Interpreting Taboo: The Evaluation of Practices by Public Service Interpreters in the Transfer of Taboo Language and the Implications for Professional Training

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Central Lancashire

March 2020

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Type of Award   **Doctor of Philosophy**

School   **Humanities, Languages and Global Studies**

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to evaluate public service interpreter practices in relation to interpreting taboo, and to examine how far these practices should be reflected in their professional training. Currently, when healthcare professionals or patients turn to family members or friends to interpret for them, dire consequences have been noted, indicating the necessity of having trained interpreters.

The original contribution is that as far as the author's knowledge goes, no one has carried out an evaluation of PSI and taboo across all types of taboo and across many cultures. Thanks to globalisation, there are interpreters who belong to different cultures but live in the same country and train together, which means it would be useful to know how this training needs to be tailored to simultaneously influence all cultures.

The methodology used is a mixed type. Questionnaires were combined with open-ended, semi-structured interviews that allow the respondents to answer freely from their own frame of reference rather than being confined by the structure of pre-arranged questions. The sample size was chosen purposively (NRPSI Register). Descriptive, thematic analysis was followed.

The theoretical framework used in the study included Nida's (2012), Newmark's (1998) and Bassnett-McGuire's (1991) functional (dynamic) equivalence, because this theory looks at the impact of texts on the audience as well as the transference of the spirit of the text. Reiss & Vermeer's Skopos theory (2015) relates to reflecting the intentions of speakers when interpreting, which is relevant as it is the intentions behind taboo that must be conveyed. For example, malicious swearing is different in intent compared to habitual swearing that carries no malice. Additionally, Pragmatics, specifically conversation analysis such as

Austin's Speech Acts (2011) and Grice's Maxims of Communication (1975) are used since understanding them will lead to a more effective oral communication and interpreting.

Although many interpreters state they would interpret taboo, the reality does not always match this statement and the question is, how much does the reality match the literature regarding such matters? This thesis studied this aspect and found that there were varying levels of convergence between literature and practice. From the interpreting strategies' aspect, the questionnaire results matched the top choice (equivalence) but there was a poor match with the assumed lowest theory (omission) where the study results placed it in second place. Literal translation ranked third in the questionnaire contrary to the literature where only a few advocate its use.

The responses relating to the role of interpreters overall matched the literature, where the figures showed that linguistic and cultural communicators ranked highest, followed by mediators, educators and linguistic communicators only.

Finally, part-time interpreters found there was a need for training compared to their full-time counterparts. Those who underwent PSI training found it had helped them when faced with taboo. Training requirements listed by respondents included terminology, strategies for interpreting taboo and analytical skills. All those listed were supported and matched by the literature.

The thesis benefits readers from not just the specific findings listed, but from finding a structured piece of research on taboo in the context of public service interpreting. It opens the door to knowledge transfer into translation, for example, or cultural knowledge regarding taboo, where interpreters belonging to a culture

can learn how other cultures deal with taboo, and finally, it may pave the way

into considerations when new forms of taboo that were not addressed in the thesis

appear, such as hate speech.

INTERPRETING TABOO: EVALUATING PRACTICES BY PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETERS IN THE TRANSFER OF TABOO AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

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AIIC	International Association of Conference Interpreters
APCI	Association of Police and Court Interpreters
CA	Componential Analysis
CIoL	The Chartered Institute of Linguists
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
CRLT	Centre for Research on Learning and Teaching
DPA	Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis
DPSI	Diploma in Public Service Interpreters
EU	European (s)
EUR	European Respondents
FE	Far-East (-erners)
FER	Far Eastern Respondents
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
HCC	High Context Culture
HE	Higher Education
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Questionnaire
ISO	International Organisation Standard
IT	Interpreting Studies
ITI	Institute of Translation and Interpreting
LCC	Low Context Culture
MCQ	Multiple Choice Question
ME	Middle Eastern (-ers)
MER	Middle Eastern Respondents
MPT	Metropolitan Police Test
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
MT	Mother Tongue
NCSC	National Centre for State Courts
NHS	National Health Service
NRPSI	National Register of Public Service Interpreters
OALD	Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary

Ofcom	The Office of Communications
PACTE	Process of Acquisition of Translation Competence and Evaluation
PC	Political in-correctness
PM	Prime Minister
PS	Public Services
PSI	Public Service Interpreter
PSIn	Public Service Interpreting
PSIs	Public Service Interpreters
PQ	Pilot Question
RQ	Research Question(s)
SC	Source Culture
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TC	Target Culture
TL	Target Language
TS	Translation Studies
TT	Target Text
UCLan	University of Central Lancashire
UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organisation

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 STUDY RATIONALE

Currently, interpreters make their own decisions regarding the extent to which they interpret taboo such as swear words or words of a sexual nature, not realising the effect this has if they omitted or diluted such terms. Once the consequences are pointed out formally, it is hoped that the embarrassment factor would disappear, leading to a better and more efficient interpreting practice and to a more professional output. An example of dire consequences of misinterpreting taboo is that in a rape case, where the interpreter was too embarrassed to interpret accurately 'did penetration take place?' where she rendered it as 'did lovemaking take place?'. The response by the victim could have been 'No' as penetration through rape is not equal to penetration through lovemaking, and this may have led to the alleged rapist to be set free and for the case to be dropped altogether.

> *The importance of recognising taboo terms, and the ability to handle their interpretation in a sensitive manner stems from the fact that misunderstandings could easily arise when members from different communities converse, and while one speaker may utter something that indicates warmth in his own culture, it may be inadvertently offensive and insulting to the member of the other culture*
>
> (Lakoff, 1975:35)

Yet there are only a few theories on the interpretation of taboo words, possibly because in some societies, the use of taboo words may lead to punishment therefore people avoid their use. What complicates matters here is that taboo can also be things that are not used or words that have not been said (Trudgill, 1988); this adds another difficulty when researching this topic as how can one interpret what has been implied but not uttered?

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Pöchhacker and Shlesinger (2008:7) argue that 'interpreting is not always undertaken by professionals, but that indeed it may be done on an ad-hoc basis by children of immigrants at their family's hospital appointments or by cleaners at that hospital who speak two languages, untrained for the task', and so on. The issue is that if untrained people are interpreting, how will they deal with the taboo when faced with it? Especially considering that perhaps in some cases, family ties mean the family member asked to interpret will be uncomfortable with interpreting taboos such as death or serious illnesses due to loss of face, respect for a hierarchy in the family and also the emotional involvement that already exists due to the relationship between the 'interpreter' and the family member. Not interpreting taboo may lead to a person losing business or being convicted wrongly in court when an interpreter misinterprets crucial terms and downgrades their tone or a cancer patient not getting his affairs in order because he was not aware of his prognosis. This shows the significance of interpreting taboo despite people generally avoiding it in polite societies.

The lack of explicit strategies for interpreting taboo in Public Services motivated this research into evaluating current practices by Public Service Interpreters (PSIs), comparing them to existing literature on interpreting cultural elements in speech. The results, it is hoped, should inform future research on compiling guidelines explicitly for interpreting taboo. Interpreters look at taboo differently according to their cultural and religious backgrounds. Raising awareness of what is taboo, be that spoken or non-verbal taboo, and what would happen if taboo was not dealt with correctly during interpreting events, should help interpreters in accepting the need to interpret such utterances and gestures.

Through years of teaching translation and interpreting, many of the researcher's students have either refused to interpret specific speeches because they were given by someone they disagreed with at an ideological level, or they would not interpret certain words, even in medical settings, because they considered them to be taboo, such as bodily functions, ladies' undergarments and certain body parts; yet all those are vital for communication between a doctor and a patient. It soon became clear that strategies and practising the application of those strategies would help greatly in such situations. If interpreting taboo is a formal part of interpreter skills' training, then students should be able to overcome their inhibitions easier.

1.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The research will evaluate lived practices by PSIs when faced with interpreting taboo. This could be assessed through the following Research Questions:

RQ1: What strategies inform current practices when interpreting taboo and to what extent do those practices reflect theories that are appropriate for interpreting taboo?

RQ2: What do interpreters' self-reporting regarding the handling of culturally-linked taboo reveal about the way they perceive their role?

RQ3: What are the training competencies required for taboo interpreting in PSI settings?

1.3 BRIEF BACKGROUND

For the purposes of this thesis, taboo does not include just swear words. All languages have taboo terms. British anthropologist Edmund Leach (cited in Andersson & Trudgill, 1990: 14) has suggested that taboo words, in English, fall into three major groups, which are:

- 'Dirty words' relating to sex and excretion, such as *fuck,*

- Words that have to do with the 'Christian religion', such as *Jesus Christ*

- Words that are used in 'animal abuse', such as *bitch, cow.*

However, these groups can be blurry, merging together and dynamically changing with time. For example, what was once blasphemous today may not be so, such as the word '*gee*!' which was originally 'Jesus' (ibid:16). This change in the status of what is nowadays considered to be taboo, highlights one of the difficulties in interpreting taboo, as an interpreter needs to stay abreast of what is currently acceptable and what is not.

Interpreting is seen by many as the oral form of translation. It is defined by Anderson (1978: 218) as 'the oral transfer of a message from one language into another oral form in another language, after the interpreter first reformulates the message'. Shuttleworth and Cowie (2011:83) define interpreting as a term used to refer to 'the oral translation of a spoken message or text'. Pöchhacker (2016) moves the definition from the oral, verbal definition and extends it to other forms that include sign language. There are many types of interpreting, the one this thesis is concerned with is 'Public Service Interpreting' as opposed to 'Conference Interpreting'. Public Service Interpreting (PSIn) is also termed as Community Interpreting, which takes place within public services, such as immigration, courts, police, hospitals and clinics plus within local councils, social services and schools. In PSIn settings, interpreters have to use more than one form of interpreting mode, such as consecutive mode, which is the more frequent type used and where the speaker talks for a couple of minutes while the interpreter takes notes of key elements of the conversation. Once the speaker halts his speech, the interpreter renders it into the target language. This rendition could be either whispered if the interpreter speaks

directly to the client standing next to him, or out loud if the output is meant to be heard by everyone else in the room at the time. Another type used less often is simultaneous interpreting where the interpreter interprets to the client stood next to him at the same time as the speaker is speaking, with an interval of normally only a few seconds. Sometimes, the client may ask the interpreter to interpret a written text into a verbal form, and this is called sight interpreting, an example would be the sight interpreting of a patient information leaflet.

1.4 ORIGINALITY

Applied research on the evaluation of interpreting taboo to the extent carried out here has not yet been undertaken, to the researcher's knowledge, making it unique in the field. This thesis looks at aspects of current practices of interpreting many forms of taboo by PSIs among many cultures. Taibi (2016) only researched the use of euphemisms in Arabs interpreting taboo, while Cambridge (2013) looks mainly at 'saving face' while interpreting taboo. Torruella Valverde (2013) examines Arab interpreters and their attitude towards other Arabs when it comes to taboo, where the examined taboo was only swear-words or sexual taboo. The existing papers either investigated a single culture at a time, or one aspect or two of interpreting, or a single aspect of taboo, but not all. Putranti et al's study (2018) suggests theories to be used when faced with offensive language but does not discuss all types of taboo. The study is linked to translation rather than PS interpreting. It does not look at the issues from a Western perspective. Similarly, a Turkish study (Tanriverdi Kaya, 2015) explores the influence of ideology on translating taboo in novels, it does not cover interpreting at all.

Dohan & Levintova (2007) discuss the need for employing interpreters in health settings to get optimum health outcomes, but they do not consider the actual interpreters' practices and attitudes towards taboo. Another study by Bahumaid (2010) discusses cultural competencies in translation programmes but not for interpreting and more specifically, not on interpreting taboo.

Most research on taboo has been in the field of sociolinguistics, mainly studying the origins of taboo usage, discussing the effect of their use on society, but not much is found regarding methods of interpreting (Trudgill, 1988).

Eco (2003), McEnery (2009), Hughes (1998), Allen and Burridge (2006) and Baker (2008) describe the effect of taboo on language and on culture plus the link between taboo and translation. Other scholars look at other aspects of taboo (impoliteness) and communication (Bousfield, 2010).

The author's contribution to the research element is firstly filling a gap in the literature relating to Public Service Interpreting, which is still relatively low, comparing attitudes by PS interpreters, spanning all types of cultures and across many levels of professional experience and qualifications, towards interpreting taboo in all its types. The novel use of Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis (DPA) in the data analysis adds to the originality of the research, as this method is usually used in psychology and not in interpreting Studies (see 5.4.2 for justification of its use).

1.5 IMPACT OF RESEARCH

The research aims to shed a light on how interpreters conduct themselves in situations where they face interpreting what they consider to be taboo. Due to lack of specific strategies in the literature, interpreters could make their own rules in this

regard. Collating information on what they do, and how they come to making those choices, should give us a picture on whether this matches what the analysis of the literature has regarding interpreting cultural issues, like taboo. There is a need to break down barriers against interpreting taboo. Identifying skills that will help in interpreting taboo is another contribution.

Once interpreters understand why people swear and use bad language it should help them anticipate when a situation is threatening to get out of hand. This anticipation should lead to safer interpreting environments. For example, in mental health assignments, where the gradual increase in bad language may indicate a negative change in the patient's mental status that may lead to disruptions and maybe even violence. Training interpreters, who aim to work in the health sector, to be aware of those signs means they will ensure they interpret those 'bad' words appropriately hence allowing the healthcare worker to make an informed decision on the gradual deterioration of the patient. With a lack of such awareness, interpreters may assume that bad language is due to bravado only, so they may ignore it altogether which may later create a difficult and awkward situation for them and the healthcare professional. This can be extended to legal settings too. The research should help inform future studies on compiling guidelines that deal with taboo in interpreting events. It will also fill a gap in the literature regarding PSIs and interpreting taboo.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The difficulties in interpreting taboo and looking at how interpreting it differs depending on factors such as the directionality of the utterance are discussed in this thesis: Allen and Burridge (2006) state that it is easier to interpret taboo when people are not using their mother tongue, which in theory should make it easier for

interpreters to handle. This is confirmed by others, such as Kang'Ethe Iraki (2004), who explains it by showing how the mother tongue language is a repository of people's ethics, and hence interpreters may struggle to utter taboo using their MT, while they may find it easier to interpret them as they are using a different language to their own.

Scholars have highlighted the difficulties interpreters face in certain settings. In PSIn, some of the difficulties in interpreting taboo could be attributed not just to language but also to the logistics of the settings. For example, Yudina (1982) discusses the way the physical distance between the clients and the interpreters or the way they are facing each other and how these can negatively affect the standard of interpreting. This is because interpreters cannot see the reaction of their interpretation on their client. This problem is naturally exacerbated if the words being interpreted include some which are considered to be taboo.

Interpreting is communication in oral form. To understand this more, a closer look is carried out at Conversation Analysis, Grice's (1975) maxims of communication plus factors that facilitate effective communication. The hypothesis is that what makes communication effective could be applied to interpreting to make it effective, too. Grice's maxims of communication (ibid) include Quantity where you only say what needs to be said,; quality is saying things in an accurate manner. Relation is whether what is said is relevant or not; this is important for when the interpreter needs to ascertain whether to omit the taboo utterance or whether it is relevant; the relevance here being the relevance not just to being accurate and faithful as seen in the code of ethics, but also relevant from the cultural mediation aspect where the clients will, through the uttered taboo, be made aware of the attitude, character and

behaviour of the other client, and where those cultural factors can have an impact on their conversation (be it in court or a business transaction).

Grice's Maxims discuss verbal communication, yet taboo is also non-verbal. For this reason, Austin's Speech Acts (2011) are explored, which are divided into three types: locutionary where each part of a sentence should make sense and refer to something, illocutionary which is about what the sentence aims to achieve and perlocutionary which is about the effect of the sentence on the receiver. Those constituents may explain to a large extent why people do not utter or interpret taboo (they are afraid of the effect taboo may have on the others or they swear in order to see some kind of reaction in others and so on) and hence these acts cannot be ignored in this research.

Other theories that support the research include Functional (Dynamic) Equivalence as discussed by Nida (2012), Newmark (1998) and Bassnett-McGuire (1991), because this theory looks at the effect or impact of texts on the audience as well as the transference of the spirit of the text, which is very relevant in this context. Nida (2012) sees dynamic equivalence as the method to be used to obtain cross-cultural equivalence. This is relevant to our topic because taboo is culture-bound and interpreting it needs an interpretation of the culture attached to it, especially when taboo is included in speech for a specific purpose, and where invoking a similar reaction in both language cultures is expected.

Skopos theory (Reiss and Vermeer, 2015) relates interpreting to reflecting the aim or intention found in the original utterance and which must be transferred to the audience. If the taboo was intended to be malicious, then that intent must be transferred clearly. Pöchhacker (1995) states that the skopos defines interpreting as a cultural transfer, where hypertext and communication are important. The skopos

means there are differing informational needs and approaches that interpreters need to follow (ibid). It has been agreed that taboo is used for various reasons, sometimes out of habit, therefore, it is important to be able to analyse this, uncovering the skopos, before embarking on transferring it.

However, scholars have differed greatly about the extent an interpreter should go to in order to facilitate communication amongst all parties involved. Clarifying the role of interpreters is relevant when deciding whether interpreting culturally-linked matters such as taboo should be interpreted or not. Choosing to not interpret taboo which may not be uttered but implied, can have dire consequences.

Ultimately, interpreters faced with having to extend their role to that of mediators of matters that are cultural and non-linguistic (non-verbal, paralanguage) will have to rely on their experience to judge whether their intervention is the correct one or not and to judge the consequences of their decisions.

A clash between the Code of Ethics and the reality while interpreting is the outcome of the absence of clearly defined roles for interpreters; the reality of an interpreter's work does not always match the demands as set out in the Code of Ethics. Anderson (2002) states that in many situations the interpreter's role has to be decided on an 'ad hoc' basis. Cronin (2003) sees that interpreters have ethical responsibilities that are higher than their professional roles. Many interpreters, when facing controversial rhetoric, struggle to decide whether they should tone it down or keep it as it is (Osaki, 2017). Mullamaa (2009) suggests that there should be a conciliation of 'performance, front and manner' when interpreting to enable the interpreter to maintain his professional integrity. This, she suggests, would work well in situations where great ethical conflicts arise between the personal self of the interpreter and his professional self.

The Cognitive Pragmatic Approach, as defined by Bara (2017) allows interpreters to develop their role into that of intercultural mediators. However, that role must only occur while the interpreters remain neutral and faithful to the speaker(s). When it comes to sensitive matters such as taboo, the interpreter must look at the pragmatic meaning of the Code of Ethics and balance the consequences of interpreting such taboo with the consequences of not interpreting it.

Schäffner and Adab (2000) discuss developing competencies in translation (and by extension interpreting) where they talk about course designers needing to know how and when this competence can be developed and at what stage. This ensures that problems are identified, and appropriate solutions proposed and duly adopted and explained (ibid). Once problems faced by interpreters, such as interpreting taboo, are recognised and added to training programmes, then they can be analysed within the classes and the students can go out and practise, confident in their ability to identify problems and solve them on the spot (in as much as possible in such situations where the decision needs to be instant).

1.7 METHODOLOGY OF DATA COLLECTION

A mixed method approach to this research was followed: quantitative in the form of a questionnaire and qualitative in the form of interviews. The quantitative part of the research aimed to calculate the frequency of incidents facing interpreters when handling taboo and the range of the methods they choose when such things occur and the intensity of their reactions to such occurrences. In other words, this will provide an overview of interpreters' attitudes towards interpreting taboo. The qualitative part aims to emphasise the meaning of their responses. This takes shape in the form of interviews that should be the instrument here to explain why

interpreters handle taboo in a certain manner. It will be used to clarify certain ambiguous points seen in the questionnaire and to allow the respondents to speak freely on this topic, without embarrassment or reluctance. It is hoped that the semi-formal interview would allow them to relax enough to discuss in more detail how they see taboo and the ways they see fit for interpreting it.

The questionnaire is designed based on the major theories seen in the literature review and which include:

- Pragmatics (Grice's maxims of communication (1975), Austin's Speech Acts (2011) and Searle's Indirect Speech Acts (1991).

- Dynamic Equivalence as discussed by Nida (2012), Newmark (1998), Bassnett-McGuire (1991).

- Vermeer and Reiss's Skopos Theory (2015)

The questionnaire is appropriate to use in this research as the responses from it will identify gaps and difficulties interpreters face when dealing with taboo in addition to highlighting inconsistencies of their handling of taboo with what is found in the literature. Dörnyei (2011) sees this method as a reliable source of collecting statistical data, and that it allows us to collect answers using specific questions that are central to the study. Further, Dörnyei (2011) sees questionnaires as a form that allows researchers to ask factual questions (age, gender, qualifications), behavioural questions (what they do or have done in the past, in this instance, dealing with interpreting taboo) and attitudinal questions (beliefs, opinions, values), all of which are relevant to this type of research.

The questionnaire is to be distributed to practising PSIs and to DPSI (Diploma in Public Service Interpreting) students. The respondents are chosen using what Dörnyei (2011) calls 'convenience sample' where it is easy and convenient to send

the questionnaire to the respondents as they will be chosen from PSI registers, and where the respondents have certain features related to the purpose of the investigation.

The interviews shall be the instrument to go beyond the surface of the responses gained via the questionnaires in order to understand fully why the respondents deal with taboo in a certain manner, for example due to ignorance or embarrassment. This method is known to be particularly useful in understanding human behaviour and in assisting in understanding of the meaning people give to the events they experience and interpret. This method provides rich, in-depth data. Dörnyei (2011) sees it as the best method to answer 'why' questions that result from contradictory or surprising responses to the questionnaires; the flexibility of this method allows us to reach a full understanding of those unusual results.

The mixed method used in the thesis is of a descriptive-explanatory nature. Descriptive statistics describe patterns of behaviour and relationships between them, which helps us identify patterns from raw data (Brewer, 2007). Interpretative analysis as described by Reiners (2012) is also used, this allows researchers to describe and analyse statements through a reflective process, which helps find meanings of phenomena, in this case, interpreting taboo in PSI. The Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis (DPA) follows a thematic approach in order to help researchers see patterns of behaviour among the respondents.

1.8 OUTLINE OF THESIS

Chapter One summarises this research overall and includes the aims of the research, methodology brief and a summary of the literature review that forms the theoretical background that underpins the research and supports it.

Chapter Two aims, through describing the various types of taboo, to facilitate identification of taboo by interpreters. It is important that interpreters see that taboo is dynamic and comes in a variety of types that differ across cultures, among other things. Inability to recognise taboo because it is not taboo in one's culture leads to a possible mishandling of it while interpreting. Equally, recognition of the intentions or skopos behind the utterance of taboo allows interpreters to decide if it is important that the interpreting of this utterance is conveyed totally or if it could be modified slightly to allow communication to carry on.

Chapter Three discusses the role of interpreters and links that role to the codes of ethics. Many interpreters abide by the Codes of Ethics, assuming this means that no addition or omission are allowed. Introducing consequentialism to ethics aims to offer a better understanding of how to resolve the conflict between the Codes of Ethics and interpreters' roles, and places ethics within context. The relationship between culture and taboo is shown to explain why taboo could be dealt with as a cultural element when interpreting.

Chapter Four brings together the theoretical framework that underpins this research and which has helped inform the questionnaire. In the absence of explicit strategies and theories to deal with taboo, putting such theories in a single study might help in guidance when dealing with taboo. It also discusses the competencies suggested. By scholars that enable trainees to interpret taboo in PSIn settings. Such training includes learning about how to deal with taboo and how to overcome personal feelings towards it, among other things.

Chapter Five describes the research methodology. The methodology includes both a quantitative and a qualitative element. The quantitative part includes a questionnaire while the qualitative part is in the form of a small number of interviews plus what

comments were added in the questionnaires. Justification of the methods used for data collection and for analysis of the data form the largest part of this chapter.

Chapter Six describes the findings and analysis where the data which are collected from the questionnaires and the interviews are listed and analysed. The justification of choosing the questions and wording them in the manner seen is added. A comparison of the results gathered with comparable studies and with the literature reviewed earlier is seen, ending with a summary that will shed a light on current practices.

The Conclusion Chapter summarises all the previous chapters including the results of the questionnaires and their links to other studies and related literature, plus the study limitations. In this chapter, the contribution to research and knowledge is outlined plus suggestions for future areas of research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW: TABOO

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided the reader with an introduction and background to the study and set out the research questions the study will be addressing. This chapter will outline the main topic for this research, which is taboo. Understanding the nature and types of taboo aims to help interpreters deal with it when interpreting. It is important that interpreters understand that taboo is not merely bad words or swearing; there are other types that may be taboo in the culture that one grows up in but not so in the culture one interprets for. People manipulate taboo to achieve a reduction or increase in its value. This knowledge will help interpreters produce better interpreting outputs when faced with such terms.

Taboo is defined by Allan & Burridge (2006:1) as 'words and expressions that no one is supposed to say, but that most people use nearly every day'. The use of taboo reflects many aspects such as a person's emotional state (anger or frustration), or it can simply be an indicator of the speakers' values or beliefs, or their personality such as being vulgar, cool or hip (ibid). The relationship between interlocutors and their audience, the context and the moral or cultural code and attitude of the society, all affect what is seen as taboo (Allan & Burridge, 2006; Wardhaugh, 2010). Taboo such as dirty jokes is used deliberately for strategic purposes (Wardhaugh, 2010).

The change in the status of what is nowadays considered to be taboo and what is not demonstrates the rapid changes within different societies. Indeed, from the legal point of view, there are some words that are now used without the person being punished (Lawson, 2011). A good example is that of the Canadian judge who threw out a case against the pop singer Bono from U2 who, on receiving the Golden Globe

award, said "This is really, really fucking brilliant", indicating his astonished delight at winning the prize, rather than meaning it literally. His case was dismissed on the basis that the words were used as crude 'intensifiers' rather than as 'signifiers of sexual or excretory organs or activities', thus raising its status within language and shifting it from its original category (BBC Online, 2012).

Breaking taboos can lead to punishment, which is meted out depending on which taboo was broken (Thomas, cited in Freud, 2001). This can be self-regulated, where if one breaks a taboo, one might pray for forgiveness or atone for this by some good deed. This self-regulation is important to acknowledge as this may sometimes lead to ignoring taboo by interpreters (self-censorship). If the broken taboo has the potential to affect the community then with time, that community would take it upon itself to punish the offender (ibid).

This chapter is concerned with taboo, its origins, categories and relationship with language and culture. In this chapter, the reasons why taboo is important in language and culture will be discussed. Some scholars, such as Napoli and Hoeksema (2009) state that taboo must be studied from the linguistic and grammatical point of view, where taboo terms have been given the status of 'intensifiers', for example, when one says 'where have you been?' compared to 'where the fuck have you been?' where the second utterance shows an intensification of feelings towards the listener who has been clearly gone for quite a length of time as being feelings of anger or concern rather than feelings of happiness or joy for seeing him. This awareness of the grammatical function of taboo helps interpreters when dealing with such terms especially when faced with the decision of ignoring taboo or interpreting it, as shall be seen in the interview stage of the research.

2.2 WHAT IS TABOO?

Taboo is not a new concept. It has existed since the Roman times (Allan and Burridge, 2006). Freud defines Taboo in the West as two opposing things, the first of which is what is sacred and consecrated and the other is what is forbidden, dangerous and unclean (Freud 2001).

All languages have taboo terms; the British anthropologist Edmund Leach (in Andersson & Trudgill, 1990: 14) has suggested that taboo words, in English, fall into three major categories, and they are 'dirty words', those related to Christianity and those related to abuse of animals. However, these categories can be blurry and may merge into each other.

Another classification by Abrantes (2005) of taboo divides it into

- Fear-based topics (death, diseases)

- Shame-based topics (sex and bodily functions)

- Politeness-based topics (insults)

Wardhaugh (2006: 234), a Canadian sociologist, defines taboo as 'the prohibition or avoidance in any society of behaviour believed to be harmful to its members in that it would cause them anxiety, embarrassment or shame'. As a result, certain things cannot be mentioned except by certain people, at certain times only and under certain conditions only, for example, when used euphemistically (Gao, 2013). For the purposes of this thesis, Wardaugh's definition seen above is the one to be adopted, since it covers all societies, intentions behind taboo and their impact on the listeners whether this was verbal or non-verbal taboo. Taboo's link to culture and time is seen through its definition, such as the anthropologist Montagu's definition (2001) who sees taboo as socially and culturally related because some cultures see some items as taboo, while others do not. Taboo is also linked to culture in the definition found

in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2010: 1322): 'A cultural or religious custom that does not allow people to do, use or talk about a particular thing as people find it offensive or embarrassing' or it is 'a general agreement not to do something or talk about something'. The sociolinguist Trudgill (2000:29) sees that 'taboo is associated with things that are not said, particularly with words and expressions that are not used'. It is interesting here as the last two definitions confirm that taboo is sometimes about things one has not said or done, yet it has a strong influence over our lives. The presence of non-verbal taboo in many definitions brings to the fore the significance of acknowledging this and reacting to it when the need arises, rather than ignoring it.

Hughes, a prominent sociolinguist, (1998) categorises taboo as universal or societal, the latter is where societies have taboos against direct reference to matters such as death. Such societal taboos indicate how social mores change with the passage of time. Hughes, in his definition, only acknowledges the direct utterances of taboo, unlike many of his peers who acknowledge implied taboo, as seen in the definitions listed above.

From the language perspective, Taboo words are "words that many people consider offensive or shocking, for example because they refer to sex, the body or people's race" (ibid:6).

When it comes to researchers studying taboo and translation, taboo terms have been called 'marked speech' as seen in the following definition:

> *[...] speech characterized by non-standard language features or features that are not 'neutral'. Speech can be marked by style or register, and it can also be [...] bound to socially and/or geographically defined population groups. Besides, marked speech includes taboo words, swear words and emotionally charged utterances such as interjections and exclamations.*

This last definition only takes into account verbal taboo, and bypasses the mention of non-verbal taboo, which may lead to a mis-communication since non-verbal communication forms around 60-70% of communication (Wood, 2013). Two prominent linguists, Allan and Burridge, define taboo as a term that 'refers to a proscription of behaviour for a specifiable community of one or more persons, at a specifiable time, in specifiable contexts' (2009:11). They both see that there is no such thing as 'absolute taboos' that are universal across all times. They also acknowledge the influence of context on taboo. This fits in well with RQ2 that looks into roles of interpreters in the transfer of culturally-linked taboo.

2.3 CATEGORIES OF TABOO

Learning taboo types might help in recognising taboo. Through the adoption of Wardaugh's (2006) definition of taboo, where harmful expressions and those that lead to shame are considered taboo, the following categories of taboo can be listed. Wardaugh's definition means the list is long as it needs to cover any expressions that could cause shame, across any culture and in any period of time. It must be noted that the hierarchy of what is severe taboo or not changes according to different cultures. The listing hereunder does not therefore necessarily reflect the significance of one category over another.

2.3.1 Linguistic Taboo

This is the case when one finds certain words become taboo for purely phonetic reasons. For example, most people use 'donkey', rather than 'ass' in their speech, simply because the latter is too close in sound to 'arse/ass' (Andersson & Trudgill, 2000: 57).

2.3.2 Religious Taboo / Blasphemy

These are 'words that refer to religion in a disrespectful way, such as when one swears by heaven and hell, and their inhabitants' (Andersson & Trudgill, 2000: 55). It also covers the area in which the text may impinge on religious teachings, for example, in the Arabian Gulf, scenes in films that show people drinking alcohol are not allowed, as it goes against Islamic teachings (Zitawi, 2003). A secondary source of religious taboo includes calling a Muslim or a Jew 'pig or dog' where those animals are forbidden and dirty in their religion. As one gets older, it is expected that one increasingly treats blasphemy as taboo (Voas, 2019).

2.3.3 Bodily Functions and Sex

This is the category from which most swear words are taken in most languages (Napoli & Hoeksema, 2009). Examples are 'sod, shit, and fuck' (Andersson & Trudgill, 2000: 57). Some still use homosexuality or masturbation to swear at others 'Jerk, wanker', and incest is another term listed by Napoli & Hoeksema (2009) where one term is still widely used, 'Motherfucker'. The taboo related to bodily functions is linked to the use of the words themselves and not to the actual actions themselves: going to the toilet to relieve yourself is a necessity, but people avoid discussing it, and they try to use more formal words such as 'urinate' rather than 'piss' to make this more acceptable (Andersson & Trudgill, 2000). This is what would be expected to be seen in health settings where more formal terms would be used to avoid losing face when using the informal terms. However, in police settings, it is possible to find such terms being used by detainees, for example, when swearing at the officers. This is dynamic and culturally-linked where in some countries like Spain, some terms are no longer seen as taboo (Taibi, 2016), while in other countries, like Muslim Indonesia (Pratama, 2016) or Poland where the Catholic church still has

influence (Tryuk, 2007; Heinen & Portet, 2010), the same terms would not be heard in public.

2.3.4 Sexist, Racist and Politically Incorrect Taboo

To be politically incorrect (OALD, 2010: 976) means 'failing to avoid language or behaviour that may offend particular groups of people'. Examples of such taboo include words that are linked to someone's religion or skin colour such as 'chink, nigger, yid'. Other insults link swearing to physical attributes, like height or weight, such as 'fat ass, impotent, midget'. Some insults linked to a person's intelligence are still seen in some cultures as insulting, such as 'stupid, cretin' or when you lower the social status of that person 'fink, country bumpkin' although today, the last category does not carry the same weight of insult as the other categories do (Napoli & Hoeksema, 2009). Most of this category would be expected to be seen while interpreting in police settings, rather than health interpreting settings.

Some terms are taboo not because of the word itself but because the action those words describe is taboo. For example, calling someone 'a thief' is not allowed in polite societies because the action of stealing is taboo, not because the word itself is taboo. Political incorrectness differs across cultures (Mukhametzyanova et al, 2017), and gender, where females object to it more than males, Phenitsyn (2011). Mukhametzyanova et al (2017) state that the main task in translating politically incorrect terms is to replace them with a more polite expression. This contradicts the thesis' hypothesis where it states that all taboos must be interpreted as they are, without lowering their harshness. However, Mukhametzyanova et al (2017) state that interpreting these terms 'correctly' is important as it opens up easier communication where mutual understanding, respect and tolerance would be an integral part of such communication, thus defending their position. Phenitsyn (2011)

states that the difficulty of political [in]correctness stems from the fact that it does not cross cultures, so being aware of its existence is the first hurdle for interpreters. For example, instead of the Russian compliment of ladies who are like 'table decorations', this could be replaced by, ladies who 'grace our table'. If the utterance has an equivalent, then that strategy must be used. The authors see this increasingly in use as more Russians learn more about the ideologies of the West. For example, instead of saying a person is an 'invalid', which used to be the term mostly in use in Russia, the terms 'disabilities, special needs' are now increasingly in use there. Another strategy could be the introduction of new words to convey the utterance, for example, the word 'inclusive' or the introduction of the word 'Roma' into Russian instead of 'Gypsy' that was used in the past (ibid:247).

2.3.5 Taboo Linked to Life, Death and Diseases

Napoli & Hoeksema (2009) list Hell, Heaven, serious illness and death as strongly connected to religious beliefs, hence leading to them being classified by many as taboo, not to be openly discussed or even not to be discussed as frivolous. In many cultures, serious illness is seen as caused by the patient having angered God through committing sins (Sontag, 2009). This is encountered mostly in health settings, where the patients might avoid using such terms when answering certain questions or if they were being given bad news, such as having cancer, where the interpreter might struggle to do so in a direct manner as the culture the interpreter belongs to considers this to be taboo. Included in this category is ageism, where some discriminate or make fun of others due to their age, typically old age, rather than younger ages (OALD, 2010: 23). Formosa (2001) and Dore (2019) state that this is a culturally-linked issue, where in the Far East old age is revered and thus ageism does not appear, while in the West, the elderly become a financial burden, which is why

ageism is more prevalent there. Ageism is rarely encountered in public service interpreting events.

2.4 HOW PEOPLE USE TABOO

How people use taboo depends on social status, education, age, situation and gender. Men are considered to swear more than women (Trudgill, 2000; Phenitsyn, 2011) because women worry more about how they are seen in society and hence they try to not swear as much as men who do not pay as much attention to such status. Trudgill (2009) links this to language and prestige, where there is 'Overt Prestige', which is language recognised at national level and which is used in official or formal situations and in education and where users of this level are seen by others as educated and well-spoken and intelligent. By contrast, in 'Covert Prestige' people do not identify with the usual language in order to show 'solidarity' to class and region. The difficulty here is that because it is the overt prestige language people are educated in, it is difficult for interpreters to deal with the language used in the covert prestige category, where taboo falls. This is true for many languages. Arabic, for example, uses Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as the language of education and official interactions across all 22 countries (overt prestige type), while there are many dialects across the Arab world, where the use of covert prestige dialects is seen, and where taboo words fall. In using MSA in interpreting taboo words, the words are felt to be stilted and unnatural as they do not match the everyday taboo words we come across.

2.4.1 Taboo in Public Service Settings

Public service settings, for the purposes of this thesis, include healthcare settings (hospitals or clinics), legal settings (courts, police, immigration) and local

government settings (councils, schools and social services) (Pöchhacker, 2004). These were chosen based on the three diplomas in public services interpreting offered in the UK. Tipton and Furmanek (2016) list educational and faith-related interpreting as part of PSIn and community interpreting, but these will not be discussed in this thesis as they are still to form part of the DPSI exams in the UK. The categories of taboo seen are not exclusive to one setting above all others, but they can exist in each setting in varying degrees. The recurrence of the utterances also changes based on the interlocutors and the situation. For example, in health settings, the taboo expected to be seen would be mostly related to death and certain diseases, which may be perceived as taboo by the patients and their families, rather than the healthcare professionals. While in legal settings, more of the swearing, blasphemy, racism or foul language may be seen and this would be uttered by defendants. Equally, legal practitioners may use utterances relating to bodily functions or intimate parts of the body when questioning defendants. In local government settings, swearing, for example, may be seen in social care settings if clients do not receive the benefits they had hoped for, and there may be racist or sexist encounters when there are cultural clashes present. The latter could be uttered by both the service users and the service providers.

2.5 TABOO & GENDER

Trudgill (2000:88) sees 'conservative language as a sign of femininity'. Other linguists (Jesperson, 1922, in Baker, 2011) see that women try to maintain the 'purity' of language when they speak, while men are more innovative in their language use. When looking at swearing, Jesperson (1922) sees that women are unable to use intensifying verbs, which is one of the functionalities of swear words,

hence further explaining why women appear to swear less than men. Women apparently shrink from coarse and vulgar language and prefer to use more refined language (ibid). Jay (2009) sees that men tend to swear more than women, though the gap has narrowed between 1986 and 2009 from 67% of public swearing episodes to 55%, but the distribution of swear words is different (women are five times more likely to say *oh my God* than men). Men and women swear more frequently in same-gender than mixed-gender contexts (ibid). Some of this may be explained through the notion of 'risk-taking' where Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin (1996), Croson & Gneezy (2009) and Arch (1993) show that decisions taken by females are influenced by their aversion to risk and how they want others to perceive them. This gender theory has been challenged by other scholars as will be discussed in Chapter 2.8.

2.6 TABOO & AGE

Positive correlation between swearing and teenagers has been shown (Cheshire, 1982, cited in Williamson, 2009). The study by Williamson (2009) shows the positive correlation starts to decline after young people reach the more conservative age of 25 years. Schweinberger (2016) showed that swearing was higher among those aged 19-33, decreasing from 34 onwards. This is true for both genders (ibid). When a person is over 60 years of age, that person tends to avoid using bad language. Under 25s tend to use the more potent taboo terms compared to others (Williamson, 2009). Pickhardt (2009) and Hazan (1999) explain this age link to 'non-conformity rebellion' but they argue that this rebellion starts with young age then declines but re-appears in old age. This is relevant to the analysis later on.

2.7 SOCIAL CLASS & TABOO

This was studied closely by Williamson (2009), where usage of taboo terms does indeed change inversely according to the social class the speaker belongs to although this is not as straight forward as some may think. Lower-middle class people try to imitate the language used by higher class people and hence they use different taboo terms (from the potency point of view) to what is expected normally to be used by them (Ibid: 49). This was confirmed for non-Western cultures by a study by Elyyan (1994), which showed that euphemisms were used to replace taboo terms in topics such as death, disease, sex and bodily functions. The choice of euphemisms varied based on age, social class and education level. McEnery (2006) finds that socially low-ranking speakers produced higher rates of swearing than high-rank people.

2.8 RULES FOR USING TABOO: THE 'DOUBLE-THINK' OF TABOO WORDS

Taboo is to do mainly not with the taboo word itself, but with the concept. For example, although one cannot publicly say *piss* and *shit*, it is quite acceptable if one said *urine* and *faeces* instead. This demonstrates the existence of certain rules that one must adhere to when uttering taboo words; it is only 'the failure to stick to these rules that will lead to some sort of punishment or public shame' (Trudgill, 2000: 30). The first rule is that the use of taboo in non-permitted contexts, such as on television, provokes violent reactions of shock and disgust. However, as mentioned earlier, this reaction is generally to the word itself and not the concept, since it is acceptable enough to say 'sexual intercourse' on television (Napoli & Hoeksema, 2009).

Second, rude words are not only cultural, but they are also situational. Those differences exist not only across cultures, but within regions of the same culture

(Silverton, 2009). This makes sense since those words are linked also to local dialects, rather than formal language.

Third, many will never employ taboo terms except in certain strict situations. A child would never call his dad a 'prick', for example, nor would a doctor tell the relatives of a person who had just died that he had 'kicked the bucket' (Ibid).

Fourth, it is accepted that men swear more than women do. Although Williamson (2009) argues that this changes according not just to the context and situation but to the gender of the receiver too. His research shows that males use certain swear words more than females do and yet there are certain swear words overused by females more than males. Williamson (ibid) lists the words 'Fuck' in its variants, 'Jesus' and 'cunt' as more male centred, while the words 'God, bloody, pig, hell, bugger, pissed arsed and shit' as more female centred. The male-centred words, he sees, cause more offence than the female ones and are, as such, called 'potent'. The degree of offence was based on the 2008 British Board of Film Classification Scale. Rayson et al (1997) also see that men tend to swear and use slang more than women. Men use taboo words such as 'fucking, fuck, shit, hell, cunt, cock and crap' much more than women who use more taboo words such as 'shit, piss and hell'. However, Rayson et al (ibid) see that sometimes women's swearing exceeds that of males.

Rule number five is that there are some words that will only be directed by females towards other females (cow), while there are other taboo words that may be used by one gender towards the other exclusively. For example, females will only use the term 'cunt' towards males. Although that same word 'cunt' may be used by males towards either gender. Naturally, there are some words that are used by both genders and directed at both genders, for example, 'gay'.

As for rule number six, it is that females affix terms such as 'would you mind' to make their utterances politer. Females also add tags to their questions 'it is hot here, isn't it?' or use 'hollow' adjectives such as 'divine' for describing something as lovely, all to be polite (Lakoff, 2004).

Rule number seven states that it is not only the use of such words that is the problem; it is more in the force used when the words are uttered (Lakoff, 2004). This means that when one interprets taboo, one must ensure to mimic the force and tone they are said in.

Using taboo differs when people belong to different cultures. Torruella Valverde (2013) shows that Arab interpreters would interpret taboo only if the clients are of a different culture, regardless of the religion.

And finally, politeness, and therefore rudeness, may be non-linguistic in nature; some words are polite in one setting, yet rude in another; they may be polite at one time, but impolite at a different time, and so on.

Knowledge of these factors can save interpreters from many problems, as different cultures accord different priorities to such terms, depending on the conditions in which they were used (ibid: 53). This helps towards addressing RQ3 relating to professional competency requirements.

2.9 WHY DO PEOPLE USE TABOO?

Understanding why people swear goes a long way when interpreting swear words. If the taboo is used for innocent reasons, such as looking cool among friends, then it may be ignored, depending on the general context. However, if the taboo indicates hostility towards the other interlocutor, then this needs to be brought to others' attention by the interpreter, reflecting the same level and tone of that hostility.

There are many reasons why people swear and those include breaking the rules listed above (see 2.8). This is linked to power or freedom, which some find desirable (Trudgill, 2000). Some newly created taboo words are used collectively by certain groups, for example teenagers, as a means of expressing identity for themselves within those groups (Hamaida, 2007). This has been discussed already by Trudgill (2009) when he talks about prestige and language. Silverton (2009) states that some people swear to dilute the public perception of them; for example, famous people do so to show they are 'one of us.'

In some societies, some words play an important role in religion, and they are seen as powerful (Trudgill, 2000). Language is closely related to social attitudes. Society expects different behaviour and language use from women. Therefore, women may use taboo to 'shock, rebel, and to indicate their strong feminist tendencies' (ibid: 88). Moreover, taboo words may be used to show other tendencies, such as racism or sexism (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990). Using taboo language to express our hidden feelings, according to Lakoff (2004: 4) is 'especially likely in emotionally charged areas like that of sexism and other forms of discriminatory behaviour.'

Taboo words are particularly effective in getting the listener's attention. We know from Jay, Caldwell-Harris, & King (2008) that taboo words produce a higher level of arousal than other words. These words are stored and retrieved, they seem to carry with them the imprint of power, authority, and rebellion. Taboo words get their power partly from the fact there is 'someone' in power telling us that the terms are not to be used. It is the fact that they keep occurring in intense emotional situations that perpetuates their power.

Swearing is negatively correlated with high scores on the 'Big Five' personality features of agreeableness and conscientiousness (Mehl, Gosling, & Pennebaker,

2003) but big swearers tend to be extraverts (Fast & Funder, 2008; Mehl et al., 2003). McEnery (2006) finds that socially low-ranking speakers produced higher rates of swearing than high-rank people. Finally, cursing is seen by Jay (2000) as a fundamental feature of human communication used to challenge taboos, such as sex. The type of profanity used tells us the social class of the person using such words, in addition to giving us clues on their beliefs and values (Wierzbicka, 1999).

What matters here is for interpreters to recognise why a person is using taboo words in order to decide how to handle this utterance. This requires instant analysis of the intention through recognising if the term is primary or secondary to the uttered text; this cannot be achieved if interpreters lack cultural knowledge of both languages they are working with. What complicates matters is that interpreters tend to condense information as they interpret, and many times they see cultural elements as redundant and they omit them altogether (Shlesinger, 2014).

2.10 CONSEQUENCES OF IGNORING TABOO

There are many consequences for ignoring taboo when interpreting. In police and court settings, swearing gives an indication of a person's character. In sexual misconduct cases, interpreting using vague terms leading to misunderstandings is often seen when interpreters face explicit language (Tipton & Furmanek, 2016), although the vagueness the authors mean is in the use of pronouns, such as 'he' or 'it' to refer to the taboo term. At business meetings, if a person starts using increasingly negative terms that are ignored by the interpreter, the meeting might come to an abrupt end, losing business for both parties. Different languages express differently their pragmatic intentions, which may explain the cause of such misunderstandings (Hale 2014, in Tipton & Furmanek, 2016). Some of the

consequences could be dire, for example, in health settings, where the end result might be unwanted pregnancies or at worst, death. It has been shown that some health issues are considered taboo, for example contraception, AIDS or cancer (Sontag, 2009). The existence of linguistic and cultural differences exacerbates this difficulty in communication, where it may lead to lack of patients coming forward to screening programmes or not understanding the consequences of their illness or the outcomes of treatment.

Expectations of treatments differ across cultures as seen by many researchers (Saleh et al, 2012; Sosklone et al, 2007 and Dohan & Levintova, 2007). Saleh et al (2012) write about the adverse health consequences of not discussing some health issues that are seen as taboo by some communities (Arabs in this instance) such as lower survival rates from cancer. Saleh writes how cultural myths and negative stereotypes surrounding some illnesses corrupt communication, leading to dire consequences. Saleh concludes that health services must deliver the diagnosis and prognosis of such issues to the patients in 'a manner that is acceptable to the attitudes of patients and their families'. Saleh quotes a study (Sosklone et al, 2007) that showed that Arab females in Israel did not seek testing for breast cancer for fear of what this may mean to their role within their community. Some of the barriers to health communication for 'taboo' health topics include: cultural beliefs and attitudes such as attaching a stigma to cancer patients who are seen as having cancer as Divine punishment; lack of knowledge on the patient's part; fear of diagnosis and potential belief in death (itself a taboo). The study concludes that the choice of terminology, explanation of the illness within families and the patients themselves helps ease that communication. Additionally, patients with low levels of cultural adaptation to the West would be more likely to avoid using the term cancer and would prefer to use

euphemisms such as 'that illness' or they would add protective forms such as 'away from us' meaning they hope God keeps cancer away from them (Saleh, 2012). Further, the study (ibid) showed that Arab cancer patients ask the health practitioners not to tell their families about the diagnosis; this extends to the families asking the health professional not to inform the patients of the diagnosis if it happens to be cancer and to keep it among the family members only. Sontag (2009:7) extends this practice of withholding information to Italy and France. Saleh (2012) concludes that the negativity associated with discussing cancer and its outcomes and diagnosis impacts on the patients seeking medical help and diagnosis. Her advice includes an analysis of the patient's cultural beliefs. She sees that the use of some words such as 'cancer' may trigger the fear that leads to this lack of communication. Saleh, therefore, recommends that the use of softer terms such as 'tumour, growth', might allow this communication to take place, as this would allow the concept to come across but without the huge amount of fear and taboo associated with the original term 'cancer'. Although Sontag (2009) has similar recommendations, both contradict what is recommended in interpreting literature where interpreters are encouraged to be faithful to the speaker, regardless, without any dilution or omission of any terms. The issue here is that 'growth' does not equal 'cancer' in medical terms and thus softening the term is slightly misleading, not to mention that interpreters would need to collate a 'double glossary' which contains the usual terms and softer terms to use, which is not always possible or practical. Ideally, the interpreter should say what they hear without softening the terms, just as if the patient and doctor spoke the same language, where the patient hears the word without an intermediary, the interpreter in this case, softening the blow.

The findings by Saleh et al (2012) are repeated through an earlier study (Dohan & Levintova) in 2007, which was among a different culture, which is the Russian community in the USA. The study suggests that health providers need to liaise with professional interpreters to prevent communication breakdown in health settings especially when the illness is seen as taboo by the patients. The combination of the trained health professionals and professional interpreters leads to optimum health outcomes. Patients interviewed in this research believe that interpreters could help them greatly when it came to matters such as disclosure or treatment expectations, if they were trusted to move away from the 'word for word' interpreting. This is quite important to bear in mind since the taboo linked to health matters, like cancer or death, are not linked just to Arab, Chinese or Russian communities; it is widespread across all communities around the world. A Church of England priest announced at The Compassionate Friends AGM how 'Death taboo still reigns supreme' where people refuse to acknowledge or talk about death (Brice, 2014). Sontag (2009) describes negative attitudes to cancer and AIDS in some Western countries, indicating it is not just prevalent in Eastern countries or cultures.

2.11 TABOO AND EMOTION

Taboo is emotionally charged, invoking emotions in some when they hear it. Equally, when some people are emotional, they tend to use taboo. Emotions are universal, but they are expressed differently across cultures. Emotions such as 'fear, anger and enjoyment' exist in cultures and are expressed in those cultures, but the lexicon for those feelings differ across cultures (Wierzbicka, 1999). For example, when one loses somebody to death, they might describe their feelings as 'sadness'. The Tahitians, though, feel something but they would describe it as 'illness' (ibid).

This point needs to be considered when one attempts to interpret taboo across diverse cultures.

> *Emotion is expressed or communicated at every level of language, including grammar and intonation; it is also expressed in facial gestures, such as frowns and raised eyebrows or in bodily gestures such as kisses or foot stamping. All these facets of emotion need to be studied cross culturally. None of them, however, can be studied effectively if the researcher does not protect himself against his own language habits.*

(Wierzbicka, 1999: 29)

Cultures have a 'set of scripts' that suggest to people how to 'feel, express those feelings, and how to think of other people's feelings' (ibid: 240). Polish culture, for example, encourages those belonging to it to 'show' their emotions, verbally and with gestures, rather than to 'speak' about them. In contrast, Americans seem to want to describe how they feel and elaborate on that through the analysis of those feelings (Wierzbicka, 1999).

Wierzbiecka (1999: 275) proposes a set of 'emotional universals' which may help when it comes to handling taboo:

1. All languages have a word for 'Feel'.

2. In all languages, some feelings can be described as 'good' and others as 'bad'

3. All languages have words that are comparable to 'cry' and smile' in meaning (words referring to bodily expressions of good and bad feelings).

4. All cultures appear to link some facial gestures with good or bad feelings. Raised corners of the mouth, for example, show good feelings.

5. All languages have emotive interjections, for example, 'yuk, gee, wow'.

6. In all languages, one can express feelings with body language.

7.　One can refer to those feelings as sensations or as 'bodily images', this means imaginary processes taking place inside the body describing the subjective experience of feelings assumed to be based on thought (my heart sank) (Wierzbiecka (1999:305).

As seen from all the above, emotions are culturally bound as are other types of taboo utterances. This leads to an exploration of taboo and culture below.

2.12 TABOO & CULTURE

Interpreters need to recognise how taboo differs from one culture to another; this is essential when interpreting especially between languages of vastly differing cultures. But even within similarly perceived cultures, such as German and English, taboo is seen differently, for example, the Germans seem to use certain words such as 'shit' and 'damn' more freely than their English counterparts (Storey, 2020). Following a survey, the author found that the same goes for Spanish and English people, where the Spaniards use damn more than the English do (ibid).

Taboo is 'an important element of the social life of any culture' (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990: 55). However, what one culture might find acceptable, the other might find quite offensive. These differences intensify when the cultures are quite distant, such as between Western and Eastern cultures. While anything related to pork is taboo in the Arab culture, especially among Muslim Arabs, such restrictions are lifted and do not apply to the Western cultures (except for Westerners who are of the Jewish faith).

The significance of taboo shows up in various ways in different societies, varying from 'prohibition, obligation, to strict regulation' (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990: 57). Eco (2003: 39) claims that 'the problem with curses and the like is a serious one. He

sees Germans as more prudish than Italians, and that obscenities have a different value and impact in those two different cultures. An exclamation in Italian can sound acceptable (at most very rude but not unusual), but in German would sound "intolerably blasphemous"'.

Different cultures look at taboo from different perspectives, giving them different priorities, or applying them under different conditions (ibid). In the English-speaking world, the most severe taboos are associated with sex, and then those connected to excretion and bodily functions, followed lastly by those connected to the Christian religion. In other cultures, the strongest taboos may be associated with religion first (Trudgill, 2000).

2.13 TABOO & LANGUAGE

'Language uses us as much as we use language.' (Lakoff, 2004: 3). Two words can be synonymous in their denotative sense but depending on how one feels, one may choose one of those synonyms when one feels positive towards the subject and yet one may choose another synonym to show he feels negatively towards the same subject (ibid). An example is when someone overweight is called 'cuddly, big-boned or fat'.

In addition, because of the strong reluctance of speakers to utter taboo, certain words which are phonetically similar to taboo words can be lost from a language (Lakoff, 2004). For instance, the current American use of the word Rooster instead of cock, which has meant that 'cock' is rarely used nowadays to describe the male chicken (Trudgill, 2000: 30).

Trudgill (ibid) sees that taboo influences greatly the growth of separate sex vocabulary, which will change people's use of language according to what gender

they are, as seen with the emergence of feminist literature. The difference in how men and women use language has led to the new term 'Genderlect' (Tannen, 1990). Scholars have found that an extension of this gender stereotyping on language use extends to homosexual language use, which also differs depending on it being 'gay talk' or 'lesbian talk'. Harvey (2000) sees that gay men, when uttering taboo words such as those linked to sex and sexual acts, use language that indicate a more masculine gender performance, such as direct, unhedged imperatives 'breed me', non-standard language 'reamin' real good' and reference to high impact verbs such as 'ream, shoot' (Harvey, in Baker, 2011: 80). This concept could be further extended to the way people use some terms. For example, the word 'gay' is now mainly used to indicate a person who is homosexual, while in the past, it was mainly used to indicate a person who is merry.

Furthermore, disguised variants of swear words appear to disguise our use of such taboo terms, and the more taboo the term is, the more variants will exist (Hughes, 1998). It is important to learn those variants as interpreters, because if interpreters are unable to recognise those utterances as taboo replacements then they would have failed in communicating them correctly. The majority of such variants are either an abbreviation of the term one is trying not to say openly, for example 'fuck' becomes 'effing, eff off, etc', or the terms could be rhyming with the original term such as 'ruddy' replacing 'bloody' (ibid:189). Rhyming slang has often replaced taboo terms, especially Cockney slang, although they are not easy for people to see the connection as much as before since they have been abbreviated too, for example, 'fart' used to be replaced with 'raspberry tart' although nowadays people say 'blowing raspberrie*s*' without realising how this came about.

More recent studies undertaken by Croom (2014) support some scholars' ideas that some taboo, such as racial slurs (e.g. nigger), need not necessarily be seen as taboo dependant on the context they are used in (Kennedy 2002 and Croom 2014). This is disputed by Fitten (1993) and Hedger (2013) who say that such words are taboo regardless of the context of use. Stereotyping 'Whites' is nearly always positive, while stereotyping 'Blacks' is nearly always negative, according to the latter two scholars. Although this is not the point of this thesis, it is used here to highlight the difficulty interpreters have when faced with what is termed as 'taboo' as they must decide whether the use of such terms was meant to be in its negative or positive image before deciding on how to handle it. The term 'Nigger' is seen as a slur if used by a white person against a black person, but it can be seen as a term of endearment if used among blacks. This is seen in the use of the term 'Yid Army' in football (Tottenham Hotspur), where the term 'Yid' on its own is considered taboo and an insult, but within the fan base of the football club, it is seen as a term of support and endearment (Poulton, 2014). This is explained by Croom (2014) as a negotiation or semantic evolution of the meaning of some of our linguistic expressions within our communications. In his study, he cites Rahman (2012), who writes how it is acceptable for people to use the 'N' word 'Nigger' within the American African community and their own circle of friends. This was given the term 'self-labelling' by the researchers, while others have called it 'reclamation of dysphemism'.

The formality of the language used affects how often one uses swear words in language (Ibid). Written English is more formal than spoken English, as is the case in most other languages, and hence swearing in spoken language occurs more than it does in written language. This implies that taboo might be encountered more in interpreting, compared to translation. How this may have an impact on the

interpreters when faced with taboo words shall be seen. Greene (2000) found that both men and women find it easier to swear in informal situations than in formal ones.

Reaction to taboo changes depending on which language it is heard in. Studies show that anxiety is higher when taboo words are in our first language (Bond & Lai 1986, Kwok & Chan, 1972). Further, through the measurement of autonomic reactivity using electro-dermal monitoring, it has been shown that it is easier to utter taboo words in a second language than in a mother tongue language (Bond et al, 1986). This includes aversive words, such as cancer and death. This finding is true for bilinguals and also in monolinguals where taboo words elicited greater skin conductance responses compared to neutral words (Harris et al, 2003). Bilinguals in this thesis are those who were immersed in the second language in childhood, rather than having been taught it (Thiery, 1978). These results were attributed to the different emotional context of language acquisition. A second language is linked to learning and academia, while the mother tongue is the language people acquired in a more intimate way, therefore it is during this stage that uttering taboo words led to punishment or social disapproval, making four letter words a no-go area (Kang'Ethe Iraki, 2004). Taibi (2016) sees that interpreters find it easier to handle taboo when it is not in their mother tongue due to lack of inhibitions in that direction.

These findings show that taboo words are linked to language, not just to the semantic or pragmatic forms of the taboo words. Yet, the pragmatics of taboo words do affect people. This is shown in how when people are angry and want to swear, they use 'fuck' to swear, rather than using 'the f word' or other variations such as 'fudge'. Bowers (2011) asserts that to have the effect the swear word is intended by the speaker, they really do need to say the actual word itself. It may be substituted with

a synonym or an acronym, where the listener understands there is swearing, but the effect will not be the same as when the actual word itself is used. Bowers concludes that euphemisms help release the effect of trigger swear words on emotions, but the actual words themselves are needed to have the full intended effect (Ibid). This is relevant to the research since interpreters must be aware of the consequences of lowering the tone of taboo or substituting it and how the effect is lost or lowered that way. Clearly though, in the absence of equivalent terms, lowering the effect through substitution with a euphemism is better than omitting the term altogether.

Additionally, the form in which taboo is used makes a difference. A study showed that the difference between responses was reduced for written stimuli as opposed to auditory stimuli. This clearly shows that reading taboo is easier to accept than hearing it, which makes the interpreter's task much harder when facing such words (Harris et al, 2003). This has been shown in subtitling films where video subtitles seem to be racier than cinema subtitles, as the privacy accorded to the viewer while watching DVDs or videos means the subtitler can afford to be more explicit than his cinematic subtitler counterpart (Diaz-Cintas, 2004).

Further, people tend to search for new connotations to words that have acquired a bad meaning. They use euphemisms to overcome this problem. However, when these euphemisms eventually acquire those bad connotations themselves, people tend to search for new euphemisms (Lakoff, 2004). Pinker (2002) calls this the 'euphemism treadmill'. Euphemisms give us options in what can be said; they avoid the issue, and thus are ways of talking about an embarrassing topic while pretending to be doing something else (ibid: 66). Hughes (2006:151) defines euphemisms as 'the use of deliberately indirect, conventionally imprecise, or socially comfortable ways of

referring to taboo, embarrassing, or unpleasant topics.' Examples of euphemisms are 'departed for dead; relieve oneself for urinate'.

The use of the new euphemisms does not necessarily mean people are more comfortable uttering them, but possibly they are less uncomfortable, which allows them to communicate something in their conversation. For example, in medical settings, the word 'menstruation / period' may be difficult for a female teenager to mention in front of a male, but using the old-fashioned term, 'curse/ time of the month' may make it easier for her to mention, even in public. A study conducted in 2011 by Bowers and Pleydell-Pearce shows that exposure to swear words increases our autonomic reaction, but exposure to euphemisms of those swear words lowers that reaction. This means the euphemisms replace the trigger, which is the swear word, with another less offensive word, the euphemism. This allows people to think about items that were previously unthinkable. It also allows them to show their intentions (of uttering taboo words) but without this leading to offending the listeners, for example, saying, 'the f-word' instead of 'fuck' (Bowers & Pleydell-Pearce, 2011). This is effective as both the speaker shows his intent and the listener understands it through the used euphemism. Interpreters must not ignore this, especially if the speaker's implicit intention was malicious.

It would be pertinent to look closer at euphemisms as they form a big part of how one can handle taboo.

2.13.1   Euphemisms

Euphemisms are divided by Allen and Burridge (2006) into three types:

1.   Dysphemism, which is speaking offensively, as is seen when talking about a person one hates where cursing is used mostly; animal name calling is seen widely

in this category. Speakers may also use a 'minced oath' where they intend to offend but their expressive act is not as offending, for example, 'sugar' instead of 'shit'.

2.   Orthophemism, which is straight talking used mostly in formal speech, and

3.   Euphemism, which is sweet talking, found mostly in daily speech where it is used to avoid using bad words in that people evade the issue and hence avoid embarrassment.

Dysphemism is used when talking about our opponents. Expressions here include curses, name calling and derogatory remarks. Euphemism and Orthophemism are used as alternatives to a dis-preferred term. They avoid possible loss of face for the speaker. Orthophemism is more formal, while euphemism is colloquial in nature. For example, calling someone a 'dog, hound, mutt, mongrel, dish-licker' where dish-licker is racing jargon, hound is for a noble animal, while dog could be accusing a man of being worthless or a woman of being dressed badly or ugliness.

Ayto (2007) sees euphemisms as containing two types: Litotes and Understatement. Litotes are a way of defusing a strong statement by expressing it as a negative of its opposite, for example, 'not quite the truth' equals 'lying'. This can be achieved equally by using negative prefixes, for example, 'unwell' rather than 'ill'. While Understatement softens very strong comments that would normally cause much upset, for example, 'We have a problem' means 'there is a major difficulty that we must address now'. Another good example cited by Ayto (2007: 7) is the word 'difficult' when used to describe a person, which on the face of it means hard to understand, but pragmatically one could interpret it as 'cantankerous or obstructive'. Euphemisms allow one to be vague when faced with awkward situations. For example, when children ask to 'go', meaning to go to the toilet, using a superordinate

term in this instance. In fact, the actions of urinating and defecating are much euphemised by describing the journey of going to do so 'I've been; I need to go.' Ayto (2007) also describes the 'blind them with science' school of euphemism, for example, calling bin collectors as 'refuse operators'.

Euphemisms can be used as a way for apologising for swearing 'excuse my French.' They vary across cultures. For example, the word 'fanny' is seen as harmless in America (meaning one's buttocks), while in the UK, it indicates a woman's vagina and is seen as offensive.

A study conducted by Rababa'ah & al-Qorni (2012) showed that the user's cultural background influenced which euphemisms they chose and how often they used them. For example, Saudi and British people resort to euphemisms when discussing death but hardly when handling bodily functions. This was found in an earlier study by Elyyan (1994). Taibi (2016) shows how Arab interpreters use euphemisms when interpreting taboo at all levels, not just PSIn. For example: 'Whore = Corrupt'. This may skew the true facts of a case in a legal setting, for example: 'penetration' is not the same as 'lovemaking', 'sleeping with someone' is not equal to 'rape'. This means that although using euphemisms is better than omitting taboo, but it must be borne in mind that it may still distort the message. A later study by al-Azzam et al (2017) shows that Saudis substitute taboos with euphemisms or less direct expressions to save face, avoid embarrassment or causing offence. The problem with doing so regularly is that the message would be distorted (Nida, 2000), so it is best to avoid excessive use of euphemisms.

Finally, euphemisms are also seen by Ayto (2007) to include gestures to indicate something one wants to say but prefers not to say. For example, when needing the toilet, one would say, 'Can I go to the [gesture] before dinner?' while gesturing with

one's heads in the direction of the toilet. This must be acknowledged and transferred by interpreters to ensure the full message was passed on.

2.13.2 Linguistic Exploitation of Taboo Terms

It is important to learn how taboo could be disguised linguistically otherwise interpreters might miss them altogether when interpreting. Adding this to training allows interpreters to understand the real intentions behind the utterances.

Taboo words are built in various constructs, such as those listed by Napoli and Hoeksema (2009):

2.13.2.A Pragmatic Clusters Creating Speech Acts, including

a. Exclamations/ cursing & swearing: This includes the terms themselves 'fuck, Jesus, Holy crap' and their phonological variations 'shit, shoot, sugar/ damn, darn.'

b. Name-calling: this category can be used either in a negative way just like the category above 'you shit', or it can be meant in a positive manner, such as calling someone who struck it lucky 'you lucky bastard' when congratulating him or it can be used to show sympathy towards someone, for example 'you poor bastard'. In this category, we mostly start the name calling by using the word 'you' first, for example, 'you shit-face' although some argue that this is not always necessarily the case and you can still call someone names without it 'pimple face'.

c. Maledictions: This is when you tell someone to do something, such as 'go fuck yourself; shove it where the sun don't shine; drop dead'.

2.13.2.B The Development of Taboo Terms as Intensifiers: This is where taboo words are used in a sentence to strengthen the force of what one is trying to say or describe but, in this instance, unlike the grammatical categories seen below, the taboo terms have been stripped of their pejorative meaning. Looking at the following examples, one could understand this concept more: 'The film was damn good', 'I

am dead serious about this relationship', 'he is devilishly handsome' and 'that's fucking awesome' (ibid).

2.13.2.C Taboo Use to Deny or Affirm with Emphasis: for example, 'Like hell I will', 'the devil she is', 'you bet your ass he will' and 'damn right'. This construct can also be seen when the taboo term is added to 'yes' or 'no', for example, 'Hell, no' which occur only as a response to another statement (ibid).

2.13.2.D Taboo Terms Used for Negative Polarity: 'I can't understand a fucking word he is saying' or 'He didn't say fuck all to me all night long' where in the second example, the taboo term is a mass noun. Some taboo terms may be used without the negation expressed explicitly yet they convey negation, for example, 'they did fuck all about this', indicating that nothing at all was done about something (ibid).

Despite some taboo terms being linked occasionally to negative implicatures, as seen just now, research by Napoli and Heoksema (2009) shows that the link to negation is much higher than it is with positives or affirmatives. The authors conclude that most taboo terms are used for their pejorative purposes intended, but that the way to distinguish between that purpose and other purposes described above, where the intention is purely for intensification, is through the tone of our voice, the context and facial expressions that can lead us to conclude that the taboo words are not meant to be swear words (Ibid: 638).

Williamson (2009: 32) categorises bad language in a table (below) that sums up the different functions taboo words have:

Description of Term	Example	Function
Predictive negative adjective	The film is shit	Adjective
Adverbial booster	Fucking marvellous Fuck you	Booster/ intensifier
Cursing expletive	Fuck off	Imperative/ pejorative
Destinational usage	In the fucking car	Imperative/ pejorative
Emphatic adverb/adjective	To fuck about	Emphasis
General expletive	Oh fuck!	pejorative
Idiomatic	Fuck all	Idiomatic use
Literal use denoting taboo referent	We fucked	Literal meaning of the act
Imagery based on literal meaning	To kick the shit out of	Euphemistic use
Pre-modifying intensifying negative adjective	The fucking idiot	intensifier
Pronominal form with undefined referent	Got shit to do	intensifier
Personal insult referring to defined entity	You fuck!	Negative descriptive
Religious oath used for emphasis	By God	emphasis

Table 2.1: Functions of Taboo Words. Williamson (2009: 32)

2.13.2.E Grammatical Constructs of Taboo

Changes in grammatical constructs of emotions leads to a change in meaning.

Wierzbicka (1999) describes how emotions in modern English appear mostly as

adjectives and quasi-participles where they show the state of the person who

experiences those emotions, for example, 'he was anxious, sad, angry' or 'he was

disgusted, ashamed, annoyed'. Sometimes, she continues, we may come across those

feelings grammatically in verbal modes, which implies an active attitude on the part

of the experiencer 'she worried, she grieved' (Ibid: 302). Wierzbicka (1999) argues

that this grammatical construct occurs when the person is thinking some feeling for

some time and which in principle could be stopped. Further, by adding the

preposition 'in' we can describe our feelings that overwhelm us, for example, 'we are in agony, in a panic'.

Grammatical division of taboo differs from that of emotion. Napoli and Hoeksema (2009) divide taboo grammatically into the following categories:

1. Taboo Terms as Predicates: this can be either as primary or as secondary predicates.

a. Primary Predicates: with non-literal meanings where sometimes they have particular meanings 'are you fucked up? = are you high?' or they have vague meanings 'you piss me off' which indicates anger in this case.

b. Primary Predicates with Pronoun or Possessive Pronoun: where there is use of a banishing command 'piss off'.

c. Secondary Predicates: where the strength of the taboo is not in the right position, for example, 'we were scared shitless'.

2. Taboo Terms as Objects: in English, taboo terms take the direct position of 'object' to express abuse, whether that abuse is physical 'Beat the hell out of someone' or mental 'frighten the shit out of someone'. In such instances, this position intensifies the taboo term.

3. Taboo Terms as Pejorative Modifiers: and where their syntactic category can vary, examples include 'He was the husband from hell', 'it's been a shitty day' and so on.

4. Taboo Terms as the Non-head Element of a Compound: 'shit-head, bloody mess, crap school'.

2.14 CONCLUSION

This chapter listed all aspects of taboo, starting with its origins, categories, definitions, to how taboo terms develop over time and how they change according to different cultures, settings, gender, age, social and educational status. Those

differences affect interpreters depending on the situation they find themselves in, as understanding the different categories of taboo across many cultures and understanding why and how taboo is used can help interpreters deal with them and interpret them efficiently. This chapter, through the description of taboo, helps in laying the foundations that will help address the research questions related to interpreters' description of taboo within the interviews and the questionnaire.

Taboo and language affect each other, and interpreters can play with utterances to reduce embarrassment when making such utterances, through using different types of euphemisms, or intensifying the verbs and so on. Interpreters may need to free the taboo word from its concept, where it is acceptable to say 'urine' rather than 'piss', for example.

Interpreting is meant to be closely linked to the intention of the message, not just tied up to the terms themselves away from those intentions. The reasons people use taboo vary from prestige to fear, sadness or simply for attention seeking.

Taboo could be linguistic or non-linguistic and both categories must be reflected in interpreting. But when it comes to the linguistic interpretation, it must be noted that taboo language has certain features that must be noted, among which is the use of passive, rather than active, adjectives to describe passive feelings, and that people use informal 'spoken' rather than 'written' style language when they swear. People also tend to use euphemisms to hide their embarrassment. When they want to strengthen the force of words, they may use taboo terms. In this instance, it must be noted that the taboo term is no longer seen as pejorative, but only as an intensifier, for example, when one says, 'this actor is damn good', it simply means he is excellent. Another grammatical construct that changes taboo intentions would be

when people use taboo for negative polarity, for example 'She does fuck all at work'

where there is negative implicature within this utterance.

Since taboo is bound to culture, the following chapter looks at culture and the

relationship between culture, language and interpreting. The role of interpreters as

intercultural mediators is also discussed since this is a controversial issue that

sometimes hinders interpreters when dealing with sensitive issues such as taboo.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW: INTERPRETERS & INTERCULTURAL MEDIATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided a general background to taboo and its relationship to culture and language. This chapter will discuss the role of interpreters in culturally mediated events, and whether this conflicts with their Codes of Ethics or not. This will be used as a benchmark against which the questionnaire and interview responses will be compared against when attempting to address RQ2: 'What do interpreters' self-reporting regarding the handling of culturally-linked taboo reveal about the way they perceive their role?'

The different roles of interpreters in public service settings differ based on a number of factors. In the absence of shared cultural terms, the interpreter will face the dilemma of interpreting or ignoring those terms. The consequences of ignoring taboo will be discussed as this can impact court rulings or families' well-being financially and emotional or health outcomes when those impacted have to rely on interpreters to convey every nuance, even if distasteful or disagreeable with interpreters' ideologies. Some argue that cultural mediation is not the interpreters' role, and that by looking at the Code of Ethics for interpretation, interpreters must interpret without omissions or additions. Specific sections of some interpreters' Codes of Ethics and the introduction of consequentialism should help interpreters decide if something is morally right to interpret or not. Interpreters must combine being faithful and accurate mediators with being communication facilitators too. Therefore, it is indeed part of their role to facilitate and ensure cultural as well as linguistic communication. But to what extent should they extend this communication? Choosing not to interpret taboo, which is sometimes cultural and implied, can be destructive with dire

consequences legally or financially; linking this to the role of interpreters within the confines of any Code of Ethics may make it easier for inexperienced interpreters to handle.

From the structural perspective, this chapter begins by defining the notion of culture, language and the relationship between the two, which will then be extended to the relationship between culture and translation and, hence interpreting. Delisle (1995: 74) states that 'what truly distinguishes translation is that it takes place in the context of the relations between two cultures, two worlds of thought and perception'. Bedouin Arabs have several names for 'camel' and 'sand' while Eskimos have several names for 'snow'; this fact brings to the fore the concept of identity where words are used to express concepts that are important to a specific speech community. In this case, extra words were created to suit the environment in which these words are used. Interpreters must be aware of the significance attached to certain words and should be able to transfer this to their client. Muslims, for example, start their speeches by a small prayer, 'In the name of God, the most compassionate, the most merciful'. This must be interpreted as not doing so makes the speakers feel as if their work does not have God's blessing.

Abiding by the relevant professional codes of ethics should not pose a problem. The consequences of what practitioners interpret or not are what decides the choices they make in any event. This is called Deontology, which is defined by Kermit (2020:19) as 'how things ought to be and doing what ought to be right'. Consequentialism, which is a useful tool when balancing ethics with fidelity, is defined by Rudvin (2016: 50) as 'whether an act is morally right or not depends only on consequences'. Rudvin (2016) discusses interpreter identity where the notion of interpreters having to negotiate their identity when intervening in a conversation is discussed. Rudvin

promotes the concepts of 'emic' (from the inside) and 'etic' (from the outside), where those two concepts often clash due to their cultural differences; the examples she used were examples of doctors and patients of differing cultures (2016: 176). Imagine the case of an interpreter discovering that a mother is intending to take her daughter overseas to be circumcised, which is illegal in the UK. The interpreter would be placed in an unenviable position of deciding which way the scales should tip in this balance. Do they say something to the doctor, allowing their etic/ external identity to take over or say nothing, allowing their emic / internal identity, in which they grew up accustomed to the culture of female circumcision, to dominate?

3.2 CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND INTERPRETING

3.2.1 Culture

Culture consists of

> *patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols [...]; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values*
>
> (Hofstede, 2015: 9)

In this definition, reaction to certain things is linked to culture, which is significant since reacting to taboo varies across cultures. It also links this to time (historically derived) and personal or collective choice (historically selected) which again explains why taboo is not universally treated the same.

Hofstede (2010:10) also defines culture as '[t]he collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another'. This programming is what makes people react differently to taboo depending on how their brains were trained or programmed.

Hofstede (ibid) uses the title 'Levels of Culture' and the metaphor 'skins of an onion' to show that culture has superficial as well as deep layers, which are:
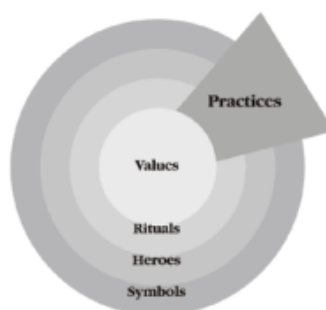
Fig. 3.1 Hofstede's Levels of Culture, (2010:8)

a. Practices, which include rituals, heroes and symbols; and

b. Values, which are the core of culture.

In his definition, Hofstede attaches culture to our thoughts, values, behaviour and the actions people take because of those thoughts. Other scholars, such as Trompenaars (2012), divide culture into more layers, where similarly to Hofstede he places norms, behaviour and values in the middle of other culturally related layers. Trompenaars (2012) lists implicit basic assumptions, which are the values that are passed on from one generation to another as his final layer. It is terms that are found within this layer that interpreters will struggle with, since the concepts in one culture may be alien to the other, and consequently the interpreter must consider those divergences in cultural values and amend their interpreting accordingly.

Geertz (1993: 20) describes culture as:

> *A system of symbols by which man confers significance upon his own experience. Symbol systems, man-created, shared, conventional, ordered and indeed learned, provide human beings with a meaningful framework for orienting themselves to one another.*

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This is useful as it acknowledges non-linguistic interpretation of cultural symbols, which is relevant to us, taking into consideration that taboo is linguistic and non-linguistic in nature. Similar to Hofstede, Geertz sees culture as symbols, and also as a means to make one culture distinguished from another. They differ in this from Hall (1982) who uses the term 'Triad of culture' to describe the levels he sees as forming a culture and where he sees parts of culture requiring learning through books, rather than tradition and customs:

a. Technical culture, which could be learnt through textbooks and manuals;

b. Formal culture, which could be taught, such as procedures, customs and traditions; and

c. Informal culture, or out of awareness culture. This level does not follow any rules and can only be acquired and learnt informally. It matches the illocutionary force in the Speech Act Theory (see 4.5.3.C). In other words, it is not what people say, but 'how' they say it.

Hall's definitions differ from the others since he allocated 'genres' to the types of culture he discussed. The researcher would argue that Hall's 'technical' culture may be correct as a definition, but it does not fit with the other definitions of culture that are useful for the purposes of this thesis. It is true that interpreters need to know the technical terms of taboo, but this falls outside the remit of this thesis and is better categorized as technical knowledge.

Newmark (1987: 94) defines culture as 'the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression'. Robinson (cited in Katan 2004: 27) defines culture as 'a way of life; [..] its manifestations are often characteristics of specific speech communities'. In Newmark's definition, and in Robinson's, culture is linked to a particular language

community, but it could be argued that although this is true to a certain extent, even within the same language community we will find that culture differs. For example, the traditions and customs of those who live in the North of England differ considerably to those who live in the South of England, despite their shared language. Culture and values between Australians and British people differ too despite the shared language. But both share the feature of accepting language as part of culture. Geertz (1993) indeed sees culture as part of language where he describes language as a set of symbols.

Vermeer (1983) uses the term 'paraculture', meaning the culture at the level of a people, nation or society. But Pöchhacker (1995) argues that many nations have multiple languages, and that the linguistic relations with country status could change with time, such as in the former Yugoslavia. Vermeer (1995) defines a subgroup within paraculture, called 'diaculture' such as social class, professions and interest groups. Pöchhacker (1995) finds this definition of diaculture useful when it comes to (conference) interpreting research as it explains the ability of delegates (of different cultures but with shared interests, expertise or professions, thus rendering them to be a group culture or diaculture), to interact. Pöchhacker (1995: 40) states that despite the linguistic culture still being present at meetings, communication occurs within one diaculture as a 'process of transfer between language-cultures'. For example, a conference made up of multinational and multi-lingual physicians forming a single diaculture, can communicate because they have more cultural (medical) common ground compared to the expected cultural barriers. This notion departs from expectations which state that people of different cultures cannot communicate unless a linguistic intermediary is present. In PS settings, the interlocutors may not have much in common, for example, a doctor and a patient, a

judge and defendant, which makes it hard to see how they can form a diaculture enabling them to partly communicate, based on Vermeer's definition. It is more useful for conference interpreting settings, where only delegates of shared interests, forming a diaculture, meet. Although it could equally be argued that in PS settings, there is a common ground that allows a sort of communication. That common ground is the patient's well-being, where the patient is concerned with his ailment and the physician in treating that ailment.

Finally, Faiq (2004:1) defines culture as 'belief and value system tacitly assumed to be collective, shared by social groups and to the positions taken by producers and receivers of text, including translation, during the mediation process'. This definition fits well into the purposes of the research and will be the one meant when the term 'culture' is used, as it includes the translation, interpreting and mediation processes and the impact of cultural beliefs on them.

3.2.2 Language

People refer to things using language; those language utterances must change if those talking together come from differing language communities, otherwise communication between them fails. Although one can rely on non-linguistic gestures to refer to things and to communicate simple concepts and needs, this is not viable if one is trying to communicate complex matters such as culture. Culture needs linguistic and non-linguistic codes to be transferred between people.

Hamers and Blanc (2008: 116) define language as a 'component of culture along with other entities such as values, beliefs and norms'.

Nida (2012: 29) states: 'language mirrors the culture aspects of a given society and helps to identify them. Language sometimes ceases to explain things outside it [the culture]'. Therefore, Nida recognizes the problem of cultural differences.

Theorists have shown an interest in the linguistic and philosophical differences between cultures, and the impact language has on people's perception of reality. Hatim and Mason (1990: 105) state that 'languages differ in the way we perceive and partition reality', while Sengers (2003) sees that relationship in its inverse form and states that it is the beliefs and values that determine the way we perceive reality and interpret it in words, i.e., language. This means that if one culture sees an item as taboo while another does not, the way this term is described may differ based on that perception and on the context in which the term was uttered. This justifies the argument regarding the role of interpreters being not just linguistic transferers but also intercultural communicators, as will be discussed later (see 3.4).

Malinowski (2013) came up with the notions of 'context of situation' and 'context of culture', which are relevant to this thesis. Without those two contexts, Malinowski sees it would be impossible for language to have meaning. This is true in that a word can have multiple meanings depending on the context in which it is found, and that the meaning perception can differ depending on the culture of the speaker. For example, the word 'rain' could have a happy meaning to a hot country compared to another where it rains continuously. Halliday (1989) agrees that text and context are inseparable. Halliday argues that context surpasses what is said or written; it consists of non-verbal 'goings on'. In discussing Malinowski's 'context of situation', Halliday places significance on understanding the cultural signs that are behind any text waiting to be interpreted. Searching for independent meanings of phrases alone will not amount to anything unless the cultural nuances exist alongside them too.

The relevance here is that taboo is not only culturally bound but it can also comprise of signs or innuendos. More importantly, taboo can be harmless in one context but quite the opposite in other contexts. The interpreter needs to be mindful of that when handling such utterances. Lakoff (2004) sees culture as making sense of reality, where people of a certain culture employ language to mirror their attitudes in general and their lives within their own community, in particular. This relates to what is described earlier by Sengers (2003) and Hatim & Mason (1990) who also link language to reality and, by extension, to culture. This is why taboo, which is linked to culture and attitude, changes from one society to another. Scholars have delved deeper into this, and the following will detail this further.

3.2.2.A The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is a well-known theory which comes in two parts: the theory of linguistic relativity and the theory of linguistic determinism. This theory helps interpreters understand that culturally-linked taboos are interpreted differently based on the culture one belongs to, and depending on the context they are uttered in. This deepens further the relationship between culture, taboo and interpreters working as intercultural and linguistic mediators. The theory of linguistic relativity states that different cultures interpret things differently from each other and that language encodes these differences. An example of this would be how cultures perceive the sun in all its variants 'warm', 'scorching' or 'searing'. The differences in that perception will be clear in the language used, because the people uttering those perceptions will describe the sun, in this example, the way they see it, either negatively or positively or with indifference; this is how those differences develop in the language accordingly. The term 'relativity' is used because there is no absolute way to label the world.

The theory of linguistic determinism states that people's perception of the world influences their language. People label the world only as they see it, and this will differ from one culture to another. It is very difficult to think outside the language one uses daily. Once a linguistic system is in place, it influences the way in which members of that speech community interpret their world. Indeed, people are described as passive victims of their language habits (Stevenson, 1993). An explanation of this is the way one describes things that do not exist in one's culture and hence there is no name for them, and one is forced to describe them literally in order to communicate them to other members of the community. For example, when one sees creatures from outer space for the first time, they do not resemble anything one can compare them to; one then has to say how their ears look like cabbage leaves on the side of a square shaped head and so on. Until one creates a name suitable for such a creature, one is obliged to describe every minute detail of that creature. On the other hand, describing things that are physical entities is easy within the same language community. For example, the word 'shelf' would bring to people the image of a flat, possibly wooden, slab which is either part of an upright bookshelf unit or hung on a wall, with the function of placing things on it for storage or decoration. Most, if not all, speakers of English would have the same image when they hear the word 'shelf'.

Describing concepts is not as simple as describing physical entities, as concepts can only be described according to how one perceives them (Stevenson, 1993). The concept of 'cold' varies according to the person describing it; it can be something described in warm tones if one lived in Africa where it is rarely cold and one longed for a reprieve from the heat, while if one lived in Alaska, it may be seen as something one is fed up with and thus one would describe it with annoyance. What complicates

matters more is that within the same speech community, there are many smaller units of speech communities that differ to some extent from the original speech community. A simple example of that is English where American English differs from British or Australian English (Stevenson,1993). This means it is hard to know where one speech community starts and where it ends. Modern linguists do not see culture as following borders of countries, but rather a 'dividing line of a range of many other factors such as class, gender, generations, profession and religion' (Scollon & Scollon, 2001: 3). Taboo follows the same variants as those just listed for culture, clearly reflecting the close link between the two.

Saussure (1992) states that there is nothing stopping people from calling a 'suitcase' a 'cloud' if they wished to do so, but as long as everyone, within their speech community, agree to call a 'suitcase' a 'cloud' because based on that agreement, they can guarantee that they can carry on communicating with each other. Saussure (ibid) argues that one can shift signs depending on the circumstances, for example, the term 'Lavender Wedding' has been added to the English language in the last 40 years to define same-sex weddings. This is an extension or shift from the expression 'White Wedding' known to many. This shift is relevant to interpreting taboo when interpreters come across words they have not heard before and that are closely linked to the other language culture.

3.2.3 Language and Culture

From the former definitions of language and culture, one can see that most scholars agree that there is a strong link between the two. Lotman (2001) argues that language cannot exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture and equally culture would not survive if it did not have, in its core, the structure of language. Wenying (2009)

symbolizes the relationship with an iceberg where the top visible part of that iceberg is the language, while deep down in the water is the invisible aspect of culture.

The two concepts are interwoven tightly together to the degree that if you do not understand a language of a community, it would not be easy for you to understand its culture. Brown explains that 'Cultural references, customs and ways of life are expressed in language' (Brown 2000: 165).

Ivir believes that

> *Language and culture are inextricably interwoven and [that] the integration of an element into a culture (and into the conceptual framework of its members as individuals) cannot be achieved unless, and until, the linguistic expression of that element integrates into the language of the culture*

(Ivir, 1987: 24)

This statement by Ivir makes sense when consideration is given to the idea that if the people of one culture do not use their language to process a new cultural concept, then that concept would surely fail. People need to be able to express their thoughts of a cultural concept through their everyday language utterances. This is, after all, one of the functions of language.

In Hofstede's model (2010) seen in Fig. 3.1, the importance of rituals is seen, for example, when one is attempting to 'break the ice' at meetings. Hofstede adds mode of address to rituals (bowing, shaking hands or formulaic expressions). He states that as those are visible to us, they are easier to identify than the invisble culture signs (ibid).

This brings us to the concept of how does one get to see those hidden cultural parts in the core of Hofstede's 'onion'? Clearly, one needs to dig deep into his knowledge base to be able to attempt such understanding, which confirms the need of general knowledge as an interpreter's competency. But what if one is unable to do that? What

if one gets lost within the layers of culture? This is where interpreters have a role to play. So, what is the link between interpreting and culture?

3.2.4 Interpreting and Culture

This section links interpreting to culture, thus paving the way for a discussion on the role of interpreters in communication. Newmark (1988) does not regard language as a component of culture, which is interesting as he contradicts many other theorists with such a statement. He sees the need for understanding language through translators whose role is to transfer and convert the utterances from the source language (SL) into a target language (TL) form. Yet, to understand culture, it is not enough to transfer sentences from one language to another, as Newmark suggests. Culture, as defined by Hofstede (2015) earlier, is a combination of linguistic units, nuances, ways of thinking and values and it is all of those that need to be transferred in order to communicate with other cultures. Based on Newmark's definition, taboo would not be interpreted correctly across different cultures, since taboo (as seen in Chapter Two) differs in meaning based on the nuances, the force and context in which it is uttered, so all those need to be transferred along with the equivalent meaning of the word. Munday (2016) states that translators have always been aware of the significance of translating cultural differences, in other words, he disagrees with Newmark that only words need to be transferred. Bassnet (1980) is also in opposition to Newmark as she sees that translators cannot isolate the language of a text they want to translate from the culture underlying that text and states that if translators attempted to make that isolation that they would do so to their detriment, which fits well with interpreting taboo with all its nuances and force, as seen above, and as suggested by Candlin (1990) who states that cultural translation requires investigating our ideologically and culturally based assumptions about language in

speech, writing and in signs. Here, Candlin has added signs, which is relevant, as communication is not just verbal, indeed taboo can be in gesture form, which changes from one culture to another and thus needs correct interpretation. Candlin also added 'ideology' into the mix, which is also relevant since ideology can affect our choice when it comes to interpreting taboo. Ideology in language use is defined by Hatim & Mason (1997: 218) as 'a set of suppositions which indicate the ideas and benefits of a person, group, social institution, etc. which is finally presented in the form of language'.

Context plays a large part in interpreting culture and taboo. Halliday and Hasan (1989:47) describe this as follows:

> *In describing the context of situation, it is helpful to build some indication of the cultural background and the assumptions that have to be made if the text is to be interpreted [..] in the way the system intends.*

They discuss the three features of the context of situation as follows:

1. The **field** of discourse, which refers to what is taking place, the nature of the social action occurring and what it is that the interlocutors are involved in;

2. The **tenor** of the discourse, which is who is taking part, the nature of the participants, their status and roles and what kind of relationship they have; and

3. The **mode** of the discourse, which is the part the language is playing, the particular functions that are assigned to language in context and what is being achieved by the text as persuasive, didactic and so on.

Thus, the context of situation is the immediate environment in which the text is actually functioning. It explains why certain things have been said on a particular occasion. When people use taboo language, it could be due to anger, frustration, showing off, or merely being playful, flirtatious or fearful. Interpreters need to

understand the reasons behind those utterances and interpret them according to the context they were meant for.

Wierzbicka (1999) discusses how the use of various strategies of speech (direct or indirect) in different cultures indicates different underlying values like cordiality or deference; this is important when it comes to interpreting taboo and whether interpreters lower the tone of the taboo term or keep it as it is.

Katan (2004) sees that the main task of an interpreter is to understand others and what makes sense to them, rather than arguing that only we have the facts. This shows that Katan believes interpreters must modify the ST in order for the target audience to understand the intended message. Toury (2012) sees that interpreters must choose whether to adhere to the ST culture, stay in the domain of the target culture or to mediate between the two when they are translating. From this, it can be seen how intercultural mediation plays a large role in interpreting. Some argue that this should not happen since interpreting codes of ethics impose the factor of faithfulness. Indeed, mediation, argues Angelleli (2004), without suitable training could be problematic as interpreters might decide to add or omit utterances rather than remain impartial and accurate.

The following brings to the fore relevant sections of some interpreting codes of ethics to allow further discussion.

3.3 INTER-CULTURAL MEDIATION WITHIN THE CODES OF ETHICS

If only we could be given the power to see ourselves as others see us, it would free us from many a blunder

Adapted: Robert Burns: 'To a Louse' (1786)

In an international environment, we perceive others as different. Europeans see Arabs as wealthy oil Sheikhs, while the Arabs see the Japanese as very formal, and the British think they do not make a fuss and hate showing too much emotion in public and queue properly (Lewis, 2012). Nowadays, in situations where different cultures interact within a team, there is always someone who can see that some of the team members see matters from a different perspective and that person will try to bring those perspectives closer together. This person is acting as an intercultural mediator. If that mediator happens to be an interpreter who sees that his Code of Ethics conflicts with him extending his interpreting skills to other skills such as mediation, then he will face a dilemma. Interpreters may be told something in confidence or they overhear it by chance, and then they feel they cannot interpret it as it was not uttered during their interpreting time or they were told by the client 'not to mention or repeat' that piece of information to anyone (perhaps the interpreter was told in confidence by a patient that he suffers from a sexually transmitted disease and that he is still sexually active). In the face of those issues, how can interpreters perform well and remain faithful both to their clients and their code of ethics?

Kiraly (1995) sees that emancipation of trainee interpreters where they can see flexibility within the codes of ethics is an aim trainees should all aspire to, as this gives them the expertise and ability to make professional decisions that they assume responsibility for, and which gives them autonomy. Chesterman (2016) agrees with this. He proposes nine general principles for ethical behaviour in interpreters, and they are: commitment, loyalty to the profession, understanding, truth, clarity, trustworthiness, truthfulness, justice and striving for excellence, which could be realized through the emancipation mentioned earlier. He goes further to make 'understanding' the top of this list, but where understanding means not just

comprehension of the text, but also understanding the clients' needs and expectations and the facilitation of any cross-cultural communicative situation as seen in PS situations. In this, it can be seen that Chesterman advocates intercultural interventions by interpreters with the ultimate aim of facilitating accurate communication. In the absence of advance planning by the speakers, interpreters may be faced with having to be flexible in their roles. For example, the speaker could, in the middle of a technical and non-cultural speech, decide to use non-verbal SL culturally specific gestures or knowledge, which need to be transferred by the interpreters.

Hale (2007, in Skaaden, 2020:162), on the other hand, identifies two opposing roles, the first being the mediation role while the other being the directly interpreted role. And in between those two roles, five other roles could be seen, and they are, advocacy for both the powerless and the powerful (in a dialogue), gatekeeper, filter and faithful renderer of the utterances. The final is the one that goes well with the direct interpreting approach, while the others fit the mediation approach, which Hale (ibid) argues against as she sees it allows the interpreter to omit parts of utterances, while the direct approach allows interpreters to focus on accuracy more. Based on the role interpreters choose to take on during assignments, the power balance between the triad of the two clients and the interpreters will differ (Anderson, 2012) where mediators would align themselves as non-partisans, whichever direction they are interpreting into, with apparent personal detachment, although blunt words might be softened, but intonation and gestures would be reproduced in an attempt to be faithful. Mediating interpreters would leave the two parties to sort out their differences, should they exist (ibid).

Accuracy ranks highest when it comes to expected interpreting output. Interpreters need to balance the original utterance with what they produce, making allowances for the target audience and what they know. How this is passed on will depend on the audience's education level and understanding. However, for sensitive texts (religion, politics and taboo) this is not possible, and a very close rendition of the original is required, which clearly shows that different approaches are required depending on the text types encountered while interpreting (Williams, 2013). The concept of loyalty, according to Williams, includes the 'tone of voice as well as meaning' (ibid: 52), which is relevant to taboo where it is advised that the tone of the utterance must be mimicked when interpreting.

In their description of dialogue interpreters, some scholars (Wadensjö, 2002: 357) describe the role as a 'duplication' job where interpreters must be similar to 'copiers who duplicate what is being said without any personal and emotional involvement, therefore merely passing on the message and utterances and no more'.

In the UK, Public Service Interpreters (PSIs) can follow a number of Codes of Ethics. The first (see Appendix J), drafted by the Association of Police and Court Interpreters (APCI, 2013) states in some of its Articles:

20. A Member shall under no circumstances give advice of any kind legal or otherwise to a defendant or a witness.

25. Members shall interpret impartially between the various parties and with due regard to the circumstances prevailing at the time shall take all reasonable steps to ensure complete and effective communication between the parties.

26. A Member shall, when interpreting, convey the exact meaning of what has been said by any party for whom he is interpreting without adding or subtracting anything and a Member shall not give opinions or make comments.

27. A Member shall assist both parties for whom he is interpreting in the understanding of different cultural backgrounds.

While the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI) has the following article in its Code of Professional Conduct (ITI, 2016) (Appendix I):

4.1 Members shall interpret impartially between the various parties in the languages for which they are registered with the Institute and, with due regard to the circumstances prevailing at the time, take all reasonable steps to ensure complete and effective communication between the parties, including intervention to prevent misunderstanding and incorrect cultural inference.

Article 20 of the APCI Code above causes confusion as interpreters with little experience assume that not giving advice includes not extending knowledge of non-verbal or cultural issues to the listener and therefore they interpret as much as possible but ignore any cultural nuances.

Article 25 of the same code has given rise to further confusion: this article requires interpreters to be neutral, hence they feel the need not to expand on cultural nuances, yet it requires them to communicate effectively. Article 26 of the APCI code enforces this perception for those interpreters when it specifies 'no adding or subtracting'. However, Article 27 clearly states that an interpreter must assist both parties in understanding cultural nuances. This assistance may only occur by adding an explanation of a cultural item, leading to a contravention of Article 26.

McKee & Davis (2010: 85) write how interpreters change their roles according to the context they find themselves in, making this a 'balancing task between their normative role and their Ethics'.

Scholars see institutional codes of ethics, such as those listed above, as too rigid and unrealistic (Rudvin, 2006). According to Rudvin (2020:50), 'consequentialism,

defined as whether an act is morally right depends only on consequences, overcomes the issue of balancing fidelity and accuracy'. Rudvin cites examples such as cultural taboos, passing on bad news like terminal illness where rather than interpreting that faithfully as per the rigid codes of ethics, the interpreter must weigh the harmful vs. beneficial consequences of interpreting then making the decision. The study by some scholars (Baker, 2006; Inghilleri, 2012) of how interpreting at times of conflict might be violating human rights led to two ethical questions. The first asks if translators are responsible for text contents, and if so, should they refuse to translate if this contravenes their personal ethics, where there is violence and human rights' breaches in conflict zones. Not interpreting for patients might contravene their right to communication and to be understood even if the utterance is against personal ethics. The second question asks if interpreters are responsible for the societal impact of the interpreted utterance (Rudvin, 2020). Pym (2012) argues that the responsibility does not lie with interpreters. This creates a dichotomy of balancing being a good person with being an accurate interpreter. But if the interpreter is meant to be invisible (Angelleli, 2004), then accuracy should take over being a good person. Moreover, being accurate makes one a good person and should not be seen as a choice between the two.

Deontology, which focuses on 'how things should be and what is right for people as a collective, can help direct this debate towards a useful solution' (Kermit, 2020: 19). Deontology contrasts with the traditional utilitarianist approach that considers the best approach based on the here and now, making the best of what we have (ibid). It is vital that interpreters realise that they will face multiple options when making decisions, this is called 'pluralistic deontology' (Skelton, 2012). The nature of the Public Service Interpreting events and the people involved in them are important

when deciding how to interpret. Skelton's model indicates that interpreters must seek not to harm people by misinterpreting and to help others through communication, removing language barriers and being competent enough to interpret (ibid). Floros (2011) and Kruger and Crots (2014) see that inappropriate language or politically sensitive texts are areas where personal ethics play a role, and willingness to adapt the interpreting appears. But this is where consequentialism plays a role since playing down taboo due to personal ethics might lead to negative outcomes, making this act inappropriate. Positive outcomes of interpreting events, even if this included transferring taboo as it is, can only be right for the collective.

Interpreter training courses should have a high time-allocation for such ethical dilemmas; that is not always the case. Many interpreting training providers focus on the transfer of linguistic skills and coping techniques and leave the ethics training for the student to obtain as they build their experience (Mouallem, 2012). Angelelli (2004: 47) asks if it is fair to expect interpreters to be 'cultural ambassadors who would be able to bridge cultural gaps found in messages'. She writes how some interpreters admit that culture was not a part of their training, while others are happy to bridge any cultural gap they are faced with, if they are able to do so. According to Angelelli, AIIC members think that conference interpreters do not interact with their clients as they think that they are shielded by their booths; they do concur though, that they are communication facilitators, but more importantly, they think that their AIIC Code of Conduct requires them to be neutral, and nothing more; they think it is not their job to explain. There is clearly a dichotomy here between conference interpreters who are not part of this study and PSIs and how they see their role regarding intercultural mediation. This must be borne in mind when further studies are conducted on this matter. It must be noted too that the study conducted by

Angelelli is based on anecdotal and experiential writing rather than empirical research.

A study conducted by Hale (2007) shows how interpreters perceive their roles. In a survey sent to 293 participants, many answered that their role was to interpret faithfully and accurately and that it was not their role to explain cultural nuances or ambiguities; one went as far as to say that his role was to: 'ensure that communication has occurred, but not necessarily to ensure that the information has been understood. That is the responsibility of the parties involved'. Another sees his role extending to educating the parties at a cultural level, if necessary; while a third sees his role as a cultural bridge amongst all parties involved, and a fourth sees that by brokering communication on cultural issues, he is thus breaking the rules of his Code of Ethics. Further, this study showed that the role of interpreters is seen differently depending on the various interpreting settings.

Tipton & Furmanek (2016) cite a study by Bischoff et al (2012) regarding interpreters' description of their roles in immigrant integration contexts, where they see their main roles to be word for word interpreting, intercultural explanation, building patient-provider relationships and accompanying immigrant patients. For medical interpreting contexts, Tipton & Furmanek (ibid) see a different role based on expectations of users and interpreters' self-perception, where interpreters can play a liaising role, be cultural brokers or advocates. They see that 'social solidarity' can be used to anticipate shared understanding and contextualizing problems (ibid: 88). Another study conducted in Belgian hospitals (between 1997-2000) showed that intercultural mediation facilitated the correct and detailed exchange of health information, where the presence of the mediator took away the patients' inhibitions when relating their stories to the health professional, possibly as the communication

was adapted at the time. The health professionals felt this allowed them to differentiate between finer details such as levels or causes of pain: somatic or psycho-social (Verrept, 2008). Family planning and other problems were discussed when the mediator was present, whereas in the past, the patients would not discuss them.

At the other end of the spectrum, a study was conducted in 1994 by Kopczyński, where questions were directed at the clients, rather than the interpreters. The 'clients' were asked how they preferred the interpreters to be: invisible or visible? The responses contradicted each other in that on the one hand the respondents wanted the interpreters to be invisible and on the other hand the majority of the respondents preferred the interpreters to correct the speaker and add their own explanations (Kopczyński, 1994). Those clients were more concerned in receiving the content, rather than the form, of the utterances; they wanted to maximize information recovery and receipt. Although the study was based on delegates who worked mostly with conference interpreters, rather than community interpreters, it could be argued that their perception of interpreters' roles could be extended to other users of interpreting services. Be that as it may, this observation regarding the perception of clients towards interpreters' role is of interest to this study as it gives an idea of clients' expectations of interpreters in general and hence it gives an idea of what interpreters can or cannot do when considering extending their role when it comes to cultural gaps during interpreting. It also emphasizes the importance of interpreters being communicators for both the service users and the service providers.

According to Simon (1997), interpreters are not supposed to find the cultural equivalent of a term but instead they need to reconstruct its value. This goes well with taboo where it is not the taboo term that matters, but the concept behind it.

Additionally, when ambiguities appear in any conversation, interpreters must decide where their loyalties lie. After all, when there is conflict between their two interlocutors, interpreters must decide who they want to be loyal to, especially when there is conflict between the intentions of either party they are interpreting for. In theory, interpreters will probably be loyal to the client who pays their wages, but when that loyalty conflicts with their own ethics, the interpreters will face a dilemma in deciding where to place their allegiance; this is where they need to decide whether they want to be advisors, an echo or allies to their client. Gile (2009) came up with the notion of 'The Sender-Loyalty' principle, where the interpreters use 'first person' when they interpret, thus they are identifying themselves with the speaker. Equally, if interpreters are working alternately for opposing speakers, then their position would follow the 'rotating side-taking' position, where they are shifting their loyalty to each speaker, rather than remaining neutral. Undoubtedly, interpreters must be loyal to both parties and their utterances. This must not be unilateral in direction in order to ensure impartiality and confidentiality. When it comes to making choices, some argue that interpreters need to look at key terms in contrast to surface terms (Kruger & Crots, 2014) and that the decision must take into account damage control regarding sensitive utterances. However, it can be argued that not interpreting sensitive utterances may in itself cause damage and, therefore, such utterances must not be ignored.

3.4 INTERPRETERS AS INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATORS

AIIC (2015) defines interpreters as 'those who work with spoken words in particular contexts'. Hence, interpreting is seen as the transfer of thoughts and ideas from a source language into a target language (Roy, 2003). In that definition, it turns

interpreters into translation machines where they do nothing but transfer the words into a new language. Pöchhacker (2008) uses linguistic or cultural mediator as a synonym for interpreter as a level of linguistic intervention is inevitable to make the target message more intelligible. A 'Cultural Mediator' is a person who facilitates communication, understanding and action between persons or groups who differ in respect to language and culture. The role of the mediator is performed by interpreting the 'expressions, intentions, perceptions and expectations of each cultural group to the other' (Katan 2004: 12). Hence an interpreter is expected to simply transfer the words, while the mediator would shape the bilateral exchanges between interlocutors where if they felt that the exchange may not be beneficial, then they may intervene in order to shape the communication to fit with the respective cultural value systems (Archibald & Garzone, 2014). Katan (2004:13) states that the cultural mediator 'may never be called to communicate the exact translation of words, rather communicate the ideas […] that are meaningful to the members of the target audience'. This makes the transfer of taboo between two languages easier especially in the absence of equivalent terms, since the interpreter needs only to transfer the idea and strength of the taboo instead of trying to find a term that does not exist.

Intercultural mediation is defined by Verrept and Coune (2016:5) as 'all activities that aim to reduce the negative consequences of language barriers, socio-cultural differences and tensions between ethnic groups in healthcare settings'. Negative consequences of language barriers could mean not understanding cultural nuances such as those embedded in taboo. In this definition, they use the phrase 'all activities' which may then include many items such as advocacy (defined as championing and actively supporting a group or a client by Wadensjö (1998) or as 'clarification or repair of misunderstandings due to clashes of culture and language' by Inghilleri

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(2012:7), or 'visiting in-patients to see if they require help or raising problems with hospital administration or offering information to patients in addition to cultural brokerage and liaison interpreting' (Verrpet, 2009:1). This last definition carries with it a multitude of duties expected of interpreters, which require skills that must be acquired through training to ensure risk reduction to all parties involved. This is the case in Belgium where this definition is in use. It can be seen that the role of interpreters is continuously challenged leading to a blurring of roles and a blurring of those definitions.

The ongoing debate over the role of interpreters as intercultural mediators is not a new thing. In 1919, during the Paris Peace Conference, Colonel Bonsal was asked to suggest to Lawrence of Arabia, who was acting as Emir Faisal's interpreter to

> *Soften the impact of some of Faisal's words that were giving offence in influential quarters, and [...] to smooth out so many rough places in the impassioned appeals of the nationalistic speakers*
>
> (Bonsal, 1946: 33)

Lawrence (of Arabia) was reported to have responded:

> *I see the point [...] but I cannot follow [the] suggestion. You see, I am an interpreter, I merely translate. The Emir is speaking for the horsemen who carried the Arab flag across the great desert [...] and the thousands who died in that long struggle. He is the bearer of their last words. He cannot alter them. I cannot soften them*
>
> (Bonsal, 1946: 33f)

It has already been seen that language and culture cannot be separated from each other, and for interpreters to be faithful, accurate and effective communicators, they need to keep, rather than discard, the cultural and non-verbal gestures and interpret them. What must also be agreed on is that whatever strategy is followed, interpreters must never allow their ideologies to intentionally change their interpreting so that the utterances begin to match their own beliefs and thinking rather than match what

was really said or meant. Hubscher-Davidson (2020: 18) asks if 'interpreters should assume responsibility for contents of what they interpret and whether they should faithfully interpret a speech they consider to be morally dubious, especially when they are faced with assignments that challenge their goals, values or beliefs'. Her question fits exactly the question the thesis is trying to address. The problem is that the codes of ethics published by some UK interpreter associations (ITI, CIoL, NRPSI, for example) do not offer clear guidelines on what to do when faced with relevant cultural gaps, despite stating that interpreters must have enough cultural knowledge in relation to the countries of concern. (APCI, 2013, Article 27; ITI, 2016, Article 4.1). Despite this, the UK Visa and Immigration Unit (Home Office, 2020) instructs interpreters to use the closest equivalent to obscenities, despite this being a difficult and offensive thing to do. In contrast to the UK, the American Model Code of Professional Responsibility for the Interpreters in the Judiciary (NCSC, 1995) advises that in judicial proceedings that only exist in the host country, the interpreters must come up with an appropriate term rather than omit it or explain it at length.   The question of responsibility of cultural mediation as proposed by Hubscher-Davidson (2020) indicates that there are risks involved in taking on that role by interpreters, a risk that could be lowered by training for such a combined role.

Seleskovitch (1978) suggests that the degree of interpreter intervention depends on the distance between the interlocutors' cultures. Other factors include the interlocutors' knowledge of each other and their educational background. However, Seleskovitch warns against the interpreter assuming the role of the delegate; she sees that communication should be established between the delegates without the interpreter saying anything that 'would run counter to his role or over-involve him

in the dialogue to the point where he would colour the message with his own ideas' (ibid: 114). Hence, the interpreter's role is merely to ensure that communication is viable amongst delegates, while at the same time maintaining accuracy and faithfulness. A good example of this is the interpreting of the same term as either 'suicide bombers' or 'freedom fighters' depending on whether one is interpreting from a Western perspective where one would use the first, or from an Arabic perspective, where one would use the latter.

Other scholars agree with Seleskovitch's viewpoint, for example Hatim and Mason (1997: 223), argue that an interpreter mediates between cultures seeking to 'overcome those incompatibilities which stand in the way of transfer of meaning'; they stress that any 'ideological nuances and cultural dispositions in the source text have to be relayed untainted by the translator's own vision of reality' (ibid: 224). This is quite relevant to taboo which is closely linked to one's ideology and faith and hence one might be tempted to interpret it, ignore it, if it conflicted with either. Bistra (1997) warns that tension results when interpreters exceed their role when they feel superior to their addressee in terms of age, gender, knowledge, communicative skills and command of both languages and cultures. This occurs when people, especially of HCC (see 3.6 for HCC definition), of unequal social status interact in the same interpreter-mediated event.

Cultural elements enter conversations even in formal situations. This emphasizes the need to be able to play both the role of interpreters and also of cultural mediators simultaneously, both roles complement each other. At a meeting between a former Prime Minister (PM) and Western delegates, the PM made a joke to lighten the atmosphere of the meeting. The interpreter, however, did not interpret the joke. Two bilingual delegates understood the joke and laughed while the remaining delegates

remained impassive. The PM wanted to know why those two delegates had laughed while the others did not; the interpreter explained the lack of interpreting was due to the cultural element of the joke which made it hard for him to interpret [personal anecdote]. Putting this simply, if the PM did not intend to make his audience laugh, he would simply have not told that joke. The interpreter had the responsibility of somehow conveying the joke mirroring the speaker's intentions. Conversely, if a speaker intends to speak bluntly or harshly, then the interpreter has no right to soften those words or the tone in which the words were uttered in the first place. Looking at the example used at the start of this section, it is clear that Lawrence of Arabia was aware of the role Emir Faisal had to play in conveying assertively the message from the other Arab leaders; if Emir Faisal intended to convey that message gently, then he would have spoken softly in the first place; he would not have waited for Lawrence to soften his words.

Nolan (2012: 130) says: 'When a speaker intends to be blunt or abrasive, the interpreter is not helping the listeners by smoothing down the rough edges.' This is true for many meetings where one party may not be aware of the meeting going wrong as this would only have been evident through the cultural or tonal inferences used by one of the parties involved, and if the interpreter smoothed down or omitted the rough edges, then the second party would not realize something was wrong and eventually the communication would come to an abrupt end. This shows how had the interpreter kept the harsh utterances and tone as they are, thus indicating that things are not quite right, then the other delegate might have changed his method of negotiating, ultimately possibly sealing the deal. The same goes for revealing the character of an accused, if that person kept using bad language and the interpreter omitted or softened it, then the court would not be able to discern the real personality

of the accused. So, in real terms, the role of the interpreter is defined, amongst other factors, by the function of the speech; it is this function that determines the level of intervention the interpreter needs to take. If the function is mere bravado or an attempt to show some type of belonging or affiliation, then softening the term would not be as detrimental as doing so in court, for example. Faithfulness should be to the function of the text, rather than to the text itself, per se. The function and intention of both the original and target texts should be the same. Once this is achieved, then there is no issue of loss (Bassnett, 2007). This does not apply to taboo where many use taboo to mislead, or they use it ambiguously, so people do not realise they had used taboo, in which case intention and function are not the same.

Clearly, the full transfer of all cultural elements must be present for faithfulness to exist. As mentioned earlier, this fidelity extends to interpreters not allowing their ideology to interfere with their rendition of cultural matters. A study conducted in 1991 by Diaz-Guerrero and Lorand Szalay (in Katan 2004: 75) on 100 North American and Mexican students showed that the attitude of those students changed towards the same word or theme depending on their background. The American students think of the words 'The United States' as their country that they owe loyalty to. In contrast, the Mexican students had feelings of exploitation, war and power when they thought of 'The United States'. So, it is clear how the same words evoked different feelings amongst people of the same age group but of different cultural backgrounds. This example could be easily extended to societies in general and to interpreters of different cultures specifically, where they must release what Lefevere calls the 'textual and cultural grids' through which they see others, and act as free mediators instead, if they are to produce impartial representations of the culture (Lefevere, 2016). In other words, interpreters can only separate themselves from

their ideologies and beliefs if they live within a third culture that combines both TC and SC, where the interpreters use both, depending on the direction of their interpretation. But is this really realistic when some cultures reject some taboos so strongly that not adhering to those rules might lead to alienation? Or if fear of Divine punishment might mean that interpreters refuse to interpret what is deemed to be blasphemous or contrary to religious beliefs?

Another factor to consider is the deep knowledge of both cultures that is required in order to transfer taboo. Intercultural misunderstandings stem from false inferences caused by false explicators. Knowledge and awareness of cross-cultural pragmatics is valuable as it allows people to manipulate language and be creative with it. Bahadir (2004: 810) sums up the interpreters' role when she states that 'interpreters undergo a process of socializing, allowing them to acquire cultural competence in a new culture and thus achieving the goal of feeling, looking and thinking like a native of that new culture'. This clearly requires considerable investment of interpreters immersing themselves in the new culture and its sub-cultures while staying in touch with the current one.

It is also important to recognize the fluidity between the different roles public service interpreters may play, depending on the setting. For example, if the interpreters are to be simply transferring linguistically, with no additions, omissions or explanations, such as what could be seen in non-cultural events, then they could be described as intermediaries, or conduits (Roy, 2003). Pöchhacker (2016: 170) sees this 'deeply rooted in court settings where, traditionally, interpreters are not given the scope to expand on meanings as the only admissible information is that which is provided directly by the witness'. Due to the advent of sign language interpreters, this court interpreters' role had been challenged where scholars are asking for it to extend so

interpreters become communication facilitators (ibid). In health settings, interpreters are seen to be patients' advocates and cultural brokers who would redress power and cultural imbalances in clinical encounters, especially when this is in unfamiliar institutions (Mikkelson, 1998). When interpreters are working in asylum or refugee cases, their role as intercultural mediators would be greatly needed (Kondo and Tebble, 1997). However, role expectations differ from the interpreters' viewpoint compared to that of the service users as shown in Pöchhacker's (2000) survey among health practitioners and social workers where expectations relating to explanation of technical or cultural issues differed between those two groups. Mesa's (2000) study also shows these differing expectations, where it showed a ranking of expectations, where the explanation of cultural gaps ranked low among the healthcare professionals, while in contrast, in the same survey, interpreters stated that they ranked cultural explanations highly. This contrast might impact interpreters' ability to communicate effectively if the professionals ask them to speed up their interventions and not explain what they deem as non-essential, i.e.: cultural items. Other studies carried out in court settings, found contrasting opinions on the role of interpreters ranging from accepting their task of explaining legal and cultural language (Kadrić, 2001 and Lee, 2009) to rejecting that role (Kelly, 2000). In the PSIn domain, the expectations veer towards the end user valuing interpreters' behaviour highly (Pöchhacker, 2000). In Mesa's (2000) study, in PSIn domain, Interpreters' language proficiency was ranked highest as the most desirable (96%), followed by the pointing out of the client's lack of understanding at 92%. The latter indicates that Healthcare users do expect interpreters to intervene and explain gaps or misunderstandings. In legal settings, Kadrić (2001) found that interpreting skills plus linguistic and cultural competence ranked highest as the most desired in the

courtroom, more than basic legal knowledge or knowledge of legal procedures. Smooth communication facilitation also ranked high when the judges in the survey listed the criteria they would rehire interpreters. These results reaffirm what was found in Healthcare settings, where cultural mediation appears to be important in PSIn mediated events. This supports the definition of interpreters given by Pöchhacker (2008) where he uses interpreter and intercultural mediator synonymously.

3.5 WHAT DOES THE CULTURAL MEDIATOR LOOK LIKE?

From the above, it is shown that interpreters need to be cultural mediators, especially when faced with taboo. But what does that mean? Bochner (1981) divides the cultural mediator into two types where he distinguishes between the mediator-as-translator and the mediator-as-synthesizer. The first has the purpose of 'neutrally, faithfully and accurately representing one culture to another, thereby contributing to mutual understanding and accurate cross-cultural knowledge' while the second has the purpose of 'reconciling disparate cultural practices, having special relevance to exchanges from which action is to follow' (ibid: 19). Bochner sees a need for both types because the 'mediator-as translator' can only adhere to being faithful and neutral, and when faced with incompatibilities between two sets of different demands that require an active response, he would not be able to reconcile those differences, thus translation of cultural elements breaks down, unless if the role extends thus to being a synthesizer, where the 'translator-as-synthesizer' can provide 'creative reconciliation' of the opposing points of view (ibid: 19).

Some theorists and practitioners see interpreters as 'invisible' entities , in other words, not mediators at all, where they merely transfer the text without any additions

or omissions and therefore, they are invisible to their clients (Angelelli, 2004). Any interventions by interpreters are seen as a 'loss of neutrality' (ibid:29). Others refuse to accept this point. Venuti (2018), for example, sees that a translation and hence interpretation can only be successful if it is read or heard as if it were the original and not a translation reflecting the foreignness of the author. This is a move from the role of being a prescriptive interpreter to a descriptive one. Some argue that there must be some level of performance by the interpreter when conveying the message which is partly gestural and hence can only be reproduced with a new set of gestures, this fits when taboo is communicated non-verbally. Some European scholars see interpreters' roles follow the 'fusion approach' where the language broker, meaning the interpreter, is also a cultural mediator, facilitator or negotiator (Tipton & Furmanek, 2016: 129). This mirrors Bochner's (1981) notion of translators as mediators/ synthesizers. It also matches the concept of third culture where interpreters exist, which could be explained further by Nida and Reyburn (1981, in Williams, 2013: 64) who outlined a process in which 'a sender sends a message in a certain form and content at a particular time, in a particular place via a particular code (words, images, sound) through a particular channel (print, TV, radio), to a person with whom a particular relationship, or none, exists'. This receptor is a product of a particular background and culture; the receptor receives the message then evaluates it. Through this evaluation process, which will differ from one person to another, comprehension will differ, and the message will be interpreted differently. The interpreter in such a case could be seen as both the receiver and sender of the message, thus existing in both cultures of the sender and the receiver, forming the third culture. Nida and Reyburn (ibid) give interpreters a central role in the process, where the interpreter's attitude can affect the output, depending on

whether the interpreter is positively disposed to the taboo utterance or not (ibid). This is important to take note of since the role of interpreters is central to a taboo utterance being transferred correctly, in all its nuances. If it is ignored partially or totally, if the interpreter finds it unsavoury, this leads to messages being missed or transferred incorrectly. Koller (2004) agrees with the active participation of interpreters who shape the interpretation according to the needs and expectations of the audience.

Further, Bistra (1997) identifies the role of interpreters according to the event at which they interpret. He explains how recognizing the degree of culture specificity of such interpreter-mediated events would allow interpreters to make reliable predictions regarding the role of interpreters at those events. If interpreters are working at what Bistra defines as 'universal' events, then they should act merely as linguistic mediators, where no amendments or repair work would be required. On the other hand, culture-specific events, such as when taboo is used, give interpreters a more significant role to play where they have to actively intervene to ensure optimum communication that has as little misunderstandings as possible.

The reality is not always that clear-cut. There are many instances where the event starts off as a universal event but may soon turn into a cultural event, but yet cannot be called culture-specific. This means all interpreters, whatever events they specialize in, must be able to mediate their way when it comes to cultural elements. All the above is true for taboo. It is possible that at a health setting a doctor mentions a taboo topic such as cancer, and the interpreter is then faced with whether to interpret the word as it is or allude to it or use a euphemism instead of directly and openly saying the word itself.

Part of communication includes non-verbal gestures, body language or eye contact. Here the interpreter is also described as a 'repairer'. Pavis (1989: 37) sees culture as 'semiotic appropriation of social reality, its translation into another semiotic system poses no problem, once we set up an interpretative relation'. The message is passed on via two routes: textual and gestural. Cambridge (2013) warns against ignoring gestures and body language since they carry intention and meaning within them, and therefore it is vital to transfer them correctly when dealing with matters such as taboo in PSI contexts. The problem rests in those paralanguage gestures that may not always be understood by interpreters and they either convey them incorrectly or they may opt to ignore them altogether. For example, if a person remains silent during a debate this could be seen as either agreement with the direction the debate is heading, or it could be disagreement. It could also be simply that the person is thinking and has not decided which way he felt about that debate; the only way one can tell which of the above this person is thinking would be to know that person well. This could be extended to cultures: some cultures tend to remain silent when angry, while others manifest their anger with shouting; interpreters need to be aware of those differences so they can let their clients know if that emotion might be putting their negotiations at risk. In a study of intercultural communication between Chinese and Catalan, it was found that misunderstandings arose when non-verbal signs were not transferred, such as lack of eye contact, thus concluding that mediation is necessary in police and hospital contexts and that the absence of non-verbal cues can disrupt the flow of communication. Interpreters, through their role as mediators, will attempt to fill in those gaps to a degree that lowers the misunderstandings created by omission of non-verbal cues in interpreting. The study recommends training in intercultural competences (Vargas-Urpi, 2013).

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3.6 COMMUNICATION WITHIN CULTURAL GROUPS

In order to interpret effectively across cultures, interpreters need to recognize the differences among cultural groups from the communication aspect in order to overcome them. They also need to define what is meant by cultural differences. Instinctively, people know which culture they belong to; this is because they use the same language and share similar values, history and traditions. Katan (2004) suggests that culture be studied through several approaches: behaviorist, functionalist, cognitive and dynamic. The behaviorist approach is ethnocentric where people believe that their culture is superior to all others and hence it is the centre of all. This approach is irrelevant to the study as it does not fit with the aims hoped to achieve. The functionalist approach goes beyond behaviour and is based on culture-bound evaluations made within the context of one particular culture. This approach is a reminder to constantly analyse and evaluate any cultural elements one comes across. The cognitive approach sees cultures as different ways of reflecting reality. These three definitions led Katan (2004) to suggest a fourth approach, the dynamic approach, where culture is a 'creative, historical system of symbols, and [where] meaning has the potential to fill in the theoretical gaps left by behaviorist, functionalist and cognitive theories.' This means that culture is dynamic; it changes not just at individual level but by extension it changes at society level; it is influenced by many factors such as history and contact with other cultures. This is true for taboo, which differs from one community to another, and even within the same community, it changes based on age, gender, setting, time and so on.

According to Al-Omari (2009) communication differs depending on the type of culture the person belongs to. Arabs and Far Easterners belong to a high context

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culture (HCC) where their systems of communication are very complex that they rely heavily on body language, intonations, idioms and hidden meanings of words. Low context cultures (LCC) such as the Scandinavians are more direct in their speech and they tend to say what they mean. HCC affiliates relay difficult situations indirectly or implicitly, while LCC cultures would be more direct and explicit (this is relevant to interpreting taboo). Furthermore, HCCs tend to be more descriptive in their behaviour and speech in contrast to LCCs who are more prescriptive where there are always clear guidelines and rules for their behaviour and speech (ibid). This means how interpreters transfer taboo will differ depending on what culture they belong to. The complexity here arises if the interpreting is between a person belonging to an HCC and another belonging to an LCC. Hall (1973) is a proponent of these types. But other scholars, such as Cohen (1991) and Ting-Toomey (1985) see this dichotomous division as oversimplifying the issue, warning that it would be better to have a model that works as a continuum, to ensure we do not create confusion.

Although no empirical validation of Al-Omari's contexts has been carried out, they can still be used as a starting point for the cultural types the research will be using in its analysis.

Cultural differences have been divided by Jones (2002: 3) into two types: the first being the 'Explicit Differences' where the speaker refers to things and systems that exist in one culture but not the other (examples include culture-specific catchphrases or institutions such as referring to the British PM's residence as Number 10). Here the interpreter needs to explain those missing concepts to fill the gap. 'Implicit Differences' include irony, the speaker's hyperbole, understatement and so on. Taboo fits well into this category. These implicit gaps are more difficult to convey

as interpreters will first need to recognise what the gaps are. Then they may feel they are 'betraying' the speaker's intentions where the speaker may have deliberately used this mode of speech to make his intentions ambiguous. An example of this would be when the speaker says 'maybe' as a response to something he is asked to commit to. For most Arabs, this is mostly an indication of a refusal as this is what they mean when they say 'Inshallah/ God willing', while for Westerners, it means they will think about the matter in hand. The Chinese, as reported by Setton (in Kondo et al. 1997: 160f), have a polite way for refusing things where they would say 'kaolu kaolu' with the implied meaning of 'we will think it over', arguing that to render it into English as 'we shall think about it' would be too blunt, and that 'your proposal needs further thought' suggests mere postponement.

It is apparent that it is the interpreters' role to make their audience understand those undercurrents even if they have to re-word those utterances so the listeners can fully understand what was originally said, or by using appropriate synonyms, and then through non-linguistic means, for example: tone of voice (Jones, 2002).

3.7 CONCLUSION

Part of the research revolves around a comparison between the theoretical role of interpreters and the actual role(s) practised by the interpreters themselves. In order to see if this matches the roles suggested by scholars, this chapter discussed the different interpreters' roles that would be most suitable for interpreting taboo. Some of the answers sought by the researcher were an attempt to ascertain whether PSIs were aware of the significance of not just verbal taboo utterances but also the non-verbal ones and the impact these have on the full transfer of meaning. Many argue that interpreting should be a mere transfer of terms between the languages in use.

However, this chapter has shown that there is a close relationship between culture, language and interpreting, therefore concluding that in non-universal events, where culture is key, this must be conveyed. Some scholars agree with that concept, although others state that culture must only be transferred under certain conditions. Even though interpreters do have a role to play in communication, other than the linguistic transfer, that role itself changes based on a number of variables, such as context, situation, interlocutors' cultural differences, intention of the utterances, and more. Those variables are discussed in order to compare them with the research responses to see how much reality matches recommended practices. Other questions added to the research arose from the fact that the perception of roles differs depending on who is asked: the interpreters themselves or the service users. The researcher aims to discover if the interpreters do indeed change their handling of taboo when they are faced with different categories of service users or whether this role remains constant, regardless.

Briefly, this chapter discussed in detail the different roles interpreters may play, including the variables that influence those roles. It proceeded to show the link between culture, language and interpreting in order to emphasise that the roles are intertwined, and to give a starting point for the questionnaire used to collect data. Interpreters need to abide with their codes of ethics to ensure neutrality, faithfulness and accuracy. Some think this means they cannot explain utterances, only transfer them, others state they should only communicate language, not mediate, otherwise they would be in breach of the codes of ethics. But this chapter shows that breaching the Code of Ethics should not pose a dilemma when it comes to life-threatening or life-changing situations (rape, potential suicide cases or security issues etc.), as this does not fall under the term 'breach' but under the right for 'disclosure'.

Additionally, interpreters should consider the consequences of interpreting or not interpreting taboo when deciding which option to choose, this means they need to be aware of the need to be flexible in their role.

The following chapter will discuss the theories related to cultural interpreting and the competencies required for interpreters to be able to do so effectively.

CHAPTER FOUR: LITERATURE REVIEW: INTERPRETING TABOO

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to discuss training competencies required for interpreting taboo in PSIn in addition to the highlighting of the theoretical framework within which interpreters can interpret taboo effectively. This is in order to help address the following research questions:

RQ1: What strategies inform current practices when interpreting taboo and to what extent do those practices reflect theories that are appropriate for interpreting taboo?

RQ3: What are the training competencies required for taboo interpreting in PSI settings?

In PS interpreting, there are many cultural explanations and negotiations by the interpreter. Cultural elements represent a relatively prominent obstacle to communication in such settings. In addition, some situations in the community can lead to emotions running high and people tend to use more emotionally-charged language. Here, interpreters are expected to be more than mere linguistic mediators, especially as in some settings, such as courts or police stations, veiled and deliberately coded language is used more (Edwards, 1995).

As not much has been written on interpreting taboo, it is reasonable to accept that by looking at the strategies suggested by scholars on translation or interpretation of cultural items, which includes taboo as it is closely linked to culture, one can extend those theories to interpreting taboo specifically. This chapter will discuss those strategies in some detail. Learning interpreting strategies, though, is not enough to ensure efficient interpreting. Competencies recommended by scholars when training for PSIn will be discussed since some are specific to that field. Those that useful for

taboo will be listed. The comparison of what the scholars recommend along with the research findings will form the basis of the discussion later on.

Interpreting taboo could be carried out following two approaches: the functionalist and the cognitive. Nida's dynamic equivalence is described since it is the function of the taboo words that one needs to ensure is interpreted, looking at the impact the speaker meant when he uttered them. Skopos Theory is all about the intention of the speaker being transferred to the listener. If the utterance of taboo is merely habitual with nothing intended, then does it need to be interpreted? The proponents of this theory take into account the listener's country of origin which is relevant in interpreting settings where we have an interaction between people of different countries of origin, interpreting functionally, but ensuring that the purpose of the target utterance is compatible with the speaker's intentions.

Grice's (1975) maxims within the field of pragmatics optimise interpreters' output if his conversation analysis is extended and considered to be applicable to interpreting. He works on the 'cooperative principle' which is vital in interpreting generally but in interpreting taboo specifically. Speech Acts remind interpreters to follow the utterance through the effect meant behind it while using the same communicative force given by the speaker.

4.2 INTERPRETER TRAINING COMPETENCIES

Competence (or competency) in general is defined in the OALD (2010: 246) as 'a skill that you need in a particular job or for a particular task'. When interpreting and language are involved, the definition of competence goes deeper than the OALD definition. Schäffner and Adab (2000) discuss developing competencies in translation where they talk about the course designers needing to know how and

when this competency could be developed and at what stage. Canale and Swain (1980) classify communicative competencies into

- Grammar, this includes phonology, syntax and morphology;

- Sociolinguistic, which includes discourse and pragmatic competence; and

- Strategic competence.

Neubert (2000) argues that the competencies above must also include knowledge of TL and SL, text type, subject area (specialist knowledge), contrastive knowledge including cultural knowledge, decoding and encoding processes knowledge (also suggested by Bell, 1991), which will require coping technique skills. The latter is important when interpreting what is perceived as taboo, since interpreters need to find coping techniques, rather than avoid it. Celce-Murcia (1995) adds actional competence, which is the ability to comprehend and produce all significant speech acts. Note here the defining term 'significant' which shows that not all utterances need to be repeated but only the ones that are deemed important enough following a quick analysis of what was heard. What is of significance too is how some scholars have changed the term 'sociolinguistic knowledge' to 'sociocultural knowledge' when it comes to listing competencies (Canale, 2016).

The PACTE (Process of Acquisition of Translation Competence and Evaluation) research group defines translation competence as the 'underlying system of knowledge and skills needed to be able to translate. […] this includes expert knowledge, procedural knowledge and different inter-related sub-competencies plus a strategic component.' (PACTE, 2011: 4). This strategic competence is important, since the decision to interpret taboo or not is dependent on a number of complex and inter-linked factors that need to be negotiated strategically before coming up with a plan. The factors include the audience (Trudgill, 2000; Jesperson, 1922; Jay, 2009),

context (Napoli & Hoeksema, 2009), setting (Gile, 2004) and intentionality as already suggested by Williamson (2009) and Trudgill (2009).

All the above competency definitions include the expected linguistic ones, in addition to strategic and cultural competencies. Interpreting taboo requires strategic analysis of the context, intention and other factors, in addition to a cultural analysis of the taboo term itself.

Gile (2004) lists a different set of competencies to everyone else's, some of which are relevant to this research and hence they shall be listed. His listing is based on the differences between translation and interpreting. It includes:

• Differences in technical constraints where interpreters have little time to analyse texts;

• Differences in work settings; relevant since the setting can determine if an utterance is taboo or not (doctor's surgery talking about Genito-urinary infections v. back street talk about your genitalia).

• Product differences (oral product in the case of interpreting), which is mentally processed at rates that vary depending on the speed of speech and the difficulty level; and

• Skills and personality difference: this matters greatly when it comes to interpreting taboo, where personality and culture affect how taboo is perceived and handled. This includes that interpreters must be good intercultural mediators and good public speakers, with the ability to comprehend messages fast.

Self-confidence is named by Chesterman (2007) as a key component of interpreter and translator competence (in Williams, 2013: 113). This is relevant as interpreters need to be confident enough when interpreting taboo, where they know that the clients will know this is part of their professional work and that they will not be

judged by the clients as rude or insensitive. Lack of confidence will only lead to interpreters ignoring difficult situations, such as taboo interpreting.

Fox (2000) has her own set of competencies that are relevant to this research. They are communicative and socio-cultural competencies, plus language and cultural awareness, learning and problem-solving competences. The last one is important and validates the purpose of this study where interpreters who solve problems like taboo, rather than avoid them, could be competent interpreters.

Schäffner and Adab (2000), who add research competence to the above, state that those competencies are best developed at academic institutions that would eventually lead to a professional qualification. This corresponds with the plan for this research. This is further emphasised by Hatim (2012:24), who puts forward that the 'action versus reflection dichotomy' is no longer alien in the field of interpreting which has helped build research in this field and in the training of interpreting skills field. This ensures that problems are identified, and appropriate solutions proposed and duly adopted and explained (ibid).
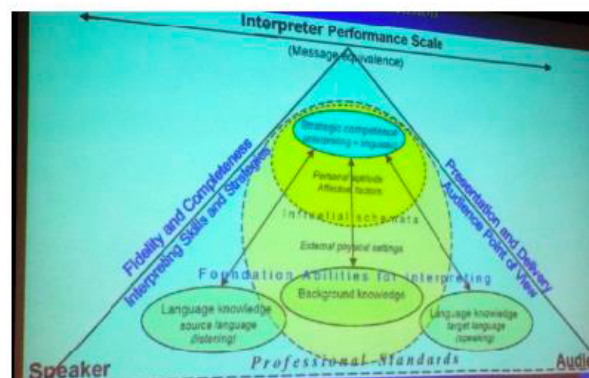
Fig. 4.1: Prof. Schäffner's Required Performance Skills and Their Scale that Allows Message Equivalence to Come Through (Sep. 2015). [With Permission from Prof. Schaffner].

For PSI domain, the International Organisation Standard (ISO 13611: Interpreting) has a list of competencies (Tipton and Furmanek, 2016). Tipton and Furmanek (2016) go into details of the list, but only those relevant to the research shall be listed,

including linguistic competency (awareness of changes in language use and strategies for handling culture-specific references), thematic or discipline-specific (identifying gaps in cultural knowledge), interpersonal (bias awareness, trust-building strategies, knowledge enabling interpreters to transfer messages and interact with clients), intercultural, in addition to technological and business-related/ strategic competencies and developmental competencies, such as decision-making and accountability, which are important when faced with interpreting taboo that conflicts with your values, upbringing and ideology. Critical thinking, a requirement that underpins most of the above listed categories, has been formally named by Phenitsyn (2011) who sees it as significant, allowing interpreters to assess, then choose, a suitable strategy before interpreting.

4.3 INTERPRETER TRAINING REQUIREMENTS

In looking at the abovementioned competencies, it is clear that interpreter training should include memory training, training in linguistic, cultural and ethical considerations plus coping techniques such as paraphrasing, note taking, use of synonyms and the increase of interpreters' general knowledge. Training needs are constrained, but only to a little extent, by the interpreting settings. For example, PSI training has a larger emphasis on sight translation as this constitutes a big part of PSI work. In the UK, Sight Translation constitutes a big part of the PSI exams. In contrast, it has a minor part in conference interpreting training and it does not form part of the exams within UK universities that teach conference interpreting (Mouallem, 2012). However, due to the possible need for conference interpreters to interpret some documents from time to time, this method is practised while training in conference interpreting albeit to a lower extent compared to PSI training. Some

of the coping techniques listed below can be useful tools when it comes to facing difficult utterances such as taboo (paraphrasing, synonyms).

Training requirements for interpreters include:

4.3.1 Memory Training: Memory training is a vital part of interpreters' training. Interpreters have to ensure they develop their short-term memory. Memory, especially in consecutive interpreting, means 'the ability to recall ideas and then to reproduce them in a significant way' (Jones 2002: 29). There are two types of memory: the first is mechanical memory which is the basic recall of facts, figures, lists and so on. This is generally in a linear fashion and the facts to be recalled may or may not be related, for example items on a shopping list. The other type is logical memory in which people concentrate more on the links between words, the reasoning and the line of argument. It tends to be far less linear in structure (Tipper, 2007). The logical memory is called upon in most interpreting cases; this is because people do not interpret words in isolation, but rather concepts and ideas. The use of both memory types can also be called upon where one needs to remember lists in addition to ideas all within the same chunk of spoken text, for example when a politician talks about reform and adds a list of future reforms he would like to implement. Training of memory is important. Tipper (2007) found that there is poor recall when people try to listen and speak simultaneously. Jones (2002) discusses the use of mnemonic techniques to facilitate recall; this is when people attach labels or notions to the ideas they wish to recall. Interpreters are usually faced with meaningful and well-connected discourse which should make this task an easy one. Jones suggests 'visualisation' of what the speaker is saying (ibid).

4.3.2 Paraphrasing: This means representing the essential meaning of the given message in a different structure while retaining the meaning of that original message

(Coughlin, 1989). This method is quite useful in consecutive interpreting, which is the mode much used in PSI. Berk-Seligson (1988) suggests this strategy as a good coping technique. Jones (2002: 90) sees reformulation as 'a content enhancing procedure which also allows interpreters to analyse the speech and its content rather than analyse the language of the speech'. Paneth (cited in Pőchhacker & Shlesinger, 2008: 37) recommends that interpreters should use a descriptive phrase of the original and carry on, rather than silences. Jones (2002) reminds us that interpreters must always ask themselves 'What did the speaker mean?' rather than 'what did the speaker say?'. This fits well with this research, as we need to look for the intended impact of taboo utterances, rather than the exact terms that may have a different impact in the target language, before deciding on how to handle them. It helps in addressing RQ3 relating to competencies. When trainees struggle to say taboo words as they are, paraphrasing them could be the first step to help them achieve a transfer of the taboo into the TL.

4.3.3 Synonyms: A synonym is defined in the OALD (2010: 1319) as: 'A word or expression that has the same or nearly the same meaning as another in the same language'. Synonyms allow interpreters to deal with problematic words they come across in a speech, where they know the meaning of the word in the source language but cannot think of its exact equivalent, or they find it hard to express its meaning in the target language, which might be the case with taboo. The use of synonyms is encouraged in class with a focus on the subtle differences between synonyms. Gillies (2004: 46) considers synonym use as 'similar to paraphrasing where interpreters use reformulation strategies of words rather than phrases'. Jones (2002) argues that as the interpreter's role is to convey a message rather than words, it is acceptable to use reformulation techniques. He argues that to be faithful to speakers, the interpreter

must betray them by sometimes not using their exact words and phrases. The interpreter's role, as he sees it, is to 'create a new medium that will provide the listeners with the same effect the speaker's words would have on those who understand the source language' (ibid). This works well with taboo where it is the effect of the utterance interpreters need to recreate, rather than the word itself.

4.3.4 Note Taking: Note taking is the practice of taking down symbols of parts of the speech to enable the interpreter to render that speech into the TL efficiently. Interpreters must recognise the key words and ideas that are vital to the speech and note those down in symbols that would jog their memory, thereby relieving the burden of memory (Jones, 1998).

4.3.5 Linguistic Skills: Linguistic skills such as the use of proverbs, metaphors and idiomatic expressions should be included in training in addition to the different registers an interpreter may face depending on who he may be interpreting for. This is important since taboo utterances are usually made in informal registers, rather than the formal language of learning. Alexieva (1999, in Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2008: 224) sees the importance of the interpreter's command of languages especially in the cases where the SL is not the native language of the interpreter and where this will affect his verbal and non-verbal rendition, for example in literally translating euphemisms (seen often with taboo) rather than finding an equivalent, therefore leading to structures that are either non-existent in the target language or worse they mean something totally different. Taibi (2009) states that interpreters must train to conserve register of language when aiming to produce a legally equivalent interpretation, which is relevant to taboo, as it is linked to a lower register usually and thus interpreters must adhere to that lower register or they alter its effect. Taibi (2016) cites Dueñas Gonzalez et al (1991: 265) who affirm that 'conservation of

register is a major component of producing a legally equivalent interpretation. Modifying or raising the register, can alter the global impression the jury or judge has of the witness'. This is best exemplified through the different impact the terms 'bugger' and 'make love' have on a Jury panel in an alleged sexual assault case, where the second implies consent by both parties, which may not have been the case. Taibi (2016) further suggests gender-specific linguistic demand; recognition of educational background diversity; and ethical considerations. By looking at those additional training requirements and cross matching them with the rules of taboo (Chapter 2.8), it is found that the gender-specific demand is of value since the use of taboo differs between genders (Williamson, 2009; Rayson et al, 1997) and also depending on the mix of genders among interlocutors. What people say among the same gender differs to what they say if they were in a mixed gender group (Williamson, 2009; Lakoff, 2004; Harvey, 2000). Further, Taibi (2016) suggests strategies when faced with taboo, the relevant one here is finding a euphemism that shows the relative equivalence of profanity. This is based on three criteria: The significance of language precision in a given setting, potential face loss risks and the relative equivalence of profanity across languages and cultures. Azzam (2017) indicates this as a popular strategy adopted by Arabs in order to save face when faced with taboo.

4.3.6 Cultural Knowledge: Cultural differences, such as the inappropriate use of jokes and taboo words in addition to non-linguistic issues such as gestures, should be highlighted while training interpreters. According to Silverton (2009), differences in taboo not only vary across cultures but also within the same culture based on regional distributions. Taibi (2016) suggests interpreter training should include cultural sensitivities. Taboo is closely linked to culture as described by scholars such

as Storey (2020); Andersson & Trudgill (1990); Eco (2003) and Silverton (2009). This sensitivity increases as the distance between the two cultures widens. What is seen as taboo in one culture, may be seen as harmless in another and even if both cultures agree a term is taboo, the level of harshness attached to this term may differ between those same cultures (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990; Eco, 2003). This makes cultural awareness a vital part when it comes to interpreting in general and interpreting taboo specifically. PACTE (2011) and Fox (2000) support cultural knowledge as a competence. Identifying gaps in cultural knowledge is advocated by Tipton and Furmanek (2016) as a competence, which is part of a list of competencies compiled within ISO interpreting standard 13611.

Alexieva (1999) considers that to be mediators in any situation requires interpreters' command of both languages in addition to their familiarity with both language cultures. What one culture might find acceptable, the other might find quite offensive. These differences materialise even more when the cultures are quite distant, such as between Western and Eastern cultures. In addition, the significance of taboo shows up in different ways in different societies, varying from 'prohibition, obligation, to strict regulation' (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990: 57).

4.3.7 Ethics: Ethical considerations must be raised in interpreter training. This includes introducing the students to the various existing professional codes of conduct and allowing time to discuss specific points of those codes. Schäffner and Adab (2000) describe how interpreters may self-censor their own work depending on their own political and religious convictions. This shows how important teaching ethical considerations is, where neutrality and faithfulness should be adhered to. Self-censorship ranges from complete omission of relevant passages to the use of euphemisms and additions (ibid). However, Corsellis (2008: 45) states that 'nothing

should be omitted just because it is distasteful. Stating that someone "misbehaved" in a rape court case does not help anyone'. This is relevant to this research as will be seen later.

Wadensjö (2002), Kondo (2003) and others see the interpreter's role today as a dynamic role, and this dynamism increases in significance when working in ethical situations. They see that the tasks and boundaries of the role, as seen in training and as enforced by the Codes of Ethics, seem to determine the latitude in which interpreters operate. The existence of interpreting Codes of Ethics has created a dilemma for some practitioners; they must balance their output decisions based on the balance between the Codes of Ethics as they know it and their own ethical personal considerations (see Chapter 3.3). A study by Katan in 2001 showed that the audience do, after all, prefer to have interpreters' interventions in cultural matters, where appropriate. Introducing consequentialism to training should help in the situational analysis of the consequences when interpreters choose to omit an utterance.

4.3.8 General Knowledge:

Knowledge is divided into two types: factual and processing. Factual or declarative (world) knowledge is made up of linguistic knowledge and subject-specific knowledge. This must pre-exist within those in the interpreting field, although it should improve with experience (Seleskovitch, 1978). While processing or analytical knowledge is gained through interpreter training.

Interpreters' general knowledge is continuously in demand while undertaking assignments. Interpreters should be encouraged to read as much as possible on matters that may crop up in their professional lives; this helps improve poor

memories. Interpreters who lack good knowledge will struggle with the comprehension stage of the interpreting process, thus cutting off the line of communication. Gillies (2004) emphasises the importance of gaining general knowledge when he talks about how transferring words from one language to another is one thing but that to reach the ideal situation the interpreters must totally understand the concept of the subject matter so they can really speak fluently using idiomatic expressions in their active language.

4.4 ADAPTIVE CONSIDERATIONS & TABOO

This refers to extra-linguistic matters such as gestures, body language and linguistically linked matters such as uttered cultural nuances. Communication, argues Poyatos (2002), is not merely a list of words strung together; non-verbal activities fill utterances at all times. This may range from lifting shoulders, tongues clicking to arms flailing, voice pitch and intonation. Interpreters must mimic those gestures and use identical intonations to those the interlocutors are making. In other words, they need to use 'Adaptation Strategies' as suggested by Kalina (1992: 127f), where they go beyond linguistic mediation into intercultural mediation. Poyatos (2002) points out how linguistic and paralinguistic constituents of speech can interact at different levels. They can operate simultaneously, alternatively with each other or they can substitute each other. Poyatos (ibid) suggests that for an utterance filled with kinetic expressions such as brow raising, tongue clicking and utterances such as 'mmm' that could indicate agreement (although it could equally indicate deep thinking) followed by a verbal sentence, the interpreter, in addition to interpreting the words of the verbal sentence, could either reproduce the original speaker's paralanguage exactly as he had done them, if they carried the same

significance in both languages, or he translates them verbally, for example saying: 'the speaker is indicating he is thinking'. Or, in order to be truly faithful to the speaker, the interpreter could interpret that paralanguage kinesis into their TL paralanguage kinesis counterpart (ibid).

Paralanguage contains additional information listeners would want to know about. Paralanguage is both audible and visible, and hence listeners would be expecting some kind of equivalent or explanation to be rendered by the interpreter (Poyatos, 2002). Intonation of utterances are seen by Poyatos as 'economy devices' as they say something meaningful at the same length of time as the utterance itself, for example, the intonation of astonishment when a speaker says 'oh, he refuses to pay you' makes it shorter than saying 'I don't believe this, he refuses to pay you'. Finally, paralanguage kinesis can be used when the speaker cannot find the words he is looking for, such as eloquent descriptive of things, for example 'sublime chocolate Heaven' where the interpreter can take on a dream-like effect when describing the taste of chocolate by shutting his eyes and lifting his head to the skies with a hint of a satisfied smile on his face as he speaks. This method could also be used when the interpreter cannot find a match in the target language at once for a keyword, for example 'fingerprint' where the interpreter could simply point to the tips of his fingers to show what he means to say. This strategy could be used instead of paraphrasing or definition, which may take a while to explain. This 'non-verbal periphrase' use is relevant directly to the research as some taboo could be gestural and not verbal: these gestures must be interpreted correctly to convey their intention.

4.5 APPROACHES TO INTERPRETING TABOO

The interpreting approaches that fit well with this thesis are the 'functionalist approach' which considers reasons behind cultural behaviour and defines translation as a purposeful activity (Schäffner, 2003). This leads to the production of a new target text suitable for its particular purpose for the target audiences in a target situation. Here, the quality of the interpreting is measured not by its equivalence to the source but by its suitability for the intended purpose (ibid). This fits well with this thesis since interpreters are interested in transferring the purpose and intentions behind taboo utterances in the context of public services. Kirchhoff (1975) states that interpreters must guarantee functionally equivalent texts while interpreting, showing that this is not merely for translation.

Communicative interpreting is a term defined by Hatim & Mason (1997:3) as 'any approach which views translation as a communicative process which takes place within a social context'. Here, the translation is geared towards the needs of the target audience, where the translator treats the text as a message rather than a string of linguistic units. This is pertinent to this research as interpreting is very much concerned with the transfer of messages, where those messages may have implicit taboo within them that needs to be made explicit through using this strategy. This communicative strategy readily contrasts with the word for word or literal translation, where the word is of paramount importance, which is seen as ineffective in aiding optimum communication in the other language, but in fact it often leads to distortion of the original message (Roberts, 1985). Roberts sees that interpreters not only need to transfer the uttered words, but in addition they are required to transfer four non-linguistic parameters and they are: the originator of the message, the intended audience or receiver, the object or purpose of the utterance, and finally the temporal circumstances in which the translation was produced (ibid). Again, this is

significant for this research as it has already been seen how taboo varies depending on the speaker, the listener, the time it is said and the circumstances in which the utterance has come out. This clearly confirms that communicative translation is a good principle to follow when interpreting taboo. Newmark (1988) describes this strategy in detail; he too sees the emphasis in this strategy is on conveying the message and its intended effect seen in the ST in a form that conforms to the norms of the TL (style, grammar, culture and pragmatic conventions) rather than mirroring the actual ST words. Here the interpreter is granted more freedom to interpret and hence the output will be much smoother and unambiguous. Newmark (ibid) sees that this type of translation fits well when translating journalese, public notices and most non-literary genres, where priority is given to the informative function of the original text as well as the intended effect on the receivers. This is relevant, since practitioners interpret taboo when the principle behind it is not just fidelity to the speaker, but when they must pass on information found within this taboo utterance; information such as the speaker's personality or state of mind/ feelings and so on.

Functionalist theorists focus on the communicative function and aims of a translation in a target culture (Reiss and Vermeer, 2015). They see that the strategies adopted by translators depend on the translation skopos as it is that skopos that determines the intended function of the target text.

The 'cognitive approach' proposed first by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is explained by Schäffner (2003), where interpreters understand one domain of experience (a target domain) in terms of another domain (the source domain). It deals with mapping underlying patterns and the culture-bound categorising of experience (Katan, 2004). Hofstede (1994:4) states too that 'the patterns of thinking, feeling and acting within a culture could be linked to a collective programming of the mind'. It

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is as if there is a set of software that people acquire within their cultural communities which help them differentiate the members of one group from another. Thus, the cognitive approach highlights the notions of context and boundaries. For example, whether one interprets taboo or not depends on the context where taboo meanings differ, based on the context in which they are said. For many, interpreting taboo also depends on the audience, who set the boundaries when deciding whether to interpret taboo or not. It has been seen how taboo words are chosen differently depending on age, gender and whether the speaker and listener are of the same gender or not. Katan (2004) proposes that mediation between cultures is simple and must not be placed in such a 'frozen state', rather that culture mediation is dynamic and constantly negotiable where interpreters use past experiences to negotiate future ones. The Cognitive (Lakoff and Johnson,1980; Katan, 2004; and Hofstede, 1994) and Pragmatic (Shuttleworth & Cowie, 2011; Reiss & Vermeer, 2015; Austin, 2011; Grice, 1975 and Austin, 2011) approaches allow for the interpreters to develop their role into that of intercultural mediators, as they are the experts in the cultures of the languages they speak.

The following section will look at various theories that fit into the approaches mentioned above which aim to help evaluate the strategies that practitioners could use in interpreting taboo. This goes a long way towards addressing the first part of RQ1: What strategies inform current practices when interpreting taboo and to what extent do those practices reflect theories that are appropriate for interpreting taboo?

Although many of those theories were initially considered to relate to translation, they could be applied to Interpreting Studies (IS) since interpreting is concerned with translational activity. Pöchhacker (1995) considers IS to be a sub-division of

Translation Studies (TS). Holmes (1988) and Toury (2012a) also see TS as inclusive of interpreting, and therefore Angelelli and Colina (2016: 108) state that 'TS may be assumed to be applied to interpreting pedagogy'.

4.5.1 Equivalence

4.5.1.A Dynamic Equivalence

Dynamic equivalence is defined by Nida (2012:158) as 'a mode of translation in which the message of the original text is transported into the target language in such a way that the response of the TL receivers is essentially the same as that of the original text receivers'. It is thus based on the principle of equivalent effect, which fits well with this research, since it has already been seen that some utter taboo intending to have an effect on others, and that in the absence of the exact equivalence to the taboo, interpreters transfer that effect onto the audience. Here Nida sees that interpreters must not worry about the grammatical equivalents but rather with the equivalent impact. Nida (2012) sees that translators must understand not just the basic content of a text but the underlying subtleties within that text (which fits with the taboo theme), plus the significant emotive values of words:

> *A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete*
> *naturalness of expression [...] where the relationship between*
> *receptor and message should be substantially the same as that*
> *which existed between the original receptors and the message*
>
> Nida (2012: 159)

In creating his theory, which was motivated by Nida's attempt to translate the Bible, Nida assumes that all languages are equal, where no primitive or advanced language exist. Nida also assumes that anything that could be said in one language could be said in another. This is not always the case, since some terms exist in one culture but

not in others. In order to transfer meaning correctly, Nida and Taber (2012) suggest analysis of the SL, then transfer to the TL following a restructuring of the utterance. In the analysis part, implicit variables are identified and made explicit then transferred into the TL. Implementing those steps means implied taboo could be made explicit using a TL term that would have a similar impact on the TC that the implied taboo has on the SC. By making the taboo explicit, interpreters avoid ambiguity or multiple interpretations, which on the face of it is not a bad thing, but what if the implicit taboo was there deliberately to ensure ambiguity by the speaker? This links back to the role of the interpreter (See Chp. 3.3-3.5) where interpreters could opt to switch between being mediators and doing nothing more than transfer the linguistic utterances, or being intercultural mediators, making implicit texts explicit.

Nida and Taber (2012) state, among other things, that in dynamic equivalence, contextual consistency is more important than lexical consistency, where a word can have a number of meanings depending on the context it is found in. Again, this fits well with Nida's intention when thinking up this as he wanted as many people as possible to read and understand the messages found in his Bible translations. Meaning takes precedence over the form. The same principle could be said of taboo, transferring the taboo meaning is more important than using an exact term which does not carry the same impact as the original.

The problem of the steps suggested in Nida's theory is that he does not formally recognise matters such as the relevance of the text, inference, semiotics or cognitive processes, such as speech acts, rather they are mentioned anecdotally (Reddy, 1979). Marlow (2009) argues that Nida's definition, which discusses the naturalness of expression, cannot be achieved since within two cultures and two different times, the

effect would differ, which fits with the notion of taboo as shown by Allan & Burridge (2006) and Wardaugh (2010) who see that the relationship between interlocutors and their audience, the context and the moral or cultural code and attitude of the society, all affect what is seen as taboo. To obtain a natural translation, argues Marlow (2009), practitioners must have a translation that fits a) the receptor language and culture, b) the context of a particular message and c) the receptor language audience. Pöchhacker (1995) equally states that in assessing professional interpreting, it is not the degree of equivalence that must be considered. Rather, it is the extent to which the TT functions as intended within its context that must be considered. In other words, functional equivalence (see 4.5.1 B).

Jakobson (1966) sees that equivalence is never achieved, since a term may have some missing elements in its 'equivalent meaning'. An example would be 'Hajj' in Arabic, which is not quite the same as the English version of 'pilgrimage', since Hajj can only be to Mecca at a certain time of the Islamic lunar year and with certain traditions attached to it. Jakobson's notion implies that efficient translation cannot be truly achieved. It must be argued that although some terms may be missing from one language while they exist in another, the concepts can still be imagined and interpreted. The code units may differ, but the concept remains the same. Here, translation moves more from equivalence into the realm of adequacy (Williams, 2013). Dam (1998) agrees with Jakobson, as she sees that no two languages would have direct equivalents, nor would they be able to describe a similar reality to the same term. The researcher maintains that this may be true, but it only brings to the fore the need to use multiple approaches in interpreting culturally nuanced terms.

Nida expands on his theory and sees that the translator needs to 'have the same emphatic spirit of the author and the ability to impersonate the author's demeanour,

speech and ways' (Nida, 2012: 168). This goes well with Lakoff's statement (2004) where he describes how taboo is related not just to the word itself but also to the force in which it is said in. This means total dependence on the author's intent. This was called 'emotive or connotative' meaning, for example if a father says, 'Don't worry about that, son', we need to know if the word 'son' is intended as a term of endearment or if it is meant to be patronising (ibid). For this strategy to be deemed successful, Nida (ibid) sees the translation needs to have fulfilled four criteria, which are:

1. Making sense;

2. Conveying the spirit and manner of the original;

3. Natural and easy form of expression; and

4. Producing a similar response to the original.

Nida (ibid) acknowledges that the concept is a graded one and that one may not achieve all four criteria at once, but he emphasises that when there is conflict between style and meaning, that meaning must take priority over style in order to achieve equivalent effect.

Newmark (1988: 132) states: 'The principle of equivalence-effect is the one basic guideline in translation'. Newmark replaces the term 'dynamic equivalence' with 'communicative translation', which focuses on the effect of translation on the receivers, trying to fit with their norms as much as possible. While Nida and Taber (2012) whose interest rose from their specific Bible translation work see dynamic equivalence as the method to be used to obtain cross-cultural equivalence in responses to utterances. This is significant especially when taboo is included in a text for a specific purpose, and where interpreters expect to invoke a similar reaction in both language cultures. Additionally, Nida (2012, cited in Basnett-McGuire,

2013: 16) sees that translations should not only produce a similar response in the audience, but that they should convey the spirit and manner of the original.

Bassnett-Maguire (1991) agrees with Nida (2012) in looking for interpreters to analyse messages before rendering them. 'A blasphemous expression in one language can only be rendered pragmatically by using expressions with blasphemous overtones that compare with the original from the shock point of view' (ibid: 27). When finding equivalents, the technique of 'chunking sideways' advocated by Katan (2004) may help. In this way, Katan has expanded on the analysis step advocated by Nida (2012) and Bassnett-Maguire (1991). This means that one looks for a taboo word that has the same degree of vulgarity in the TL as in the SL.

4.5.1.B Functional Equivalence

This is used to refer to the type of equivalent effect reflected in the TT, which seeks to adapt the function of the original to suit the specific context in and for which it was produced (Shuttleworth & Cowie, 2011). Nida refers to functional equivalence as dynamic equivalence that highlights the communicative functions of translating (2012).

Chesterman (2016) disagrees with the notion of achieving the same effect in the ST as in the TT when the audience is of different cultures. Nord (2006) agrees with Chesterman and sees that reaching equivalence will be utopic and impossible. This is best illustrated with taboo where the effect of one taboo term may not be the same on a person from a different culture, which means functional equivalence is practically impossible to achieve in interpreting taboo.

House (1998) favours functional and pragmatic equivalence. She argues that the source and target texts should match one another in function. House sees that this theory is mainly useful for assessing translation quality, but it could be of use here,

especially where House divides text function into three dimensions related to the language user, and they are geographical origin, social class and time. All these dimensions are relevant to this research since it has already been shown how taboo differs based on the speaker's social class, country of origin (where one term could be taboo in one country but not so in another) and time (taboo changes with time). Those categories listed by House may explain the responses received following an analysis of how interpreters transfer taboo based on their education, gender, age and ethnicity when we are looking to address the second part of RQ1. Naturally, a problem will arise if a text has multiple functions (Gutt, 1991). An example to illustrate how this could be relevant within the context of this research would be a defendant who is giving evidence in court, which is one function, but swears profusely within this evidence, which will create a second function within the first; here the interpreter faces the challenge of interpreting both functions to be as equivalent as the speaker intended.

Kallia (2009) considers this type of equivalence linked to the participants' time and space. In other words, depending on when and who says something, the meaning could be interpreted differently. She divides meaning into two parts, the first being the 'transactional' part which corresponds to Searle's (1991) notion of Pragmatics where the effect is what the participants aim for. The second part of meaning is 'interactional' significance, which is linked to the notion of 'face' described by Brown and Levinson (1987) in their politeness theory. Here Kallia (2009) states how the level of politeness, style and register can differ even if utterances are similar in their transactional meaning. For utterances to be pragmatically equivalent, they must be equal in both their transactional and interactional values. This is significant when researchers talk about cordiality, such as introductions, greetings and farewells, or

when uttering polite sentences for the sake of small talk, or conversely when interpreting impolite utterances. For example, telling someone to sit down is different in its effect to suggesting to someone that they take a seat (the first is an order that may not go down well with the listener, thus these two options are deemed not to be pragmatically equivalent). To shift from one to the other, politeness markers may need to be used, some of which are optional, such as 'please' to show deference and to ensure cooperation from the listener (House, 1997: 166). These could be easily added to the TT without disturbing the structure of the sentence (Kallia, 2009). Hatim and Mason (1990) see pragmatics as a vital part in dialogue interpreting since when people converse, there are always polite markers involved in their conversation to ensure its continuity. They state that when interpreters mediate in multi-language conversations, they face two sets of problems: politeness strategies (hedging, down-toning) that vary from one culture to another, and while interpreting they may miss those politeness markers and thus the direction of the conversation may veer from the path intended (becomes awkward perhaps) due to missing those markers (1990). For the purposes of this research, it is argued that it is vital for interpreters to be aware of those politeness markers and that they should only interpret using them if they were found in the original utterance, otherwise, they will indeed change the direction of the conversation. For example, if speakers intended to be rude at an event, interpreters should not use polite markers to down-tone the utterance just because their culture deems it necessary to save face since it is vital for the listeners to understand the 'rude' personality of the speakers.

An illustration of why functional equivalence is important would be during interpreting in a hospital where doctors ask questions that are mostly of the 'yes / no' type. If they then ask the patient 'anything else?' the patient may answer with

either 'yes' or 'no'. However, the doctors here are trying to illicit from the patient if there are any more medical problems they need to be aware of. This is where the interpreter can play a vital role by interpreting the function of the question, rather than just the words as they were originally uttered. The interpreter should invite the patient to mention any other ailments (s)he is suffering from. Here, the interpreter realises the purpose of the original request allowing smooth and effective doctor-patient communication. Bührig (2009) further recommends that interpreter training should consider the listener's country of origin when it comes to medical situations, where the practice of pre-diagnostic discussions may not be in use in all countries and therefore the patients may not be aware of the need for 'Informed Consent', for example, which may be a legal requirement in some countries and which may not be transmitted to them correctly if the interpreter did not interpret functionally.

Nord (2005) advocates this theory, but still warns that applying this procedure does not mean interpreters have a free licence to alter the original too much; the target text should resemble the original and there must be some relationship between them. The skopos (intention) of the text determines 'the nature of that relationship, where the purpose of the TT must be compatible with the speaker's intentions' (ibid: 126).

4.5.1.C Cultural Equivalence

The linguists Sapir and Whorf (2011) state that one must not try to find the cultural equivalence of cultural terms since they are never equal in different societies. This means how people think is strongly affected by the language they speak. For example, the Inuit can talk about snow far more deeply than others could because their language contains more subtle and distinguishing variations of snow compared to other languages. Sapir and Whorf (ibid) suggest people look at the *value* of those cultural items instead. Both linguists gave the term 'cultural relativism' to their idea.

This idea is controversial as other scholars see that this hypothesis was based on studies done within a single language only (Lucy, 1999) and only dealing with a small set of lexical terms. However, it must be noted that the debate is about the flaws in the hypothesis and they ask for the broadening of the scope to verify the correctness of the hypothesis rather than discarding it altogether. Lucy (ibid) points out what he calls 'functional or discursive diversity' where we find diversity due to the purpose of the words used even within the same language community. This fits well into this research where we see how taboo is uttered for many reasons and therefore a single taboo word may have different functions depending on its purpose when uttered.

Ivir (1987) sees cultural gaps as differences that do not include language, where one element is found in one cultural language but not the other. Ivir suggests seven strategies to overcome those gaps. In brief, they are a) borrowing, where one imports an item from the SL to the TL, such as the word 'Koran'. b) Definition, where one explains what the term stands for, for example 'stag night'. c) Literal translation, which interpreters find the easiest to follow as it allows them to remain faithful to the speaker, but which sometimes makes the interpretation stilted and un-natural. d) Substitution where the terms overlap but are not quite the same, for example using 'pilgrimage' for 'Hajj' which are not quite the same: Hajj is only for Mecca by Muslims and once a year, while pilgrimage is any visit to a holy place, for any religion, and in fact, it could be defined as 'a journey to a place connected to someone you admire or respect' (OALD, 2010: 955). e) Lexical creation, where one creates new tailor-made terms, but this would not fit taboo concepts, as such. f) Omission, which should not be followed if the term is important, such as taboo, where depending on context, is uttered with the intention of having some effect on the

audience. Finally, g) Addition, when one wants to make implicit items explicit, for example when interpreting 'Westminster' to a non-European audience, interpreters need to state that it is the Houses of Parliament, otherwise, it is meaningless to that audience. Some strategies led to a huge debate, for example, omission. Pym (2008) agrees with Ivir and suggests omission as a pragmatic strategy. Barik (1994:124) sees that the only omissions allowed are those that have the function of 'fillers, hedges and connectives; otherwise, omission indicates miscomprehension'. Schäffner and Adab (2000) encourage interpreters to follow their codes of ethics and not to omit any relevant utterances. It was seen how omitting interpretation of taboo may lead to inaccuracies and distortion of the utterance, intention and character of the speaker (see Chapter. 2.10). Corsellis (2008: 45) states that 'nothing should be omitted just because it is distasteful. Stating that someone "misbehaved" in a rape court case does not help anyone'. This fits really well with what this thesis is trying to analyse where the researcher is attempting to find out if practitioners do indeed omit taboo because they find it distasteful or unacceptable. Dueňas Gonzalez et al (1991) show that not omitting anything, including keeping the right register, is essential for the court to correctly assess an individual's personality. Again, many decisions, such as court rulings or probation decisions consider personalities so it is paramount that interpreters do not omit anything that might lead to a distortion of this. Researchers do acknowledge that at times, for example in sexual misconduct court cases, interpreters sometimes use vague language through vague use of pronouns leading to misunderstandings (Tipton & Furmanek, 2016).

Cambridge (2013) agrees that if speakers deliberately choose to use offensive language that they know would cause offence, then interpreters must respect that choice and keep the utterance exactly as it is, keeping its function and emotional

weight intact, thus matching its skopos. A study by Torruella Valverde (2013) shows that some interpreters choose to omit interpreting taboo related to body parts but instead they gesture to the region of the body the taboo word represents, or they say the direction it is in: '*your behind'*, meaning *'anus'*, for example. This study highlights the nature of non-verbal taboo and its significance, which links with Anderson's (2012) theory where cultural mediators must reproduce gestures in order to be faithful (see 3.3).

Pym (2008) divides instances of omission into low-risk and high-risk. He sees that some omissions do not affect the communication, therefore they can be appropriate, especially if they help with time-constraints seen at an interpreting event. The researcher suggests that time constraints are low in PSI, unlike conference interpreting. In the latter, interlocutors speak really fast with little or no access by the interpreters, in their booths, to ask for the speed to be reduced. Therefore, in PSI time is not a justification for omission. In PSIs, experienced interpreters can take control and slow down speech to a working level. Hence, Pym's suggestion does not apply. Further, when it comes to taboo, it certainly cannot be seen as a filler, even in legal settings where it is used for bravado, as this shows part of the personality. Therefore, it may influence the jury's decision and hence it is vital (Dueňas Gonzalez, 1991). Baker (2018) sees no harm in using omission as a last resort but states that there will be a loss of meaning in such cases, which may be detrimental in PSI.

Barik (1994) accepts the need for omission but only when interpreters omit fillers, such as stuttering. On the other hand, others approve of omission, for example, Pym (2008) who sees it as a pragmatic strategy, despite many others who see not omitting utterances as essential, for example, Dueňas Gonzalez et al (1991), or Corsellis

(2008) who emphasises the need to not omit something just because we feel it is distasteful.

Nida (1998) sees that the greater the cultural distance is between the language pair, the harder the required effort is to bridge this distance by making appropriate changes that aim to preserve the ST meaning. This turns the interpreting into a negotiation between texts and cultures where the interpreter is the mediator (Bassnett, 2002). This touches slightly on RQ2 which looks at how interpreters fulfil their roles as cultural mediators.

4.5.1.D Problems with Equivalence

Despite many scholars attesting that there is no such thing possible, equivalence is still in use, as it is seen as a good starting point to assess and attempt any interpreting event. Many scholars (Nida, 1998; Catford, 1965; House 1981) reject the idea of perfect equivalences and see them as impossible to achieve. Broeck (1978) and Abdul Raof (2001) see that it is more difficult in a language pair that are quite distant linguistically and culturally, for example Japanese and English, as opposed to both languages being European. They see that practitioners are assuming the languages are symmetrical for them to assume they could achieve equivalence. Pym (2010) argues that 'assumed equivalence' is what translators achieve, rather than perfect equivalence. He sees it is a relation established between ST and TT from form to function within any segment of those texts.

Hatim and Mason (1990) suggest replacing the term 'equivalence' with 'approximation' and that people should aim for that approximation when translating. Baker (2018) states that equivalence is relative, influenced by linguistic and cultural factors. Baker (ibid) acknowledges the importance of equivalence at word level, as this is the first step translators usually take when attempting to translate a text, but a

word may at times be given different meanings in different languages. Due to different grammatical rules across languages, Baker argues that translators may need to make additions to their translations (ibid). Vinay and Darbelnet (2004:31) define equivalence as 'a method that replicates the same situation as in the original, whilst using completely different wording'. This definition fits well into the strategies for cultural interpreting where the situations and how they are interpreted differ according to which culture they are set in. This also is close to Baker's (2018) textual equivalence, where to maintain cohesive ties between the ST and TT, three main factors are needed and they are the audience, skopos of translation and the text type. Koller (2004) also finds equivalence as difficult to achieve. Equivalence in his opinion includes emotiveness, denotation (content) and connotation. He describes the difficulty in achieving equivalence of the emotional and associative responses in the audience, such as the type we are concerned with in this thesis. This is true across various cultures that have different emotional responses to the same concept, for example, sadness. Koller (ibid) posits that only when interpreters have a hierarchy ordering of equivalence requirements can one preserve a hierarchy of values. Taboo can be highly emotionally charged in some cultures but may not carry any emotional charges in another. Thus, interpreting it will lack this equivalence, unless the interpreter is highly aware of this lack of equivalence and ensures it is transferred accurately.

Finally, Newmark (1988: 119) defines connotation as:

> *The aspect of meaning [...] which is based on the feelings and moral ideas it arouses in the transmitter or receptor, [...], the meaning conveyed or suggested apart from the thing it explicitly names or describes.*

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From the above definition, it is seen that connotative meanings stem from personal experiences, educational background, culture and traditions, which are all linked to taboo and which would explain the difficulty of interpreting such terms. Hypothetically, if interpreters grew up in a conservative community, with traditional values, they would struggle to utter taboo in public compared to those where not many things are considered taboo. This can be tested through RQ1 and the evaluation of practices when transferring taboo. Equally, whether the older people are, the more restrained they would be in interpreting taboo, based on their experiences gained in life could be tested. Additionally, if people have a higher educational background, they should be able to say things more eloquently than someone with lower or no educational background.

4.5.2 Skopos Theory

Skopos means 'Aim or purpose' in Greek. It was proposed by Reiss and Vermeer in the early 1980s. They argue that the final interpretation should be decided based on the intention seen in the original utterance, which must be transferred to the target audience. In other words, practitioners must identify the 'purpose' of the utterance before they attempt to transfer it to the other language. Vermeer (1989), sees the transfer to be of a single text specifically. While in interpreting, Pöchhacker (1995) sees that the client is not looking for a text to be translated but that he needs a communicative event to occur. He states that skopos theory defines interpreting as a process of cultural transfer. The transfer in this case would be of a hypertext, defined by Pöchhacker (1995: 35) as a number of individual texts. This hypertext has properties that amount to more than the sum of its parts. These multiple texts are the explanation of why interpreters have a role to play that extends to more than just linguistic transfer, since the interpreters need to bring those individual texts into the

fore when transferring the message. It is this hypertext skopos that controls the functionality of the TT in interpreting. For example, the skopos of a medical conference differs from that of a healthcare public service interpreting, which is reflected by differing informational needs and approaches (Pöchhacker, 1995). In a translation, the skopos is limited to the analysis of the function of both ST and TT, while for interpreting, there must be additional analysis of the speakers and listeners and their socio-psychological dynamics, which will change based on the setting and time the event occurs in (ibid). The ultimate goal is to ensure intratextual coherence is achieved, based on structural, thematic, textual and lexical conventions (Nord, 1991).

Taboo is embedded in culture, so skopos theory would fit well when the need arises for interpreting taboo. To be able to do so, it must make sense first within its communicative situation and culture. The function or skopos arises from the assignment settings, the requirements and clients' motives. This is parallel to the fluidity of interpreters' roles that were defined based on the types of assignments that were divided as either universal or cultural events (Bistra, 1997).

Awareness of this theory means interpreters have many options open to them when they decide on the strategies to interpret certain texts. Despite many scholars arguing this final point, it is a useful theory to apply when it comes to interpreting taboo as it gives the practitioners flexibility to a certain extent in choosing how to handle such terms. Interpreters can decide, based on their audience, whether they wish to apply the strategy of interpreting, paraphrasing or re-editing (Shuttleworth & Cowie, 2011). The example cited in this context is for an interpreter to add extra politeness to a text written by an American but intended to be heard by a German. This is where the TT was adapted to fit communicative patterns and expectancy norms of the TC,

i.e.: a cultural transfer. This theory allows interpreters to deal with taboo: if interpreters come across an obscene term, they can evaluate its function, and if the purpose of the word is merely a 'tick' or a habit, then it can be omitted or watered down. It is a slightly risky strategy to follow alone since, in some instances, the strategy of re-editing may dilute the taboo terms in use, which may have some consequences as seen in earlier chapters. One could argue that diluting the obscene term is preferable to omitting it altogether in the instances where it must be interpreted. But if the purpose of the term was to offend deliberately, then it must be interpreted with fidelity, ensuring that the effect in the TL is equal to the intended effect in the SL.

The interesting part is that there is a possibility that the functions of the ST and TT may not match. This again impacts taboo interpreting since we saw how taboo in one culture might not be taboo in another. Thus, it is paramount to match the function of the ST utterance with an equivalent TT function when interpreting it regardless of how it would be received by the TC audience. This is the only way interpreters can ensure they remained faithful to the skopos of the text. This would also be where their intercultural mediation plays a role navigating through the function changes. This contradicts Vermeer and Reiss' suggestion (2015:10), when they say that 'as the audience in each language differ linguistically and culturally, the interpreter does not convey more, or less, information than the SL interlocutor. Rather, the interpreter conveys different information in a different way'. It may be true it seems to be a different piece of information the interpreters give when they follow the principle of skopos, but as the intention of the utterance remains the same, albeit the surface components seem different, then it can be deemed the texts are the same, not different.

It could be further argued that Reiss and Vermeer's notion of interpreters transferring texts based on the TL expectations does not work at all in the case of taboo in public services. The transferring of the intention of the speaker is the most important part, not what the audience expect to hear.

Reiss & Vermeer (2015) list rules for their Skopos theory, among which are two critical ones relevant to this research and they are:

1.   Coherence, where the TT must be 'interpretable as coherent with the TT receiver's situation', where it makes sense to the target receivers. Here the two see that the TT must be acceptable to the TC audience. The researcher argues that in PSIn when it comes to taboo, the acceptance condition does not fit, as what matters is fidelity to the author's intention despite the fact that this may 'upset' the TC audience sensitivities. What matters is that the TT is coherent to the TC and makes sense to them.

2.   Fidelity, where it states that there must be coherence between the two [original and target] texts, regarding the texts' information and how the interpreter interprets this information and how this interpretation is encoded for the target receivers. The authors here give the interpreter responsibility and a role in the interpreting process that has been ignored in some other theories where the interpreter had been made invisible. The specific information mentioned in this rule is how the authors see equivalence in action: the equivalence in their opinion refers to 'a specific relationship between the ST and a TT that fulfils the same communicative function at the same level of the text' (ibid: 139).

4.5.3 Pragmatics

Looking at the pragmatics of utterances enables us to look at the relations that exist between parts of those utterances. Austin (2011) was the first scholar to investigate

the ability of sentences to 'perform actions', where they have an effect that goes beyond the uttered words.

Hatim and Mason (1990: 59) define pragmatics as the 'study of relations between language and its context of utterances'. Baker (2011: 217) defines pragmatics as 'a term used to refer to translation, which pays attention not only to denotative meaning but also to the way utterances are used in communicative situations and the way we interpret them in context'. So, this is a branch of linguistics devoted to the study of 'meaning as conveyed and manipulated by the participants in a communicative action' (ibid: 217). A pragmatic translation will attempt to convey connotative meaning, allusion and interpersonal aspects of communication such as implicature, tone, register and so on. All are valid for this research where all those factors are linked to how taboo terms are uttered. Pragmatics is a wide field, but only sections that may be of relevance to interpreting taboo will be discussed below.

4.5.3.A Implicature is a notion of pragmatics that refers to what speakers mean as opposed to what they literally say. Palumbo suggests that implicature flouts one of Grice's (1975) maxims of communication, which is the cooperative principle (see 4.5.3.B). He considers that 'what does matter is that all interlocutors rely on implicature to arrive at the correct interpretation of meaning' (Palumbo, 2009: 60). However, Grice (1991) warns that one needs to emit certain signals for our implicatures to be understood. Those signals could be grammatical, such as 'however' or they could be through using what he calls the 'cooperative principle', where we, as participants in a conversation, are expected to cooperate if we wished the conversation to flow smoothly and in a certain direction. If, for example, one says to their partner at a party 'It is late', the partner could either understand it as a mere statement of fact, or if he wanted to be cooperative, he may assume an

implication of lateness of time and the need to go home. He could choose to ignore the implicature and stay at the party, or he could be cooperative and go home. It must be borne in mind that in some PSIn settings, clients may choose to use profanities in an implicit way, for example in a court setting. In such cases, being cooperative is unlikely, and based on Grice's notion, the implicit taboo would not be understood by the interpreter. On the other hand, based on Palumbo's idea (2009), interlocutors rely on implicatures to interpret correctly, despite the lack of cooperation. This links to the call for training to include pragmatics and analysis of utterances.

4.5.3.B Grice's Maxims of Communication (1975): Although these optimise conversation, they can serve interpreters as they deal with the transfer of conversation. If interpreters followed these principles when faced with the dilemma of interpreting uncomfortable taboo, then this should facilitate their decision to carry on interpreting despite the awkwardness. Grice considers those as a sub-class of implicatures and calls them conversational 'implicatures' (Grice, 1975: 24). This is divided into four categories, or maxims:

1.   Quantity: Only say what you need to say; no more, no less. For interpreters, this means only interpret what you hear, no more, no less. Interpreters might flout this by adding extra information when there are cultural items that need clarification.

2.   Quality: Only say what you believe is true. This emphasises the need for accuracy and fidelity, where you only provide the right amount of information.

3.   Relation: Make your contribution relevant to the conversation in hand. Here one must be careful that as the conversation progresses, the focus changes and hence the points of relevance change too.

4.   Manner: Avoid obscure expressions. Quite relevant to implicit taboo.

Grice argues against the maxim of quality, where he states that giving too much information may be seen by others as 'a waste of time' (1975: 26). The researcher argues that this second maxim (Quality) is correct to a certain extent. When it comes to cases where there are cultural gaps, the interpreter is expected to fill those gaps to facilitate a continuous communication, hence the interpreters would have to make their contribution more informative than what they had received from the speaker. The researcher argues that this extra information should be linked to the third maxim: relevance, where interpreters are allowed under certain circumstances to add information, but only if that information is relevant.

These Gricean maxims assume that both parties aim to be cooperative with each other since they both have a mutual purpose. In some cases, people may opt out of, or flout, those maxims. For example, in court settings, guilty defendants might not want to be cooperative with the interpreter as they might fear that cooperation may lead to a conviction. Their uncooperative contribution would occur when they flout the maxim of quality and manner: manner in that they may be deliberately ambiguous and obscure in their responses, and quality as they would be saying things that they know to be untrue. Furthermore, that same defendant may decide to break the first maxim (Quantity) and say nothing at all.

Hatim and Mason (1990) do not see Grice's Maxims as universal; they cite some cultures that ignore the maxim of quantity, and hence they warn that interpreters must be aware of such collective flouting of some of the maxims when using them in conversation. This view is shared by Baker (2018), who states that Grice's main maxims of sincerity, brevity and relevance are more suited to the traits of the English-speaking world, but that some cultures, like the Arab culture, quite like hyperbole and repetition in their conversations.

Katan (2004) also links Grice's maxims with culture where he sees that those who belong to an LCC (Europeans) believe greatly in the cooperative principle, inasmuch if they hear someone utter something, then he must mean it. On the other hand, those who belong to an HCC, such as the Chinese, will say something along the lines of 'it's not what he said, it's how he said it'. This, concludes Katan, means that as Grice's maxims are not equal across cultures, then there is a definite need for interpreters to mediate in order to allow for the interlocutors to cooperate as far as they wish to, or at the very least they must be 'able to context their interlocutors so that they are able to put the right interpretative frame to the statement' (Katan, 2004: 212).

4.5.3.C Speech Acts

The above leads to Austin's Speech Acts (2011) that distinguish three kinds of actions, which are performed when people speak, and these are:

a) **Locutionary act**: which is performed by uttering a meaningful sentence. This is the easy part for interpreters as they only need to transfer words from one language to the other.

b) **Illocutionary act**: Means the communicative force that accompanies the utterance (warning, threatening, etc). Here interpreters may face problems when they misread or miss out the illocutionary force of some words. For example, if a person at a meeting says 'Shit, I missed my appointment', the interpreter should know that this is just an expression of anger or frustration. But if they interpreted the word 'shit' literally, due to inexperience, then they could offend the others at that meeting, leading to a possible disruption in the communication. Training in recognising and interpreting the illocutionary act is vital despite the difficulty.

c) **Perlocutionary act**: the effect of such utterances on the receiver.

Both the illocutionary and perlocutionary acts are relevant to interpreting taboo, since interpreters must look at the force in which taboo is uttered and mimic that force and tone to ensure the perlocutionary act, i.e.: the effect, is transferred to the audience.

Hatim and Mason (1990) explain how court interpreters are under pressure to express those speech acts accurately while interpreting since the consequences of doing so inaccurately can have dire consequences, for example, interpreting a request to seem like it was a demand or accusation. Please refer back to (2.13.2.A) for more details on pragmatic clusters leading to linguistic speech acts as described by Napoli and Hoeksema (2009).

4.6 CONCLUSION

The core of this thesis centres on how Public Service interpreters handle taboo during the course of their work. This does not only involve whether they handle taboo or not, but whether they should handle it or not, in addition to how they interpret it. Interpreters in general need certain general competencies, but they also need additional competencies that allow them to interpret taboo specifically, as it is such a sensitive matter not to mention a difficult one that requires cultural knowledge and more. Part of this chapter discussed the competencies required for interpreters in general and for taboo interpreting specifically. Certain competencies allow interpreters to analyse conversations, determine the key messages and ideas then encode them effectively to the audience. These competencies vary from grammatical-linguistic competencies, to sociolinguistic and strategic competencies. Non-linguistic considerations are integral to competencies, and they include paralanguage kinesis such as intonation or gesturing. The listed theoretical

requirements will be used later to map against the responses found in the questionnaire and interviews.

The larger part of the chapter discusses theories relevant to interpreting taboo, which are extracted from theories related to interpreting cultural items, of which taboo is one. Some scholars have recently written articles on interpreting taboo for their specific cultures, such as applying a mix of generalisation, substitution, euphemisms and omission (Putranti, 2018) in order to avoid the interpreting sounding like pornography. This contravenes most of the scholarly articles listed in this thesis, but it echoes a doctoral thesis that found that neutralising taboo terms is the strategy followed by students, followed by paraphrasing then omission (Haspari Widiastuti, 2015). This also matches a Chinese publication (Lee & Ngai, 2012) that states that vulgarity should not be interpreted. Few of those studies match in outcomes, and they happen to be carried out on a single culture only. This thesis carries out interviews and questionnaires across various cultures, and so all possible theories that could be of use were open for discussion, which meant they needed to be looked at in this chapter in order to run comparisons between the recommended theoretical framework and the actual practices by PSIs.

Interpreting taboo could be carried out through two approaches: the functionalist and the cognitive. The first looks at how the function of the utterances is adapted to suit the context for which it was produced. This is quite relevant to interpreting taboo, since it was seen in previous chapters that taboo is uttered for many reasons, and while on the face of it, people say a word that is taboo, but in reality, it may only signify irritation or the need to show a social status within a group, rather than to be vulgar or to insult. This should be reflected in the term interpreters choose when they interpret that taboo word, and hence the need to reflect its function is important in

order to convey the real message. The cognitive approach links words to culture. It sees cultures as different ways of reflecting reality. It also discusses how words are stored and retrieved where they carry an imprint of power, authority and rebellion. Schäffner (2000) and other scholars see that interpreters need to understand the target domain (or culture) in terms of the source domain through using this approach where one needs to look at context, underlying patterns and the culture-bound categories when mediating between those cultures, as is the case in interpreting. This approach allows interpreters to play their role as intercultural mediators.

Under the functionalist approach, dynamic equivalence allows interpreters to look at the function of the terms seeking to produce a similar response in the listener, which is quite important here as people utter taboo, generally speaking, to invoke a response in the audience. This response must not be ignored, and the audience must produce a similar response to the speaker to gain equivalence. However, this is not always possible when cultures lack the cultural concept, directing the interpreters to choose additional strategies to follow. In functional and pragmatic equivalence, similar functions in both source and target texts are sought. The context is identified first then it is analysed, which results in the textual profile against which outputs are measured. Here, three dimensions are used, and they are the geographical origin, social class and time. This fits well with taboo since people use taboo differently based on some factors including those three shared dimensions. Further, many scholars see that the skopos, or purpose, of the utterances must be replicated in interpreting. This means interpreters need to identify the skopos first and then transfer it. This gives interpreters certain flexibility in choosing how to interpret taboo where they can choose to paraphrase, re-edit or interpret using equivalence. This choice further shows the validity of the role interpreters play as mediators rather

than automatic language transferers. Pöchhacker (1995) emphasises this fact when he states that in interpreting settings, there is an additional mediation step through the analysis of the speakers and listeners and their socio-psychological dynamics, which will change based on the setting and time the event occurs in.

To be able to interpret taboo, Grice's maxims of conversation (1975) could be extended to interpreting. This falls under the umbrella of pragmatics, which looks at the purpose of utterances. Here, the aim is to convey connotative meanings, allusion and interpersonal aspects such as the tone, implicature and register, among other things. It has already been discussed in previous chapters that taboo terms may carry different meanings depending on the tone they are uttered in, where a single taboo term could be said either as a sign of endearment or to insult, depending on how it was said. Tebble (1999) emphasises that a medical interpreter needs to convey the message, not just in its content but in the way it is said. Even if the speaker said something in a nasty manner, this needs to be conveyed, without modifications that lower the tone. This could be extended to all types of interpreting, not just medical.

To be able to distinguish the aforementioned interpersonal differences, interpreters must be familiar with Austin's Speech Acts (2011), which distinguish three actions they perform when they speak, and they are: the locutionary act, where they utter a meaningful sentence; illocutionary act, which means the communicative force (threats,..) that goes with the utterance; and the perlocutionary act, which is the effect on the receiver of such utterances. All three confirm that it is not simply the semantics interpreters are looking at transferring, but what lies behind them too and how they are uttered. Hale (2004) confirms the need for the illocutionary effect to be conveyed, where the force, style, register, repetitions and hesitations of the

utterance are mimicked since these reflect the speaker's intentions, educational and social status and attitude.

Clearly, when faced with any interpreting situation, interpreters will have many strategies they could rely on, but those relating to dealing with culture would be the ones to advocate since taboo is culture-bound. Using a mix might be the ideal, depending on the context, setting and term, not to mention the distance between the two cultures involved. Following those steps alone is not enough, the tone and register must also be followed in order to convey the full pragmatic meaning of the taboo utterance.

As taboo is based on the intention of the speakers and could be misunderstood by the listeners depending on the culture they come from, the strategies that aid interpreting based on the functionalist approach should be used as well as the cognitive approach ones since intentionality plays a large part there.

The next chapter will look at the methodology used in this research to evaluate the use of those interpreting strategies in the public service interpreting domain.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters shed a light on the links between taboo, language and culture, and how interpreting the culturally bound taboos poses a problem for interpreters based on multiple factors.

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical perspectives used in this study within the quantitative and qualitative approaches and the use of multiple analytical instruments, namely SPSS and Excel. It describes the research procedure and rationale, its limitations, bias and other considerations. It also describes the different types of methodologies considered when designing the questionnaire, such as descriptive and explanatory quantitative and qualitative research, using a thematic approach, with justification of the use of that mix. An introduction of the ethical consideration is added here, followed by a brief summary of the pilot study as it constitutes part of the developing methodology. The chapter then concludes with a summary of all the aforementioned.

5.2 AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research is to evaluate current practices by PSIs in interpreting taboo. This will be examined through three research questions addressing strategies interpreters follow, their perception of their role and the competencies that were useful when playing that role (please see 1.2 for full RQs).

5.3 APPROACH TO RESEARCH METHOD

In this chapter, the techniques used in obtaining the information that underpin this study shall be discussed in some detail. It is paramount that the method of collecting data is appropriate to the research, which means the participants, sampling techniques and sample size muse be chosen carefully (Dörnyei, 2011). This chapter shall discuss the structure of the questionnaire, its distribution method, sampling size, participant choice, limitations of the methodology used, and problems encountered while collecting and analysing the data.

Robson (2011) offers a framework for research design, which is quite simple. In its centre there is the Research Question(s), and from there, there are the aims of the research, methods, and sampling strategy. These will all be discussed in this chapter. The questionnaire is designed based on the major theories seen in the literature review, which include pioneering theories such as:

- Pragmatics: Grice's maxims of communication (1975), Austin's Speech Acts (2011) and Palumbo's implicature (2009)

- Dynamic Equivalence as discussed by Nida (2012), Newmark (1998), Bassnett-McGuire (1991), Shuttleworth & Cowie (2011) and Chesterman (2016)

- Skopos Theory (1984, in Shuttleworth & Cowie, 2011; and Reiss & Vermeer, 2015)

The theories listed above were chosen as they fit with interpreting taboo. Pragmatics are linked to the intentions of speakers and listeners, which is relevant: if the speaker is to swear out of habit, then it is dealt with differently to swearing intended to hurt. Grice's Maxims of communication along with Speech Acts show what and how people need to say things to ensure effective communication. Implicature within pragmatics makes us aware that we need to pay attention to implied taboo rather than uttered taboo only. Dynamic equivalence is related to the function of utterances. This means one needs to ensure the functionality of utterances of taboo words are what is transferred, not the literal equivalent of those words. This feeds back to the factor of intentionality found in Skopos Theory, where the intentions of the speaker must be mimicked, (please refer to Chapter 4.5 for detailed discussion of above theories).

A mixed method approach to this research is followed: quantitative in the form of a questionnaire and qualitative in the form of interviews and through looking at the comments added at the end of some of the questionnaire questions. The quantitative

part of the research aims to calculate the frequency of incidents facing interpreters when handling taboo such as the frequency of the methods they choose when such things occur and the intensity of their reactions to such occurrences. It will also cross reference those frequencies to demonstrate patterns of attitude and action when facing taboo. This means one should be able to analyse to a certain extent who interprets what, when, within which context, with an explanation of why this is happening. Gile (1991:163, in Moser-Mercer, 2008:1) states that 'Questionnaires have been the most common means to determine user expectations and/or responses.' Using the gathered data, patterns within it are searched for, so one could move from 'individual observations to statements of general patterns' (Coolican, 2018:20). The qualitative part aims to emphasise the process and meaning of their responses and to explore further the responses received through the quantitative questionnaire.

The questionnaire method is appropriate to use in this research as the responses gained from it will help assess the validity of the author's hypothesis relating to lack of formal strategies for interpreting taboo when interpreting for public services. It also helps to identify gaps and difficulties interpreters face when dealing with taboo in addition to highlighting commonalities of their handling of taboo with what is found in the literature review. It is important to gather opinions of those involved in this process as this will form the data used to underpin the research.

Dörnyei (2011) sees this method as a reliable source of collecting statistical data, and that it allows us to collect answers using specific questions that are central to the study. Further, Dörnyei (ibid) sees questionnaires as a form that allows researchers to ask factual questions (personal details), behavioural questions (what they do or have done in the past, in this instance, dealing with interpreting taboo) and attitudinal

questions (beliefs, opinions and values), all of which are relevant to this type of research. This method of data collection for research has been widely used by scholars researching in the interpreting field when looking at various aspects linked to interpreting activities, for example Schweda-Nicholson (1986), Altman (1990) and Taibi (2016).

Questions were closed multiple choice questions, although some open-ended questions were included to allow for more data to be collected as part of the qualitative method. So, although the questionnaire part of the research was designed in a structured and formal way, the questions themselves were also descriptive where the aim was to use the responses to give an overview of whether the respondents do handle taboo, for example, or not, and if so, how.

Descriptive Statistics as a process sum up data through the description of patterns of behaviour and relationships between them; such techniques use tables, charts and other diagrams to present data in a clear and simple way. This method makes it easier to identify patterns that may not be so easily identifiable from raw data (Brewer, 2007). This fits with this research, where themes have been identified through the literature, with different types of taboo being seen differently based on ethnicities, qualifications, gender, age and so on. Those themes will be cross matched with responses from interpreters (the population) to try to ascertain whether those patterns apply to their interpreting practices. Without this method, data cannot be seen easily which makes it harder for researchers to see patterns (Sundler, 2019). Descriptive statistics is broken down into two categories, which are measures of central tendency (mean/ average, median, mode) or measures of variability or spread, such as standard deviation, mean deviation, variance, range, percentile or correlation (Narkhede, 2018). As this research is not looking at figures but at patterns, the simplest measure

is to use correlation to show the statistical figures, where it shows whether and how pairs of variables are related. The correlation is represented by a correlation coefficient 'r', which ranges from -1.0 to +1. The closer 'r' is to one of those two values, the more closely the two variables are related. If 'r' is close to 0, it means there is no relationship between the variables. If 'r' is positive, it means that as one variable increases, so does the other variable and in contrast, if 'r' is negative, this means that as one variable increases, the other will decrease, which is called an inverse correlation. In this thesis, the correlation will be described in the simple terms of positive (partial or full), negative/ inverse or no correlation.

The best way to present descriptive statistics is a combination of tabulated description (tables), graphical description (graphs and charts) and statistical commentary, which means a discussion of the results (Sundler,2019). This combination is what will be used in the Findings and Discussion (Chapter 6).

So practically speaking, the questionnaire looks for causal relationships among the data involved and attempts to measure them, albeit being a crude and basic measurement. Here, an attempt to identify the variables involved, if any, is made, then calculating those variables is carried out (Brewer, 2007). An example would be to see if it is only students who shy away from interpreting taboo, or do practitioners share that feature? Do those who ignore taboo belong to a certain culture, perhaps? To be able to analyse the answers to those questions, the data need to be divided into categories or themes, such as external factors (cultural environment) or internal factors (lack of experience, age, gender, ethnicity or religion).

For the type of research required here, there is no requirement for a more rigorous technique to explore the data because what is required is the detection of possible patterns only. To extrapolate the results obtained from the research sample, to see if

this could apply to all PSIs and not just our sample, inferential analysis would be required to extend the results from this research sample to the whole population, as inferential statistics allow generalisations about the population to be made using the research samples. This thesis does not aim to generalise the results. Its aim is to evaluate current practices to help further studies that will guide interpreter training and practice. Therefore, inferential analysis will not be carried out, and the sample size will be the same as the population size.

For the qualitative part, the comments added at the end of many of the questions used in the questionnaire were used as well as carrying out six interviews. The interviewed interpreters were chosen based on their responses where there was a need to get further explanations of certain answers. They each come from different ethnic backgrounds (European, Middle- Eastern and Chinese) to give the opportunity to add this dimension in the analysis where we want to see if culture and religion do make a difference in handling taboo. For each ethnic group, there was one male and one female; this is also to see if it gives more insight into gender impact on choices made by interviewees. The comments and interviews are the instrument to scratch beyond the surface of the responses gained via the questionnaires in order to understand fully why the respondents deal with taboo in a certain manner, for example due to ignorance or embarrassment. This method uses the Phenomenology approach in qualitative analysis where it focuses on people's subjective experiences and interpretations of their [working] world. It is known to be particularly useful in understanding human behaviour and in assisting in understanding of the meaning people give to the events they experience and interpret. This method provided rich, in-depth data. Dörnyei (2011) sees it as the best method to answer 'why' questions that result from contradictory or surprising responses to the questionnaires. The

flexibility of this method allows us to reach a full understanding of those unusual results. According to Dörnyei (2011), within this method of collecting data, meaning qualitatively, a sample size of six to ten participants is satisfactory. However, Onwuegbuzie & Daniel (2003) argue that as the aim of such a method is not to generalize the results obtained but rather to gain insights into a particular educational or social phenomenon in a specific context, then a sample of one or few cases is appropriate; this fits into this research where the reason for the interviews is to expand on some points that require clarification by the researcher. Many scholars see interviews as suitable for obtaining sensitive information, such as taboo, God and religion as it allows us to reach a deeper understanding of the sometimes complex issue in hand (Gile, 2006). It also generates detailed information, which may not be possible when using quantitative systems, which are excellent at numeric data rather than detailed non-numeric data.

The interviews followed the semi-structured system, where broad questions were set to the participants and used as prompts. The open-ended type questions allowed the participants to talk about the matter in hand in more detail. The interviewees would have already taken part in the questionnaire and had signed permission at the end of the questionnaire and provided contact details allowing the researcher to contact them for possible interviews, should the need arise. The choice of who to contact from that pool of consenting respondents was based on either ambiguous responses that needed further clarification in cases where the ambiguity was vital for a discussion of the results. Additionally, it was based on the respondents having multiple roles to play, such as being both interpreting educators and practitioners as this would have allowed the researcher a chance to see things from a dual perspective. On the other hand, an interviewee was chosen as her qualifications were

the minimum accepted for the research, and it was hoped it would give the opportunity to contrast and compare her responses with others who had higher qualifications and more experience. From that group, the researcher chose enough to fulfil sample requirements allowing for a variation in gender, ethnicity and lengths of practising experience to widen the scope of possible responses.

The disadvantage of a qualitative method according to Brewer (2007) is that it is seen as more subjective than objective in its evaluation, but the advantage is that it is seen as the ideal for discovery and description. Further, Brewer (2007) sees it as an optimum method to broaden our understanding and increase the possible interpretations of human behaviour, which is relevant in this context. In addition to the disadvantages identified by Brewer (2007), Dörnyei (2011: 41) lists the weaknesses to include the potential 'over-reading' of the individual responses which is due to the relatively smaller sample size numbers used in such a method in addition to the researcher's role, personal bias and idiosyncrasies when analysing the data, lack of methodological rigour and finally the lengthy time it takes to process the data collected this way.

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Multiple instruments shall be used in this research, as this combination will help answer the how and why questions the research seeks while lowering the probability of bias. Data analysis methods include:

5.4.1 Explanatory Research

This answers the questions 'why' and 'how' something happened and assesses causal relationships between variables, where it establishes a cause and effect relationship between variables through which there is an explanation (Waljee, 2014).

So, when data are collected by using variables such as gender, age, education and ethnicity and linked to strategies in interpreting taboo, the researcher should get an explanation of interpreters' behaviour towards taboo based on the variables that were established and set within the questionnaire. As a hypothesis of what strategies interpreters use with taboo has been established, all that is needed is an evaluation of whether this hypothesis is correct or not. Knowing why interpreters use certain strategies when interpreting taboo should assist in the design of training programmes, which will address RQ3. Therefore, this will be used as part of a combined approach to this research.

5.4.2 Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis (DPA)

The 'descriptive or Transcendental approach in research illuminates poorly understood aspects of lived experiences' (Matua, 2015). Due to lack of specific literature relating to interpreting taboo strategies in PSIn, this approach is deemed to be appropriate, where it is hoped it would shed a light on interpreters' choices of strategies when faced with taboo, taking into account that those choices are made with no clear guidelines to assist them, therefore they are made based on their own judgement. Husserl (2001) describes the meaning of a phenomenon (which is something experienced or lived) through emerging themes, where a new search for common patterns is extracted from specific experiences. This is why thematic analysis would be complementary to DPA as it will highlight the themes or patterns of behaviour the research is attempting to find. Husserl sees this as an analysis of objective contents of activity (in this instance, interpreting taboo based on practitioners' real-life experiences), although we must remember that experiences are subjective, rather than objective, and are based on interactions with either other humans or other factors such as gender or age. According to Matua (2015),

Phenomenology is defined as the study of how things are experienced but from the perspective of those who have lived through those experiences. It reveals what lies hidden within interpreters when faced with taboo and must decide what role to follow when handling it, for example, but it does not allow for an interpretation of this action. This will help in answering RQs 1 and 2, but does not allow for the deep understanding of why these experiences occur in relation to factors such as culture, age, gender, etc. Which, in turn, does not allow for extrapolation of the data gathered to allow for informed discussions relating to any of the research questions, especially RQ3.

A pre-requisite for DPA is the presence of 'lived experiences' data (Sundler, 2019). In the analysis part, any data gathered from respondents who were not practitioners was excluded since only real 'lived' data was required, rather than hypothetical data. The advantage of using multiple ways to analyse data is the reduction of the bias found in any one method when conclusions are drawn. In DPA, researchers must be careful not to allow their own assumptions or prejudices to influence their analysis; they must set aside their own experiences in order to remain critical when reflecting on the results (Sundler, 2019). This is considered to be one of the difficulties of this method since it is hard for researchers to isolate themselves from their own experiences (ibid), although others argue that those personal assumptions can guide researchers through the interpretation process, so long as during that process they remain aware of the influence those assumptions are having on their reflective process (Dahlberg et al, 2008).

Although DPA is seen as a philosophy, Giorgi and Giorgi (2003) turned it into a methodology by listing four features, which are description, reduction (sorting out meaningful units, in this case they are themes), reflection of those themes and

intentionality, based on the research question essential structures. This thematic reflection shows that themes complement DPA and form an integral part of this method.

In DPA, researchers are required to give detailed description of the phenomena, then interpreting that description. To provide a summary of the findings, researchers use direct quotes that are then interpreted, rather than explained. This allows critical and thoughtful reflection that allows understanding of practices at a deeper level (Qutoshi, 2018).

DPA was used mainly through carrying out interviews and partly through some of the questionnaire comments that were relevant in answering the 'how' questions, such as how interpreters dealt with taboo when interpreting for someone of the opposite gender. The answers were then divided into themes that parallel the themes taboo was divided into in the literature review (bodily functions, sexism, etc). This enabled the researcher to review, interpret the responses and find patterns regarding which theme in practice matches what the hypothesis states from the viewpoint of difficulty in interpreting certain taboos based on their type, or the interpreter's age, ethnicity, gender or experience.

Usually, DPA is mostly used in health-related research such as in psychology or nursing practices. This thesis is concerned with lived experiences of interpreters, therefore combining this with the knowledge that IT draw from the field of psychology and its methodological approaches (Pöchhacker, 2016: 52), the use of DPA can be seen as valid.

In summary, through using this Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis (DPA) method, which helps gain insights into certain behaviour, such as why taboo is interpreted in a certain way, researchers get the 'how': the understanding and

description of themes, and through combining it with Explanatory Research researchers get confirmation of 'how' and also the 'why'. Thematic analysis (see 5.4.3 below) helps build and organise the patterns mentioned by Husserl (2001) in DPA that add to the explanation of the 'why'.

5.4.3 Thematic Analysis

The presentation and analysis of the results will be a qualitative thematic presentation, based on the key themes identified from the study results. Thematic analysis is a flexible approach to analysing qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2013). It can provide rich and detailed, yet complex, data (ibid). It is defined as a method that identifies, analyses and reports patterns or themes within data. This method does not measure the frequencies at which the themes appear. Boyatzis (1998) sees that it interprets various aspects of the research topic. It is used widely in psychology but can be equally used in other fields such as interpreting and, in this research, particularly as it is concerned with the perception of taboo by interpreters. Thematic analysis can be used to reflect reality and to unpick the surface of that reality (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This method shall be combined with DPA since it helps in finding patterns or themes based on categories that had been recognised through literature that affect interpretation of taboo in Public Services. Examples of those patterns include gender, age, ethnicity and qualifications. First, an explanation of what constitutes a theme would be prudent.

5.4.3.A Themes

To be able to use thematic analysis, themes need to be identified. A theme is what 'identifies and captures something important when it comes to the research questions. It represents some degree of patterned response or meaning within the

data set' (Braun & Clarke, 2013: 82). The size of the patterns matters obviously to make this relevant to the findings, and what constitutes a pattern in order to call it a theme must be determined. The size is reflected by the prevalence of a response. It is noted by scholars that the prevalence does not need to be high in number to be seen as a theme. It can still be a theme even if the percentage of its prevalence is low. The decision on what constitutes a theme reverts to the researcher. The use of sub-themes is also possible, which allows for more flexibility. Proponents of thematic analysis see key themes as those that capture something important in relation to the overall research question (ibid). How this is measured in this research will be to look at the number of times an answer appeared, and then how this was spread across the different variables such as cultures (taboo is culturally linked) and across the age spectrum of the respondents and also based on the level of experience and interpreter qualifications of each respondent. The beauty of prevalence not being the be-all and end-all of the analysis is that it allows us to look at our specific results in this research and see if a theme occurs in the first place, or not. Although figures are not necessarily required as part of this process, the researcher shall be adding the numbers found in the dataset in order to place the themes and responses in a way that might give them more depth. Rather than simply saying 'a number of respondents stated …', there will be an actual figure in order for the reader to distinguish between the vague terms used generally such as 'a number, a significant number, or the majority, or many respondents, etc.' as these descriptions are subjective, while adding a figure next to them makes them more objective. Using the terms with no figure proves that a theme really exists but does not give it depth enough to tell us much about the results. The analysis will be looking initially at the themes identified and then goes deeper while interpreting those themes trying to

identify why respondents chose one method in dealing with taboo over other methods, for example. This is the interpretative part of this method, where we dig deeper and try to link the outcomes to theories found in related literature. Finally, the other significant feature of thematic analysis is that it is seen as a useful method for producing qualitative analyses suited to informing policy development, which is what this research is aiming to achieve.

5.5 QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTION

A pilot study was carried out at the earlier stages of the research to check viability and validity of the questionnaire questions. It also helped iron out any possible problems in the design before the questionnaire was rolled out online to a larger number of participants. When sending out the questionnaire, an explanation of the purpose of the study, joined with the expected time it would take to answer the questions, what would be done with the gathered data, confidentiality and ethical details, in addition to details of the researcher were included in the letter attached to the questionnaire in line with 'Good Practice' (Appendix B). Theoretically, this increases the response rate (Moser-Mercer, 2008).

For the purposes of the pilot study, a paper version of the questionnaire was distributed among students of interpreting. Those students were attending a DPSI course in Manchester, England. The questionnaires did not require the students to identify themselves, unless they wished to do so. Once the initial responses were collated, it became clear that a slightly amended questionnaire was required. Some of those amendments can be found in 5.15 (The Pilot Study). Once the researcher was happy with the final questionnaire, an electronic version was distributed to interpreters in the public service domain as well as students of public service

interpreting and those studying interpreting at Master's level at UK universities. Using an online questionnaire site, the respondents were directed to a link via email, and through this link the questions appear. Once submitted back to the service provider, the data was collected in table (Excel) and diagram format for analysis. To get the questionnaire link to as many interpreters as possible, the researcher used personal contacts, plus the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI) who distributed this among their members registered on their database, as well as a number of agencies that use PSIs. Conference interpreter databases were not used for this questionnaire since the research is exclusively undertaken with public services in mind. It must be noted though that some PS interpreters work also as conference interpreters.

Similar to the hard copies used in the pilot study, anonymity and adherence to GDPR were guaranteed to respondents of the online questionnaire, unless they chose to add their names and contact details in case a follow-up interview was required or if they wished to receive the outcome of the research. The questionnaire online system was set up to not allow any duplicated responses by the same respondent.

The participants were all public service interpreters of a variety of social, religious and ethnic backgrounds. Their age groups also varied. All participants were chosen based on a purposeful sampling technique where they needed to be either practising public service interpreters or studying to be so. The justification behind this choice is because the research topic is related to their profession, their attitudes towards taboo and how to help them in regard to their behaviour when they encounter taboo during their work. Some of the respondents may be conference interpreters in addition to being PSIs, but their responses will still be valid since they would still

come across taboo in their role in the public services. The reason the research is focussing on PSIs is purely a logistical one, and not for any other reason.

This chosen sample falls under the category named by Dörnyei (2011) as a 'convenience sample' where it is easy and convenient to send the questionnaire to the participants as they will be chosen from public service interpreting registers, or through agencies that employ public service interpreters, and where the participants have certain features related to the purpose of the investigation. This method is also endorsed by Mackey & Gass (2013) for sample choices in language teaching research due to its easy and convenient accessibility.

5.6 QUESTIONNAIRE STRUCTURE

The questionnaire was designed so that the first part relates to personal data, which may shed a light on reasons behind how participants handle taboo as it will look at their age, cultural and religious backgrounds and gender. Experience and qualifications of the participants were situated in this section as this may explain how they impacted their choices in interpreting taboo. The second part was all about taboo: what the participants would define as taboo, and which of the taboo categories (which are listed based on the extensive study of the literature) they would see as acceptable to interpret. Other questions related to how they interpret taboo, using verbal or non-verbal methods. The participants were also asked how they saw their handling of taboo differing based on the audience, context, work settings or other factors. Their opinion on the directionality of using taboo was sought as is their opinion on appropriateness of ignoring taboo, with an opportunity for them to give an explanation for their answers. The role of interpreters was included as it helps in explaining some of the answers, where if addition, for example, is required to

interpret taboo, they may not have done so as they see their role is to merely interpret what they hear, to the exact word, rather than to interpret within the parameters of cultural communication.

Once the questions were decided, the coding process began based on the assumption that SPSS software was to be used in the analysis. The coding process involved using part of the text and dividing it into categories, each category having its own code or label that allows comparisons. Once patterns begin to appear, we start linking them to the research questions. (see Appendix A for coding template).

Initially, a pilot questionnaire (Appendix C) was given to interpreting students to check the viability of the research and to ensure the wording and structure of the questionnaire were fit for purpose. Twenty five students answered the questionnaire. The questionnaire was distributed using hard copies, rather than electronically, to ensure a full response rate. Anonymity was guaranteed by the absence of the researcher from the room and by not requesting names to be added to the answers. Any information relating to the purpose and the research itself was given at the start of the session. The comments made in the feedback informed us that some questions were open ended and not numerical in value, making the answers unquantifiable. This led to a change in the design that would enable us to code each variable in order to analyse the results later through certain software. Some respondents felt that some questions were repeated, so they were either removed or merged with similar questions and re-worded accordingly. In the main, the comments in the feedback were quite positive and enlightening. This led to some modification and the design of the final questionnaire structure, which was sent electronically at a later date.

The main questionnaire consisted of two parts: the first being a 'Research Information Sheet' (see Appendix B) that explained the purpose of the questionnaire

and the link required to complete it plus an email address in case the respondents wanted to get in touch for any reason. The other part consisted of the actual questionnaire. (See Appendix D).

The questionnaire was designed to be in MCQ format (Multiple Choice Questions) to make it less time-consuming for the respondents, in the hope the return numbers would be high. An estimate of the time it would take for them to answer the questionnaire was included in the cover letter. Additionally, MCQ formats allow for easier analysis of the responses, in a numerical manner that allows comparisons of results across a range of variables. Some of the questions allowed for a single response only, such as personal details, while others allowed multiple responses chosen at random from a list, for example, qualifications of respondents, what they perceive as taboo in everyday life and which ones would they agree to interpret, in addition to other questions such as theories used in culturally-linked interpreting. In addition, there were questions that required multiple responses but limited to a specific number of choices and to be listed hierarchically. The idea of those questions is to see how and if the respondents were able to prioritise their answers to questions that are along the lines of strategies and their implementations in the public service domain. Some questions had a comment tab to allow the respondents to add points that they thought were not included in the questions. This would be collated and used as part of the qualitative analysis where it could replace the need for a full interview. Interviews would only be carried out with those whose responses were unclear or had some contradictory responses.

The results of the questionnaire and interviews, in addition to what is summarised from any theoretical research, will be used to evaluate practices followed by PSIs when interpreting taboo and to offer suggestions for training in that field.

5.7 SAMPLE SIZE

The sample selected for this research should be an appropriate and representative sample and hence it was chosen using the 'simple random selection' method to a certain extent inasmuch as the respondents have to be either public service interpreters or trainee PS interpreters, but the numbers of each sample may not necessarily need to be equal.

The minimum number required to make this a viable method of collecting data is 100 according to Dörnyei (2011), but it was decided that a larger number should be sent (about 200). The use of a number larger than the minimum required allows for a safety margin to be applied which may be needed due to unforeseen circumstances, such as participants dropping out from one aspect of the study as suggested by Dörnyei (2011). The figures were decided on when looking at The National Register of Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI) which at the time (January 2014) held 2200 interpreters on its register. Dörnyei (2011: 99) suggests, 'as a rule of thumb, that we should use a range between 1-10% of the sample population', which means the minimum acceptable for this study should be about 22. For the pilot study, twenty five respondents were used. This reflects the lower end of the acceptable range, while the higher range comes in at about 200, which is the number suggested for the full study. 293 NRPSI registered interpreters were contacted in this instance.

5.8 THE RESPONDENTS

The respondents represent a wide range of the general population, which is part of the strategy when choosing who to send the questionnaire to in the first instance, since how people handle taboo varies depending on many factors, including personal

factors such as age, gender, educational and social level, religion, ethnicity plus the level of experience in interpreting. Stemming from these factors, we also find that the language combination used in interpreting may influence an interpreter's choice when dealing with taboo. This meant that the inclusion criteria of respondents could be to any language combination in use. The length of residency in a country can influence people's thinking towards what is seen as taboo, so the questions had to differentiate between nationality at birth and current nationality, if applicable, and it was also important to find out how long the interpreter had stayed in the new country of residence in order to try and ascertain if this had any bearing on the responses obtained in the questionnaire. The questionnaires were sent to all public service interpreters of all nationalities, religions, ages, experience level and language combinations. Thus, the respondents could be seen as an acceptable representative sample. The varied language combinations also meant that the end results could be extended to all languages and language combinations.

The criteria for inclusion in this questionnaire included the following: over 18 years of age, studying for public service interpreting regardless of which arm (Health, Law or Local Government) or working in public services (in any of its branches, for example, immigration, hospitals, and so on) even if they have not been awarded any qualifications for public service interpreting such as the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI). Levels 3 and 4 of Community interpreting were allowed to be included since their holders do work in the public service sector and will be facing situations where taboo needs to be interpreted. The inclusion criteria also included those who used to work in this field but who have since retired, since the questionnaire is there to look at the interpreters' attitude towards taboo during their working lives, even if they no longer practised. Those who indicated that they had

no experience in public services were excluded for the purposes of this study. Not many numbers were excluded since the questionnaires were targeted to those registered in NRPSI or those who were not registered but still worked through agencies in the public sector. Due to the initial low response rate, questionnaires were sent to universities that taught interpreting and translation since the researcher knew from personal experience that many attending those courses appear to have worked as interpreters in public services in the past but have decided to get formal qualifications later, hence their inclusion was justified. Only the respondents from this group who had practised as PSIs were included in the study to ensure only actual practices were evaluated, rather than perceptions of attitudes towards interpreting taboo.

The questionnaire was sent to 293 interpreters registered with the National Register of Public Service Interpreters. Only 62 responded, which constitutes nearly 21% of the total population. Although the number of respondents seems low (62), the rate of response is comparable to other questionnaires undertaken by other researchers such as Thiéry (34) in 1975, Bühler (47) in 1986, Schewda-Nicholson in 1985 (56), Altman (54) in 1990 and Chiaro and Nocella (2004) 26% response rate (all cited in Hale, 2004). It must be noted that those other questionnaires were undertaken with conference interpreters rather than public service interpreters, but nevertheless the results were still considered to be credible and viable by Hale (2004). There are other questionnaires that received a higher response rate than those listed but those were the result of a collective questionnaire undertaken by more than a single researcher, which probably explains the higher number.

Choice of participants is random, using multiple groups (students, practitioners), which increases the strength of the research as it increases the findings of the cause-effect relationship we are aiming to reach.

The distribution of the participants will be discussed in the following chapter, which will further show the variety of participation across age, gender, language and qualifications.

5.9 QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTION & DATA COLLECTION DIFFICULTIES

There were difficulties accessing the PSIn database. Although it was possible to see the interpreters' names, there was no access to their contact details. Luckily, this was overcome by the Chair of the Register agreeing to contact them on the researcher's behalf. Naturally, this meant that asking the Chair to send reminders at regular intervals was not possible, so the online link was only sent out once. This has meant losing valuable numbers of respondents who might have responded had a reminder been sent. Extending the deadline to allow new registrants to take part helped in adding a few more responses.

Secondly, not all PSIs are registered with NRPSI, some could only be accessed through agencies they work through. Some agencies declined to help in sending the links to their registered interpreters due to GDPR issues, while others agreed to do so. Not all interpreters responded to the questionnaire. From those who did respond, there were some questions that were not answered or answered with 'prefer not to say', which impacted the analysis of the responses. However, this was considered when coding and analysing the results. Some respondents said they did not encounter taboo in their jobs and so felt they were unable to answer the questionnaire in an

honest, practical way (all their answers were going to be hypothetical) so they opted out. It is possible that some who received the questionnaire link had opted out once they perceived that they were unsuitable to answer, without informing the researcher. Since the questionnaire links were sent online, it was hard to know how the participants received the questionnaire, if it was through their agency or through being on the National Register. Knowing this would have been helpful for recognising the number of interpreters the questionnaire went to in order to compare it to those who responded so the response rate could be measured accurately.

Although the response rate was not calculated as accurately as the researcher would have liked, this should not affect the outcome because what matters in this research is if the number of respondents falls within the limits recommended by scholars, where the minimum required is 22. In this case, it exceeds this recommended minimum.

Another problem faced was in the design of the questionnaire questions, where one question was designed giving the participants the option of placing the strategies, they would use in interpreting taboo in the order of importance. Some opted to choose the value zero for some strategies, meaning they would not use this strategy at all. They were also asked to choose 5 out of 10 strategies, which made it impossible to code for analysing the responses, which meant the answers here had to be analysed manually. The number of respondents was low enough to be able to do so, but this was time-consuming and took precious time away from the researcher. Finally, technical problems were encountered where some interpreters were unable to respond to the electronic version of the questionnaire, citing incompatibility of the link with their computer systems or citing computer skill illiteracy. Those opted out, reducing the numbers even further.

5.10 STUDY LIMITATIONS

Since the main method for analysis is Descriptive Phenomenology, which relies heavily on subjective lived experiences of the respondents, who have to have lived through those experiences, the researcher had to ensure that only practitioners' responses were considered, and any others were discarded. Additionally, this method could be influenced by the researcher's own prejudices and assumptions, and this had to be taken into account in every step of the reflective analysis carried out. Considering the responses at times were subjective and not objective, the duplicity of the results cannot be guaranteed, which lowers the validity of the research (see Chapter 5.12). However, since the research is looking at possible patterns, rather than quantifying those patterns, this is not seen as an obstacle to analysing the results, especially in light of the careful selection of the sample population.

The simple analysis methods used meant that the results could not be generalised and had to be limited only to the sample chosen for the research. However, this research can be used as a basis to be used for further, larger studies that use more rigorous methods that allow for generalisation.

Other factors will be taken into account when discussing the results, since attitudes change based not only on one's culture but also at the length of exposure through lengthy residencies in a country other than one's birth country and the length of domicile there, where after a certain amount of time, it is possible that respondents begin to take on the characteristics and ways of thinking and behaving that are similar to the behaviours and thoughts of the people in the respondents' adopted countries, compared to those living in their original mother country (Phenitsyn,

2011:245). A reflective method of analysis with knowledge of this limitation should help in overcoming this limitation.

Additionally, interviewer bias may be present, where respondents may give responses they think the researcher wants, rather than the real answers they had in mind. Much of this is linked to face saving, especially for those in a professional setting and who had been interpreting long term. This has been noted by the researcher when training interpreting students who agree that taboo should not be ignored yet they would go to many lengths to avoid it in class. While for practising interpreters, the research may have started them thinking about taboo, where in the past they may have disregarded it altogether, but in the questionnaire, they may not want to admit to that. This limitation is acknowledged by other researchers (Gile, 2006).

Finally, another limitation is the time constraint of the questionnaire. Many were slow in responding to it and needed to be reminded to respond as there was a deadline for the online questionnaire. This was extended twice to increase the numbers that took part. But due to the nature of the research, which has a deadline itself that could not be extended indefinitely, the researcher had to use the results obtained after a set time and stop collecting data in order to allow time for analysis and discussion.

5.11 BIAS

The expected bias includes non-response in the first instance, plus information bias, where the respondents may lie in their answers as they might suspect that the researcher is looking for certain responses only. Social desirability bias must be considered too. In-depth, open-ended interviewing is a useful and appropriate tool where information bias could be overcome and where the respondents answer more

freely and from their own frame of reference rather than being confined by the structure of pre-arranged questions (Brewer, 2007). However, interviewer bias might come into play as the respondents may feel they need to respond in a certain manner in the presence of the interviewer (Brewer, 2007). The expected responses will be a mix of 'prospective' responses where it is expected that inexperienced students will anticipate how they would handle taboo when they enter the workplace. This has the disadvantage of the students responding in a manner they think is expected of them rather than responding in how they would truly behave in real life. On the other hand, interpreters who are already practising and who may have come across taboo already will give 'retrospective' responses which have the disadvantage of relying on their recall. Carrying out interviews and close scrutiny of respondents' comments should overcome those challenges.

5.12 VALIDITY OF THE RESEARCH METHODS USED

Four categories define validity of qualitative research according to Trochim (2008) and Cypress (2017), and they are:

1.   Credibility, which can only be defined by the participants themselves, who will be discussing their own interpretation of the questions posed to them.

2.   Transferability: This means the transfer of the interview outcomes into a system that allows the researcher to generalise the results. Through careful and thorough description of the results this should be achievable.

3.   Reflexivity: This means the ability to reflect and question one's pre-understanding and assumptions through every step of the analysis. This must include the questioning of the understanding of the data received and its analysis and accepting that they may be different to the researcher's own assumptions and

understanding. Here, findings need to be illustrated with the original data to demonstrate how they are grounded in the data rather than in the researcher's personal understanding.

4.   Confirmability: which means the degree to which the results could be confirmed by others. This occurs by documenting the data and results every step of the way.

For quantitative research, validity is measured through 2 categories, which are:

A.   Reliability, where we need to have consistent results if we measure the same variable using consistent conditions. In other words, it is the ability to repeat the test and come out with the same outcome. If the score we get is similar when we repeat the test twice, then it is deemed to be reliable. We could argue that reliability is hard to test here since the questionnaire cannot be sent to the participants twice explaining to them the reason behind this as this sends them a message of the researcher not trusting their responses given in the initial questionnaire. It could also be argued that the pilot study results cannot be compared with the main questionnaire results to see if they are parallel to each other because the population is not really equal: One lacks experience (Pilot study participants) while the other has experienced interpreters; therefore, based on the literature, their responses may vary greatly and will not be a mirror image of each other.

B.   The second method of checking the appropriateness of this method would be the 'validity' of the data. This is defined by Campbell (1986:67) as 'the best available approximation to the truth or falsity of a given inference, preposition or conclusion'. Validity is further divided into four types (Ibid:75):

1.   Conclusion validity that asks if there is a relationship between the variables in the study and the observed outcome. For example, is there a relationship between interpreting experience or qualifications and handling taboo?

2. Internal validity looks at the conclusion - variable relationship to see if it is a causal relationship. By increasing the number of groups used in the test rather than using one group, we improve this type of validity. Within the questionnaire population, we have a mix of students and experienced interpreters, so we fulfil this category. To reduce the possible problems seen in this category, it is advised that the numbers within each group should be equal. Looking at the numbers of respondents, they are nearly equal, where we have 23 students and 29 practising interpreters, one respondent was retired, while another only translated for public services, he does not interpret. Nine did not answer this question.

3. Construct validity looks at how we operationalised our concepts into the study to the actual causal relationship we are trying to study. In this case, are we able to test if the personal characteristics of our respondents affect their handling of taboo, or not?

4. External validity looks to see if our conclusions could be generalised to other settings or not. In this case, can our results be generalised to interpreting taboo in conference interpreting settings?

So, reliability measures the consistency of our tests while validity measures the accuracy of those tests.

5.13 DATA ANALYSIS

To analyse the data gathered for this research, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Excel were used. SPSS is the most popular software used in businesses and academia, especially in Social Sciences (Arkkelin, 2014). SPSS is a tool formulated for statistical analysis of data. It offers versatility that allows many different types of analyses and forms of output. SPSS provides graphics that have

more analytical features and that make it easier for us to look at variables and correlations at a glance. The benefits of SPSS include speed and performance.

Due to one of the questions used in the questionnaire having a different format to the others, which does not match the coding used in SPSS, the researcher had to use Excel to analyse manually the output of that specific question. Excel is a product used for data entry and data manipulation to store some information. It allows the user to store information in a tabular format and interact with their data in an infinite number of ways. The most common is to sort and filter data as well as using formulae and pivot tables to manipulate the data to create new insights. A benefit of Excel is the reduction in data redundancy. Excel also has the advantage of allowing us to transport its data to other software, which is what was done in this research, where all the figures, except for those relating to the question mentioned earlier, were moved seamlessly to SPSS for further analysis and to save time as the reports required for the research could be done through it, while in Excel, this has to be done manually, which is time- consuming, which is one of its disadvantages.

To compare: Excel is spreadsheet software, SPSS is statistical analysis software. In Excel, you can perform some statistical analysis, but SPSS is more powerful. SPSS has built-in data manipulation tools such as recoding, transforming variables, while Excel requires much effort to match SPSS's work. SPSS allows you to perform complex analytics. Excel becomes hard to use when the number of variables and observations starts getting really large.

5.14 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As this research deals with human behaviour and personal beliefs regarding a sensitive issue such as taboo, ethics must be taken into consideration during the

research process, specifically when it comes to the gathering of data, whether through interviews or the questionnaire. This way adherence to what is termed as 'Best Practice' is assured. The issues to be considered include ensuring 'Informed Consent' from the participants is collected, plus confidentiality, privacy and keeping participants away from harm.

Prior to obtaining access through NRPSI and other agencies, an 'Information Sheet' detailing the research, its aims and possible outcomes was sent to each participant, in which they were informed of the research, assured of privacy and anonymity and given the choice to opt out at any stage of the process. It also explained that the research was part of a doctoral thesis with the title included, which clearly shows the sensitive nature involved in the research: Taboo. The role of the participants is explained (what they must do) in addition to what would be done to the data that is returned and where it would be stored and how any identifying factors would be deleted or stored safely if they are pertinent to our data analysis and needed to be kept. Their option to opt out explains what would happen to their personal data, if applicable. Participants were assured that this was not an exercise to judge them or their opinions in the hope this would allow them to be open in their answers. No payment was offered to participants. Respondents were given the option of giving their contact details should they wish to learn the outcome of the research or if they would agree to a possible interview if required to clarify certain answers they gave. It reminded them that agreeing to take part in an interview did not guarantee that they would be invited to take part in one. Anonymity of participants in the interview process was guaranteed through locking the recorded interviews in a secure location where only the researcher has access to them. Their real names were replaced with the letter P (for participant) and a numerical figure next to it, (e.g.: P1, P5). The

recordings would be deleted once they were transcribed. Any hard copies would be stored for 5 years on completion of the thesis then destroyed. Participants were also given a contact at the university in case they had queries or a complaint. It states on the form that by filling in the questionnaire and submitting it, it indicates their acceptance to participate in the questionnaire and their acceptance of its terms. The researcher's details were included too. (See Appendix B for a copy of the Information Sheet).

An application was then sent to the Ethics Committee at the University of Central Lancashire (UCLan) along with a copy of the questionnaire to be sent to prospective respondents for ethical approval, which was granted (See Appendix F).

To reduce possible harm to those taking part in interviews, such as stress and inconvenience, the interviews were held at a location chosen by them, to ensure they were comfortable with their surroundings. They were reminded at the outset that they did not have to answer any questions they felt uncomfortable with and that they were free to stop the interview at any stage they wished.

5.15 THE PILOT STUDY

It is always good practice to conduct a pilot study prior to the main study in order to iron out any issues that may arise allowing modification of the study design to come up with a more robust and viable final design (Moser-Mercer, 2008; Robson, 2011). Additionally, asking students in the pilot study means we lower the possibility of 'untruthfulness of respondents' as described by Gile (2006:1) because students have no concerns that we expect them to have dealt with taboo in the past. Therefore, it is hoped they would give the answers that they see as the true answers.

Correspondingly, a pilot study looking at 25 students of public service interpreting of varying ages (20-58), experience and ethnicity and of both genders was undertaken in the earlier stages of this research. The ultimate research outcome is to evaluate PSIn practices when facing taboo with the future aim of helping to develop strategies; this is why this group was chosen. The students came from different ethnic backgrounds, which is useful as we do want to see if ethnicity plays a part in dealing with taboo. Those included Arab, Turkish, Chinese, Polish, and British students, thus representing various ethnic backgrounds: Middle- Eastern, Far-Eastern, and European.

Practising interpreters were to be sent a questionnaire in the following stage of the research once, or if, it had been established that there is a need for the research through the pilot study. Due to a tight deadline, it was deemed easier to approach students who were undertaking a DPSI course in the geographical region where the researcher had access to, rather than busy practitioners for the pilot study, although it has to be stated that some of those students were already practising as interpreters. The respondents' level of experience varied from none at all to over ten years of interpreting for the public services but without having any previous training. The students were given the pilot questionnaire (see Appendix C) and asked to fill it in anonymously after explaining the reason behind the research and the outcomes hoped for; Some of the responses found in the questionnaire were as follows:

PQ1. *Which of the following would you personally consider to be taboo in everyday life? (Tick as many as you think is appropriate)*

This is based on the various definitions of taboo as listed by scholars such as Eco (2003), McEnery (2009), Hughes (1998), Allen and Burridge (2006) and Baker (2008), who agree that taboo varies from one culture to another. Taboo differs

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greatly between Western and non-Western cultures and students need to learn that although a term may not be taboo in their mother tongue, it may indeed be a serious taboo in their other language and therefore they must deal with it appropriately.

This, combined with the question that follows it, will help answer RQ1, since we needed to compare what they perceive as taboo with what taboo, if any, they would interpret if faced with it. In the main phase, the responses were expanded on by sub-categorising what each religious / ethnic background responses matched which category of respondent to add more detail in the evaluation of the practices.
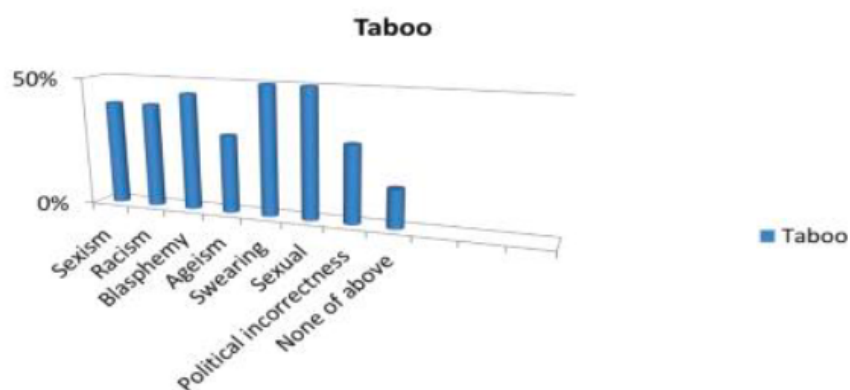
Fig.5.1 Pilot Study Graph: Students' Responses to Perception of Taboo

PQ3: *How would you deal with interpreting taboo?*

The six strategies listed for this question were based on what is found in the literature of interpreting culturally linked items (there is scarce, or no, literature on interpreting taboo specifically) from strategies such as Ivir's (1987) on omission, literal translation and more to Nida's dynamic equivalence (2012). The responses will give an indication of the current trend in trainees' thinking which can guide in the evaluation. From Fig. 5.1 above, it can be seen that most of the respondents have something that they see as taboo, so the likelihood of taboo presenting itself in their working lives is high.
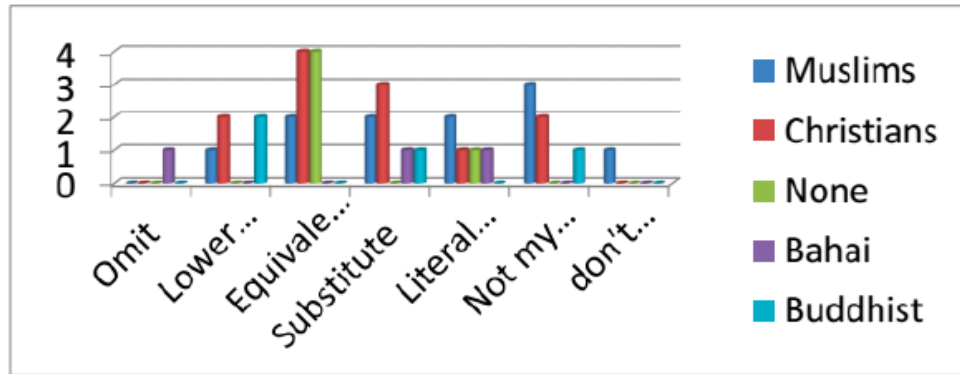
Fig. 5.2 Pilot Study Graph: Students' Methods of Dealing with Interpreting Taboo v. Religions

The results based on the respondents' religions were calculated. From the chart above, it can be seen that using an equivalent term while keeping the tone and level of taboo is highest in those students who are Christian while Muslim students would use it but only half the time compared to the previous two groups. Atheist students would not use Substitution while Muslim students would use it in equal rate to Equivalence and Christians to a lower extent compared to Equivalence. In contrast, if Muslim students did interpret taboo, they would state that the taboo is not their own words but those of the speaker, while the Christians would do so but at a lower rate and atheists would not state that fact at all. The same goes for lowering the strength of the taboo utterance. The initial results reflect what was found in the literature so far. It must be noted that among those students, Christians and atheists were listed under European students in this pilot study as none of the other students (Arabs, African and Chinese) put down Christianity or Atheism as their religious affiliation.

PQ4. *When interpreting taboo, do you: Maintain eye contact / Avoid eye contact?*

Eye contact is paramount in any interpreting event as part of the communication and raising confidence and building rapport with the client (Kondo, 1997); this is more important when it comes to interpreting sensitive matters such as taboo. It was found that 60% would avert their eyes when they face taboo utterances, which may affect the trust and rapport built earlier. This is quite high and indicates the need to increase this in training sessions.
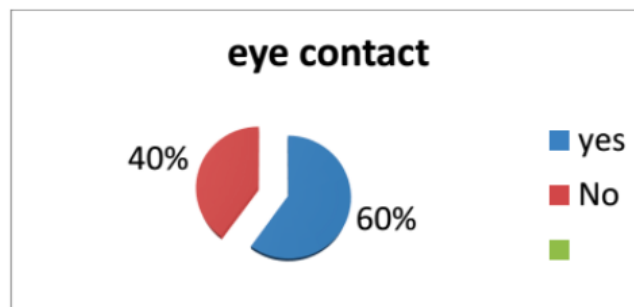
Fig. 5.3 Pilot Study Graph: Students' Responses to Eye Contact

PQ5: *If swearing is accompanied by lewd gestures, do you: Mimic the gestures / Ignore the gestures?*

This is also part of the overall communication process and must not be ignored especially as some cultures may not understand the gestures and may not see them as lewd and the effect hence will be diluted, so it is the interpreter's role to interpret them correctly and appropriately (Kondo, 1997). 65% state they would mimic the gestures, but the main questionnaire will be used to analyse if this is still the case once interpreters face real life.
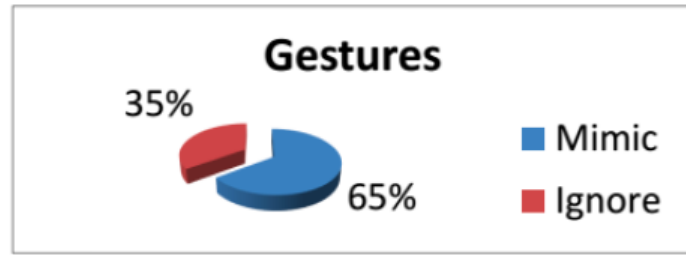
Fig. 5.4 Pilot Study: Students' Responses to Gestures

PQ7: *Do you find it easier to interpret taboo Into your mother tongue or Out of your mother tongue?*
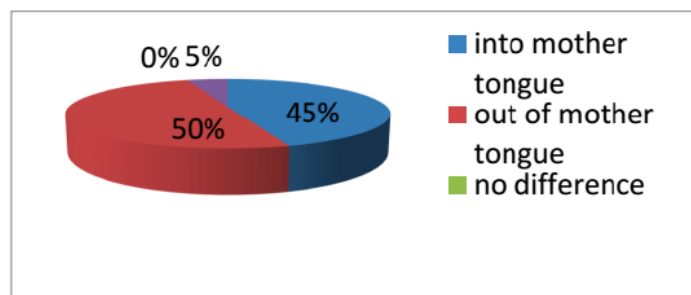
Fig.5.5 Pilot Study: Students' Responses to Directionality

This question is based on the directionality of uttering taboo. Research found that it is easier to swear using the other language that you associate with rather than your mother tongue (Allen and Burridge, 2006; Trudgill, 1988).

This question responds to RQ1 relating to the strategies that underpin interpreting but from the directionality aspect rather than the linguistic aspect. 45% responded that it is easier to interpret taboo into our mother tongue, while 50% find it easier out of our mother tongue. This correlates with the literature seen earlier. 5% state that they did not know which direction would be easier for them.

PQ13: *Is it appropriate to ignore taboo when interpreting?*

This question is based on the theory that states that if failure to interpret cultural nuances occurs, then this would lead to possible irreparable loss of communication (Lakoff, 1975; Alexieva, 1999; Nolan, 2012; Lewis 2012).

This question will also give a deeper insight into the perception of interpreting trainees regarding the possible conflict between the Codes of Ethics and taboo interpreting. The students had a choice of 'yes / no / don't know' with further sub-answers of why they would ignore taboo or not to choose from.

Most responded that they would not ignore taboo, albeit for different reasons. 8% would ignore it either because it is embarrassing to interpret it or because if they did interpret it, others would think it is the interpreter using taboo and not the client. Although 8% is not too high, it is still relatively high considering the dire consequences when interpreting taboo is avoided as seen in Chapter 2.10.
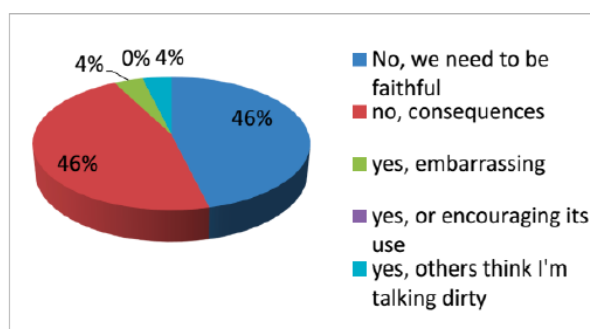
Fig. 5.6 Pilot Study: Students' Responses to Ignoring Taboo

PQ14. *Knowledge of both language cultures helps me deal with taboo*

Lewis (2012), Al-Shaer (2012) and Newmark (1998) all see culture and language to be inseparable. Therefore, cultural awareness must be raised in interpreting. This goes towards RQ3 regarding training implications.
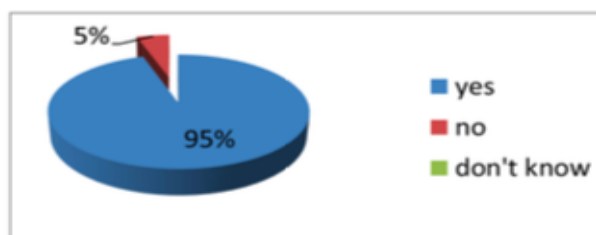
Fig. 5.7 Pilot Study: Students' Responses to Cultural Knowledge & Taboo

PQ17: *Having guidelines on interpreting taboo would help me when faced with interpreting it.*

This shows how respondents might feel the need for structured training to feel more confident in interpreting taboo. Training competencies in translation, and therefore interpreting, have been detailed by Hatim (2001) plus Schäffner and Adab (2000). This addresses RQ3 regarding interpreting training competencies. It was found that 100% of the respondents agree that there is a need for formal guidelines in interpreting taboo.

Most of the initial findings match and reinforce the literature reviewed, with the exception of the directionality of dealing with taboo although this point needs to be explored further through interviews with experienced interpreters in the main study to see if the direction issue is truly linked to taboo or whether trainees responded that way because they think that interpreting is always easier into your mother tongue linguistically and hence taboo interpreting would be too. As the questionnaire was only distributed to students, there is a need to broaden the scope to include practitioners in order to check if the initial findings stand when it comes to experienced interpreters. The pilot questionnaire was modified slightly to make it easier to understand by respondents and also because, with time, it became clear that some of the questions included in the first version were irrelevant to the study and needed to be discarded. Some of the feedback received following the pilot study included the need to remove simple yes / no questions or to add a comment section

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to them; the need to explain an abbreviation that was in one of the questions (this was replaced in the main study by the full version) and the addition of 'prefer not to say' to some. There were comments requesting we merge the gender with the age of the respondent to lower the number of questions overall, but this was not done as it is important to analyse and cross analyse based on those factors individually. The flow of the questions was changed slightly, moving those related to religion and ethnicity to just after the personal data section. Some of the questions shortened included the removal of subsections, where the students felt they did not have the experience to answer in detail, for example:

1. Do you think how you handle taboo differs depending on

   Audience

   　　Age

   　　Gender

   　　Social class

   　　Relationship to you

   　　Cultural background

   Work setting

   　　Conference interpreting

   　　Business interpreting

   　　Public service interpreting- Legal

   　　Public service interpreting- Health

   　　Not sure

   Context

   　　Don't know

   Comment………………………………………………………………….

   This was shortened to:

   Do you think how you handle taboo differs depending on

Audience
Work setting
Context
 Don't know
Comment…………………………………………………………………….

It was felt, on reflection, that the work setting in the main questionnaire meant 'public service interpreting' setting, and there was no real need to ascertain if it was in health, business, legal or indeed conference settings.

Some of the questions that were removed included: reasons why people use taboo, as this was subjective and unrelated to the research in hand, which is evaluating practices in interpreting taboo. The same for four more questions linked to the prevalence of swearing.

While the Pilot Study provided a useful insight into the practices used when interpreting taboo by students, it was based on a particular type of participant experience. The researcher is mindful of the need to develop the parameters of the questionnaire from the Pilot Study in the Main Study to ensure that a wider set of variables is considered. Such developments will maintain the links relating to the RQs, namely the association between culture and taboo, the strategies adopted by practitioners when faced with taboo and training competencies. However, the high response rates in the Pilot Study in two fundamental areas lend intellectual justification for the present research project and, indeed, they already suggest avenues for follow-up enquiry: first, that 95% of respondents agree with the notion that knowledge of both cultures helps practitioners to deal with instances of taboo; and secondly, that 100% of respondents agree that having access to professional guidelines when interpreting taboo would be beneficial to their professional development.

5.16 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the approaches that underpin the research, and which supported the researcher's choice to opt for a mixed-method study of both qualitative and quantitative approaches when looking to evaluate practices followed by public service interpreters when faced with interpreting taboo. A brief comparison of methods used in analysis of gathered data justifies the researcher's choice in looking at thematic, interpretative-descriptive analysis using a questionnaire to gather data and interviews to delve deeper into some of the responses found in the questionnaire. The descriptive analysis, in the form of Descriptive Phenomenological Analysis (DPA), allows researchers to understand the perceived and subjective living experiences of practitioners through describing then analysing units, which are called themes in this research. DPA appeared initially as a philosophy, but by applying certain features, it turned into a methodology, usually for research in psychology or nursing practice. Its use in interpreting research is novel but since it allows reflection, description and analysis of perceived practices, there was no reason to prevent the researcher from applying it especially as IS, in its infancy, set a precedence when it drew much from methodological approaches used in the field of psychology.

The next chapter will present and analyse the findings of the study.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to gather data thematically and compare it to the hypothesis extracted from the literature review. The patterns that appear indicate current

practices when interpreting taboo in PS. The occurrences calculated through the questionnaire will show the strength of correlation of such practices with the literature.

If people find taboo, in all its forms, hard to say in public, especially in mixed gender events, or if taboo use is linked to age (Williamson, 2009), gender (Trudgill, 2000; Jay, 2009), culture (upbringing) or level of education (Williamson, 2009), then by extending this to PSIs, the hypothesis is that they would struggle to interpret taboo they come across, but that it is not the same for all interpreters; younger interpreters should find it easier than older interpreters to interpret taboo, but as the use of taboo declines after the age of 25 until it is used much less after 60 (Williamson, 2009), then we should see a middle ground for those aged 30-45. Female interpreters would struggle slightly more than their male peers as they use taboo less (Williamson, 2009). Some categories of taboo would be easier to interpret compared to others depending on the ethnic background the interpreters come from (Williamson, 2009; Elyyan, 1994; Jing-Schmidt, 2019). For example, Middle Eastern interpreters who have extremely close links to religion might struggle more than others when it comes to blasphemy compared to those who come from a non-religious background (Elyyan, 1994). This perception is challenged by Taibi (2016), who states that it is not religion itself that limits taboo, but ethnicity. Certain Europeans might find that not many things are taboo, and thus they might not struggle at all with interpreting taboo (Lawson, 2011). As taboo is easier to utter when you use a language other than your mother tongue (Kang'Ethe Iraki, 2004), interpreters should find it easier to interpret taboo into their second Language. Naturally, understanding and recognising something as taboo is important when how others deal with it is looked into, and cultural understanding plays a large part in this

(Phenitsyn, 2011). Despite all the barriers facing interpreters when they handle taboo, does knowledge of their code of ethics help them overcome those obstacles or not? Would competencies, learnt during their training, aid them in this task at all? The previous chapter discussed the methodology used in this research. This chapter is concerned with presenting and discussing the findings of the research, highlighting the relevant points. This will be based on the data collected from the questionnaire sent to practising interpreters. It will not include the data collected from the pilot study as this was used to inform the main questionnaire. Additionally, six public service interpreters were interviewed following the submission of the questionnaires in order for the researcher to delve deeper into their answers. The choice of those interviewees was based on ensuring an equitable balance of ethnicity, gender, religion and experience. A brief comparison of the interviewees' profiles is tabulated below (see Table 6.1).

Comments made by respondents to the questionnaire form part of the qualitative analysis of this thesis as they present a valuable source of information that supports the quantitative responses given by those who were not interviewed.

6.2 SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWEES

The detailed profile of each interviewee will be in Appendix H. Here we have a table that summarises the main points for each interviewee that may have an impact on the responses provided by them.

Interviewee	Age Bracket	Gender	Ethnicity	Qualifications	Religion
(P1)	40-49	F	EU	MA	Non-practising
(P2)	40-49	M	ME	MA	Muslim
(P3)	35-40	M	FE	PhD	Christian
(P4)	35-40	M	EU	MA	Christian
(P5)	25-39	F	ME	Level 2 Cert in Community Interpreting	Muslim
(P6)	50$^+$	F	FE	MA	Non-Practising

Table 6.1: Summary of Interviewee Profiles

6.3 MAIN THEMES

The following sub-sections will discuss the themes through which our questionnaire results will be presented for analysis and comparison. The themes were decided upon based on the research questions listed at the start of this chapter.

Theme one relates to questions linked to strategies of interpreting cultural items, such as taboo, which corresponds to RQ1. This will be managed by analysing questions number 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 20, plus the interviews. Theme two relates to RQ2, which is linked to interpreters' roles. This will be answered by looking at questions 14, 16, 17 and 19 in addition to the interviews. The final theme relates to RQ3, which will be addressing training competencies through question 18 and by compiling responses seen in the comments sections to the questions and from the interviews.

6.4 QUESTIONNAIRE STRUCTURE

The questionnaire, which was sent electronically, consisted of two parts. The first part was an information sheet that contained information relating to the research and

its purposes, contact details of the researcher and the sponsoring institution, confidentiality assurances plus the procedure in case any respondent decides to withdraw.

The second part is the actual questionnaire. This was divided into two halves, where the first half (questions 1-8) relates to the respondents' personal details, including age, religion, ethnicity, mode of work (part-time or full-time) and gender.

The second half (questions 9-20) is all about taboo, its definition, which of the listed categories are deemed acceptable to be interpreted or not. This part includes how they interpret taboo, if at all, and whether they take into account non-linguistic taboo. The respondents are also asked about their perception of their roles when interpreting culturally-linked matters, such as taboo. The questions included elicitation of directionality of taboo when interpreting to see if this finding corresponds with what is found in the literature in that regard.

6.5 QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Section 1 of the questionnaire relates to finding out about the respondents and ensuring that they could all be part of the process or if any needed to be excluded. One participant skipped the question because he no longer practises as an interpreter but had done so in the past, so it was deemed that his responses were still valid as he only stopped a couple of years prior to taking part in the questionnaire, which is not long enough to change his attitude or the variants attached to it (such as his age, level of experience) towards taboo.

The results were as follows:

A. Gender:

There were 62 respondents, of which 67.8% (22 respondents) are female and 32.2% (40) male. This variant was looked at since studies show that perception of taboo

and how we handle it differs based on gender (Trudgill, 2000; Jesperson, 1992 and Jay, 2009).
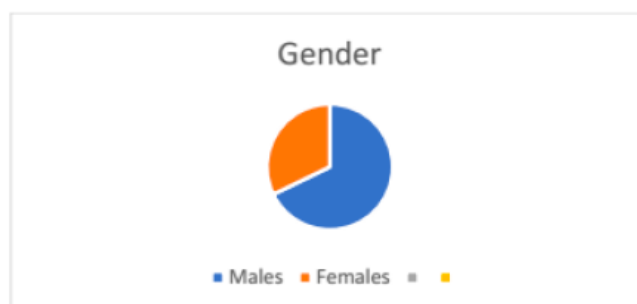
Fig. 6.1 Gender Distribution

B. Age range:

Looking at the ages of the respondents, 16.67% (10 respondents) were in the age bracket of 18-24 years. 36.67% (22) were between 25-39 years, and the other age groups 40-49 and 50+ equal at 23.33% (14) each. This shows that there are no big variations in the age group distribution, which is useful when it comes to comparisons as this distribution across all age groups should enable a comparison of the responses based on age, especially as taboo use and perception differs based on age (Williamson, 2009).
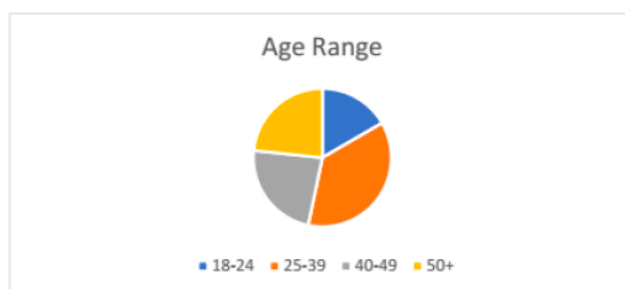
Fig. 6.2 Age Distribution

C. Religion:

As for religion, 50% (28) are Muslims, 25% (14) Christians, 1.79% (1) Hindu and the same for Sikh. 10.71% (6) preferred not to state their religion, and 10.71% (6) state they are non-practising Christians or atheists. None of the respondents stated

that they were Jewish or Bahai. This category was added to check if religion changes our attitude towards some taboos such as blasphemy.

D. Ethnicity:

For the purposes of this research, the definition of ethnicity here is the one taken from the OALD (2010: 427) 'belonging to a particular race'. Ethnic is defined as 'connected or belonging to a nation, race or tribe that shares a cultural tradition' (ibid: 427). The reason for this choice is that this specific definition links ethnicity to culture, which is linked to taboo.

Of the ethnicity, the mix was 27.6% (16 respondents) European. Additionally, there were 16.13% (10) British white respondents. There were 4.84% (3) Chinese and 38.71% (24) Middle Eastern, and 6.45% (4) African. 8.06% (5) placed their ethnicity under 'other' but after looking at their own description, it seems they are of Arabic (1) or European origin (but mixed race European) (4) so they were classed as such. The Africans were all of Arabic origins (North African), therefore they were merged with the ME respondents.

In summary, and for the purpose of the analysis, all Middle Eastern respondents were Arabs; none were Turks or Persian. All Far Eastern respondents were Chinese only, while the Europeans were Poles, Germans, British or French, where they belong to the same cultural grouping, (Al-Omari, 2009) and thus, they were merged into one group.

Below is the breakdown of ethnicities:

Ethnicity	% Respondents (n)
Europeans (EU)	48.39% (30)
Middle Eastern (ME)	46.77% (29)
Far-Eastern (FE)	4.84% (3)

Table 6.2: Summary of Respondents' ethnicities

E. Employment status:

One respondent had retired a few years earlier, but his responses were still taken into consideration since the time of retirement was not that distant from the date of the questionnaire and so his answers were seen as still valid. Two respondents still had not undertaken any interpreting. The responses from the latter two were discarded (they are therefore not included with the 62 respondents) since their responses would have been based on hypothetical and not actual knowledge and would not meet what the questionnaire aims to achieve (evaluating actual practice). This also adheres to the rules of using DPA as a method of analysis where only lived experiences are collated and analysed, Husserl (2001). Of those who responded, just over 20% (13) work full time, and 44.44% (28) state they are part time interpreters. The remaining 33.33% (21) state that they do interpret part time but consider their jobs to be 'other' as they are not full-time interpreters. Their 'other jobs' include translators (larger portion compared to interpreting), one works part-time as a journalist and 5 are studying while working part-time as interpreters. By looking at the percentage of the working week where they spend interpreting, the responses varied greatly from nearly a third (5) interpreting between 10-25%, and 40% (16) less than 10%, 5% (2) over 75% and 11% (4) between a quarter to half of their week is spent interpreting.

F. Qualifications:

The minimum qualification obtained is the Metropolitan Police Test (MPT) and the highest is a PhD. Only one respondent obtained his registration through experience,

rather than through obtaining relevant qualifications. This may be useful since it may allow the researcher to see if that respondent's answers, which are based on experience and not theories, match the literature review findings or not.

It must be noted that some of the variables will not be discussed under some headings as they are irrelevant at that point in time, for example, when ageism is discussed as taboo, employment status or qualifications do make a difference but only insofar as the respondent has gained a higher education or not. All the respondents are educated to HE level as a minimum, and hence, despite a few having obtained a doctorate in interpreting, their viewpoint on ageism should not be very different compared to those with a diploma or master's in interpreting. However, the qualifications will be used as a point of comparison when it comes to interpreting practices, such as what theories the respondents use, or how they use non-verbal communication and so on.

6.5.1 Theme One: Interpreting Strategies

Looking at RQ1, 'What strategies inform current practices when interpreting taboo and to what extent do those practices reflect theories that are appropriate for interpreting taboo?' Questions 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 20 address this question. They shall be discussed one at a time hereunder.

To Question 9 '*Which of the following do you personally consider to be taboo in everyday life'*, 31.14% (19) of total respondents skipped the question. Looking at the breakdown of the (19) who did not respond at all to this question, 57.85% (11) were EURs (all Christians), while the remainder 42.10% (8) were all (Muslim) MERs. Further, only 25% (4) of those non-respondents work full time as PSI, and all four were over 50 years of age. Gender distribution is 36.84% (7) males and 56.25% (12) females. This gender distribution fits in with the theory that more females avoid

taboo compared to males (Williamson, 2009). It may be that they avoid even thinking about taboo and hence the avoidance of providing a response.

26) Which of the following would you personally consider to be taboo in everyday life? (Please tick as many as appropriate)

	Response (%)	Responses
Sexism	14.56	23
Racism	17.09	27
Religious taboo (Blasphemy)	15.82	25
Ageism	9.49	15
Bad, offensive language (Swearing, cursing, insults)	15.19	24
Sexual taboo (Bodily functions)	17.09	27
Political in-correctness	7.59	12
None of the above	3.16	5
Answered Question		42
Skipped Question		19

Fig. 6.3 Questionnaire Results: Ranking of Taboo Categories

To understand this more, an analysis of those who did respond was carried out. Of the 68.85% (42) who did respond to Q.9, racism, blasphemy, sexual taboo (bodily functions) and bad offensive language seem to take the lion's share of taboo description at an average of 16% (23-27), while ageism was only 9.49% (15) and political incorrectness was only 7.59% (12). Interestingly, 3.16% (5) saw that none of the descriptions are taboo.

Since Q10 '*which taboo do you consider to be acceptable to interpret*' is closely linked to Q9, it was deemed better to link the responses to Q9 and Q10 together. For Q10, 70.49% (43) out of 62 responded to this question. For each taboo category listed in the questionnaire, each category received nearly equal amounts of responses as to whether they interpret taboo or not (average 14.5%). The distribution of those is that while some say they interpret all categories, others would only interpret some, but not all. Sexual taboo and bad, offensive language received the lowest numbers, which indicates that people struggle with those two categories, while political in-correctness was the highest at 15.45%, followed by ageism.

Fig. 6.4 Questionnaire Results: Ranking of Acceptability of Interpreting Taboo Categories

To delve deeper into the responses to Q9 and Q10, and through using cross tabulation of a number of categories, a further breakdown of the responses was carried out, as follows (for a list of tables showing the cross tabulation of categories, please refer to Appendix G):

6.5.1.A Sexism: Sexism is defined as 'gender-related or sexist terms of abuse, such as bitch, slut and whore' (McEnery, 2009: 30). It is defined in the OALD (2010:1173) as 'The unfair treatment of people, mostly females, because of their sex'. This is seen as taboo by 14.56% (23) of the respondents, of which females were 78.26% (18) compared to 21.7% (5) males, which corresponds with the definition of sexism, that shows it is mostly directed against females, therefore more females are expected to treat it as taboo. This also fits with what was seen by Jay (2009) who sees that men use such terms in public at a rate of 67% higher than women, and also with Hughes' study (2003) that shows females to be more strongly concerned when it comes to sexism compared to men.

In subdividing the respondents per age group, it was found that 50% (5 out of 10) of those aged 18-24 see sexism as taboo, 45.45% (10 out of 22) aged 25-39, 42.86% (6 out of 14) aged 40-49 and 35.7% (5 out of 14) are aged over 50. Despite taboo being related to age, where taboo use decreases with age (Williamson, 2009), for sexism

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specifically, the figures are inversely correlating with age, although the numbers do not vary greatly.

Of the respondents, 53.22% (33 out of 62) would interpret sexist utterances. Out of which, 18.18% (6) are aged 18-24, 30.30% (10) are aged 25-39, 24.24% (8) aged 40-49 and 27.27% (9) are 50^+. The figures relating to age and interpreting taboo fit Williamson's (2009) statement that teenagers tend to use taboo more than older people but that this number declines when they reach the age of 25 and it declines even further after the age of 60.

The figures also reflect that as the respondents all have qualifications related to interpreting, they would leave their prejudices behind and interpret sexism. This could explain why despite perceiving sexism to be taboo, the respondents would interpret it as they see their professional role taking over their personal beliefs.

Hammond, et al (2017) posit that attitude to sexism changes as life goals change across our lifespans, where in younger adulthood, goals are linked to careers and relationships, and in middle adulthood we are less likely to follow societal norms as we gain more confidence, while as people become older, traditional values, defined by the Sociologists Inglehart and Baker (2000) as values that emphasise deference to parental authority, and the importance of family life and are relatively authoritarian where there is a strong emphasis on religion, become relatively high. This change means a high-low-high graph for sexism against age should be expected. Hammond's study did not match his hypothesis where it showed strong ambivalent attitudes in young adulthood are relatively weaker in older ages, although still strongly related to age (ibid). This was also the case here, where the figures started high then gradually dropped until they were the lowest for those aged 50^+. A possible explanation is that this thesis examines attitudes in those with a certain, but

comparable, level of education. The research also examines attitudes across ethnicities: Calder-Dawe & Gavey, (2016) show that sexism changes based on the cultural and national backgrounds. By looking at the interviews, interviewee P6 (FER, f) stated that she considers sexism not to be taboo, although this varied depending on context, and therefore she would interpret it. P1 (EUR, f) sees nothing as taboo, and that she would interpret things as she hears them, regardless: 'I would interpret all taboo. You say it as it is'. P4 (EUR, m) finds sexism as taboo but he would interpret this too, as 'you cannot leave anything out'. The EUR respondents would interpret taboo as it is, with no omissions, additions or toning down, thus matching expectations. In contrast, the HCC interpreters (from MER and FER) would tone down taboo slightly, although P6 (FER, f) did state that initially she would not have interpreted sexism , but on gaining experience over the years, she would now interpret it as it is. P3 (FER, m) sees sexism as 'insensitive' and he would 'tone things down a little'. P5 (MER, f) was unsure of how she would react, but would 'lower the tone a bit'. The responses partially fit the picture emerging from the literature, where it is seen that sexism is mostly abhorred by females, yet the European female (P1) did not see it as taboo, merely as something impolite to say, as did the Far Eastern female interpreter (P6). The stereotypical image of the subservient Middle Eastern females, which matches research carried out by the '*International Men and Gender Equality Questionnaire/ IMAGES*' (El Feki et al, 2017) that shows more than 90% men in Egypt agree that men should have the final word in things, and that nearly 59% of women agree with that too, means that P5 (MER, f) should be indifferent to sexism, if not altogether used it, yet she was unsure how she felt about it. Younger women (18-24 years) were more progressive in their opinions, and P5 who is in her mid-thirties perhaps was not old enough (the older

age group being 50-59) to be less progressive and not too young to be totally opposed to sexism. In males, the age made little difference to their views on gender equality across all Arab countries (ibid). The El Feki et al (2017) study showed that education, wealth and role models set by parents to be an influence on how Arabs perceived sexism. This may explain P2's (MER, m) view on sexism as being unacceptable despite coming from a patriarchal society, although he would still interpret it as his professional ethics mean he must not omit anything. The EUR male (P4) sees sexism as taboo as he was 'brought up to respect the opposite gender', thus sexism is unacceptable to him, but as a professional, he would interpret it anyway. P3 (FER, m) saw sexism as taboo and might tone this down enough to ignore it if he thought it irrelevant. He says that he 'may state that something impolite had just been uttered' instead of interpreting it directly.

When looking at how many would interpret sexism, the number of interpreters who would interpret it rises to 69.35% (43), of which 75.75% (25) were females and 24.24% (8) males; 60% (18 out of total 30) were European respondents (EUR), 8% (14 out of total 29 MERs) were MER and 33.33% (1 out of 3) was Far Eastern Respondent (FER). Those numbers correspond again with literature that shows that females tend to care more about sexism compared to men, and where only 50% of the MER would interpret it, compared to 60% of the EUR, and a third of the FER. With no comments added to the questionnaire results it was hard to know why the numbers were relatively low, even for the Europeans, but on looking at the interviews, it can be seen that the two Chinese interviewees did not match at all what was found, where the younger male interviewee would avoid interpreting it and if he did, he would soften it down a bit, while the older female would interpret it as it is (she does not see it as taboo in any case) as guided by her professional code of ethics.

The same for the MER interviewees, where the roles were opposite to the literature, and again it was found that professionalism was the driver behind that difference. For the Europeans, yet again, the female interpreter did not see sexism as taboo and would interpret it, while the male did see it as insensitive, but he would interpret it as he had to be faithful. The interview outcomes correlate inversely with the literature.

6.5.1.B Ageism: which is 'discrimination against a person because of their age' (Age UK, 2019). Only 9.49% (15 out of 42) respondents see ageism as taboo, and 15.02% (35 out of 42) respondents would interpret it. Of those who see ageism as taboo, 14% of those aged 50^+ see it as such, perhaps because they do not see ageism could be against younger people, but only against older people, which would match what is found by the WHO (2019) that confirms that ageism affects older people daily across the globe. Yet, it is the younger age bracket (18-24) that sees ageism as taboo the most at 30% of the respondents within that age group. This is double the older age group of 50^+, and higher than the nearly equal percentages of the two remaining age groups at 27% and nearly 29%, respectively. Partial correlation is therefore seen between age and perception of ageism. Of the 15.02% (35) respondents who state they would interpret ageism, the figures no longer correlated with those seen in who considers ageism to be taboo, where the youngest age group are now the lowest in interpreting it at 17.14% (6) and those in the oldest age groups are equal (with ages 40-49) or nearly equal with the remaining age group (25-39), where the latter is the highest at 31.42% (11). To understand this more, the interviews were looked at. Most of the interviewees belonged to the same age range. Their responses were cross checked against their ethnicities. When P2 (MER, m) was asked about why he did not see ageism as taboo, he replied that he did not realise there was a label attached

to this; P5 (MER, f) responded along similar lines. This raises the question of the need to raise awareness during interpreter training of what is seen as taboo and how it should be handled across various cultures. The elderly in the Middle East are revered and held in high esteem (Dore, 2019) and perhaps this is why the two MERs did not see ageism as an issue. The same could be said about the Far Eastern cultures (Formosa, 2001). P3 (FER, m) comments in this regard and says 'Ageism is not a taboo. But it depends on the way the age issue is framed. If it's framed in a very offensive way, it is definitely offensive, but if it's just a very general introduction or a very general explanation of that, that's fine with me. So, it depends on context and intention'. This comment corresponds with how Far Easterners do not see ageism as an issue (Formosa, 2001).

In contrast, due to the image perception and linkage to death and old age, old age is dreaded in the West, especially as the elderly are seen as a financial liability (ibid: 16). Therefore, ageism as a problem, in theory, should be more prominent among European respondents. P4 (EUR, m) sees ageism as taboo but he would still interpret it as he is obliged to do so professionally. His female counterpart sees that nothing is taboo, including ageism. This could be due to her ethnic background as she states, 'I think for something to be taboo in German would be anything related to Hitler'.

In the questionnaire, Europeans and Middle Easterners were found to be nearly equal in their viewpoint of ageism, which does not match the literature where Europeans see ageism as a problem (Formosa, 2001) unlike MER. The same goes when the figures for interpreting ageism are looked at, where it is nearly equal across MER and EUR at around 50% of total respondents per ethnicity (slightly lower with FER at 30% or total FER). It is possible that the reason for MER responses being so high is that they do not see ageism as an issue and therefore they have no problem

interpreting it as they handle it like any other cultural matter, but also they have lived in the West for a large number of years, enough to have adopted some of their cultural sensitivities towards age (Phenitsyn, 2011).

6.5.1.C Blasphemy is defined as 'words that refer to religion in a disrespectful way, such as when we swear by heaven and hell, and their inhabitants' (Andersson & Trudgill, 2000:57). Although in ageism (6.6.1.B) it was seen that it may be possible to adapt some ways of thinking when you live in a culture quite different to the one you grew up in as a young person (Phenitsyn, 2011), the question is, does that apply across all things cultural or are there some beliefs that remain entrenched in our psyche? This is relevant when it comes to blasphemy where breaking this taboo may, in some people's minds, lead to banishment from their community (Davies, 2018). This has been seen across time and all religions, starting with the Talmud 'You shall not revile God' Exodus 22:28 (Jacobs, 1999: 261), moving on to the English Blasphemy Act of 1697 (Davies, 2018) that declared it to be blasphemous to deny Christianity, and ending up with death threats against writers who blasphemed Islam (Salman Rushdie, Charlie Hebdo's staff, for example).

15.82% (25) of the respondents see blasphemy as taboo. Of those, the lowest in considering blasphemy to be taboo at 16% (4) are 18-24 years old (age group 1 in graph 6.5 below), while 40% (10) are 25-39 (age group 2), and the number decreases with age (age group 3 then 4 respectively). This theoretically should be the opposite as many start to turn to religion as they grow older (Voas, 2019), and so the expectation is that the numbers that are offended by utterances against religion would increase. Yet, of those in age group 4: '50[+]', only five (out of 14 in that age range, so just over 30%) see blasphemy as taboo.
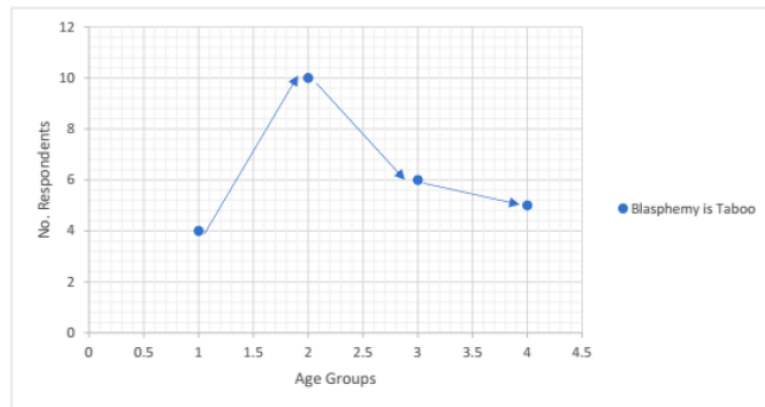
Fig. 6.5 Graph of Blasphemy v. Age Groups

Cambridge (2013) sees the significance of blasphemy not in the utterances themselves but in the intention of wanting to cause affront or not, and also with the strength of feeling when the utterance is made. She sees 'no reason why an interpreter cannot find an expression […] that matches the emotional weight and pragmatic function while avoiding blasphemy'. This may explain the mis-matching of the figures with the literature related to this category where experienced interpreters, such as Cambridge, have their own solutions for dealing with blasphemy.

From the ethnicity point of view, the Europeans and Middle Easterners see blasphemy as taboo in nearly equal amounts at 49%. The number of those who would interpret blasphemous utterances increases to nearly similar percentages for the age groups but the picture changes when it comes to religion. Unlike other taboos so far where the numbers increase for interpretation, here the number of Muslims who would interpret blasphemy decreases to 37.5% (6 out of 15), reflecting their teachings that God, His holy book and the Prophet are to be exalted and not mentioned negatively, even when interpreting. Looking at the Christian respondents, while 28% (4) consider blasphemy as taboo, just over 40% (6) would interpret it, despite how they feel about it, looking at it from the professional, rather than

religious, point of view. This matches Cambridge's (2013) notion of finding ways to interpret blasphemy and transferring the message. Interestingly, 16% (4) interpreters who do not practise religion see blasphemy as taboo, when theoretically they do not believe in God, but few comments were left for the researcher to follow this up in depth. Those four respondents were all females, so it could be that this is borne out of feminine sensitivity towards others' feelings as described by Hughes (2003), where those respondents recognise the powerful effect blasphemy has on others and therefore, they recognise that they are taboo as a societal point, rather than a personal one. P1 (EUR, f) is one of those four respondents who does not practise religion. She stated that although she did not see blasphemy as taboo, she grew up in an environment surrounded by Muslims and Catholics and therefore she knew the value of religion to those communities and how blasphemy affected them strongly, which made her more sensitive to the importance of not taking religion lightly. P5 (Eur, m) considers blasphemy to be taboo, but states that he would interpret it as 'you cannot omit anything', but that it also depends on the situation he finds himself in and the context in which the blasphemy was uttered.

P5 (MER, f) would not interpret blasphemy as it would contravene her religious principles, this fits with the literature that states that MER see blasphemy as taboo. She states 'If someone used a blasphemous term, I would ignore it. It is taboo to swear against God or the prophet or our religion'. In contrast, P2 (MER, m) would interpret blasphemous utterances despite being a Muslim. When comparing the two last candidates, both MER, we find that P2 is more experienced than P5 and has had formal interpreting training. He comments that his attitude towards taboo interpreting had changed since undertaking his MA interpreting course where they had sessions specifically tackling this issue. Further, P2 admits he is not a practising

Muslim, unlike P5 who is a devout Muslim. Additionally, with P5 being female, Hughes' (2003) hypothesis that females are more sensitive to 'others' and taboo would fit here. P3 (FER, m), who trained as an interpreter was taught to lower the tone of taboo when faced with it. This influence is evident in his response to this question, where he stated 'They [taboos] are insensitive but I will definitely tone them down a little bit. I would definitely use different phrase, but one thing I would definitely do is to point out that those original terms are far more offensive and harsher than what I have brought to the table. You need to pay attention as listeners'. In contrast, P6 (FER, f) does not consider blasphemy to be taboo and would interpret it. She states, 'in China, we don't have that problem with religion or blasphemy'. Although generalisations should not be used, but P6 is in an older age bracket to her peer; she grew up where religion was banned, unlike her younger compatriot, who links himself to Christianity, and considers religion to be important in his life. P3 (FER, m) states 'I'd use a moderate term and an explanation of what it is supposed to mean in Chinese'.

6.5.1.D Offensive Language: This is perhaps what most people tend to relate to taboo. Allan and Burridge (2006:40) see this as

> *The language that is in breach of etiquette because it contains so-called dirty words. [...] it consists of bodily organs concealed by bikinis and swimming trunks [...] for sexual desire [....] or micturition and defecation (SMD). Activities involving sex, [...] and bodily effluvia issuing from these SMD organs.*

Only 15.19% (24) of the responses consider offensive language or swearing as taboo. The relatively low number reflects the dynamic nature of taboo, where this type specifically becomes less of a taboo with the passage of time (Hughes, 1998) as

people are exposed more to it through the media (Mohr, 2013). Of those who consider offensive language as taboo, 70% (17) are female, which is expected considering that males tend to publicly swear five times more than females (Jay, 2009; Williamson, 2009), so it can be expected that males do not see offensive language as taboo, compared to their female counterparts.

As for age, and considering that teenagers swear more than older people, and that this decreases at the age of 25, to the extent that when people reach the age of 60, swearing declines more (Williamson, 2009), it was found that for all age groups, around a third of the respondents for each age group considers bad language as taboo, except for those aged 25-39, where nearly half of that age group consider bad language and swearing as taboo. In line with the findings by Williamson (2009), a slight increase as the ages went up was to be expected, but this is not the case. A study by Schweinberger (2016) shows that swearing is high among those aged 19-33, and that this decreases from the age of 34 onwards. The results of this questionnaire seem to match the latter study more.

What does match the literature is ethnicity, where 30% (9 out of 30 Europeans) consider bad language as taboo, while it is nearly double that for Middle Easterners at 48.3% (14 out of 29), and the figure is lower for Far Easterners at 33.33% (1 out of 3). Of those who would interpret offensive language, 66.66% (20) Europeans would interpret it, and half that for Middle Easterners where 30% (20) would interpret offensive language and the same for the Far Easterners where one out of three respondents would interpret offensive language. The contrast here reflects the findings in the literature, where in the West, many taboo words seem to have infiltrated the language in daily use (Andersson and Trudgill, 2000; Cambridge, 2013) and hence many would not think much about interpreting it. This is confirmed

with interviewee P1 (EUR) who states 'Nothing is taboo. It depends on my language, because there is much more taboo in English compared to German, Germans will say anything, they are not strong on taboos', while her Chinese colleague (P3) would not interpret those easily. He states, 'They [taboos] are insensitive but I will definitely tone them down a little bit'. P5 (MER, f) has a relatively similar attitude, 'Sexual taboo, I try to avoid or to lower [sic] tone a bit'. However, across the interviewees, it becomes clear that the more experienced the interpreters are, the less chance there is of them ignoring taboo interpretation even if it goes against their upbringing and cultural background. P1 (EUR, f): 'I would interpret all taboo. You say it as it is'. She does find it harder to interpret profanities when the client is 'a nice young female police officer compared to clients who were rough lorry drivers who swore like troopers' which would show that the setting and audience does make a difference to interpreters' attitudes towards taboo. P2 (MER, m) 'I would interpret all taboo utterances.' Equally, P4 (EUR, m) would interpret swearing, even when it is used in a humorous, playful manner among colleagues in business meetings. He puts it simply as 'you've got to', but depending on the flow of the conversation, and if it is a non-verbal taboo, then people could see the gesture and he would not need to interpret it, as it might interrupt the flow. This means it is the worry about the delivery flow that mattered, more than ensuring the exact message comes across. In this case, P4 made the assumption that both his language pair clients would understand the gestures correctly, taking away the need for him to communicate the exact meaning. Additionally, P1 (EUR, f) acknowledges that how she felt towards interpreting profanities 'made a difference depending on the language I am using, as English seems to be more prudish compared to German where nothing is taboo'. This indicates that even within European languages, there are differences and

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therefore P4 cannot assume that gestures between his European language pair (French/ German and English) would be similar. P6 (FER, f) stated that she had 'once replaced the 'f' word with an exclamation, and she had also omitted it during the same interpreting event. She goes on to state that she was unsure whether she 'would be uncomfortable to the stage where I would omit the word, or whether my professionalism would win over to say no, I should interpret it, after all, it's not me saying those words, I'm just the mouthpiece'.

Lawson (2011) describes a legal ruling by Mr. Justice Bean who finds it hard to see swearing as an offence against public order on an East London train since swearing is heard more frequently, while this may be a different case had the swearing been in a church or school. Lawson states that there is now a 'class of cursers who literally don't know they are swearing' (ibid). In the Middle East, sensitivities still play a large role in such language and hence, more see such taboo as a problem (Zitawi, 2003; Taibi, 2016). Pratama (2016) states that in countries like Indonesia people tend to not use taboo or offensive words in public.

6.5.1.E Sexual taboo/ Bodily Functions The figures here are similar to the above category where the number of Europeans who see it as taboo is lower than those from the Middle East. The Far Eastern numbers rise by 50%. For interpreting bodily functions, the number of Europeans that interpret it is higher than their MER counterparts, which matches what is seen by Lawson (2011) who states that taboos in the West are declining in number as they increasingly enter people's daily lives, but conflicts with a study by Tryuk (2007:101), where Polish sworn PSIs are cited as believing that 'interpreters should not translate vulgarisms or swear words'. This latter could be explained by the great influence of the Catholic church in post-

communist Poland (Heinen & Portet, 2010) compared to other Western European countries where the church has a much lesser influence.

Findings by Taibi (2016) who describes how Arabic PSIs avoid interpreting taboo as it contravenes 'saving face' explain the lower number in this category. One female Arabic-Spanish interpreter responds in an interview with Taibi stating that she would never interpret for a male patient how to produce a semen sample, despite this being a medical necessity. Another study by Rababa'ah & al-Qorni (2012) showed that the user's cultural background influenced which euphemisms they chose to replace taboo and it also influenced how often they used them when faced with taboo. Saudi and British people resort to euphemisms when handling death but hardly when handling bodily functions. This latter study indicates that bodily functions should not be an issue for Arab interpreters, contravening Taibi's findings. This contradiction between the two studies, which were both carried out on Arabs, could be explained by the fact that the first one was on Saudis living in Saudi Arabia, while the second (Taibi's) was on Arabs living in Spain and hence their attitudes might have been coloured a little by the Spanish attitude towards this specific taboo (Phensityn, 2016). P2 (MER, m) finds sexual taboo to be a problem personally, although he would interpret it as he was trained to do so, without resorting to the euphemistic version of the taboo. P2 had only lived in the West for under 3 years when he was interviewed, so he was still influenced greatly by his Middle-Eastern upbringing, where taboo is a problem on a personal level. But, having trained in the West, his professional self took over, where he would interpret, without toning down the term, unlike what was seen in the studies carried out by Taibi (2016) and Rababa'ah & al-Qorni (2012). The same for P5 (MER, f) and P3 (FER, m). P6 (FER, f) also sees sexual taboo to be an issue depending on context. The results of FER

respondents match the literature that finds FER the highest when it comes to considering sexual taboo to be unacceptable.

The overall numbers here are lower than the offensive language taboo, this is possibly because many see bodily functions as something that is natural, people have no control over them, hence they cannot treat this as taboo. Some of those that counted this as taboo did so because it was linked to sexual taboo, which is also a function of the body, and which people have, to a certain extent, some control over it, therefore talking about it in public, for some, is taboo.

6.5.1.F Racism: While some (Lawson, 2011) do not see sexual utterances as taboo in the West, they do consider racism as truly taboo (ibid, 2011). The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (amended) defines racial groups as a 'group of persons defined by reference to race, colour, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins.'

Lakoff (2004:4) finds that some show such behaviour when they are mostly in emotionally charged situations, which is the prevalent condition when the setting is within public services (police, courts, hospitals). An article published in *The Independent* (Osaki, 2017) states that Japanese interpreters struggle to interpret racism. Some believe that inflammatory language should be neutralised while others believe they should interpret it as it is. One Japanese interpreter is reported to have retired early from interpreting as she struggled to interpret racism while not being allowed to 'demonstrate her judgement about what is right and what is wrong' (ibid). In the Middle East, it has been reported that racism is widespread, and very little interest has been shown to change that (Al-Khamri, 2018). From the above, the hypothesis would be that EUR and FER would consider racism as taboo, while MER would not.

17.09% (27) respondents to Q.9 consider racism to be taboo. Of those, a third were males, and two thirds female. This corresponds with Hughes' (2003) study, which shows that females are more strongly concerned, compared to men, with affective processes and are more likely to be 'other-focused' and that this is extended to racial outlook, although their study showed the difference not to be as high as seen in the figures in this thesis. The ethnicity is divided as ME 37% (10), EU 55.55% (15) and FE 7.4% (2). But to put things into perspective, within each group, half of the Europeans see racism as taboo, while two thirds of the FER see racism as taboo and the lowest are the MERs at a third. Those figures match the literature, which states racism to be the highest taboo in the West. It also matches how FE's struggle with racism to a high degree. More respondents [14.16% (33)], in answering Q.10, would consider interpreting racist utterances as appropriate, the males were half of their female counterparts. This could be explained that despite females seeing racism as taboo more than males, but due to the risk aversion theory (Croson and Gneezy, 2009), they would still interpret it for fear of being caught out if they did not. 51.5% (17) of the respondents were ME, 42.42% (14) EU, 6% (2) FE. Although P1 (EUR, f) did not specify racism as a taboo issue, she did allude to it when she said that 'I think for something to be taboo in German would be anything related to Hitler'. P4 (EUR, m) also sees racism as taboo and lists it as such, although similar to his female colleague, he would interpret it. Both interviewees confirm the theory that Europeans score highest when it comes to seeing racism as taboo. The other interviewees did not have much to say in this regard. P2 (MER, m) does not list racism as taboo, nor does his female counterpart, which indicates neither see it as taboo, similar to the results found in the questionnaire and also in line with the hypothesis.

6.5.1.G Political Incorrectness:

7.59% (12) respondents see political incorrectness (PC) as taboo, and 14.45% (36) would consider it acceptable to interpret such utterances. Of the twelve who see political incorrectness as taboo, 16.67% (2) were males and 83.33% (10) females; the gender ratio, for who considers PC as taboo, matches the literature where females were seen to object more to PC compared to males, (Phenitsyn, 2011). Of those who would interpret PC, 30.55% (11) are male and 69.44% (25) female, which relates to how females are always trying to focus more on 'others' (Hughes, 2003). Looking at the age factor, and for those who perceive PC as taboo, there were 8.33% (1) aged 18-24, increasing to 41.67% (5) aged 25-39, then decreasing to 25% (3) 40-49 and increasing again to 25% (5) over 50.

Similarly, for those who would agree to interpret PC utterances, 16.67% (6) respondents were aged between 18-25, 36.11% (13) aged between 25-39, 25% (9) 40-49 and 22.22% (8) over 50.

Age has not been linked directly to PC issues, but the figures match Hammond's (2017) hypothesis that as people grow older and their life goals change, their attitudes change towards taboo, so when they are younger, they are fired up about injustices but as they become middle aged or older, other things take over and the rate of what is taboo goes down.

As for ethnicity, 41.67% (5) of the respondents were MER and 58.33% (7) EUR. Ethnicity is largely linked to political correctness where many researchers see the West as heavy on political correctness' ideology (Phenitsyn, 2011; Mukhametzyanova et al, 2017, and more). Of the respondents, none of the FER would interpret politically incorrect terms, while 44.44% (16) MER would and 55.55% (20) of the EUR would. Breaking the ethnicity down further, we see that the MER that would interpret this type of taboo form nearly half all the MER, while the

EUR are higher where they form about two thirds of all EUR. This reflects what is seen in the literature where the Europeans see PC as a taboo that prevents inclusion in society as seen in references above. Middle Easterners have only been taking up PC relatively recently, and this is reflected by the lower numbers seen, this fits with the Russians' theory (Phenitsyn, 2011:245) where with the increase of exposure to the politically correct West, a corresponding increase in ME political correctness is expected. The MER who responded to the questionnaire and formed part of this have all lived in Europe for over 10 years, some for more than 25 years, which may explain the relatively high number of 'positive' responses.

6.5.1.H None are Taboo: One of the choices posed in Q9 was 'none of the above is taboo', and 'none of the above taboos is appropriate to interpret' in Q10. Only 5 out of 62 (3 Europeans out of 30 and 2 Middle Easterners out of 29) see that none of the above is taboo, while only 4 would see all the taboos as inappropriate to interpret (2 / each ethnicity). However, after careful consideration of the responses, it was found that more respondents than was initially counted see that 'none of the categories are appropriate to interpret'. Instead of ticking the box that collectively states, 'none of the above taboos are appropriate to interpret', they ticked the boxes under the individual categories. . This means the total number of respondents that do not see the listed categories as taboo is actually 20.97% (13), while the actual number who would find it inappropriate to interpret taboo is 12.9% (8). Of the 13 who find nothing as taboo, only 23% (3) are male and the remaining 77% (10) are female, which is in opposition to what we see in literature where males are meant to be disturbed less than women by taboo. This could be explained by the young ages of the respondents, where except for 2 that are aged 50^+ or between 40-49, the remaining respondents are all aged between 25-39, so it is possible that at that age,

they are still not inhibited and do not see many things as taboo. The person who is over 50 years of age, is a lecturer in interpreting as well as a practitioner and therefore, perhaps she realises the significance of not ignoring taboo. The ethnicity breakdown of the respondents shows that those of ME backgrounds who see no category as taboo are lower in numbers [38.5% (5)] compared to those of European background [61.5% (8)], which matches what was seen in the literature (Zitawi, 2003, Taibi, 2016). Of those interviewed, only P1 (EUR, f) saw nothing as taboo. P6 (FER, f) stated that nothing is taboo but later admits that sexism could be taboo, depending on context.

When responses to Q10 (which asks which of the listed taboo categories are not acceptable to interpret), were looked at, the number of respondents who tick this rises to nearly half at 45% (28) out of 62, which is more than double those who consider none of the categories is taboo. This means that although some see nothing as taboo, they would still not interpret it, although no explanation was offered for this contrast. A personal interpretation would be that although they personally do not consider things to be taboo, but they do acknowledge that society considers them as taboo and hence in public service settings they would ignore them. Their relatively young ages and lower level of experience would explain this contradiction. The breakdown of those respondents shows them to be 28.57% (8) males and 71.43% (20) females, which corresponds with what we see in the literature (Williamson, 2009) where females struggle more with uttering taboo and therefore, they would see it as inappropriate to interpret. As for their ages, the respondents who find taboos listed as inappropriate to interpret were 10.7% (3) aged 18-24, 46.42% (13) aged 25-39, 17.85% (5) aged 40-49 and 25% (7) aged over 50. This contradicts literature that states that the young do not find it troublesome to utter taboo, but that this is reduced

as people grow older where it is much lower after the age of 60 (Williamson, 2009). Here, it is seen that half of those aged 50^+ see interpreting taboo as inappropriate, yet the expectation is that it should be higher. This may be explained that their ages are closer to the lower fifties rather than closer to the age of 60^+. However, in the younger age bracket of 18-24, less than a third of respondents in this bracket would find it inappropriate, which means more than 2/3 would interpret it, this corresponds more with the literature that states younger-aged people find it easier to utter taboo. Nearly 60% of those aged 25-39 would find taboo inappropriate to interpret, which is rather high for this age group where the expectation is for them to be closer to the younger age group still in seeing taboo not to be a problem. Finally, about a third of those aged 40-49 would find taboo inappropriate to interpret, which again is unusual as at this age range, the numbers are expected to increase as they approach the age of 60. This means there is a mis-match between literature and the responses regarding appropriateness of interpreting taboo when cross matched with age.

When the results are broken down by ethnicity, the numbers are seen as positively correlating with the literature (Zitawi, 2003; Taibi, 2016) where 39.28% (11) are of ME backgrounds and 60.72 % (17) Europeans.

Using a quick comparison between what interpreters consider to be taboo (Q9) and which taboo category they would interpret (Q10), the following is seen:

	Interpreters consider to be taboo		Acceptable to interpret	
Category of Taboo	% (of total respondents)	Actual no. of Respondents	% (of total respondents)	Actual no. of Respondents
Sexism	14.56	23	14.16	33
Racism	17.09	27	14.16	33
Blasphemy	15.82	25	13.73	32
Ageism	9.49	15	15.02	35
Offensive language	15.19	24	12.88	30
Sexual (Bodily functions, etc)	17.09	27	12.88	30
Political in-correctness	7.59	12	15.45	36
None of the above	3.16	5	1.72	4

Table 6.3: Comparison of Interpreters' Perception of Taboo and Taboo Categories They Would Interpret.

The number of interpreters who consider certain categories to be taboo was found to be lower than those who find it acceptable to interpret taboo. This indicates that for many interpreters, their personal feelings do not affect their performance when it comes to interpreting taboo in public services. Much of this could be due to training or experience. P6 (FER, f) described how at the start of her career she did not interpret offensive language but a judge told her that she must and she realised the significance of doing so and since then she sees that despite her feelings, nothing should be avoided in interpreting, even really sensitive utterances. P2 (MER, m) also stated that it was his training that makes him interpret taboo as he now realises its significance, while in the past, he would have ignored it.

This leads to the evaluation of how those who do interpret taboo deal with it and which strategies do they follow? This can be seen through answers in both questions 11 and 20, combined.

Question.11 '*How would you deal with interpreting taboo? Please rank each strategy through dragging each item to the empty box*'. The suggested strategies are listed in the left hand column in the table below:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Responses	Total
Omit totally	0	11.11% (2)	5.56% (1)	5.56% (1)	62.11% (11)	16.67% (3)	18	13%
Exact equivalence in TL (keeping tone & level of taboo)	71.43% (25)	20% (7)	2.86% (1)	5.71% (2)	0	0	35	26%
Substitute with a less harsh word/ tone	23.81% (5)	19.05% (4)	28.75% (6)	28.75% (6)	0	0	21	16%
Interpret literally if no equivalent exists	12% (3)	52% (13)	36% (9)	0	0	0	25	19%
Explain to others that 'these are not my words'	31.82% (7)	18.18% (4)	9.09% (2)	31.82% (7)	0	9.09% (2)	22	16%
Not sure/ I don't know	0	0	0	7.14% (1)	28.57% (4)	64.29% (9)	14	10%

Table 6.4: Summary of Ranking of Strategies Used by Respondents When Interpreting Taboo.

26% (35) stated they would use the exact equivalents, keeping the tone and level of taboo as it is in the original utterance. Followed by 19% (25) who state they would interpret literally when there is no equivalent to be found in the target language. 16% (21) would use a less harsh tone and 16% (21) would explain to those receiving the interpreting that those words were not their own words, but are the words used by the clients. 13% (18) would omit and 10% (14) were not sure how to deal with taboo. All of the unsure respondents were students with only little interpreting experience. In the box below, we see the hierarchy of the strategies as per total responses.

Functional Equivalence > Literal Translation > Substitution> 'Not my words' > Omission > Not sure

By delving further into the data, we can look at the *ranking* of each category, based on the number of votes each category received, the following was found:

Using exact equivalence gets the highest vote where 71.43% (25) chose it as their first choice, followed by omission at 62.11% (18), literal translation 52% (13), explaining to others that 'these are not my words' at 31.82% (7) then substitution to which was chosen by 28.75% (6).

Functional Equivalence > Omission > Literal Translation > 'Not my words' > Substitution> not sure.

Although Table 6.4 shows that none of the respondents would use omission as their first choice, nevertheless, it is still second highest when it comes to choosing a strategy to deal with interpreting taboo, which goes against much literature written on this matter (see 4.5.1.C).

By comparing the two boxes above, functional equivalence remains as the top strategy, with omission jumping to second place as the most favourite strategy (although less people would opt for it but those who chose it ranked it highly) and substitution is the least ranked strategy among those who would use it. Stating that taboo 'is not my own words' is listed the same in that it is the fourth preferred strategy and is the fourth highest used strategy among the questionnaire respondents. Although there are no explicit strategies suggested for interpreting taboo specifically, but taboo is linked closely to culture and therefore it is plausible to be able to use strategies relating to interpreting cultural elements and extend them to interpreting taboo. These suggested strategies include: Dynamic/ functional equivalence, literal translation, substitution, compensation, paraphrasing, definition, addition, gloss or explain, gestures or omission. A comparison of the results against the literature can be seen below. To do this, questions 20 and 11 are merged as they both deal with interpreting strategies. Question 20: '*How best would you describe your strategy in dealing with interpreting taboo*?' This question gives the respondents more strategies relating to interpreting cultural utterances as seen in literature compared to Q.11, which has less strategies and some are based on students' reactions in class. Respondents are asked to choose 5 out of 10 strategies. This question was answered by 70.49% (43) out of 62 respondents, where functional equivalence gathered the highest scores at 20.41% (30) followed by paraphrasing

16.33% (24) then literal translation 12.24% (18) then substitution 10.20% (15), definition 9.25% (14), and compensation and gloss equally at 8.84% (13) followed by omission and gesturing equally at 4.76% (7) and finally addition at 4.08% (6).

The list for Q.20 is not exhaustive, but it lists the most common strategies recommended after reviewing published literature (See Chapter 4.5). No common ground is seen regarding interpreting taboo. A number of studies were conducted, and these resulted in different outcomes when it comes to evaluating strategies followed by practitioners.

20) How best would you describe your strategy in dealing with interpreting taboo? (Please tick up to 5 ONLY)

		Response (%)	Responses
Addition		4.08	6
Definition		9.52	14
Substitution		10.20	15
Literal translation		12.24	18
Compensation		8.84	13
Gloss or explain		8.84	13
Omission		4.76	7
Gestures		4.76	7
Functional (dynamic) equivalence		20.41	30
Paraphrasing		16.33	24

Fig. 6.6 Questionnaire Results for Ranking of Strategies Used When Interpreting Taboo

Some of those studies have used different terms to describe similar things. This is seen in the text below when the definitions of some of the strategies most popular with taboo interpreting are considered. The strategies seen most in the literature shall be analysed below against the research results.

Functional Equivalence: A study conducted in 2016 by Pratama showed that, similar to this research, functional equivalence is the strategy that ranks highest when interpreting taboo, this is followed by euphemisms, transfer and omission. In this study, Pratama stresses that due to the absence of rules governing interpreting taboo, the function of the taboo terms must be taken into account when looking at the interpreting strategy to be followed, which corresponds with the thinking behind the hypothesis of this thesis. The transfer strategy listed by Pratama is the one advocated by Gottlieb (1992), which strives to maintain 'the sense of the taboo in the TL'.

Another study by Putranti et al (2018) showed mixed reactions to taboo. It suggests the application of generalisation, substitution, euphemisms, reduction and deletion (omission) as techniques to handle taboo in order to produce a good translation that does not offend or create 'pornography'. The findings of this research were that translators of a novel filled with taboo terms chose readability and acceptability over accuracy, where they chose less harsh taboo terms or removed them altogether in order not to offend their readers. When they chose to translate taboo, they opted for functional equivalence as their main strategy at 36.25%. However, sexual terms that were deemed as vulgar or obscene were not translated at all. Euphemisms that softened the tone were used once as were addition and literal translation, while deletion plus substitution were about 31%. Those figures do not match those in this current thesis, where omission is low at 5% compared to this study at 31%, and while both studies had functional equivalence as their top choice, the figures are not comparable where in the Indonesian study it is 36.25% while in this thesis it was lower at around 20%. In their discussion on how to interpret politically incorrect utterances, Mukhametzyanova et al (2017) suggest equivalence first, if possible, followed by paraphrasing, literal translation, thus matching the thesis results.

Despite equivalence being ranked highest in many studies, a Turkish study carried out by Tanriverdi Kaya in 2015 on translators, who have more time to choose their strategies compared to interpreters, did not list equivalence at all. In fact, their top strategy was omission, showing how ideology played a huge role in the choices made in that study.

An evaluation of the results based on the respondents' qualifications, experience and ethnicity would be prudent. Those three parameters were chosen for cross referencing with the responses as they are relevant, in that they help evaluate if

experience leads to better choices in strategies when interpreting taboo, or if it is qualifications that make a difference in such choices. Ethnicity is also considered to see if it has an overarching influence on the respondents' choices, regardless of their experience or qualifications. The hypothesis, based on scholars' theories on interpreting cultural items, is that the higher the interpreting qualifications people hold, the more positive the correlation is with the literature, where the expectation is that respondents with the higher qualifications would choose equivalence first and omission last, with the other strategies in varying degrees in between. The same expectations would follow when experience is looked at against the responses. While for ethnicity, the expectations, for taboo interpreting specifically, are that MER and FER would choose omission as their most favoured method, with other coping strategies such as substitution or paraphrasing next, before opting for equivalence or definition, which would be their least favourite (Taibi, 2016; Pratama, 2016). In contrast, the expectation of EU respondents is that they would choose equivalent first and omission last, with the other strategies ranging in between since many taboo items have entered daily lives in the West, thus rendering many items to be perceived as acceptable (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990; Storey, 2020).

Below is a summary table of the top 6 strategies cross-referenced with qualifications as per questionnaire responses:

	Functional Equivalence	Paraphrasing	Literal Translation	Substitution	Definition	Omission
PhD	-	-	1	-	-	-
MA/ Dip.Trans	20	16	15	13	9	5
DPSI	4	5	1	-	1	1
BA	6	3	1	2	4	1
Total	30	24	18	15	14	7
Student	13	10	9	5	6	3
Practitioner F/T	8	2	5	3	3	1
Practitioner P/T	9	12	4	7	5	3
Total	30	24	18	15	14	7

Table 6.5: Summary of the Top 6 Strategies vs. Qualifications & Experience in Questionnaire Responses.

Looking at the above figures, it can be seen that functional equivalence, which gained the highest score was chosen by holders of interpreting qualifications, mostly by holders of MA in interpreting 66.67% (20 out of 30) compared to 13.33% (4 out of 30) holders of BA degrees. In contrast, those same respondents chose omission as their least accepted strategy (5), which matches what they would have been taught during their courses since it has been seen in the literature that omission of taboo is not highly advocated by scholars and thus is not a strategy encouraged at university courses. If equivalence was not possible, holders of the MA in interpreting would rather opt for paraphrasing followed by literal translation, rather than substitute or omit, which indicates they prefer to keep the sense of the taboo utterance in their interpreted version as per Newmark's Transference Strategy (1988). These results correlate positively with the research hypothesis. P2 (MER, m) states 'When I did my MA and trained, I became aware of the importance of interpreting taboo. But previously if I were doing this 12 years ago, I would have felt embarrassed and I wouldn't know how to tackle the situation'. This clearly indicates that strategies learnt during P2's interpreting training did help him in learning how to overcome taboo and embarrassment. Functional equivalence is the strategy advocated by scholars as the top strategy and this was reflected in the responses seen in this

questionnaire and in the Pratama (2016) and Putranti (2018) studies. P4 (MA) states that he would prefer functional equivalence: 'The thing is in swearing, it often does not translate literally so you're looking for some kind of equivalent, otherwise it sounds odd. I use the equivalent in French and keep the same level and don't bypass it'. The same goes for P6 (MA), 'I might use functional equivalence. I would use equivalent terms in Chinese that are also rude'. P2, who observed that it was his experience that taught him to interpret taboo, states that functional equivalence would be the strategy he would now follow. He states 'I use functional equivalence. I analyse the function of the word before I opt for how to interpret it, if at all. It does depend on the context though'. P1 would also use functional equivalence, 'Yes, I would. […] it needs the full understanding of the function of the word in context.' Regardless of ethnicity, it can be seen that all interviewees would use functional equivalence as their first strategy. P6 puts this well when she states 'All languages will have equivalent words because although we use different languages, but we all have similar emotions, so there would be equivalents in that language to help the speakers to express their emotional states'. Indeed, taboo may be uttered to display emotions much of the time.

From the abovementioned studies, it can be seen that ethnicity may play a factor in deciding the strategy to use in interpreting taboo. Looking at the questionnaire results and cross matching them with the ethnic groups, the following is found:

	MER	EUR	FER
Paraphrase	13	11	0
Functional Equivalence	13	16	1
Literal Translation	8	9	1
Omission	5	2	0
Substitution	15	4	0
Addition	2	3	1
Explain/ Gloss	3	1	1
Gestures	4	3	0
Definition	5	8	1

Table 6.6: Ethnicities vs. Strategies Used When Interpreting Taboo

From looking at Table 6.6 above, and checking the top three strategies, it can be seen that for ME respondents, substitution is the strategy used most, which fits with what was seen by Haspari Widiastuti (2015) that interpreters try to substitute taboo with a less harsh term or with euphemisms to save face. This is followed by Paraphrasing thus matching results by Berk-Seligson, (1988) and Mason & Stewart, (2001) and functional equivalence equally, which matches what is advocated by scholars such as Pratama (2016) and Putranti (2018). Omission is ranked fifth despite studies that show that ME prefer to ignore taboo. So far, the results for MER positively match the hypothesis. An experienced MER states that he would only omit the taboo if it did not affect the clarity of the message. This indicates he would still choose omission, but after looking at other factors, rather than automatically omitting to save face. A female MER, with only 1-year experience in PSIn states that she would refuse the job from the outset if she felt it might have some embarrassing content, but that is she had no option, then she would paraphrase the utterance. In contrast, an experienced MER stated that interpreting strategies depend on the context and purpose, and that we must be faithful to the speaker and not omit anything. Thus, showing that experience does indeed allow interpreters to move away from their ideologies when faced with taboo.

When looking at EUR, it was found that they use functional equivalence as their main strategy, thus matching what most scholars advocate, this is followed by paraphrasing as recommended by Berk-Seligson, (1988) and Mason & Stewart, (2001) and then by literal translation, which also matches the ranking with other studies such as Putranti (2018) and Brownlie (2007). All EUR state that they must be faithful to the speaker when interpreting and that nothing should be omitted or modified; accuracy is paramount. This matches the ranking of omission seen above, which is the second from last. P1 (EUR, f) agrees that nothing should be omitted, but she states that some words are no longer seen as rude in German, so she may not interpret those words, where she tries to achieve the same effect without using the rude word. In sum, the results for the EUR match the hypothesis positively.

The Far Eastern respondents chose in equal ranking functional equivalence, literal translation, addition, explain/ gloss and definition. What is of interest here is that they did not choose substitution or omission or gestures or paraphrasing, which are the strategies usually used to either neutralise taboo or to save face, which is in full contrast to what we saw in studies conducted by Lee & Ngai (2012), Wang (1999), Han (2008), Lung (2003), Haspari Widiastuti (2015), Taibi (2016) and Pöllabauer (2007). The results also do not match what interviewee P3 (FER, m) who also advocates either neutralising the terms or omitting them or substituting them. P6, also FER, however, and who has considerable experience, would use equivalence as her main strategy, not omission, but this was only after she was asked by a High Court judge not to omit anything despite the embarrassing status of that term, and she then realised that 'things I may consider to be unimportant, may be of importance in legal settings'. This shows that experience was the factor that moved her to change her choices that in the past matched all the scholars' results. The results of the

questionnaire for FER inversely correlate with the literature, while for the interviewees, they are positively correlated. An explanation of this could be that for the questionnaires, the respondents gave the responses they thought the researcher was looking for while in the interviews, once the interviewees were asked more in-depth questions, they gave the 'lived' responses.

Paraphrasing is used as the second highest strategy among holders of interpreting qualifications in this research, which indicates those respondents would interpret taboo but perhaps paraphrase when they are unable to find the exact equivalent. P3 (FER, m) states that he would paraphrase if he was unable to find an equivalent to the taboo term but without exaggerating what was being said. P6 (FER,f) also gave the same answer. P2 (MER, m) states that he would sometimes paraphrase, if he struggled to find an equivalent taboo term. The female MER P5 paraphrases in order to lower the tone of the taboo, and in order to avoid saying that the taboo was not her own words. In other words, it is not a coping strategy for P5, unlike the other respondents. It is an avoidance strategy. A respondent to the questionnaire (MER, f) states that she too would paraphrase taboo but that should the client continue to use taboo, she would withdraw from the case. This means that paraphrasing to that respondent is acceptable short term but not for long term use. This respondent is a DPSI holder. In table 6.5 above, it is clear that paraphrasing is the strategy used the most among holders of DPSI, this may be a reflection of their training, where much of their time is spent practising synonymy and paraphrasing (Mouallem, 2012), so they probably feel more comfortable using this strategy, compared to equivalence, which requires a broader level of terminology database. MA holders use paraphrasing only when they are unable to find the equivalent (as stated by all

interviewees), which shows that equivalence remains their favourite strategy and that they are comfortable with it and with finding the right words with relative ease.

Literal translation is also high among the questionnaire respondents' choices. When the interviewees were asked, P6 and P2 stated they would use it. However, P4 (EUR, MA) worries that 'Sometimes if you used literal translation, it might come out all wrong and you'd be a laughing stock' which indicates although he might use it, but sometimes, it may not be the best possible strategy. P3 (FER, PhD) also would not use word for word interpreting. However, P2 (EUR, MA) disagrees and sees that 'it is a good way to interpret this [rude taboo] sentence. Literal translation will reflect exactly the meaning'. Those results partially match the literature where literal translation is seen in contrast to communicative interpreting, which is related to cultural interpreting, as it leaves the communication ineffective and often distorts the message (Roberts, 1985: 158). The scholars that do support literal translation, do not give it first place, rather somewhere in the middle, for example, Mukhametzyanova et al, (2017) who advocate this strategy as third choice for interpreting politically incorrect taboos.

Further, the results found in this research questionnaire do not match a study by Robati and Zand (2018), which found **substitution** to be the top strategy (61.33%), although here they differentiate between substituting into a non-taboo word and substituting into another less harsher taboo, followed by 23.33% censorship implying omission, then euphemisms (15.33%). In this thesis results, substitution was ranked fourth for holders of MA, and not chosen at all by DPSI holders, while BA degree holders also ranked it as fourth choice. The ranking of the thesis results match the expectations, but do not match the results shown by Robati and Zand (2018). Substitution for the purposes of this study is defined as 'Replacing a culture-

specific item or expression with a TL item which does not have the same propositional meaning but is likely to have a similar impact on the target reader' (Baker, 2018: 31). In this research, it was found that some respondents meant substitution to be the replacement of an offensive taboo term with another less offensive, which may at times remove the offensive term altogether, as stated by P5 'If I find the word 'fuck' I would see it always as negative and so I would simplify it, and use a simpler, less rude substitution'. This matches exactly the definition of substitution suggested by Bowers (2011) who, despite the high ranking he allocates to substitution, he concludes that when this strategy is applied, the effect the new word has on the listener will not be quite the same as the effect the original term would have had. This substitution will lead the listeners to know a swear word had been intended, but that is all. So, it is not recommended highly. It must be borne in mind that P5 does not hold formal interpreting qualifications and thus her definition of substitution is one she came to by herself. However, using P5's definition could explain the congruence of results, where those who hold university degrees understand the exact meaning of substitution, while holders of DPSI qualifications or lower, possibly understand it similarly to P5, since they probably have not had formal classes on theories of interpreting (Mouallem, 2012).

Interviewee P6 (MA, FER) would substitute when she fails to find an equivalent or was unable to paraphrase. P2 (MA, MER) would use it to find a term that is acceptable in the culture he is working with. P4 (MA, EUR) would not use this strategy. He would focus on getting the strength of the taboo word across. He admits that at times 'you'd have to use other swear words, I think'. P3 (FER, PhD) would substitute taboo with a less harsh tone. He would point out, though, that the original was harsher, but he would not repeat it. P5 mirrors P3's attitude, where she states,

'If I find the word 'fuck' I would see it always as negative and so I would simplify it, and use a simpler, less rude substitution'. Overall, substitution in literature was not given top ranking, and this matches the results, although as the ranking is not concrete in either literature or results, it is hard to ascertain the level of correlation. However, it can be said that the correlation is partially positive since none of the results ranked substitution as the most or least favoured strategy, keeping it somewhere in the middle, similar to the literature.

Omission

Scholars show that interpreters do use omission or modify the taboo utterance in order to save face (Berk-Seligson, 1988; Mason & Stewart, 2001). This leads to the hypothesis that MER and FER will rank omission highly. Lee & Ngai (2012) state that in Chinese, vulgarity should remain private and thus should not be translated but omitted. They state that the norm for translating vulgarity into Chinese would be to omit those terms (Wang, 1999; Han, 2008, Lung, 2003 and others). They explain this by the influence of Confucius where there is a distinct aversion to write about sex. Euphemisms are the preferred choice suggested by those scholars if taboo was to be translated at all although they accept that strategies will differ based on the readership and their norms and acceptability of taboo.

Taibi (2016) cites an example by Pöllabauer (2007) where for some African asylum seekers, where due to cultural sensitivities, some of the necessary questions asked by immigration were seen as taboo by the interpreters and were not interpreted to the asylum seeker as it would have affected the positive image the seeker wanted to show; this affected their application outcome negatively.

The above studies have come out with different results, although there are some shared elements too, such as the use of euphemisms (Saleh, 2012, al-Azzam et al,

2017, Elyyan, 1994, Lakoff, 2004, Pinker 2002) and the substitution by less harsh tones (Kalina, 1996 and Poyatos, 2002) and also omission (Pym, 2008, Ivir, 1987). Looking at the ethnicities of the research respondents, omission is ranked 6th out of 10 strategies for MER and is the penultimate choice for the EUR and not chosen by the FER. The results for the EUR are not surprising and correlate well with the literature. However, the results were unexpected for both the HCC respondents, since face saving is important to them, so omission was expected to be highly ranked. Robati and Zand (2018) argue that despite omission being high, it is not optimal as the omitted taboo might be key to the utterance. It is possible that this is what lies behind the disparity between MER/ FER responses and the literature, where qualifications or experience stop interpreters using omission as a top strategy. By looking at the HCC interview results, P6 (FER) states she would not use omission now although she did in the past when she had little experience and had not realised the significance of not omitting anything. P2 (MER) would omit taboo but depending on the relevance and intention of the speaker, so if rudeness was intended, he would interpret the term. Similar to P6, P2 states that it was his training that made him aware of the significance of taboo and that prior to that training, he would have omitted rude taboo. While P3 (FER) states he would omit rude terms and just state out loud that a rude sentence had just been uttered. This matches the expectations as would P5 (MER) who also states she would omit rude words. P5 assumes that as the client could see anger in the other client's face and tone, then they do not need to be told that the sentences were rude. P5 mistakenly assumes that tones and gestures mean the same across cultures, which is not the case. P4 (EUR, m) says he would not omit anything, unless they are ambiguous or are cultural differences. When pushed further, being reminded that taboo could be defined as a cultural item, he

stated that in such cases, the context would determine his reaction. The interview results indicate that although HCC respondents prefer to omit taboo terms when interpreting, their training mostly prevents them from doing so, showing a positive correlation between training and the choice of omission as the least desirable strategy.

Addition is the 'elaboration by using the pragmatic inference to supplement a text with information that is missing in the ST' (Abdel-Hafiz, 2000). This elaboration is required more when elements exist in one culture but are missing in the other. This is also a strategy suggested by Ivir (1987) and other scholars. Brownlie (2007) found that addition was used by interpreters to lower the offence caused by the taboo utterance. In contrast, Tanriverdi Kaya (2015) defines addition as explicitation, meaning a strategy involving making explicit what is implicit. Addition gained only 4.08% of total responses in the thesis questionnaire. In Brownlie's (2007) study it ranked second from top, while it ranked lowest in Tanriverdi Kaya's (2015) study, matching the thesis results, where addition was indeed the least chosen strategy. This contrasts with Hatim and Mason's (1997) approach using communicative interpreting where we make implicit taboo utterances explicit.

A personal interpretation of the results is that since some prefer not to be heard publicly saying anything that is taboo, then they are hardly going to 'add' a term that would transfer implicit taboo and make it explicit. This interpretation is confirmed by P2 (MER, m) who stated that he would not use addition when faced with a taboo term; he would simply interpret it as he hears it. When P1 (EUR, f) was asked if she would make implicit taboo explicit through addition, her response was that she would not. She suggests a strategy to making implicit taboo explicit in such cases could be gestures such as raising your eyebrows. P3 (FER, m) would not use addition

when faced with taboo, except that he would add that 'these are not my words'. However, it was agreed with P3 that this does not fall under the definition of addition as described by Ivir.

Euphemisms were seen as another popular strategy**.** Although this did not come up as one of the main strategies used by the respondents, it is still worth exploring it further since it was found that the interviewees do use it as a strategy, fully aware of its use in general to avoid taboo. See 2.13 and 2.13.1 for more on Euphemisms. P1 (EUR, f) states that 'in English, taboo is more obvious in that they use euphemisms, so they'd never say 'sex' straightforward way, they'd say 'I had my leg over', it's not that you don't say it, because you kinda have to say it, but you'll say it in a euphemistic way'. Here, she describes how interpreters need to be aware of the euphemistic nature of taboo and interpret it correctly. P1's response resonates with Rababa'ah & al-Qorni's (2012) study on the use of Euphemisms by British and Saudi speakers. P1 also states how this use of euphemisms is not so widely seen in German, which indicates that not all Europeans advocate this policy. In contrast, P3 (FER, m) describes euphemisms as a strategy he opts for when facing embarrassing taboo. He says 'You tend to use euphemisms as this lowers your embarrassment as this helps you deal with things. But certain words, such as 'penetration' used in rape cases, to me that is a biological thing, so I don't use a euphemism, I just interpret it as it is'. P2 (MER, m) uses euphemisms when he struggles to find equivalents to taboo terms. His choice is based on what would be acceptable to the Arabic culture. This shows that nearly all ethnicities revert to euphemisms, thus correlating with the literature. Elyyan's (1994) study in non-Western cultures found that taboo is replaced by euphemisms. The same was confirmed by Jing-Schmidt (2019) and other scholars,

such as (Saleh, 2012; al-Azzam et al, 2017; Elyyan, 1994; Lakoff, 2004; and Pinker 2002). The interview results on euphemisms positively correlate with the literature. The interviewees agree that **skopos** matters greatly, P2 (MER, m) says, 'this is where the experienced interpreters differ from the inexperienced ones. Those with experience can analyse the intention and transfer it […]. The intention is important to ensure communication is not lost'. This matches literature by Sperber & Wilson (2002) where they say that it is not the message practitioners transfer but the intention of that message.

P4 (EUR, m) sees skopos as paramount, 'yes, the purpose. This is the primary thing for me. As soon as someone says that, you think, why have they said that, what linguistic purpose is it serving? is it just intensifying it, is it actually that they're very angry at that person?'. Likewise, P6 (FER, f) also looks at the purpose so she could replicate it, rather than to decide if the word is worth interpreting on not, 'we are still supposed to be interpreting everything, based on the code of conduct. It is not up to us to decide whether its function is relevant […] we are not the gatekeepers'. P5 (MER, f), who has the least experience in the interviewee group worries that 'It is hard to know the intention of the speaker, although I can probably feel the emotion behind a swear word'. She agrees that one must try to find out the purpose behind the taboo utterance, as does P3 (FER, m) who says 'What I tell my clients depends on the intention of the speaker. If they were totally angry, I'd definitely inform the clients that they were angry'. P1 (EUR. F) confirms that 'we must look at the intention of the speaker and try to give its equivalent'. P1 warns that skopos is not always clear and that it differs across cultures, similar to Pöchhacker (1995): 'in one language it might be the emphasis [in tone] while in German, it would be the choice of words. […]. So there are slightly different techniques in implementing it but

you've got to achieve the same thing'. P6 (FER, f) agrees that knowing the purpose helps when looking for the correct equivalents, but she maintains that one must adhere to the original utterance in every possible way, 'When rudeness is used to imply a positive, I would use an equivalent, I'd use a negative that would still be a positive'.

Some of the questionnaire respondents mentioned skopos in their commentary section, where one stated 'the speaker has a reason why he/she is using such terms. Interpreters are not there to omit or change this message'. Another says (f, MA), 'if it is said, it was intended for the audience, so I interpret it'. While a third (m, MA) states 'it depends on the context and the purpose' which again matches Blakemore's (1988) contextual implication. A fourth (m, MA) says 'it depends on many factors, including audience, context, purpose, etc'. All respondents are holders of MA in interpreting, but the experience varies, from under 10% interpreting to full time interpreting, which implies it is their qualifications that played a factor in taking Skopos into account.

Next, **non-verbal communication** was explored through the following question:

Q.12 '*When interpreting taboo, would you maintain or avoid eye contact (or both)*?' Cambridge (2013) describes how non-verbal signals that make up body language, from posture to gaze and eye contact and tone of voice, send signals about meaning and intention, and those differ from one culture to another. She stresses the importance of not missing those signals and getting them right when interpreters are dealing with taboo in a context such as legal public services, as they point to the speaker's personality which may have a bearing in the case. Jay (2000:254) states that the 'gesture-like quality of cursing is not sufficient to deny it language status', in other words, they should definitely be interpreted.

Of those respondents who do interpret taboo, 41.86% (18) will maintain eye contact, while 9.30% (4) will avoid it. Those who maintain eye contact and who mimic gestures consider this as a sign of professionalism on their part as seen in their comments. 48.84% (21) will do both. 'In such a situation it could be seen as offensive if you avoid eye contact, but it could also be seen as insulting to maintain it, so a combination is the best solution' (EUR). This indicates that in this case the reason for not doing so is not embarrassment and not interpreter focused, but recipient focused. This is confirmed by others 'If the client was uncomfortable when the interpreter used taboo language, then I would avoid it' (MER), while another states it is due to them being embarrassed using taboo language (MER), which shows the move to this being interpreter focussed. Another male (EUR) would also avoid it but did not explain why.

Based on Al-Omari's (2009) cultural group divisions of LCC (EUR) and HCC (MER and FER), when faced with taboo, LCC interpreters should struggle mimicking lewd gestures while maintaining eye contact in contrast to their HCC colleagues, or that they might transfer those non-verbal gestures into verbal equivalents.

Selecting some of the more experienced interpreters' responses, it was found that regardless of their ethnicity, they would mimic the gestures. 'I try to mirror the body language of the speaker' (EUR), 'Using both strategies indicates faithfulness to ST yet maintaining personal professionalism' (MER). 'I would not stare at them, but I would not avoid eye contact either. I would try to maintain my normal behaviour' (EUR). P6 (FER) 'I would just maintain eye contact, even if I am embarrassed. […]. It shows confidence on my part. and it shows confidence that I am interpreting correctly'. P3 (FER) thinks of this slightly differently when he states he would maintain eye contact as it is the speaker who is uttering taboo, not the interpreter. He

adds 'Although I would struggle to maintain eye contact if I did not lower the tone of the taboo term'. This indicates that the taboo would be modified slightly should the interpreter maintain eye contact. This also confirms the relationship between maintaining eye contact and the embarrassment factor emerging from taboo. P5 (MER) too found it embarrassing maintaining eye contact, especially if the client was male, although in medical settings, she found it easier to deal with, as she sees medical contexts not to be embarrassing at all due to her medical training. P4 (EUR) too maintains eye contact, despite the discomfort he feels. P1 (EUR) suggests using gestures such as raising eyebrows to ensure implicit taboo is made explicit. P1 confirms that 'I would do exactly what is appropriate in that situation'. On requesting an explanation of this, she states that she would maintain eye contact to put the client at ease, but that if the client seemed uncomfortable, then she would no longer do so. In other words, the decision is client-oriented. This all shows that experience overrides ethnicity as an influential factor with non-verbal communication and taboo. This is confirmed in Table 6.7, where it can be seen that the percentages of both groups are nearly equal, with 62.5% (20 out of 32) HCC respondents always or sometimes maintain eye contact compared to 63.3% (19 out of 30) LCC interpreters. As for qualifications, the only person who avoids eye contact totally is the one who has no interpreting qualifications. Three more respondents (7.14%), who hold both an MA and DPSI, would avoid it although occasionally they would maintain eye contact if the taboo is not of a sexual or embarrassing nature. By comparing those to respondents who would maintain eye contact while interpreting taboo, it was found that over 55% (10) hold an MA or above, and the remainder 44.47% (8) are BA level. Those who use both strategies 48.8% (21) are mostly holders of MA and

above. This indicates that having qualifications can help overcome lewd gestures since those who hold qualifications maintain it when necessary.

Total no. Respondents (% per 62 respondents) 68.85% (42)		Maintain Eye Contact 41.86% (18)		Avoid Eye Contact 9.30% (4)		Both 48.84% (21)	
		% of Respondents	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents	No. of Respondents
Work/ Study	Student	44.44	8	25	1	33.33	7
	PSI (FT)	27.8	5	25	1	23.89	5
	PSI (PT)	27.8	5	50	2	42.85	9
Qualifications	PhD	5.55	1	-	-	4.76	1
	MA	50	9	50	2	76.19	16
	DPSI	16.67	3	25	1	19	4
	BA	27.8	5	-	-	-	-
	None	-	-	25	1	-	-
Ethnicity	European	38.89	7	25	1	57.14	12
	Middle Eastern	50	9	75	3	38	8
	Far East	11.11	2	-	-	4.76	1

Table 6.7: Summary of Non-verbal Communication vs. Various Factors Among Respondents.

By extending eye contact to gestures through Q. 13, the following was seen:

*13) If swearing is accompanied by lurid gestures, do you

	Response (%)	Responses
Mimic the gestures	44.19	19
Ignore the gestures	55.81	24
Answered Question		43
Skipped Question		18

Fig. 6.7 Questionnaire Results Relating to Gestures

Communication is 70% non-verbal (Poyatos, 2002), so regardless of the utterance being taboo or not, it is important to interpret non-verbal communication (Poyatos, 2002; Pavis, 1989), otherwise, communication is 70% incomplete, more so in emotional contexts (Pavis, ibid:37). Wierzbicka (1999) describes how some cultures are encouraged to show their emotions, rather than speak about them. This imparts

more importance to gestures that are linked to 'bad' emotional causes for uttering taboo. Looking at the questionnaire results, the following was found:

55.81% (24) ignore lewd gestures when interpreting, while 44.19% (19) would mimic the speaker's gestures. The only correlation with eye contact and gestures found was that those who avoid eye contact when interpreting taboo, would also avoid gestures. But on comparing those who maintain eye contact, it was found that 83.3% (15) would maintain eye contact and mimic gestures, with the remainder maintaining eye contact but not the gestures. One female (DPSI) sees mimicking gestures as too dramatic in court settings, so the reason is not to do with the taboo but with other unrelated factors. Of those who maintain eye contact and mimic gestures, only 26.6% (4) were students and the remainder are all practising interpreters, which reflects the findings of eye contact where the more experienced the respondents, the more chance of maintaining eye contact. This is further confirmed by interviews, where P6 (FER) who has over 20 years' experience states, 'If I feel that very rude message is part of this package, he [the speaker] wanted to convey but the audience were not going to get that message, then I would convey it'. However, that same respondent states that she would not use gestures usually as she assumes the audience could see them for themselves and therefore there is no need for her to mimic them. This makes the mistaken assumption that gestures are similar and mean the same across different cultures, but that is not so as seen by Angelelli (2004:29) who states that when interpreting gestures, interpreters must 'reproduce a new set of gestures' to interpret the old ones correctly. Therefore, when people see gestures by someone of a different culture, they still need to see the real meaning of those gestures, which can only be conveyed by the interpreter. Poyatos (2002) confirms this when he suggests either interpreters reproduce the original speaker's

paralanguage exactly as he had done them, if they carry the same significance in both languages, or they translate them verbally, for example saying: 'the speaker is indicating he is thinking'. Or, in order to be truly faithful to the speaker, interpreters could interpret that paralanguage kinesis into their TL paralanguage kinesis counterpart (ibid). P4 (EUR, m) recognises that gestures could be similar if the cultures of his language pairs are close, as does P1 (EUR, f), who states that as a bilingual interpreter, she instinctively knows what the gestures indicate and acts accordingly. P2 (MER, m) prefers to verbalise non-verbal communication, and that if he was unsure about some gesture, he would ask what it indicates so he can then verbalise it. P5 (MER, f), who has little experience compared to others, would ignore the gestures especially since the clients can see them for themselves. This again shows how her little training and lower interpreting qualifications did not prepare her for the idea that gestures could have different meanings depending on one's cultural background. P3 (FER, m) chooses to ignore gestures. He states 'Yes, I ignore lewd gestures totally (Finger up gesture made for him to interpret). I would say to the client: 'You've already seen that body gestures and it indicates that he asks you to go away in a very offensive and rude way'. When pressed further, P6 (FER, f) who initially stated she would ignore them as they could be seen by everyone, agreed that she would interpret gestures if they were relevant to the case. Equally, P3 stated that he would verbalise the message hidden within the gestures, similar to P2, he finds it easier to 'verbalise than to mimic because to mimic you can't lower the tone, but you can lower it by verbalising it. I prefer to share the meaning or connotation instead'. This matches Poyatos' (2002) notion, seen above. P5 also changed her response and agreed that in the future she would state that the gesture is rude and will also try to transfer it into its verbal meaning. P1 (EUR, F) who has

extensive experience, states that she would mimic 'Eyebrow raising, facial expressions, the voice. Definitely, and often the hand gestures', again confirming how experience allows a person to overcome personal feelings towards taboo. most of the comments collated here show that respondents agree with Poyatos's (2002) notion of interpreting paralinguistic constituents of speech either kinetically or linguistically and where they acknowledge that paralanguage should not be ignored, as it contains additional information the listener would want to know about.

Finally, in Q 15, regarding interpreting **directionality**, equal numbers who would find it easier to interpret into or out of their mother tongue were noted at 21.43% (9) each. 38.10% (16) see no difference in the directionality. One respondent (FER, male, student) stated that they would not be interpreting taboo anyway, so the direction is irrelevant, while 16.67% (7) did not know, 11.90% (5) of which were students, with one interpreting less than 10% and only 1 interpreting over 75%. None of those who did not know worked as full time PSIs.

*15) Do you find it easier to interpret taboo

	Response (%)	Responses
Into your mother tongue (You are used to hearing and using such terms)	21.43	9
Out of your mother tongue (It doesn't feel real when you say them in the other tongue)	21.43	9
I don't see any difference in relationship to the direction	38.10	16
I don't know; I don't interpret taboo anyway	2.38	1
I don't know; I have not faced this situation yet so I cannot judge	16.67	7

Fig. 6.8 Questionnaire Results Linked to Directionality

Allan and Burridge (2009: 246) state that 'taboo words and phrases acquired by late bilinguals lack the cultural imprint of the forbidden.' Taibi (2016) sees that interpreters find it easier to handle taboo when it is not in their MT as they have no inhibitions as in their 'learned' tongue, punishment is not linked to that utterance. This means that interpreters should not find it hard to interpret taboo out of their native tongue.

Looking at the interviewees' responses, the issue of directionality only partially matched the literature. An explanation could be that most interpreters have lived in their host country for long enough to have stopped thinking of their mother tongue as such (Schmid, 2012). For example, P6 (FER, lived in the UK for more than 25 years) states, 'I've spent more than half of my life in this culture, speaking mostly English, so they [my two languages] are pretty much the same to me so I wouldn't make that distinction'. In contrast, P5, who has not lived long in the UK, sees the directionality as significant, she says, 'I found it easier to say the terms in English but not in my native tongue. It's easier for me to say it [taboo] to the English people than to the Arabic audience. Because in our culture it's wrong to say it, a swear word. Maybe for English people, it is normal to say swear word?' P1, who is bilingual, found no difference in the directionality. P2 (MER) found it harder into his MT but not for the reasons we expected, instead it was because he thinks he may struggle in understanding the slang in taboo enough to interpret it into his native language. This matches P4's response who finds it tricky to interpret taboo out of his MT as he may 'get it slightly wrong. I'd have to be very careful where it made sense'. When pressed for further explanation, P5 (MER) stated that it was also the linguistic difficulty that influenced the difficulty in directionality, as it was easier for her to know the words in her MT compared to English, where her vocabulary is limited.

By looking at the larger number of respondents through the questionnaire, and when the respondents were divided by ethnicity, the following was found:

(42 Responses out of 62)	MER	EUR	FER
Easier into MT (9)	55.55% (5)	44.44% (4)	0
Easier out of MT (9)	66.66% (6)	11.11% (1)	22.22% (2)
No difference (16)	43.75% (7)	56.25% (9)	0
I don't interpret taboo anyway (1)	100% (1)	0	0
I don't know (7)	57.14% (4)	42.64% (3)	0

Table 6.8: Directionality vs. Ethnicity Responses.

The results confirm that interpreting into the MT appears easier for some cultures, since the numbers of the MER respondents are higher compared to EUR into MT. However, out of MT the differences increase to now being 6 times higher when out of MT. Additionally, 22.22% (2) out of the 3 FER state that directionality matters, when out of MT compared to no FER responding into MT.

To try to understand the nearly equal figures for 'there is no difference in the directionality of interpreting taboo', a deeper look was taken to check if those who responded that way had enough experience or had lived in the UK long enough for them to feel English is nearly equal to their mother tongue (Schmid, 2012). This is a hard category to quantify since language acquisition to a near native level relies not just on the number of hours of learning or the number of years one had lived in the country of the language one is learning, but it also depends on personal linguistic abilities, other languages one already speaks, the age of learning onset, the language pair and closeness in origin, and then one's own language attrition which depends on factors such as isolation (in host country) versus immersion, mixing with native speakers, emotional status linked to one's MT such as if people were in a country where they were traumatised and hence they prefer to not use that language (Schmid, 2012).

Schmid & Köpke (2017) see that cross-language competition is more pronounced for words that share phonological, orthographical or semantic features. They carried out their study on learners who have used their skills for at least three years. The minimum number of years of those who responded in this category is 7 years, the maximum is over 30 years. So, it can be accepted that most of the respondents have enough good English to be seen as bilingual.

Out of the 16 respondents to this category, one respondent had not worked as an interpreter yet, so this response was excluded. Two were students, with little experience and an unknown level of English, that leaves 13 out of the 16 who have a high level of English to make them near-native speakers of their two language pairs, as they all have over 20 (some 30^{+}) years of interpreting and indeed one is a true bilingual, as defined by Thiery (1978), (see 2.13). That may explain their response in not finding any difference in interpreting directionality of taboo based on Schmid's theory. To sum, directionality when interpreting taboo positively correlates with the literature, although it must be remembered that some struggle with interpreting taboo out of their mother tongue for linguistic reasons rather than for fear of punishment, as suggested by some (Taibi, 2016), unless you are deemed bilingual, where it makes no difference.

6.5.2 Theme Two: Culture

This section relates to RQ2: '*What do interpreters' self-reporting regarding the handling of culturally-linked taboo reveal about the way they perceive their role?'* Questions 14, 16-19 all relate to this RQ and shall be evaluated here.

Culture is so important that UNHCR's 1991 '*Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women*' provides advice when assessing female applicants, where others should not judge the application on the basis of Western culture values but on the

basis of the applicant's own culture (an example, maintaining eye contact). In a study by Torruella Valverde (2013), Arab interpreters show that they would not interpret taboo to a person of the same culture, but they would if the same person belonged to a different culture, regardless of the religion they may share. This shows that it is culture that is the limiting factor, rather than religion. This was seen in P5 (MER, f) statement, 'It's easier for me to say it [taboo] to English people than to the Arabic audience. Because in our culture, it's wrong to say it, a swear word. Maybe for English people, it is normal to say swear word? When I am walking in the street [in the UK], all the time, I can hear 'fuck' and this kind of word [sic], but in our culture, you can hear those words only in specific places, you don't hear them while you are walking in the street'. P2 (MER, m) also states that 'I come from a Middle Eastern culture where we omit taboo as it is culturally unacceptable'.

Q14, asks if '*respondents handled taboo based on the audience, setting or context?*'. Each category is analysed separately, looking at audience, setting and context.

For <u>audience</u>, results were checked against outcomes by Williamson (2009) and Rayson et al (1997) that show swearing changes depending on the gender of the audience. Trudgill (2009) attaches language use to social class and gender. He sees conservative language as a sign of femininity (Trudgill, 2000), which is shared by Baker (2006) and Jesperson (1922) who see that women try to maintain the 'purity' of language when they speak, while men are more innovative in their language use. Of the 43 who answered this question, 37.5% (15) stated that they would change depending on the audience. From those, males and females were nearly equal at (51% m v. 49% f) despite the expectations of differences based on Williamson (2009), Rayson et al (1997) and Trudgill (2009) and others listed above. One respondent (MER, f) stated she 'would change depending on the gender of the

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audience, where if it was males, she would be too embarrassed to interpret taboo.'
This respondent would feel a little more comfortable with taboo if the audience were
the same gender as her own. A male (MER, no qualifications) would 'reassure
female clients when taboo is uttered and would try to make them comfortable by not
interpreting or adjusting the tone of the taboo'. And another (MER, f) states that
'Gender is important to consider'. The results show a positive correlation between
gender and its influence on interpreting taboo to the opposite sex. Looking at the
respondents' qualifications, none hold a PhD, and only one holds a Master's degree
while the remaining 14 hold 'other' qualifications relating to interpreting. This
shows that qualifications play a role in the decision made by the respondents, where
the higher the qualifications, the higher the chances of overcoming embarrassment
and interpreting taboo to the opposite sex. As for ethnicity, 66.67% (10) were MER,
26.67 % (4) EUR and 6.66% (1) FER. MER respondents seem to be the highest when
it comes to embarrassment in front of the opposite sex, followed by EUR then FER.
A male (MER, MA) sees the culture of the target audience would be a 'critical factor'
that influences his decision. This reflects the principle that some cultures find taboo
more difficult to deal with compared to others. Eco (2003) sees value and impact of
taboo differs depending on the culture you belong to, and thus when interpreters have
an audience of their own culture, they would struggle to deal with taboo
professionally. This could be explained that those of a similar culture will fully
understand the meaning and implications of the taboo term, leaving them in no doubt
regarding its vulgarity, while those of other cultures may miss it partially or totally,
making it easier on interpreters to use as they worry less about the listeners thinking
badly of them. By interviewing experienced interpreters, P2 (MER, m) agrees that
interpreting taboo for the opposite gender does make it harder for him and 'more

awkward' but that he would do it, nevertheless, despite being 'reluctant at the start'. P5 (MER, f) also finds it more awkward to interpret for the opposite sex especially when they are looking at her directly. This shows that for MER, gender is an issue, matching Trudgill's (2009) notion. The two EUR see that it is not different and in fact P1 (f, EUR) finds it easier to interpret taboo because her male clients are more used to hearing it and using it. P4 (EUR, m) shared P1's opinion in this regard. So, gender for EUR does make a difference here but in a positive way in contrast to Jay (2009) who finds people swear more in same gender settings. P6, who is an experienced FER, sees the gender does not influence her interpreting. The same goes for her fellow countryman (P3). This matches the figures seen in the questionnaire where FER scored low for this category. This shows that ethnicity does influence decisions on interpreting taboo when facing a person of the opposite sex, where MER are negatively affected, while EUR are only slightly affected and FER do not see a difference.

The interviewees added a dimension to this question, which is the age of the audience who are of the opposing gender, where P5 (MER, f) found it harder to interpret taboo to the male client who was closer to her in age, she states, 'Maybe if he's [sic] older, I would be less shy but because he's in the thirties and he's a man and he did eye contact so it was difficult for me'. P3 (FER, m) considers the audience age problematic only from the point of the female audience physically reacting badly to his interpreting of taboo, and therefore he may have to tread more carefully with them. P2 (MER, m), P6 (FER, f) and P4 (EUR, m) think that the audience age would not make a difference to their performances, while P1 (EUR, f) admits to reverting to coping techniques once to allow for the age of an old lady.

The settings: 20% (8) of the respondents are influenced by the setting. Of those, 37.5% (3) hold DPSI while 62.5% (5) hold other qualifications. A respondent explains how she sees that in court settings, it is expected to hear taboo and therefore she would feel more comfortable interpreting taboo compared to other settings. P6 (FER, f) confirms that 'in court settings, every word ought to be interpreted. I don't have any difficulty interpreting taboo in court'. In contrast, P4 (EUR, m) states that 'maybe in a less formal setting, it [interpreting taboo] depends on the flow of conversation' indicating that the setting influences his choices when faced with taboo. The setting, according to P4, also influences how he reacts and feels when interpreting taboo. He states that 'in PSI settings, it'd be obvious if someone had been shouting and the interpreter does not need to explain it is not me. I am suggesting it'd be more obvious from the body language of the speaker who's in the room with everybody else and the interpreter that something rude has just been said'. P5 (MER, f) also finds certain settings easier for handling taboo compared to others, 'in medical settings, because this is a medical issue, I found it easy, but because it's something not relating to any medical or anything [sic] so that's why I found it embarrassing'. P3 (FER, m) also states that among other factors, setting is important in deciding how to handle taboo.

There have been no studies to show a correlation between qualifications, gender and settings, although it could be argued that if the setting of the interpreting is intimate, such as a small examination room and with the client being of the opposite gender, it is possible that the setting would make a difficult situation even more difficult. A respondent states that she 'might not be so dramatic in a court setting', indicating that the setting influences her choices when interpreting. For now, the only possible correlation seen is that qualifications negatively correlate with the influence of

settings on interpreting taboo. The second possible correlation, although there are no studies to compare against, is gender, where 100% of the respondents to this were females, implying that females are more sensitive to their surroundings when interpreting taboo. This could be an area for further research.

When asked about the context and its influence on interpreting taboo, 27.5% (11) stated that context would influence their choices. Of those 54.54% (6) hold 'other' interpreting qualifications, while 45.45% (5) are DPSI holders. This implies that qualifications inversely correlate with context.

When evaluating the influence of ethnicities, little difference was found between EUR and MER, with 54.54% (6) EUR and 45.45% (5) MER and no FE respondents. However, Croson and Gneezy (2009:449) state that there are cultural biases that create gender differences in risk taking where this is present only in 'Whites'. This means EUR females should be influenced the most by context. The results show slightly more EUR females are affected compared to MER females, but not at a considerable level (5 compared to 4 respectively). Is gender an influencing factor for context? Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin (1996), Croson and Gneezy (2009) plus Arch (1993) identify that females are less prone to taking risks compared to males and that this influences their decisions, where women 'report more intense nervousness and fear than men in anticipation of negative outcomes'. This matches what P4 (EUR, m) states 'I have come across taboos in my work where people use it in a kind of humorous context and no one is offended. I would interpret it'. Being male, P4 thinks the context makes taboo acceptable with no possible negative outcomes. Arch (1993) shows that females see risks as something that need avoidance in contrast to men who see such risks as challenges that call for their participation. The questionnaire results indicate this not to be the case where only 21% (4 out of 19) males are

influenced by context compared to 17% (7 out of 40) females. Looking at the interviews, all interviewees agreed that context was important in analysing the significance of taboo before interpreting it. P5 (MER, f) states 'I have to always look for relevance and context'. A female respondent to the questionnaire also sees that 'context and audience, I guess, are the two main elements on which the interpreter builds his strategy in interpreting taboos'. P6 (FER, f) sees that taboos differ 'depending on context' as does P3 'it depends on context and intention'. P4 (EUR, m) sees that in a 'professional context, I am there to do a job' meaning he would interpret taboo. While P2 (MER, m) allows context to impact his choices: 'it depends on the context […]. If the speaker is happy about something and does not mean rudeness, in such a context, I might use omission. Otherwise, if you don't interpret that ugly word in the other culture, it means you're not being accurate […] you're showing an ugly thing as beautiful'.

To sum up, no differences were noted based on ethnicity or gender or the two combined when it comes to context.

15% (6) did not know how they would react in the aforementioned categories. All were inexperienced students. This, and the results of the three dimensions just looked at above where qualifications seem to inversely correlate with audience, setting and context, indicate that studying strategies linked to interpreting taboo should help.

Q16. is regarding the '*appropriateness of ignoring taboo'*. Following the earlier discussion on omitting taboo and being mindful of the consequences of ignoring taboo, the hypothesis is that experienced interpreters should find it inappropriate to ignore taboo due to the consequences, not just for fidelity purposes. Extending this to culture, the hypothesis is that EUR/ LCC would also find it inappropriate to ignore taboo compared to their HCC counterparts. Moreover, the expectation is that females

will score higher than males in this category for fear of being caught out ignoring taboo (Croson & Gneezy, 2009).

Just over 94% (34) agree that it is inappropriate to ignore taboo while interpreting, either due to fidelity (50%) or because there are consequences if taboo was left out (50%). Some added the need for sensitivity when interpreting taboo, which implies lowering the tone a little, or changing the terms used and/ or adding that these are 'not our words as interpreters.' This does not fit with Tebble's (1999), Hale's (2004) and Lakoff's (2004) theories that interpreters must match the tone and the force of the utterances. 5.56% (2) deem it appropriate to ignore taboo due to embarrassment (50%) or to discourage such kind of talking (50%). In fact, one argued that they could paraphrase the taboo terms and if the client continued to use them, then she would go as far as turn down the job (MER, DPSI). This respondent only works as an interpreter for 10% of her time and perhaps she has not faced yet the realities of PSIn where it is not possible to cancel an assignment halfway through and therefore turning down a job may not be an option, as confirmed by Taibi (2016) who reminds practitioners that taboo might be incidental in a case and therefore they cannot just walk away from it.

None of the respondents chose 'it is appropriate to ignore taboo'. One respondent with over 20 years' experience does not see any good reason for ignoring taboo, and another states that 'interpreters must follow our codes of conduct'.

Delving deeper, 42.22% (17) agree it is inappropriate to ignore taboo for fidelity reasons. 35.30% (6) were males and 64.70% (11) females. This fits with Croson and Gneezy's (2009) theory on risk aversion in females, who choose to be faithful to the speaker, even when the utterance is taboo, rather than risk being caught out omitting it and not adhering to their code of ethics that demands fidelity. This positively

matches the hypothesis. This does not exclude males wanting to be faithful, though, as seen in the responses and in P4's statement, 'if you leave it out, then you've been unfaithful to the speaker'.

In considering ethnicities, 41.17% (7) MER, 35.30% (6) EUR and 11.76% (2) FER responded. Taking into the account the total number per ethnicity in the whole study, the percentages look like this: MER 24.14% (7), EUR 20% (6) and FER 66.67% (2). FER score highest when it comes to fidelity to the code of ethics compared to their EUR and MER peers. HCC, the group HCC belong to, do not normally like to have rules governing their behaviour (al-Omari, 2009), but this departure of what is expected could be due to years of social control by the state in China (Ren, 1997), where for centuries, Chinese rulers were active in controlling and ordering Chinese society, upholding order against undesirable human conduct with the aim of gaining behavioural conformity and thought uniformity (the FER are all Chinese). It was expected that EUR would have a higher number of adherences to the codes of ethics compared to FER and MER, but the difference with their MER was not high.

To discover if qualifications influence this decision, the degrees held by the respondents are examined. 88.24% (15) hold BA level degrees, 5.88% (1) London Metropolitan Police Test (MPT) and 5.88% (1) MA. Since even the MPT, which is the lowest qualification in the group, teaches students about ethics and fidelity to the speaker, the attainment of a higher degree in interpreting would not seem to have made a difference and this is reflected by the percentages seen. Nearly the same figures are seen when looking at the impact qualifications have on not ignoring taboo but the reasons cited are due to fear of the consequences of doing so.

To understand the numbers more, interpreting experience was looked at. 52.94% (9) worked FT, 47.06% (8) were PT, of which 35.30% (6) work under 10%. The high

number of full-time respondents implies that experience conditions interpreters to be faithful to the speakers even when taboo is involved. Equally, the high numbers of part-timer respondents indicate either they are too new and follow their code of ethics to the letter, or that their little experience has taught them not to take risks and to interpret everything they hear. P6 (FER, f) discusses the Code of Conduct for PSIn, 'I had come across the Code of Conduct for interpreters which requires you to interpret everything', mentioning the fidelity rule in the Code as having an impact on her interpreting choices.

In comparison to the first category of interpreting taboo for reasons of fidelity, the same number agree that interpreters cannot ignore taboo, because they recognise the consequences of doing so. Breaking down the figures the following is found:

11.76% (2) were males and 88.24% (15) females. This shows a positive correlation with the Croson and Gneezy (2009) risk aversion theory where females worry about the consequences of not interpreting taboo.

With ethnicities, 47.06% (8) were MER, 47.06% (8) EUR and 5.88% (1) FER. To put this into perspective, the numbers were calculated based on the total number of questionnaire respondents. The nearly equal division of ethnicity between EUR 26.66% (8), 27.59% (8) MER and 33.33% (1) FER respondents shows that ethnicity and risk taking in this instance is similar, meaning risk aversion and anxiety over consequences seems to be unrelated to the respondents' ethnicities. This indicates a no correlation relationship.

Similar to the first category, when looking at qualifications, 94.12% (16) hold BA level degrees, including DPSI, and only 5.88% (1) holds a Master's in interpreting, but none hold lower interpreting degrees. This confirms that holding an interpreting qualification helps at the very least to recognise the presence of consequences to

interpreting outputs, emphasising the need to employ qualified interpreters in public services. P2 states that 'discussing taboo during interpreter training would help greatly, especially as there is a lack of research of interpreting taboo'. P5 agrees 'I didn't realise its [taboo interpreting] importance'.

Further, interpreting experience was calculated, where 17.65% (3) work FT, 82.35% (14) PT, of which 47.06% (8) work under 10% in interpreting. Theoretically, it is expected that more full-time practitioners with higher experience compared to part-timers would choose this option, but the questionnaire does not reflect that. However, when looking at the interview results, all interviewees agreed that their experience helped them when faced with taboo. They all state that their experience has changed them greatly and now they would interpret taboo regardless of their personal feelings or ideologies. P6 (FER, f) says, 'I now know […] that I must interpret everything whatever the circumstances so now yes, I would deal with it differently in that I don't omit anything'. P1 (EUR, f) is the same, '[…] the first time I was probably like a beetroot when I said these things, I didn't even know how to say certain words, […], now if someone says it, I say it too'. P5 (MER, f) states that even in her short experience, she has learnt things such as not making assumptions where she assumes things like gestures are universal, and that she has now learnt that 'I should interpret taboo regardless of how embarrassing it may be. I am an interpreter and I have to interpret everything'. So overall, a positive correlation between experience and not ignoring taboo was found. P4 (Eur, m) was not as sure in this regard, but he thinks he would probably be helped in the future through increased experience. While P2 (MER, m) is confident that how he handles things now would differ from when he started 12 years ago, where he 'wouldn't have known how to tackle the situation'. He goes on to say, 'now I am more aware and I

have some experience talking to colleagues, exchange ideas, how to tackle here in the UK so I was more aware how to tackle and how to maintain some coping techniques [Sic]'. So even the hesitant respondent thinks that experience would be of benefit. Only one respondent thinks it is embarrassing to interpret taboo and therefore it is appropriate to ignore it, this respondent is a ME female who holds a DPSI and works part time. From this it can be seen that her relative inexperience and cultural background stop her from interpreting taboo, which fits with the literature seen earlier (Zitwai, 2003; Taibi, 2016).

One respondent would ignore taboo in order to discourage people from using such language, this respondent is a male, MER, holder of DPSI and works part time under 10% as a PSI. This lack of experience, coupled with his MER background, which avoids taboo use in public, may explain his choice of ignoring taboo. Scholars in the field, even those of ME backgrounds, discourage this, as seen by Taibi (2016) who sees that PSIs must be aware of the cultural differences related to taboo as well as the differences in face-threatening potential between cultural groups and in different contexts. Cambridge (2013) is of the same opinion.

Central to many of the answers received is how the respondents see their role(s) as interpreters. This requires analysing responses from Q19.

Below are the answers received:

19) How do you see the role of interpreters? (Tick as many as you see fit)

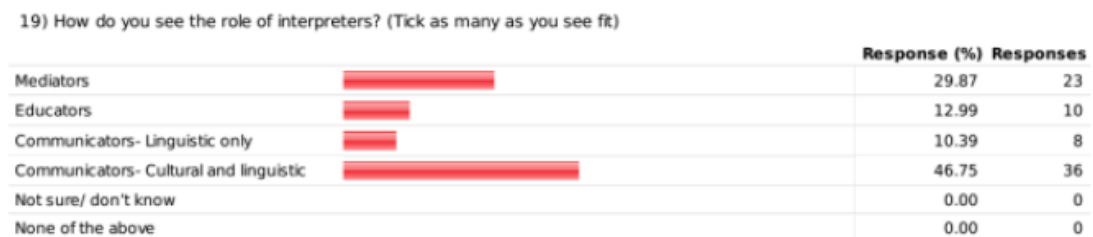|	Response (%)	Responses
Mediators	29.87	23
Educators	12.99	10
Communicators- Linguistic only	10.39	8
Communicators- Cultural and linguistic	46.75	36
Not sure/ don't know	0.00	0
None of the above	0.00	0

Fig.6.9 Questionnaire Results: Role of Interpreters

Linguistic and cultural communicators ranked highest with 46.45% (36) responses, followed by mediators 29.86% (23), educators 12.99% (10) and finally 10.39% (8) for linguistic communicators only. This final figure shows that most of the respondents recognise their role to be not just the transfer of words between languages but that the role extends to mediating and educating the clients. Educating here means imparting information to the clients in matters that are present in one culture but not the other. It was noted that five respondents chose two categories that had some overlap, which is the communicators-cultural and linguistic and communicators-linguistic only. Since the latter is part of the former, those who opted for the former should not have ticked the linguistic only. Those numbers were removed from the calculations carried out below in order to give a better reflection. It was seen earlier that it is experience that dictates attitudes towards interpreting taboo compared to cultural affiliation in matters such as role expectations. Breaking down the figures from the questionnaire, the following was seen when checked against qualifications:

	Mediators	Educators	Linguistic Communicators	Cultural & Linguistic Communicators
PhD	-	-	-	2.78% (1)
MA/ MSc	78.26% (18)	100% (10)	-	66.67% (24)
DPSI	13.04% (3)	-	66.67% (2)	8.33% (3)
BA/ BSc	8.70% (2)	-	33.33% (1)	22.22% (8)
Total	23	10	3	36

Table 6.9: Breakdown of Role of Interpreters vs. Qualifications

All 100% respondents who see that interpreters need to be cultural educators are holders of university MA degrees. This fits with the hypothesis that qualifications dictate attitudes towards role expectations. To check experience (see Table 6:10), only two of the respondents work full time as PSI, while the remaining respondents

work PT: under 25% of their time. This confirms that qualifications, not experience, seemingly influence that choice of 'educators', which fits with university ethos of encouraging students to spread learning. This moves across the other roles, where the MA degree scores the highest against all suggested roles (see Table 6.9). Even when DPSIs, which are BA level, are combined with the other BA responses, the MA still scores higher than that combination. It was expected that experienced interpreters would score higher than their less experienced colleagues in this question. However, the opposite was noted. Inverse correlation was found, either due to the majority of the experienced full-timers being too busy to worry about their role and focussing on transferring the message across, or because they think interpreters should not play a role other than linguistic communication and they just did not tick 'none of the above', which would match what Hale's (2000) study showed where interpreters stated that their job is merely to interpret, not to clarify, or add or omit.

	Mediators	Educators	Linguistic Communicators	Cultural & Linguistic Communicators
PT (Less than 10%)	47.83% (11)	50% (5)	66.67% (2)	41.67% (15)
PT (10-25%)	21.74% (5)	30% (3)	33.33% (1)	22.22% (8)
PT (50% +)	-	-	-	8.33% (3)
FT	30.43% (7)	20% (2)	-	27.78% (10)
Total	23	10	3	36

Table 6.10: Breakdown of Role of Interpreters vs. Interpreting Work Experience

Looking at the interviewees' responses, P6 sees her role as an educator, sharing 'information related to cultural taboos'. P2 and P3 see interpreters' role to be a combination of educators, communicators and mediators, 'because we have the expertise in all those roles', while P4 sees interpreters must pick up the missing

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cultural cues and to 'make explicit that these are the words that had been used if it's not that obvious'. He sees the role is 'not about the interpreter's role but it is about conveying the message, and if there is a misunderstanding, the role is to clarify'. P1 sees herself as simply a parrot with a brain, where she repeats what she hears but analyses it first and listing in her head what is key and what is secondary or padding in order to decide which strategy to follow in interpreting . P5 sees her role to be of an educator and a cultural mediator, where she must explain the cultural gaps to clarify the differences in the two cultures she is interpreting between. She recognises that this does not mean giving advice, merely clarification of a cultural issue. This reflects a comment made by a questionnaire respondent (FT, DPSI) who fears interpreters might extend their role and give advice, which they should not. While no one is advocating a change in interpreters' roles to become counsellors, the importance of their role as cultural mediators must not be underestimated, where their mediation extends to being 'synthesisers' as suggested by Bochner (1981) where they could be creative when explaining cultural incompatibilities between clients. P5 considers that as part of her role, remarking '[the client] is coming from a different culture. It's trying to explain the gap between the two cultures to just clarify. Yeah, it's a mediation for safeguarding, yeah. [But] I don't give any advice, actually'.

One respondent sees that the role is dependent on the task in hand, if it is wholly linguistic, then the role is merely language transfer, but if the task has cultural aspects to it, then interpreters can explain cultural gaps or innuendos. This fits with Bistra's (1997) description of interpreters' roles that change based on the individual event they interpret at, the context, and the level of culture-related language found in those events.

The responses were found to positively match the literature, for example, Pym (2004: 150) sees the role of interpreters as 'the promotion of long-term cross-cultural cooperation; this should be their highest ethical goal.' This cooperation can only be achieved through being all of the suggested roles of mediation, education and cultural communication. The lowest achieved scores are for the linguistic communicators only, which was chosen by part-time interpreters (under 25%) with qualifications below BA level. It could be argued that through attending university interpreting courses, the respondents have learnt the importance of interpreters' roles in communication, which is reflected in the question's responses. All interviewees also agreed that with the passage of time, they found that their attitude towards matters like taboo had changed where they have gained confidence through that experience and through discussing certain situations with colleagues, which later allowed them to deal better with taboo and embarrassing situations.

Q17. Relates to how **knowledge of both cultures** *would help with interpreting taboo*. Literature shows that taboo is closely linked to culture, therefore the hypothesis is that all interpreters should agree with this statement. All respondents indeed agree that knowledge of both cultures will help them deal with taboo. But none of them expanded on this point. A possible explanation is that all respondents have linked taboo to culture and hence the response. P4 (EUR) who interprets between languages that are close culturally, both being Western European, agrees that his task is easier as he is more familiar with the cultures of his language pair, 'It helps me that my languages are culturally close'. P3 (FER) whose language cultures are quite distant agrees strongly that cultural knowledge helps with taboo, and P1 (EUR) agrees that cultural knowledge helps 'I instinctively know what someone means when they utter something rude or sarcastic, because I grew up in both

cultures.' Taibi (2016) suggests interpreter training should include cultural sensitivities. This should include learning the different rankings of taboos per language. Taibi (ibid) sees that PSIs must be aware of the cultural differences related to taboo as well as the differences in face-threatening potential between cultural groups and in different contexts. Cambridge (2013) is of the same opinion, especially in medical settings. One of the questionnaire respondents agrees that interpreters must play a role in transferring culture, but only 'from the context of the linguistic aspect'. Schäffner (2000) suggests interpreters learn the cultures of the languages they work between in order to mediate the utterances between them, where they must take note of the culture-bound categories. Chapter 2.12 showed how taboo is closely linked to culture and that it differs from one culture to another. Not being conversant in both cultures will mean that interpreters are unable to transfer taboos correctly. Many taboos are cloaked in euphemisms which are the linguistic part of culture, therefore interpreters must know that part of culture too in order to be efficient in their message transfer (Rababa'ah & al-Qorni, 2012).

6.5.3 Theme Three: Competencies and Training

This theme aims to address RQ3: 'What are the training competencies required for taboo interpreting in PSI settings?'

When discussing the role of interpreters in culturally mediated events, it was evident that the level of interpreting qualifications and experience impacted the choices interpreters make when faced with taboo. This leads to the question of competencies interpreters should possess in order to meet their role expectations. Please refer to 4.2 for interpreter training competencies.

P2 (m, MER) sees research as important, he says, 'Interpreting taboo in the Arabic culture is very sensitive, and it needs more awareness and more research. The more research we do, the more it opens up new horizons of examples that until now there are some situations where the interpreter is unable to grasp how to interpret taboo into the other culture especially now with the challenges of the new culture in the West […]. The message is we need research on taboo, what there is now is not enough to open new horizons. A combination of my gut instinct, education/ qualification and experience all help me when it comes to interpreting taboo.' Gile (2004) suggests a competence that is relevant to interpreting taboo, which is personality. This, some argue, is not a competence, we are born with our personalities. However, trainees require courage to carry out impersonations of their clients, showing their client's personalities while interpreting for them. To be able to 'perform', Chesterman (2007) names self-confidence as a key component of interpreter competence. This supports the listing of personality as a competence by Gile (2004). To interpret those factors into reality could be through the admission process to training courses. An entry test should be carried out to see if those personality traits and self-confidence exist or if applicants have the possibility of building their confidence as they gain more training and experience. This is seen by some of the interviewees' responses, for example, P1 who has over 25 years' experience, states that the first time she was faced with taboo, she 'turned red as a beetroot, but that she used to research new taboo words and with time, she lost her embarrassment and if someone says a taboo word, she says it as it is'. P5 also states that she would like to learn how to overcome her shyness so she can interpret taboo, as she sees the importance of not ignoring them. She adds 'I assume people can see gestures and understand them or that they can assess the level of feelings behind

taboo utterances, but I see now that this could be wrong. Training sessions would be useful'. P3 would have liked this training to be scenario-based so he could improve his flexibility when faced with different taboo scenarios.

Taboo is linked to concepts, rather than words (Trudgill, 2000), which allows people to say things in public like 'urine' but not 'piss', yet interpreters are expected to interpret the word 'piss' if this is what was used in public by their clients, despite it flouting their socio-cultural conventions. This will need training, through repetition of taboo terms in conversation and in overcoming ideological obstacles through in-class debates and awareness sessions, to allow interpreters to practise flouting the norms. P5 states that she would like training so she could overcome her shyness when faced with taboo. Reminding interpreters that their ideologies must not seep into their judgement might be helpful in this matter, this could be done by teaching trainees that when interpreting culturally sensitive matters, they must investigate their ideological assumptions about the language (in speech and signs) as suggested by Candlin (1990). This is quite important with taboo, which is highly charged, emotionally and culturally, which may mean that without training, interpreters might struggle to isolate themselves from those feelings. This could be overcome by teaching the various existing interpreting Code of Ethics that would ensure interpreters are faithful and accurate and that they transfer cultural nuances. This must be combined with learning the consequences of actions taken such as omitting or adding to utterances that occur due to trying to overcome taboo. P6 (FER, f) states that when she was studying for her DPSI, 'taboo was not mentioned, but I had come across the code of conduct for interpreters which requires you to interpret everything. But, knowing that and actually doing it, especially in the situation I just illustrated, puts it in a very different category'. As P6 was not trained specifically in handling

taboo, she struggled to cope with it as a new interpreter although she thinks that training during her course would have resolved this issue faster. (Please refer to Appendices I and J for the ITI Code of Professional Conduct and APCI Code of Practice, respectively).

Phenitsyn (2011) suggests critical thinking as an important component in training to allow interpreters to identify key terms linked to culture in any utterance in order to decide on a suitable strategy before attempting to interpret it. P2 suggests that with time, a mix of 'gut instincts and education and skill building helps him [sic] in interpreting taboo'. P1 also agrees that it was her training that showed her the importance of interpreting everything, however difficult, as it shows the personality of the speaker, which may influence decisions such as releasing offenders early on probation or not, a decision that is partly based on the personality of the offender and changed attitudes while in prison. P3 sees that it was the ability to use euphemisms when dealing with taboo that helps him overcome this issue. He sees learning how to use them well helps all interpreters in such cases. While P5 would like to see more training on improving interpreters' analytical skills in order to decide if the taboo is key or not, and to be able to see it differently based on context. P2 agrees that analysis is important, he states that 'those with experience can analyse the intention [of taboo] and transfer it while the inexperienced, they may not transfer it'. All those responses match what scholars suggest for improving interpreting of anything taboo. P4, for instance, agrees that 'when something sensitive pops up, I need to analyse it, be it a good/ positive term'. Clearly, even the inexperienced interpreter (P5) sees a great value in training.

Cambridge (2013) asks for training to focus on impartiality (when it comes to ability to interpret taboo) but that training needs to be extended to users of PSIs where they

stop making incorrect assumptions about the role and knowledge base of interpreters. Training through role plays and teaching the various codes of ethics should address this matter, (Appendices I & J). P5 mentions this point specifically 'I just interpret [taboo] as it is. I need to be neutral'. P6 agrees with that 'we are expected to be impartial and neutral; I hope I tried that as best as I could'.

Having discussed some competencies relating to interpreting and linked relevant ones to taboo in PSIn settings, the question determining what the respondents think regarding guidelines for interpreting taboo was examined, using Q18, which asks, '*Having formal guidelines on interpreting taboo would help me when faced with interpreting it'*. Three choices were offered, and they are: agree/ disagree / not sure or don't know. The responses can be seen below:

		Response (%)	Responses
Agree		70.73	29
Disagree		12.20	5
Not sure/ don't know		17.07	7
		Answered Question	41
		Skipped Question	20

Fig. 6.10 Questionnaire Results Relating to Significance of Having Guidelines

70.73% (29) agree that there is a need for formal guidelines on interpreting taboo, while 12.20% (5) disagree (all aged 40-49, part-time interpreters, 3 under 10% and two 50%). 17.07% (7) were unsure, all were students except one full time PSI.

Guidelines are useful tools as they can support many teaching goals, clarifying expectations and enabling students to engage better when faced with issues that lead to conflict or debate. This is because guidelines contain information to advise people on how things, such as how to deal with taboo, should be done (CRLT, 2021). Attitude towards formal guidelines can reflect attitude towards training and building competencies.

When looking into details of the respondents, the main factors to check against would be ethnicity, experience and qualifications, age and gender. Religion will not form part of this analysis since it is ethnicity and culture that impact the way we communicate, rather than religion (Torruella Valverde, 2013).

Based on Al- Omari's (2009) division of cultural groups into HCC and LCC, and how LCCs (EUR) prefer clear guidelines to their behaviour and speech compared to HCC, the hypothesis is that EUR should form the largest part of those who agree with Q18, while those who disagree or do not know should belong to either MER or FER.

By considering the ethnicities of those who agreed with Q18's statement, it was found that out of the 41 respondents who agree that there was a need for guidelines, 46.34% (19) were MER, and 4.88% (2) FER, adding those together as they both belong to the same cultural category (HCC), brings the total to 51.22% (21) of total respondents that belong to HCC, while 19.51% (8) belonged to LCC. Of those who disagree with the need for guidelines, 7.31% (3) were MER (HCC) and 4.88% (2) EUR (LCC). Among those who are unsure or who do not know, all 17.07% (7) were EUR. These results contradict expectations, where EUR/ LCC mostly disagree or are unsure about the usefulness of having guidelines despite their cultural type usually preferring that structure, while those belonging to HCC (MER and FER) opted for having guidelines, despite usually their cultural type preferring implicit and indirect ways to communicate difficult things. This may be explained that since most HCC respondents now live in the West, they prefer to have guidelines to ensure they do their jobs well. Or it could be that as most all hold a Master's level in interpreting, hence they have become accustomed to having rules that influence their interpreting choices, rather than interpreting ad hoc. Looking at the total numbers of

LCCs in the questionnaire population, which is 29, only 27.59% (8) out of 29 LCC agree that guidelines would be useful, compared to HCC respondents 63.63% (21) who opted for that choice. Seeing that nearly all respondents, regardless of their ethnic background, have the same qualifications across all the three options in this question, it is deduced that this is not the factor that influenced their choices in this question. It is possible that experience plays a large factor here, where experienced interpreters might feel they already know enough and have faced numerous situations like this in their working lives, that they do not need guidelines at this stage of their career, while inexperienced interpreters might have felt that guidelines would help them when faced with a difficult choice such as interpreting taboo.

By looking at the experience of the respondents, it was found that from those who opted for not needing guidelines, only one (7.7%) is full-time (out of total 13 FT interpreters), while 25% (4 out of 16 PT less than 10%) were part-time interpreters. Of those who are unsure, nearly the same percentages were seen as those who did not see the value of guidelines. In contrast, 6 out of 13 (nearly half) full time interpreters see a need for guidelines, and 56.25% (9) out of 16 part-timers (under 10%) agree with that. The contrast between those two groups indicates that experience does indeed have an impact when it comes to making choices regarding formal guidelines, where those with experience prefer to follow guidelines, implying that they have either used them in the past (which cannot be the case since such guidelines do not yet exist) or that they would use them should they be compiled. The results for Part-timers with under 10% of their week spent interpreting do match expectations, where they seek guidelines because it is to be expected when you have little experience in anything that you would seek to use other's experiences to guide yours.

Considering females tend to try to focus more on 'others' and to conform to what society's expectations and stereotypes are of them (Hughes, 2003), it is expected that more females would prefer to have guidelines compared to their male counterparts. The analysis breakdown shows that within each group, 50% (20 out of 40) females preferred to have guidelines, which is comparable to the males at 47.37% (9 out of 19 total respondents). 7.5% (3 out of 40 female respondents) do not see the need for guidelines, compared to 10.5% (2 males out of 19 male respondents), which again is not that different in value. Those who did not know or were unsure differed slightly where the female figures were slightly higher although still not by much compared to the first group, where we see 12.5% (5 out of 40) females were unsure while 10.5% (2 out of 19) males were unsure. These results indicate that gender does not have an impact when it comes to preference of guidelines, despite expectations of females probably wanting to have them as part of Hughes' conformity expectations. Another stereotypical expectation relates to age, where the young are expected to be rebellious, not wanting to adhere to guidelines, which is known as 'rebellion of non-conformity' (Pickhardt, 2009), and the older generation would be similarly defiant, wanting to break their stereotypical image of being weak and incapable, while the age groups in between are expected to follow a pattern of decreasing rebellion towards middle age then increasing defiance at the start of the 60s (Hazan, 1999). It was found that the youngest and the oldest age groups in this questionnaire were similar (around half of each group) where both groups preferred to have guidelines, while the figure for the other age groups was slightly higher for 40-49 (64.28%) and lower for the group of 25-39 (36.35%). This partially matches the age expectations regarding adherence to rules and guidelines where the figure for the young was high,

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then it decreased (a match), then increased (mis-match) and decreased again for 50$^+$ in contrast to expectations.

One of the questionnaire respondents (f, EUR, not practising yet, 40-49) stated that she finds 'the idea of guidelines for taboo language very interesting and would like to see the results that might be helpful for her future career'. Although this is not a practising interpreter, so her results were discarded, her comments were relevant to this question as it shows that someone inexperienced would want to see any training that would help them be effective at work. This respondent belongs to the age group that scored the highest in wanting guidelines and also to LCC, which also prefers guidelines. Another inexperienced respondent of the same age group (MER,m) stated 'it is very important to discuss such a topic especially in interpreting. Definitely, interpreters face such situations and have to be careful, skilful and clever in dealing with taboos. […]. The answers of this questionnaire, after analysed [sic], will be very useful in knowing different attitudes towards interpreting taboos.'

In comparing the questionnaire figures with interviewees' comments, it was found that P2 and P3 (both males, HCC, interpret under 50% of their time, aged 40-49 and 25-39 respectively) fit with the results obtained in that both think guidelines would be of use . However, P6 (f, HCC, under 10%) sees that we do not always have the luxury of time for teaching things like interpreting taboo and that it should be allocated some time when we discuss Codes of Ethics, rather than allocate a session or more just for this. P6 suggests this as a CPD session. This contrasts with P5 (F, HCC, 25-39 years, 50% interpreting) who did not follow formal interpreting training, who stated 'I would love to get formal training on this as I didn't realise its importance and if someone gave me advice, then it would help me greatly. Training should be continuous, so we get over the shyness when we have when faced with

taboo'. The last part of this statement where shyness is mentioned, confirms the need for Gile's (2004) personality competence and confirms that if interpreters are willing, then they could change their professional personality traits to allow for efficient interpreting.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the responses collated from the questionnaire and interviews that address the research questions. Through those responses the researcher aimed to compare real life practices by PSIs with what scholars advocate for interpreting culturally related terms, of which taboo is one. This comparison aims to see if there are matches with the general recommendations, indicating good practice in general, or a lack of matching, indicating the need for training in this field. An expectation of partial matching across the full research spectrum exists, but this will guide research towards the areas that need extra focus during interpreter training.

In line with DPA, the responses were considered using three themes, each addressing one of the research questions through the analysis of the questions that are linked to them. Theme one related to interpreting strategies used when facing cultural items, such as taboo. Theme two related to the perceived role of interpreters and the impact of cultural knowledge when interpreting taboo while theme three related to training competencies that may be of use when faced with taboo.

The analysis was carried out based on many factors that have been shown by scholars to affect how interpreters deal with taboo, such as gender, age, qualifications and ethnicity. The categories of taboo added to the analysis were chosen based on the

definition discussed in Chapter 2.3, and they are: linguistic, religious, sexual, sexist, racist and politically-incorrect taboo.

In Theme One: Interpreting strategies, an attempt was made to quantify the extent interpreters recognise the varying categories of taboo and the extent to which they would interpret those taboos. The results showed that racism and sexual taboo (i.e.: bodily functions) are the highest perceived as taboo, followed closely by blasphemy, swearing, sexism, ageism then political incorrectness. Just over 3% consider none of the categories as taboo. In breaking down taboo categories, it was found that for sexism, FER and MER consider sexism as taboo more than their EUR counterparts, which matches the literature (Lawson, 2011; Taibi, 2016; Rababa'ah & al-Qorni, 2012). Racism is the highest taboo in the West (Lawson, 2011). The results matched this where EUR chose it the most, followed by MER then FER. The interviewee results also match this outcome. Gender was cross checked with this category and the results matched the literature that states that females see racism as taboo more than males (Hughes, 2003). Blasphemy was cross referenced with gender, age and ethnicity. In age, it was found that as the respondents grew older, they saw blasphemy more as taboo, but this declined after the age of 50, contrary to expectations, where older people start to think of mortality and turn more to God (Voas, 2019). Compared against ethnicities and religions, more than half MER (all Muslims) see blasphemy as taboo and a smaller number would agree to interpret it, in contrast to the EUR (mostly Christians or non-practising Christians) who were similar in numbers in perception of blasphemy as taboo but higher for those who would agree to interpret it. This matches the literature findings. No FER chose blasphemy as taboo. In the swearing and offensive language category, which is the category mostly linked to taboo by the general public, the results did not match

expectations, possibly due to the dynamic and continuously evolving nature of this category. 70% females consider this category to be taboo, matching the literature (Williamson, 2009, Jay, 2009). Theoretically, swearing is increasingly perceived as taboo as the respondents' ages increase. The results did not match, where all ages equally consider swearing as taboo except for those aged 25-39, where this was slightly higher. This may be that people become more conservative at this age, while when they get older, they want to rebel, accepting taboo more. Results of ethnicity and perception of swearing as taboo matched the literature where the highest were MER followed by FER then EUR. In the West, such language has infiltrated daily lives and thus not much of it is considered taboo (Cambridge, 2013, and others). The results for sexism showed a positive correlation between females and sexism perception, which was expected considering sexism is negative towards females. In contrast, an inverse correlation to literature regarding age and sexism was found, where respondents' perception decreased as age increased. Hammond (2017) suggests that this is due to a change in people's goals as their ages increase. Sexism was shown to differ based on ethnicity (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2016). The ethnicity results partially matched the literature, where EUR and FER females do not see sexism as taboo but merely impolite, while MER females do consider it taboo.

The younger respondents saw ageism as taboo the most, which contradicts expectations, unless it is seen that they define ageism as discrimination against the young rather than the old definition of it being discrimination against the elderly. MER did not see ageism as taboo, possibly because the elderly are revered in the Middle East, while in the West, older people live longer and are seen as a financial liability (Formosa, 2001). The responses for EUR and FER were equal, resulting in partial matching to the literature.

Only 8% saw political incorrectness as taboo. The females were double the males, matching expectations since females tend to think about 'others' more than males (Phenitsyn, 2011; Mukhametzyanova et al, 2017). Ethnicity was cross checked with this category due to close links to each other (ibid), and it was found that about half of MER would interpret politically incorrect utterances compared to a higher EUR response (two thirds). The relatively higher than expected number of ME respondents could be explained that those specifically seem to have lived in the West for a long period of time (10-25 years) possibly thus taking on some of the Western ideologies and thoughts (Phenitsyn, 2011).

By looking at strategies the respondents would use for interpreting taboo, the hierarchy they use was as follows: Functional Equivalence > Omission > Literal Translation > 'Not my words' > Substitution> not sure.

Literature shows that omission should be a last resort, if at all, when it comes to taboo. The results conflict with the literature as omission seems to be the second most favoured strategy. However, functional equivalence was the top strategy, matching the literature. Substitution, according to scholars, should be the third ranked, but the results place it as the penultimate lowest ranking strategy. Literal translation came third in the questionnaire but in the literature, it is a strategy that is not highly encouraged. This study only partially matches recent studies, which were carried out slightly differently to this one in that they studied one culture only (Robati and Zand, 2018), while this is across all cultures. The thesis partially matches a different study carried out also on a specific ethnicity, where both found that functional equivalence ranks highest (Pratama, 2016). As there are no actual guidelines in existence that interpreters could follow when faced with taboo, it is not

unusual that there are matching inconsistencies especially across different ethnicities.

Since communication is partly verbal and largely non-verbal (Payis, 1989), it was prudent to look at the non-verbal communication carried out by PSIs when faced with taboo. Similar to verbal communication, which changes across countries, non-verbal communication differs, too, as does attitude towards it (Cambridge, 2013; Jay, 2000). Respondents who maintain eye contact or mimic speakers' gestures report that it is more professional to do so, increasing clients' confidence in the output, thus matching the literature. The results also indicate that holding an interpreting qualification encourages the mimicking of gestures and non-verbal communication, matching what the literature advocates. Further, a correlation was found between those who avoid eye contact when interpreting taboo and those who would avoid gestures. Some respondents assumed that as others could see the gestures, they did not see the point of mimicking those lewd gestures. This indicates clearly the need to raise awareness in the differences across cultures when it comes to what gestures mean in each culture.

Allen and Burridge (2009) and Taibi (2016) show that the direction one interprets with is important, where it is harder to utter taboo in the interpreters' MT language as they mentally attach punishment to it. Hypothetically, this should mean interpreters should be able to interpret taboo out of their mother tongue. The results did not match this hypothesis, possibly because most of the respondents have lived in the UK for a long time and no longer think in the culture of their MT. This was confirmed by the interviews. It is important to note that the issue named by respondents was not based on fear of punishment as suggested by scholars, but it was due to linguistic factors such as not realising something is taboo or inability to

find a suitable equivalent in the other language. The results of the questionnaire, when cross matched with ethnicity, match the hypothesis that interpreting out of peoples' mother tongue is easier for some cultures, where it was found that the numbers of the respondents were higher for MER compared to EUR into MT but out of MT the differences increase from being nearly equal into MT to now being 6 times higher when out of the MT.

In Theme Two: Culture, which addresses RQ2, Questions 16-19 were analysed. When asked if it was appropriate to ignore taboo when interpreting, it was found that most (94%) agreed that it was inappropriate to ignore it. The reasons varied from worrying about consequences of ignoring it to the need to be faithful. Some stated that they would not ignore it but would lower the tone, in contrast to recommendations by Tebble (1999), Hale (2004), Lakoff (2004) and Cambridge (2013). This contradiction could be explained by the 'risk aversion' theory (Croson and Gneezy, 2009), where female respondents avoid risks in full and would try to be faithful, rather than being caught omitting tasks. This matches the results where double the females would not ignore taboo, compared to the males. Ethnicity seems to play a role since FER adhered more to the fidelity rule compared to their MER and EUR peers. The same with experience, where experienced interpreters adhered more to interpreting taboo probably because they realise the value of doing so. Equally, the lowest experienced respondents (less than 10% work) also adhered to faithfulness, indicating that when interpreters are newly qualified, they follow rules (code of ethics in this case) more closely. Interviewees confirm this by stating that their attitude towards taboo changed with experience.

Culture can affect how interpreters deal with taboo, with factors such as context, setting and the audience further influencing them (Torruella Valverde, 2013). All

respondents agreed with this. When analysing responses of those who agree training and guidelines would be useful against cultures, the respondents were divided into al- Omari's (2009) cultural classifications with LCC (EUR) who prefer rules in their speech and HCC (FER and MER) who rely on non-verbal communication, intonation and hidden meanings. It was found that the FER group did not adhere to the type described by Al-Omari. This may be explained by Ren (1997) as a result of centuries-long State social control leading to conformity. Although the cultural type one belongs to indeed influences how one thinks about handling taboo, it is actually experience and qualifications that ultimately dictate the final decision when faced with interpreting taboo.

When respondents were asked about their interpreting role perception, linguistic and cultural communicators ranked highest, followed by mediators, educators and finally linguistic communicators only. Educational level seems to be the influential factor in the responses, rather than experience, where those advocating the role of educators were all holders of MA qualifications. Highly experienced interpreters see that they should only be linguistic communicators, matching Hale's (2000) study. Some interviewees stated that the role differs based on the even itself, also matching the literature (Bistra, 1997).

Finally, Theme Three: Competencies and Training, which addresses RQ3. The researcher summarised the different competencies of relevance to interpreting taboo. Deciding if guidelines would be useful in training reflects the attitude towards training in general. Results showed that gender does not play a role in choosing preference of having guidelines or not, contrary to the literature that found females preferring rules (Hughes, 2003). This could be explained by the rebellion of non-conformity theory suggested by Pickhardt (2009). Half of the youngest and the oldest

agree that there is a need for guidelines, while this decreased for those aged 25-39 then increased again for 40-49 years. This matches expectations for age and adherence to rules as advocated by Hazan (1999), where rebellion against conformity (in this case, adherence to guidelines) starts at a younger age then increases with age, but towards middle age it decreases only to increase again at the start of the sixties. All the interviewees saw the need for training with role-play taking a big role in that training, in addition to increasing trainees' analytical skills that would enable them to evaluate taboo and the intentions behind uttering it.

In summary, in theme one, strategies for interpreting taboo, there was generally partial matching for the suggested strategies, which is understandable in light of the lack of explicit strategies to interpret taboo. Gender, experience and qualifications played a role in the decisions taken by interpreters. Theme two, which relates to culture and role of interpreters, found that ethnicity (of both interpreters and their audience) and experience played a role in the choices offered by respondents, where those factors also affected the way respondents dealt with non-verbal communication of taboo. Most respondents agree that taboo should not be ignored whilst interpreting although the reasoning behind that choice differed. Those who opted for this due to the fidelity rule, matched the hypothesis that females, or interpreters belonging to HCC would adhere to this more. Additionally, experience was a factor, where highly experienced respondents agreed with fidelity as did those who had the lowest experience, possibly showing that they adhere to the codes of ethics closely. All the above responses emphasise the competencies listed by scholars which they see as requirements for training PSIs combined with some theories related to possible requirements for interpreting cultural elements, of which

taboo is one. These range from linguistic to cultural competencies, not to mention some personal attributes that need training and enhancement such as self-confidence. Despite the variable levels of matching across all categories, experience seems to have come to the fore as a determining factor in interpreting taboo, where it overrode other typical considerations. Religion and ethnicity are still influential especially when it comes to what is typically seen as taboo, such as blasphemy or profanity and bodily functions, even in medical settings. Training to help steer interpreters in the right direction, allowing them to deliver accurate and faithful interpretation of taboo communications, in their verbal and non-verbal forms, had been useful for those who undertook it.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarises the main findings of the study. It summarises the research problem that led to the research, this is followed by the statement of originality and the impact of the study, plus a quick summary of the methodology used, ending with the findings and limitations that guided the researcher in suggesting further research.

7.2 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

The current lack of strategies guiding interpreters when faced with taboo has meant that interpreters might choose strategies that suit them and their ideologies, rather than strategies that ensure the most effective message transfer.

The importance of looking at taboo when interpreting for PS is that ignoring it can have dire consequences, especially in the PSIn field. Taboo reflects people's emotional state when uttering it (Lakoff, 2004). Ignoring swearing, for example in court settings, would take away the character of the person swearing, which may impact the trial outcome. In psychiatric settings, clients may not realise, unless the interpreter conveys the swearing, the escalating agitation in patients that appears as increased swearing, which may lead to that patient attacking the healthcare worker. Worse still, if the patient is not informed of incurable illnesses, such as cancer, as it is culturally taboo to discuss death, this takes away the opportunity for that patient to make financial arrangements. Having interpreter mediation in some settings has been shown to have positive health outcomes (Verrept, 2008).

Taboo is not something interpreters come across daily while at work and many interpreters do not think about it until they are faced with interpreting it. Taibi (2016)

states that taboo may be a one-off in a lengthy case, or incidental, and therefore, an interpreter has no advance warning. Cultures see taboo and the levels of its severity differently (ibid: 80). This brings to the fore the implications this study has, not just when looking at future training requirements for interpreters but also when evaluating what interpreters perceive as taboo, and how they handle it based on their age, qualifications, gender and ethnicity. A Japanese interpreter is reported to have retired early from interpreting as she struggled to interpret racism while not being allowed to 'demonstrate her judgement about what is right and what is wrong' (Osaki, 2017). The interpreter was taught to interpret everything, 'no matter how heinous and what an outrageous liar the speaker is, setting aside your personal emotions'. The struggle she felt when faced with this led to her taking such a drastic move. Other Japanese interpreters reported difficulties interpreting what they refer to as 'nightmarish Trumpese' language. The controversy here being whether to tone down his controversial and inflammatory rhetoric or not. This is not limited to Japanese interpreters, one of the questionnaire respondents (MER) stated that she would turn down jobs if she thought there was taboo involved, confirming that taboo is indeed problematic, affecting interpreters' well-being and livelihoods in extreme cases, not to mention interpreting outcomes. Evaluating current practices is the first step towards further research that should lead to the development of Guidelines and training related to interpreting taboo in PSIn.

As there are no scholarly articles linked to interpreting taboo in PSIn settings, this research was conducted to evaluate the current practices followed by PSI in order to answer the following RQs:

RQ1: What strategies inform current practices when interpreting taboo and to what extent do those practices reflect theories that are appropriate for interpreting taboo?

RQ 2: What do interpreters' self-reporting regarding the handling of culturally-linked taboo reveal about the way they perceive their role?

RQ3: What are the training competencies required for taboo interpreting in PSI settings?

7.3 ORIGINALITY

The original contribution stems from the fact that, based on the researcher's knowledge, no studies have yet been conducted on interpreting taboo in public services across several cultures. Some studies were found that relate to the topic, but they are either on conference interpreting, evaluating one aspect (role of interpreters) such as Hale (2014), or Taibi (2016) who only evaluated the use of euphemisms in interpreting taboo. Other studies analysed taboo in a single culture (for example, Taibi, 2016). Putranti et al, (2018) suggest theories to be used when faced with offensive language, but do not discuss all categories of taboo. Putranti's study is linked to translation rather than PSIn, and it studies the topic from a Western perspective only. A Turkish study (Tanriverdi Kaya, M. 2015) evaluates the influence of ideology on translating taboo in novels, but it does not cover interpreting at all. This data-driven original research will contribute to literature related to public service interpreting, especially taboo, and to studying taboo in general. The theoretical framework used in the questionnaire could form part of the foundation for future research relating to interpreting taboo.

Another aspect of originality is the unique use of Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis (DPA) in IS research. DPA allows data collection through participants' own actual experiences and interpretations within their social and linguistic contexts. It allows participants to objectively discuss awareness and intentionality of thoughts

and memory plus linguistic activity related to a topic, placing intentionality at the centre of their experiences (Husserl, 2001). DPA analyses and describes familiar lived experiences, rather than perceived ones, making the results more dependable as it removes speculation and personal researcher bias and interpretation. The analysis is carried out thematically, which fits well with the researcher looking at a number of themes related to attitudes towards interpreting taboo. Using DPA allowed the researcher to consider PSIs objective interpretations of handling taboo as opposed to how they perceive they would handle it, thus giving the researcher the ability to check these practices against the theoretical recommendations.

As for the contribution to knowledge in this thesis, this study enhances current publications in that it challenges some existing theories, such as perception of some taboo categories. For example, blasphemy or sexism, where the study found that this perception decreases as age increases. The hierarchy of suggested theories to use when faced with taboo is partially challenged too. Examples include support for functional equivalence being the top choice, while omission was challenged as it came second, contrary to the literature which suggests it to be the lowest rank. The findings also supported the theories regarding the role of interpreters that change based on the settings, for example: Bistra (1997).

7.4 IMPACT OF STUDY

This research will fill a gap in the literature regarding PSIn and taboo across multiple cultures and experience levels, using all categories of taboo. Through identification of skills required to overcome barriers for interpreting taboo, the study will impact future interpreter training.

The impact extends to better interpreting outputs that are more efficient, accurate and faithful leading to improved client outcomes. Some studies have shown that interpreter mediated events in health settings have led to improved health outcomes (Verrept, 2008; Dohan & Levintova, 2007). This could be extended to legal and social care settings leading to better legal and social justice and equality. Anticipating risk, through identification of threatening taboo utterances, also impacts PSIn working environments by making them safer such as in mental health settings. Training interpreters to recognise those signs ensures the safety of all interlocutors. Having conducted personal interviews, where some discussions took place regarding taboo and misconceptions, it could be seen that this study might impact and change some interpreters' mindsets when it comes to this topic, where they now realise the significance of taboo. The original use of DPA in this research might encourage researchers in IS to use it, widening the scope of possibilities for research in this field. Finally, the research should help inform future studies on compiling guidelines that deal with taboo in interpreting events.

7.5 SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY

This research adopted a mixed method approach where both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in gathering data. The quantitative part was in the form of a questionnaire sent online to registered PSIs through NRPSI. The questions used reflected the interpreting theories discussed earlier. The quantitative part is useful for quantifying the frequencies of usage, which allows researchers to draw patterns of interpreters' attitudes when facing taboo (Coolican, 2018). This method helps assess the validity of the author's hypothesis relating to the impact of lack of formal strategies for interpreting taboo in PS. It also helps to identify gaps and

difficulties interpreters face when dealing with taboo in addition to highlighting commonalities of their handling of taboo with what is found in the literature. The questions were a mix of closed MCQs and a number of open-ended ones to allow a way to use the answers in the qualitative method. The use of this method alone is not enough as it does not allow us to understand ambiguous answers. Equally, if the respondents struggled to give their opinion on a question as the structure does not allow for that, then the qualitative method gave the researcher and the respondents the opportunity to expand on the responses. This qualitative data collection was complemented by interviews. The interviews were carried out with six PSIs. The interviews formed a large part of the data used in the qualitative part of the research. The interviewees were chosen carefully to reflect various ethnicities, both genders and all adult ages. The researcher felt that this would make the analysis more balanced and neutral, rather than being biased towards one gender or one ethnicity. Qualitative methods help further understand or clarify those contradictory responses, rather than make generalisations (Onwuegbuzie & Daniel, 2003).

Descriptive Statistics was used as this process sums up data through the description of patterns of behaviour and relationships between them. The research is an evaluation of practices. The researcher felt this was the best way to evaluate as it allows, through using techniques such as tables, charts and other diagrams, data presentation clearly and simply, Sundler (2019). This method makes it easier to identify patterns that may not be so easily identifiable from raw data (Brewer, 2007). As this research is not looking at figures but at patterns, the simplest measure was to use correlation to show the statistical figures, where it shows whether and how pairs of variables are related. To describe how the variables correlated, this was expressed

simply by the use of terminology such as positive (full or partial), negative, or no correlation.

The data was analysed using a mix of methods, which lowered the chance of researcher bias and ensured all research questions were addressed. The first method used is the 'Explanatory' method, which allows the analysis of the 'how' and 'why' of a phenomenon (Waljee, 2014). Using variables, such as age, gender and ethnicity, and looking at patterns of taboo interpreting and strategies used to do so, if any, offers an explanation of interpreters' attitude towards taboo. Additionally, Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis (DPA) as described by Husserl (2001) and Matua (2015) was used as this allows researchers to look at the respondents' description of how they handle taboo, although it does not have the scope to see why they interpret taboo in a certain manner, hence the need to combine it with the Explanatory analysis. In DPA, participants must have lived through the experiences the researcher is analysing. Hypothetical analysis does not fit here. Therefore, some responses that did not stem from the respondents' own experiences, were excluded. This method has not been utilised in Interpreting Studies before. But since IT, in its infancy, drew from the world of psychology, as does DPA, coupled with the fact that it relies on drawing themes, the researcher felt it would fit neatly here as patterns of behaviour or themes is what the aim of the research is.

The data was presented using themes as described by Braun and Clarke (2013). The themes used reflected the contents of the RQs. The size of the themes was determined by the prevalence of responses, which had to have captured an important factor that are relevant to the research.

To overcome information bias, in-depth, open-ended questions in the interviewing stage were used, allowing respondents to use answers more freely, rather than pre-

constructed questions, as suggested by Brewer (2007). Those responses were useful in deeper understanding of the questionnaire responses and helped in compiling the findings in a meaningful way as those personal experiences were described in a way that a questionnaire response never could. On reflection, an increase of interviewees might have resulted in a better evaluation. At times, the questionnaire yielded vague answers or no response at all, but the researcher was unable to follow those through because no follow-up contact details were given. This lowered the ability to analyse the responses more critically to some of the questions. This might have been overcome by replacing the MCQ type questions with open- ended ones that freed the respondents to expand on their views.

7.6 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

7.6.1 Theme One: Interpreting Strategies

To carry out analysis that address RQ1 'What strategies inform current practices when interpreting taboo and to what extent do those practices reflect theories that are appropriate for interpreting taboo?', questions 9 to 15 plus question 20 were grouped together. The hypothesis is that if interpreters are unable to recognise taboo in all its forms, then they would not realise that something requires their extra attention. Question 9 attempts to quantify the extent practising interpreters are able to recognise taboo, while Question 10 quantifies how many of those interpreters would interpret taboo, once they identify it. Breaking down the results and delving deeper into the ethnicities, age and status of the respondents was relevant since taboo is related closely to those variants, as seen in earlier chapters. Racism and sexual or bodily functions ranked highest when it came to perception of taboo, followed

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closely by blasphemy, swearing, sexism, ageism and political incorrectness. Only a small number (3.16%) saw none of those categories as taboo.

Starting with sexual or bodily functions, FE responses were the highest in considering this as taboo, matching the literature. MER saw this as taboo more than their European counterparts. When ascertaining who would interpret taboo, the Europeans, who do not all see this as a taboo, were found to interpret utterances related to bodily functions more than the MER or FER. The literature states that in the West, what is perceived as taboo is declining (Lawson, 2011) therefore it is expected that there would be no issues in interpreting it. MER prefer not to interpret this type of taboo especially if they were in the presence of someone of the opposite gender. The setting also influences their decision. Some respondents suggested using euphemisms to interpret this type, in order to save face. The MER results match Taibi's (2016) study, and partially match another study by Rababa'ah & al-Qorni (2012) that shows that bodily functions are seen as something that occur naturally and therefore, this should not be an issue for Arabs. This could explain why not all MER had chosen the option of ignoring taboo. Further, the huge influence of the Catholic church in countries such as Poland (Topidi, 2019; Heinen & Portet, 2010), might explain why some Europeans chose bodily functions as taboo contrary to expectations (Lawson, 2011).

Racism is seen as the highest taboo in the West (Lawson, 2011). The study results showed that gender-wise, the results match the literature (see Hughes, 2003), where more females (nearly 66%) see racism as taboo compared to males. Of those who would interpret racist remarks, double the women would interpret them compared to males, indicating that they feel that despite it being taboo, it must not be ignored,

this could also be explained by the 'risk aversion' theory advocated by (Croson and Gneezy, 2009).

As for ethnicity and racism, the results match the literature (Lawson, 2011), where it was found that 55.55% EUR see racism as taboo the most, followed by 37% (MER) and 7.4% FER. Over half the MER would interpret racist comments, while a lower number of Europeans (42.42%) would, which indicates that some of those who see racism as taboo would refuse to interpret it. It was even lower for FER (6%), reflecting again Lawson's (2011) viewpoint. These results were confirmed through the interviews, where both the Europeans listed racism as taboo, although both said that their professionalism would ensure they did not ignore racism. The ME interviewees state that were not aware that racism was an issue.

Blasphemy was checked against age, gender and ethnicity. Only 15.82% of the total respondents consider blasphemy to be taboo. The youngest age group among our respondents scored the lowest, meaning that many of them do not consider blasphemy to be taboo. This number increased as the ages increased, until the age reached 50^+ where ranking decreased, contrary to popular expectations of the older people looking towards God more as they age (Voas, 2019). When checked against ethnicities, it was found that EUR (all Christians or non-practising Christians) and MER (all Muslims) were nearly equal in what they perceived to be blasphemy (49%). Despite 49% MER perceive blasphemy as taboo, only 37% interpret it. The MER interviewees differed, where the experienced one stated he would interpret blasphemy, yet his colleague stated she would refuse it as it goes totally against her religion and belief. Only a small drop is seen in EUR, where 49% perceive blasphemy as taboo and over 40% interpret it. No FER chose blasphemy as taboo. The FE interviewee stated that religion is not an issue in her country (China), but her

compatriot, a Christian, stated that blasphemy is taboo but he might interpret it but he would lower the tone when doing so. The results overall match popular expectations regarding profanity and blasphemy, but no literature was found specifically on interpreting them to compare against.

Swearing and offensive language, which is what people generally associate with taboo, returned unexpected results, which could be explained by the dynamic nature of taboo. Here, 70% of females perceived swearing as taboo, which matches the literature (Williamson, 2009; Jay, 2009). Literature states that teenagers swear more than older people and at the age of 60 swearing is reduced (Williamson, 2009). Hypothetically, that means that as age increases, the respondents who consider offensive words to be taboo should also increase, but that was not so. Results showed that all age groups were equal, except 25-39 where there was a slight increase. Ethnicity, though, matched the literature where less EUR saw bad language as taboo, compared to higher numbers for MER and FER. Nearly 67% EUR would interpret this type, and only 30% MER would, and the same for FER. This matched studies that state that such words have infiltrated daily lives in the West and hence they are no longer deemed taboo (Andersson and Trudgill, 2000; Cambridge, 2013; Lawson, 2011 and others). This is further confirmed through the interviews, for example, a EUR (P1) stated 'Nothing is taboo. […] Germans will say anything, they are not strong on taboos', while her Chinese colleague (P3) said: 'They [taboos] are insensitive but I will definitely tone them down a little bit'. The MER (P5) interpreter has a similar attitude: 'Sexual taboo, I try to avoid or to lower tone a bit'.

Sexism results reflected the expectation that females would find it taboo more than males, considering its definition (unfair treatment mainly against females, McEnery, 2009: 30). For age, the results in the research were inversely correlating to literature,

where perception of sexism as taboo decreased as age increased. In other words, the older the respondents were, the less sexism was seen as taboo, yet the literature suggests the opposite should be the case. A possible interpretation of this inverse correlation is what Hammond et al (2017) suggest, where they state that attitude to sexism changes as our life goals change across our lifespans. Additionally, all respondents had interpreting qualifications, as opposed to just experience, which might explain why the numbers of those who would interpret it were not that low, since their training might have instilled the need to interpret everything, including sexism. As for ethnicity and sexism, Calder-Dawe & Gavey, (2016) show that sexism changes based on the cultural and national backgrounds. The responses in this research partially matched this study, where we saw the EUR and FER females interviewed see sexism is not taboo, merely impolite, compared to the MER female was unsure how she felt about sexism despite being exposed to it herself. A large scale international study by the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (El Feki et al, 2017) shows that age plays its part where younger females (18-24 years) were more progressive in their opinions when it comes to perception of roles or gender equality in society, or how they perceive domestic violence and sexist behaviour. The female interviewee, in this thesis, is in her mid-thirties and it may be the case that she is not young enough to be quite progressive and not old enough to be less progressive towards sexism, hence the uncertainty. When looking at results of who would interpret sexism, the numbers for gender do correspond with the literature but not those for ethnicity or age. Those interviewed stated that they would be guided by their codes of ethics when interpreting and thus they would interpret sexism regardless of their feelings towards it.

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Ageism was not considered to be taboo by many. It was the younger age group that saw ageism as taboo the most. MER did not in the main see ageism as an issue, nor did they think of it as being taboo, because older people are revered in the Middle East and Far East, (Formosa, 2001). Interviewee P4 (EUR) stated that he did indeed see negativity against age as taboo, but he would still interpret it as he is obliged to do so professionally. In contrast, P3 (FER,m) does not see ageism as taboo, but that context and intention are important, where if ageism was meant to be offensive, then it turns into a taboo. The link between utterances and taboo is important. In the questionnaire, EURs and MERs were nearly equal in their viewpoint of ageism, which does not match the literature where in the West age is linked to financial liability, so it is dreaded (Formosa, 2001) more than in the ME. In interpreting ageism, the figures were nearly equal for EUR and MER (around 50%), while it was 30% for FER.

Political incorrectness (PC) is culturally bound and is not of equal significance across cultures (Mukhametzyanova et al, 2017). Only 8% saw political incorrectness as taboo. The females were more than double those of the males, which fits the theory that females are more sensitive to 'others' as described by Phenitsyn (2011) and Mukhametzyanova et al (2017). Ethnicity is largely linked to political incorrectness (ibid). About half MER would interpret PC remarks while a higher figure is seen for EUR (two thirds). Those MER who would interpret them have lived in Europe for more than 10 years and some for up to 25 years, which may explain the relatively high number based on Phenitsyn's (2011) theory that with the increased exposure to the West's PC, people are expected to take on that ideology.

Age has not been directly linked to PC, but the data show a partial correlation between age and perception or interpretation of PC where the numbers increase till

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the age of 39, then decreasing till 49, where it increases again after 50, contrary to expectations, described by Hammond's (2017) theory of life's problems taking over people's reactions to injustice as they become middle-aged or over.

In responding to 'none of the above is taboo', there was negative correlation between gender and perception of taboo, where females chose this option at a higher number to males, contrary to the literature. All those females, however, were young (nearly all were aged 25-39), implying that perhaps based on taboo being dynamic, the taboos listed were not so negative for the young. One of the respondents was over 50, but as a lecturer, she probably was aware of the consequences of ignoring taboo. From those who responded, the MER were the lowest, and the EUR were nearly 40% higher (no FER ticked this option), confirming that ethnicity is highly linked to taboo perception.

By analysing responses to Questions 11 & 20: 'How do you deal with interpreting taboo?' the hierarchy of methods used by interpreters when faced with taboo could be checked. It was found that Omission seemed to rank highly, despite the literature not advocating it much. Functional equivalence ranked the highest, which does indeed match the literature as the most favoured strategy. Literal translation was ranked third, despite again not being a strategy advocated by many for cultural interpreting. Substitution came last following the option of interpreting but telling the audience that the words were not our own. Literature relating to interpreting cultural elements and therefore taboo list functional equivalence as the first strategy, which matched our results, followed by literal translation, substitution, compensation, paraphrasing, explanation, gestures then omission. Although no real ranking has been suggested by scholars, by looking at the prevalence of the strategies suggested by many scholars, we see dynamic/ functional equivalence to be top, while

omission sits at the lower end, with other theories in the middle. The questionnaire results matched the top (equivalence) but there was a poor match with the assumed lowest theory (omission) where our results placed it in second place. The studies listed in Chapter 6, show a variety of matches and poor matches with the current research. As there are no specific guidelines for interpreting taboo, and as often there are multiple choices to interpret it, it is accepted that there will be many suggestions for interpreting taboo, but omission must only be advocated when all else fails, which means the research findings regarding omission do not match current thinking. By looking at qualifications, we found that holders of MA interpreting degrees chose functional equivalence as their top strategy and omission as their least favoured strategy. They also prefer to paraphrase followed by literal translation then substitution. If the strategies used mostly were considered, it appears from the thesis that qualifications play a positive role in the strategy choices made when faced with taboo. More holders of MA or DPSI seem to have matched the literature compared to those with lower or no qualifications (only experience). The interviews confirm this last statement. Analysing against ethnicities, most research carried out in the Far East seems to advocate omission when it comes to taboo, (Lee & Ngai, 2012; Wang, 1999; Han, 2008 and Lung, 2003). This is reflected by our FE interviewee who stated he omits taboo, if able to, while his female counterpart does not omit taboo, possibly because she has lived in the West long enough to have changed her attitude towards it, compared to the first who has only lived in the West for under 4 years (see Phenitsyn, 2011:245). Those interviews do not match the questionnaire responses that correlate negatively with the literature, where functional equivalence, literal translation, addition and gloss then definition were chosen equally, but omission, substitution and paraphrasing were not chosen at all.

MERs advocate substitution or euphemisms more, aiming to save face, followed by paraphrasing. Omission is ranked fifth by MERs. Those results positively correlate with the literature. The EUR place functional equivalence as their first choice, followed by paraphrasing and then literal translation. They all state the omission must not be used, thus their responses match positively with the literature.

Non-Verbal communication forms a large part of this research, since taboo can be implied verbally or non-verbally. This non-verbal communication differs across cultures (Cambridge, 2013; Jay, 2000). Wierzbicka (1999) shows how some cultures are encouraged to show their emotions, rather than speak about them. Respondents who maintain eye contact or mimic speakers' gestures report that it is more professional to do so, matching the relevant literature. Most maintain that doing so increases clients' confidence in the interpreter. One or two MERs maintain that they would avoid eye contact if the topic was of a sexual nature as they would be embarrassed to look the clients in the eye. Another part-timer stated that it depends on how dirty the words used were (EUR). Although it is not the remit of this research to decide what is considered to be a mild, moderate or strong swear or dirty word, and bearing in mind that this is a subjective and personal decision, which varies depending on many factors, but the UK Ofcom (2016) ranking of swear words could be used as a guide for this ranking. The responses regarding maintaining eye contact could be explained that those with interpreting qualifications and interpreting full-time realise the importance of non-verbal interactions and hence they mimic them, while part-time interpreters or those with no formal training or qualifications do not realise that and hence, they ignore them. The results showed that over 55% of the respondents held an MA or above, and the remainder were BA level. This implies

that having a qualification can help you overcome some obstacles in interpreting taboo.

A correlation was found where those who avoided eye contact when interpreting taboo would also avoid gestures. One female respondent found mimicking gestures in court to be too dramatic, hence she would not do it. This indicates that her refusal is linked to the action itself, rather than to taboo. She stated that the audience could see for themselves the speaker's gestures and therefore there was no need for her to mimic them. Yet, it could be argued that gestures do not mean the same thing across cultures and therefore one cannot assume that those who know little about cultures would be able to interpret the gestures correctly. Therefore, it is the interpreters' duty to carry out the correct interpreting of gestures. The data shows that reaction to rude gestures varies greatly, as does the way interpreters deal with them. Some of the interviewees (P2, P3) state that they indeed do transfer non-verbal taboo to a verbal form, while others state that they verbally say 'you can see this rude gesture' but without adding any explanation (P5, questionnaire respondent). Clearly, the assumption that gestures are similar across all cultures exists, showing the great need to raise awareness in that aspect.

Interpreting directionality was evaluated, where Taibi (2016) sees that interpreters find it easier to handle taboo when it is not in their mother tongue. When people utter taboo in their learned tongue, usually no punishment is linked to that utterance, thus people have less inhibitions. This means that interpreters should not find it harder to interpret taboo out of their native tongue. Looking at the interviewees' responses, the issue of directionality did not necessarily match the literature, and the reason behind this is that most interpreters had lived in their host country for long enough to have stopped thinking of their mother tongue as such, as described by Schmid

(2012). This is confirmed by P6 who stated that as she had lived in the UK for more than 25 years, speaking mostly English, she now sees her two languages as equal. In contrast, P5, who has not lived long in the UK, sees the directionality as significant, saying that, 'I found it easier to say the terms in English but not in my native tongue. It's easier for me to say it [taboo] to the English people than to the Arabic audience. Because in our culture it's wrong to say it, a swear word'. The results of the questionnaire confirmed that interpreting out of interpreters' mother tongue is indeed easier for some cultures since the numbers of the respondents were higher for MER compared to EUR into MT but out of MT the differences increased from being nearly equal into MT to now being six times higher when out of MT. Some of the difficulties cited though were due to linguistic issues such as not understanding that taboo, rather than taboo avoidance issues.

7.6.2 Theme Two: Culture

This addresses RQ2: What do interpreters' self-reporting regarding the handling of culturally-linked taboo reveal about the way they perceive their role?

Culture plays a big role when it comes to taboo. Some interviewees had stated that they found it easier to interpret taboo to an audience that did not belong to their own culture. The experienced respondents state they act professionally despite the initial reluctance. When asked how they would handle taboo, based on the audience, 37.5% stated that the audience impacted their choices. The influencing factors regarding the audience included their age (where it is harder to interpret taboo to an older person as they are perceived to be shocked more if they heard taboo words), gender and setting. A male MER would 'try to make female clients more comfortable by changing the taboo'. Generally, there was no difference when respondents' gender was analysed, contrary to expectations (see Williamson, 2009; Rayson, 1997 and

Trudgill, 2009). However, a female stated that she would be too embarrassed to interpret taboo in front of males. This was reiterated by P5, another female MER. Both match expectations. Those profiles match the questionnaire data where MER responded highest in this category, followed by EUR then FER. As for qualifications, it was found that the higher the qualification, the higher the chances of overcoming embarrassment in front of the opposite sex.

20% of the respondents are influenced by the setting. For example, if taboo is uttered in court, where it is expected to be heard more, then it is not difficult to interpret it. No studies were seen that give any correlation between settings and qualifications or gender. But 100% of the respondents to this question were females, highlighting the possibility of a link between settings and gender.

For context, 27.5% are influenced by context, this was slightly inversely correlated with qualifications. No difference was noted based on ethnicity or gender.

When asked if ignoring taboo was appropriate or not, over 94% agreed that it was inappropriate to ignore taboo while interpreting. The reasons cited were either fidelity (50%) or because of the consequences of ignoring it (50%). However, some stated that when interpreting taboo, interpreters must lower the tone or the harshness of the term. This conflicts with scholars who suggest matching the harshness and the tone (Tebble, 1999; Hale, 2004; Lakoff, 2004 and Cambridge, 2013). Some explanation of the responses related to not ignoring taboo might be the 'risk aversion' theory suggested by Croson and Gneezy (2009). Research figures matched this where 35% of males found it inappropriate to ignore taboo compared to double that of females (64.7%). By breaking this down into ethnicities, it seems that FER adhered more to the code of ethics and fidelity to it (at 66%) compared to the EUR

and MER (20% and 24% respectively). No comparative literature on this specific category was found. But this raises the question of whether practitioners of those ethnic backgrounds may depart from their codes of ethics more freely and more frequently than what would be acceptable. As all training even for the shortest PSI courses takes the codes of ethics into account, it was of no significance analysing the results by qualification. However, by looking at the years of respondents' experience, it was found that 52% of respondents worked full time, which shows that this high level of experience teaches interpreters the value of faithfulness to the speaker's utterances. Equally, the numbers of those with low experience (under 10% interpreting) indicates they are still adhering to their code of ethics, probably due to their aversion to risk taking.

Equal to the numbers that do not ignore taboo due to fidelity purposes, there were equal numbers that did not ignore it because they were aware of consequences of doing so. Here, the number of females was much higher than males (matching Croson and Gneezy's risk aversion theory, 2009). The nearly equal figures across ethnicities indicate that risk aversion was the same across cultures. Similar to the point above, qualifications did not shed a light on the question in hand, so interpreting experience was looked at. It was found that combining low experience with holders of BA qualifications matched those who adhered to the code of ethics, which implies that they were taught not to omit anything. No comments were added to those responses that would enable the researcher to delve deeper into this. Only a single respondent (MER, f, DPSI, Part-timer) found it appropriate to ignore taboo due to embarrassment. From this we could see that her cultural background stopped her from interpreting taboo, which fits with literature seen earlier (Zitwai, 2003; Taibi, 2016). Another MER (m) would not interpret taboo, to discourage others from

using it. He too fits the cultural type described by Zitawi (2003) and Taibi (2016). Despite the last two respondents who would not interpret taboo, all other respondents and interviewees stated that their experience has changed their attitude towards taboo with the passage of time.

Finally, all respondents agreed that knowledge of both cultures would indeed help them deal with taboo in an easier manner, due to their ability to recognise taboo more easily, transferring it correctly to the other language. P4 stated that interpreting between two European languages made the task easier for him, since the taboo in both cultures would be similar, (matching Andersson & Trudgill, 1990). When evaluating the responses of those who seek guidelines, it was found that those belonging to LCC were lower in numbers requesting those guidelines, which goes against al-Omari's (2009) theory. Looking deeper into the respondents' details, it was found that qualifications were possibly behind that variation, where most of those requesting guidelines were holders of an MA degree in interpreting, where perhaps they became so used to learning theories to evidence their choices that they were looking for similar theories or guidelines relating to taboo.

Next, the role of interpreters was assessed. Being both linguistic and cultural communicators ranked highest (47%) followed by mediators (30%), educators (13%) and 10% for linguistic communicators only. To further analyse those figures, qualifications were cross-checked against the responses and it was found that 100% of those who chose 'educators' were holders of an MA degree, and of those only a small number worked full-time, which implies that it is their educational level, rather than their experience which influenced that choice. The notable thing was that less experienced interpreters scored higher in answering that they were more than just linguistic transfer machines compared to their more experienced counterparts. This

matched Hale's study (2000). Although this study was conducted using experienced conference interpreters, it is still valid to use as baseline for experienced PS interpreters. Of the interviewees, all agreed that their expertise allows the role to be extended beyond language transfer, but one of the respondents added that it also depends on the event itself. Non-cultural events mean the role could be purely a linguistic one, thus matching Bistra's (1997) description. Overall, the data regarding interpreters' roles positively correlates with the literature.

7.6.3 Theme Three: Competencies and Training

This theme aimed to evaluate which competencies interpreters need to enable them to fulfil their role(s) effectively. This theme addressed RQ3: What are the training competencies required for taboo interpreting in PSI settings?

Responses to Q.18: 'Having formal guidelines on interpreting taboo would help me when faced with interpreting it' were cross tabulated with ethnicity, gender, age and experience plus qualifications. It was found that from the ethnicity aspect, contrary to expectations based on al-Omari's (2009) cultural groups, it was found that MER and FER (both HCC) prefer to have guidelines compared to their EUR counterparts (LCC) who disagree with the need for guidelines. It could be explained by HCC having lived in the West long enough to change their cultural stereotype when it comes to communication style (Phenitsyn, 2011). Equally, it is perhaps their qualifications that taught them to follow rules. But, looking at the respondents' qualifications, all seem to be comparable, which indicates that qualifications have no impact on this choice. However, experience did seem to influence the respondents' choices, where nearly half full-time interpreters saw the need for guidelines as did those with little experience (less than 10% interpreting in a week).

The experienced interpreters' high response rate indicates either that they have used guidelines in the past and found them useful, or that they have faced such issues already and recognised that guidelines could have helped them in making difficult decisions. The inexperienced respondents' high response was not surprising considering that when one is new and inexperienced, any guidelines would always be helpful when seeking output improvement.

In looking at differences in gender, since women are usually expected to conform more with society's role expectations (Hughes, 2003), it was found that the two groups (males v. females) were relatively comparable, indicating that gender has no impact on this question. While when looking at ages, it was found that expectations (Pickhardt, 2009 & Hazan, 1999) of which age group preferred guidelines matched the results, where the younger and older age groups preferred not to have them while the groups in between increased then decreased with that preference, thus matching age expectations. P2 (MER, m) states that further research on taboo was warranted, especially as he relies on instinct many times when deciding how to handle taboo. A number of respondents indicated that shyness was a problem that needs to be overcome and questioned if this was possible with training. She would also like to learn the different meanings of gestures, as she had not been aware that they differed across cultures. They all acknowledge that it was their training that assisted them with taboo, especially in the early stages of their careers. P1 stated that researching different taboo terminology in the early stages of her career helped her overcome shyness. Other training listed as being helpful by interviewees included boosting self-confidence to remove shyness, raising awareness of taboo categories, awareness of consequences of ignoring taboo, strategies in interpreting taboo, such as use of euphemisms, and improvement of interpreters' analytical skills to enable them to

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decide if the taboo was key or not and to be able to contextualise the taboo. Another interviewee would like the training to be scenario-based to allow practice of flexibility based on context. Another suggested an increase of discussions regarding codes of ethics, as a CPD session. All those listed categories support the literature, highlighting more what the practitioners on the ground need, compared to what scholars, who may not be practitioners, think.

7.7 STUDY LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The thesis addressed three research questions aimed at evaluating PSI practices when faced with taboo. The limitations encountered during this study helped compile a list of recommendations for further research and these include:

1. A wider study using a larger population and a slightly different analysis methodology (inferential analysis) would allow the analysis of this complex research, which has many factors at play, to be generalised. The reasoning behind this is that despite the number of respondents being adequate to give a deep understanding of the practices and perceptions of PSI, a larger number would have allowed the researcher to generalise the findings and analysis. If the results were to be generalised, inferential analysis would need to be used instead of DPA.

2. Additionally, as the project progressed, it became clear that certain elements were lacking in the questionnaire, such as 'Relevance Theory'. Any future questionnaire will take this into account.

3. Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis (DPA) was used, which may sometimes lead to the researcher's own assumptions to influencing the interpretation of the data. This was overcome by careful reflection at every stage to ensure this did not occur, thus validating the results.

4. Time constraint was another factor at play, where slow responses shortened the time available for a deeper analysis. Choosing a more convenient sample where access is easier would resolve this. Time was additionally lost when it was discovered that the coding for one of the questions was unsuitable for the software used to calculate the findings. Further research will take that into account when designing new questionnaires.

5. No literature was found on the effect of different settings and interpreting taboo. The research highlighted that interpreters, specifically females, do change their interpreting of taboo based on the setting. This raises another avenue for future investigation to see if this applies to all settings and across other categories.

6. This study has shown that there is a poor match between some interpreters' practices and perceptions when it came to taboo. It has also highlighted the need to interpret taboo in public service settings, after highlighting the consequences of not doing so. Readers of this thesis can benefit not just from the specific findings highlighted regarding actual practices of interpreting taboo in public services, but also from the structured way the concept of taboo and its interpreting has been described. A variety of sources have been used in collating the information, linking it all with the context of interpreting. Knowledge transfer is another benefit that stems from this thesis, since it considers taboo across many languages and cultures, so interpreters from a culture could benefit from reading how other cultures deal with taboo, compared to their own, thus deepening their understanding on this topic. Furthermore, the findings could be extended beyond public service interpreting into translation, and also into other forms of communication that have not been investigated here, for example, hate speech. Finally, this research opens up possibilities for future research. Suggested future research includes a post-doctoral

comparative study looking at how interpreters deal with taboo before and after undertaking an intensive training session on interpreting taboo. The session would take into account the various factors found in this thesis, where interpreters are divided based on their ethnicity, for example. The course focus would be on parts where ethnicity plays a big role in the choices interpreters make. If the outcomes improve, then this could be extended to make taboo a core component of training public service interpreters when it comes to cultural competency training, which is defined by Abril Martí (2006) as knowledge of the languages' cultural backgrounds, to include perceptions, beliefs and values.

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Appendix A

Coding Template

Male	1
Female	2
18-24	1
25-39	2
40-49	3
50+	4
Student	1
Practising interpreter	2
other	
Full time	1
part time	2
retired	3
Other	
Less than 10%	1
10%	2
10-25%	3
25-50%	4
50-75%	5
75% +	6
Muslim	1
Christian	2
Jewish	3
Buddhist	4
Hindu	5
Sikh	6
Bahai	7
Prefer not to say	8
Other	
African	1
British White	2
British Asian	3
British Afro-Caribbean	4
European	5
Middle Eastern	6
Chinese	7

Other

PhD   1
MA   2
Dip Trans   3
DPSI Law   4
DPSI Health   5
DPSI Loc Gvt   6
BA/ BSC   7
Other

Sexism   1
Racism   2
Blasphemy   3
Ageism   4
Offensive language   5
Sexual taboo   6
Political incorrectness   7
None of the above   8

Sexism   1
Racism   2
Blasphemy   3
Ageism   4
Offensive Language   5
Sexual Taboo   6
Political incorrectness   7
None of the above   8

Omit
equivalence
Substitute
Literal
not my words
don't know

maintain eye contact   1
avoid eye contact   2
both   3
Comment

mimic gestures   1
ignore gestures   2

audience   1
setting   2
context   3

| don't know | 4 |
| comment | |

into mother tongue	1
out of mother tongue	2
no difference	3
don't know I ignore it	4
Don't know Not faced this yet	5

Need to be faithul. I don't ignore	1
Consequences if we ignored it	2
ignore, embarrassing	3
ignore, discourage use	4
ignore, talking dirty	5
comment	

culture affects how we deal with taboo

agree	1
disagree	2
don't know	3

formal guidelines

agree	1
disagree	2
don't know	3

mediators	1
educators	2
linguistic communicators	3
cultural and linguistic communicators	4
don't know	5
none of the above	6
other	

addition	1
definition	2
substitution	3
literal translation	4
compensation	5
gloss or explain	6
omission	7
gestures	8
dynamic equivalence	9
paraphrasing	10

additional comments

Appendix B

Could you please spare 5 minutes of your time to respond to my survey looking at attitudes towards taboo in public service interpreting? You only have to click on the link below to get there; thank you in advance   https://eSurv.org?s=LKMJJJ_6e97851b ; when you finish the survey, please click on 'finish survey' and it will automatically reach my inbox, thank you.

University of Central Lancashire
School of Journalism, Language and Communication

Information Sheet for Participants in Research

You are asked to participate in a research project undertaken by Summer Mouallem, a PhD research student at the University of Central Lancashire (UCLan) in Preston, England, UK. The research title is "Interpreting Taboo: Developing and Evaluating Strategies in the Transfer of Taboo Language ''. The aim of this research is to develop guidelines to facilitate interpreting taboo matters for practicing and student interpreters, whatever their language combination. You need to be 18 years or over to take part in this study.
The participation required from you is to respond to the questionnaire linked to this email; please fill it in as honestly as possible; the aim is to design a set of guidelines based partially on your responses; it is not the aim of the study to judge you or your opinions.
All questionnaire responses are anonymous unless you choose to leave your contact details below for feedback purposes. All collected data will be stored and treated according to the Data Protection Act. When you return your questionnaire, the data cannot be removed from the study because it will not be possible to identify which data is yours. However, if you supply contact details, these will be permanently destroyed upon your request.
Your participation is completely voluntary. You have the right or refuse to take part and say no. You may change your mind at any time and withdraw. You may choose not to answer specific questions or to stop participating at any time.
You will not be paid for participating in this study.
If you wish to find out the final outcome of this research, please write down your contact details in the space provided below. This will not affect your anonymity.
If you have any concerns or questions about this study, or if you would like to obtain information or offer any input, or if you would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, Margaret Fisher, mfisher@uclan.ac.uk; Tel: +44 (0)1772 892708, Greenbank Building, room Gr001; University of Central Lancashire, Preston PR1 2HE, England, UK.

You do not need to sign this form; you indicate your voluntary agreement to participate by completing and returning this survey
Contact details (Optional)
Please fill in if you require feedback at the end of the research period,
OR
If you are happy to participate in an interview linked to this questionnaire. Some of your comments or points found in the questionnaire may be unclear or may have some deep insightful information that will enrich my research so I may need to speak with you to clarify those points. You will not be asked any new questions and you may stop the interview process at any time. The interview can be via Skype or the phone and will not cost you at all.
Agreeing to take part in the interview does not guarantee that you will be invited to do so. Those who indicate their acceptance to be interviewed will be contacted (using the contact details supplied below) by me to acknowledge the fact and to inform you if you have been selected for an interview or not.
Following the interview process, any information or data that may identify the interviewee will be dealt with in a manner that makes it impossible to identify the individuals within the dissemination of the research findings.
Email address (for feedback)
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
Skype address/ Contact telephone number (For possible interview)
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
For any queries regarding this questionnaire or the research project itself, please contact the researcher as follows:
Summer Mouallem, Senior Lecturer,
(MPhil, Dip.Trans., DPSI (Law, Health), Dip Clin Pharm, BSc Pharm and Pharm Chem)

School of Journalism, Language and Communication, University of Central Lancashire, Preston PR1 2HE, England, UK.
Smouallem@uclan.ac.uk
Thank you for taking part and responding to this questionnaire

Appendix C

Pilot Questionnaire/ Interpreting Taboo

A. About yourself

1. Are you
   - ⬭ Male
   - ⬭ Female

   - ⬭ Age 18-25
   - ⬭ Age 25-40
   - ⬭ Age 40-45
   - ⬭ Age 50+

2. Are you
   - ⬭ A student
   - ⬭ A practising interpreter

3. Do you interpret
   - ⬭ Full time
   - ⬭ Part-time
   - ⬭ I am still a student; I do not practice interpreting yet

4. If you interpret part time only, what % of your working week is in interpreting?
   - ⬭ 10%
   - ⬭ 10-25%
   - ⬭ 25-50%
   - ⬭ 50-75%
   - Other (please specify) ………………………….

5. Your religion (Please specify) ……………………………….

6. Your ethnicity (Please specify)
   African
   British White
   British Asian
   British Afro-Caribbean
   European
   Middle Eastern
   Chinese
   Other, please specify……………………………

B. TABOO

2. Which of the following would you personally consider to be taboo in everyday life? (Please tick as many as appropriate)
- ⬭ Sexism
- ⬭ Racism
- ⬭ Religious taboo (Blasphemy)
- ⬭ Ageism
- ⬭ Bad, offensive language (Swearing, cursing, insults)
- ⬭ Sexual taboo (Bodily functions)
- ⬭ Political in-correctness
- ⬭ None of the above

3. Which taboo would you consider to be acceptable to interpret? (Please tick as many as appropriate)
- ⬭ Sexism
- ⬭ Racism
- ⬭ Religious taboo (Blasphemy)
- ⬭ Ageism
- ⬭ Bad, offensive language (Swearing, cursing, insults)
- ⬭ Sexual taboo (Bodily functions)
- ⬭ Political in-correctness
- ⬭ None of the above

4. How would you deal with interpreting taboo?
- ⬭ Omit totally
- ⬭ Use exact equivalence in target language (Keeping tone and level of taboo)
- ⬭ Substitute with a less harsh word/ tone
- ⬭ Interpret literally if no equivalent exists
- ⬭ Explain to others that 'these are not my words'
- ⬭ Not sure/ I don't know

5. When interpreting taboo, do you
- ⬭ Maintain eye contact
- ⬭ Avoid eye contact (Lower your eyes/ move your face away, ..)

6. If swearing is accompanied by lewd gestures, do you
- ⬭ Mimic the gestures
- ⬭ Ignore the gestures

7. Do you think how you handle taboo differs depending on
- ⬭ Audience
- ⬭ Work setting
- ⬭ Context
- ⬭ Don't know

   Comment…………………………………………………………………….

8. Do you find it easier to interpret taboo
- ⬭ Into your mother tongue (You are used to hearing and using such terms)
- ⬭ Out of your mother tongue (It doesn't feel real when you say them in the other tongue)
- ⬭ I don't see any difference in relationship to the direction
- ⬭ I don't know; I don't interpret taboo anyway

   Comment

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

   ……….

9. Is it appropriate to ignore taboo when interpreting?
- ⬭ No, it is inappropriate to ignore it as we need to be faithful
- ⬭ No, it is inappropriate to ignore it and there are consequences if we ignore taboo
- ⬭ Yes, it is appropriate to ignore it as it is embarrassing
- ⬭ Yes, it is appropriate to ignore it; we must not encourage this kind of talking
- ⬭ Yes, it is appropriate to ignore it; the others will think it is me talking 'dirty'.

   Comment …………………………………………………………………..

10. Knowledge of both language cultures helps me deal with taboo
- ⬭ Agree
- ⬭ Disagree
- ⬭ Don't know

11. Avoiding eye contact when interpreting taboo makes it easier
- ⬭ Agree
- ⬭ Disagree
- ⬭ Not sure/ don't know

12. Having formal guidelines on interpreting taboo would help me when faced with interpreting it
- ⬭ Agree

○ Disagree
○ Not sure/ don't know

13. How do you see the role of interpreters? (Tick as many as you see fit)
○ Mediators
○ Educators
○ Communicators- Linguistic
○ Communicators- Cultural
○ Not sure/ don't know
○ All of the above
○ None of the above

14. How best would you describe your strategy in dealing with interpreting taboo? (please tick up to 5)
○ Addition
○ Definition
○ Substitution
○ Literal translation
○ Compensation
○ Gloss or explain
○ Omission
○ Gestures
○ Functional (dynamic) equivalent
○ Paraphrasing

Other (Please specify)…………………………………………………..

Additional comments

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

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………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………

Thank you for taking your time in filling in this questionnaire.

Main Study Questionnaire

About yourself

1. Are you
   ◯ Male
   ◯ Female

2. What age range are you in
   ◯ Age 18-25
   ◯ Age 25-40
   ◯ Age 40-45
   ◯ Age 50+

3. Are you
   ◯ A student
   ◯ A practising interpreter
   ◯ Other

4. Do you interpret
   ◯ Full time
   ◯ Part-time
   ◯ Retired
   ◯ Other

5. If you interpret part time only, what % of your working week is in interpreting?
   ◯ Less than 10%
   ◯ 10%
   ◯ 10-25%
   ◯ 25-50%
   ◯ 50-75%
   ◯ Over 75%

6. Your religion
   ◯ Muslim
   ◯ Christian
   ◯ Jewish
   ◯ Buddhist
   ◯ Hindu
   ◯ Sikh
   ◯ Bahai
   ◯ Prefer not to say
   ◯ Other (Please specify)

7. Your ethnicity (Please specify)
- ⬭ African
- ⬭ British White
- ⬭ British Asian
- ⬭ British Afro-Caribbean
- ⬭ European
- ⬭ Middle Eastern
- ⬭ Chinese
- ⬭ Other, please specify…………………………

8. What qualifications, related to translation and interpreting, do you have? (Please specify even if you only did the course but have not sat the exams yet)
- ⬭ PhD (Related to this field)
- ⬭ MA (Related to this field)
- ⬭ Dip. Trans
- ⬭ DPSI (Law)
- ⬭ DPSI (Health)
- ⬭ DPSI (Local Government)
- ⬭ BA/ BSc (Related to this field)

B. TABOO

9. Which of the following would you personally consider to be taboo in everyday life? (Please tick as many as appropriate)
- ⬭ Sexism
- ⬭ Racism
- ⬭ Religious taboo (Blasphemy)
- ⬭ Ageism
- ⬭ Bad, offensive language (Swearing, cursing, insults)
- ⬭ Sexual taboo (Bodily functions)
- ⬭ Political in-correctness
- ⬭ None of the above

10. Which taboo would you consider to be acceptable to interpret? (Please tick as many as appropriate)
- ⬭ Sexism
- ⬭ Racism
- ⬭ Religious taboo (Blasphemy)
- ⬭ Ageism
- ⬭ Bad, offensive language (Swearing, cursing, insults)
- ⬭ Sexual taboo (Bodily functions)
- ⬭ Political in-correctness
- ⬭ None of the above

11. How would you deal with interpreting taboo? Please rank each strategy by dragging each item to the empty box)
- ⬭ Omit totally

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◯Use exact equivalence in target language (Keeping tone and level of taboo)
◯Substitute with a less harsh word/ tone
◯Interpret literally if no equivalent exists
◯Explain to others that 'these are not my words'
◯Not sure/ I don't know

12. When interpreting taboo, do you
◯Maintain eye contact
◯Avoid eye contact
◯A combination of both

13. If swearing is accompanied by lewd gestures, do you
◯Mimic the gestures
◯Ignore the gestures

14. Do you think how you handle taboo differs depending on
◯Audience
◯Work setting
◯Context
◯Don't know
   Comment………………………………………………………………….

15. Do you find it easier to interpret taboo
◯Into your mother tongue (You are used to hearing and using such terms)
◯Out of your mother tongue (It doesn't feel real when you say them in the other
   tongue)
◯I don't see any difference in relationship to the direction
◯I don't know; I don't interpret taboo anyway
◯I don't know; I have not faced this situation yet so I cannot judge.

16. Is it appropriate to ignore taboo when interpreting?
◯No, it is inappropriate to ignore it as we need to be faithful
◯No, it is inappropriate to ignore it and there are consequences if we ignore taboo
◯Yes, it is appropriate to ignore it as it is embarrassing
◯Yes, it is appropriate to ignore it; we must not encourage this kind of talking Yes, it is
◯appropriate to ignore it; the others will think it is me talking 'dirty'.

17. Knowledge of both language cultures helps me deal with taboo
◯Agree
◯Disagree
◯Don't know

18. Having formal guidelines on interpreting taboo would help me when faced with interpreting it

⬭ Agree
⬭ Disagree
⬭ Not sure/ don't know

19. How do you see the role of interpreters? (Tick as many as you see fit)

⬭ Mediators
⬭ Educators
⬭ Communicators- Linguistic only
⬭ Communicators- Cultural and linguistic
⬭ Not sure/ don't know
⬭ None of the above

20. How best would you describe your strategy in dealing with interpreting taboo? (Please tick up to 5 ONLY)

⬭ Addition
⬭ Definition
⬭ Substitution
⬭ Literal translation
⬭ Compensation
⬭ Gloss or explain
⬭ Omission
⬭ Gestures
⬭ Functional (dynamic) equivalent
⬭ Paraphrasing

21. Please add below any additional comments you would like to make regarding this topic or the questionnaire itself.

Appendix E

Sample Interview Questions

Name (Confidential)   **Date**

Gender (M/F)

Age bracket (18-25/ 25-40/ 40-45/ 50+)

Title (Practitioner, lecturer, full time, part time: give %),

Religion (Muslim, Christian, Jewish, Hindu, None, other: Specify)

Ethnic background (White British, African, Asian, Far East, British Afro-Caribbean, Middle Eastern, Other: Specify)

Years of experience as PSI

You have been chosen for this short interview as you have been identified through the survey as having come across situations while interpreting (As a PSI) where you faced some taboo issues.

1. Could you tell me what kind of taboo did you mean? (Give <u>choices</u> of: Sexual, including bodily functions; political incorrectness; ageism; racism; religion/ blasphemy; sexism, swearing: Bad words)

2. Can you tell us more about this incident? (Describe: write below)

3. How did you handle the situation at the time? (<u>Choose from</u>: Omit, use exact equivalence, substitute with less harsh words or images, interpret literally when no exact equivalent is available, explain it's not your own words, paraphrase, synonym or near synonym, addition, or other such as whispered the words or looked away from client, etc: Explain)

4. Do you remember (Approximately), how many years' experience you had had in interpreting in this sector?

5. Do you think your training/ qualifications helped you overcome this problem?

6. How did you feel when you were faced with this taboo? (<u>Choose from</u>: Embarrassment, shy, no different, anger, indignant, other)

7. Would it have been easier if the client/ audience were of the same sex as you? Explain

8. How do you think you would handle this today? (Same, different: Expand)

   <u>Answer to Q2</u>: **Description of incident**

   Do you think it would have been easier if the client was not older to use taboo in their presence?

   Do you think it would have been easier if the client was of the same gender as you to use taboo in their presence?

(Record myself saying those expressions then ask the question before they listen to the recording).

Tell me the difference in meaning between the following sentences (or intention, for example, is this being said due to anger, frustration, habit, to swear, etc).
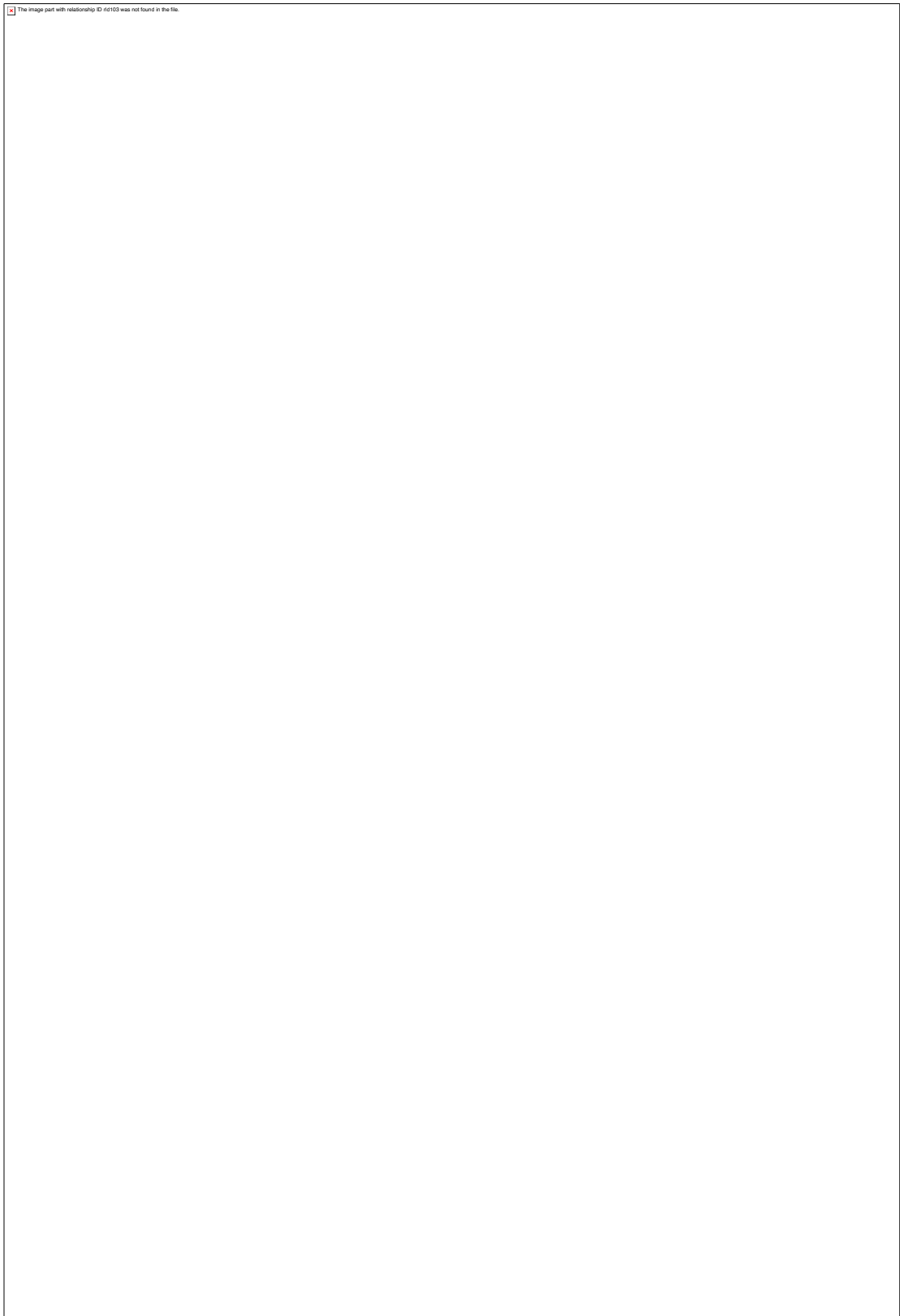
Would you interpret this and how? (explain if substitute, give intention, literal, etc)

State if expression is -/+

a. What **the fuck**…?
b. What in **fucking hell** does that mean, young man?
c. Go **fuck** yourself
d. We knew **fuck all** about this meeting
e. He was **fucking** amazing

Appendix F

Ethics Approval
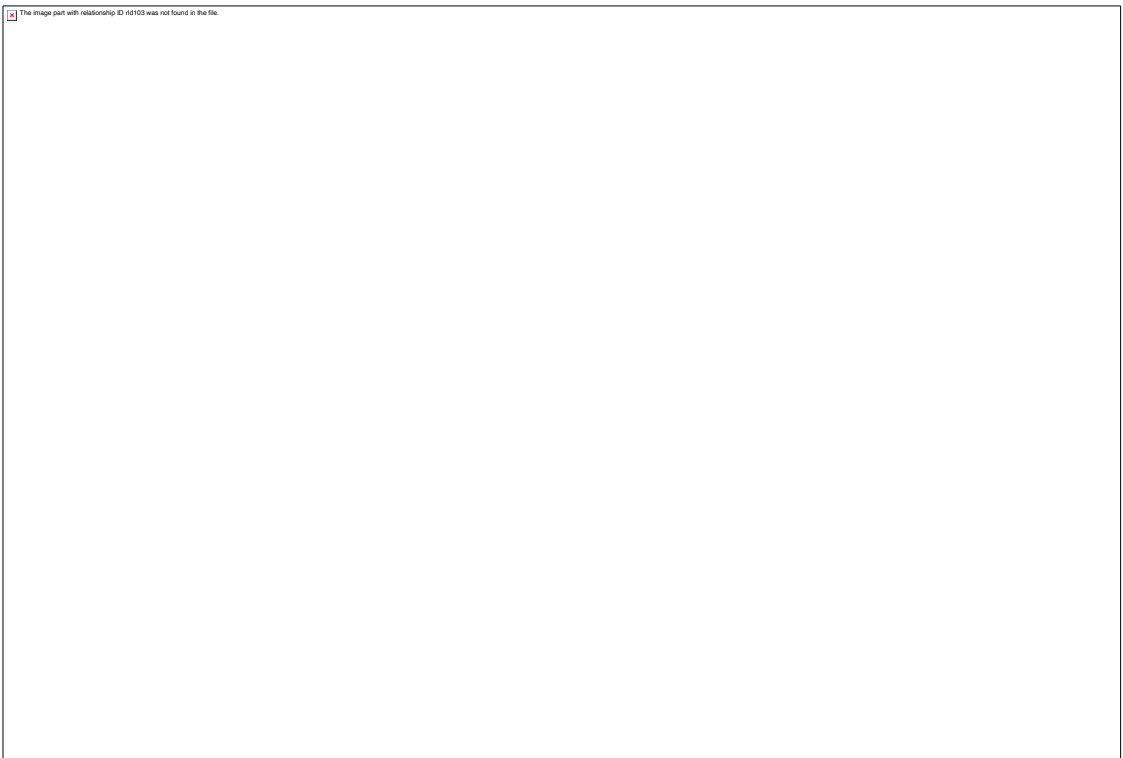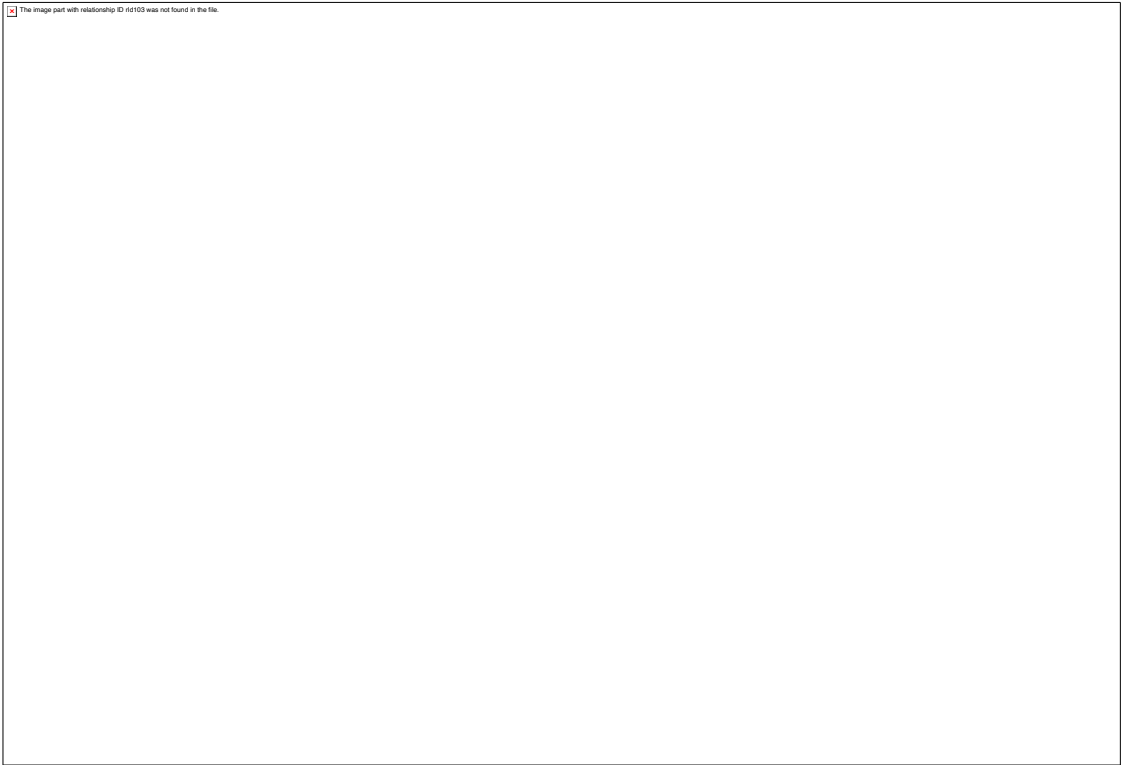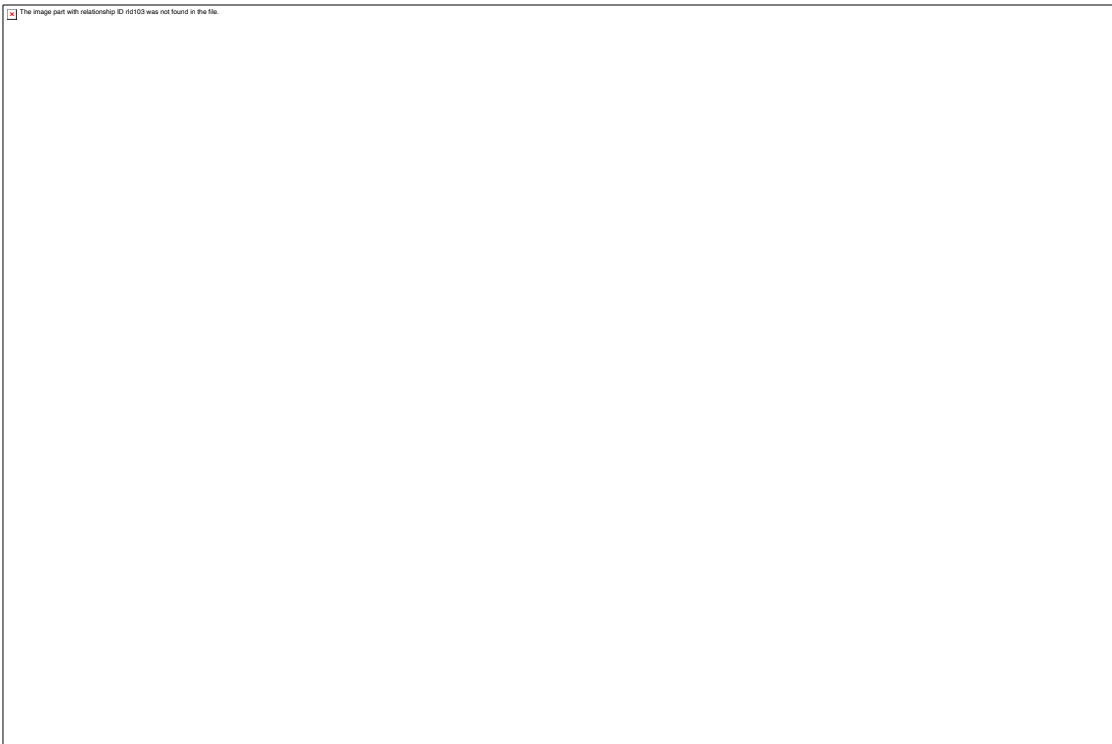
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Appendix G

Cross Tabulation of Questionnaire Responses

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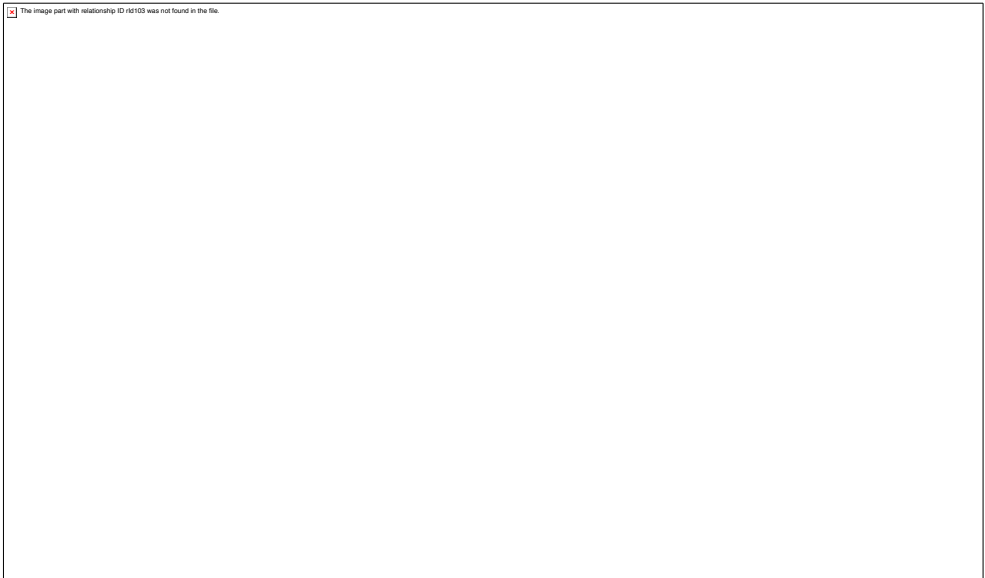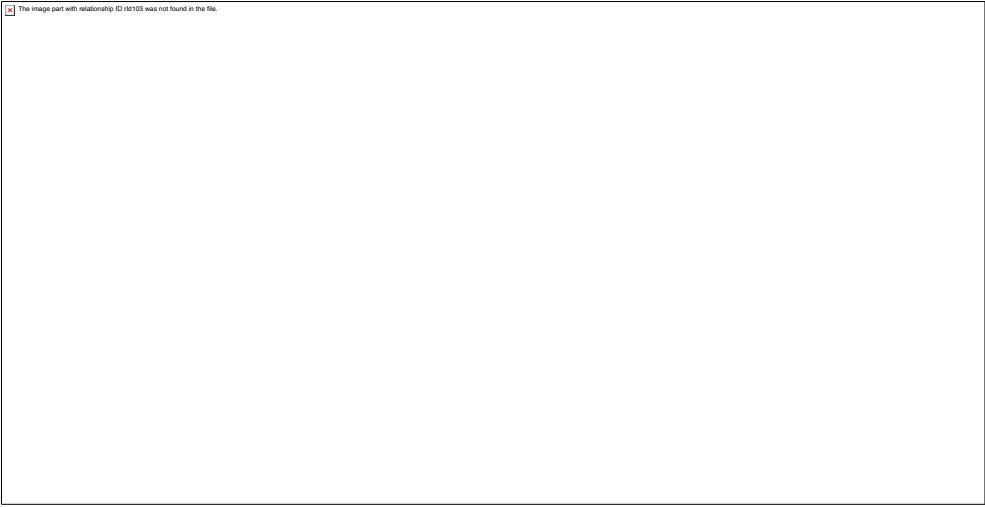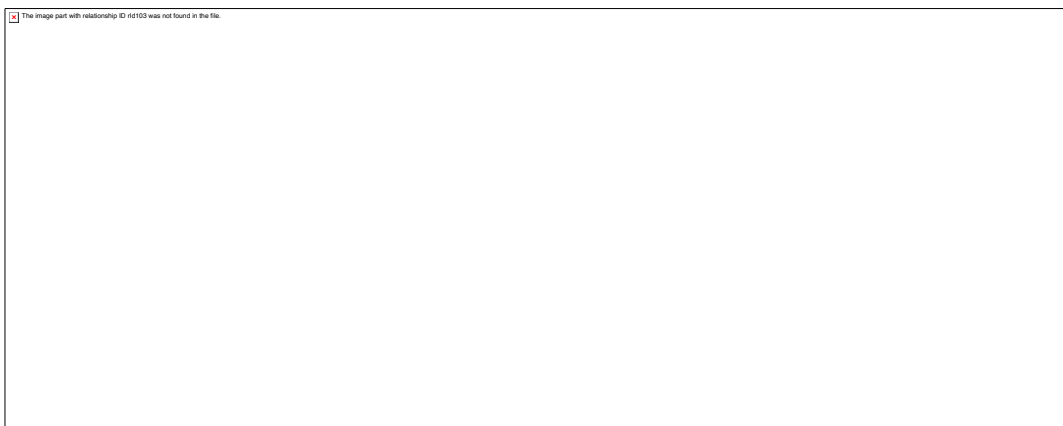
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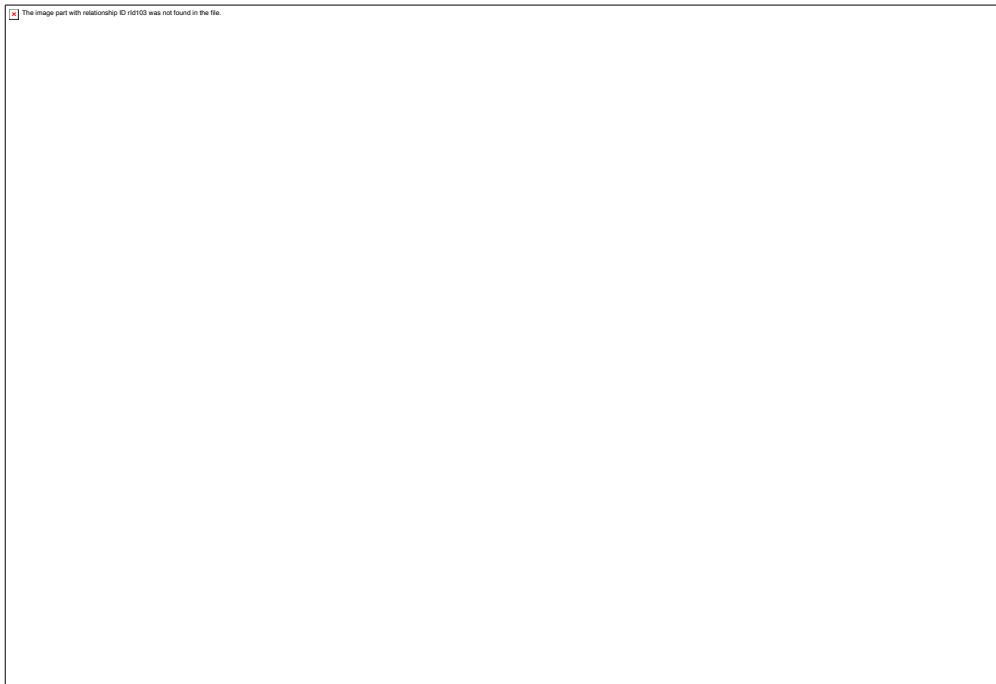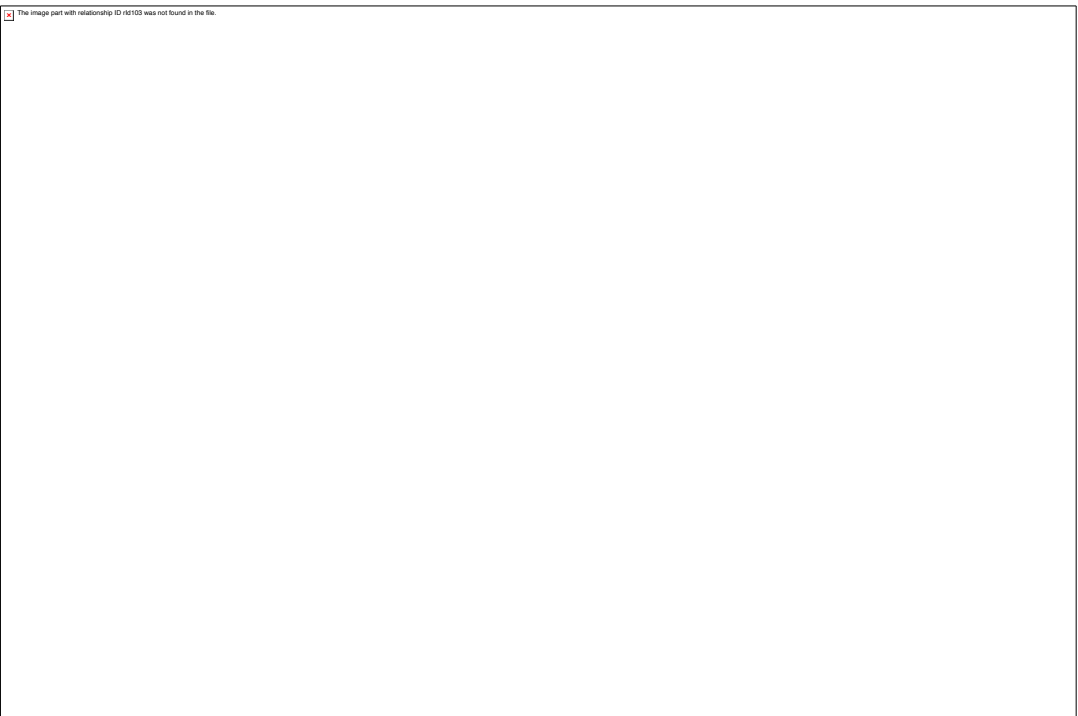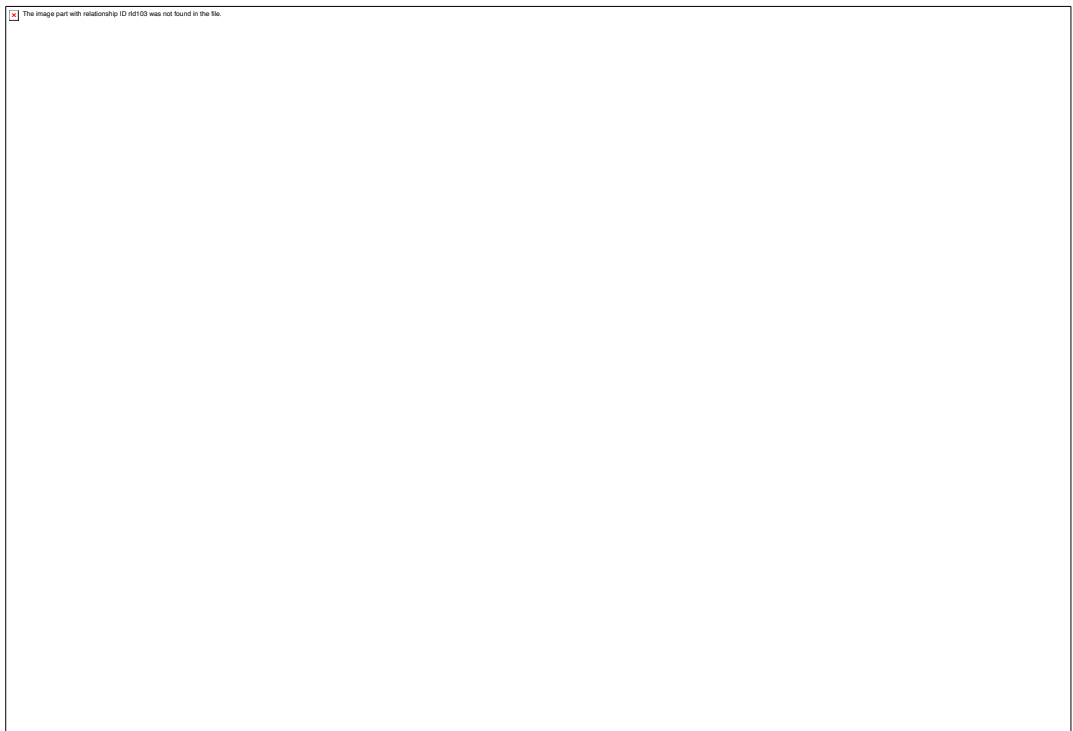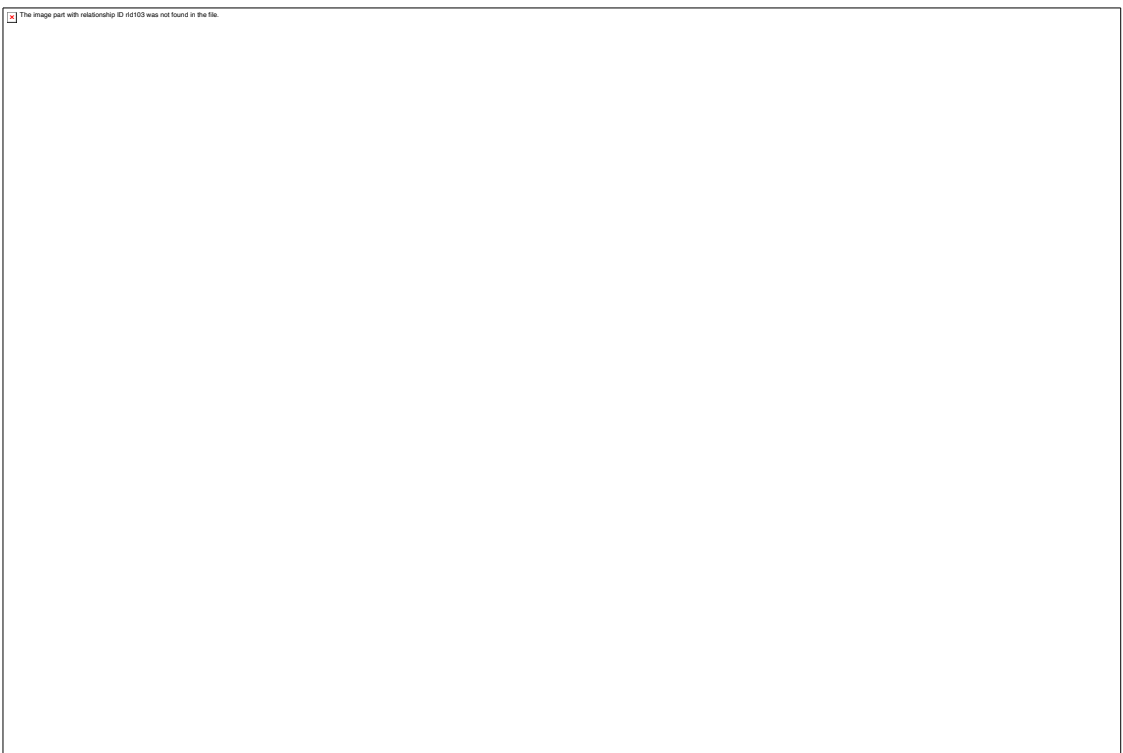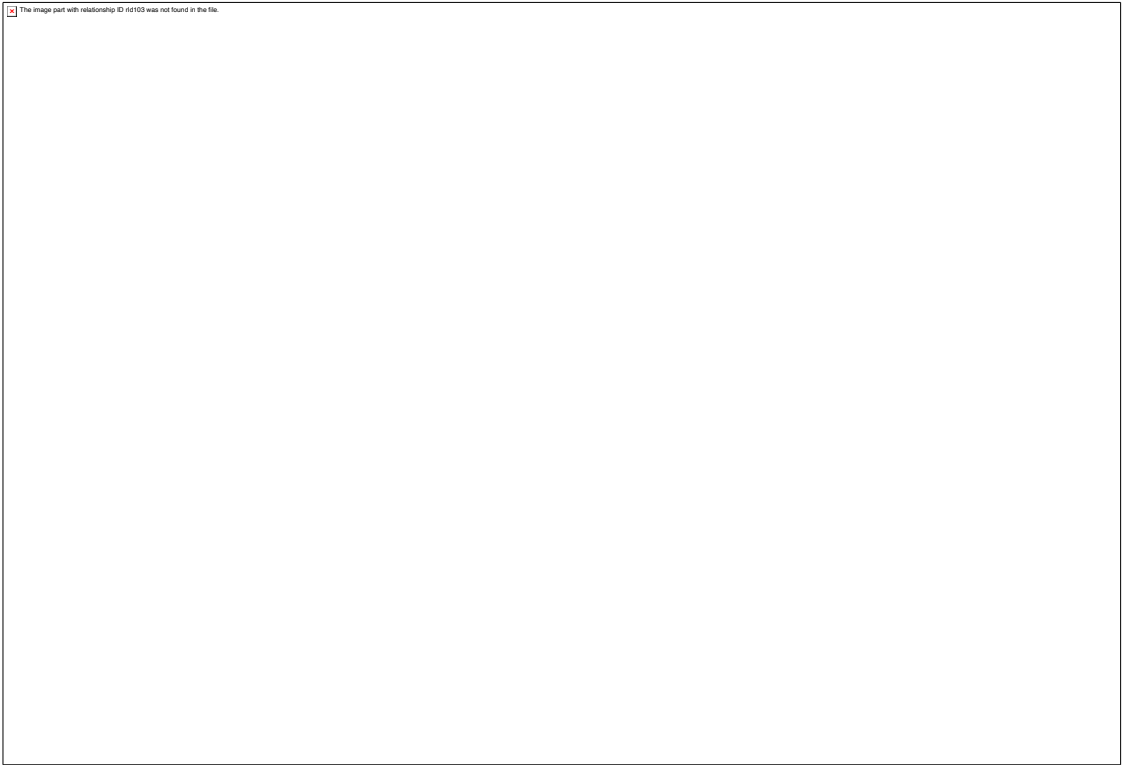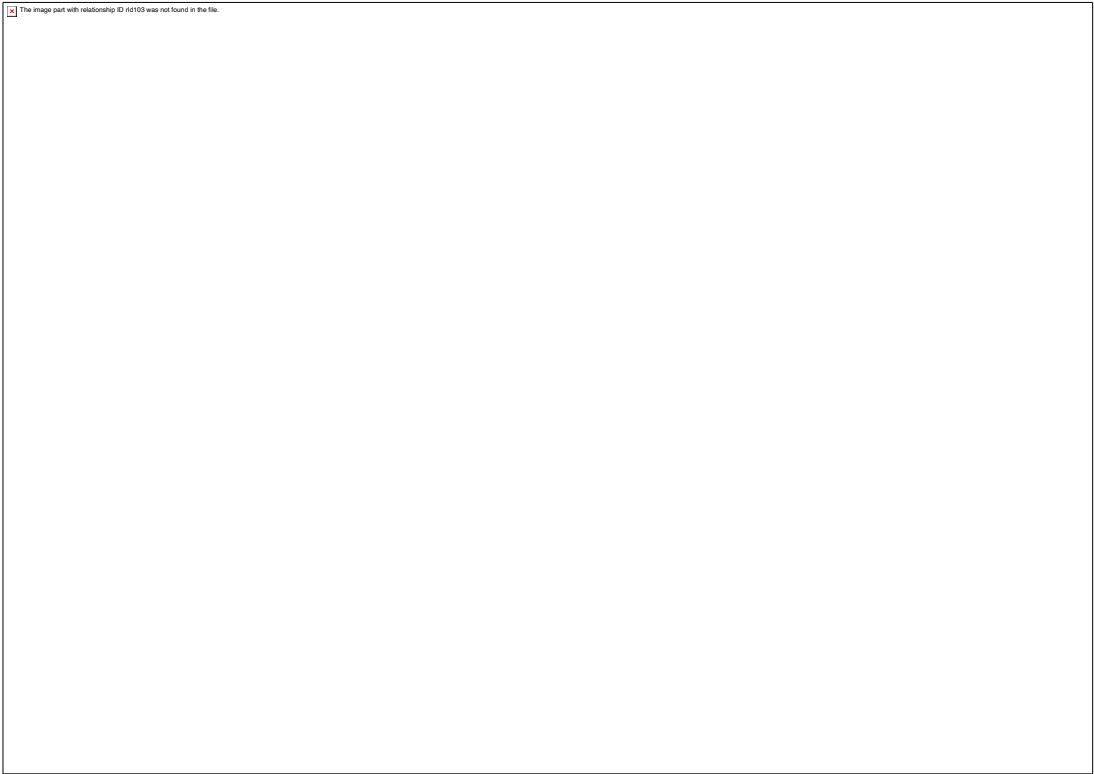
Appendix H

Interview Transcripts

Transcript of interview with P1

SM: What is taboo in your opinion?

P1: It depends on my language, because there is much more taboo in English compared to German, Germans will say anything, they are not strong on taboos. I think for something to be taboo in German would be anything related to Hitler. that's a big taboo area because it's a black mark on our history, but in English, taboo is more obvious in that they use euphemisms, so they'd never say 'sex' straightforward way, they'd say 'I had my leg over' or 'going to the toilet' in English, it's not that you don't say it, because you kinda have to say it but you'll say it in a euphemistic way.

SM: Are you now saying, if you're interpreting to a German audience, you'd say the words as they are but if you're interpreting to a British audience, you'd use Euphemisms?

P1: No, I wouldn't. I'd use it exactly as the speaker had said it cos it conveys the whole message. If I was moving from English to German, there is an equivalent of 'getting your leg over' in German so I'd use the euphemistic version to show this is the choice of the words that the English people chose. It has caused problems when I interpret the other way around and the Germans are going like 'he's obviously gone to have a bit of sex last night ' and the English are like 'Oh, crikey' you know. So that is the way it was said to me otherwise, you'd be taking away from the speaker. It's not always without its pitfalls, cos the English could be shocked 'oh my golly' but you know, Germans are direct and that has to be taken into account.

SM: So you'd say it as it is. so from your point of view, nothing here on the list is taboo. if something is sexual you'd repeat it, such as bodily functions, pc, ageism,

P1: Yes. One thing came up recently, and that was how it happened at the time of my first interview. In Germany there's a party called IFD and they are basically like the Nazi Party. extremely nationalistic and totally anti-foreigners and there's been a discussion recently and a few interpreters had to use very hidden, sort of undercover, requests for some political interpreting and no one would tell them what it was really about, then the day before the assignment they were told it was to interpret at the IFD congress, and then they had difficult issues and some withdrew but of course some had signed contracts, so it was chaos, and for them it was an absolute taboo area where they felt like 'I don't want to support IFD' and it

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started a big online discussion, what should interpreters do? is it fine? it is not your opinion. But they said well if I sit there and associate myself with them it's as if I am helping them communicate and am I not furthering the shitty communication coming out of their mouths?

SM: where do you stand on this?

P1: To be honest, I can't... it's like when you interpreter for a paedophile in a police situation, I have done them many times, plus sex offenders. I always say, I don't judge. I'm simply in some respect the parrot with the brain that helps the communication, cos I always say it's hard to run that line with the political congress, I always say, I'm helping justice to be found whichever way. If they can't tell what that fella is saying then they can't judge him to be guilty or not, either way. You can't make an educated decision. It's a bit harder when it is a political party. I don't know how I'd react. to be honest, I'd probably interpret it anyway, cos they will eventually find an interpreter and at least I will not put a slant on it I just interpret it the way it comes out and the way it's said. no preference either way, so I'm not bothered by it.

SM: You state you'd interpret things as they are even if they are harsh.

P1: Absolutely, cos I think my classic example is always training I was doing with PSI. we have a guest speaker who works with sex offenders. she's a probation officer working with sex offenders. and she basically has to ascertain whether they can be released, or they are still a danger to women or others, and she says it is absolutely vital that she hears verbatim what they are saying to her. If they say 'and then that stupid cunt just wait till I get my hands on her', that wording itself shows the attitude towards women and can stop them from releasing him into the community because he's still a danger to women, so if I say he's using not very nice words or that lady, which some interpreters in certain languages would be tempted to do, then you are basically responsible for a sex offender to be released into the community.

SM: By not interpreting taboo then we are distorting the image of the person.

P1: I always say..I don't know if I have ever done that drawing, if I may pinch your pen, basically I always say, in theory, A can talk to B and f he had the brains and capacity the language, whatever that may be, in theory he can understand 100% , there's a lot of influence to make that 100% less. But, why just because I'm in the middle as an interpreter, should that suddenly go down? Should we .. they'd understand each other's unpleasant statements if I wasn't in the room and they spoke the same language, so who am I.. and which words do I take away? who am I to make that decision?

SM: If you think of Grice's maxims where you have to give cooperation and you talk of intentionality. Would you say I can deliberately and as a speaker be implicit in my swear words, let's call taboo swear words for simplicity. Do you think it's your job to make them explicit?

P1: No. because that is sarcasm is one of the hardest things to transfer or cynicism, but you have to get it in there and you might have to use a different medium, for example, in one language it might be the emphasis, like if I say 'yeah sure', that's is actually saying 'not yeah sure' at all, isn't it? In German it would be the choice of words where I'd say 'yeah, yeah, logisch, hhh' I might need to add a sort of hahah at the end of it, that's to say 'pull the other one, it's got bells and whistles on it' you know, that kind of way. So, there are possibly slightly different techniques for implementing it but you've got to achieve the same thing, he's got to sound just as sarcastic. I mean, I've heard it when I've been listening to exams where someone has been really sarcastic while the other one is turning it into something really positive and

nice, it's like 'hang on a minute, we are talking at complete cross purposes here because this one's been sarcastic while this one doesn't have a clue. because the interpreter's not conveying it.

SM: Then you do agree that if someone is being implicit, you need to show that there is something there, and you can't just ignore it.

P1: yes, you can't ignore it . By using whatever the equivalent technique in the other language is.

SM: Gestures, tones?

P1: Eye brow raising, facial expressions, the voice. A lot of it is voice. Sometimes it's choice of word, you know, so that you just add a little 'yeah.. whatever' you know, something like that. Because in German you can say 'yeah, logisch' meaning, 'yeah, that's logical' but by the tone of voice you've said 'uh uh' so I'd say 'yeah whatever' so that's not actually logical the words I've used in German but it's achieved the same exact equivalent at exactly the same level.

SM: so you're in fact looking at the impact that the intention is so it looks more like dynamic and functional equivalence

P1: Yes. it's really when you look at locutionary and illocutionary and perlocutionary it's the illocutionary I am after to achieve.

SM: Yes but also skopos where we look at the intention of the speaker

P1: Absolutely.

SM: So do you think your training as an interpreter at Germany then in the UK, trained you to do this or do you think this is natural because you are bilingual?

P1: this is something I did get because of the way I grew up because I knew.. I was solidly submerged in both languages, I knew that when my German father and my English grandad spoke sarcastically, that's what they both did. and I think that's one of the hardest things to teach, it's just not tangible.

SM: It's really cultural knowledge.

P1: yes.

SM: I wonder then as I too have both cultures. Do you think, because we both teach, that we can teach a good % of that at any level? I think we can teach cultural things. We are able to do it, so it should be a competence that students learn.

P1: It's lots and lots of examples and if you can pick up on things out of more languages, the better. But you can do that in a way where you include not just as a lecture to the students but bring them in and say 'if I'm able to say yes but I'm actually wanting to say, no way, then what would you do in your own language? and then you give them English examples and then let them work together. I do it like a game, try and find ways of saying it but not saying it or I do this exercise with taboo, which is more word specific, where I do the 3 level thing and I say, at the bottom we've got rude people, criminals and then in the middle we have like me and you, so what would we say for it, and then at the top level I have doctors and barristers. I basically say let's take the word drunk and do me (I do it like a competition with different language backgrounds, cos that's always better cos they have different approaches, do it in

English but tell me how many words can you find for that category and this one and that one and I call it 1,2,3. it's a great exercise cos they come up with pissed as a fart at the bottom then drunk then inebriated at the top. for one thing, it helps them develop their register but also it makes them more aware, where they'd say something like 'well, I was a bit tipsy' and they'll put it at the bottom even though it's not rude. It's what someone would say when they want to say 'I was stone blind drunk' so you can have a discussion about it afterwards. That's how I'd approach it since rude is not the same rudeness in every language, but you have.. actually, Jan's rudeness register, Jan Cambridge developed that a while back and what I found.. I'm not sure 100% how she did it here but basically what she was saying that in certain languages and German Bavarian is one of them, certain ways of swearing or being rude are not the same as others. She would say things like if I were to say to you, your mother looks stupid, it would be like 'yeah, whatever', if you said that to a Spaniard, it's be like 'top insult' SM: Like Arabs. P1: yes, exactly because you don't insult your mother in Spanish, it'd also be like 'what a stupid thing to say!' who believes that anyway? There's a good example in Bavarian if I were to say to you (I also use that on students), 'xxxx' this means 'shit' (0:14) so if I say zon scheibwetter' normal people would say that in Bavaria as it's not as dramatic as shit. I find it hard to say in English but you're just saying that the weather is rubbish. You'd probably recognise that and think 'oh, she's saying the weather is shit' but it's not, it's just saying 'rubbish', but if you were to say the same in English, and you have those kinds of games with them, find ways to..

SM: if you look at those sentences where this says 'what the fuck' how would you interpret it, if you do?

P1: This one is hard for German, my English husband has just observed it. That word is just coming into German language, but they're using it like a non-rude way. Whenever they use it on German telly, John says: Oh, look, they're using it . it's becoming it like any other adjective, even it wouldn't seem...

SM: The question is 'would you give the intention'?

P1: yeah, I would say what in God's will is that, kind of equivalent.

SM: So, you wouldn't try to find an equivalent,

P1: because....there isn't. you could say, yeah, shit, what is this? but because that word has become sort of everyday, I probably wouldn't.

SM: And the following one?

P1: Shows real annoyance and in German we'd use a term that means 'real arse'. In Bavarian it'd be easy, things like Heaven and Arse, so you could use a real equivalence. and we have an exact equivalent of that 'German' basically it involves the f word and the knee. the third (About the meeting), the intention is emphasis on anger, you can say once again, but it's not something like a repeat of the last meeting.

SM: So intensifier,

P1: Yes.

SM: the following one,

P1: I'd use a way that does not involve a rude word (****F amazing) because I can achieve the same thing without it being rude.

SM: Would you not be interested in adding the dirty word to show that the guy has a dirty foul mouth?

P1: But that is so common now that I would not see that as the f word anymore.

SM: OK, what if it is something similar and not the f word. If they used a word which is rude but they were using it in a positive way.

P1: I'd still try to convey the level of language.

SM: For me, I'd never use this nor would you, so it's only people who are foul mouthed generally and they just can't..

P1: we have an expression, that was arsed, so you could use that kind of level and you would.

SM: Yes, I want to show it's someone of a certain level of language

P1: I've had it a lot and it's actually a pattern in German. I do a lot of Works Council meetings, I get it's the trade Union reps who listen to me and their mouths are always like a sewer, and I try to convey that because you think: Bloody hell, he's said that again and I'm gonna have to convey that now. I do drop my register with them but I might not use the f word but I would not speak like when the management is speaking.

SM: That's what I'm trying to get through this question. I'm not looking for the other language equivalent, I'm trying to see what would you do, would you keep it or what?

P1: I'd always try to keep the register always the level of rudeness but the technique I have to employ depends on the function of the f word in this case.

SM: So you would look at functionality

P1: Totally.

SM: And intentionality

P1: Yeah, cos otherwise it's not always the same.

SM: relevance?

P1: Aha, yeah. cos sometimes I can achieve the same effect by changing the syntax around and you know it's just dependant on the situation but it needs full understanding of the function of the word in this context, because that is the same word used differently all the time in those examples.

SM: So you think it's your gut feeling in a way cos we grew up bilingual bicultural but also the knowledge managed to give you the ability to give them terms for that functionality and so on but you'd have recognised it, so for others they need to learn all of these competencies that we look at.

P1: Totally. It's beyond the word, it's towards the meaning, isn't it? the word is the same so it's not the word , it's what role it has in that particular sentence.

SM: So is it easier for you to interpret if the other client was of the same sex. Do you struggle if the client is a man?

P1: No, I find it easier to swear when it's a man cos I think men are more likely to swear than women, I know it's a stupid biased way of seeing it but I feel more comfortable. I found myself using a coping technique on the odd occasion. I had once an older German lady and as the client/ speaker says, I just go 'it's not me, I'm not saying it' and I use that every once in a blue moon just to sort of show ...

SM: I use my eyes to show it's not my words'

P1: That would work if they can see you but in the booth they can't.

SM: I'm only covering PSI, so the booth is not important

P1: Definitely, and often the hand gesture. I arrived at a police station one day for an Iranian/ German lady, and she was in a cell absolutely irate, she said in Iran this is what we do, my daughter bit me so I bit her back to show it hurt. That was the whole issue and she was arrested as she did it in a park and someone reported her. She'd waited till I arrived, and she said then 'You're finally here you fucking bitch' so I basically said the exact same thing to the police officer who was stood on the other side of the door with me and her face was a picture cos she thought I was talking to her. I pointed my hand at the hatch where this Iranian woman was and she said: Oh, is that what she just said? it was a bit like the police officer was a nice young lady and I thought perhaps I should have just pointed at her straight away to resolve the issue. I found that much more difficult compared to a hairy assed lorry driver at a European Works council cos they swear like troopers and I just interpret what they say with all the bits and bobs.

SM: Perhaps we need to train the clients about swearing and how it should be dealt with.

P1: I do find it easier with men, from experience.

SM: But difficult if they're older?

P1: No, not necessarily, it may sound awful, but if they are of a certain social class, I find it more difficult. If I know that they wouldn't really talk like that but the other side has just spoken like that, so I have to re-iterate it, but I know that this is like a very posh smart man or woman, older generation, a different social strata to what that language would be used, if that makes sense.

SM: It goes against many theories that we have. the code of ethics would say be accurate and faithful

P1: Which I will be even though I'd be extremely uncomfortable.

P1: I would like to add one of the ways I taught on DPSI, with this being in PSI, cos I had a lot of 'I can't say that in my culture' and of course I'm the white Western woman so that's a card that they could pull on me cos I don't understand their culture. I say, it doesn't matter and I give them examples of the probation worker and I said the way I deal with it, after all I don't talk like that, like in a paedophile court, I always think, it's not my words, it's someone else's words, as someone jokingly said to me when I was training, you can always go and say a little prayer in church but it's not your words, so think mentally you'll wash your mouth out with soap, it's not you saying it. I think that's really what helps me cos I always thought, breathe

and say it, you know cos you can't not say it , cos you could cause chaos. I mean the rape cases are the ones we quote to them, the Bangladeshi interpreter who wouldn't say rape and calls it lovemaking, she would not say penetration. this is just like...

SM: Does it get easier as you gain experience cos you've practised more

P1: yes and also you just know from life experiences, that tells you that these things are out there. the first time I was probably like a beetroot when I said these things, I remember one of my first cases was very related to this stuff. It started as a case but this guy runs a brothel with a torture chamber in it so you can imagine there was all sorts of stuff that went on. I didn't even know how to say torture chamber never mind all the things that went on there, I learnt a range of vocabulary that way. I used to go home and research it, John, what does that mean? it was all a bit like... that came with experience. the client used to say this on purpose cos he could see me going bright red and it was his bit of entertainment in prison, but with time, now if someone says it, I say it too. If anything, other people on the other side are more shocked that I came out with the words. As soon as I see their shocked faces, I point out at the other person that spoke.

SM: In fact, I think if someone is saying to shock you, it's better if you don't show shock cos then

P1: yes, he'd been playing with me for months

SM: Then he can't hurt anyone. I find in hospitals where I was working, if you don't show embarrassment at bodily functions, and you show the patients it's normal therefore it's OK to talk about them, like periods.

P1: I have a fella who gets UTIs, I am called to Liverpool hospital, I knew it was the GUM clinic. I said I had a German client this is the patient's number and the guy's face dropped cos he had a urinary infection and he knew he'd have to drop his trousers and various other things, so I said, oh dear, they were supposed to book a male interpreter, I'm sure. So I made this really loud production saying, let me just speak to him and it's OK if I stand by the other side of the curtain so I made it OK for me so he could say yeah it's OK cos I knew he didn't want to go away with a UTI and come again when a male interpreter was found for him. With confidence you go: You know what? why don't I just stay the other side of the curtain so long as everyone speaks I can interpret it. That made it easier for him. I wouldn't have been embarrassed, I have seen it all before but it's easier for the client and you just give them that bit of leeway then.

SM: For Arabs, mental health issues. I had to go to Spire [hospital] and again the guy was embarrassed about certain things. When he'd admit to having those problems, I'd say, yeah, giving him exactly as the doctor said, I maintained eye contact and I found he began to relax, cos I showed him I wasn't embarrassed cos it's normal to talk about these things.

P1: that's definitely the easiest. it's easier for us and for them that you're not fussed about things. I often get cases where they say, they need someone experienced, they don't really mean that, it's just an embarrassing topic but I mean, after interpreting the World Naturist Congress nothing embarrasses me anymore.

Transcript of Interview with P2

1. Could you tell me what kind of taboo did you mean? (Give <u>choices</u> of: Sexual, including bodily functions; political incorrectness; ageism; racism; religion/ blasphemy; sexism, swearing: Bad words)

   Sexual: the case was about alleged rape, but a man raping another man. We had to identify sexual members in more than one way as the victim was north African and did not recognise MSA Arabic for the term 'penis'.

2. Can you tell us more about this incident? (Describe: write below)

   A man was accused of raping another, he claims it was consensual. I had to use the word 'dick, in Arabic rather than penis قضيب ليس و اير and had to use colloquial Arabic for him to understand words.

3. How did you handle the situation at the time? (<u>Choose from</u>: Omit, use exact equivalence, substitute with less harsh words or images, interpret literally when no exact equivalent is available, explain it's not your own words, paraphrase, synonym or near synonym, addition, or other such as whispered the words or looked away from client, etc: Explain)

   In this instance, I used colloquial Arabic and kept using synonyms until he understood my meaning, for example: قضيب ليس و اير /جنسية علاقة إقامة ليس و نكت to mean penetration. In other parts, I had to use the nearest equivalent to the swear words he used, for example: I used الشرموطة ابن to replace 'mother fucker'. I made sure I maintained eye contact (whether it was the defendant or the solicitor/ judge) to ensure increased comprehension.

4. Do you think your training/ qualifications helped you overcome this problem? I think you need both. During my training, we did sessions specifically focussed on taboo and how to deal with it, which made this easier for me in real life. I was embarrassed during the course, but with time, it became easier.

5. How did you feel when you were faced with this taboo? (<u>Choose from</u>: Embarrassment, shy, no different, anger, indignant, other) I feel shock, rather than embarrassment, I also feel indignant, negative and disappointed [in hearing someone talk that way].

   I interpreted it as it was said, no addition and no omission. Yes, I do feel like I also act as a cultural mediator.

   6. Would it have been easier if the client/ audience were of the same sex as you? Explain It would have been awkward.

   Would it have been easier to use taboo words if the client was the same gender as you?

   P2: It would be more awkward but if that female did not understand what I was trying to get out of her, then I'll push myself more with the interpreting by using colloquial words ,I'd be reluctant at the start but when I have no response to help the case then yes, I will be pushing on using the dialect and trying to explain to her in more details and accurately the process of being someone being raped so we can get the answer to help the case.

SM: Do you think today, you have 4-5 years more experience behind you, do you think you'd handle the situation differently?

P2: 4 years ago, with a rape case, the only rape case I had ever interpreted, but previously if I were doing this 12 years ago, I would have felt embarrassed and I wouldn't know how to tackle the situation. but since now I am more aware and I have some experience talking to colleagues, exchange ideas, how to tackle here in the UK so I was more aware how to tackle and how to maintain some coping techniques.

SM: what about the client's age, would that make it easier for you to say taboo words when interpreting?

P2: If they are older, it wouldn't matter. SM: An older woman? P2: what age? SM: 50s-60s P2: I don't know cos I've not been faced with this before, but I think for me it would be the same as what I am doing now.

SM: I'll read a few sentences and to ask you what you think of them. Are they -/+, function? how would you deal with them, etc. what the fuck?

P2: -, as it contains the word 'fuck' in it. which indicates rudeness and sometimes a taboo in the other culture. by sometimes I mean it depends on who it is addressed to, if it was at an Arab, they would be offended but if it was for a Western person he'd feel awkward, so it depends really on the situation and the individual.

SM: What is the role of the word fuck here is?

P2: it is about rudeness, you should not communicate with people using this word. SM: So the word fuck here is added to show rudeness? P2: rudeness, inappropriateness. SM: Could it also not mean great surprise, where someone was shocked and surprised at something, and that's why they say this? P2: yes, so it depends on the circumstance or the meaning at that time but even so, people should be reluctant to say it even if they are shocked as there are other words that could be used to express surprise but without using 'fuck'. SM: here, you'd have given the meaning in Arabic as what? P2: I would use an equivalent. it does depend on context though, if it's a surprise, I'd use an equivalent to the other culture, here like يا للدهشة يا للعجب

SM: but don't you think the word 'fuck' when you removed it, you've removed the rudeness and therefore you show that someone is surprised but you're not showing his rudeness? his personality as having a foul mouth? P2: well, gain it depends on the context, he's surprised so.. SM: the context is PSI

P2: but he's happy, he's surprised that he's happy, he's happy about something and he doesn't mean rudeness in such a context. SM: but I'm saying what about it is rude to use these words regardless. He doesn't mean it, but it is rude, so it means someone has a dirty mouth and they always speak dirty, and don't you think that by removing that you've removed the personality? You're showing him as someone normal/ polite. let's say its a police interview maybe it's important for the police to decide on his personality and they must realise he's got a dirty mouth. P2: I can see where you're coming from but if you interpret that in the other culture, it means you're not being accurate that that someone is surprised by something otherwise you're showing that you're doing a beautiful thing as ugly. that's what you're doing. SM: but it's not beautiful, what he's saying, and you can still do the surprise in Arabic still adding the rudeness P2: I can't in this way. I couldn't find anything to

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reflect :SM: You can say شو هالخرا P2: still, it is not a surprise. he's showing you surprise, it's a nice occasion. SM: No, we don't know it is nice, it could be that he was going to drive and someone came and blocked him so he said: what the fuck. P2: yes, in this context, I'd say that. SM: So why did you make it a pleasant one when it could equally have been unpleasant? P2: in this example, yes, I would interpret it as that but if you have a birthday party, somebody you are taking to that party...SM: No, I said it's in the context of PSI only. P2: OK, then I would interpret it.

SM: 'What in fucking hell does that mean, young man?' P2: it could be neutral and it depends on the circumstances. I think it's neutral. I'd say يا للجحيم، بحق الجحيم، ماذا يعني هذا؟ :SM So you've interpreted blasphemy (hell) but not swearing (fuck). SM: yes. but still, you're loyal to the meaning.

SM: 'Go fuck yourself'

P2: it is -. the function that you're extremely unhappy or angry with somebody and you're using, in the Arab culture, outrageous in Arabic to say روح نيك حالك it's quite outrageous and might create a fight between people, but in PSI, you have to express that negativity, yes. I would do literal translation, it is a good way to interpret this sentence.

SM: You wouldn't try to find an equivalent? a dynamic/ functional equivalent? look at its function P2: Looking at it, literal translation will reflect exactly the meaning.

SM: 'We knew fuck all about this meeting'

P2: it is -. because you're saying we knew about this shit meeting. again, this expresses the negativity. SM: what do you think is the function of fuck all?

P2: It means someone who is bored or unhappy with the consequence/ outcome of the meeting, or that person is repeatedly mention this always this meeting, referring to that meeting, which is still .. SM: the function is that we knew nothing about that meeting but they're angry cos no one told them about that meeting so a meeting was convened without the person who said that sentence knowing anything about it. AM: but you need to express the tone. SM: You gave the wrong meaning. P2: You can still say we didn't know about this awful meeting زفت SM: so you'd lower the level of the term P2: Yes, but you need to express something with negativity and express the anger of that person that he's fed up cos he doesn't know about that meeting SM: what do you think is the reason they just didn't say ' we knew nothing about this meeting'. why did they use 'fuck all', what do you think it does here? P2: it means fed up.SM: I know it means someone is fed up but what has it done to the sentence, other than make it rude, what else has it done to the sentence? I'll give you an example, we've got things like intensifiers, so it intensified the feeling of anger. P2: yes, that's exactly the point. SM: So, you agree it works as an intensifier, P2: yes.

SM: the last one is 'he was fucking amazing' P2: this is +, in Arabic the equivalent is كان رائعاً so it is very positive. SM: You've omitted 'fucking' here, P2: but you still kept the meaning. SM: But what about .. why did you drop it when it is positive but did not drop it when it was negative? P2: the function is what we look at the function here is that we are expressing something very positive so why would you use a negative to express a positive? SM: so you are looking at intentionality rather than function P2: yes, the intention. SM: cos it's not the function of the sentence I'm looking at but the function of the word itself. the word 'fucking' in the phrase before, we knew fuck all' was to intensify the anger, while here, 'he was

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fucking amazing' was to intensify how great the man is but also you're looking at the intention being something positive so you gave more importance to the intention compared to the function. P2: also what you could do, you could add ابن الحرام / son of a bitch, first so you could use both SM: So you used a negative utterance within a positive sentence, but still kept it positive. P2: Yes exactly, that is acceptable in the Arabic culture. SM: So you look at the intention or Skopos but also do you think sometimes it is the relevance, if it's relevant or not. If he said, fucking amazing, the same as if he said he was amazing, the relevance here of fucking is quite low cos just to intensify how great the person is. so you took that into account, you think? P2: yeah, big way.

SM: ant other comments?

P2: interpreting taboo in the Arabic culture is very sensitive, and it needs more awareness and more research. the more research we do, the more it opens up new horizons of examples that until now there are some situation where the interpreter is unable to grasp how to interpret taboo into the other culture especially now with the challenges of the new culture in the West where we have homosexuals which sometimes the Arabic culture are not aware how to tackle these kinds of relationships. the same for blasphemy. The message is we need research on taboo, what there is now is not enough to open new horizons. P2: a combination of my gut instinct, education/ qualification and experience all help me when it comes to interpreting taboo.

Transcript of Interview with P3

SM: You think ageism not to be taboo?

P3: it depends on the way the age issue is framed. If it's framed in a very offensive way, it is definitely offensive, but if it's just a very general introduction or a very general explanation of that, that's fine with me. So it depends on context and intention

SM: so, it links to skopos theory that we need to know the intention to be able to understand

P3: Language context, as well as the general context of that setting

SM: I asked which taboo you'd find acceptable to interpret and you said none of the above. If someone says something racist, would you interpret it or would you not?

P3: I would definitely interpret it.

SM: Because you said, none of the above so that confused me

P3: mmm

SM: So you would interpret a racist remark and a sexist remark?

P3: Let me put it this way. They are insensitive but I will definitely tone them down a little bit. I would definitely use a different phrases, but one thing I would definitely do is to point out that those original terms are far more offensive and harsh than what I have brought to the table. You need to pay attention as listeners.

SM: So, why don't you interpret them? just save time and say them as they are (In the other language)

P3: That's too harsh for me

SM: In what way? You don't want them to think that you're being offensive? or you are too embarrassed to do it?

P3: I'm too embarrassed to do that.

SM: It it's embarrassment, would sexism be a problem? or racism? Blasphemy, offensive too?

P3: Yes, the entire list would be offensive

SM: would you maintain eye contact? when people are embarrassed they usually avert their eyes, but you said you would maintain eye contact

P3: Yes.

SM: So even if I'm saying something offensive, you'd still keep your eye. How do you not find that embarrassing?

P3: It is you doing something stupid / silly, not me. I shouldn't be embarrassed, why should I just avoid eye contact?

SM: I mean when you are interpreting, so, I said something offensive. Let's pretend someone is sat there and you have to interpret. for when you interpret to that person, do you keep…?

P3: yes, totally.

SM: Then you are embarrassed slightly because you have toned down what was said, but if you did not tone it down, you'd be too embarrassed to look at him.

P3: That's true.

SM: But would you ignore the gestures?

P3: Yes, I ignore lewd gestures totally (Finger up gesture made for him to interpret)

SM: Let's pretend you have a Chinese client who doesn't understand what this finger means, how would you know that something offensive has just happened?

P3: I would definitely verbalise that to the clients, but for me, I would totally ignore that. I am not going to care too much about the body, the offensive body gestures, but I'd definitely verbalise that and deliver the hidden message to the clients/ listeners for sure. And if sometimes, listeners would be very interesting and they keep asking me why is that, I'd totally share the message and the connotations behind those offensive gestures.

SM: But you'd still share them with a language that is too offensive?

P3: True.

SM: Because if you ignored them, don't you think the client would wonder what do those mean? for example, in Arabic, if I did that to a client, that is very offensive, I don't know if it's the same in Chinese, so you'd need to know that this is being offensive, you need to understand the culture. But my client might not know it's offensive if he's British.

P3: I'd share the connotation with the viewers. For me, the avoidance is about me avoiding the body gesture psychologically and emotionally. But for my work, I definitely share the meaning

SM: When you say you ignore them, it means you don't mimic them but you explain them verbally. P3: True.

SM: You find it easier to verbalise than to mimic.

P3: Exactly.

SM: I suppose it's because to mimic you can't lower the tone but you can lower it by verbalising it

P3: But I prefer to share the meaning or connotation instead. I guess it is more straight forward. I can be a multi-tasker for body gestures sometimes.

SM: If this [gesture] means 'go to Hell', would you say that or 'he wishes you dead' or which is a different meaning, I guess. How would you deal with it?

P3: I would use the second one.

SM: I'm going to be embarrassing now, if he does that do you know what it means? P3: Yeah. SM: What would you say?

P3: You've already seen that body gestures and it indicates that he asks you to go away in a very offensive and rude way

SM: I would just say it. P3: Laughs.

SM: Would it help if the client was of the same sex? P3: No difference

SM: What about age? if they were older, your parents' por grandparents' age? Don't forget we have a thing about culture. In our culture, age is ..P3: You mean the clients? SM: yes. so my brother would never smoke in front of my grandfather out of respect.

P3: Doesn't matter, regardless of age.

SM: studies show it is easier to swear not in your mother tongue. P3: For me, it's pretty much the same case. There's no such thing as being easy or being difficult. SM: There is no right or wrong answer, but your answers will form my discussion, that's all. Is it appropriate to interpret taboo? you say no.

SM: You see our role as mediators, educators and cultural language because that links in with what you said about gestures. You said it's not my role to negotiate across all levels, but in fact, you say it is here. But you're not expected to know everything. You would do it through gloss or explain, function of the term, paraphrase, compensation and definition so really, could we say you also use skopos theory by looking at the intention is and explain the intention so that could be under 'other'. What about relevance? Relevance theory?

P3: Sometimes. I say no more and no less. I definitely do not exaggerate what has been said, trying to tone it down. It is all about the message, its meaning, the ideas.

SM: Does that include the tone of the message? P3: Yes.

SM: Have you ever had a situation where somebody did say something that is taboo? how did you deal with it?

P3: During the police interview, American clients cursed frequently using those harsh four letter words, basically, those terms were intended for the police officers and the Chinese community, especially women, so I definitely toned them down a little bit but I guess I got the message across for the connotations and the messages behind those four letter words.

SM: So you didn't omit or use exact equivalents. You substituted with less harsh words or images

P3: But I point out that the original wording was really really harsh. And more than you listeners could take, so that is why I rephrased that.

SM: And you said you maintained your eye contact.

P3: Yes.

SM: When this happened, how many years' experience did you have? because now you have 12 and then were you at the start of your career?

P3: I guess at a very early stage of my interpreting career. Maybe like 2-3 years after I started interpreting.

SM: Do you think any training you had done in interpreting could have helped you overcome this problem? If there was a session or two in your training?

P3: Honestly, my instructors just briefly touched upon what needs to be done about the general principles and general strategies, but he also pointed out specifically that one needs to be very flexible, in approaches and strategies. So, I guess most of the specific methods have been devised on my own. I try to be flexible and try to be as effective as possible in different scenarios.

SM: Did you ever wonder about the code of ethics where it says you have to be accurate and faithful?

P3: Right here, it's not.... for me, rephrasing is not about being inaccurate, it's also a different was of delivering accuracy.

SM: What strategies did your lecturer recommend?

P3: Generally, be flexible, take different factors into account, such as the listeners and the degree of the offensive terms and what are the general level of languages: are they using in that particular setting, are they very conversational or very official or at least high class or something?

SM: For example, when Ghaddafi swore at a meeting, would you have interpreted that? this is the highest official thing you could get: a president. would you have interpreted his bad language?

P3: Word by word? No. not really.

SM: How did you feel when you were faced with those 4 letter words? embarrassment, shy, no different, anger?

P3: No different. Indifference, really. That's what I'm supposed to [feel]. I'm not supposed to put any personal, emotional element into that conversation. my embarrassment was simply psychological.

SM: How would you handle that situation today? Now you have 9 more years' experience.

P3: I would prefer the same approach, the general principle. I am happy with that.

SM: I want you to, without too much thinking, if you had to interpret the following sentences: a.What the fuck…? P3: Negative, of course. It's very harsh and uncivilised. SM: What does it mean? and would you interpret it? P3: Not verbatim. Not word by word rendition. I'd take into

Chinese especially the word 'what' coupled with an explanation of the tone as well as the harshness as well as the offensive elements in that.

SM: What is offensive in that? P3: This breaks the rule of politeness so it is offensive to listeners and everyone else present in the room. Its meaning depends on the scenario. Shows the speaker is unhappy or upset. Specific reasons depends on the scenario/ context.

SM: what about 'What in fucking hell does that mean, young man? ' what do you think I'm feeling? P3: It is negative, mostly. Still depends on the conversation, the sentences before or after. it could reflect anger or astonishment.

SM: So the use of fucking and hell which for many religions is unacceptable, here we have double taboos, how would you deal with that?

P3: I'd definitely use a moderate term and with an explanation of what is that supposed to mean in Chinese.

SM: The third one is 'Go fuck yourself'

P3: I'd translate that verbatim. I'd actually say 'He's cursing you'. I wouldn't say the word 'fuck' itself.

SM: What about ' We knew fuck all about this meeting'

P3: I wouldn't interpret it literally. It is negative. The speakers are disgusted by what is happening on the spot, and they showcase their negative opinions/ emotions towards the meeting. That's what I would say. I'm not going to exaggerate the emotions nor am I going to tone that down too much. What I tell my clients depends on the intention of the speaker.

SM: Would you explain what the function of 'fuck all' here is? the function is to show anger here.

P3: if they were totally angry I'd definitely inform the clients that they were angry, they deserve more information about the meeting. If it was just a term for surprises, I'd just say that they know nothing about the meeting. So they have been kept in the dark.

SM: 'He was fucking amazing'.

P3: This is really positive. He was really really amazed right here.

SM: You wouldn't say that. You would just say,

P3: No explanation, because this is positive, I'd say 'truly amazing'.

SM: Although it is a taboo word, it is being used as a positive here so would you deal with this differently to the negatives?

P3: Aha, I guess. For me, the intention of speaker in this case has no [negative] intention so I'd never ever ...no bad intention, but here he is making an emphasis.

SM: So you only worry about the message going across when you think there is bad intention that needs to be conveyed

P3: Yes.

SM: But if it's only good intentions then we don't really need to worry about it.

P3: No.

SM: Do you think doing a course in interpreting helps you? You've managed to identify negative from positive and intensifiers, do you think it's the course that helped you here or is it just because you have lived in America and your English is so good that you've identified that? Do you think you can tell?

P3: Honestly, to be brutally honest, it is really based on my personal learning and life experiences. SM: I agree with you. My conclusion will be that a lot of it is learnt, because taboo is very much cultural and the only way to learn culture is by living it. you can read in books but culture is so dynamic that you need to learn it all the time but living it is what teaches you

P3: True, but the most important principle I got from my lecturer is to be flexible, so that is really .. even though it is a broad principle, it really works every time and makes me aware that I need to be vigilant, once such a sensitive term pops up, I need to analyse, be it a good/ positive term, with any kind of intentions, so it's basically scenario based. Sometimes a speaker can be very expressive in terms of his intonation and body language and even gestures, so I don't need to over explain anything verbally but everything is very subtle with very few hints, that's a different story , that is the exact moment I need to elaborate more. If the client sounded calm but he uses abusive language, I'd still say that the client is saying those words. That's factual. Sometimes with Chinese listeners, they are aware of basic offensive terms like fuck and hell, so interpreters will never ever avoid verbally as these things have been verbalised by the speakers, you cannot avoid them as if nothing had happened.

SM: Are Chinese more prone to swearing?

P3: It really depends on the situation or how culturally refined a person is so there's no absolute answer to that.

SM: a lot of English language words have swear words that are there without people thinking about it, like 'go fuck yourself' they don't think much about it any more

P3: Likewise for Chinese language, it really depends on the speaker is s/he is careful enough about their language or the scenario or the people they are conversing with.

SM: A good Irish girl would never say 'Oh, shit' she would say 'Oh, sugar', but how she says it makes you realise she's swearing but in a nice way. This brings me to euphemisms, it's like when you say 'this guy is using a 4-letter word, this is a euphemism for shit or fuck. you tend to use euphemisms as this lowers your embarrassment as this helps you deal with things.

P3: yes.

SM: What is it wasn't a swear word and it was a rape case and someone said ' did penetration take place?' what would you say? this is a sexual act, it's not offensive as a word, but the act maybe is offensive, how would you deal with that? you can't say any euphemisms or would you say 'lovemaking'?

P3: No, verbatim. Penetration is just penetration. I need to be neutral.

SM: Why can't you be neutral when they say fuck or shit?

P3: It really depends on the interpreter. Penetration is just a biological term personally I don't think that is offensive and I'd rather deliver it as it is.

SM: you would ask how you would rely on your guts. I would be hoping you'd be relying on the theories you have learnt rather than your guts. But the theories..

P3: Maybe these are theory associated but for me as a practitioner in that setting no theories are behind my mind, it's all about instincts, it's all about my work experience and my judgements, so I trust myself, how am I going to deal with that in an appropriate way.

SM: So you are using the competencies of analysis

P3 and cultural awareness

SM: analysis of the speaker's intention and also analysis of the response by the receiver will be

P3: Yes.

SM: If you think the response will be negative, will that stop you interpreting? P3: No. SM: Then what does it matter, what the client's response will be? L

H: Some, honestly, a lady I worked with as one of my listeners collapsed because of those harsh terms even though they have been rephrased in a moderate way, she did not feel comfortable, literally 5-6 minutes after the conversation was over. So, for seniors I guess I need to be very very cautious, as they can be very vulnerable, but it's from the physical concerns, age definitely matters, because I need to be careful. What if that person collapsed after

SM: Don't you think this is extreme?

P3: It could be very extreme, but she or he is really senior and I need to be careful about that, but these are very extreme cases, very rare.

SM: Competencies then are paraphrasing after analysing then memory is not really required here P3: Yes, it is less priority.

SM: Synonyms: You have to have linguistic skills training. Note taking not relevant for taboo, but language analysis and of the cultural implications of such language

P3: Analysis of the context

SM: But also recognising the word as being taboo. Because when I had something that was positive you instantly said that is not a problem, so analysis of the value of the term, that would be a competence .

P3: If you say so, I could also re-categorise that in the previous category of cultural awareness or something like that. there is no fixed categorisation.

SM: I also have general knowledge as a competence you need because don't forget we only discussed swear words now but there are other words that could be taboo linked to political correctness and nothing to do with swearing. My sister for example would use the term 'crap' but did not realise it meant 'shit' because she only arrived in this country about 10 years ago. They now use it in anger/ frustration. She didn't have enough general knowledge to know that this really was a negative term and she'd use it in polite gatherings not realising that others were looking at her in shock. so general knowledge should be there especially for the other language.

P3: I totally agree. I have another suggestion. when you use competence, be careful whose categorisation you are using, whose scholar you are using, you may be using a hybrid, so at least be consistent or say you are using a hybrid. say that in your conceptual framework. Make sure definitions are clearly defined such as those definitions.

Q: Give example of incident when you were faced with taboo while interpreting
P4: I have come across taboo in my work where people in a kind of humorous context and no one is offended, as far as I'm aware, but they all say things in the middle of the meeting like 'fuck you, mate' that kind of thing.

Q: So, that lower level of taboo, not anything much higher than that?

P4: in meetings, probably not, but if it's an evening interpreting at the dinner table, that sort of thing, then some of the language would be very strong but some of the subject matter would also be quite vulgar, I think this is the best way to describe it.

SM: How did you deal with that? did you interpret it, or not?

P4: yes, in a meeting setting, I would as far as possible, you've got to. the thing is in swearing, it often does not translate literally so you're looking for some kind of equivalent, otherwise it sounds odd. Maybe in a less slightly formal setting, it depends on the flow of conversation because if there's a hand gesture... people often know swear words in another language, even if they don't know the other language. It might interrupt the flow if they kind of the banter at the dinner table if I said, hang on, I'm just going to interpret exactly what he said, cos they get the gist of it anyway, which is what he dressed it in.

SM: So, you have interpreted it and you said, there'd be gestures. Do you mimic the gestures?

P4: I suppose I typically wouldn't. Only because... I don't know.... while the interpreter has to be faithful, I think there's also a sense of professionalism, and I would want to keep some kind of distance from the actual conversation, because I'm not the one having it, I'm just facilitating it so I'd take the view that if someone did do it, the gesture, the client's already seen that some adding a translation of it, or an equivalent to it, the meaning comes across anyway, and I'm not sort of dragged into the potential lack of professionalism.

SM: In your language pairs, (Fr/ Ger), do you think the gestures are equal to the English ones? In my language pair, that's not the case.

P4: Perhaps more common in English.

SM: So how would you know, if I do this, which is very rude, and if you do it, you could be thumped. If I did that and you don't know what it is, if you ignored it then your client (If he's English) would not understand that I am being quite offensive. Therefore, ignoring gestures, in my opinion, is problematic, when the language pair is distant.

P4: That may be the case for Arabic, I would take the view in French and German that they are quite close in culture, in that kind of thing

SM: Then theoretically, would you agree if your language pair were different and had different gestures with different meanings, considering that non-verbal communication is 70% of any communication, would you then mimic the gesture?

P4: Yes, it would be then more important.

SM: Not necessarily mimic, because mimicking would not mean anything to the client, but would you maybe interpret it, maybe verbally, or do a similar equivalence in gestures?

P4: It's difficult to say. I mean, one of the questions in your questionnaire, I answered as 'I don't know'. It's not that I don't know, it's just that I felt that it would depend on the situation, sometimes it might be appropriate to explain it even and say 'look, in the Arabic culture, this is very rude because whatever', whereas other times you might think, well I'll just do an equivalent, you might say to your client, he just did that but actually that's equivalent to that, or whatever. It's hard without a concrete situation, i think.

SM: But you would try to explain what it means?

P4: I think certainly if it was crucial to the meaning, then that's important, isn't it?

SM: If it shows anger, for example, they said 'go to Hell' or worse...

P4: Absolutely, so perhaps I ought to distinguish. In my head I'm thinking in formal conversations over coffee, that kind of thing, so here it is less important, in that context, because it's not critical to the meeting, it's just people chatting off the record. Clearly at a police interview or similar, yeah, those things suddenly become more important.

SM: Yes, they indicate the personality of the person.

P4: yes, and maybe this is a sort of difference between public service and some other kind of interpreting.

SM: So, you wouldn't really omit anything that is taboo when you are interpreting, you'd try to do it. P4: mmmm.

SM: Even at dinner tables, OK, they may be telling dirty jokes.. would you interpret those dirty jokes? otherwise, your client would be the only one not laughing.

P4: Yes, I would attempt to, notwithstanding I think cultural differences and ambiguities because humour is notoriously difficult anyway to interpret and what is funny in one language might not be in another anyway so I can imagine there'd be a degree of explanation required.

SM: But you'd explain that he's telling a 'below the belt' kind of joke? or would you not?

P4: I would, I don't think I'd say 'this joke is below the belt' cos that's me adding my judgement to it, but I think I would attempt in the first instance to share it and if it wasn't funny for some cultural reason, I'd try and explain that in French it is funny because .... at this point you probably lost it anyway...

SM: when you come across taboo, how do you feel? embarrassment, shy, shock, such as 'OMG' I can't believe he's just said that?

P4: I'm not surprised by it, but I would feel uncomfortable with it, as this is not the way I'd normally communicate with people, so it is not in my personality, so I'd say there's a degree of discomfort to it but I see the role of the interpreter is not about the interpreter, it's about conveying the message and if you leave it out then you've been unfaithful to the speaker.

SM: If you felt they were looking at you with shock, would you try and make them aware 'these aren't my words, these are what he used'?

P4: Again, it depends a little bit. I think in more of a PSI setting, it'd be obvious if someone had been shouting then the interpreter wouldn't need to explain this isn't me. Maybe in a

more formal meeting, I think, if people looked around at the booth cos, they just heard what I'd said and frowned at me, that wouldn't bother me. and in that setting you can't really explain because you're not physically there.

SM: You are assuming people shout when they swear or when they use taboo, but that's not always the case.

P4: No, indeed, so, I guess what I mean by that I guess that I'm picturing in my head a sim situation where there's no scope for comeback. while if it's more like a liaison interpreting or PSI, then I'm just suggesting it'd be more obvious from the body language of the speaker who's in the room with everybody else and the interpreter that something rude has just been said.

SM: Someone with a psychiatric disorder may not show that they're swearing. so, there's not necessarily a link between showing anger and using taboo, which is misleading to people who always assume that. It is true when you're angry you use swear words, but you could equally use them calmly and people don't realise you're doing it. and criminals would be very good at doing that, cos they're swearing at police officers, for example, but under their breath or quietly, with no change in their facial expressions. that's where the other side might not realise what's going on.

P4: Certainly, the interpreter's role, if there is misunderstanding like that, would be to clarify it. because if you've got a police officer who thinks the interview is going well and actually the interpreter being rude, then that's misleading to the whole interview. they need to pick up on these cues that they'd pick up if the interview was in their own language but they can't pick up on when it's in a different language, so it is the interpreter's job, to make explicit that these are the words that had been used, if it's not obvious.

SM: If you were interpreting to a female, would you feel more uncomfortable, or would it make no difference?

P4: the same.

SM: Older person, your gran's age?

P4: Not in a professional context, I wouldn't feel that there was a difference. I'm there to do a job, and they are the audience, whoever they are.

SM: Would you maintain eye contact?

P4: yes. in that sense, I'd find it uncomfortable myself and I wouldn't use that sort of language, I don't have difficulty usually from detaching myself from that and saying it as it is. If there was comeback, then you'd just explain it like we were just saying.

SM: Maintaining eye contact increases trust too. and if you didn't and looked shifty, perhaps people would think it's your words.

SM: Can you give me an example of some taboo words you had to interpret?

P4: Fuck you, mate.

SM: What did you do?

P4: used the equivalent in French. and kept the same level and didn't bypass it.

Show the list of sentences to translate

a. +/- it's an expression of surprise so it could be either, it depends on the context.

b and c -   d in that context, cos it's not directed at a person, I feel it's not as negative, it is more suggesting that something should have happened, but it's not the same as c. but it's not the same strength as telling someone directly ... e + which is strange using a negative word to say something positive. In those instances, I would in a, b and c, from the vocab point of view, in some ways, translating swear words is notoriously tricky because even if you got it slightly wrong, it makes you look silly, even if you're trying to get across the strength of feeling so you've got to get them exactly right, especially if I'm swearing not in my native language. I'd have to be very careful where it made sense, so with all of these, I'd be looking to get the strength of feeling across rather than necessarily using the equivalent f word. For example, if this occurred in meetings, in some ways that would be straight forward into Fr/ Ger, but the others, 'we knew fuck all about the meeting' off the top of my head, I can't think how you could squeeze in the equivalent word in French and still make sense of that. You'd have to use other swear words, I think.

SM: Would you be looking at the functionality of the word, what is its function?

P4: the last one is just an intensifier, so, you could use a strong intensifier in Fr/ Ger, but alter the tone of voice, repeat the word, compensate with an extra sentence to amplify it. That could be an appropriate technique.

SM: what about the relevance?

P4: D in a way, you could say: we knew nothing whatsoever about this meeting, it gets across the meaning and sense of disapproval, in an ideal world, you might intensify it a bit, but the flow of the meeting may be less important than c. with A, I'm not sure, as again it's not directed at a person, while B and C are definitely the ones where you need to go more literal if you could,

SM: A could be directed at a person too. although normally, it's used as shock or surprise.

P4: yes.

SM: So, would you say you look at the relevance of the word within the sentence, and the tone and the intention before you start looking for the equivalent term?

P4: yes, the purpose. this is the primary thing for me. As soon as someone says that, you think, why have they said that, what linguistic purpose is it serving? is it just intensifying it, is it actually that they're very angry at that person, there are so many variables, that it really depends.....with A, D and E, yes, it's a rude word, but for me they are in a category by themselves, while B and C are together. it's harder with B, c to get an equivalent, because that really is in C utter contempt for someone, while E, a are not contemptuous, D is partially so, and A could or could not be, depending on the situation. In some ways, there's a reflex when you're in a situation, and you are thinking quickly and making a judgement, you do it and you think afterwards if that was the best way to do it. Obviously, we're talking ahead of any interpreting activity in those examples, so it's easier to kind of say 'this would be OK for this one but not for that one' but whether you'd actually follow through in a high-pressure situation remains to be seen.

SM: PSI's in my opinion are not high pressure like conferences, in my opinion, as they are slower, and shorter interventions. However, I have asked PSIs and I was surprised at some of the answers, because the minute they saw the 'fuck' word they saw the sentence as negative. Agreed that they were not western, so they don't realise how frequently this is used in everyday life, it's no longer as taboo as it used to be so when they see that, instantly, everything else goes red.

P4: I think there's a difference between languages, I remember I was with a German guy who, when he spoke in English, he used the F word an awful lot, and his boss had to tell him to not do so, because although it is more common but it is still unprofessional to do so even in English, but clearly the German either he didn't appreciate the strength of it in English or it's more common in German. I wouldn't like to say either way as I'm not a native German.

SM: we had an English student who kept repeating the word 'crap' in every sentence, but the 'foreign' lecturers didn't realise what this meant, but when they did, they began to take offence. But he's using it where it no longer carries the same meaning it did in the past. But it's still offensive and in class it should not be used.

P4: yes. it reflects personal preference and it depends on the intensity in which you convey the word.

SM: yes, if a word is said in gest would be different than if it was said in anger.

P4: If you're someone who uses it all the time, it is less remarkable than someone who doesn't often get angry and swear, who if you know that person, you'd say, oh well, that's normal for them.

SM: What about in a health setting and body parts?

P4: I guess those words have a more childish connotations, that's one way of doing it in English. Or to use a strictly medical expression.

SM: But for someone who has little education, that may mean nothing.

P4: I think you take a lead from the professional in that context. In France, in a hospital, there were 2-3 examples where the doctor used a technical term that meant nothing to me, so I had to query it and he immediately came back with the children's equivalent term or a lower level. Presumably doctors have training on that.

SM: Any additional comments?

P4: I had a transcription job (Fr) where there was a lot of swearing. In this instance, I had time to reflect, and talk to colleagues and look in dictionaries, but my approach was different then as I had the luxury of time. Here I aimed to convey the same level of profanity. The French used the word ''' which means Prostitute, but in English we don't have a profane word that uses that, to my knowledge, and if we did, people would laugh at you, because it would be humorous, as it is a low register term for a prostitute. so you end up using something like 'fucking' cos that's the same level of you know ' p.... de merd' prostitute of shit, that is where you don't even think of using literal translation or you'd be a laughing stock, so you're again starting with the purpose and trying to get across the same effect.

SM: You are thinking of taboo as only swear words, are you aware of the different types of taboo I'm talking about. Have you not come across anything like this?

P5: Only a few days, was a gentleman was talking about something at home but it was something more relating to something more sexual wasn't.. he said: female...like, how can we fit two things inside each other, I said I want one female and one male for something at home so I found it difficult to explain to the case worker but then I explained to her exactly what he said and I ...clarified to her that this is not my word, this is his words but I don't know what he mean. She id, no problem, I can understand what he mean.

SM: OK, can I ask in Arabic what it was?

P5: He was trying to show a hosepipe and he said: I want to connect male and female, but I didn't know what this meant. SM: Actually that works in electricity. P5: Yes, that's what she understand...SM: They say: female connectors. P5: This was the first time for me even in Arabic or in English, that I heard about it.

SM: OK. So did you find it awkward to y?

P5: Yes, I found it very difficult to .. and then he repeated it many times and I still didn't understand so I explained to the case worker and she said: No, I understand what he means by this because when I tried to explain for him a different way, she didn't understand but when I make literal interpreting, she understand.

SM: Why did you try to use a different way?

P5: because I thought he's saying something wrong or something not

SM: Wrong incorrect or wrong sexual? in that he shouldn't be saying it

P5: Wrong sexual, yes.

SM: OK. that links with what we are talking about, exactly. so, you tried to avoid saying it because you felt there was a sexual connotation to it.

P5: Yes, but when she id I'm OK I understand what he said, I said, OK... then I didn't repeat it what he said in Arabic, I can't y 'male: Zakarayah/ female: Unthayeh' in Arabic, I said in Arabic, I was shy to y it again in Arabic, so the case worker understands what you mean and she will bring what you want.

SM: This is interesting. You were able to y it into English, you weren't embarrassed, but you weren't able to go back to him..

P5: Yeah..

SM: Now, to go deeper into this, is it more awkward because he was a man? P5: Yes. SM: and easier for you because she was a woman? P5: Yes.

SM: So, let's argue that if he was a Syrian female and she was talking to you and id 'Masculine and feminine'..

P5: Yeah, it was easier for me. But because he was a male and he was looking at me, he put his eyes..

SM: So he maintained eye contact

P5: Yeah and he was explain to me, for me it was the first time I heard about it and I said, why did he y that, why...and he repeated many times.

SM: How old was he?

P5: Only 28 -30.

SM: So does age play a factor as well, or do you think if he's older you might still be embarrassed because he's still a man but maybe the level of embarrassment is different?

P5: Maybe if he's older, I would be less shy but because he's in the thirties and he's a man and he did eye contact so it was difficult for me.

SM: Yes, because he maintained eye contact. With the opposite sex. It is in normal conversation, you don't maintain that much eye contact..

P5: If it was something relating to medical issue, I didn't find it any embarrassing because this is medical issue and I have a medical background so I found it very easy, but because it's something not relating to any medical or anything so that's why I found it embarrassing

SM: So the context and the setting made a difference.

P5: Yes, the context

SM: So that brings me to the other question, because I know you do a lot of hospitals so was it ..is it easier so let's y in hospital, they want to talk about contraception, I don't know if you've come across such a case or not, how would you deal with it if they were starting to ask someone difficult questions, like: are you sexually active and you know she's single? what would you do?

P5: First of all, I have to clarify the woman.. you mean, an Arabic woman? SM: Yes. P5: OK. First of all I have to clarify to her that this is normal question and it will be asked for anyone, so don't be.. don't take it personally.

SM: So you're actually playing an educating role?

P5: Yeah. Because I have to explain for her, because maybe she will think why he asking me, he knows I'm single, so first of all I explain to her this is normal and for all, the question is for any woman, not for you so don't take it personal.

SM: Would you explain it to the foreign health professional?

P5: Yes, I'd explain to him that I'm trying to explain that is the question. I will not leave him don't understand what I'm talking to the lady

SM: So, would you tell him what you're going to do first, and then explain to her, or would you tell her then tell him.

P5: No, I'd tell the service provider first.

SM: Why?

P5: Because I have to explain for him that I'm telling her something that she maybe will take it personally she will not understand why you're asking her. She's coming from a different culture. So, first I'll tell him what I'm going to tell the lady, then I will explain to the lady.

SM: What if he said to you, no, P5: OK, if he said, no, I will.... SM: This is why you have to ask him first, cos he's in charge, you're not. So, you just y to him and you don't tell him, you're asking him, that in our culture or in her culture, this is unacceptable and I've got to explain to her that it has to be asked, otherwise she'll take offence and then if he says go ahead, you go ahead. If he says no, unlikely, the chances are he'll y yes but to keep the communication and the trust going, you're asking, not telling and you have to have his permission first. otherwise, you're no longer an interpreter. P5: OK.

SM: So, you do do education, after all. P5: Laughs. SM: You don't think about these things when you do it, because...: I thought this is something I'm trying to... SM: Educate? P5: Not educate..SM: facilitate?

P5: It's trying to explain the gap between the 2 cultures to just clarify ..

SM: So it's a mediation

P5: Yeah, it's a mediation.

SM: So, you see, you do do it as well. it's just because you don't think you are but you do. Everybody does.

P5: I don't give any advice, actually, I only .. SM: No, I didn't ask advisory, I said, mediation, education and I think you do do both.. we all do. we have to P5: Yeah, sometimes we have to because she might say why is he asking me all those questions. SM: Also, if the parents are t there it may lead to a major problem between the girl and her parents and her family, so you need to avoid harm so it's safeguarding P5: safeguarding, yeah.

SM: How you would handle it, we have looked at how you'd handle this situation, and when this happened, you said only recently. so, how many years' experience would you have so far in interpreting? 3? or four? or more?

P5: yeah, 3-4 but I told you, I used to interpret in a medical setting but I didn't embarrass at all because I felt this is my job, because I can understand this is something normal in medicine.

SM: In fact, it's a must.

P5: Yeah, even when I was interpreting for the war-wounded when I was in Jordan, even when any of the doctors was explaining something to them which is sexual, I was very clear with them and I explain for them. Actually, I interpret for them exactly what the doctor said.

SM: I think our [pharmacy] training helps.. P5: mmm

SM: so how did you feel when this happened, with this case specifically. you had embarrassment, shyness. Any other feelings?

P5: I just wanted this session to finish. I don't want to keep continue with this....

SM: After you moved on to a different topic, was the embarrassment gone or was it still there? P5: no, it was gone, SM: OK

SM: We talked about gestures. if swearing was accompanied by gestures, you said that you would ignore it because you say that the other person can see anyway. Right, we actually ran an experiment with our foreign students, at UCLan, and we discovered for example that our Omani students were insulted by the Polish students because they worse short skirts. the Polish students were insulted by the Omanis because they wore a hat indoors and that's extremely rude. and we discovered then in a session that gestures to Arabs are different to Poles, Chinese and so on. So, how do you know that yes the clients can see the gestures, but how do you know that they will understand it? You're assuming that they'll understand it therefore by you not doing much about it, your assumptions would probably left the message go wrong. So now by asking again, how do you think, now that you're aware of this, how would you deal with gestures?

P5: OK, I will ask the other side if he understand those gestures.. SM: He might think he does. P5: OK, so I will clarify what it means, or I can say, it's something not wrong or shame.. embarrassing. it's not embarrassing.. rude. it's rude so do you know this in your culture? I can ask: Do you know this in your culture. If he said yes, I said, OK, you can see what he did, so you understand what..

SM: wouldn't it be faster if you just said: He's just made a very rude gesture? P5: yes, maybe, I can say that. SM: Instead of saying.. so, what you've done is you've verbalised the non-verbal communication into a verbal communication knowing or assuming that you know, you are assuming that you know both English and in your case Arabic gestures and how they interact with each other, how they mean.

P5: I will try to transfer it from non-verbal to verbal...

SM: Yeah. and if they id to you how rude is rude, let's y it's a court case or the police, what is the level of rudeness, would you y, it really means.. if I asked you what would the equivalent word be? (I gesture buggery) P5: I don't even know in Arabic, so I can't y it. even in English I don't know what it is. I know it's rude. SM: So what kind of rudeness is it? Is it insulting, humiliating? sexual? P5: Insulting. SM: It really means bugger from the backside P5: I know. SM: So, it's sexual. P5: Good to know. I know it's something wrong, I don't know exactly what it meant.

SM: For example, many of the Europeans, including my children who are half-half, don't understand what this means (I make a gesture), to your face, that's still rude and for the rest if you point at someone as you talk, that's really rude, for Arabs we do it all the time P5: yes, that's normal. SM: So if someone said, no, like that, would you bother to interpret or do you think it's not that rude?

P5: it's.. I have to always clarify for both, what that means different to the two cultures but I have to be aware of the 2 cultures.

SM: yeah, you've got to be aware that it's normal for one culture but not the other culture, so you've got to be aware of both sides, really. so, just saying 'rude gesture' as opposed to you need to say 'very rude or maybe not' and so on.

SM: OK, we were talking about the direction of the language, you find that linguistically, it's easy for you to interpret rude things into Arabic, because you'd know the Arabic equivalent, but you'd have to understand the English equivalent. but your English is good enough so that's why you find it easy. P5: yes.

SM: But, ethically or morally, you struggle because you find it's embarrassing interpreting into Arabic because you know what were you saying? That the client will know how rude it is? Or because the direction is important because they y when you are a child, you grew up with Arabic and you'd be swearing in Arabic, and your mum would always tell you off, so you link Arabic swearing to punishment, while English is always your language of learning, so you'd never be told off because you could y: they taught me at school. it's not you to blame. and that's why they y the direction is difficult because our brain is always computerised so that no swearing in Arabic for you. so that's why I'm asking, which direction is easier for you. You relate it to clients,

P5: you know, it's easier for me from English to Arabic because in Arabic it's easier for me to translate as a word in Arabic, but the problem is, it's easier for me to say it to the English people than to the Arabic audience.

SM: Why do you find that? Is it because the Arabs would understand it really well but the English will as well. Or is it because the Arabs would look at you and think, how could a girl like this y such dirty words?

P5: Not only girls, because in our culture it's wrong to say it, a swear word. Maybe for English people, it is normal to say swear word? When I am walking in the street, all the time, I can hear 'fuck' and this kind of word, but in our culture, you can hear those words only in specific places, you don't hear them while you are walking in the street.

SM: Because taboo is dynamic, it changes with time, so now, you're right, the word 'fuck' no longer means anything, really unless you want to make it mean something. so it's all about intentions. Do you ever look at the intentions of the words? like someone might intend to y, let me give you examples, actually, look at this list of words, if someone says to you 'what the fuck?', do you know what's the intention? P5: No. SM: Then how would you interpret that? would you interpret that?

P5: yes, definitely. SM: Do you think it's +/-?

P5: Negative. because it's got the word 'fuck'. SM: But how would you interpret it?

P5: I would simplify it, or make it...in Arabic, equivalent to ما هذه اللعنة What is this curse?

SM: What do you think is the intention when I say that? in trying to analyse this now, what are you trying to do? are you trying to see what 'fuck' means and how you can put it in a sentence or would you try to see what do we really mean when we y 'what the fuck', what is the intention? insulting? or are we swearing? or showing off? that these words are not embarrassing so we are very cool,

P5: yes, it is different depending on the person who is saying those words. if he uses it to say all the time, that means it's normal for him, but if he uses it once, that means he means what he or she said to me, I didn't find it any strange after that because I got used to her saying this word every day, she used this word many times, so that means it became with her a habit. for someone if he use it once, or maybe I know for a long time and he only use it for once, that means he means what he said.

SM: So, you're looking at intention, and you're also looking at relevance, because if that girl who says it all the time, it's no longer relevant, it's just there because how she talks, so you do look at relevance.

SM: OK, so if we look at the second one, 'b. What in fucking hell does that mean, young man? ' what do you think I'm doing?

P5: This one is easier than the first one, because it's coming as a full sentence. SM: do you think I am angry, happy, embarrassed, surprised? P5: No, I can interpret it in a different way, I can say in Arabic: ما هذا الغباء أو ماذا يعني هذا الشيء؟ What is this stupidity, or what does that mean, man?

SM: So there's anger? P5: Anger, yes. SM: You have therefore managed to find the intention, so what if I did not say: What are you doing, why did I put 'fucking Hell' there?

P5: Because I'm angry or unhappy, SM: But I can still be angry if I id: What are you doing? why am I adding this?

P5: It depends on the person himself, because maybe he uses it a lot and maybe he use it because something happened that surprised him so he's not happy with the situation, that's why he's using this form.

SM: This is what we would call intensifier, it intensifies my anger, it increases it, that's where we look at the grammatical function of taboo.

P5: yeah, because something perhaps happened that surprised this person and so we have a higher level of anger.

SM: Or someone keeps repeating himself. c. Go fuck yourself

P5: I think it's a high level of anger or insult.

SM: So, If somebody is in court, and somebody asked me a question, or the police during an interview at the police station, and I'm the criminal and I say to the police officer, go fuck yourself, you're the interpreter, what would you do? Would you interpret it? you take it as negative, would you interpret it?

P5: Yes, not specifically like this. I can say: اذهب عليك اللعنة / Go, damn you.

SM: So you substituted something slightly lower, where you've shown there's an insult but not a very high insult. So you wouldn't say: Go eat shit. Would you say that?

P5: No, I cannot say it. I wouldn't say it.

SM: Even if it was a female police officer?

P5: I think so, yes, I would not say it, because she can see that the person is angry, so we don't need to.

SM: I have a very bad temper, with my children, when I get angry, instead of shouting I start talking very slowly. a criminal could easily say: go fuck yourself [quietly] so the other person can't see the anger. Therefore, your assumption is not right. Criminals and psychopaths and those with mental health issues, are very good at hiding their feelings but are very good at saying what they want to say. So, in real life, if I start talking very slowly, my children start to disappear because they know that after that, there's going to be a big explosion.

P5: I have to be very careful with assumptions then.

SM: back to this, now you know that the police officer might not be able to see any anger, and the criminal says in a normal tone 'go fuck yourself' with no apparent anger, there's a big insult there, would you say still 'Go, damn you' or,

P5: No, I have to say it.

SM: What made you change your answer?

P5: I change the answer because it's wrong. I must not make assumptions about other people, because the reactions of people are different so I have not to say.

SM: But if you show he insulted them, why do you need to show the level of insult?

P5: because I am an interpreter and I have to interpret everything. like I have to say it.

SM: Do you think you need to do the tone and you also need to do the level of the insult. I think we agree that there are different levels. Why does it matter that they know the level of insult? isn't it enough?

P5: To show how much anger this person is, to reflect the feeling for this person.

SM: It's because it's part of that person's personality and he could be lying all the time, pretending to be an angel and so on, and they would believe him, but by saying words like that, it shows part of the personality, that he's not such an angel like he pretends to be and then when they want to make a judgement, they can do so based on all factors including the personality. If there's a criminal in court and he shows remorse, that's taken into account when they decide on the judgement, so by taking away the personality, they're not allowing the judge or the jury to give the right ruling.

P5: I have to interpret everything, even the level. OK.

SM: One more: d. We knew fuck all about this meeting is that -/+?

P5: negative, it means, we know everything bad about this.. SM: What is the functionality of the word? P5: We know all the consequences of this bad meeting. SM: So how would you do that in Arabic? P5: we know all the problems that will result from this meeting. SM: in fact, looking at the function of 'fuck all' again it is an intensifier, it means, we knew nothing. P5: AAAH, SM: the anger made them add 'fuck', and here it means they should have been told about the meeting.

P5: So it means, we know absolutely nothing about the meeting. SM: In fact, looking at the function here, it's an intensifier but it is not an insulting one. Now, the final one: He was fucking amazing?

P5: this is one that is supposed to be positive. I will not say it literally, I'd y That person was amazing. The function is positive. So I try to find a positive word,

SM: And in Arabic, fucking is never positive. so you drop it and use the function. P5: Yes.

SM: So, to sum this up, you've looked at all those examples and you've seen there are different ways of dealing with them, one of them you looked at, obviously it would help if you had the facial expression, but you looked at the function, at the intention, the relevance, but you also looked at the intention, and in other places you looked at not just the intention

but also you looked at what the word is going to do. So does that link with what you knew about how to interpret taboo?

P5: I remember the lady I told you about who used a lot of 'fuck' words, she id about a little boy, a baby, how fuck this little boy, how the fuck lovely boy he was. I remember she meant this is a lovely boy.

SM: yes, she used it as an intensifier, this is an example where I could have id what in heavens.. but I used 2 taboos: Fucking and Hell, it's to intensify the effect I want to look at.

P5: In this time, yeah, I only interpret Hell, I don't interpret 'Fucking Hell'

SM: But by using double intensifiers, I am doubling the anger or whatever the function is, it could be a positive function.

P5: Yeah, it might be a double.

SM: any comments to add? P5: No, it was good to see how this word 'fuck' can come in different meanings and if I were to be in similar situations, how I'd handle the word and how to be more careful. I have to always look for relevance and context.

Transcript of interview with P6

P6 age 40-49,   PSI, PT. Has DPSI (Law). Interpreting experience over 20 years. Considers sexism not to be taboo, depending on context, she would interpret sexism, and does not see it as taboo. Cites example at Old Bailey, where she was relatively at the relative start of her career, perhaps for 7 years. There were 10 defendants, 9 had his own interpreter, the 10th one is an interpreter himself. P6 was the prosecution's interpreter. as the case was ultra-sensitive, all interpreters were checking each other's work in the hope they would find errors and the case would be dismissed. They were doing whatever they could to wind up the defendant who is a peasant, and less educated, and quite emotional especially after what he'd been through. at one point, frustrated, he said a sentence but there was a word, which P6 at the time saw as an exclamation, like 'what the blood hell are you doing?', or the 'f' word, rather than actually swearing at somebody. I at the time, as I was fairly new to interpreting and it was a long case, I missed out that word. I remember thinking if I should omit it or not, but I decided to miss it out as it was an exclamation, rather than a swear word. So, the power is less, so I decided to skip it. The case was adjourned and then the judge asked me to interpret every single word, regardless of how embarrassing I felt it to be. I agreed. The defence made a big deal out of this, saying that the witness was showing total contempt to the court, the crown and the grand jury and that would refer to the female genital part, etc. Basically, I had to step in and explain the situation and the judge said, he understood but to always interpret whatever he said. So really in a court setting, every word ought to be interpreted. I don't have any difficulty with interpreting taboo. But at that split moment, I thought it wasn't as important as getting his story out. We are expected to be impartial and neutral, I hope I tried as best as i could. But when you are actually there and with the evidence stacking against the defendants' part, my sympathy must have affected me and it went towards him and perhaps due to the sympathy I decided not to interpret that word, or whether as interpreters we are trained to get the message out, get the intention of the utterance, so here was it an exclamation? for that reason, if he swore, then I would have conveyed the swear word. I don't know if I'd feel so uncomfortable with taboo where I would leave it out, or whether my

professionalism would win over to say no, I should interpret it, after all, it's not me saying those words, I'm just a mouth piece.

SM: Do you think you would say, it's really embarrassing, would you interpret them and then say, 'these are not my words'? P6: no. You wouldn't say it in any other situation, so why would you say it then? It's better to keep the interference low, we are meant to be invisible.

SM: what if that taboo was also accompanied by gestures? P6: No, I won't use gestures because assuming when the person is speaking that the audience can see him and the gestures, so I don't have to do the gesture myself. SM: What if the gesture means a different thing in each language? then I would. I judge things based on individual case. If it was being rude, and that was what he intended to convey, whether he made that decision deliberately or not, or whether he couldn't control his anger, but in my judgement, if I feel that very rude message is part of this package he wanted to convey but the audience were not going to get that message, then I would convey it.

SM: eye contact, do you avert or maintain eye contact? P6: I would just maintain eye contact, even if I am embarrassed. Because the judge is looking at me and the speaker and hopefully, he can see that the client is looking shifty. SM: so, you are OK maintaining eye contact while interpreting something rude? P6: I shouldn't. it shows confidence on my part. and it shows confidence that I am interpreting correctly.

SM: Do you find it easier to interpret out of your mother tongue? P6: I don't think so. For example, if the interview happened now, and I've spent more than half of my life in this culture, speaking mostly English, so they are pretty much the same to me so I wouldn't make that distinction. I understand what you meant.

P6: when training, we didn't talk about taboo, the fact that DPSI training at that point, taboo was not mentioned, but I had come across the code of conduct for interpreters which requires you to interpret everything. But, knowing that and actually doing it, especially in the situation I just illustrated, it wasn't a standalone swear word, it was part of a long utterance for emphasis, so it puts it in a very different category.

SM: Training, do you think we should have at least 1 session where we discuss taboo? P6: Sometimes, for CPD sessions you could offer to do that or at a master's course, it has its place. Sometimes we don't have the luxury of time and there may be more obvious things or more crucial that we need to teach. perhaps talk about it when teaching about the code of conduct.

SM: How do you see your role as an interpreter? P6: If we have the luxury of time, I share information related to cultural taboos. It is like the case in Old Bailey, which ran into weeks, it was possible to talk about that without talking about what was going on in court as we are not allowed to discuss what happens in court when we are not in court (on lunch, for example). I would share cultural information, yes.

SM: How did you feel when faced with that taboo? P6: probably, there is a bit of not quite anger as I was sympathetic to the person who used taboo and I made allowances for him, he used taboo as a linguistic device to emphasise his frustration, he wasn't being rude nor was he swearing at the judge or the jury.

It is not up to interpreters to judge what should or should not be said. you are meant to be a viaduct to pass on this information.

SM: is it easier if the audience is the same gender as you? P6: No. Age? no.

SM: You looked at the function of the word, and the intention of the speaker and also the relevance. So, do you when you decide to interpret, look at the function of the word, the intention/ skopos of the word and then if it is relevant to the utterance, and then you would use one of Grice's maxims of communication, such as 'say it as you hear it, no more and no less, and say it if it's relevant. Would you agree then that if it's not relevant, would you omit it? P6: No, I made the mistake when I thought it was not relevant to the whole story at the time in London, but the judge clearly reminded me that I must interpret everything no matter how embarrassing it is, and I guess that requirement is no matter.. it's not up to me, as an interpreter, to decide if that word is relevant or not. The listener can decide. I shouldn't be the gate keeper.

SM: In that case, you wouldn't use omission. what about functional equivalence? P6: No, no omission, I might use functional/ dynamic equivalence, and substitution if you can't find the equivalent, or paraphrase. I would treat taboo as the same as if it was any other word, I wouldn't single it out.

SM: What about the intention/ skopos and the function of the taboo utterance? (Show list of examples at end of interview), when we say 'he was fucking amazing' here the intention is positive and intensifying. P6: I'd still interpret it. Based on the code of conduct, we are still supposed to be interpreting everything, it's not up to us to decide whether its function is relevant, or whatever category you put it, we are not the gatekeeper, we don't edit things, in or out. I would use an equivalent, I'd use a negative that would still be a positive. P6: In China, we don't have that problem with religion/ blasphemy, (what in fucking Hell...). for all P6 would use equivalent terms in Chinese that are also rude.

P6: All languages will have equivalent words because although we use different languages, but we all have similar emotions, so there would be equivalents in that language to help the speakers to express their emotional states.

P6 profile: Grew up in mono cultural and monolingual but did her BA and MA in linguistics/ English then she married an Englishman. we also had to read a lot of literature in English or watch a lot of English films, and then I lived in the UK for a while. P6 went into interpreting in China but mostly for commercial events, but in the UK, it was in court and at times in hospitals. P6 began as a volunteer in the council with schools, then the police somehow found her name and contacted her, and the rest is history. P6 had planned to do a PGCE in the Uk to become a school teacher and then the family came then interpreting with the police then a career at UCLan. In China, it was part of the degree to learn interpreting skills. (BA: Eng. Lang and Culture, MA: Linguistics). In health settings, it makes sense to convey everything such as the different body parts where you just have to say it otherwise there will be more serious consequences there. I can imagine, for example, if the case I referred to in July, where a British guy thought my reference to the Chinese traditional 'Fan dance' meant something sleazy. If the dancer was a Chinese peasant who doesn't speak English and I was the interpreter, then the situation would have been 'do I convey how seedy his mind is or do I not?' I might have made light of it because in that social situation, I would like to ensure that the dancer doesn't feel embarrassed and then later on, I may privately tell her to be aware of that dirty man as he's got other things on his mind, etc.

SM: Yes, the context is important, and my questions are linked to PSI, in your last example, we need to allow for social engagement rules as this was an interaction at social level. But it is also a safety issue.

APPENDIX I
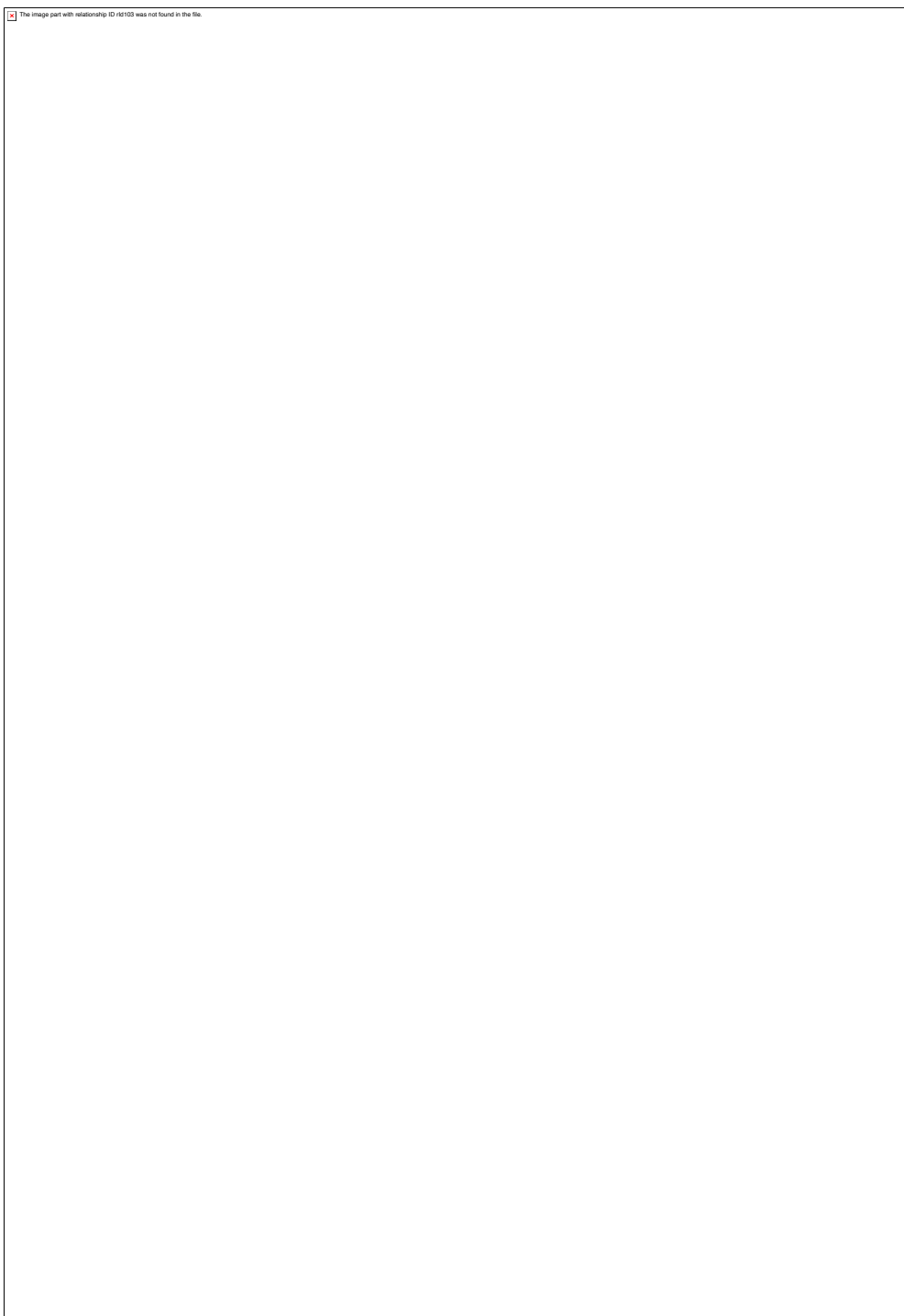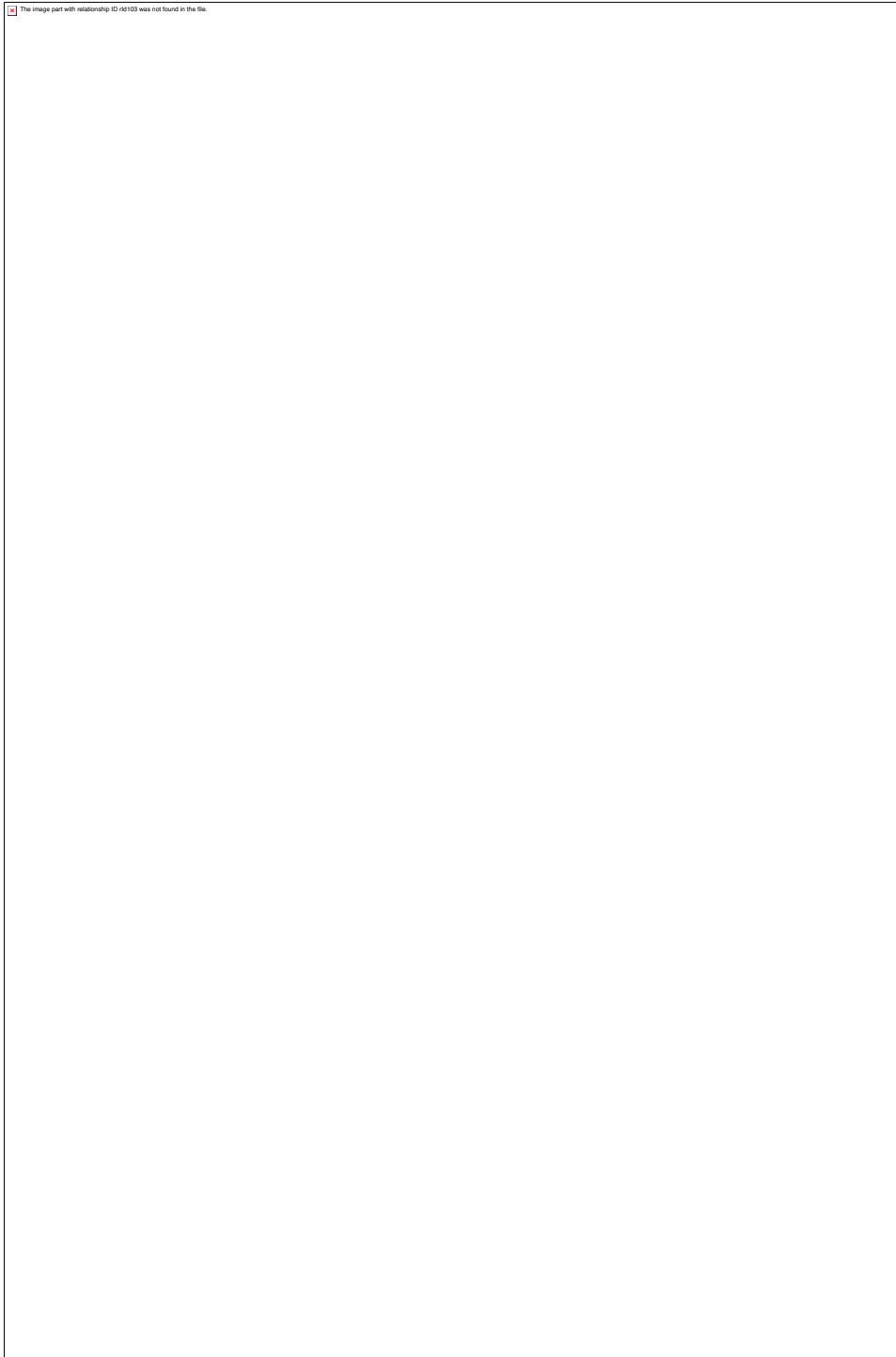
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APPENDIX J

APCI CODE OF PRACTICE

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE

1. Members of the Association shall at all times act in accordance with the high standards of competence and integrity appropriate to a professional body.

DEFINITIONS

2. In this Code: the Association shall mean the Association of Police and Court Interpreters; Member shall mean a person who is currently registered as a Member of the Association; Principal shall mean a person or body from whom any Member receives work; a Principal may be the Police, a Court, the Crown Prosecution Service, or other work provider; words implying the masculine gender shall include the feminine; words implying the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa.

STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

3. Members shall not act in a dishonourable or unprofessional way or in any way likely to bring the Association into disrepute or prejudice the interests of the Association and shall always act with integrity.

4. Members shall assist each other in every way practicable, and shall conduct themselves with loyalty towards fellow Members and the Association.

5. No Member shall in communication of any kind with a Principal or other person or body purport to represent the Association without the prior written authorization of the Committee of the Association to do so.

6. A Member who is offered work which he is unable to accept may suggest another Member who is competent to accept such work to the Principal only if asked by the Principal to do so and in an emergency. This also applies when a Member is unable to complete an assignment in which case the incoming interpreter will be fully briefed. A Member shall normally complete a case once started. A Member shall not receive any payment from another Member.

7. A Member shall not keep the Principal waiting for an unreasonable period of time once he has accepted work unless agreed with the Principal. A Member shall notify the Principal of the expected length of time needed for travelling to the location of the assignment. If unavoidably held up, a Member shall notify the Principal of the reason for the delay.

8. A Member shall not take on a job in Court unless he has been specifically requested to do so by the appropriate authority in advance of the hearing.

9. A Member shall not obtain financial gain from fellow Members through his own agency or otherwise.

10. A Member shall not use any Membership Directory produced by the Association for agency purposes.

11. A Member who is offered work in which he has any business, financial or other interest shall declare such interest before accepting such work; if he becomes aware of such interest during the course of the work he shall declare such interest immediately he becomes aware of it.

12. A Member shall not visit a detained person in prison for professional reasons unaccompanied by a legal representative, a probation officer or other appropriate official.

13. Members shall not go to a witness´ home or meet a witness elsewhere at the request of a police officer or anyone else to take a statement or for any other purpose unless accompanied by an officer in charge of the case or other police officer.

14. Members shall at no time use their own transport to convey witnesses or defendants even if requested to do so by the Principal.

15. Members shall at no time give their addresses, telephone numbers or other personal details to witnesses or defendants.

16. Members shall not publicise their services in any manner which may reasonably be regarded as being in bad taste. Publicity must not be inaccurate or misleading in any way and should be discreet. Members shall not publicise their services to the Police.

17. Members shall not engage in any activity which results in a conflict of interest or in which there is a significant risk of a conflict of interest with their role as an official interpreter.

18. A Member shall not pass on work to another member of his family.

19. Members shall not accept remuneration or a gift of any kind from any party in respect of work, nor shall they make such remuneration or a gift.

20. A Member shall under no circumstances give advice of any kind legal or otherwise to a defendant or a witness. In particular he must not comment on the choice of a solicitor.

21. A Member shall be courteous at all times when communicating with authorities or with colleagues.

STANDARDS OF WORK

22. Members shall adopt a professional standard of dress appropriate to the nature and location of each assignment.

23. A Member shall refuse work which he knows to be beyond his competence, either linguistically or with regard to his technical knowledge except if requested by the Principal in exceptional circumstances. In such exceptional circumstances the Member shall make the Principal fully aware of any limitations in his linguistic or technical knowledge and competence.

24. Members shall at all times maintain and endeavour to enhance their professional skills and linguistic ability.

25. Members shall interpret impartially between the various parties and with due regard to the circumstances prevailing at the time shall take all reasonable steps to ensure complete and effective communication between the parties.

26. A Member shall when interpreting convey the exact meaning of what has been said by any party for whom he is interpreting without adding or subtracting anything and a Member shall not give opinions or make comments.

27. A Member shall assist both parties for whom he is interpreting in the understanding of different cultural backgrounds.

CONFIDENTIALITY

28. A Member shall treat any information which may become known to him during the course of his work as confidential, and shall not divulge such information to any third party without the knowledge of the Principal.

29. No Member shall exploit for gain any confidential information which may become known to him in the course of his work.

DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE

30. The Constitution of the Association confers on the Committee of the Association the power to remove from the list of Members any Member whose conduct renders him in the opinion of the Committee unfit to remain a Member of the Association.