to the tutor that that's what's happening? Or do you usually just let it go in Hungarian?** Oh no, it's not a long lengthy discussion. (...) I clarify very, very clearly with the tutor before I do it, well before I do the test... exam, I say that I normally repeat the question or say the*

question and the answers and repeat the whole lot, so I say it twice so that they know. (...) And I do explain to the clients that I cannot help because the tutor can be sacked and I can be sacked. That it's something professional that I cannot compromise and there is no messing about it. (...) And some of the tutors... [] Yeah, and some of the tutors explain as well. That this would be a kind of very significant part of the day when there is no communication [intended between the participants]. And if there is a problem, it has happened, and I said it to the tutor (...) or if I feel that there is a sort of even a hint of any of them [trainees] expecting help [] then I say to the tutor, can you say that? I cannot help and it comes from him and not from me.

A convergence of different attitudes and pretextualities sometimes results in such situations and strategies (cf. chapter III). In speaking about ethical issues emerging during the H&S training interpretation, a Romanian female interpreter mentions:

I3 19/604, 54:50- 58:25

*[] situations when the tutor would become aware that there is a problem of control in the class, and he just wouldn't do anything, and it would affect my performance. (...) **What about in the test situation?** (...) I think sort of my attitude put off any kind of requests which would be to give the answers. I think once or twice I was asked, but mostly as a joke, if I knew the answer, I responded also with a joke, and it didn't cause any problem. But, to be honest, the test was so easy, everything was in the course and even if you weren't paying attention everything was so logical ...so, no, only a couple of requests...But, but, I did mind when some tutors left the room during the test, because... It invites the questions []. And I think...it mostly happened during the test. He would read the questions and then slide out of the door and I wasn't even aware of that [laughter] and after a couple of questions...okay he is gone and a couple of times I went out and I didn't find him anyway and there was one funny situation when the tutor was saying (...) you left the room, but you left the room, but then they were talking among themselves, what do you want me to do? thank you very much, so shall we both go back? [laughter]*

This interpreter has also experience of trainees asking for assistance in the final assessment. Her strategy, informed by her overall attitude – which she defined in another context as being 'professional', also includes the element of humour to which she uses effectively to deflect requests for assistance during the test. Returning to the question of discipline in the classroom, the interpreter mentions instances in which

tutors leave the room. Apart from the issue of discipline which this presents, it leaves the interpreter with the responsibility of overseeing the entire running of the final assessment, which is not her task. In one particular case, the interpreter goes out to look for the tutor which leads to a fraught negotiation of communication rights. While the tutor blames her that the class has remained unsupervised, the interpreter operates through authorised discourse; and in so doing puts into relief the tutor's own role, bringing him back to his duties in the class. This is all achieved through the use of communication tools, without damaging their working relationship. Another interpreter states the following:

I4 30/862, 18:45- 21:31

*(...) during the test... that's a crucial moment, because they go A, B or would it be C and they look at me... **What do you do in a situation like that?** Oh, I just say oh, I don't know, I don't know. **And does the tutor know what's going on? Would you mention it?** No, it would be...if their questions were very evident, I would, I would say he is trying to assert that [], but otherwise I would just say I don't know and usually the tutor, if I say, you know, non so or I would just do the gesture like non so [showing gesture], so the tutor would understand, but they would not be bothered []. **So that's non-verbal communication quite important probably as well...** Yes and especially with Italians you know gesture [showing gestures] I don't know, I cannot speak, but usually if they asked me, as I told you, I would say to the tutor they asked me so and so.*

This Italian interpreter confirms that trainees at times expected her to assist them in the test. Her strategy is to let them know that she cannot do it. She either communicates it to the trainees verbally, in Italian, or, she uses a communication tool, which comes from the world beyond the training room: based on her cultural knowledge, she uses gestures, which makes for a more immediate communication tool with which to interact with the Italian trainees. It is also interesting that when she notifies the tutor, he says that he 'would not be bothered'.

The tutor below also does not mind if trainees 'cheat' during the final assessment.

T7 22/684, 54:32- 57:55

(...) I find occasionally people start whispering to each other CCC [the option C of the answers to the test]? and I say no, no, no and we make a joke out of it, this is supposed to be a test. And usually that sorts it out. But it does not really matter, it's really up to

them and they can cheat, whatever, I don't mind, but I do try obviously if there is a monitor. Normally, I try to help them to pass it if there are any queries. Ask the question to the interpreter, the interpreter asks me, and I answer. That's the only way it can be done. Sometimes interpreters do go off themselves and I say what did you just say? I just explained what that was. And I say you know, it would be better if I explain and then you said it, and usually they just... (...) But it's, you know, I haven't had any problem with it really. Just once it happened like that, but that was it. I knew the answer they have given was correct, although I didn't know the language. You know just from the tone and the way it was said.

The tutor is prepared to turn a blind eye to the fact that the trainees do not complete the test independently unless a representative of the institutional power is present. In cases where the course is not monitored, it is actually the tutor themselves, who, with the mediation of the interpreter, helps the trainees complete the test. The tutor describes his experience with an interpreter in helping the trainees to find the right answer. In so doing, the tutor negotiates his communication rights by intervening, gently but firmly asserting his position of control over both the course and the interpreter's mediating role.

The reason why the tutors occasionally support the trainees in completing the final assessment is because they understand the difficulties faced by the trainees and they are therefore amenable to finding a strategy to help them in some way. In the account below, the tutor is aware of the possible weariness of the trainees who are used to working in construction, rather than spending a full day in a classroom environment. In this way, the tutor bases his strategy to negotiate the communication rights on the communicative situation at hand, taking into account the pretextuality of the other direct participants.

T2 4/99-8, 13:16- 14:57

(...)... emphasising, I would always emphasise, especially in the SP, important points that would come up in the assessments. Because, on the other side of the table, on the occasion, it's difficult to keep your concentration.

Another tutor's account, which shows the negotiation of communication rights in the context of the test presentation format, illustrates the balance between the authorised discourse represented by FÁS's guidelines on the delivery of the test, and democratic iteration in the case of the interpreted H&S training course. The fact that a

course is interpreted is in itself a trigger for re-contextualisation. In other words, the tutor approaches the final assessment for foreign workers differently than in courses delivered to English speaking trainees and displays a willingness to adopt linguistic practices “constructively in a context of dialogue” (Inghilleri 2006, p.63), taking account of other direct participants' (in particular the trainees) pretexts:

T1 19/598-12 (8A), 52:00- 53:24

*(...) it is a test, and (...) it has to be translated so that they can give you the right answer, you know. I am more liberal with non-national tests than I am with straight English courses. I think that you might have a difficulty. And I might point in the right direction, you know. And sometimes, the interpreter might lead the class to the right answer. Not directly tell them, but lead them (...). **And you don't mind that...** I don't in general. Now the Portuguese translator went a little bit too far on occasions and I have asked her/him not to do that (...). I don't mind general advice but at the end of the day, the integrity of the day has to be maintained. And if FÁS discovered that the answers are being given out they would cancel the cards. And they will... they have done and they will do if they find that the course was run in an unfair manner. You have to be fair; you have to give people a fair chance, but you cannot [] either. But no one ever fails, okay, you know what I mean.*

An interpreter has a similar motivation for his initiative which he describes below:

I8 21/651-30, 19:48- 23:40

(...) I know what they need to know by the end of the day, so when I feel that they need to know something more (...) I always try to help, advise, try to help them pass the test. Even if I have to force them to memorise certain facts.

The interpreter feels the trainees need to be supported in completing the course. Although in doing so he is going beyond his area of competency, he is convinced that he is actually supporting the purpose of the course, which in his belief involves the group passing the test. He continues to describe his strategy, which consists in imitating the tutor:

I usually...well the tutor, when it comes to the answers, he in a sort of a way points out the correct answer. (...) Like he wouldn't say the correct answer is A, B, C. But when he reads the question and the answers then he might speak a bit loud when he makes ...when it comes to a difficult question and when it comes to a simple common

sense question when he does not pay attention to these. And how do you relay that? Or do the participants [trainees] actually see it directly from the tutor and you don't need to relay the situation? Or what do you do? Because they are under stress, they actually know that he is trying to tell them something, but they want to make sure in Czech language, but they ask me to interpret the answers again, all of them, and if they are not sure they ask me to do it again. So do you do what the tutor does? I do exactly. Do you use a higher pitch? Exactly.

Tutors and interpreters also count the test as among the most difficult presentation formats of the H&S training because of its wording. The course rules of delivery (cf. chapter VI.3. Code of Conduct for tutors), as well as the content itself pose difficulties for interpreters. Given the lack of preparation and selection of interpreters, this can be detrimental to the delivery of the health and safety message. Let us now explore some of the strategies used by both tutors and interpreters to deal with the wording of the assessment.

T7 21/654, 52:55- 54:32

The test...In what way is it difficult? Well, one – because the language that is used in the questions is not good (...) not even in English. For example, in several of the papers there, you have three choices A, B and C and the answers are all correct partly, but one is a little more correct than the others. And that can be very confusing to explain. Confusing for people in English, never mind translating it back and forth. What I do there is, I would put the thing up on the screen and I would say I'll read it out once and then so and so will interpret for you. Now if they take two to three minutes to interpret, I am not in a rush and then I go back if somebody wants one repeated at the end, which you are not supposed to do, I go back and do that, and I have always done that even when they were monitoring me. I always do it and they always say you cannot do it. If you are in a test somewhere else and there is a query on a time factor, you go through it fast and then you come back. There is no time-frame on this. And it's for them, not for me.

The tutor above opines that the language used in the assessment is incongruous with the wording of the multiple choice test. According to him, the nuances between the correct and incorrect options are difficult to identify even in English, and that is before interpreting comes into play. Aware of this, the tutor opts for a strategy which is to give the interpreter adequate time to transmit the message to the non-English speaking

trainees and, if required by the trainees, to repeat unclear sections at the end. The fact that this goes against the guidelines issued by FÁS does not prevent the tutor from using this strategy, even in the presence of a FÁS monitor, because he regards it as useful to the trainees. In adopting this strategy, the tutor displays his preference for democratic iteration over authorised discourse. He is willing to take up usual language practice in a context of dialogue with the other participants and, based on the pretext and needs of the parties involved in the convergence, negotiate a new linguistic format which suits the participants involved in the interaction.

An interpreter affirms that the linguistic issue does not necessarily concern only interpreted courses:

I6 10/253 (PART1)-7, 27:12- 29:31

(...) And that goes for the test as well, that you get through the day really well, because it's properly spoken language and you were able to interpret it. But even for an English speaker, the wording of the test is just horrific. And it got to a stage some tutors actually say just I know that the wording is horrible, don't ask exactly what it means and just don't follow the style or the register or the wording. And that's, I think, the only way to do it because otherwise there are double negations and a double negation in Hungarian is not necessarily affirmation so it's quite I think... and it's not just necessarily for foreigners or non-English speakers.

This is a mutual strategy employed by tutor and the interpreter. The tutor, having been informed by the interpreter about the issue and being himself aware of the unsatisfactory wording of the exercises, takes control of the situation and implicitly encourages the interpreter not to rely solely on the prescribed language of the test, but to use his/her own tools to transmit the questions in an accessible way, a request the interpreter acquiesces to. The following example, which is not isolated, involves a qualified female interpreter who also adopts a strategy that relies on a tacit understanding with the tutor to deviate from the indirect participant's guidelines and to negotiate the meaning in terms of format. The interpreter, aware of her language combination as well as grammatical problems in the assessment wording, collects the six existing versions of the assessment questions and multiple choice answers, and of her own volition translates them and then reads out the translated version during the interpreted courses:

I3 6/189-4a, 04:30- 06:05

(...) I just found that the questions were phrased wrong and I informed the tutor, like mistakes in singulars and plurals. It was very confusing, because of that you might have failed the question. But otherwise, no, the test was quite easy and I think the actual sense of the question came from the presentation anyway [] and I think by the fifth course or so, I got copies of all the tests and I translated them for myself so then I had my own translations and I was just reading them (...).

This interpreter's experience and academic interest in interpreting informs her comments, and in turn illustrate how FÁS's attitude to the interpreting aspect of H&S training filters down through the interpreted text and the delivery rules to the interpreted exchange on the ground. Her comments also reflect the extent to which issues of language relate to the world beyond the training room. Like another previously quoted interpreter, this interpreter is aware of recurrent as well as new terms, which she is not in a position to learn due to FÁS' sanction on releasing course material. The interpreter also speaks about strategies she adopts in interpreting concepts which she is unable to find equivalents for in her native language, and the difficulties this generates in the running of the test. Through her cultural knowledge, the interpreter also identifies other reasons why some concepts are difficult to translate. According to her, this explains why, if the concepts are not translated correctly or are translated only partially, they can have an impact on transmitting the health and safety message to the trainees. Since the information which is passed on from the tutor to the trainees refers to the world beyond the training room, and to the trainees' pretextual perception of health and safety coming from their native environment, their ability to take on board unfamiliar Irish health and safety rules in their day-by-day work on the construction site might be impaired as a result:

I6 7/176 (PART1), 19:00- 22:16

(...) I have done a few courses, I know the material relatively well, but there are always words, every single time there are new words. And there are also words I have not found an equivalent of and they are crucial words, some of them come up in tests, some of them are objects and you cannot really relate to them, the 'stop blocks' for example. So it's really difficult. Once you start to talk about a stop block in English, everybody knows what you are talking about. But if you try to translate it, you have to kind of explicate it, and then you give away the question, which is basically what is a stop block

*used for. That's one of them. And the other one was a push stick. And I could go on because there is quite a few. And some of them are crucial as well, because they also highlight differences between the culture in Hungary and here, and what is considered a risk and a hazard and a danger here and what at home. And what is considered a responsibility... and everything goes back to the suing culture. (...) **So it's not only words but it's concepts as well?** Yeah and it's not only concepts it's the underlying culture and it goes beyond the construction workers' culture. And that's very difficult. And another of these concepts which is very, very interesting is bullying. There is no word for bullying in Hungarian.*

As we have seen in the accounts above, both tutors and interpreters are involved in a search for strategies to compensate for the indirect participant's absence of distribution of power.

VIII.2.4. Exercises

A similar issue of wording identified by some of the direct participants in the previous section is also pertinent to another of the presentation formats, the exercises (cf. chapter II.5.4. and II.5.5.6.). From the accounts of the direct participants, it transpires that the exercises present both tutors and interpreters with specific challenges, becoming a site for negotiation of communication rights requiring both individual and mutual strategies. Exercises are an H&S training presentation format, which is integral to each of the 12 modules, and contain a few 'sub-formats' as follows:

1. questions with true/false answers, which the trainees receive printed in English and which the interpreter sight-translates;
2. accident scenarios, where the trainees need to identify the issues which led to the dangerous occurrence, again printed and sight-translated;
3. Safe System of Work Plan pictograms to complete virtual construction tasks such as building a roof (cf. chapter II.5.5.3.). This format uses tables of pictograms with sporadic use of terminology in English.

In the statement below, the issue of wording in the first of these exercise types is commented upon:

I6 10/253-7, 27:12- 29:31

*(...) What I find incredibly difficult is the practice exercises. **And how do they work?***

Ah, the wording is horrible. I just find the wording...and I... actually one of the tutors asked me to translate them into Hungarian. I have the Hungarian version so I (...) bring them along and practically read because of the wording.

Similar to the test assessment format, a mutually agreed strategy is adopted by tutor and interpreter, which brings about a new communicative practice, consisting in forgoing the obligatory reading of the exercise in English by the tutor, and replacing with a translated text read directly by the interpreter. This strategy presupposes a recognition on the part of the tutor of the legitimacy of the interpreter's linguistic knowledge; the tutor views this as having the potential to inform the interpreted training.

Again we find that a particular text format inherent in the multimodal character of the SP training course as designed by the indirect participant can prompt the direct participants to mutually agree to a strategy which favours democratic iteration over authorised discourse. I will now continue by exemplifying in brief some different types of communicative situations whose complexity is increased by the variety of presentation formats contained in the interpreted SP H&S training.

VIII.2.5. Real-life experiences

At times, tutors involved the group in sharing real-life experiences, with the aim of improving overall communication. Such communicative situations can be difficult for some interpreters, while they are welcomed by others. In the convergence described below, the 'real-life experience' presentation format (cf. chapter II.5.5.) poses a different challenge to the interpreter, and the negotiation of communication rights in this context requires a different strategy.

The interpreter in this convergence is a qualified female interpreter, whose general idea of the purpose of the course is further illustrated in section VIII.3.3. (I7 4/110 and I7 5/112-5). The interpreter's strategy is to design 'her own version' of the course, allowing her to overcome various challenges deriving from the exercise of power by the indirect participant, such as appropriateness in terms of register or the issue of the length of the course, which increases with interpreting. The interpreter's strategy of designing 'her own version of the course' falls short in the context of the informal presentation format of 'real-life experiences', which is necessarily unique to

each course.

I7 5/126, 29:54- 33:57

(...) the real-life examples... Well, that's the only area where you might have to do it nearly word-for-word. Because obviously these stories or whatever they talk about are real-life stories and they (...) vary from tutor to tutor. But on the other hand, you see, every tutor works in the same way, so they have their own template (...), they use the same stories all the time, unless something unusual, extraordinary happens, which hardly ever does. So if you, let's say, work with John, you know what story he is going to tell, so even in terms of stories, real-life stories or examples, you can actually have them prepared in advance if you remember what the tutor was saying, what terms you might have had problems with, and then you verify them at home. You know that sort of way. (...)

The strategy adopted here is one that has already been mentioned – involving longer-term collaboration with the tutor, which affords the interpreter the opportunity to learn the experiences and stories which the tutors recalls, including the terminology.

That the interpreter succeeds in noting terminology for a later terminological search, owes much to her background in conference interpreting, which has granted her the necessary skills, i.e. note-taking and a trained memory, to cope with such unknown terms. (An interpreter with a pretextuality, which includes translator training, complains about not being able to retain the unknown terminology, unless she writes it down, which she is unable to do while interpreting).

In this example we see that a form of democratic iteration introduced by the tutor has the potential to complicate matters for the interpreter. We have also seen how in this convergence, the interpreter is able to fall back on tools inherent to the interpreter profession to manage this situation over time in order to effectively transmit such informal content to the trainees.

VIII.2.6. Q&A

H&S interpreting has been described earlier using the concept of interpreting as a continuum (Pöchhacker 2002, p.96, cf. chapter III). This term is apt when we consider the variety of text formats in the presentation, which span the realms of both

conference and community interpreting. The remaining two formats to be considered here (Q&A and Registration) tend more towards community interpreting types of interaction, involving bilateral interpreting, and at times interpreting in short-consecutive mode (Pöchhacker 2002, p.100, cf. chapter III). They both highlight the triadic dynamic of the main participants (Mason 1999, p.159, cf. chapter III) characteristic of community interpreting exchanges. As such, such situations present interpreters with complex communicative dynamics involving not just communication with the tutor but also with the trainees whose own purpose, pretextuality and attitudes contribute new elements into the emerging interpreting habitus.

Question-and-answer exchanges involving all the three direct participants – the tutor, the interpreter and the trainees (cf. chapter II.5.5.) – might take place at any point during the day, depending largely on the tutor's pretext and perception of the purpose of the course.

In the following statement, an interpreter describes her experience of an interaction with the third direct participant in the interpreted H&S training course, and the strategy she adopts in this context:

I6 12/311, 33:49- 35:10

(...) if the tutor for some reason feels threatened or is not so confident about it [groups' feedback] or simply does not like people reacting back, it doesn't work. So I think that is cultural and the tutors would say actually that it varies a lot from nationality to nationality in their experience. Once I did have a problem. There was one guy, they were late and they weren't coming from far. So we explained everything at the beginning and they arrived nearly three-quarters of an hour late. The tutor was very generous because we were just finishing the admin part and he hadn't actually started the course per se and let them in. (...) During the day this guy was very inconsiderate and kept talking and making faces and actually I got very fed up because he was sitting right in front of me and he was just a nuisance to everybody. So then he asked a question which had been covered when they were not there and late and I said I am really sorry, but we have covered that and if you have any other questions you can ask it later. And it was totally out of order, inappropriate...

From this statement, several things emerge. Firstly, she makes a general comment about the tutor's reaction to the group's feedback, showing how the manner in which such interactions take place depends very much on the pretextuality of the tutor

involved. Moreover, the interpreter speaks about the element of culture, belonging to the world beyond the training room, and which, according to the interpreter and reportedly also to the tutor, impacts on the type of feedback given by the group. The interpreter then describes a particular convergence in which a course participant abuses the tutor's generous attitude. The interpreter's ability to work is impaired by such behaviour and she sees its negative effect on the overall communicative situation. Eventually this leads her to adopt a strategy which she considers as contrary to her own professional principles, but which emerges from the dynamics of the moment and which she ultimately deems as beneficial to the overall communicative situation. Instead of relaying the participant's question to the tutor, she responds directly, letting the trainee know that from her point of view his manner is inappropriate.

Here we see where a text format which involves a triadic dynamic between all of the direct participants, can lead to a situation in which the authority of the tutor can be undermined by the trainees. In this case, the interpreter reinforces her contingency on the tutor as the point of authority in the exchange by stepping outside of her own profession, and disrupts communication which she deems unhelpful to the overall purpose of the course from the tutor's point of view. It is likely that the interpreter's motivation for these unprompted communicative moves stems from her sense of purpose of the course.

In the next section, let us consider a different presentation format which involves the interpreter interfacing directly with the trainees.

VIII.2.7. Registration

As evidenced by the Safe Pass training programme timetable in fig.II.1. in chapter II.5.4., Registration is integral part of the training day and constitutes a presentation format in itself; one which puts some specific demands on the interpreter, who is required to fulfil several tasks simultaneously (Pasquandrea 2011, cf. chapter IV).

The interpreter in the following account describes her pretext, attitude and consequent strategy for interpreting the filling of FÁS registration forms. These forms must be filled by hand at the start of the course, following a template which is projected like the other slides. FÁS requires the paper work to be carried out to a certain standard,

which can often be a challenge for the trainees of the course. Through the lack of exercise of power on the part of FÁS, this poses a challenge for both the tutor and interpreters. An interpreter says:

I6 11/261 and 271-8, 29:31- 31:21

*It's funny, sometimes I feel, because I teach as well and because I tour guide, I find that a lot of the time, I impart information, and I find that I can be quite assertive in these situations. Most tutors actually ask me to go through that bit with the clients or I just say do you need help? if I see it's kind of problematic. It takes so long. (...) I just feel it takes away (...) from the day as well. And you get tired by the time you finish that. So I go through it slide by slide and we do it together. It's like with kids. And one, at least one of them, will make a mistake anyway, so you just have to say one of you will make mistake, it's fine, we'll go through it together, first line, second line, third line, and you go through it and it's just so much easier. And they don't...the tutor might say, you know, is everything okay? or they might collect it, or everybody has their own way: they will do the pictures or you will do the pictures... **That's the photographs, is it?** Yeah, yeah, yeah. And I just go along, you know. At that stage I am trying to be as cooperative as possible because you just want to get through it (...).*

In the interpreter's account, the manner in which the macro-context – as set by the indirect participant – impacts on the interpreted interaction. Also, the pretextuality of the participants (the interpreters and tutors) can impact on the actual communicative situation at hand. In their mutual strategies for negotiation of communication rights, both the interpreter and the tutor seem to be taking into account time constraints and FÁS-prescribed schedule and delivery rules. The time pressure and the standards required for form-filing prompt the interpreter and/or the tutor to look for ways to reduce the required effort. In the convergence above, this approach is necessitated also by the trainees' pretextuality, who have little experience in form filing. The mutual strategy adopted by the tutor and the interpreter is facilitated by the fact that the interpreter's parallel work is teaching and tour-guiding. She is therefore trained in 'imparting information', as we can see from the manner she uses to communicate with the trainees. This pretextuality becomes 'her way to cope', as another interpreter put it in chapter VI.). This reassures and encourages the trainees, helping the course content contained in the registration part to be delivered more efficiently. As noted by the interpreter, the tutor's pretextuality also comes into play, since each tutor invariably has

his own way of structuring this part of the course. In some cases, the interpreter, being contingent on the tutor, ends up sight-translating the forms, other times she goes around the class helping the individual trainees to complete their sheets. She might, as mentioned above, make herself available for other, non-interpreting tasks, such as taking photographs of the trainees, which, along with assistance in filling the form, facilitates FÁS in issuing a Safe Pass card.

In this section we have seen how the particular presentation format of the registration, puts pressure on all the direct participants in the SP training. In the particular convergence illustrated above the interpreter is able to use skills not specific to her interpreting function but which come from her life experience, and which help her to ‘cope’ with a situation not properly considered by the indirect participant.

As we have seen in the previous sections, the interpreted H&S training includes a range of texts or presentation formats (Bühlig 2004, cf. chapter III) each of which presents the interpreter and at times the tutor and trainees with specific challenges. Interpreters respond to such challenges through use of a suitable interpreting mode, the choice of register or a particular socio-communicative skill such as public speaking. In their various responses interpreters draw on their own pretextuality and interpreter tools where possible to compensate for the lack of exercise of power on the part of the indirect participant.

VIII.3. General text and content-related issues

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the aspect of multimodality in the course as designed by the indirect participant is not limited to the variety of presentation formats but also encompasses the character of the text, terminology (multimodality in the sense of multi-topical) and language features specific to each or all of these formats (multimodality in the sense of language and speech genres).

In chapter VI some consequences of the course design in terms of text were illustrated. Here we see how these are dealt with by the direct participants and what strategies and tools they use to do so. Let us start by looking at the strategies which the direct participants use to tackle the multimodal content in terms of its repetitive character and sheer volume.

VIII.3.1. Content character: repetitiveness and content volume

Here an interpreter comments on the character of the general course content and on the strategy she adopts to tackle the challenges she faces:

I7 2/37-0 (PART3), 19:00- 22:28

Content-wise, I think the way it is designed... It is repetitive... Yes, it does not serve the purpose of a basic awareness course. There is too [much] unnecessary information, and working with different tutors, you learn that half of it at least goes into the bin and nobody talks about certain things.

The way in which this interpreter understands ‘a basic H&S awareness course’, does not correspond to the way in which the course was designed by FÁS. One of the key faults which she levels at the course content is its repetitive nature, another relates to the sheer volume of information. The interpreter's pretextuality (she is a formally trained interpreter and a director of an interpreting and translation company) allows her to have a lot of leverage into the delivery of the course, and she has enough professional tools to draw upon in working out a strategy for course terminology. To this end, she prepares her own glossary of terms, and even re-designs the text of the course to a certain extent, as we have already seen previously. Thanks to her background and personality, she is confident in putting to work her pretextuality of prior collaboration with several tutors. Based on this, she does not worry about not knowing all the terminology, because she has seen that certain terms are never mentioned in courses.

Another female interpreter, this time un-qualified, perceives the repetitiveness of the content in a similar way, but adopts quite a different strategy in this respect. She struggles to keep motivated, but feels, nevertheless, that she should not convey her perception of repetitiveness and lack of motivation to the trainees:

I1 14/423, 41:11- 42:20

I think as an interpreter and as a receiver of the information, if it is too repetitive you might have a tendency to be like yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, I know all this. As an interpreter, I think you need to be aware not to pass on the being not motivated by repeating all the time. You have to kind of make an effort to pass on motivation, basically say everything as if it is fresh, new. Even if sometimes it's very difficult...

For a formally-trained female interpreter, it is the figure of the 'tutor' who becomes key to tackling the course text, since it is the tutor who is presumed to have the course under control from the content point of view, and it is the tutor's own delivery style that makes the course easy to follow for the other direct participants (the interpreter and the trainees). Again we see the contingency of the interpreter on the tutor; however, the interpreter can complement it by living out her/his own role creatively and using interpreting tools to help co-create the interpreting habitus.

I5 12/320-7, 19:42- 23:26

(...) he was kind of, he was explaining okay, he was giving the examples and he was handling the situation very well because he was pointing out okay, I mentioned that in the first part...logical consistency throughout...so it was really easy to follow. And even for the guys sitting in the lecture room. They did not seem to have any problems understanding. And the result of it was plenty of questions afterwards. So they were really into it, they were enjoying the class, I think.

The following illustrates the approach of one of the tutors, who, thanks to her background as a teacher, uses repetitiveness as a strategy for getting the message across.

T4 16/501, 16:23- 17:56

*(...) The repetitiveness of the course.... **Would you feel that there is...?** Yes. It is a difficulty I remember one guy he said you said that already and I said I know, and I'll say it again. [laughter] **That is a good example.** You say that, but while teaching you just need to say things twenty times, don't you? So that kind of a comment is very annoying, you know. So the repetitiveness, getting the point across, I am used to it from teaching so I don't think it's a challenge, I just think it has to be done, I think, yeah.*

The statement above shows to what degree the attitude and strategies adopted by each person depend on their pretextuality and the purpose they see in the course, as well as on the combination of institutional features with biographic and social features of all the direct participants in each individual convergence.

Apart from the issue of repetitiveness in the SP training course specifically, there is also the wider issue of repetitiveness which extends beyond the SP training room to other H&S training courses, which the trainees must attend to be permitted to work on Irish construction sites:

T2 6/181, 22:15- 23:15

But regarding the instructor (...) I feel like they respect a lot the guys. Which is great.

Because they [the trainees] are there, in a three-day course, talking about something that they have been doing all their life. With someone they don't know, someone in a suit. [The tutor knows that] those guys know what I am talking about, but unfortunately I have to say that all over again. And they make it all very clear. They start the course asking how many years of experience have you had, three, five or whatever. And then the instructor knows that Epsa employees...that most of them have experience. So they [the tutor] kind of say, I know guys, you know everything I am going to say now...

In this section we have seen that the repetitive character of the course content is perceived differently by different interpreters, and whose responses range from an active attempt to diminish this perceived flaw through their own intervention in the course delivery, to an attitude of contingency on the tutor, who at times used the repetitive nature of the content to better communicate the health and safety message to the trainees.

VIII.3.2. Terminology and concepts

The variety of presentation formats in the course design determines the type of terminology which accompanies the individual formats, which make the text multimodal in the sense of multi-topical. Here we see how this aspect of multimodality of H&S training is dealt with by the direct participants, what strategies and tools they use to do so.

The tutor below speaks of the issue of course terminology, not taken into account by FÁS, as evidenced by its decision to stipulate the same content for English and interpreted courses, and in its drafting of the Code of Conduct for tutors. The only guideline on terminology which can be found in the Code of Conduct is contained in point 9.16 (cf. Appendix F), which, as already shown in chapter VI cannot be easily satisfied.

T6 9/257, 18:37- 22:45

I'd give them the material and say, read through that if you need to... it was very difficult, you were handing over bits of paper which you weren't meant to be handing over, which is ridiculous, eh. I did make a list up there one time, try to make a list of terms and terminology and I passed it on to a couple of interpreters, but it became, I didn't feel that that was my... that was [] they should have done that. They were dealing

with people who were coming into the country, providing a service that needed to be provided, and if they were interested in standards and accreditation, they should have seen the area of the nuances themselves. This is what we need to look at and try and standardise it.

In his account, the tutor expresses his frustration at having to strike a balance between institutional discourse, on the one hand, and negotiating issues of linguistic practices in a context of dialogue with the interpreters, on the other. Here, the tutor became aware of the interpreters' difficulty of not having access to technical terminology prior to the course. The tutor attempts to find a strategy to compensate for this lack of exercise of power on the part of the indirect participant, by compiling a glossary of terms to hand to interpreters. However in so doing, he finds himself stepping outside his own area of competency. The tutor comes from a trade union background, hence his sensitivity to social issues, a pretextuality which transpires from the comment above.

Interpreters also mention having made use of glossaries, and although it is more within their area of competence to do so, the impossibility of gaining access to the course material meant that they were unable to fully realise this strategy (cf. chapter VI. I3 5/129)

Later we will see interpreters talking about their perspectives on the issue of terminology, and strategies which they use to deal with it. The interpreter below gives examples of terms she does not know even after delivering multiple courses. Due to the course intensity and pace, she does not have the opportunity to note them down in order to find and learn them. The interpreter also brings up the issue of exhaustive lists written in English on slides, in particular in modules dealing with topics such as confined spaces, vibrating machines, diseases or chemicals. In a course delivered in English, trainees are more likely to register the information, because what they receive directly from the tutor unmediated by an interpreter is reinforced by the English-language slides. Unless they have a good command of the English language, trainees in an interpreted course, depend on the interpreter for the information they receive, be it the tutor's own delivery or the content of the slides. It is therefore inevitable that non-English speaking trainees are receiving only part of the information which English-speaking trainees are able to capture. The interpreter illustrates the way she negotiates her communication rights around this issue. Such issues have been corroborated repeatedly by other

interpreters. The tutor has little or no control over the amount of information transmitted by the interpreter. While the interpreter regrets not being able to give the full list, she adopts the strategy of giving just a sample of the terms in question. While this leaves some of the content of the course uncovered, in the ultimate analysis, it may actually lead to the more successful communication of the remaining H&S message. In consideration of the often-cited issues surrounding excessive content, the presence of the interpreter in this case actually serves to reduce the content, and, as a result, to streamline the communication.

I4 14/402, 08:42- 23:03

*(...) the odd words that I cannot remember when I am at home (...)... **Can you think of anything?** Yeah, the four legal points, notices, you know, there are four legal instances for those I have never found a traduce... an equivalent. You know, the right words. Maybe they are... avviso di garanzia. I don't even remember them because I don't have time to write them down. Then there is riveting, chipping... every time I think I will look them up. **And what do you do with them when they come up?** I try to avoid translating them. The same problem [I have with] sparacchiodi and the contraccollo...and then all the verbs related to vibration... vibrating machines and then all the confined spaces: there is a list of holes... pozzo, pozzetto... you know, silos... I tried to translate all of them, but you just make a long list of what it could be and say and the likes. Yes, that's how I would translate that. It's difficult (...). So if there is five or six I might translate three or four and say and so on.*

Another interpreter's strategy to tackle the vast amount of construction-related technical terms is as follows:

I7 2/37-0, 19:00- 22:28

You, you can, I mean, work around gaps in your knowledge if you have the resources and if you talk to people. You know, trainees are usually experienced in construction so they know better; so sometimes you can ask the tutor in a specific way, you know, to explain or to clarify or to give an example, but the course itself is pretty straightforward. I have actually prepared a glossary of terms in the SP presentation and I have it here on me. At least half of the terms that are on the slides are not being used in the course, at least, which is only reasonable because the presentation, I think, is absolutely useless and it should be redesigned. (...) There is no point, say, enumerating or listing the illnesses or the diseases. You would not do it. You can give an example of

one or two and that's it. (...)

As mentioned above, the interpreter (with a background in translation) would have liked to have been able to transmit the full list of technical terms to the trainees. However, this interpreter consciously makes it a strategy not to give all the terms. This strategy is dictated by her understanding of the purpose of the course, and her related view of the problematic quality of the texts, as well as her belief that the trainees need to receive less rather than more information. Indeed, the interpreter does not consider the text with the existing amount of information in it as fulfilling the function of a basic H&S awareness course. This can be considered a personal strategy of the interpreter, since it does not rely on the relationship with the tutor. In choosing such strategies, interpreters either consciously or unconsciously rely on their own pretextuality.

Let us now look at a few different strategies based on the interpreter's attitudes and background which relate to terminological issues in the H&S training. In the first of these examples we will see a background-based strategy adopted by an interpreter, who consciously addresses her lack of terminology with a specific interpreting tool, using generic terms or short explanations instead of direct equivalents which she does not know or cannot remember. The fact that she is fully qualified enables her to use this interpreting tool. This also gives her the confidence, or, as she says, the 'attitude', to use effectively any other tools and resources available to her, including her mother's expert help.

I3 18/550-21, 48:50- 51:14

I always expect to be inadequate in this kind of field. I don't have a technical degree, I don't have a technical background. In terms of the actual interpreting during courses, [] I did have a problem with and I didn't always managed to [avoid] (...) the vagueness and the more generic phrasing and short explanations for lack of equivalent []. But after a few courses, I just took it for granted that that happened anyway and I don't think that level of inadequacy can be overcome easily by a person without a very technical, specialised background anyway, so my attitude was I am fully prepared if anything comes up, I can resolve it. [] would ask about my background and I would say yes, my mum is a [] engineer. It did happen during some breaks that I would ring her and ask her listen what is this?

Another interpreter, this time unqualified, takes quite a different approach to the terminology problem and the impossibility of gaining access to course materials in

advance to study and prepare for the assignment. She refers to the CSCS H&S training (cf. chapter II.3.) as follows:

I2 18/568, 56:43- 57:51

***Did you have a dictionary with you?** Yes, I always bring a dictionary with me...**Did it help?** Not really, because what happens is that all these technical terms, even if I bring a dictionary or not, I know most of them, the names, but I wouldn't know where they would be on an operating machine. You have a swing area. You can kind of imagine where the swing area of the machine is because you know what a swing is, you know what an area is. You know what I mean. But he is talking about the radius of a turning machine, the back part, which part exactly does it stand for? So, you know, the names, you know, [] but does it link to that... **You need a technical dictionary that would actually give the names...** That would be a very good idea actually for DCU to give like a technical explanation about the technical terms. You know I wouldn't say DCU but even like the manual might have those things. But the manual has, like, 300 pages. And I don't, [] I am not going to read 300 pages to memorise the manual [] about the machine anyway.*

The interpreter's attitude and related strategy comes from the world beyond the training room, and is dictated by the fact that interpreting is her second job, and even if she received the material in advance, she would not invest much of her own time and energy into it outside the assignments.

Like another trained interpreter cited above, in the next example, the qualified female interpreter is able to leverage the trainees' industry knowledge. The interpreter's training and confidence gives her a clear illusio (Inghilleri 2006, p.61). She 'knows what to do' and she has a certain level of control over the situation. In this context, she takes advantage of the opportunity to negotiate her communication rights by accepting the trainees' help on certain technical terminology, without losing face (Mason 1999, p.159) or compromising her professional status in front of the trainees or the tutor:

I5 7/170 (PART1), 10:25- 13:02

*(...) The construction terminology was kind of okay, because I was doing the research so I kind of knew []. But the guys... I got the feedback from the guys... there... so they corrected me if I said something wrong. **Oh, the audience would correct you, would give you help?** They gave me help. **And you are happy enough to accept it...***

On the other hand an untrained interpreter in the same situation, in the next

example, is in quite a different position from the tutor's and the trainees' point of view:

I2 19/596 (PART1), 57:51- 01:01:32

*But the second thing I wouldn't... I found it much nicer to do to interpret when you don't have any English speaker in the class. Because first of all, you'd be more trusted by the group, because they rely on you... **That's when there isn't an English speaker...** Yes, when there isn't an English speaker or when there is one, but they can point out the technical terms []. First of all, it makes my job more interesting because I feel then more useful to be there. (...) And whenever I didn't know, it was a very technical part, I would say the name in Portuguese, and the guys, oh yeah, you are talking about this, you know what I mean. (...) I would say like swing area in Portuguese and they would say ah you are talking about that. They would kind of know, you know, so I thought it was more interesting. You feel more self-confident in doing a job because if you are interpreting like for a group who knows what you are talking about very well and they have all like the lay knowledge about that, so it's kind of harder to be trusted by the group if you are in these situations. I am pretty sure that other interpreters don't really care about that, but I do. (...) if you had a professional interpreter it would be much better. You know, I have experience in interpreting, but I am not a professional interpreter. **And did anyone ever doubt your qualifications or did they ask about your experience?** Yeah. The last tutor I had kind of came to me and asked me did you study sociology, oh you took English and sociology and I didn't take any English and sociology, so he was very concerned about it. [Also] because I am very young, 25, and if you kind of look at me... (...), if she is an interpreter, she probably doesn't have that many years of experience. I don't, I have like two years, when I came to Ireland I used to [] English but it was always my second job. I never had that as my first job. Mainly because I wasn't studying the whole time and mainly the last year, took a post-grad and I would much rather if they called me and I had to go to college, I would just go and do my job at college, do you know what I mean? I wasn't... **So did the tutor have some doubts?** Well he [] actually asked me to sign a paper which talked about my background.*

Here the tutor casts doubt on the interpreter's ability to deal with terminology if the group does not have some command of the English language. This interpreter finds it difficult to negotiate her communication rights in other respects as well. This is due to her background among other things: she is an untrained interpreter and, as such, is fully

contingent on FÁS and on the tutor and is unable to control the situation by means of interpreting tools, as we have seen other interpreters doing. The convergence of the institutional, biographical and social features in this case is illustrated by the interpreter in the quote below, when she describes the tutor's style, characterised by long chunks of speech and signs of impatience towards the interpreter. The interpreter is reluctant to interrupt the tutor, even when the amount of information he is delivering exceeds her retention level. The interpreter is unable to coordinate her reception of the text, leaving it up to the tutor; and lacks tools which would assist her in dealing with the situation such as note-taking.

I2 14/424, 45:09- 48:00

*I get an instructor who is very Irish or English...not very patient and doesn't really respect the interpreter. (...) and there and then talks for five minutes straight...you know, you cannot [] interpret after five minutes someone has talked. You are going to get one or two sentences and miss a whole bunch of things. And you cannot every time he talks wave at him to stop. You kind of, you start speaking and then if he doesn't stop speaking... **Did you ever think maybe of agreeing at the beginning of the training (...)**... I think most of them kind of realise... (...) there was one time when I had an instructor like that, but I had him also in a previous assignment and it was okay. So I really think that he was a little bit pissed off or not in a very good day. It was like really kind of laid back I am going to do that, because I can, and talk, and be very impatient about things. (...) **what did you do in that situation?** Well, he was kind of impatient, so first of all I would try to...I know it's not very nice, like he is talking, and I start talking at the same time. But then I would make him stop for a while, because there is no point in him sitting there and talking for five minutes and all the guys look at him...five minutes...there is no brain that can remember what was said in five minutes.... **And you wouldn't take notes....** There isn't even time to do that. Ideally he should stop like two minutes you know. Say something and let you do your job. **And did the slides help you in that actually or is he talking...** Sometimes they do, and sometimes they don't. Because they have like pictures [] so if you are not quite sure what he is talking about, if it is very technical. But what is great that some of the instructors I have had, I remember he was very nice about the interpreting. [] He kind of...and he even, when he knew he was going to talk about a technical thing, he would advise me first, listen, I am talking about a very mechanical part, and tell me how it works...*

By contrast, in the final example below, a different interpreter uses her note-taking skill as her background-based strategy:

I5 18/491-14 (PART1), 34:23- 38:00

(...) I did not get that feeling that I missed parts of that. Probably that was again connected to the fact that I was taking notes, I was taking the most important things from his speech and trying to take everything off that...

The ban on access to terminology for the course on the part of the indirect participant in the tutor guidelines is one of the most problematic issues which the interpreter must deal with, making it next to impossible to transmit the full content of the course to the trainees. The sheer volume of such specialised terminology results in a very steep learning curve for interpreters who can only incrementally incorporate such knowledge into future training sessions. Interpreters respond to this challenge in various ways coloured by their own attitude and understanding of the purpose of the course, sometimes choosing to reduce the volume of content to the crucial points; sometimes enlisting the help of the trainees in actively constructing the sense of unknown terminology; sometimes using generic explanations based on an understanding of the terms rather than being blocked by a lack of knowledge of direct equivalents for the terms in the target language. Invariably interpreters' ability to employ such strategies is proportionate to their own experience, and confidence which can allow them to step outside of their position of contingency on the tutor.

Of the many issues which emerged from the data, I will now consider some selected aspects of language and interpretation. Depending on pretextuality and attitudes of the direct participants, these aspects of language are dealt with in a variety of ways, and because they were not taken into account by the indirect participant, the tutors and interpreters are left to exercise their own share of power based on their own purpose.

VIII.3.3. Register, slang, jokes, swear words

The aspect of multimodality of the SP course as designed by the indirect participant includes the multitude of language features and speech genres specific to each or all of the text formats (cf. VIII.). Among these for example are jokes which are part and parcel of the delivery-style for many tutors. We have heard previously that both interpreters and tutors use humour as a connective tool to improve communication with the trainees. Tutors use jokes mostly in their comments on slides or real-life

experiences. Several interpreters spoke about their approach to interpreting jokes. A formally-trained interpreter, with a particular interest in interpreting jokes, illustrates a connection between the multimodality of the text and gender issues, when she speaks about interpreting 'sex jokes'. Several interpreters mentioned tutors telling jokes with a gender subtext. This they ascribe to the male construction environment, which, in the case of H&S training courses, are almost entirely male, with the exception, that is, of the female interpreter.

I3 8/241, 10:40- 12:59

*(...) jokes...some jokes are very specific to the actual text or actual situation to the field, but other jokes would be just the tutor's personal jokes. I would interpret everything, I actually have an interest in translating jokes, so I take it as a challenge, I think I do quite well interpreting jokes usually...**The laughter confirms it...** Yes, the laughter confirms it. (...) The other problem that I had with the jokes is that a couple of tutors make sex jokes. So, I think a couple of times... well sometimes I would translate them, when I didn't want to bother with saying no, I am not interpreting those. But on some days, when I was particularly sensitive to those jokes, I would say no [] I am not interpreting that. **You would say that to the tutor?** Yeah, kind of, confidentially, I would ...not to undermine him...or sometimes some of them would kind of realise it and they would say oh I3 I understand... you don't need to interpret that... [laughs] **That's nice, that shows a nice relationship...** Yeah, yeah, yeah.*

This interpreter's strategy for interpreting such jokes reflects in an intriguing way her attitude and pretextuality. The interpreter is qualified, and automatically regards interpreting jokes as part of her task; in her case, it is one of the challenges she looks forward to in her work. She has a clear idea of her own and the tutor's position and *illusio* (Inghilleri 2006, p.61, cf. chapter III) within the interpreted exchange. She is also aware of her own integrity from a cultural, gender and professional point of view. She also has an awareness of the importance of her professional relationship with the tutor. Her qualifications, experience and biographic pretextuality as described above, give her a certain control over the communicative situation in which she is able to make common-sense judgements (Harris 2000, p.4, cf. VIII.2.3. above) and informed decisions about each instance. She would therefore weigh carefully the relative advantages and disadvantages of interpreting a sexist joke, and decide on a per case basis, whether to interpret it or not. In making such communicative moves, she is

careful to preserve a good working relationship with the tutor. In other words, within the context of her own sense of professional integrity, there is the same level of respect for the tutor. In fact, if she decides that she is not up to interpreting a particular joke, she will, based on her professional and personal identity in the given communicative situation, communicate this to the tutor, 'confidentially', as she says, 'so that I do not undermine him'. Other interpreters demonstrated a similar attitude of respect for the tutor as the person in charge, upon whom they are socially and interactionally contingent. In this interpreter's case, this strategy seems to inspire the same respect from the tutor as expressed in the tutor's response: 'you don't need to interpret that'.

Another interpreter's experience and strategy, as illustrated in the following passage, are quite different.

I4 13/377, 17:37- 20:59

(...) the most difficult part to translate were the tutors' jokes. Almost all of them put in some jokes to make it lighter. (...) The Irish humour is pretty much like the Italian, though sometimes I would not find it pertinent or necessary to translate the jokes. Maybe I am not a good interpreter, but they would not come out in English like in Italian. So they were quite weird moments. Not for the tutor's speech, when they were relevant to the SP especially. [The] more [courses I did, the] more (...) I would just know what was going on in the course, so that would not be a problem (...)

The interpreter finds jokes to be the most difficult aspect of the multimodal H&S training text. Although contingent on the tutor, who, according to her, almost always makes use of jokes in the presentation, she is nevertheless capable of making her own judgment (Harris 2000, p.4, cf. VIII.2.3. above) as to whether she will interpret the joke or not, and this becomes a strategy for her. She mentions the importance of experience in interpreting H&S training, which gives her a better chance of orienting herself in the course and being able to interpret jokes.

Interpreters often mention the use of construction slang on the part of tutors. This is part and parcel of the presentation of slides and their 'real-life experiences'. Slang is often used because of some tutors' pretextuality – the fact that they are working simultaneously on construction sites. Slang is also used in order to enhance communication with the trainees. Let us consider some examples of this and the strategies interpreters use to negotiate their communication rights in this context. The interpreter below is formally qualified, and, in speaking of her very first HS interpreting

experience, she says:

I3 2/51, 04:11- 05:54

(...) it was a very pressured day because a lot of the slang, construction slang was used. There would be generic construction terms, but they wouldn't be used by a tutor from down the country, and he had his own terms so sometimes, I would ask him, what's the equivalent of that, and he would say that is that and that machine... and that was very helpful. (...)

As a qualified interpreter, this interpreter is not afraid to strategically ask for clarification (cf. chapter VI. I3 5/129). The interpreter's pretextuality gives her the confidence to ask, without worrying about losing her job.

The following statement illustrates the experience of another interpreter, this time male. He uses the same strategy to negotiate his communication rights when dealing with slang expressions and, much like the previous interpreter, he does not have any difficulty in asking the tutor for the slang word equivalent in English. Having the confidence to do so does not come, however, from formal training, but from a different type of pretextuality. Although of Czech origin, for part of his youth the interpreter lived and studied in Ireland. He formulates his cultural experience in the following way:

I8 17, 36:02- 37:05

I always, since I came to Ireland, I kind of got used to the behaviour here that it's not a problem to ask a question if you don't understand and nobody is angry with you.

Another interesting part of this interpreter's statement relates to the re-use of Czech slang terms, as learned from the trainees, in order to make them feel more comfortable, and, as a result, to enhance the overall communication. The 'natural' interpreter adopts this 'conference interpreting' strategy intuitively to manage his relationship with the trainees, led by his particular view of the purpose of the course and of successful communication.

I8 17/520, 08:43- 11:55

(...)... the tutors sometimes use slang words for different tools. So maybe the tools were not listed on the slide, but the tutor used a slang word for a tool. So I had to ask him, what does it mean? And he goes, yeah, it's a hammer. He just used a slang word for a hammer. (...) What about (...) the participants [trainees], do they use Czech construction slang in their questions or (...) comments? Absolutely, they do. When I,

*for example, translate a few different tools into Czech, I might say kladivo and straight away, they might give it the slang word. **And would you use their slang words with them the next time?** Yes, I would, because then they feel more comfortable.*

In the same statement, the interpreter speaks about the presentation format in which tutors use swear words, and the strategy he uses to tackle them:

The tutors, 99 per cent avoid them [swear words] very much. Sometimes, they don't really pronounce them loud enough or properly, but you know that the tutor is swearing, but they [the trainees] don't really. It only happens when they start telling stories. It is happening on a building site, some accident happens, so he [the tutor] is trying such an impression that the people can actually imagine the situation on the building site where something has happened. So sometimes there is slight swearing in the stories. But I don't basically interpret it. I usually use a very light equivalent of the word used in English.

The tutor in the next account welcomes the opportunity to offer clarification to the interpreter as, in his view, this leads to better communication. Combined with the strategy of 'getting to know each other', this enhances their long-term collaboration.

T7 20/631, 51:08- 52:26

(...) it is [in] getting used to each other (...) swear word, slang word, whatever, what's that mean, I encourage them to ask what that means, and once you get that, there is no difficulty.

The direct participants often mention register as a possible tool with which to negotiate one's communication rights and contribute towards what they perceive to be successful communication. One interpreter chooses a higher register, which, in her view, better suits the linguistic and cultural expectations of the trainees. In other words, she localises the communication event to Romania, where she believes an informal tone would be unacceptable in a similar H&S training context. In the process, she completely cuts out the cultural experience of the informal nature of communication in the same environment in Ireland. Her strategy and her ability to exercise power and have control over communication in this way come from the world beyond the training room, i.e. knowing how social interaction and communication work in the trainees' country of origin. This also derives from her pretextuality of conference-interpreting training, where the upwards adjustment of register is a standard strategy.

I3 17/523-Q4, 46:26- 47:22

Obviously, you had to adjust to certain registers according to different tutors and different styles as well. My personal choice is to interpret in a slightly higher register. Mostly because Romanian is inherently more formal than the English spoken in Ireland. So I think it suited very well the situation.

Another interpreter, also formally trained, uses a similar strategy:

I7 4/110 and I7 5/112-5, 26:20- 29:54

Well, I think that the idea of a training course through interpreting is to have it run smoothly, and that is the bottom line. That is why my approach to it was that having done a few or several courses, I formed my own sentences that sound professional as if I was delivering the course. Although sometimes, they might not have corresponded exactly word-for-word to what the tutor is saying, but I designed for my own purposes my own structure in terms of a Polish equivalent of what the tutor is saying. So I was not even trying to think of providing on-the-spot interpreting. Because to me it has to sound professional, and it has to sound as if I was delivering the course. So, if I start thinking of different terms, or if I try to say exactly what the tutor is saying, and sometimes [] their language is not really professional, it creates a lot of disturbances. So I am talking about correspondence in terms of meaning. I think that was the most effective approach, because if somebody was to check the quality of the language that I used, I'd say they could say she is delivering the course. And the tutor is happy as well, because the more questions, the more issues you have with what the tutor is saying, the more awkward it gets, and the more suspicious the tutor becomes, and the more he doubts your capabilities.

The interpreter starts her commentary on the issue of register by defining the purpose the course should fulfil and around which she modelled her approach to the course. According to her, 'the course has to run smoothly'. As a result, she adopts a particular style of delivery in terms of structure, register and content. Interpreter I7 does the same as interpreter I3 above. She looks for equivalence in terms of meaning, and she uses 'professional language', as if she 'was delivering the course'. As in the case of interpreter I3, she does this so that the unprofessional language does not 'create a disturbance'. Part of her strategy is to avoid asking questions (strategy welcomed by several tutors), as she feels it would appear unprofessional, that the tutor might become suspicious of her ability to do her work and that the more questions the interpreter asks,

the more awkward the course becomes. She also does not attempt to give what she calls 'on-the-spot' interpretation. Her approach of re-creating the course in order to deliver it herself, is a unique response to the working conditions inherited from the indirect participant's attitude, and one which mirrors the pretextuality of the interpreter in terms of her experience of collaborating with a variety of tutors.

The multitude of language features and speech genres present in the delivery of the SP training course, encompassing as it does, jokes and slang, owes more to the particular pretextuality of the individual tutor as well as the world beyond the training room – of the construction professional environment – than to the design of the course by the indirect participant. Interpreters' responses to such challenges, owed much to their own sense of purpose of the course. Some interpreters engaged actively in such content negotiating communication rights either independently of the tutor or in collaboration with the tutor. Other interpreters preferred to avoid such issues, by adjusting the overall register for the interpreting of the course content, an overall strategy which was shown to expose very different features of pretextuality.

VIII.4. Interpreting issues

The multimodal character of the H&S training text is reflected further in the selection of interpreting modes employed by interpreters and/or tutors, as well as in the need for coordination on the part of the interpreter.

VIII.4.1. Interpreting modes

As with other aspects of multimodality, the indirect participant's perception of interpreting of H&S training meant that there is an absence of guidelines for selecting interpreting modes best suited to different presentation formats. One consequence of a lack of informed guidelines is that tutors/monitor might not be aware, for example, of the function of note-taking in interpreting.

M1 3, 10:19- 12:45

I have seen interpreters taking notes, which is not their function. You know, notes on what's going on and what's being said (...) the function here is really just to relay what

the tutor says.

The fact that a monitor acts in this way reflects in practical terms which are pertinent to the multimodal character of H&S training, Inghilleri's theory that fields “that confer prestige” (Inghilleri 2006, p.60, cf. chapter III) as the monitor's does, are bound to reproduce institutional power relations which assert what can be considered as legitimate knowledge. The attitudes of the monitor and tutor to interpreting reflect such attitudes of FÁS in relation to the interpreted of the H&S training.

Due to the lack of professional selection guidelines, such lack of awareness of interpreting techniques is not limited to fields “that confer prestige” but also can be found in the responses of some of the interpreters themselves:

II 14/407, 39:15- 40:17

Have you ever thought of using different interpreting modes for different parts of the course? For example...? Like chuchotage would be one mode, the consecutive is another mode...Basically, I use sight translation when the tutors have asked for it, and I use the consecutive that I have learned. I would use chuchotage or simultaneous if I was trained for it, but I have never been trained to do that...

The range of professional pretextuality among interpreters, from formal conference interpreting training to the untrained professional, is a consequence of FÁS's failure to establish basic entry-level professional standards or criteria and to uphold these (cf. chapter VI).

Let us now consider what strategies interpreters employ, informed by their pretextuality, in the context of using different interpreting modes. In the statement below, an interpreter, who is not formally trained, recounts her first experience of chuchotage. She adopts this interpreting mode intuitively, based on the communicative situation, and, as she says, 'it works' for her and seemingly for everyone in the course. From her account, it transpires that the tutor she was working with in this convergence most likely appreciated the interpreter's linguistic knowledge, viewing it as having the potential to inform the delivery modality of the training course. The experience the interpreter is relaying comes from the site induction H&S training (cf. chapter II.3.).

II 9/275, 27:00- 28:02

Well, the site induction that I did was, I think, (...) about an hour and a half and I was whispering because I was with a Portuguese person (...). So I was whispering in

Spanish. And have you been trained for the chuchotage? No. How did you find it? I was surprised that...that I was able to do it, you know. At the beginning, I was talking out loud and it was a huge room and everybody was waiting for me to finish interpreting. And I was thinking, I should try whispering and I would see what happens. [] [] and the tutor was starting to talk and I just tried it and it worked.

A peculiar detail is that the interpreter has a Portuguese client, but her working language is Spanish and in the example given she relays the H&S information during a site induction in Spanish for a Portuguese worker.

Another interpreter describes her strategic use of interpreting modes. In this case, the female interpreter describes her background-based ability to use interpreting modes according to need and situations. Besides the consecutive mode, she also mentions sight translation. Her account illustrates the multimodal character of the training, of which the tutor's use of blackboard and H&S props is part and parcel.

I5 5/118, 08:43- 10:25

[The tutor] did not have any slides. He was using the blackboard and he was writing on [it] (...). It was very unusual. Well, I didn't know how it should work, so I guessed that was the way that it should have been done. (...) I was just making notes for myself and then doing the interpreting afterwards. So, you were lucky that you studied interpreting, that you were able to... Yes, I would say so. If there is just a person that never studied, they would be lost. They would probably stop the instructor after the first sentence... maybe they are experienced enough, I don't know? But yeah, I was really doing my notes and just the interpreting from the notes afterwards. And yes, some practical examples, there were some helmets, and I remember that it was really funny. At the end, he gave the guys the test and had to go through the test as well, to interpret, to translate.

Here the interpreter speaks of the first time she interpreted at an SP training course. The course does not seem to have been run according to the FÁS delivery standards established in 2005 (cf. chapter II.5.5.1.), something the interpreter, however, was not aware of. The interpreter's pretextuality as a formally-trained conference interpreter allows her to use her professionally acquired skills, such as interpreting using a note-supported consecutive interpreting mode.

In the next example, the interpreter's pretextuality does not include formal training; instead, his pretextuality includes third-level training in languages and being a

father and construction developer. He also holds an SP card. When asked about the choice of interpreting modes he says:

I8 10/302-10, 22:00- 23:50

What I have noticed at the very first course was that the participants [trainees] did truly like the tutor and the way he is going through the course. So what I always did was to do it in much the same way he is doing it. Because they were [] looking at him all the time and listening, because the tutor was very good. And try to do it more or less in the same way except in the Czech language. So that was my strategy.

The interpreter understands his 'interpreting mode' to mean his effort to recreate the effect of the tutor's delivery in the language spoken by the trainees. According to the interpreter, the tutor is the one who has 'a pace or a style' and is liked by the trainees and good at what he is doing. The interpreter intuitively makes his contingency on the tutor into his strategy. At the same time, the interpreter is operating within his own level of competency, making a particular decision and having particular control over the flow of communication which he exercises using tools particular to communication (Ukmar 1997, p.198, cf. chapter III). The interpreter sees the 'interaction' between the tutor and the trainees, and tries to fit in, preserving it and enhancing it.

In the following account, a conference interpreter with formal training describes her own ability to negotiate with the tutor the preferred interpreting mode. In her account, the first time she collaborates with a tutor, in the absence of guidelines or training for mutual collaboration, she starts off interpreting a course in note-supported consecutive mode. The tutor finds the process slow and lets the interpreter know, asking her to 'speed up'. The interpreter explains to the tutor that if he modified his delivery mode appropriately, she could use short consecutive instead. She also explains that, given the conditions at hand, without any technical equipment, she could not use simultaneous interpreting, which, it is implied, would be faster and perhaps most efficient for the seminar-style presentation format. It will be shown at the end of this section that the simultaneous interpreting mode had, however, been employed by interpreters for the SP training course in other instances. In the case of interpreter I5, the interpreter deems the simultaneous mode impossible, and the negotiation of communication rights occurs by changing from one interpreting mode to another. In so doing, the interpreter employs a strategy, facilitated by her pretextuality. In this way, the

interpreter resolves the initial unease with the tutor, and then reuses the same interpreting mode when working with a different tutor. The tutor in turn, through his own pretextuality in terms of his previous experience of working with interpreters, confirms the efficiency of this way of working with the SP course training text. According to the interpreter, the experience of the resulting interpreting mode, short consecutive, is satisfactory from the point of view of all direct participants involved, including the interpreter herself.

I5 13/345-9, 23:26- 25:11

I did my best. (...) I remember that I was taking notes at first, and then he [the tutor] asked me if I can speed up. So I said if you divide your speech in shorter parts, then I can do the immediate interpreting. I would not be able to do the simultaneous, I am not able to do it here. But this would kind of speed it up (...)...you would kind of be going sentence by sentence. And he [the tutor] was happy with that? Yeah, and he just asked to speed up. Right, and you worked it like that in the end. But you felt that in the second and third case because of it, it was working much better with the tutor, the (...) the audience was much more involved, and it was easier for you to work despite the tiredness (...)... Yes. (...) And you said he [the tutor] obviously must have been used to working with interpreters... Yeah, I talked to the second tutor, definitely, and he said he was used to this, to working with the interpreter, so it wasn't a problem. And he said, I will just divide my speech into certain divisions and you can go ahead with the interpretation. So it was okay and it just worked very well.

The interpreter in the next example is a female interpreter with formal training. Due to her professional experience and clear illusion, she agrees with the tutor on the mode of interpreting at the beginning of the course. Speaking of interpreting modes, she refers to 'summarising', and describes how she chooses to interpret the SP training 'almost' simultaneously, as she puts it. In determining the best interpreting mode to use, she considers the overall communicative situation, including the training venue, the possible pretextuality of the trainees, and the time schedule she is working to:

I3 3/78-2, 08:30- 09:40

I never got anything specific to the construction [I]. So I would always say to every tutor whether he has any instructions for me, but instructions were only okay, how do we do this, do I interpret consecutively or almost simultaneously, or do I interpret everything... some of them want me to summarise. (...) Most of the time, I would interpret

consecutively, because the venue wouldn't permit simultaneous anyway, and it would have been too confusing to be speaking at the same time, the audience wasn't... apprehensive, but they didn't want to be there anyway, so it would confuse them even more [] interpreting. Sometime I would begin by interpreting consecutively but then as the day goes on if there are delays or anything I would summarise or interpret simultaneously.

In this account, we see that the idea of using the 'simultaneous' interpreting mode, which was ruled out by the previous interpreters due to the absence of technical equipment, had actually been put into practice. The use of the simultaneous interpreting mode for SP training resulted from a collaboration between the tutor and interpreter which allowed linguistic practices to be negotiated in a constructive manner and a context of dialogue (Ingilleri 2006, p.63, cf. chapter III). Rather than true simultaneous, it is a hybrid interpreting mode: the tutor delivers the course as usual, however speaking to the interpreter silently, while the interpreter delivers the tutor's presentation simultaneously out loud in a sort of shouted chuchotage. According to the tutors, this delivery mode speeds up the delivery process noticeably. The interpreter using this interpreting mode confirms the speediness of it, but also underlines its demanding nature from the vocal and concentration points of view. It goes without saying that only an interpreter trained to interpret simultaneously would be capable of using this mode. Both the interpreter and the two tutors involved confirmed that collaboration greatly facilitates the use of this mode of delivery. According to tutor T6 in summer 2006 the indirect participant banned this interpreting mode from being used.

VIII.4.2. Coordination: non-verbal communication, pausing, rhythm

I would like to conclude by using the account of one interpreter to briefly consider, the issue of coordination, an aspect of the interpreter's task which is of crucial importance to the efficacy of the communication achieved in the interpreted H&S training. An interpreter says in this respect:

I6 16/397, 01:00:45- 01:04:59

What about delivery speed or you know rhythm, pausing, do you find that something that might cause difficulties in the communication?

*I am just trying to think how we communicate. Sometimes I think when a tutor goes on and I look at him and they cop on and say oh yeah yeah sorry I should have stopped sort of thing. Or when...because they actually don't know what you are saying (...) I think I tend to nod and look at them when I am finished and then they picked it up from there. (...) And if they go on for long time I signal it non-verbally (...) And the other thing is that I don't (...) I prefer that they went with their own rhythm and I pick it up because they I mean it would be [] for them they just couldn't do it. (...) **[So rather than] coordinating is it more following him [the tutor]? Well (...) you have control over things. You know, you are assisting this person in delivery and you are co-controlling the communication.***

An account of another interpreter confirms what we have just heard:

I3 14/424-18, 34:45- 37:47

*(...) **What about the balance of interpreting and coordinating the communication in general? (...) I try not to take any sort of coordination responsibility. Sometimes I coordinated if there was a Q&A session. I coordinate the questions and keep track of the questions for the tutor, just to be aware of how many questions there were or... I also intended situations like you described [earlier], difficult situations, jokes, where you take control for a moment. Are there any other situations like that, maybe less evident, which require your more active role? Well, during the course when he [the tutor] was actually delivering, if the tutor let people talk between themselves very loudly, I would just stop and they would know what I am about. Or if in the Q&A session there was too many questions and the tutor would allow comments, chats and overlapping questions, I would stop again. Yeah, I think it was difficult when the tutor let the participants [trainees] be noisy, because that would bother me and I couldn't concentrate as well. My attitude would be just to [] nod and signal, and usually that would be enough. (...) So it requires quite a close communication... non-verbal communication even ...Yes, and it's so much easier, because if I stop and say well they are too noisy it would sort of cause trouble later on. Sometimes it wouldn't work and I would look (...) more intensely to the tutor, and after that he would take a break, and he would scold them, not that it was too good for me after that either.***

While the interpreter makes plain the tutor's overall responsibility for the coordination of the delivery of the content and her own contingent position, she also illustrates her way of coordinating in terms of control over communication with means

of communication (Ukmar 1997, p.198, cf. chapter III). The interpreter's strategy consists in using non-verbal communication, specifically in the use of pauses. Silence is given preference by the interpreter over verbal strategies as a softer way of asserting her needs, while not disturbing the delicate tutor-participant dynamic, and preserving her own relationship with both the tutor and the trainees. In this way, based on her overall attitude to the course, the interpreter does not coordinate the communication 'directly', but rather controls it using appropriate tools particular to communication.

In section VIII.4. Interpreting issues, we have seen that given the lack of prescription of professional standards on the part of the indirect participant, interpreters come to the job with varying degrees of understanding of that aspect of multimodality which relates to the variety of interpreting modes required. We have also seen how even professionally trained interpreters will chose to use different interpreting modes based on their own assessment of the complexities and technical challenges of the communicative exchange. In general the greater the degree of collaboration between professionally trained interpreters and tutors the more optimal is the chosen interpreting mode, and therefore efficiency and informational density of the content transmission.

In terms of the aspect of coordination of communication in the interpreted H&S training, we saw strategies employed which made use of non-verbal communication through use of body language or gestures, or even more subtly through the use of pauses or silence on the part of the interpreter.

VIII.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen how the multimodal character of the interpreted text is manifested in the presence of a multitude of text formats, speech genres and terminology, requiring of the interpreter to respond with further layers of multimodality in terms of multitasking and in the use of different interpreting modes for the delivery of the content.

We saw how certain text formats were more problematic than others, with the DVD format generally accepted as the most problematic from the point of view of a specifically non-English speaking audience. Other text formats were variously considered as problematic or advantageous to interpreters depending on their

pretextuality and background-based professional formation, as in the case of the slide format.

Some text formats unfolded within the triadic dynamic of all direct participants including the trainees, such as the test, Q&A sessions or the registration. At times these situations strengthened the interpreter contingency on the tutor, at other times authorised discourse was set aside in favour of democratic iteration in which a new social order was seen to emerge.

Multimodality in terms of content features including terminology, and informal qualities of the language employed such as use of humour or slang, similarly evoked varied responses on the part of the interpreter, often coloured by their own perception of the purpose of the course, in their communicative moves to engage directly with the tutor in relation to such features, or to exclude such elements from the interpreted delivery in order to secure informational delivery. Finally we looked at interpreting modes and coordination strategies and again saw different approaches adopted even by interpreters of the same level of professional formation.

In all of this, we have seen how the aspect of multimodality characteristic of the SP training course as it applies to a non-English speaking audience, carries the inevitable imprint of the macro-context, which was found to be characterised by an absence of provision for interpreting on the part of the indirect participant FÁS. This macro-context is evidenced by the multiple challenges posed by this very multimodality, which in turn resulted in a range of responses by the direct participants who assumed coping strategies or else strategies which involved assuming an extra share of power in compensation for the lack of power sharing on the part of FÁS. We saw instances in which tutors at times stepped outside of the prescribed delivery rules in order to facilitate interpreters with terminology, and cases where interpreters stepped outside of their position of contingency on the tutor in order to manage issues of terminology or repetitiveness.

CHAPTER IX. CONCLUSION

IX.1. Research objectives

“A new way to describe and classify the constituting units of a communicative process may in itself make up the result of an investigation, applying qualitative method.”
(Wadensjö 1998, p.81)

Research into the interpreting setting of health and safety training for the construction industry in Ireland proceeded from an open ended research question: How does interpreting take place in the context of the H&S training for construction industry in Ireland? The trajectory of the research journey was led initially by a desire to respond to a second research question: What is the level of quality of interpreting that is attained? The early withdrawal of FÁS from the project led the researcher instead to explore more fully a response to the first research question, through an analysis of themes and topics arising from a series of interviews conducted with tutors and interpreters. The interview was designed to cover a wide variety of aspects of interpreted H&S training. While a sizable part of the data was not made use of in the final report, the selection of data which was used reflects most of the topics raised by the respondents themselves as being connected with or integral to the larger theme of power.

IX.1.1. Reflections on the methodology

In conducting ethnographic research in the H&S interpreting setting, having experience of H&S interpreting was an advantage, as the design and use of methodological tools was greatly facilitated through knowledge of the environment and H&S language. In the interpretation of the data as a practisearcher (Gile (1994) cited in Tipton 2010b, p.89) the researcher had to guard against any tendency of “becoming spokesperson of the group studied” (Fontana and Frey 2003, p.78).

While each stage presented new challenges, the most trying phase of the unfolding research project was undoubtedly the difficulty in bringing forward the

interdisciplinary aspect (cf. V.2. and V.7.). In the pursuit of the research objective, when the methodological concerns gradually shifted from micro to macro-features, due to larger social configurations of power and control (Inghilleri 2006, p.57) they were explored and described using appropriate ethnographic tools and descriptive language devised by Inghilleri, and ultimately yielded some new and interesting results within the little explored interpreted H&S training setting, and which are presented in the three analytical chapters of this work and will be summarised in the next section.

One of the strengths of the chosen methodology was the manner in which the process of organising the data following the method suggested by Gillham (2000, p.74) helped to construct the structure of the thesis itself in terms of chapters and chapter sub-headings. In addition, the insights which Gillham provides in terms of the design of the interview schedule as well as its administration facilitated greatly the emergence of a rich data set from which to draw the many topics of interest. In particular, the extent to which the theme of power distribution impacted on interpreting quality was one of the elements of surprise which emerged in the study. Other elements which emerged from the data and which required space in the final structure of the written report included the topics of gender, culture and multimodality. These emerged distinctly for both direct participants, in particular in response to the question regarding the professional relationship.

The topics listed above already stood out from the data during the pilot interview transcription, prompting the manual approach to transcription and coding and sorting, and which in turn resulted in the selection of the analytical framework and the topics to be analysed in detail.

One potential weakness which my methodological approach could be seen to expose is the exclusion of the third type of direct participant, the H&S training candidate, from the interview group. In the historical context of the research, the withdrawal of FÁS from the project in its collaborative stage, made it logistically difficult to gain access to H&S course candidates. This factor, along with the logistics of securing interpreters to assist the researcher in conducting interviews with a representative selection of course candidates, led to their exclusion from the research. Finally, interviewing the course candidates would have added considerably to the level of complexity contained in the study which would have been very challenging to reconcile with the scope of a PhD dissertation.

The sourcing of interpreters and tutors for interviews drew largely on contacts the researcher already had as an interpreter with experience of interpreting in the H&S setting and as a student. Therefore, most of the interpreters selected for the research project were either students who also interpreted or interpreters whose background included third-level linguistic education and/or interpreting training. The educational background of these interpreters could be seen reflected in their work approach and expressed in their responses during the interviews. It proved challenging to source untrained interpreters, leading to a bias in the group of interpreter respondents, not fully representative of the reality on the ground. Although the profiles of tutors were more varied, a potential bias may be nevertheless present in a more subtle form. It is possible that of the tutors contacted, those who came forward for interview may have been those who had some sort of motivation for partaking in the research project, such as a genuine interest in interpreting, language or multiculturalism. In other cases, tutors saw their participation in the research project as a means to help improve the interpreting aspect of their work. This professional conscientiousness undoubtedly was reflected in the responses of the tutors interviewed, and again may not be an entirely typical attitude of the tutor demographic which they represent.

IX.1.2. Research findings

interpreters, as well as the norms generating their communicative practices, do not come from nowhere. They (...) are socially and politically situated, actively participating in the production and reproduction of macro-discursive practices. (Inghilleri 2006, p.58)

The core research findings of this study are contained in the three analytical chapters which cover the power and purpose of the indirect and direct participants to the interpreted exchange, and respond to the initial research question: How does interpreting take place in the context of the H&S training for construction industry in Ireland?

In response to this open question, the above statement by Inghilleri is confirmed by the findings of the research, namely that the interpreters in the setting under review are not passive agents involved at the level of text processing but rather are found to operate within larger social configurations of power, whether they are part of the official institutional discourse, or whether they are determined by the interpreter's own exercise

of power in relation to gender dynamics, culture bound awareness, or multimodality. The research shows that while the indirect participant ignored this, and sought rather to situate the interpreter in a position of contingency, gaps in the lack of exercise of power of the indirect participant were at times effectively taken up by the direct participants, and resulted in new discursive practices and social norms being established in place of the official institutional discourse.

In chapter VI which is the first analytical chapter, we looked at the pretextuality and related attitude of FÁS which was reflected in their sense of purpose for the SP training course and their own exercise of power in relation to the overall provisioning of this. However we found that poor decision-making in the course design, drafting of tutor guidelines and lack of preparedness of tutors to work with interpreters were results of the indirect participant's attitude, which were seen to have a clear qualitative impact on the running and outcome of the interpreted training.

The chapter identified a number of gaps, which resulted in the direct participants at times taking on a degree of exercise of power in an effort to find solutions. The strategies used by the direct participants in this regard were seen to proceed from the direct participants' own individual pretextuality and attitude.

In chapter VII we looked at the general strategies as applied by the direct participants in the context of gender and culture and relating to their sense of purpose for the interpreted H&S training and their overall exercise of power within the communicative exchange.

Gender dynamics and culture emerged in this chapter as themes reflecting larger configurations of power and control. Gender in particular, proved to be a prominent theme due to the overwhelmingly male environment in which the invariably female interpreter operates, and as with other gaps is not factored into the tutor guidelines by the indirect participant FÁS. In practice, gender dynamics were sometimes used as a strategy by tutors and interpreters in managing the communication with the trainees taking advantage of the potentially positive impact which the presence of a female interpreter provided, allowing the tutor to concentrate on the task of transmitting the course content.

Examples of where culture bound perceptions played a role in the interpreted H&S training included differences in cultural perception of authority, appropriateness and the importance of health and safety in the construction work environment. We saw

examples where cultural perceptions provoked a constructive dialogue between the interpreter and tutor in which aspects of cultural knowledge were renegotiated, helping improve the quality of communication achieved. The struggle between the inherited pretextuality of the macro-context and the pragmatic need to arrive at a joint strategy for the course delivery in an interpreted training course was seen to effect a disruption in the dominant institutional discourse, leading towards greater self-reflection on the parts of the direct participants and ultimately to a joint construction of meaning.

In chapter VIII, we explored the multimodal nature of the SP training course as evidenced by the multitude of text formats, speech genres and terminology, and which was not considered by FÁS in its guidelines for content delivery. Other senses of the term multimodality were considered in the chapter in terms of interpreter multitasking or the use of different interpreting modes for the delivery of content. The aspect of multimodality characteristic of the SP training course reflected the macro-context of the interpreted H&S training, with its absence of provision for interpreting on the part of the indirect participant FÁS. As with other gaps, the multimodal character of the SP course content provoked a range of responses by the direct participants, who tended to either assume ‘coping’ strategies or else strategies which involved assuming an extra share of power in compensation for the lack of power sharing on the part of FÁS.

IX.2. Contribution to CI literature

From the point of view of field (Mason 1999), the present study represents the first doctoral thesis which maps in detail the Health and Safety interpreting setting; the novelty of which lies specifically in its exploration of the interpreting aspect of the multilingual and multicultural H&S training environment.

With regards to the aspect of tenor (Mason 1999) of the participants to the interpreted event this work is among the few studies which makes use of Inghilleri’s theory (2006), and is among those studies which seek to respond to the social or sociological turn in interpreting studies in its concern with themes of power – both external and internal to the interpreted event (Mason 2006), gender and culture (regarded as 'larger configurations of power and control' (Inghilleri 2006)).

The present work makes use of the analytical model proposed by Mason (2006) in particular the related concepts of pretext, purpose and attitude, and aims to respond to

Mason's call for a joint analysis of both the micro- and the macro-context of the interpreted event in order to arrive at a more holistic understanding of how meaning is jointly negotiated within the interpreted event.

In so doing, we see in the context of the proverbially ill-defined CI setting, a potential transformation of communicative and social norms in which interpreters – no longer vulnerable to exercises of power outside of their control (Inghilleri 2005a) – can become agents of change.

IX.5. Recommendations for future research

One avenue for further investigation suggested by the current work regards the aspect of quality. My own recommendation for any such investigation is that it should take into account the impact which both the micro- and macro-features of the interpreted event have on the quality of the interpreter's delivery, and should reflect on the collective nature of the interpreted exchange in the CI setting as well as subjective views on quality held by the direct participant. In this, the model of quality as service to enable successful communication should be regarded as apt, in view of the emergence of this view from the present work (cf. IX.6.).

IX.6. A conclusion on quality

We have seen how FÁS in its capacity of 'indirect participant' hindered more than helped the quality of interpreted content, effectively limiting the successful transmission of the health and safety message to foreign nationals. Fundamentally FÁS's attitude remained at the level of text production not just in the design of the course – the main 'processing of text' – but also in its guidelines and lack of consideration for the interpreting aspect, which is allowed a two hour buffer for transmitting the text into a foreign language.

We have identified situations in which the direct participants made compromises on quality as a result of the sheer quantity of course content to be delivered in the available time which is predicated upon FÁS's emphasis on text production. In particular the accounts of interventions in the final test which decides who is qualified

to work on construction sites can be seen as an undesirable consequence of the macro-context on the ground from the quality point of view.

However, we have also seen instances in which the direct participants, recognising the impossibility of remaining at the level of text production, transcend the macro-context, and manage to break down the text through their own conscious choices, often in a collaborative spirit. In this, the tutor and the interpreter, individually and together fall back successfully on the idea of service, understood from the tutor's point of view as the transmission of the health and safety message, and from the interpreter's point of view as 'successful communication' as defined by Pöchhacker (2002, p.97).

Coda: The contraction of the construction sector and the demise of FÁS

By 2007, the Irish economy had become over-reliant on the construction sector which accounted for a disproportionate 25 per cent of GNP at its peak. For an economy the size of Ireland this was manifested by over-building, accompanied by massive property inflation and led inevitably to one of the largest property crashes internationally. By Q4 2011 the number of people employed directly or indirectly in the construction industry had fallen to 150,000, compared to 380,000 employed in the sector at the peak of the construction boom. In terms of the non-national demographic in the Irish economy, allocations of PPSN number to foreign workers fell sharply. A report published by the Central Statistics Office on 27 May 2011, covering the period 2004-2009, showed that while in 2007 188,765 PPSN numbers were allocated by 2009 this had fallen to just 63,272 (Central Statistics Office 2011) (Society of Chartered Surveyors Ireland 2012).

The dramatic contraction in the construction industry also had an effect on the number of recorded work related fatalities:

| Economic Sector | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 |
|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Construction | 21 | 20 | 16 | 23 | 13 | 18 |

Table 2. Fatal workplace injuries by economic sector 2002-2007 (NACE Revision 1)

| Economic sector | | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|-----------------|--|------|------|------|------|------|
| Construction | | 15 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 8 |

Table 3. Fatal workplace injuries by economic sector 2008-2012 (NACE Revision 2)

(Source: Health and Safety Authority 2012)

FÁS restructure

In late 2008 in the midst of the wider economic downturn, the Irish Independent newspaper published a series of articles which exposed wasteful spending in the FÁS organisation at the top levels and which led to the resignation of the FÁS director general, a resignation which was itself to be surrounded by controversy over a pension settlement. Such revelations among others effectively discredited FÁS and destroyed public confidence in its capacity to play the crucial role which was its remit in helping to lead the economy back to growth (Independent.ie 2012a).

Addressing the InterTrade Ireland economic forum in November 2011, John Martin, director of employment with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), commented on this situation:

"At the time (amid rising unemployment) when we needed a high performing employment service what did we have? We had a massive crisis, a loss of confidence (in FÁS)" (Independent.ie 2012b)

On the 3rd August 2011 the Minister for Social Protection Joan Burton published a plan for the development and implementation of a new National Employment and Entitlements Service (NEES), involving the integration of the FÁS employment services and community programmes into the Department of Social Protection. The transfer of Employment Services and Employment Programmes from FÁS to the department became effective from 1st January 2012.

Government also approved in July 2011 the establishment of a new statutory authority to oversee the Further Education and Training sector, SOLAS, to replace FÁS's function as a training entity and to serve also as an umbrella organisation for further education and training provided by other organisations such as VECs, community groups, second-level schools and private bodies.

In 25 October, 2012 in his opening Address at the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INOUE) conference, Minister Ruairí Quinn detailed some of the main principles for the new Further Education and Training Authority:

“SOLAS will not simply be a re-branded FÁS.

SOLAS will put the existing FÁS training centres under the remit of the 16 new Education and Training Boards which are replacing the 33 Vocational Education Committees.

SOLAS will not be delivering courses on the ground – that will be done by the 16 new Education and Training Boards and other providers.” (Department of Education and Skills 2012)

At the time of writing, the action plan for SOLAS detailing plans for transfer of FÁS training centres to the Education and Training Boards has not been published.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Informed Consent Form

DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF APPLIED LANGUAGE AND INTERCULTURAL STUDIES
CENTRE FOR TRANSLATION AND TEXTUAL STUDIES

Informed Consent Form

The current research, entitled “Quality Issues in Community Interpreting in the Area of Health and Safety Training for the Construction Industry in Ireland”, is being conducted by Dott.ssa Martina O’Byrne. She is supervised by Prof. Jenny Williams, head of the Interpreting Research Team within the Centre for Translation and Textual Studies associated with the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies at Dublin City University. The research, which is planned to be finished by December 2009, has received University funding for the first year of the researcher’s doctoral studies. The researcher has also been in receipt of funding under the Higher Education Grant scheme from the Dun Laoghaire County Council.

The research study investigates to what extent and how interpreting influences communication between a trainer and a trainee during the Health and Safety (hereafter H&S) training for the construction industry in Ireland. In order to describe how such interpreting takes place and what are the elements impacting on the quality of such interpreting, the researcher will interview interpreters who have worked in H&S training environment. These interviews might lead to further interviewing of H&S trainers who have worked with interpreters. These interviews will help highlight specific characteristics of H&S interpreting and will provide a picture of the state of H&S interpreting in Ireland. The interviews will be audio-recorded, transcribed and analysed. The interview research findings will be triangulated with an analysis of a video- recorded authentic interpreting session, if a suitable recording opportunity arises during the course of the research.

Participation in the research interviews is entirely anonymous. Throughout the research, the participants will remain anonymous and every effort will be made to conceal their identity. Therefore, the researcher will change the names of participants and institutions, geographical names or any other particulars which can be traced back to any of the participants. In order to maintain confidentiality, all audio recordings and transcripts will be stored on the researcher’s personal password-protected computer. All material related to the research will be destroyed by the researcher five years following the publication of the doctoral thesis. It is very important that all participants understand that their participation is entirely voluntary. They can withdraw from the research any time up to the publication of the information. There will be no

penalty for withdrawing at any stage. By signing the informed consent form, all participants indicate that they understand what the research is about and their participation in the research.

Participant – please complete the following (Circle Yes or No for each question)

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Have you read the Plain Language Statement? | Yes/No |
| Do you understand the information provided? | Yes/No |
| Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study? | Yes/No |
| Have you received satisfactory answers to all your questions? | Yes/No |
| Do you consent to your interview will be audio-taped? | Yes/No |

I also understand that all participants may withdraw from the research at any point. There will be no penalty for withdrawing before all stages of the research have been completed.

I have read and understood the information in this form. The researchers have answered my questions and concerns, and I have a copy of this consent form. Therefore, I consent to take part in this research project.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| Participant's Signature: | _____ |
| Name in Block Capitals: | _____ |
| Witness: | _____ |
| Date: | _____ |

Appendix B – Plain Language Statement

DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF APPLIED LANGUAGE AND INTERCULTURAL STUDIES CENTRE FOR TRANSLATION AND TEXTUAL STUDIES

Plain Language Statement

The current research, entitled “Quality Issues in Community Interpreting in the Area of Health and Safety Training for the Construction Industry in Ireland”, is being conducted by Dott.ssa Martina O’Byrne. She is supervised by Prof. Jenny Williams, head of the Interpreting Research Team within the Centre for Translation and Textual Studies associated with the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies at Dublin City University.

The research, which is planned to be finished by December 2009, has received UDRC funding for the first year of the researcher’s doctoral studies. The researcher has also been in receipt of funding under the Higher Education Grant scheme from the Dun Laoghaire County Council (Co. Dublin).

The research study investigates to what extent and how interpreting influences communication between a trainer and a trainee during the Health and Safety (hereafter H&S) training for the construction industry in Ireland. In order to describe how such interpreting takes place and what are the elements impacting on the quality of such interpreting, the researcher will interview interpreters who have worked in H&S training environment. These interviews might lead to further interviewing of H&S trainers who have worked with interpreters. These interviews will help highlight specific characteristics of H&S interpreting and will provide a picture of the state of H&S interpreting in Ireland. The interviews will be audio-recorded, transcribed and analysed. The interview research findings will be triangulated with an analysis of a video-recorded authentic interpreting session, if a suitable recording opportunity arises during the course of the research.

Participation in the research interviews is entirely anonymous. Throughout the research, the participants will remain anonymous and every effort will be made to conceal their identity. Therefore, the researcher will change the names of participants and institutions, geographical names or any other particulars which can be traced back to any of the participants. In order to maintain confidentiality, all audio recordings and transcripts will be stored on the researcher’s personal password-protected computer. All material related to the research will be destroyed by the researcher five years following the publication of the doctoral thesis.

It is very important that all participants understand that their participation is entirely voluntary. They can withdraw from the research any time up to the publication of the information. There will be no penalty for withdrawing at any stage. By signing the informed consent form, distributed at the survey stage II (interview), all participants indicate that they understand what the research is about and their participation in the research.

If participants have concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent person, please contact:

The Secretary
Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee
c/o Office of the Vice-President for Research
Dublin City University
Dublin 9.
Tel 01-7008000

Appendix C – Interview schedule (Tutor)

Interview schedule

i. Date, time, venue, code of interview:

ii. Demographic data: personal

Gender:

Age: 25-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-75

Nationality:

Qualifications:

Current main occupation:

Knowledge of foreign languages:

Length of professional experience in months/years, outside Ireland/in Ireland, as
H&S trainer /other

Current work carried out as a full time employee of a company/other (specify):

Registration with a professional association:

iii. Demographic data: Interpreted H&S training for construction industry

Types of H&S interpreted training carried out –

Safe Pass/CSCS/Toolbox talk/Site induction/Manual handling, other (specify)

Languages:

Approximate number of interpreted H&S trainings carried out – per week/per
month/per year:

Approximate total of H&S training (interpreted and in English) from 200_ until 200_:

Approximate number of interpreters worked with:

iv. Main questions

Opening question: Personal experience of delivering an interpreted H&S training

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION:

How do you find the experience of delivering a SP course through an interpreter compared to a regular non- interpreted SP course?

[Keep answers generic (Will be covering that later...)]

I. Organisation of H&S interpreted training: H&S Interpreter's task and role

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS:

*(Questions to be asked separately; with respective prompts ***)*

What does the interpreter have to do during H&S training?

What do you expect from an interpreter in a H&S course?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- Have you received any COC to include guidelines on working with interpreters and if so from whom?
- Have you received any training in how to work with interpreters and if so from whom?
- How do you recruit an interpreter?
- Do you offer any terminological preparation to the interpreter before or during the course?
- Do you give any briefing to interpreters at any point before the training?
- Do you check on interpreters' qualifications, knowledge of course and experience and how?

- How do you organise for an interpreter to work on a course?
- Agreeing way of working
 - When to interpret
 - What interpreting mode to use (explain)
 - Summarizing or translating word for word
 - How the different sections will be lead and by whom
 - Note taking
 - Interpreters using a dictionary and/or electronic translator device or a laptop
- Have you any specific requirements when working with an interpreter?
- Giving feedback to interpreters
- Interpreters asking for clarifications, repetitions

II. Differences and challenges compared to an English language H&S training

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS:

Do you do anything differently when an interpreter is working with you compared to when you are delivering a course without an interpreter?

What are the main challenges of working with an interpreter?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- With regards to:
 - Content/amount of info/emphasis or main focus (also during following parts of the course):
 - Formalities and organisational issues
 - Modules from slides
 - Projected Q&A (if present)
 - Tutor's explanations
 - Tutor's informal comments/stories/jokes (if present)
 - Exercises
 - DVDs
 - Test
 - Participants' Q&A
 - FAS evaluation form
 - Style of delivery- monological or inclusive (questions, exercises)
 - Level of formality
 - Attention to culture-bound issues, terminology used

- Ability to deliver the course
- Not being used to working with an interpreter communication between participants and interpreter, non understandable to tutor
- Concentration: does interpreting distract you?
- Interpreter's delivery accent, style or tone
- Interpreter's delivery speed, rhythm, pausing, voice

III. Relationship with the H&S interpreter

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION:

Options (depends on number of interpreters worked with):

You have mentioned you worked with ONLY A FEW interpreters, how would you characterise your work relationship with these interpreters?

You have....10 interpreters: can you think of one with whom you had a particularly good work relationship and another with whom it was more difficult?

What were the differences?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- Relationship with the audience or others present through the interpreter
- View on interpreter's relationship with the participants (following aspects of it):
 - female interpreter vs. male participants
 - mistrust of a co-national resident abroad
 - mistrust of a construction industry towards an outsider
 - overly personal relationship towards a co-national
- General atmosphere. How do you ensure that there is a positive/good atmosphere in the room? Does the presence of an interpreter affect the atmosphere in any way?

IV. Perception of good/bad H&S interpreters and challenges

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS:

How do you know if the interpreter is good?

What do you think are the main challenges for the interpreter in interpreting a H&S course?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

Translating:

- Interpreting between two languages
- Level or flow of English/other language
- Translating accurately without vagueness or ambiguity
- New terminology: construction, Irish life and society, H&S terms
- New concepts and/or abbreviation
- Construction jargon
- Changes of register
- Swear words
- Trainer's accent, style or tone: e.g. complex, monotonous
- Trainer's speed, rhythm, pausing, voice
- Memorising
- [Repetitiveness of the text]
- SP H&S Awareness Training variety of formats and related interpreting modes:
 - Formalities and organisational issues, Modules from slides, Projected Q&A (if present), Tutor's explanations, Tutor's informal comments/stories/jokes (if present), Exercises, DVDs, Test, Participants' Q&A, FAS evaluation form
- Coordinating:
 - Managing flow of communication: turn-taking, encouraging parties to intervene
 - I form; tutor addressing interpreter rather than participants
 - Eliciting clarifications or repetitions
 - Direct communication between parties
 - Miscommunications with participants or tutor
- Ethical issues:
 - Personal involvement, responding to questions in tutor's place
 - Giving personal judgement, opinion, feelings through voice, tone, body language
 - Request to lead exercises or even the main body of the training
 - Requests to assist candidates in a test
 - Professionalism (comes up in interpreters)
- Cultural issues:
 - Way of addressing
 - Jokes

- External context:
 - COC
 - Linguistically mixed group
 - Fatigue and related consistency of performance (Level of quality maintained during the day)
 - Working hours, breaks, travelling, environment
 - FAS check-ups or others checking on their work: agency, H&S company, trainer, attendants
 - Non-interpreting tasks: admin tasks
 - Dress code
 - Seating arrangements, poor lighting, noise, technical difficulties with audio or video

V. H&S Interpreting quality; quality control

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS:

Does anyone check interpreter's work in any way, i.e. how is quality of interpreters' work guaranteed (as opposed to checks on and guarantees of quality of tutor's work)?

Are you happy with the current provision of interpreters? Can you think of any ways to improve the quality of interpreting?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- Do course participants provide feedback on their understanding of the course (test, FAS evaluation form, tutor's evaluation questionnaire)

- Have you ever tried to use any interpreting supporting technology- microphone, the infrared technology? (Explain: Some interpreters use...)

VI. Changes in H&S courses and interpreting

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION:

Have there been any changes implemented in the SP or other H&S training in the course of your experience and how did these changes impact on your work with interpreters?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- Content
- Translated exercises, DVDs
- COC or other new obligations on interpreters
- Market changes
- Training (for interpreters and to work with interpreters)
- Briefings or material given in advance
- Interpreting mode prescribed
- Question the H&S legislation Act and Regulations and how they impacted on interpreting and translating within H&S training

Appendix D – Interview Schedule (Interpreter)

QUALITY OF INTERPRETING DURING H&S TRAINING FOR CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY IN IRELAND

SURVEY PART I: e-QUESTIONNAIRE

i. Date:

ii. Demographic data: personal

Name:

Gender:

Age:

Nationality:

Length and reason of (optional) residency in Ireland:

Qualifications and country of education other than in Interpreting or Translation (I/T):

I/T qualifications: sim/cons/liaison:

Institute, length and country of such education:

Current main occupation: interpreter and/or translator/student/other (specify)

Mother tongue and working languages:

Length of professional experience in months/years –

Outside Ireland:

In Ireland:

Interpreting work carried out for an agency/ies or as a full time employee of a company other than an interpreting agency:

Areas of professional interpreting experience (tick as appropriate):

Court

garda stations

prison services
health care
mental health care
drug centres
asylum or other refugee settings
schools
social services
H&S training for the construction industry
H&S training for other industries (specify)
driving tests
business
diplomatic
conference
other (please specify)

Registration with a professional association

iii. Demographic data: Interpreting experience during H&S training for construction industry

Types of H&S training interpreted:

Safe Pass
CSCS
Toolbox talk
Site induction
Manual handling, other (specify)

Venues:

Languages:

Number of assignments:

per week
per month
per year
From 200_ until 200_

Number of trainers worked with:

I. First time H&S interpreting experience

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION:

How did you get to H&S interpreting? What was your first time H&S interpreting experience?

PROMPTS- POTENTIAL ISSUES:

- Did you receive any terminological preparation from tutor, agency, others?
- Did you receive any COC and if so by whom?
- Were you given any briefing and if so by whom?
- Did you receive any training and if so from whom?
- Did you prepare yourself and if so how?
- Did you bring a dictionary and if so what type?
- Did anyone check your qualifications and if so who?

II. Interpreted text

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION:

What for you are the particular challenges inherent in the material you are being asked to interpret? How difficult do you think it is to guarantee a level of quality in the service of the interpreter that is comparable to that received by a native English speaker through the same material?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- SP H&S Awareness Training variety of formats:
 - Formalities and organisational issues
 - Modules from slides
 - Projected Q&A (if present)
 - Tutor's explanations
 - Tutor's informal comments/stories/jokes (if present)
 - Exercises
 - DVDs
 - Test
 - Attendants' Q&A
- Interpreting modes
- Terminology and concepts
- Repetitiveness
- Consistency of performance

III. Relationship with the interpreter user

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION:

How would you characterize your relationship with the trainer? Did it impact on the quality of your performance and of overall communication and if so, how?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- Difference between individual trainers
- Trainer not used to working with interpreter
- Agreeing way of working
- When to interpret
- What interpreting mode to use
- How the different sections will be lead and by whom
- Note taking
- Useful feedback
- Eliciting clarifications, repetitions
- Relationship with the audience or others present:
 - woman among men
 - mistrust of a co-national resident abroad
 - mistrust of a construction industry outsider
 - overly personal relationship to a co-national
- general atmosphere

IV. Quality

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION:

Given your overall experience, what is your view on existing quality of H&S interpreting and what could be improved?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- Translating:
 - Interpreting between two languages
 - Level or flow of English/other language
 - New terminology: construction, Irish life and society, H&S terms
 - New concepts and/or abbreviation
 - Construction jargon
 - Changes of register
 - Swear words
 - Target or source language specific translation issues
 - Awareness of interpreting errors: inaccuracies, incompleteness, omissions or additions, substitutions, vagueness, ambiguity
 - Trainer's accent, style or tone: e.g. complex, monotonous
 - Trainer's speed, rhythm, pausing, voice
 - Delivery accent, style or tone
 - Delivery speed, rhythm, pausing, voice
 - Memorising long chunks of text
- Coordinating:
 - Managing flow of communication: turn-taking, coordination
 - I form
 - Asking for clarifications or repetitions
 - Direct communication between parties
 - Miscommunications
- Ethical issues:
 - Personal involvement, responding to questions in tutor's place
 - Giving personal judgement, opinion, feelings through voice, tone, body language
 - Request to lead exercises or even the main body of the training
 - Requests to assist candidates in a test
- Cultural issues
- External context:
 - COC
 - Fatigue: working hours, breaks, travelling, environment
 - FAS check-ups or others checking on your work: agency, H&S company, trainer, attendants
 - Non-interpreting tasks: admin tasks
 - Dress code
 - Seating arrangements, poor lighting, noise, technical difficulties with audio or video

V. Changes

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION:

Are there any changes you have noticed in course of your H&S interpreting experience, which impacted on the quality of your performance and of overall communication?

PROMPTS: POTENTIAL ISSUES

- Content
- Translated exercises, DVDs
- COC or other new obligations on interpreters
- Market changes
- Training (for interpreters and to work with interpreters)
- Briefings or material given in advance
- Interpreting mode prescribed

Appendix E – REC documentation

DCU

Dublin City University
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath

Office of the Vice-President for Research
Dublin 9, Ireland

Prof. Jenny Williams
SALIS

15th October 2008

REC Reference: DCUREC/2008/33

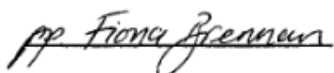
Proposal Title: **Quality Issues in Community Interpreting in the Area of Health and Safety Training for Construction Industry in Ireland**

Applicants: Prof. Jenny Williams, Ms. Martina O'Byrne

Dear Jenny

This research proposal qualifies under our Notification Procedure, as a low-risk social research project. Therefore, the DCU Research Ethics Committee approves this research proposal. Should substantial modifications to the research protocol be required at a later stage, a further submission should be made to the REC.

Yours sincerely,



Mr. Brian Trench
Chair
DCU Research Ethics Committee



Telephone 353 (0)1 700 8000
Facsimile 353 (0)1 700 8002
Email research@dcu.ie
Website www.dcu.ie

Appendix F – FÁS Code of Conduct for Safe Pass Tutors



FÁS Safe Pass

CODE OF CONDUCT FOR SAFE PASS TUTORS

A GUIDE FOR FAS SAFE PASS ACCREDITED TUTORS
PREPARED TO SUPPORT BEST PRACTICE IN THE CONDUCT
OF THE NATIONAL SAFE PASS PROGRAMMES
FOR CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES

Prepared by
The FÁS Safe Pass Unit
July 2002
SPU V.6 22nd June 2006

9.0 ► Course Delivery

The Tutor must ensure that the tutor's own course delivery materials are available and make adequate arrangements at the venue on the morning of the course to ensure the course can be delivered in an effective manner. The following guidelines must be adhered to by Safe Pass Tutors as part of the 'Course Delivery' process:-

- 9.1 The tutor will have an adequate knowledge of the type of construction activities the course participants are engaged in.
- 9.2 The tutor will have obtained background knowledge for the audience in relation to special considerations, e.g. language difficulties.
- 9.3 It is recognised that the tutor's own experience and background will support the delivery of the Safe Pass instructional materials. Nevertheless, it is important that all 12 modules of the Safe Pass Programme are covered and the objectives are met over the 9 hour period.
- 9.4 The tutor must maintain the safety arrangements put in place as part of the course arrangements throughout the course and inform participants of such safety arrangements as part of the course introduction.
- 9.5 A Safe Pass 'Training in Progress' sign and 'No Entry' sign must be placed on the door of the venue during course delivery.
- 9.6 It is important that the tutor 'confirms the training need' early on in the programme with the participants to generate an understanding of the value and importance of the training and improve the probability of success of the achievement of the course objectives.
- 9.7 The tutor is responsible for the learning environment throughout the day and must ensure that no interruptions or disruptions interfere with the effective delivery of the course.
- 9.8 Use of the exercise materials contained in the instructional materials provided to tutors must always be included in the course delivery to enhance participant involvement.
- 9.9 The sample questions provided in the trainer's manuals must be used.
- 9.10 The tutor must ensure that information relating to the assessment to be completed at the end of the course is adequately covered during the delivery of the course to allow participants to have a reasonable chance of successfully completing the assessment.
- 9.11 The Course material has been prepared on PowerPoint in CD format to be presented using an appropriate LCD projector. Where the tutor wishes to elaborate or illustrate a point, the flipchart or other appropriate visual aid should be used.

- 9.12 Overhead slides have also been provided but these should only be used as emergency back-up where some problem has arisen regarding the use of the LCD projector which cannot be rectified on the day.
- 9.13 The slides provided on the CD constitute the Safe Pass programme content and the new slides should not be changed in any form, added to or deleted. Any changes made will be viewed as a serious breach of the Code of Practice.
- 9.14 When conducting the Safe System of Work Plan (S.S.W.P.) the tutor should ensure that only coloured originals are used to conduct the exercise. These originals must not be photocopied as to do so would infringe the copyright for the Safe System of Work Plan which is the property of the Health and Safety Authority (HSA).
- 9.15 Where Safe Pass programmes are to be delivered to participants with language difficulties the tutor must ensure that participants have a basic understanding of the English language and provide an interpreter on the day.
- 9.16 The tutor must meet the interpreter before the day of course delivery and ensure that the interpreter is fully aware of the range of language in the course content.
- 9.17 The tutor must ensure that the interpreter is familiar with any technical words or jargon used during the course delivery.
- 9.18 An interpreter can only be used when the entire class requires this assistance.
- 9.19 When teaching Non-English speaking candidates, the tutor must engage a qualified independent interpreter to perform the function of translating the course content delivered by the tutor. The following conditions will apply to the engagement of an interpreter to translate on a Safe Pass Course:-

The Interpreter

- o Must be totally independent of the course participants;
- o Must not be a course organiser;
- o Must not be a subject matter expert in relation to safety management or the construction industry;
- o Must hold a recognised qualification (normally from a third level college or a recognised language school) which states that he/she is qualified to translate from a given language into English;
- o Must not work in the company where the Safe Pass Course is delivered.

Appendix G – Sample interview transcription

T2/MIC-2009-02-1912h38m02s.wav

The interview took place in tutor's home on 19 February 2009.

Demographic details in a separate document.

All names in the interview with the exception of the researcher's, have been replaced by fictitious names.

00:00

[Explanation about the interview objectives and modalities]

00:00-07:11

07:11

Opening question

If you just want to situated your mind in what I am interested in I would just like to ask an opening question which is how do you find the experience of delivering an SP course or other H&S training as compared to the normal English one. First thing that comes to mind.

Absolutely, completely different courses. When you deliver the course in your native language the audience is...they would be more in-tuned into little pranks you would say or little jokes as opposed to... when I first started off translating and you ask the interpreter you know to translate what you just said as regards to say something that happened, they would say for instance cannot say that Colm, we don't have a word for that in our language or something like this. And I said okay, okay. So I would have to re-tune it towards what would be suitable for that translator.

08:20

Now I have to say if you work with translators on a regular basis you know you build up a repertoire between the two of you. So if it's the same course she almost knows what you are going to say, she can almost finish it for you.

[laughs]

Which is really a good thing because there is time when you just become stuck and you get a little bit of a blank spot and you know you get a little bit of [] and Anna now is just very good, she would go like that [] and she would just finish it for me. Did you get all that Anna? Yes? Thank you Colm. Thank you Anna.

[both laugh]

Which is really good you know.

09:01

When you are working with the ones who are kind of new you know it's like working with anybody regardless whether they are translators or whether they are just someone in general. You don't know what they are like you don't know what kind of reaction you are going to get. Now they translate what you are saying but you want to make sure that it is getting across what you are saying in the manner and the way you want it represented. And it's important. I worked with one translator who had an awful habit of changing what you would be saying. And then they would go on and on and on and I would have to say stop you know you have gone beyond what I asked you to say. And he would say I was just explaining further. Don't explain further, you would only confuse them you know [laughs]. So he got the message after a couple of classes. But it was no problem he was just enthusiastic.

Right. And how would you know that he is actually adding his own bit to it or expanding...

09:54

You asked me about languages, I would not be great with languages, but in the last couple of years there would be a certain keywords that I would be tuned into. Like one in Russian is *strojka* or something similar to that. And the first time I heard that I said what in God's name is she talking about? *Strojka* this and *strojka* that. This is a first Russian interpreting class – it's construction. Jesus I said I thought you were telling them to go on strike...

[both laugh]

She just burst out laughing. *Strojka* or something close to *strojka* that is the name for....

To build something.

Yeah to build something. I just thought it was so funny, first she gave me a heart attack, but I was fine after that.

10:41

The tea breaks I think are important times. Time to interact with the interpreter. Not that he or she goes and sits over there and you sit over here, you know you kind of discuss the morning's work and make sure that they are in-tuned. And it's a golden opportunity also for the interpreter. If I am using words that maybe they might not be familiar with, they have the opportunity to say you have used this words and I am not hundred per cent sure about it. Even though they are interpreters... Because H&S is so diverse and such a broad area. There is a lot of risk assessments, ergonomics... these kinds of things and words that wouldn't be easily translated maybe in some languages. So taking them into account you would break them down for the interpreter. And then the relief [] one or two of them...I know exactly what you mean, you were saying that two or three times this morning and I didn't want to stop you.

11:32

And I says listen stop me at any time and ask me to clarify what I have been saying or even repeat what I am saying. You know I have no problem at all. And it is very important that you understand what I am saying and not be going yes Colm, it's fine Colm, I've got that Colm. And you have only got half of it.

So that's the main difference.

That's the main difference... that was fine.

11:57

What about time? Often tutors mention time.

Time on other programs isn't a problem. But on the SP program it's a huge factor. I practiced the SP program four dry runs on my own just to get the timing right. Because I was looking at the time table and I was saying to myself no way, there is no way I will get through this in one day.

I know...your 365 slides or whatever it is [] and then an interpreter comes into it...

12:28

Honestly God I mean...a friend of ours, Tony, thinks it takes extra two – that is Tony Pearson, the head of the program – an extra two hours to interpret. And I would say this maybe when I am doing the interpreter programs and it was like no, no, no, we have to go we couldn't do this program this long. And I said listen you are very, very lucky. You have one of the best translators in the business today and she will get it or he will get it translated by the Irish timetable so it's like [loud breath out] – a huge relief you know.

[laughs]

Right.

13:02

But you put a lot of pressure on the translator, but if she is in on the gig she is...no problem you know. So on paper is two extra hours but you are actually doing it in the same time...

I can do it in the same time with people who you worked with [intended before] I suppose.

13:16

Yes.

[].

It very much depends on the translator that you worked with on numerous occasions because you are literally just keeping to the SP timetable and just getting through the slides. And emphasising, I would always emphasise, especially in the SP important points that would come up in the assessment. Because on the other side of the table, on the occasion, it's difficult to keep your concentration.

Oh yeah.

With such a long course, all-day course, it's very difficult to stay focused. So I would say to the translator just emphasise that you know these are key points and I would ask her to translate that this is a key point and she would translate this is a key point that has come up in assessments on occasions. And if they can remember those key points I am happy enough that they got enough information during the day you know. Because you find that in the SP program a lot of the students have huge and vast experience in their industries. And a lot of SP is very, very, very basic. And it's more geared towards apprentices as opposed to seasoned professionals. And you can see this. [laughs] So to keep the focus I keep to the goal which is to get through the assessment if you know what I mean. And I would say it's important to take into consideration you know information that's coming up, bearing in mind they will be familiar with a lot of it, but for the purpose of the assessment it's important to listen throughout the day. And not be you know gone to sleep on me or something you know. I have to say now I must admit I keep them entertained outside of the program itself.

14:57

How do you do that?

Difficult but you would through in little jokes. Or [] experienced so what would have happened to me....

15:05

You are lucky that you come actually from a construction background because they probably feel closer to you like that and you can actually give them real-life situations.

Yes. A big plus I have found and I have only found this because I have some courses in psychology, my sister is a psychologist, so she said go and do a little course. So I often wondered why people's personalities were different. And I would say something to one person and they would smile and say yeah that's grand and you would say the exact same thing to somebody else and it would be like a frown you are piling extra work on me or something. So I did a little psychology course and one thing I found out is that with regards to training environment the students, now it might be only me, but the students seem to be more intimidated by the presence of this power dressing, the suit. So for the last twelve months I have stopped wearing a suit altogether and I would come dressed casually.

16:04

And what does the interpreter do?

Well she would dress in a nice clothing but not particularly...

Not formal.

No, and I would say now listen I hope you were not expecting someone in the suit, I come from the construction industry, there is a very few suits out there you know. And they would roar laughing. They would just burst out laughing. And immediately you can see there is tension

gone from them. You know and they are more relaxed. And then I actually find they listen more.

16:33

And do you find this with say the Russians or other nationalities as well or...

Especially... especially...

Do they expect you to be formal?

They expect me to be formal and they are very surprised when I am not formal. Now I explain I am from a construction background, started off as a carpenter you know, there is not too many suits walking around building sites. And they say oh yeah we understand that.

And they are happy then....

16:54

But they are very...I have to say...as opposed to the English speaking or to the Irish guys the foreign nationals are very respectful of the position.

Right.

So for instance the Irish guys on a tea break for instance they would go back into the room by themselves. But there is a lot of the foreign courses that would stand outside and allow you to enter first out of respect for you.

I know I know.

Which is nice but I don't expect it, I am very informal. You know, I don't look down at somebody.

17:28

I do also encourage them...I said listen I said especially the SP now in particular...there is only so much information the slides will give you and there is only so much you will listen to what's coming out of my mouth. What's also very important and you will get a few minutes in between the modules during the day – share your life experiences with the other people in the room. There is only so many I have but as far as I am concerned there is 21 tutors in this class today and they are looking at you...you are tutors of life experience, do you know what I mean. So an accident, something that you or your colleagues had, these other people in the room may not be familiar with that type of accident, have never heard of it. They will take great interest in the man who experienced that and a little bit of interaction you know a debate starts and that's great. And then I just say one voice, as in stop now, we have to keep going. And they would start talking across each other and I would say listen this interaction is brilliant. But now two people talking at the same time is no benefit to anybody. Let one person speak and then let the other person come in. Okay Colm, okay boss. Don't call me boss, I am not your boss.

[laughs]

18:45

And can you...this sounds like a perfect communication going...but with one language. Can you do this even with the interpreters?

I can do it through the interpreters. Yeah. What happens is...

Does it work for you? Or did you have different experiences or sometimes it works sometimes it does not work.

It works most of the time. There are occasions when it does not work. For instance, I would ask for a little debate on a certain topic. Let us say a console, an accident that involves a console. Put up your hand or [] the interpreter to say to communicate that they want to speak. And someone will say it in the wrong language...What happens sometimes is that some of them has a reasonably good English, and they are getting the course in their own language but they would start speaking English. Now that's fine for me and the translator, we understand. But a lot of the other students in the class don't speak the English language. So I said that's lovely but can you say it in your own language for the benefit of the rest of the class. What? Oh I forgot I am sorry. So say it in Russian or whatever the language and then Anna or Elena will translate back to me.

19:57

And then if there was misinformation or something that I would decide as something being... in the tutor position I would not like inaccurate information to be going through the class. So I would always say to the translator: listen translate exactly what's been said. Especially if there has been a debate going on. Because I want to emphasise if that is right or wrong as regards to the best practice. Because very often it would be not bad practice bad different practice, which in the Irish construction industry would not be considered best practice. So just to make sure that they are getting that message across. So I would say that's how you might do it but that's not how it should be done in the best practice. That's what it is all about getting the best practice message across.

20:42

[] Sounds good.

Just crop me off any time.

See in the end this is the best...although it might not be exactly structured, this is the best information. Because the computer will be sorting the information for me, I will be coding the different bits of information and the computer will be giving me different mixtures of it when I call different slogans or whatever.

Absolutely.

So it's perfect because when we talk like that the most interesting things come out. So I am very happy with everything you are saying.

21:14

Question 1

So my next question is what does the interpreter have to do during the H&S training? What is the task of... the interpreter's task?

Basically as the name suggests they have to interpret exactly what I am saying. Not to change it, not to make it shorter, not to make it longer... just exactly as the words are coming out of my mouth. On occasion I might say to the interpreter you can condense it a little bit if you want if it's too much, if there is too much information. I am not perfect, I am guilty of flaws, we are all human and I am guilty sometimes of going on for so long and forgetting to make eye contact with the interpreter. So she is doing the translation [] and I have gone maybe ten words too many. There is only so much you can remember. What was that you were saying again – she has forgotten, he has forgotten. And I would have forgotten myself so I condense it a little bit so say x, y and z and will leave it at that. Because you can rumble on or you can rant as [] liked to say you know when you speak English, because they can take whatever [] want, but when there is translation, when you are translating, you have to be conscious that it has to be translated. The time frame also is very important. Because I could be talking for ten minutes and then the translator has to translate for ten minutes, that's twenty minutes, and the time evaporates so quickly.

I know...

22:44

Do they take notes when you talk for a longish time?

Some do, some don't...

And are you happy with it?

I have made a habit in the last...definitely in the last twelve months particularly as regards to...there is a little more leeway I suppose on my own programs but as regards to the SP program I have to stick to the content, it's much rigid.

23:15

How do you work with the interpreter actually technically? How many slides or...?

Okay...no... one or two slides at a time. I go through the slides and the translator would literally just translate exactly what I say.

So that's the points but commented by you is it?

Yeah, I would expand on one or two points, but if it was the likes of ergonomic or the risk assessment I would start by pointing out what the risk assessment is. You know – have you done the risk assessment? And she would translate, he would translate...because risk assessment is kind of the long of H&S. It's great if you are talking to someone who has a H&S background, but for the ordinary person the risk assessment means nothing. Absolutely nothing. And the chances of them remembering is so remote. So I would ask a simple question – you have all done a risk assessments? And they look at you like: What's he talking about

what's he talking about? And if you are working with the same translator, they would be laughing at this time because they know what's coming next. And I would say you have all done risk assessment...No, no, no Colm [] they are saying they haven't done risk assessment. No, no, no, we haven't. Yes, you have. [] a bit of craic. When you woke up this morning, how many people drove or walked this morning. []? How many? Hands would go up. When you crossed the road this morning, what did you do? You looked left and right. That's a risk assessment. You don't want to be hit by the motorbike, you don't want to be hit by the car. So that's the physical environment. You know risk assessment doesn't have to be written down. You don't have to write it down, you can do it subconsciously. Every one of us all around the world at any given time is doing some sort of risk assessment you know. And they are sitting there all happy – we have done risk assessment or whatever type of thing. You know it breaks the ice and it makes them feel more comfortable. Because I find, and I have been on the receiving end also outside the H&S areas, well the tutors or the lecturers are using these huge big words that only limited number of people can understand. For the normal person out there keep the language simple, keep it short, keep it to the point. That's what they remember. If you start going on the tangents as I like to call it you know the sort of gobbledygook they [] cloud.

25:39

You said he or she, the interpreter. Do you work with both? Lady and male interpreters?

Yeah. Both male and female.

And how do you find it? Is there any difference?

Don't like to say this, but the ladies listen better. They are better interpreters. Fellows tend to change what you are saying. They'll go on a little bit too much... [] especially when there is a time constraint, you know what I mean. That said, if you get a male that has female hormones, you know you are on a winner.

I know...I come from an interpreting school and that's exactly the males we had in the interpreting school. So I know what you are talking about.

I knew we were on the same wave length.

[laughs]

26:25

That's right...and what would be the ratio between the interpreters you worked with?

I suppose...four to one ratio or there about.

And would you recall whether they were what you would call qualified interpreters or was there anyone who came from construction background or what sort of interpreters do you get and where do you get them anyway...apart from the ITIA.

One had a construction background.

27:01

How did you find him, was it a male interpreter?

Yeah, I use that guy when I can...

What language was it? Russian?

Was it Russian, yeah, it was actually Russian. Because there is two of them, I mix them up. Yeah, it was for the Russian, he is very good. He is on the same wave length as me. So he knows where I am coming from and he has the background as well, which is brilliant.

27:28

The other interpreters are very, very good. Actually one of the girls [] had a construction background.

Very interesting.

And she has a lot of the keywords so when you start to work with a new interpreter who wouldn't have a huge amount of experience working in H&S in particular construction some of the words would be difficult and you would find that in the class maybe at the start she wouldn't know the word and none of the lads would know it and you would tell her and she would say thank you with a little glow of red as well...

[laughs]

27:59

Do they have dictionaries some times? Or do they bring that sort of translation device?

I have never seen the devices, I know they exist... Some of them would bring a little [] that they would have reference material and the good ones, if it is a new course they are doing, they would do background research on you know key indicators, which is always important. And the ones that are [registered] pretty much do that now. I had one I just use for myself she was not qualified [] but she has perfect English-Polish translation. Perfect. And any words that she is not familiar with I would explain what it is and she knows the word and she goes and researches it. So even though she is not officially an interpreter through the proper channels she can do the job. So that's exactly what I need at the end of the day. Other than SP they have to be kind of registered or recognised [] some organisation in most instances. So once they can get the message across I am happy.

29:13

Registered...it's a bit of a confusion, isn't it? These registrations now...Now you obviously know once you have worked with the person whether they can do the job or not, but before you actually start working with them do you meet them, do you tell them what it is going to be all about, do you give them the terminology, do you ask them for some sort of certificate or what do you do?

Quite often I would have a pool like that I would use like constantly and I don't really go outside it unless it's something outside you know my area. And I just take them out of that pool. That pool would have been recommended from fellow tutors or contacts I have within you know various industries. And they'll tell you listen I worked with Tina, she is the best interpreter I ever had. Highly recommend her. She is very cheap, gets the job done. Okay, take her details and give her a ring []. And on occasion I'd have to go on the interpreters' website [] just kind of to [] ring them up, tell them I need a translator with this kind of expertise in this field, can you provide one? What's the rate? I need her for half a day...

30:30

Can I just get from you... by email the link...I just want to check if it is the ITIA or... could it be [] as well? They have interpreters as well...

I cannot remember...but I'll forward that information onto you.

I am going to ask you for that if that's okay...sorry.

And I know the cost is different, the last time I looked at it, there are different levels of qualification.

So that'll be the ITIA I think. Okay.

31:03

So that's what you do you first go to your pool and then if the pool cannot deliver or if they are not available I would call or look for you know the official channels or the web link. Give them a ring – I probably have the number on the phone you know.

31:20

Okay and the first time you say met one of these interpreters. How do you go about it? You are getting ready to do the SP with them say.

SP... if it is the first time doing, it's hairy is the word I like to use you know [laughs] ... it's not that they are not good at what they are doing but I look back and I remember the first time I did an SP. You know. And I know how difficult it is.

31:45

You have to keep the attention of the audience, you have to get through these 300 slides and you have this time frame. So you know. No pressure, nice to meet you Martina, but we have to be out of there by five o'clock today. And then they look at the content and they say there is no way we are going to do this. We are going to do it, trust me. Now it never works out like that with a new interpreter. I would be lucky...

And you have never seen the interpreter before.

No, no. And I would be lucky to get out before six. I am running over an hour over time eating into my time at that point you know. Which I don't mind from the interpreter's point of view.

But it's an hour more than I should want to be there and it's an hour more that the people listening want to be there.

32:32

It's extremely difficult when you get monitors because I would also warn them on occasion depending on the group – listen I says, this is very important, this is a vital piece of information if you know what I mean []. If you notice a distinct change in my personality [laughs] if an inspector walks into a room don't be shocked, it's the same person. It's just that I have gone into a different mode. You have to do that. I have to do that. Because I have gone from being informal and as soon as they come in I know I have to be on my best behaviour. So it's obvious the cloak come over you know. So they often laugh at this, depends how the translator is, how they translate back, it gets funny reactions. It's okay Colm, we will take care of you, we will look after you. []

33:29

So it's not a great situation to have the monitor coming in to have an interpreter first time...

It's really difficult and it puts a huge pressure on the translator or the interpreter. I am used to them at this stage and in fact if they are in the room now I forget they are in the room and even if I look down I would see blank faces there is no expression. [] if you take all the features off their face and you just see the silhouette you know. And I find that helps to keep [] normal.

34:05

But the interpreter cannot do this I imagine...

No but the only saving grace for the interpreter is that – touch would [knocks on the table] – the monitor doesn't know what's being translated. So even if she makes or he makes mistakes you know as long as the message is getting across she or he is okay. I had to say it to them as well. Comes the tea break and they say Jesus there is that man...and I say that's the monitor, that's John coming to break me heart again or somebody else. And what's he like? He is grand. You speak a different language. But I am really nervous. Don't be I said I want to keep it really short today. I am saying literally what's on the board today. So if you forget what I say just look at the board and read the slides. And I say I am not going to read any stories today I am sticking strictly to the program. Thanks Colm thanks Colm []. So just relax, I'll be smiling at you I'll be winking at you, just relax. You know what I mean. I am not going to be frowning at you [laughs].

35:15

That's still quite paradoxical because they come to check on every word you say but in the end the interpreter could be telling a fairy tale and no one would know. So where is the quality control?

Well yeah. That is the point with regards to that program... don't want to go there with you.

No, no, go there because I want to know.

[laughs]

Because I want to know.

Yeah...the thing is as well you have to trust...that's why I suppose [] the qualified interpreters on that kind of program, because it's a government program. It's very important that they are qualified in the area. It's not enough just to be an interpreter, they have to be specific to the area of H&S and be familiar with all...I don't want to say it but the jargon that goes with that area which is really intense. Because I remember when I started and I did [] in H&S I said to myself oh my God they are talking about ergonomics do you know what I mean... what is this word ergonomics... why not just say that they want to suit the room to the person as opposed to suit the person to the room. And that was a lecturer, you know Master's degree every respect... people have MA's and the whole lot but you have to relay the H&S information in a manner... Now I was on a [] program I was expected to come to that level, but I said this couple of times, sorry for repeating this, but it's important information, it's relevant and it's at the level, intellectual level capable of the people you are tutoring to. And it's not always the case. And the same goes for the interpreters. To get across the message simply and to the point.

36:57

I know, it's though difficult for them because they are not supposed to get any material in advance.

Exactly, especially the SP program.

Especially, they...

I had a monitor...

They are supposed to do it without knowing what it's going to be about, they don't know any H&S vocabulary, they don't know any construction vocabulary, they may be not familiar enough with the Irish life and society or whatever and what do they do?

37:20

Yeah. It's really difficult. And because FÁS is so strict you know it's almost suspension. If I gave the SP program to a future interpreter and the people in FÁS found out about it I would probably get six months suspension at the very least.

[] oh yeah.

Because they are very protective of this program. I don't know why. I think they should slack in [] the rules and regulations down a little bit to help interpreters in particular.

To help interpreter in order to help themselves really....

37:52

It's okay for the tutors you know. [] the times I have been doing the SP program I could nearly throw the slides away to be perfectly honest with you and in fact I worked with one particular interpreter and she has been doing the program so long she has been doing it since day one,

seven years, she knows almost what's going to be on the slides before they come up. But I caught her out lovely this year because the program had changed and she didn't look on the board...

Yes [laughs].

And I stopped and she kept going. And I said Martina – yes – that's not what I said – what, what? And she looked at the board and this new slide is on the board [laughs].

38:30

Okay. What is it? What's the module?

And she was read...electricity. And there is a huge increase in slides on electricity.

Oh, more slides....

I don't know if you are aware of the Irish H&S general application regulations 2007.

Yeah I know there were some changes...

But there is a huge piece on electricity added onto the general regulations. So that's been brought into the SP program.

39:05

So she looked at the board and there is this seven or eight points on the board that she has never seen before and she [].

[both laugh]

Because we have a great rapport. There is a great communication between us and we have great laugh and we have gone out for drinks and the whole lot you know. So she was saying you [] you knew that was there you never told me. And I said sometimes I just have to bring you back down a little bit. You are up there on your pedestal you know. And she just laughed ...

[laughs]

Very nice.

39:43

Question 2

Right if there is a new interpreter do you say: I say that much and then you interpret. Or does the interpreter interpret over you or how do you work it normally?

Okay. There is a window of grace say about 15minutes before the course starts.

Yes.

[] You [] get through the registration and the whole lot so I would take that five ten minutes with the interpreter and say listen what is your background okay I know you can interpret, do

you have a H&S background? If they say yes I [] happy days. I have to say some say okay. Okay. Right then I bring up risk assessment, ergonomics, things that will come up in the SP program. Yes, yes, yes. No, no, no. So the ones she would be not familiar with I would write down my own translation of to change it for her so that she can translate. Or he can translate. Now if they come around and say Colm I am not really H&S background, I am just literally a translator. Okay. I am going to keep it nice and short this is your first time working with me my first time working with you, you may not understand my accent which I totally understand because most of them would be native speakers from their own country and whereas they would be really used to the Dublin accent I'd say, they wouldn't be used to my more Northerly accent that is a little bit softer or stronger. As some of them would say you know.

41:14

I worked with a German translator and I said do you understand me okay and she said very clearly your accent is very strong. I said is that a good thing? Oh yes she says it's brilliant because you are very clear and precise whereas I am working with Dubliners and it's like [] and it's difficult to understand like you know? Particularly North Dublin, the inner city has a very strong accent you are kind of hanging on every word you know.

41:49

So I would say okay you are not too familiar with the program, this is how it works. It's a series of modules, the modules or the topics go on for about 15-20 minutes, half an hour some of the modules. There is a series of slides that would come up on the board. Now I am going to keep it to the minimum today because you are new. I just stick to the slides or what comes up on the slides and maybe I expand a little bit.

42:15

Now the way it works is I am going to be on this side of the room, you are going to be on the opposite side of the room, the board is going to be in the middle. This is how I work.

Yes, yes. Do you have the interpreter standing or sitting? And what do you do?

42:22

I don't mind. If they are comfortable sitting or standing I let them sit or stand. I have learned lately to always sit on a high stool as opposed to standing so I mean sit down if you want to put a drink in front of you I'll put a little table in front of them to put their little bits and pieces make sure they are comfortable.

42:47

I say what needs to be said what it says on the board and if you can remember what I have been saying by all means translate. Or just look at the board if you are not sure. And read the bullet points.

All right okay.

Then if there would be questions, feedback, she would feedback to me.

43:04

And do you get questions?

Oh yeah...

So that's a way for you to check that things are actually getting across is it?

I don't know what your background is as in interviewing all the tutors [an understanding of the concept of 'background' that came up earlier, more like information on the topic] but I do most of the exercises believe it or not.

You do.... for every module. And what way do you do them? Do you use the printed...

43:26

I only use the printed...for the case studies. You know the scenarios. Read the situation and then...ask the questions...

You read them the interpreter interprets...

I have them also in different languages.

You do have them in different languages?

I do yeah.

You have them done yourself though.

No, no. FÁS has brought them out. In 2005...

Is it in all languages you need?

Well. I have them in the ones I use. Do you know what I mean? Like the Polish is there Russian is there, Lithuanian.

Okay.

So the interpreter has them in their own language...

I give them to the interpreter in English and in their own language.

44:07

So sometimes the interpreters, and fair play to them, came back and said what's in English it's not translated correctly. Do you know what I mean? That's the Irish government [] it's nothing to do with me I said []. You translate the question. They will understand it you know providing you are getting the same feedback. So I am [] happy with that.

44:28

What about the DVDs? Do you use the DVDs? They are all in English though.

They are in English unfortunately.

How do you work it?

Depending on the interpreter... there is a German interpreter and I have only worked with her twice. But the first time even the second time she would just let the video play and she would not translate whereas other ones would. And I'd say Martina are you not going to translate this? Because I expect it to be translated. No, no, no, I just let it play. The other tutors I worked with were happy just to let it play. Pictures speak a thousand words. That saying is true. You know. I wish they would...

What about the Construction Health Trust...

Okay...

There is a lot of words that are not spoken by the pictures. I am afraid...

[laughs]

45:18

Depending on the time frame as regards to CWHT. Sometimes the computer breaks. Malfunction okay... So I pick up the CD in my hand show it to the interpreter and say will you translate this for me? Yes Colm. Has everybody seen the CD? The DVD?

[laughs]

That's the most original way of dealing with the DVDs I have ever heard.

[both laugh]

What... and some of them will start laughing. Has everybody seen the DVD [out loud, clear diction]...

Not when the monitor comes in though....

And the translator would say it in the way I did whatever the language [repeats with the same diction a series of inarticulate sounds] and he just burst out laughing. I trust you you trust me. It never happened.

46:15

And they actually appreciate that because it breaks down the formality. And I think that's an important part of tutoring you know to get the students on your side you know what I mean. I have gone through the national school and the school system here in Ireland. And the teachers, very well educated, they know their stuff but in my experience they have not been I suppose trained how to teach. You know what I mean. And that's their big down fall. They see themselves as this powerful entity and they are looking down on them you know. You do what I tell you this is how it's to be done. It does not work. The natural I suppose mind frame of people is to resist authority. And when they see an authoritative figure they want to rebel against it. Now that's my personal experience and you know when I had touched that subject with students they are like you know Colm you are such a breath of fresh air. You know you are totally different than other tutor... teachers we have ever had.

47:29

You interact with us, we have a bit of a laugh you know...you see you are never enough I suppose to understand that you are giving so much information and we understand that. They would say Colm we understand you have to get that information across. But it's understandable enough that when you have looked back at us we have switched off, the focus has gone. And you come in and through a joke in [out loud] now listen up a minute John whatever...and you are all over the place....okay I tell you a joke or something like that. And they really appreciate that. And then the attention span has gone back. And it has happened at courses maybe that I have given two years, three years back and they distinctly remember me. And what is really, really strange for me when you [] the classroom you see that many people it's just a blank. You know you don't remember them.

Of course...there is twenty of them each time.

48:31

You know there is characters. Here is character you will remember. But they will come in and they will say your name. And they call out your name – nice to see you again Colm how is it going? Michel, is it? Oh of course Martina, it's lovely to see you again you know. But it's the ones that... they remember you because... they might not remember you for the right reasons but you certainly touched them in some way.

49:03

Well, they will not fall down from the scaffold because you told them something in a particular way. That's brilliant.

49:06

That's another thing I was saying. Make sure, it's like re-enforcing a point from the interpreter's point of view. I would say, on a serious note now, I would say to the class as well [] half way through the day they would say can we have the test now. Can we have the test? I would say I would love to give you the test now. But unfortunately this is the program, we are here until five o'clock we are here the duration and that's not me that's FÁS. They design it, go talk to FÁS. They then finally accept that and they might just say [] we might be able to finish early. But I said listen guys, this is very important, listen guys, through the translator, if any of you guys happen to hurt yourself on a construction site, I would tell them this, I would feel personally responsible to an extent if I felt, and this is the important part I said, if I felt I left out a bit of information which might have saved that life, so you take that into consideration.

50:12

Also I said don't be too hard on the safety officers on the construction site. Because they would give out stinks about them you know all the time. I said, and increasingly, I said, a lot of the safety officers are female in the recent years I have found out. And one friend of mine is brilliant I'll tell you a little story about her in a second, but I said, bear in mind they are under tremendous pressure. And when you say God there is a safety officer again telling me to put a hard hat on telling me to put the glows on you have the luxury I said of not knowing what

those people know and they have a huge amount of responsibility. It's not about walking the site to tell you to put the hat on. But they are the first guys to fall if an accident happens. They say to the safety officer listen you should have sorted that out that should have not have happened. And I say it especially to the younger ones. And they are looking at you laughing. And the older guys kind of say Jesus they do your head in. And sometimes the younger boys would realise where you would be coming from. And they would say listen they are fresh from college the only thing they know is paper health and safety.

51:33

It's like any job I would say there is paper law and trial law. There is H&S paper law and the [] of H&S which is totally different. And you know a more experienced H&S practitioners will take that into consideration especially in construction environments that there has to be a happy medium. You cannot just tell something to stop until it's completely 100 per cent right. It might get 90 per cent right and let it go ahead. As long as the risk has been reduced, you know. So you kind of take that into consideration.

52:00

But I have mentioned that friend of mine. She used to work for Pears construction. And she used translators also. On occasion... and for the class you would say...what actually happened was the guy was before, just to tell you a little story, he had twenty foreign nationals starting on a Monday morning on a construction site and he puts them all in a line and walks up and down the line and says: do you all speak English? And they say yes boss. That's great that's great he says. I am glad to hear that you all speak English. And they [] he knows they haven't got a word of English. And he says...looks up like this and says there is a large brick going to fall on your heads...and they all say yes boss. And they are looking up. And he says. This is not going to work. We need to get an interpreter, translator in here to get this information across. So that was I suppose the experience.

53:00

This girl replaced him. And how she does it she does an induction program. There is very few at the moment but when they were very much [] and she says do you all like football? And they say yes, yes, we all like it... Moscow...or I don't know what the Czech team is or Italy or Poland or Ireland...we love Ireland we love Ireland they all say. Ah sure you are already half Irish she would say you know. They laugh you know. Do you understand what the card means...and she'd have the two cards and she would hold them up. Yellow card, red card. Don't be talking to me on scaffolding saying me no understand me no English. This is the information I am giving you know this is the information I want you to learn. Okay. She would get the translator to translate this. Yellow card you are on a warning. Okay. If you get the red card from me you are off the site for the day. And just to make sure, I am going to make sure that you all get the colour test. So that you don't tell me that you are colour blind you know. So they say we understand we understand.

54:05

So she never says a word she just goes oy! – yellow card – me understand, me understand...so that's how she does it.

Great! That's the whole pictogram idea...

Exactly, exactly...

Well you have to find ways...of communicating if the language is not there...

54:25

Exactly. So the easiest way it can get across...some of the programs like the programs I use I tend to use more videos, real-life pictures, it hits home so much better. You can talk all day about a particular accident and people, some people, depending on the personality and how they interpret [] what they are seeing, will get a pretty clear picture.

Hm.

Whereas other picture is going to be snowy it's going to be hazy. They are not going to understand, it's going to be cloudy. You know, so show a picture, you get a message across. Picture gets transmitted to the brain much quicker. You could spend an hour talking about the same picture and they would never understand. So from a translating point of view...

55:07

So you don't mind it that much that the DVDs don't get translated do you?

[]

**If they are translating actually how do they do it – do they talk over it? Or do they stop it?
How do they do it?**

I would give a copy of the DVD to the interpreters.

Right. Okay?

Okay. And then in their own time. Now if it is a new interpreter I probably wouldn't expect him to translate if they are not familiar with what's coming up. What I would normally do is to turn the speaker down to a low volume just high enough and close enough to the interpreter...

Yes...

So that she can hear or he can hear and then they would talk over the important parts. Like for instance the electricity module. [] the CWHI I would tell him or tell her just to stick to the key points. [] assessment, because lot of it is...rubbish you know what I mean. Because certainly the Irish guys...the Irish guys...Pat Short is the guy's name, he is a comedian you know... so the Irish guys know who he is. But it is not the same going. Although he can be funny. But it's not the same impact on the foreign nationals you know. They don't know who he is you know. So they are relying very heavily on the translator or the interpreter you know. I prefer if they can translate videos, if they cannot as I said the pictures...they should be getting enough information.

'See the CD' is the best I have heard really...

56:37

I am sticking 'to the slides here today' [showing the interview schedule, laughs] because...

I know I am talking too much...

No, no, you are talking very interesting. And if we are not under any time pressure then if you don't mind going ahead it's grand. So I just check the points here but I think you have covered everything really and gave me more than I asked for so that's brilliant...

57:11

Okay. You spoke about the exercises. You do them all....Do you ever let the interpreter to actually lead the exercise or part of the course, a module, or do you always go first and then let the interpreter interpret?

Well as regards to the case studies I would say to the class through the interpreter: you have all been appointed accident investigators so some of them perk up, some of them don't really care. Some of them would say what do you mean by accident investigator? Effectively you guys are working for the H&S authority okay? Which is our safety police in Ireland okay? This accident, it's a [] scenario, you will get it in your own language in writing but the translator will read it out for you also so you can get you know both sides of it. Some of them you have to think have to take into consideration their background...

Absolutely yeah...

58:08

Some of them may not be able to read their own language. Also I would say has anyone forgotten their glasses today? Because what I do also say to them is listen I understand you guys, yes are not used to this formal classroom environment, you are more used to being down in construction doing your thing and you are much better at it. And they are a little relieved to hear []. Myself and the interpreter are here to help you today, there is a little assessment at the end of the day, but you will get all the information today and there is nothing difficult, they are not really hard questions. I'd say if you take the technical jargon out of H&S, safety is basically common sense. So [] common sense [] in prospective you will do this no bother. And we have one of the best tutors and one of the best interpreters today and we have a 100 per cent record. All A-students you know. And they actually like that, they relax a little bit.

59:10

So they go off and I always get them to divide into groups. You get a little bit of interaction and it gets them to get to know each other a little bit. It gives the interpreter a little bit of a break because I know she is doing [] breaks, it gives me a chance to check the paper work that needs to be checked...very sticky on paper work FÁS. And then they give [] the feedback.

59:41

And you do this through the interpreter?

Through the interpreter. And if the feedback is accurate I expand on it a little bit, if not I expand further and say why that's wrong. Why it should be this.

So that's the exercises.

59:48

What about the modules. Do you ever actually hand over a section to the interpreter and say go ahead, go through these slides ...

No absolutely not. You cannot. On occasion when I started particularly when I started the SP first I would allow the interpreter to do some slides. But once I got monitored I was pulled up on it by the monitor.

Okay, okay.

And I am aware I have been in the public sector myself and I am aware of protocol and procedures and I know that it is important to stick to those. Because for me it was a good revenue, the income was good. I didn't want to get suspended, I didn't want to get put off the program because of [] subordination... So you know I stopped. So any time a monitor would pull me up on something I could pretty much guarantee that [] Martina that would not happen again. I would crack myself [] something I do [] everything I do you know.

01:00:51

Now, the course as you said in the morning there is a bit of paper work to be done and there is at the end the letters to say that they have done the course before they get the card and all those things. What do you expect in these parts of the course from the interpreter? Do you do it yourself or does the interpreter help?

If it is an interpreter I have a history with, if I am paying them on the day, I would agree the terms and conditions on the day. Now if they [] and they want to just literally interpret what I say that's all they are getting paid to do. Anything else to me is an extra. You know. If they are working for me I would include those extras and agree a price. And that's fine. Let us say putting their names on the letters particularly in a foreign language. They are more familiar with the names.

Okay.

01:01:43

Or if as it happens someone has misspelled their names on the registration forms or the address or something it's great to have the interpreter say listen Colm I don't think that name is correct. The spelling is incorrect.

But you would consider it an extra.

I would consider it an extra. It's not part of the program, particularly the SP program you know. You know it would be outside of the code of conduct for tutors. Tutors had to do everything.

The only things interpreters are allowed to do on the SP is literally interpret. They are not allowed to have any of the information whatsoever so you keep it at that.

01:02:25

Now if it is an SP program just as regards to letters. The letters for me are not strictly part of the SP program. I would ask the interpreter or the translators to do the names. And then I would sign off and check with the registration to make sure if they are happy to do that. If not I am happy enough to do it myself.

Okay.

01:02:47

Is there anything that you really want the interpreter to do or that you really don't want the interpreter to do? Any particular expectation that you have of the interpreter?

From a personal experience?

Yeah.

From a personal experience I like the information to be given as I am saying it. You know what I mean. So literally just interpret what I am saying. Now but I will give them a little bit of leeway. You know if they find that what I am saying is difficult to translate in their own language they can do one or two things. One they can come back to me and they can say listen Colm it's just a little bit difficult to get that passage across how you want it in my language. Can I change it? Change it but don't go off the rails on me, keep it within the [] content of what I am saying. And I am happy enough with that you know what I mean. Other than that I do specifically ask that they don't go away on tangents themselves. So if they are particularly knowledgeable about a particular module they say what I have said and then they keep going. You know what I mean. I don't like that. I don't like them to do that. I said you know if you want to do that go off and do your own course. I said you are now getting paid for what I am asking you to say. You are prolonging your agony I said to one interpreter. What do you mean by that? I mean we are supposed to be finished at five o'clock hello it's ten to six you know. Oh my God yeah. You are only getting paid until five o'clock you know. Generally it does not happen the second time.

01:04:26

But I would never like get onto them because I am effectively in charge or something. I wouldn't say listen Martina don't let that happen again I am not happy with you. No I would say it in a nice way.

So you would give feedback but on the positive side kind of.

Absolutely yeah. It's nice to be nice you know. You know what I mean. If you can build up a relationship between yourself and an interpreter you are going to get a much better relationship and it'll be fluent.

01:05:03

Question 3

Talk about the relationship, think about the relationship with the interpreter. How do you work it from the beginning what's important in it and what do you feel is important for the course actually on the day?

So my own experience, my personality...I tend to get on with everybody. From day one. Everyone starts off with a clean slate. So I don't look at somebody and say I don't like the look of Martina now you know. She is a bit dodgy looking. She smiles too much she winks too much...

[laughs]

01:05:34

But they start off on a level [] and the first couple of slides with a new interpreter... it is difficult, do you know what I mean...because you don't know each other, you have to take into consideration the personality you know, they might have a very outgoing personality, they might be very shy. Now if they have an open personality that makes things a little bit easier. If they have a shy personality, it takes a little bit longer maybe five or six classes before they open up a bit. And if you build up short term...you know if you are just using them once or twice or say on a couple of occasions you are not going to know them well because the courses are not regular so it's not really important that you get to know them but it is important that the message is getting across you know professionally. That's the most important thing. But when you are working together long term it's brilliant that you get to know each other, which is a great time saver I find. Because she knows if it's the same course she knows what's going to come out next. So she is actually or he is actually saving a little bit of time. I don't have to explain as much she knows exactly where I am coming from I can keep it within even let us say the slides [] short couple of paragraphs and straight away she has it and she is away do you know... And the trust has been built up at that point and you are not worried any more is it going to be translated correctly. You have seen the feedback from the assessments you know that she is getting the message across. So there is trust, that bond is very important.

01:07:18

And would you within that relationship at a certain point be able to see whether the interpreter is having any difficulties say with the group? They are all from the construction industry and she is not...

Yes...

Do they trust her...and she is a woman...

Exactly. When it's a woman it can be a problem sometimes.

Right. How does it manifest...

How it manifests in the classroom ...different personalities. Again you have the guys that would keep their arms folded, they are kind of on a defensive, and say nothing, and they look away. You have some of them... that will make eye contact with you...

I see them there in front of me...

Yeah, it's like that all the time. You will remember the faces because again because you will get the person that is winking at you trying to distract you. And then you get the ones that if you say something it gets translated and then the person totally disagrees with you, you know, what I mean it causes a problem for the interpreter because now there is a reaction, it's a negative reaction. Negative reactions take up time. And on time constraint programs that's very, very important that you nip that in the bud straight away.

So how do you work it?

How I work that is...

Does the interpreter tell you or do you see it yourself?

You will see it you will see it in their emotions. Emotions tell...again a picture speaks a thousand words. So you know sometimes the translator or the interpreter would say to me listen this guy has a problem with what you are saying. Sometimes they don't have to say anything, I know. Just say to this guy these are the important points, these are facts. Tell me what he is saying. So he or she tells me what he is saying, I evaluate that and then I will feed it into the point that he is finding negative. And I will reinforce them then with life experience that I have. If that does not work and he is destroying the class and causing disruption, the guys are becoming uncomfortable because he is becoming a little bit agitated I would just say listen just interpret this I appreciated what you are saying, I have taken on board your points of view, the rest of the class have taken on board your points also. I am the tutor, I am the one with professional experience I know this to be fact. Now as I said I have taken on board your point but this is how it is. If you don't like that you are entitled to do that I accept but please we have to stop now you know we have to be conscious of time we have to move on. If you want to talk to me on the break or after the class I'll be happy to talk to you.

01:10:01

All evening if you want and most times they cut it off at that. Whereas I have seen other tutors where they would become a little bit agitated, trying to translate that agitation through the interpreter...very uncomfortable for the interpreter because you know the tutor has become animated at this and it's almost like a fight. And the interpreter is almost a tug o' war going on you know. It can be very difficult. So I try to avoid that. So I let them make the point but I re-enforce that this is a cut-off point this is the time we need to keep going. Come back to me after. If at that point they don't, they don't want to be quiet, at that point I stop the class and I tell the interpreter listen tell the guy I want to see him outside. Pull him out and I would say just translate this exactly as it is. I say this course has to go on, I take on board what you are saying, right, that's as much as I can say to you. If you continue to disrupt the class I'd have to [] away from the class, you'd forfeit your fee and you'd forfeit your card or whatever. And nine times out of ten that had worked. I am sorry I am sorry it's just... so not what I am not used to here. And she would translate back. Listen I would say I know that but the information I have to give you is best practice information I understand that's not your case come and talk to me after if you want I will be happy to talk to you. And they go down, they ease down a bit

they back in []. Thank God, touch wood it does not happen me too often, but I try not to implicate the interpreter, it's outside the [] it's outside the course.

01:11:51

Absolutely. Yes, yes. Now a good... an example of a good relationship with the interpreter and a bad one. Did you have a bad one? Did things go wrong because the relationship wasn't working?

Eh...only once, only once... German translator, female, very good translating, but just went on and on. I thought she was never going to stop.

Right.

And the only reason I picked up on it was that I have used all the translators or I had been appointed [] German translators and the content as I said I also say it to them as well you know they would say something in their own language and I would say listen I don't understand the language but I know what you are saying. And they look at you and they find this very funny. So I would be used to phrases from the modules at this point in those languages, not know them all now, but Russian and German. I have become pretty good at it.

01:12:49

And I would say listen you have come way beyond what I asked you to translate and she looked at me and she was shocked. Do you speak German? And I said no, but you have come five minutes over what would normally be said in that time frame. You know what I mean. And she was really shocked. I said listen you are good at what you do but stick to what I am saying you know what I mean. And I went on for another two or three modules and she just obviously didn't take on board what I was saying and I just had to say listen that's it. I am going to call out what is on the board you are going to read what is on the board and translate back. We cannot go on like this, we would be here until seven o'clock. And she was a little bit offended by it I have to say. I don't like offending anybody. But she actually came to me after we had finished, we ended up finishing ten to six.

01:13:36

And she said I realised when you are coming from I am really sorry about today. And I said you don't have nothing to be sorry about, just stick to the program, stick to what I am telling you to translate. [] worked with her since then and she has been grand. After that they have been all positive thanks be to God.

Good.

01:13:54

Now when you work with an interpreter do you do anything different with regards to the content of the course? As opposed to an English course?

In an English course I would expand a lot more....

Yes.

I would be very conscious of time frame especially on the SP program I'd say. Difficult to get the level of information across in the same time period, but I've got reasonably good at it. So I literally just stick to the points. And that's all that is required in the course. That's all that is required...

It might not be as entertaining...

01:14:32

No. It's not as entertaining and as I said provided you get the message across...you know what I mean. And if I run slightly ahead of schedule, which I do, because sometimes there is so much information in the module and it's impossible even to translate all that information, even just going through the slides...I would have maybe five minutes to spare, I would give them a life experience or I would ask one of them listen have you experienced any or do you know any experience of an accident...

[]

I get the module across, get that out of the way.

01:15:11

About formality. You spoke about trying to be informal for the sake of communication. Do you have to do it less in the interpreted courses?

No, it's kind of even. It's kind of even. There is no difference.

Okay.

01:15:26

Do you see that there are questions and answers as much in the interpreted courses as much as there are in the English ones?

More in the English. Because you are giving them extra information. And especially with subcontractors, smaller guys two or three-man operation they would want to know how would that impact on their organisation. Whereas on the translation courses most of them are working either for themselves as one-man-bands or they are working for companies. So at the end of the day to be perfectly honest they just want to get the course out of the way and get the card...

I know...

01:16:01

But if there is say a few educated people in the room that have college backgrounds they will question it and it's a good thing. And if I have the time I would give them the information if not I would tell them to hang on till the end and I'd give them a web address or phone number. I

also always mention the HSA website to them, especially for the foreign nationals. It's a multilingual website so....

Yes. That's where the interpreters take their information if from nowhere else....

Exactly. So I say log onto their website you know www.hsa.ie, go into the languages, whatever you need. If there is any particular areas you are interested in you will get the information there.

01:16:44

Do you give the FÁS evaluation form in the interpreted courses or in the English ones or you don't ...

I used to I used to but I don't any more. I know pretty much how I come across. If I get a negative feeling as I do on an occasion particularly on the...you can ask the English guys you know, but it takes time to ask all the foreign nationals. If I feel ...or the interpreter would say listen this is not...or this bunch is not such a bright bunch...all right I am looking at the...I am getting sweats at the assessment you know what I mean fifteens, fourteens I say okay, the evaluation forms will have to come out. Have I been doing something wrong today you know? And I cannot blame alcohol like being out on a Saturday night or a Friday night because I don't drink you know I mean... so it's my usual interpreter – have you been out last night?

[laughs]

But you just get an odd time out.

Okay. Can you go ahead for another fifteen twenty minutes? We are way over time...but you are just doing too well...is that all right?

No problem at all. Can I take a quick break?

Of course.

01:18:05- 01:20:30 *[break, weather talk]*

01:20:32

That's what I would ask at the foreign nationals' courses. I would ask is any of you guys relatively new to Ireland? And you always get a couple you know.

Oh yeah there are always those that are straight off the plain basically.

Yeah exactly. So I say would you just take a look out the window, and it's mostly Dublin, where I do them. It's raining you know. Get used to the rain you know.

[laughs]

And listen if you see the sunshine would you give us a ring and let me know and leave me your number because it's very rare you know.

01:21:08

Speaking of which do you find that during courses there are cultural differences that come out actually?

Of course especially the Russian course. Although the course is in Russian there would be Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Ukrainians on the same course.

Right.

And you know [] some of them might not like each other very much. So I ask, I use the same translator or interpreter all the time. And Anna is a lovely, lovely girl, very bright, very intelligent, and too good looking. And I say to her should I just go over and hide in the corner and I just speak from behind there...

Because the guys are looking all at her, is it?

Oh yeah, Martina, it's brilliant. There are like this [imitates a starring look] and they are hanging on every word...

[laughs]

That's the best way of getting the H&S message across I see...

Oh stop, stop...

And I say no low tops from next week. And she'd burst out laughing because we have a great craic over it you know and I say right listen get rid of the skirts all right pants from now on.

That's interesting.

And she would say are you serious?

01:22:12

No, no, no... [] skirts, this is [] laugh [] you know.

I know I know. It's a laugh but it's true as well....

You know on average [] scores. Any other class it varies, it depends on the class. It always is between seventeen and twenty with the SP, with the Russian. Because they are so focused on it. Because they literally hang on every word she says, which is brilliant for me you know what I mean. And I say that as well. This is the interpreter and tutor and [] today and it's just like you hit a []. And she loves it you know. And at the end of the class, I only do it the odd time, but if there is a good group, a good personality, I'd say to them thank you all for being here today, I hope you learned something, and of course you will get the SP and [] and listen don't thank me, thank Anna. And I go like this to Anna [bows] and they all stand up and clap.

[]

Oh stop it.

01:23:23

So that's in a good way but you didn't come across situations when the culture kind of got in the way...

Oh yeah sorry I have kind of gone off...

No, no, that's all part of it you know.

As regards to the personalities in the room...sometimes you can almost smell it. The testosterone's in the room. And they are looking at each other. And you can pick up on the accent. They can all speak Russian you see. Most of them are [] on the Russian language so they can speak the Lithuanian or the Latvian...

So they don't qualify as a multilingual group? They are not allowed...

01:24:05

These people all speak Russian.

Yes, they all speak Russian. And most of them speak English even though they let on they don't. They definitely speak their own language and they definitely speak Russian I find. But you can pick up on their accents []. And there is a little bit of you know there might be a Lithuanian sitting beside a Latvian and you know they are looking at each other...

Has it come out in any way?

It has not come out literally but it comes out in a way they are looking at each other. I have actually moved classes around on occasion.

Oh yeah?

01:24:35

Yeah, yeah. I would say you sit down [] you come up here. You talk more. I want to know what you have to say. Well, him is not the best, he would say. Come up here you know. And of course when I was wearing the suit and I'd be clean shaven and I'd be sitting on the chair and the questions would I come I would say well look I have sixteen years of experience in the industry and they would say [imitates a foreign language with inarticulate sounds] and the rest of them would laugh and she would say they are saying you are only twenty two or twenty three and I would say thanks very much thanks very much I am thirty four and they would say no way no way you are thirty four []. And I would say you know it's my Italian blood in me and they burst out laughing. Because I actually mentioned that my grandfather was Italian.

Mine too, very nice.

[laughs]

I didn't know him, he was gone before I came along. And they would say oh we see it now, you don't look Irish you are way too short. And I'd say all the Irish are short...and they burst out laughing.

01:25:41

But where there is a conflict I would try to pick it up myself or else I would ask the interpreter, who are we dealing with here. So she would say listen we have Latvians, Lithuanians, just keep an eye on the situation. And if it is all right after the first one or two modules you are going to be all right for the rest of the day. But where it is negative you would have a reason to kind of just separate them you know what I mean.

01:26:05

Good, good, okay. Does it happen you that the interpreting actually distracts you or that it impacts on your ability to work, to deliver the course?

Like any new profession...I was used to just talking in English. So the class will interrupt you. So I am guilty on occasions of forgetting to stop as you know, okay? Anna would just start talking over me.

All right.

Because I tell her to [].

Because when you don't know someone so well you are afraid to say listen Martina could you just stop? Whereas she just would [] in Russian [imitates Russian] and I go I am sorry. And when it's one that you are not used to working with, when it is one on occasion they would be afraid to ask you to stop. And then what would happen is I would realise then. I would ...Once I would forget to make eye contact with them I would say too much and it would have gone completely out of their head. And when that happens I would apologise to them, which is only the right thing to do. I would say I am sorry I just kept going sorry. Could you say this, this and this? And I would go back to the slide – just say that. You know what I mean. And they would feel a little bit more at ease then. And I say if it happens again just stop me, don't be afraid to stop me. Because what [] because they had experience of other tutors and other trainers some of them have been negative. You know. The tutors would almost have a go at them. You know what I mean. And it has an impact it does have an impact. Whereas I am totally relaxed, totally at ease [] them and I say I am here to help you, you are here to help me. I cannot deliver this without you and vice-versa so let us work together type of thing. So just tell me to stop and it does work. Once you get the first opportunity out of the way it's fine.

01:28:29

Question 4

I give you now a list of examples that I find could be a challenge for the interpreter this time. So if you can think of the course and of the interpreter, and it's mainly the SP really. And I'll just run through some points and if you have anything to say do if you don't just leave it or add a comment or whatever. So the question is any of these, could any of these be a challenge for the interpreter, okay?

01:28:56

The level of English when interpreting back to you.

Eh, for me it's not a problem as long as it is the English language. Okay.

For them, is it a problem for them sometimes?

Problem to translate back to me? Only when they are not familiar you know with the wording.

But the level of English you usually find all right, they can express themselves all right?

No, no, they can express themselves fine. What has been a problem for my colleagues is their accent. Yes. I would be [] maybe with several people in the room and they would be translating back from let us say a meeting or something and there is a couple of different people in the room and they would be Irish. But they cannot understand what she is saying back. But I listen very carefully to what they are saying and then I would recalculate if it is a problem. But I have to say that pretty much all the interpreters... their level of English is very good. So there is no problem even with the accents.

01:30:02

Is it difficult for the interpreters the...the construction terminology?

It depends very much on the interpreter. If they are familiar with H&S and construction it's no problem in most instances. If they are not...that's my experience. If they are the opposite that can be a problem. You might have to simplify words.

What about construction jargon. You might be telling a story and you use a nickname for a tool and the interpreter says and what is this?

01:30:37

Yes, yes, exactly. A good example is the cherry picker.

Yes, yes.

Mobile elevated work platform MEWP. Now funny enough, most of the foreign nationals is familiar with this term cherry picker, but what I say to the interpreter is give them a useless bit of information. Okay...and she translates....you know why they call them cherry pickers you know we have no cherry trees in Ireland and they burst out laughing. The main company in Ireland that makes them is called Cherry Picker Ireland Ltd. So if you go to an Irish site and an Irish guy says to you go and get me the cherry picker and most of them would have a little bit of English not to confuse you it's not a cherry picker it's a working platform.

01:31:26

What about swear words. Does it happen that when you are relaying a story a word...a little bit of French comes out and the interpreter says oh no I cannot interpret this or blushes...or maybe the guys...?

I never use swear language ever.

Okay. What about your audience?

Well with English it would be a problem but as regards to interpreting I don't know. But if it was nine per cent out of ten they wouldn't translate back and it would be more out of courtesy

I suppose. But if I don't know what the expression or the feedback are I say listen tell me what that guy is saying you know what I mean. But they would know me. If it was a new interpreter he would say I am not telling him because he is going to react so I just nicely politely [] but I don't know the language so it's not a problem [].

01:32:25

What do you think which part of the course is the most difficult for the interpreter between the slides, the stories you might give, the test at the end, the exercises, the DVDs... What do you think poses the biggest challenge?

The biggest challenge I think is translation of the video. Definitely, no question. If they are not familiar with the content it can be very difficult. You know what I mean. It's a new content, you don't really have the opportunity to ask them to repeat or simplify [] that I would find. And the close second would be the test.

01:33:08

Tell me about that.

[]

It's quite difficult. The code of practice would tell us you must say the question in English and then interpret, have it interpreted or translated. I don't do that anymore.

Okay. How do you work it?

I just let the interpreter say the questions, say the question and the three options. And I would say listen if they have a problem repeat the question or let the question go and will repeat it at the end. [] I find it's both time consuming and at the end of the day it's mentally draining at that point. So keep it short, you just translate. What I do is I say listen I don't want you to feel apprehensive or intimidated I am going to walk around the room and [] ask [] questions. It's not to keep an eye on you it's not to make sure you are not looking over each other's shoulders because yeez are all experts or *eksperty* I think it is in Russian. It's just to make sure there yeez are not from Venus or Mars that we are all from Earth and they burst out laughing and again they just feel a little more comfortable. So I would walk around to make sure they are generally getting the questions right.

01:34:31

Does it not happen you that the interpreter says they are asking them out...

Oh yeah, yeah, they will say that.

How does that work?

They would ask will we get prompts for the answers and [] I understand or the interpreter tells me that they want me to prompt them and I say I just emphasise what I said this morning that I don't speak the language but I understand what yeez are all saying, so you know, so I think it's *a, b, and ts* [a, b, c] in Russian. So I say don't be shouting out the answers I say, answer the

bloody questions yourselves you know. You get through it no bother. And you will not get any pointers from the interpreter I am sorry to say.

Okay.

01:35:16

Is the interpreter sometimes shy to ask you to clarify things?

Once, one particular interpreter. And again it's because there was no relationship built up. It was a one off situation. But other than that now because they know how blunt I am and how outgoing I am they have no problem asking me. Just stop Colm okay, okay, I am sorry.

01:35:47

Did it happen you the interpreter got themselves and you in a situation when everyone was talking over everyone else and the communication was just a mess...

Again in the early days that would have happened on a couple of occasions you know and again it becomes like a circle and it's a circle that's incomprehensible so I would just say let us start from scratch. Forget everything that was said in the last five minutes guys, will start a clean slate, a new page blank page, and we would start all over again.

Because if it goes off the track completely you look around the class and some people have gone with you, other people are totally confused and it's just best you start over. Even if it takes five or ten minutes to clarify it's better to do that. As I said I am very conscious and I would be very much a people person, I would be conscious about how the information is getting across to them you know. The information I am giving to them is accurate information and relevant. And you know stuff that is irrelevant has to be forgotten about and scrapped. You know so that the other stuff that is important is not going over the head. []

01:37:01

And do you see that the interpreter in a small sort of a way coordinates like this when the course is going well...

It depends I find the personality of the interpreter is very important, it plays a big part. I know my personality, I know my strengths and I also know my weaknesses. And as an interpreter once said to me unfortunately I already know what I am you know what I mean so don't be afraid to stop me. Don't worry I already know what I am also so don't worry I'll stop you. So you know there is an understanding there. Whereas the shy interpreter brilliant at her job but...it's so important to speak up. All right, they are getting the message across, but especially when there is feedback...you know don't be afraid to say back what's been said. Because I want this clarified you know. That there is no holes anywhere, that it is pure you know.

01:37:57

So you would see the interpreter's role as interpreting but also managing in her own field....

A little bit of managing, yes, absolutely.

Managing communication is it?

Yes. I would not expect it but I would imagine it would be part of their own professional protocol of the, you know, that profession let us say.

01:38:17

The trouble there is there is a code for you but there is no code for the interpreter is there?

No that's where the personalities vary tremendously you know. That's the reason why the code of practice came into being for the SP...

For the tutor...

The whole purpose behind the SP program is regardless of the tutor I suppose to an extent regardless of the interpreter the same information can be given in Cork, can be given up North, in Donegal, and the exact same result transpires you know. Before the code came into play it was...you know the tutors got their training but how do you deliver this it was all over the place all over the place...

They were finishing up at four o'clock...

01:39:03

I know tutors that have gone home at one o'clock.

In this case though it is really the interpreter that is being left out because there is no code of conduct for the interpreter so they don't know...

Exactly...

How to deliver everything in the same way...

FÁS...FÁS I suppose probably have let themselves down a little bit by not insuring that because not unlike tutors if you have a pool of interpreters and that pool of interpreters have been trained up to a certain level let us say even specifically to translate that particular program, it's very helpful for the interpreters. Very, very helpful you know. Because if you have an interpreter that works in the SP program and maybe they had been working with two or three tutors at different occasions, up until the code of practice you know how would all these tutor present would be totally different from one to another, totally different. Now less so now that the code of practice came into play. But even still it is difficult. So if there was some sort of formal training for the interpreters I feel it would be important and added strength for the interpreters.

So if you could you would improve on that point would you?

Certainly, certainly.

01:40:20

Just for the mere fact that the tutor does not need to effectively train in the interpreter. Okay this is what we are doing that you know you can pick from that pool of interpreters and you can say...it would be an added bonus. You know it's just a suggestion I am not saying it's an absolute necessity, but you can pick any interpreter and you can say okay Martina listen can you do an SP for me today? Okay, quarter to nine kick off, let's go. You know. You can walk in twenty five to nine you know. Whereas you have to bring interpreters in early get them through the paper work, explain to them what we have to this is what we are going to do and you know make sure they are okay. Especially with the new ones. Now that experience is gained through delivery. But a little bit of formal training would go a long way.

01:41:06

Another thing that you mentioned was that the exercise were not translated and then they got translated that was an improvement I suppose...

That was a definite improvement. That wasn't there in the early days.

And for the DVDs if there was the same that would be an improvement wouldn't it?

That would be a rest for the interpreter.

And a [] delivery [] of a part of the course for the audience.

Absolutely, a huge bonus. Even subtitles in their own language would be a big, big improvement. The other thing about the video is the videos are dated. And I do emphasise that I say that to the interpreter I say to them listen I am showing the best practice here today how it should be but please emphasise this video is out of date. You know what I mean so the clothing they are wearing, some of them aren't wearing the hard hats, they are wearing jeans and stuff which is totally out of context. Some of these guys are brand new to the industry they are looking at it and saying to themselves ah great I can wear me jacket and a pair of jeans and I'd be grand you know. They forget what you have been telling them all along. Just to emphasise.

That's how pictures speak thousand words...

Absolutely.

01:42:17

Okay. That's grand. We spoke about the code of conduct, about the linguistically mixed groups which might mainly present cultural issues in the case of Russian...

What do you think about the length of the day can it be difficult for the interpreter? Are they finished by the end of it and does the performance actually go down slowly as the day progresses?

I have to say this and this is only on a personal note. As regards interpreters I have a huge respect for them. Huge respect. I know I have to perform. Okay. I only have to perform in one language. Okay. I am used to performing that particular course. It comes easy. I think the translators – one – they are not getting enough and – two– they have to be mentally

exhausted at the end of the day, especially if they are working with a tutor which is difficult to understand. Okay, let us say Cork accent [imitates Cork accent: how is it going Martina are you all right there now?] or Dublin inner city, it's very strong [successful imitation of inner city talk] and mentally it's so draining and some interpreters you can pick up on that at the end of the day. You feel like going over and giving them a hug and saying look it'll be over soon don't worry. So it is very draining. I think today in the SP program itself okay you see it has been put together from the social partners, the Unions, the major employers, the government agencies, FÁS. Okay. And it's based on a working day. It's impossible I find to deliver to that level of client or student in that period of time in that environment regardless of the breaks. There is so much information it's just going over the heads. Okay FÁS is covering themselves by making sure that the legislation is covered completely totally in a short period and they have in fairness to them done a relatively good job.

01:44:35

But I think what would help from the interpreter's point of view and even from the student's and also from the tutor's shorten the course or if not shorten introduce more video or picture footage. There is only so much information a slide and [] per cent of what you deliver on the day is totally forgotten by the end of the class. But pictures they remember, videos they tend to remember, good tutor and good interpreter they tend to remember. Shorten the courses if possible and more videos. Gives the interpreter a rest you know.

Yes.

I don't know if that's what you needed to hear but it's honest.

01:45:39

Question 5

Now the last two short questions. You spoke about the monitor that comes in and checks on you, doesn't check on the interpreter. I think it's implied but I need to ask this again out loud. So there is quality control on your work but there isn't quality control on the interpreter's work would that be correct?

Pretty much. The only experience I have with quality control as regards the monitor with the interpreter, they would ask but again through me, they would just ask, there would be paper work to be filled through me about the delivery of the course, a notification form in other words. On the notification form you would have to insure that you have the name of the interpreter, their contact details and the languages they are qualified to interpret in. Now FÁS generally give you database of the ones they have on file. If you bring in a new interpreter, they don't have their name they are not familiar with, the chances are you will get an inspection. And they will just ask this is a new interpreter you know what is she like.

01:46:44

They will ask you...

Yes they will ask me. They don't, certainly in my experience they have never gone to an interpreter and asked, you know what's your name or whatever. No. They'll ask me what her name is [].

So the assessment of the interpreter is really your experience of working with the interpreter.

Yeah, the reason maybe for it is, maybe it is an excuse for FÁS, but the course, the SP in particular, I do do other courses as you know, in particular the SP was geared towards construction in Ireland. When that construction boom started there was very few foreign nationals. It was only later when they started introducing translators and interpreters. And the SP in Ireland... there are equivalents in other countries. It is probably one of the only countries that uses translators for the courses.

01:47:31

Other countries either do it in the country's language or don't do it at all.

Yeah, that's why I am writing about it because it's so unique.

And the tutors... because... the majority of the tutors are very, very well educated and a lot of them come also from the construction background. And a lot of them also doubled like myself as inspectors and officers on construction sites for companies. The boom was increasing, there was an influx of foreign nationals. And you know some of them who do the SP have a good level of English, but some were coming in with no English. So we identified that there was a problem as regards H&S on the construction sites. They were a liability not only to themselves but to the company also. And that needed to be addressed. Thankfully Ireland is not that big. So FÁS got together with the social partners and brought in okay let us add this to the SP program. And it worked a treat. But they stopped short I think of a formal training for the interpreters. Just for that program. Just even to make them familiar with the jargon.

01:48:43

Absolutely.

[]

That's perfect.

Question 6

The changes you mentioned...there have been some changes...the content changed a little bit, the electricity module – the content was expanded. Anything else that changed in the last few years also with regards to the interpreting...

The interpreting from my own personal experience. The interpreting has not changed that much. There is no formal program in place that I am aware of...

No training no code of conduct no subtitle for DVDs []...

The only requirement from FÁS is that they are registered. That is a requirement. Now I don't know...

Registered with whom?

Registered withinterpreting profession. [] I cannot remember, I'll get you a name. I think [] there is an international one, but there is also a specific Irish one, register of interpreters that is in Ireland, working in Ireland. It is a professional organisation. So I think FÁS rely heavily on that organisation to verify the qualifications of those interpreters and [] FÁS accepts is sufficient to get the message across on the programs – the CSCS etc., the likes of the CSCS programs, abrasive wheels etc. And the same on the SP program in particular.

01:50:27

They could go a little bit further...

And at the moment there is a significant change happening in the SP program. There is a pilot program to be launched and the SP program is going to be broken up in modules. So it's a mechanical and an electrical area. I don't know if you have been told [] along with the general SP. So from [] point of view it's going to be very important that the interpreters have a specific knowledge that are translating on that course, because that SP will be specifically electricity only. So there will be a huge emphasis on keywords that are only particular to electricity.

And do you know if any provisions are being made to accommodate the interpreter?

01:51:18

I am not aware of this but research might bring this to light and you know pass this information on FÁS, they will find the information very useful. Not that I am aware of but I know that there is a pilot program the tutors have been contacted in relation to interest I suppose in tutoring this program.

So it's like there would be two different strands of SP basically.

Yeah, mechanical and... So it would be geared towards mechanical, let us say could be engines, car engines and also plumbing and that type of area and [] the machinery, and the other one is specifically electrical. And if you are not from an electrical background, in my opinion if you are going to be interpreting, you are not going to have any idea because there is so much...

So it would need to be prepared well in advance.

Yes. There is terminology like RCDs RCBOs [] you know which is a device, and you need to know all these type of things and then there is I suppose dynamic [] and [] and they will be just some little small parts. Now I don't have an electrical background, but if you have a tutor who is an electrician you are going to have serious problems because he is going to be talking about voltages, he is going to be talking about wattage, you know what I mean, and all this kind of stuff, and if you are not up to standard yourself you are going to be saying I am sorry Tony, what's the story, Colm I don't know what this is.

01:52:56

Well if you have a chance and they are asking for a feedback from you as a tutor, say make sure that the interpreter knows the stuff in advance you know.

That they have a background training you know. Applying for the program for tutoring you must have either a third level qualification in electrical or mechanical engineering or some kind of third level course or you must be a time served trades person – and electrician or say mechanic or a fitter-plumber. So they have put it in for the tutors, but you know hello, the interpreters are going to be involved in this also.

Yes. Just flag this at any opportunity.

An important point.

That was brilliant.

[Thanks and conclusion.]

01:53:59

REFERENCES

List of References

- Aguilar Solano, M. 2010. Exploring the boundaries: 'attitudinal autonomy' of healthcare interpreters' habitus *IN: 6th International Critical Link Conference 26-30 July 2010, Aston University, Birmingham, United Kingdom, Interpreting in a changing landscape abstracts* [Online]. Birmingham: Aston University, p.2. Available from: <http://www1.aston.ac.uk/lss/news/conferences-seminars/2009-10-archive/july-2010/critical-link/> [Accessed 2 October 2012].
- Benmaman, V. 1997. Legal interpreting by any other name is still legal interpreting *IN: Carr, S.E., Roberts, R.P., Dufour, A. and Steyn, D. (eds.) The Critical Link: interpreters in the community*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.179-190.
- Biagini, M. 2010. Reciprocity in interpreter-mediated dialogue: the case of Italian courts *IN: 6th International Critical Link Conference 26-30 July 2010, Aston University, Birmingham, United Kingdom, Interpreting in a changing landscape abstracts* [Online]. Birmingham: Aston University, p.8. Available from: <http://www1.aston.ac.uk/lss/news/conferences-seminars/2009-10-archive/july-2010/critical-link/> [Accessed 2 October 2012].
- Bot, H. 2007. Quality in interpreting as a shared responsibility *IN: 5th International Critical Link Conference 11-15 April 2007, Paramatta, Sydney, Australia, Quality in interpreting: a shared responsibility Abstract book*. Parramatta: University of Western Sydney, p.46.
- Bühlig, K. 2004. On the multimodality of interpreting in medical briefings for informed consent: using diagrams to impart knowledge in perspectives on multimodality *IN: Ventola, E., Cassily, Ch. and Kaltenbacher, M. (eds.) Perspectives of multimodality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp.227- 241.
- Bust, P.D., Gibb, A.G.F. and Pink, S. 2008. Managing construction Health and Safety: migrant workers and communicating safety messages. *Safety Science*. Special issue, 46(4), pp.585-602.

Central Statistics Office 2011. *Foreign nationals: PPSN allocations, employment and social welfare activity, 2009* [Online]. Available from:
<http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/labourmarket/current/ppsn.pdf> [Accessed 12 October 2012].

Charmaz, K. 2003. Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis *IN*: Holstein, J.A. and Gubrium, J.F. (eds.) *Inside interviewing: new lenses, new concerns*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: SAGE Publications, pp.311-330.

Corsellis, A. 1997. Training needs of public personnel working with interpreters *IN*: Carr, S.E., Roberts, R.P., Dufour, A. and Steyn, D. (eds.) *The Critical Link: interpreters in the community*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.77-91.

Corsellis, A. 2000. Turning good intentions into good practice. Enabling the Public Services to fulfil their responsibilities *IN*: Roberts, R.P., Carr, S.E., Abraham, D. and Dufour, A. (eds.) *The Critical Link 2: interpreters in the community*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.89-101.

Cronin, M. 2006. **Review of:** Inghilleri, M. 2005. Special Issue on Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting. *The Translator*, 11(2). *JoSTrans Issue* [Online], 2006(6), pp.211-213. Available from:
http://www.jostrans.org/issue06/issue06_toc.php [Accessed 29 December 2012].

Davidson, C.C. and Orr, D.J. 2009. Occupational injuries in foreign-national workers presenting to St James's Hospital Plastic Surgery Service. *The Irish Medical Journal* [Online], 102(4), pp.108-110. Available from:
<http://www.imj.ie/ViewArticleDetails.aspx?ArticleID=3254> [Accessed 29 December 2012].

Department of Education and Skills 2012. *25 October, 2012- Opening address by Minister Quinn at INOU conference* [Online]. Available from:
<http://www.education.ie/en/Press-Events/Speeches/2012-Speeches/SP-%2012-10-25.html> [Accessed 12 October 2012].

Dubslaff, F., Martinsen, B. 2003. Community interpreting for immigrants and refugees in Denmark – results of a survey *IN*: Brunette, L., Bastin, G.L., Hemlin I. and Clarke H. (eds.) *The Critical Link 3: interpreters in the community*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.11-125.

Evia, C. 2011. Localizing and designing computer-based safety training solutions for Hispanic construction workers. *Journal of Construction Engineering and Management* [Online], 137(6), pp. 452-459. Available from: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1061/\(ASCE\)CO.1943-7862.0000313](http://dx.doi.org/10.1061/(ASCE)CO.1943-7862.0000313) [Accessed 2 October 2012].

FÁS a. *FÁS Safe pass Health and Safety awareness training. Safe pass training programme timetable*. FÁS Safe Pass Tutor hand-out.

FÁS b. *FÁS Safe pass Health and Safety awareness training*. FÁS Safe Pass Tutor hand-out.

FÁS 2002/2006. *FÁS Safe pass code of conduct for safe pass tutors*. The FÁS Safe Pass Unit. July 2002/June 22, 2006.

Floros, G. 2012. The ethics of mutual survival: towards an ethical injunction for translation. *IATIS 2012 Abstracts*, p. 106. Available from: http://www.iatis.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&task=category&id=74:abstracts&Itemid=89 [Accessed October 2012].

Fontana, A. and Frey, J.H. 2003. The interview: from structured questions to negotiated text *IN*: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: SAGE Publications, pp.61-106.

Garber, N. 2000. Community interpretation: a personal view *IN*: Roberts, R.P., Carr, S.E., Abraham, D. and Dufour, A. (eds.) *The Critical Link 2: interpreters in the community*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.9-20.

Garzone, G. and Viezzi, M. 2002. Introduction *IN*: Garzone, G. and Viezzi, M. (eds.) *Interpreting in the 21st Century: challenges and opportunities: selected papers from the*

1st Forlì Conference on Interpreting Studies. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.1-14.

Gillham, B. 2000. *The Research Interview*. London/New York: Continuum.

Guide to Safety, Health & Welfare in the house building industry. FÁS Safe Pass Tutor hand-out.

Harrington, F. 2004. Knowing me, knowing you: Aha! Paper presented at *The Critical Link 4: professionalisation of interpreting in the community* conference, Stockholm, Sweden – May 20-23, 2004.

Harris, B. 2000. Introduction *IN*: Roberts, R.P., Carr, S.E., Abraham D., Dufour, A. (eds.) *The Critical Link 2: interpreters in the community*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.1-6.

Health and Safety Authority 2011. *Safe system of work plan – an introduction* [Online]. Available from:
http://www.hsa.ie/eng/Your_Industry/Construction/Safe_System_of_Work_Plan_SSW/P/ [Accessed 28 December 2012].

Health and Safety Authority 2012. *Fatal workplace injuries* [Online]. Available from:
http://www.hsa.ie/eng/Statistics/Fatal_Injury/ [Accessed 12 October 2012].

Hendl, J. 2005. *Kvalitativní výzkum: základní metody a aplikace [Qualitative research: methods and applications.]*. Praha: Portál.

Independent.ie 2012a. *How the Fas scandal unfolded* [Online]. Available from:
<http://www.independent.ie/national-news/how-the-fas-scandal-unfolded-1897911.html> [Accessed 12 October 2012].

Independent.ie 2012b. *FAS scandal was national disaster, says top OECD economist* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.independent.ie/national-news/fas-scandal-was-national-disaster-says-top-oecd-economist-2946470.html> [Accessed 12 October 2012].

Inghilleri, M. 2005a. Mediating zones of uncertainty: interpreter agency, the interpreting habitus and political asylum adjudication. *The Translator* [Online], 11(1), pp.69-85. Available from: <http://eprints.gold.ac.uk/1175/> [Accessed 31 December 2012].

Inghilleri, M. 2005b. The sociology of Bourdieu and the construction of the 'object' in translation and interpreting studies. *The Translator, Special Issue on Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting* [Online], 11(2), pp.125-145. Available from: <http://eprints.gold.ac.uk/1176/> [Accessed 31 December 2012].

Inghilleri, M. 2006. Macro Social Theory, Linguistic Ethnography and Interpreting Research. *Linguistica Antverpiensia: Taking Stock: Research and methodology in Community Interpreting*, 2006(5), pp.57-68.

ITIA 2009. *ITIA Code of ethics for Community interpreters* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.translatorsassociation.ie/content/view/1/4/> [Accessed 31 December 2012].

Joint Safety Council for the Construction Industry (no date). *Using Consultation to Improve Safety on Construction Sites* [Online]. Joint Safety Council for the Construction Industry, CHASE Co-operative Health and Safety Engagement, pp.17-18. Available from: <http://www.ictu.ie/download/pdf/construction23a4.pdf> [Accessed 31 December 2012].

King, C. 2010. Power imbalance. Reductionist interpreter choice *IN: 6th International Critical Link Conference 26-30 July 2010, Aston University, Birmingham, United Kingdom, Interpreting in a changing landscape abstracts* [Online]. Birmingham: Aston University, p.41. Available from: <http://www1.aston.ac.uk/lss/news/conferences-seminars/2009-10-archive/july-2010/critical-link/> [Accessed 2 October 2012].

Krystallidou, D. 2010. The triadic nature of the interpreter's identity in triadic medical encounters: complexity, implications, suggestions. *IN: 6th International Critical Link Conference 26-30 July 2010, Aston University, Birmingham, United Kingdom, Interpreting in a changing landscape abstracts* [Online].]. Birmingham: Aston University, p.42. Available from: <http://www1.aston.ac.uk/lss/news/conferences-seminars/2009-10-archive/july-2010/critical-link/> [Accessed 2 October 2012].

Legard, R., Keegan, J. and Ward, K. 2003. In-depth interview *IN*: Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (eds.) *Qualitative research practice a guide for Social science students and researchers*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: SAGE Publications, pp.138-169.

Maltby, M. 2010. Institutional identities of interpreters in the asylum application context: a critical discourse analysis of interpreting policies in the voluntary sector *IN*: Baker, M., Olohan M. and Calzada Pérez M. (eds.) *Text and Context: Essays on Translation and Interpreting in Honour of Ian Mason*. Manchester: St. Jérôme Publishing, pp. 209- 236.

Mason, I. 1999. Introduction. *The Translator*, 5(2), pp.147-160.

Mason, I. 2006. Ostension, inference and response: analysing participant moves in Community Interpreting dialogues. *Linguistica Antverpiensia: Taking Stock: Research and Methodology in Community Interpreting*, 2006(5), pp.103-120.

Narula, R. 2010. A 3-way power-struggle: service provider vs. service user vs. interpreter? *IN*: *6th International Critical Link Conference 26-30 July 2010, Aston University, Birmingham, United Kingdom, Interpreting in a changing landscape abstracts* [Online]. Birmingham: Aston University, p.58. Available from: <http://www1.aston.ac.uk/lss/news/conferences-seminars/2009-10-archive/july-2010/critical-link/> [Accessed 2 October 2012].

NCIHC 2005. *National standards of practice for interpreters in Health Care*.

O'Brien, C. 2006. We would all be worse off without migrant workers. *The Irish Times* [Online]. 24(1). Available from: <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/opinion/2006/0124/1137626799552.html> [Accessed 27 December 2012].

O'Byrne, M. 2004. *Interpreting in the Irish Community: Interpreting for Refugees in Ireland*. Dott. dissertation. University of Trieste.

Ozolins, U. 2000. Communication needs and interpreting in multilingual settings: the international spectrum of response *IN*: Roberts, R.P., Carr, S.E., Abraham, D. and Dufour, A. (eds.) *The Critical Link 2: interpreters in the community*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.21-34.

Pasquandrea, S. 2011. Managing multiple actions through multimodality: doctors' involvement in interpreter-mediated interactions. *Language in Society* [Online], 40(4), pp.455-81. Available from: <http://academia.edu/1890217/> [Accessed 7 June 2013].

Phelan, M. 2001. Community interpreting in Ireland. Paper presented at *The Critical Link 3: interpreters in the community* conference Montreal, Canada – May 22-26, 2001. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.criticallink.org/journals/8.pdf> [Accessed 15 March 2005]

Pöchhacker, F. 2002. Researching interpreting quality: models and methods. IN: Garzone, G. and Viezzi, M. (eds.) *Interpreting in the 21st Century: challenges and opportunities: selected papers from the 1st Forlì Conference on Interpreting Studies*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.95-106.

Pöchhacker, F. and Kolb, W. 2009. Interpreting for the record: a case study of asylum record hearings IN: Hale, S.B., Ozolins, U. and Stern, L. (eds.) *The Critical Link 5: quality in interpreting: a shared responsibility*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, pp.119-134.

Reid, L. and Cullen, P. 2006. Sutherland criticises ‘negative’ debate on migration. *The Irish Times* [Online]. 24(1). Available from: <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/frontpage/2006/0124/1137626800275.html> [Accessed 27 December 2012].

Safety, Health and Welfare at Work (General Application) Regulations, 1993. S.I. No. 44 of 1993 [Online]. Available from: <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1993/en/si/0044.html> [Accessed 15 December 2012].

Safety, Health and Welfare at Work (Construction) Regulations, 1995. S.I. No. 138 of 1995 [Online]. Available from: <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1995/en/si/0138.html> [Accessed 15 December 2012].

Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 1998. S.I. No. 7 of 1998 [Online]. Available from: <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1989/en/act/pub/0007/index.html> [Accessed 15 December 2012].

Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act 2005. S.I. No. 10 of 2005 [Online]. Available from: <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/2005/en/act/pub/0010/> [Accessed 15 December 2012].

Salminen, S. 2011. Are Immigrants at Increased Risk of Occupational Injury? A Literature Review. *The Ergonomics Open Journal*, 4, pp.125-130.

Sattler, T., Tobbia, D. and O'Shaughnessy, M. 2009. Hand injuries in foreign labour workers in an Irish university hospital. *The Canadian journal of plastic surgery* [Online], 17(1), pp.22-4. Available from: <http://hdl.handle.net/10147/93832> [Accessed 29 December 2012].

Silverman, D. 1994. *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Sinclair, A., Hill, D., Tyers, C. 2008. *Irish and non-Irish national construction workers research on differences in approach to health and safety at work* [Online]. Dublin: HSA. Available from: http://www.hsa.ie/eng/Publications_and_Forms/Publications/Construction/Irish_and_Non-Irish_National_Construction_Workers.pdf [Accessed 27 December 2012].

Society of Chartered Surveyors Ireland 2012. *The Irish construction industry in 2012* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.scsi.ie/constr2012> [Accessed 12 October 2012].

Tipton, R. 2010a. On Trust: Relationships of Trust in Interpreter-mediated Social Work Encounters, *IN: Baker, M., Olohan M. and Calzada Pérez M. (eds.) Text and Context: Essays on Translation and Interpreting in Honour of Ian Mason*. Manchester: St. Jérôme Publishing, pp.188-208.

Tipton, R. 2010b. Practisearchers: what role for reflexive sociology in public service interpreting research? *IN: 6th International Critical Link Conference 26-30 July 2010, Aston University, Birmingham, United Kingdom, Interpreting in a changing landscape abstracts* [Online]. Birmingham: Aston University, p.89. Available from: <http://www1.aston.ac.uk/lss/news/conferences-seminars/2009-10-archive/july-2010/critical-link/> [Accessed 2 October 2012].

Trajkovski, S. and Loosemore, M. (2006). Safety implications of low-English proficiency among migrant construction site operatives. *International Journal of Project Management*, 24(5), pp.446-452.

Tutt, D., Dainty, A., Gibb, A. and Pink, S. 2011. *Migrant construction workers and Health and Safety communication*. Norfolk: CITB-Construction Skills.

Ukmar, M. 1997. L'interprete e l'imputato; conflitti e convergenze di interessi: osservazioni su un caso concreto *IN*: Schena L. (ed.) *La lingua del diritto – difficoltà traduttive. Applicazioni didattiche*. Roma: CISU, pp.190-198.

Valero Garcés, C. 2012. Interpreting and the social fabric sociology and public service interpreting and translation. Explorations into the translator's / interpreter's (in)visibility in PSIT from a Bourdieusian perspective. *IATIS 2012 Abstracts*, p.95. Available from: http://www.iatis.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&task=category&id=74:abstracts&Itemid=89 [Accessed October 2012].

Viezzi, M. 1999. Aspetti della qualità in interpretazione *IN*: Falbo, C., Russo, M., Sergio Straniero, F. (eds.) *Interpretazione simultanea e consecutiva, problemi teorici e metodologie didattiche*. Milan: Hoepli, pp.140-151.

Wadensjö, C. 1998. *Interpreting as Interaction*. London/New York: Longman.

Williams, J. 2012. Subjective theories and the politics of translation. *IATIS 2012 Abstracts*, p.110. Available from: http://www.iatis.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&task=category&id=74:abstracts&Itemid=89 [Accessed 2 October 2012].