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The stories interpreters tell

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And hereby certify that in our opinion it is worthy of acceptance in partial fulfillment
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I would like to thank my family, friends, colleagues, and advisors. I had continual encouragement and support during the research and writing process which I greatly appreciate. I would also like to thank the three informants involved in this study for their willingness to participate and share stories.

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ABSTRACT

The Stories Interpreters Tell

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The purpose of this study was to start a collection of folklore of the American Sign Language interpreting community and to initiate a conversation about the role these stories play within the community. The initial hypothesis was that there are folklore stories which circulate among the members of the interpreter occupational folk group. Since there had been no other study of this kind done in the ASL interpreting community, a single story was chosen as a starting point for research on the topic. The chosen tale for the focus of this research was about the students/new interpreter told by the seasoned interpreter. The working hypothesis was that these stories reinforced a specific structure within the field and represent unease toward perceived changes to the field. No research into the folklore of the American Signed Language interpreting community had been done at the time of this research, therefore the majority of literature reviewed was on the topic of folklore studies to provide a foundation for inquiry. Face-to-face interviews, conducted with three experienced interpreters, were used to collect the stories and gather the impressions. The data revealed that seasoned interpreters do indeed circulate stories about the students/new interpreters living and working in the Pacific Northwest. The informants' perceptions of how the stories function differed, however all agreed the stories exist and influence the field. Further research on the American Signed Language interpreting

community's folklore, as well as further expansion on the specific stories investigated for this

research, is recommended.

If you don't know the trees you may be lost in the forest,

but if you don't know the stories you may be lost in life.

(unknown author)

INTRODUCTION

The speech professor decided not to follow the syllabus and showed a movie instead. "No captions for this one guys," he told us and looked genuinely sorry. A comedian with a quick wit and an even quicker speaking pace played on the screen at my side as I worked toward a semblance of equivalence.

I sat in the break room crunching on crackers, thinking about what had rocked and what could have been much better. My second assignment of the day had canceled so I planned to read up a bit on the next job's topic after I ate my snack and drank my coffee.

Two of my friends/coworkers sat across from me conversing in half English and half Sign. I started paying attention when I heard "cha" and saw "arrogant."

"I just don't understand where it comes from. I mean, I've been at it twenty years, and I'm still making mistakes and learning every day. You'd think they'd have a bit more – it's just, where's the humility?"

"That's just it though; they think they know everything, nothing left to learn, ready to take any job in any situation. It's like 'Really? Even I have reservations about that job, but you show up.'"

"Well sure, they got that shiny piece of paper and they think that's it. I didn't even dream of trying for certification until I'd been working for 5 years. Now they have it when they've been working for a day. "

"Yep, they got some book learning, but no real life experience. It's just not the same. I looked up to interpreters with experience when I started. I loved feedback. That's how I learned."

"It's a different mindset. Maybe some will figure it out once they've actually worked for a while."

"Some, maybe. Maybe a couple will get burned bad and actually learn from it."

"It's just unfortunate that they aren't curious."

"Yeah. It's about protecting the field to me."

"Exactly, it's like this one story I heard of an interpreter who had just graduated from the program and she was already taking some heavy stuff. Like, she just got certified, or had already taken the test at least, and she was out doing any freelance job she could get her hands on. So she walks into this job like she owns the place and gets set up. She starts moving chairs and desks around without even checking in with the Deaf client for their preferences. Her team has been working since forever basically and this new kid thinks she owns the world. Once the job started her team offered some feedback but she wasn't willing to even listen to it. Can you imagine that? Someone so new thinking they got it all down pat. Her attitude was ahead of her skills. The hearing clients and Deaf clients noticed. That place doesn't hire through that agency anymore. But did that new interpreter change their ways? Nope, still out there doing the same."

Background

        The research topic selection stemmed from my personal experience working as an American Signed Language interpreter for the past six years, as well as my interest in the stories people tell and the power those stories have to shape a community. I have always enjoyed stories of lore and have always been fascinated by how those stories take form and shape the communities in which they are told. Whether it be a fairytale that cautions children to mind their parents, a myth that teaches social order, a legend that shows our societal fears, or any other number of stories that influence our daily perceptions. However, before any investigation could be done about how stories influenced the field of interpreting, the first step was to substantiate that stories did indeed circulate among the members.

        My personal experience showed there was much storytelling happening in the ASL/English interpreting community, but no formal research was found on the topic during the preliminary stages of research. Resources were sought out for any study of interpreters as a group that shared folklore but no research was found. Initial research was done hoping to find a solid framework of folklore in the interpreting community that could be added to with additional research, but none was found. Instead, resources about the tradition of folklore studies in general provided a wealth of information on which to build. There was no need to reinvent the wheel; I only needed to add a new spoke to the ones that others had already formed so well.

        Folklore is various (Abrahams, 1971), so what one person defines as folklore another may deem outside of the concept. A variety of definitions of folklore were amassed to assess if the interpreting community could be defined as a folk group. The ASL/English interpreting community could be defined as a folk group and specifically an occupational folk group. Explanations of folk group and occupational folk group are laid out in the literature review.

My view of the interpreting community has always held that it is a folk group. A folk group shares folklore among its members as a part of their shared identity. The group distinguishes itself as an in-group in part by the folklore they share (Bauman, 1971). The field of signed language interpreting is a tight-knit community of professionals working together in a variety of settings.   Interpreters work between culture and language on a daily basis and develop professional and personal relationships with other interpreters. Working together and sharing in the struggles together creates a bond among the community that is different than a relationship with a nonmember. That shared experience and atmosphere of commonality creates a close group of individuals. As is the case in many close groups, tales are created and spread for a variety of reasons such as: group cohesion, enforcement of ideals, gate-keeping, preserving history, and teaching. The stories can be created and told for many different motivations. Those stories, as well as the motivations behind the stories, are a fascinating topic to me.   I wanted to use this research as a starting point for looking into the stories that interpreters tell, why those stories exist, and how those stories impact our field. Possibly, simply by collecting the folklore and discussing it, the members of the interpreting community will become more curious about the stories they tell, how they influence the field, and whether the outcomes of sharing those stories fits with their hopes for the future of the field.

One glaring inevitability for the scope for this paper was that it would not be possible to encompass all that was envisioned when this study of folklore was first imagined. For a beginning collection of folklore from and about the ASL/English interpreting community, the focus of the research would have to adhere to a practical plan. To that end, one story was chosen that I felt was prevalent among the interpreting community I interacted with almost daily. The story came up often in conversations at events, social gatherings, and work settings. It seemed

the story popped up anywhere there were interpreters interacting. Examples even came up as I was thinking out loud with colleagues about the plans for research. The story was that of the students/new interpreter. And though there were positive comments here and there, it was far more the case that a negative yarn was spun about the group. The story seemed to me a common experience that all interpreters outside of the "new" group shared. Not that everyone was telling the story themselves, but everyone was aware of the story and the general view of the students/new interpreters. My experience of hearing these stories made me want to know more about the story and what the reasons were behind the stories. It would not be feasible to include all perspectives on the topic for this study. I knowingly chose to narrow the focus to just the negative tales. The three informants chosen were not chosen as a representation of the entire interpreting field. They were picked as a representation to what I had seen and heard and was trying to capture.

By using a qualitative approach to the research, it was possible to get in-depth information from a few informants. Hopefully, this research approach allows for others to take the concepts from this study and build on them. As Brunvand (1998) put it, "Folklore is fascinating to study because people are fascinating creatures."

Statement of Problem

An investigation into the negative stories circulating about the students/new interpreters as told by the seasoned interpreters was chosen as a starting point of research for interpreter folklore. The main goal of this research was to collect the stories as a starting point for future investigation and to provide some basic analysis of the stories.

The initial research hypothesis at the onset of research was that the stories functioned to reinforce a hierarchical structure in the interpreting community. The stories told by the seasoned interpreters about the students/new interpreters could keep the seasoned interpreters in a position of power within the field. This was only one thought on how the stories could function and was, by no means, all-inclusive. The informants had opinions on why the stories were told, and not all their comments matched the initial idea of the motivations to tell a negative story about a students/new interpreter. There can be multiple reasons the stories exist. The informants provided a variety of explanations for why the stories are told and how the stories influence the interpreting community. Regardless of the perceived function of the stories, all three informants agreed that the stories do exist in a substantial way.

The stories that are told can represent a time of change for the group that tells them. Boje (1991) said that old stories are recounted and new stories told during a time of change. These stories compared history to the current decisions to guide the organization. The beginnings of ASL/English interpreting followed what is called the "helper" model (Humphrey & Humphrey, 2001, p. 8.1; Janzen & Korpiniski, 2005, p. 166) in which the interpreters were viewed more as a part of the Deaf community. This model showed how the initial interpreters were friends and family members of the Deaf people. The early interpreters provided interpreting services, but were also participants in the communication setting -- for example, a wife interpreting for her Deaf husband at a doctor appointment. The wife has a direct investment in the situation. The role of helper included more than simply relaying a message. The changes to the field over time with the passing of laws and evolving perceptions have morphed the interpreting model to more of a business model. The Registry of interpreters for the Deaf (RID) has also undergone changes that have further emphasized changes in the interpreting field. The changes in paradigmatic

views of interpreting work, as well as other changes affecting the field, are further discussed in the literature review.

The interpreter's role has always been a tenuous one. Over time it has changed, and not all view the changes as progression in the right direction. The joke of an interpreter providing interpreting services or a Deaf person accused of robbery comes to mind as a representation of the shifting role of the interpreter.

An interpreter was hired to interpret at the police station. A police officer was questioning a Deaf individual about a recent robbery. The police had reason to believe that the Deaf person had been involved with some part of the robbery and knew where the money had been stashed. The police officer told the suspect to explain where the money was. The interpreter interpreted the message. The Deaf person signed he would never tell. The interpreter interpreted the message. The officer, becoming angry, took out his gun, put it in the Deaf person's face, and told him to say where the money was or he would shoot. The interpreter interpreted the message. The Deaf person signed "Okay, I'll tell you where it is. It's stashed in the woods by the old wood bridge. It's under the tree with the tire swing. I can show you where." The interpreter turned to police officer and said, "He says to pull the trigger because he'll never tell."

(author unknown)

This is a humorous example of the trust that the Deaf community must place in their interpreters. The interpreter paradigm has evolved over time from a helper, to a conduit, to a communication facilitator, to a bilingual-bicultural mediator (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001; Janzen & Korpiniski, 2005), to maybe something more business-focused. Possibly, these changes are part of the reason that negative stories are told about the students/new interpreters. A shift in the

perception of the field can cause a division within the group. The generation that started as helpers could view the change in a negative way. Unease with the changes could lead to stories about the younger generation of interpreters.

Purpose of the Study

Since this study was a starting point for the investigation of the ASL interpreting community's folklore, the purpose of this study was to provide a basic foundation for continued research on the topic. To set this foundation, it was necessary to describe the concept of folklore to an extent that shows the validity of saying that the interpreting community does have folklore. The literature review, therefore, needed to be heavily focused on the concept of folklore as it could be applied to the interpreting community.

Additionally, to provide the foundation, stories needed to be collected to show a tradition of circulating and passing on stories by the members of the folk group. This was established by interviews with three interpreters willing to share their stories and the stories they heard.

The collection was of a story, but not the *only* story or view. The focus was on one kind of story as told by three informants and cannot be taken to mean that the entire community views students/new interpreters in the way described in this paper. As stated before, this paper is a beginning point for the collection and study of the stories interpreters tell. It was not feasible to include all perspectives on the topic of students/new interpreters in this paper. The three informants heard and told negative stories of the students/new interpreter group. Other stories and perspectives should be gathered and analyzed for a more complete exploration of this topic.

A goal for this research was to discuss the impact the stories had on the interpreting community. There are many different approaches that could be applied to the stories and the

community to come up with a descriptive analysis. The explanation provided by the informants was used as the basis for analysis as to why the stories exist and how they function. The three informants provided more than one perspective as to the function and motivations behind the stories. The goal of doing this research was not to provide one definitive explanation as to the reason the stories are told, but rather to start a discussion within the community about why the stories are told. By looking at the stories, we can better understand the community we create; possibly seeing values we support and want to continue to emphasize; possibly seeing values we do not support and wish to change.

Theoretical Basis

There was no research on this topic within the field of interpreting, but similar research has been done in many other fields. Narrative research collects individual narratives and fits them into a timeline (Creswell, 2009). This method analyzes the narratives people tell to gain insight into the meaning these texts represent and create in their lives. Grounded theory takes phenomenological research one step further and looks to establish a theory based on the findings. The researcher conducts interviews, formulates ideas, and does more research. This approach is taken when there are theories about the subject area but none are specific to the content the researcher is investigating. For this study, there is research about folklore, but there is not any specifically on the folklore of the occupational group of interpreters. This research used a mixture of narrative research and grounded theory research (Creswell, 2009).

Concepts and approaches from folklore studies were borrowed and applied to the interpreting field. The standards that have been set by other researchers of folklore were followed for this study. The topic of folklore includes multiple disciplines and multiple

approaches; there is not one set golden standard for a study of folklore. A basic form of collection was chosen - description and basic analysis - for the research approach. It is the kind of approach that is described in an introduction to folklore studies text (Brunvand, 1998). In essence the goal is to collect the story and then describe it to the fullest extent possible while being aware of personal biases. Personal biases were an important issue for me to be aware of while researching. I am a member of the group that was the focus of research. Though being a part of the in-group has advantages of access and previously established relationship, being conscious of how I could be influencing the outcomes based on personal bias is important. The folklore literature, as well as research literature in general, helped to clarify the dangers of participant observer biases (Brunvand, 1998; Bynum, 1992, Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Gay & Airasian, 2003).

Reviewing the literature also led to terminology such as "occupational folk group" (McCarl, 1978; McCarl, 1986; Nusbaum, 1978) which showed many characteristics applicable to the interpreting community. This showed that the interpreting community can be viewed as a folk group instead of simply a group that had a couple of stories. This perspective emphasized the connections within the group and how the stories served a function to the whole community and not only the individual.

Limitations of the study

A large limitation to the research was the issue of scope. Since this is the first study of folklore for the interpreting community, the research is basic and foundational. As extravagant as the ideas were in the planning stages, the focus needed to be far less grand to be achievable. One story was chosen to start, but the hope is that others will expand the study in the future.

A strength in the continuity of stories and depth of information gathered leads to a limitation in the ability to generalize the findings. There were three informants all working and living in the Pacific Northwest at the time of the interviews. The area where they live and work is near to two interpreter education programs. The stories that the informants for this study told may be far different than stories from interpreters working in communities not near interpreter education programs. The geographic area of this research has a constant influx of new interpreters. The working interpreters have a high chance of being in contact with the interpreting student population. Thus, the findings from this research cannot be generalized.

While the small number of informants does not provide a statistically significant result, for qualitative folklore research gathering in-depth data from a few is appropriate. A quantitative statistically significant collection of data would not be a full enough description to satisfy the goal of this study. Even though the small number of informants can be seen as a limitation in some respects, it also provided benefits as to the depth and extent of data collected.

These stories are not all-inclusive of the views of the interpreting community about students/new interpreters. It would be a mistake to view this research as a representation of all interpreters. The three informants were picked because they were representatives of a trend in the interpreting community. More research needs to be done in order to include the various other views on the subject.

The three informants were chosen based on criteria, explained in the methodology section, for a "seasoned" interpreter that was created for this research. The interviews showed that only two of the informants labeled themselves as seasoned. On further analysis of the interview transcripts, the data showed that one of the informants was at a level that is not yet considered seasoned, but is no longer new. This data provided interesting perspectives of

someone who is just now starting to move into the "seasoned" category, but it is not the

perspective of one who self- identifies as a part of that group yet. This provided limitation in

some ways, but it also provided interesting data that had not been an initial goal of data

collection. The informant does identify herself as *experienced,* but not yet *seasoned.*

After completing the Institutional Review Board process, I felt my ability to have open

conversations with the informants was limited. I made sure to adhere to what the Institutional

Review Board approved for my research. The interviews may have gathered more information

than if I had done the interview as a conversation instead of a question and answer format.

Literature Review

While doing preliminary reviews of existing scholarship, it became apparent that there was no research related to folklore as a topic studied in the ASL/English interpreting community of the United States. For that reason, it is important to define what folklore is and how it pertains to the interpreting field. There are many different definitions of folklore, depending on the field and the goal. As Abrahams (1971) said of trying to unify the entire discipline with a common definition, it would be "both impossible and intellectually stultifying" (p. 16). The definition of folklore will affect the approach that is taken to the study of folklore. If one defines folklore as peasant class lore which provides solutions for often encountered problems, then a study of such folklore will necessarily be focused around those criteria. Some definitions are strict and exclusionary, while others are simple and allow for a broader range to be labeled as part of folklore studies (Abrahams, 1971, p. 17). This research takes a more general working definition of folklore to view the stories told by American Sign Language interpreters.

What is labeled as folklore, and therefore what is studied as folklore, has changed over time. Folklore study is now a broader field compared to its beginnings. When a person thinks of folklore, they may imagine stories told by a rural community in the 1800s. Ben-Amos (1983) describes the beginning of folklore studies as, "tradition, ancient customs and surviving festivals, old ditties and dateless ballads, archaic myths, legends and fables, and timeless tales and proverbs" (p. 11). This shows the field's focus on the past and pertaining only to "peasant or primitive societies" (Ben-Amos, 1983). Bronner (2000) states that early folklore began by studying "savages" that could not read or write but passed on knowledge through story (p. 91). The initial derogatory view of those who have folklore has changed. Now, folklore is understood to exist in more than just the old perception of the peasant folk. The study of folklore

can be, and is, applied far wider than was done in the field's beginnings. The folk group is no longer viewed as "a level of society, but a group sharing tradition that could be of any stratum" (Bronner, 2000, p. 91). The traditions are both a part of a people's past as well as a part of their present. Bronner (2000) discussing Jacobs, said it clearly as, "Tradition, he implied, was chosen as well as followed; it was created anew as well as inherited from yore" (p. 92). As Ben-Amos (1983) put it, "Universal are the relations that govern folklore; specific are the references to culture and history" (p. 13). The subject of folklore is relevant to our time, any time, and is as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995) said a, "truly contemporary subject, one that is not just in the present, but truly *of* the present" (as cited in Bronner, 2000, p. 98).

Definition and Function

Brunvand (1998) put forth a simple definition of what comprises folklore: something that is orally transmitted, traditional in form, exists in different versions, and is usually anonymous (p. 12). These characteristics make up a basic definition as a starting point to understanding folklore. The four criteria can be applied to the ASL/English interpreting community. The ASL/English interpreting community satisfied the definition put forth by Brunvand. Brunvand (1998) also characterizes folklore as something that "circulates among members of a particular group" (p. 12). The group that Brunvand refers to has been together for a time that has allowed for cohesion and distinctness. He does not specifically state a length of time required. The amount of time can vary, and is meant to be enough to establish community. That is to say, membership in the group is not haphazardly established, but rather depends on a significant amount of time and interaction. The group may not accept new membership easily, and there is a process for becoming a member.

The idea that Brunvand (1998) discusses as "different versions" is important to the collection of folklore (p. 12). The story does not have to be retold the exact same way under the exact same circumstances in order to be categorized as folklore. The story will exist in a variety of forms. Different story tellers will put their own spin on the story or change it in ways to fit their own tendencies. This alteration does not change the essence of the tale, it only alters the tale to fit the teller or the situation. These variations of the same story all maintain a connecting core concept. Boje (1991) points to varying amounts of knowledge by the group members as another reason for variation in a story (p. 106). A member tells the part of the story that he/she knows which is different from the part of the story that another member knows and tells. This leads to variation in the tale. The story may also be altered to "look at outcomes such as retention and believability" (Boje, 1991, p. 108). A speaker's goal is to advance their own interest which, in the case of folklore, is also the perceived interest of the group.

Toelken (1996) says of folklore that it is "local, communal, and informal" (p. 34). In this case, the word "informal" refers to the day-to-day interactions of group members as a way to learn what appropriate and inappropriate behavior is. In this way, concepts and views are taught through interaction with members of the group and not as a formal instruction process. It is the type of learning that happens when a person makes a mistake, and someone with more experience makes a comment that indicates a correct approach. The instruction may not even be acknowledged by the involved parties. For example, if a seasoned interpreter is working with a new interpreter, and the new interpreter signs a concept one way, then later the seasoned interpreter signs the same concept in a different way, the new interpreter may take that in as a lesson on the appropriate way to show the concept. The two interpreters may never discuss the differing sign choices, but the informal learning takes place. This type of interaction further

solidifies the folk group. The interactions of the group show a continual learning and emphasis of community values.

The folklore and traditions of the group are repetitive. The same story is told in many different places and times. This repetition causes the activities to become an expected part of the group tendencies. The commonplace characteristic of the tradition makes it, as George and Jones (1995) said, an "integral and vital part of our daily lives" (as cited in Bronner, 2000, p. 99).

Abrahams (1971) also discussed the function of folklore as the "guidelines for behavior" connected to the peasant class confronting the magical forces in their perceived world (pp. 16-30). Though the interpreting community does not use folklore to explain a mystical world, it does still set forth the rules for behavior. The story "aids in the management of tensions which arise in the course of transactions between men, and reinforces the sentiments upon which social continuity depends" (Wolf, 1966). Ben-Amos (1983) further explained this idea by saying the stories are "expressions of social fears and wishes, ideals, and values. Folklore reflects the collective experience of society and is the mirror which the community constantly faces" (p. 12). The information contained within the stories is vital to the group's identity. Toelken (1996) described the importance of folklore studies by how they not only define and express the characteristics of the group but also create them.

Boje (1991) said that these tales will become more prevalent during a time of change or when a decision needs to be made. The tales are, "recounted and compared to unfolding story lines to keep the organization from repeating historically bad choices and to invite the repetition of past successes" (p. 101). Therefore the function of the folklore, following Boje's (1991) view, can be to help the members understand a current situation as it connects to the group's history. Since membership in the group is not always consistent, a history lesson as a caution can help to

show expectations to members. "In complex organizations, part of the reason for storytelling is the working out of those differences in the interface of individual and collective memory" (Boje, 1991, p. 107).

There are two basic kinds of problems that folklore confronts, as Abrahams (1971) describes. The first is material folklore which is connected to the "physical preservation of the individual and the group" (Abrahams, 1971, p. 16). The second, and the focus for this research, is expressive folklore which focuses on the social or ethical problems. Expressive folklore "sets up guidelines for social action or channels for antisocial motives," which influence the attitudes and beliefs of the group (Abrahams, 1971, p. 17). To this end, the folklore exists in a way that guides appropriate actions, or prescribes acceptable behavior through lore (Abrahams, 1971).

The expressive folklore has been tested and approved over time by the members of the folk group as a way to enact social control of the members. These stories "conform to what is regarded as proper practice" (Abrahams, 1971, p. 19). For the stories to have this persuasive power over the members, the members must first accept the stories. Therefore, some provision of credibility must exist for the stories to function as a guide. The credibility may be included in the approach used for story performance or the station of the storyteller within the group.

Dundes (1965) discusses the importance of both identification and interpretation of the folklore. Much research focuses on the identification of folklore, but there is less emphasis put on the interpretation of the lore. He also states that the identification and interpretation process can be problematic if the folklore is not properly connected to context. If a story is analyzed detached from its context, then much of the tale's importance will be missed. Therefore, the first task of the folklorist is to identify the folklore correctly. The second task is to provide

interpretation of the folklore in context.

Occupational Folklore

McCarl (1978) discusses the workplace and workgroup as an appropriate place to study folklore. The early work of occupation folklore was focused on industrial or classic work groups such as mining, factory, and seafaring groups (McCarl, 1978). An iconic representation of the early work in occupational folklore would be a coal miner's song or a fisherman's tradition before setting out to sea.

Occupational folklore focuses on the vocabulary, narrative, customs, and required skills that a person learns on the job (McCarl, 1986). McCarl (1978) described folklife as "The complex of techniques, customs, and modes of expressive behavior which characterize a particular work group comprises its occupational folklife" (p. 145). The members of an occupational folk group are that group of people distinct from others based on their shared experience within a job community. The members of an occupational folk group may, and probably are, members within other groups; but the occupational group is a distinct entity. "Through participation in these communities people share their knowledge, negotiate meanings, form their identities, and develop their work practices" (Tynjala, 2008, p. 136). The work itself, and the interaction of members, creates the distinct group. McCarl (1978) pointed out partially how the group is distinct when he said, "occupational expression is inextricably linked to the work processes and micro-environments in which it functions" (p.146). To study the folklore of an occupational group, it is important to not only study the stories, but also the ways the stories occur and in which environments, meaning that "context here is not viewed as a variable

background which *influences* the nature of interaction; occupational contexts *are a part* of the interaction itself..." (McCarl, 1978, p. 146).

McCarl (1986) talked about the "cultural scenes" which are the situations that happen often for the group and are the places where these communities build their folklore. A folk group is more than a fleeting connection. The group has been established for a considerable time and has developed a traditional system of communication that directly relates to identity of the group. One indicator of the group's closeness is shown in the high context nature of intra-group communication (Toelken, 1996).

The inner-group creates the story together through their interactions, telling, and retelling of the story. "The story can be conceptualized as a joint performance of teller(s) and hearer(s) in which often overlooked, very subtle utterances play an important role in the negotiation of meaning and co-production in a storytelling episode" (Boje, 1991, p. 107). The performance of the story, and the interaction that happens during the story, influences the story's emphasis and impact. The co-construction happens by other members adding in their own parts of the story, but also by their subtle or overt reactions to the content from the storyteller.

For McCarl's discussion, the groups were teachers in a teacher's lounge or firefighters in a station after returning from a job. The same perspective of dynamic can be applied to interpreters at an interpreters-night-out, and during or after teaming a job. The event is an often occurring situation that can become traditionalized in nature. The interaction can emphasize role, such as when a seasoned interpreter interacts with a novice interpreter in a different way, compared to two seasoned interpreters debriefing after a job.

The context that is itself a part of the lore includes communication that does not require formal language. There are gestures that communicate among the group that would not be

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understood outside of the group. Taking this a step further, there is non-verbal "patterned, behavioral communication" (McCarl, 1978, p. 147). McCarl (1978) talks specifically of communication that happens through the manipulation of objects and materials. For example, in a manual labor environment such as a mill, two people can be in communication by the progression of steps working with a machine. The completion of one step signifies the progression to the next. Also, this behavioral communication can be used to communicate what is and is not appropriate. This type of learning is often implicit. The learner may not even recognize the event as a lesson, though the learning still occurs (Tynjala, 2008, p. 134). For example, if one worker recalibrates a machine shortly after another worker has calibrated the machine, there is a message in the action. The message may be that the worker who first calibrated the machine is not skilled enough to be trusted, or perhaps the recalibration was a way to show, through action, the correct way the machine should be attended to. This concept can be applied to other instances of communication that do not directly relate to manipulating objects as a way to communicate. Toelken (1996) mentioned the same idea as the informal instruction that happens in the day-to-day interactions. This can be seen in the example of a seasoned interpreter changing a sign choice that the less experienced team interpreter sets up during her time interpreting. This change made by the experienced interpreter signifies an appropriate sign choice, as opposed to the initial sign choice made by the less experienced interpreter. This communication takes place without any direct language or gestural communication. The actions are the lesson of appropriateness without direct instruction. The appropriate workplace behavior can also be modeled without including change. For example, a seasoned interpreter wearing appropriate business attire to an interpreting job can be a model for the new interpreter to copy.

Tynjala (2008) compares the learning that happened during formal education, such as school, and informal education on the job. The findings showed that much of the learning required for a job can come from the learning acquired during the job itself. The learning from a formal education setting can be mainly theoretical or abstract. The implicit training occurs while actually doing a job along with experienced practitioners. Candy and Crebert (1991) said that the "most significant proportion of workplace learning occurs in this way informally, on-the-job, rather than in specially designed training programs" (p. 573).

The communications that happens within the group in these non-verbal manners are specific to the group and are a part of the substance that holds the members together as an entity separate from others. This communication usually happens in a jargon that is only fully understood by members of the group (McCarl, 1978). For a member inside the occupational group to tell the same story or relay the same message to an outsider "requires greater elaboration and explanation that extends the account and radically alters its form and refocuses its function" (McCarl, 1978, p. 156). The extra explanation that is required to clarify an expression to an outsider shows a shared understanding within the occupational group. "It is an embedded and fragmented process in which we fill in the blanks and gaps between the lines with our own experience in response to cues like, 'you know the story!'" (Boje, 1991, p. 107). What is not said can sometimes be equally as important as what is said, and the importance is apparent to the insiders. The ability of the occupational group to use a shorthand communication method depends on a development over time of shared experiences and perceptions. The insider lingo functions to further solidify the cohesion of the group; to use the lingo can signify membership.

McCarl (1986) also talks about the specific jargon of an occupational folk group that becomes folded into the day-to-day conversation of the group's members. An example is a

metaphor that has a specific meaning to a specific situation but then becomes generalized to other conversation. The metaphor continues to hold its meaning for the group outside the original context because of the shared experiences.   McCarl (1986) provided the example of a firefighter saying the hose was laid out short, referring to a poorly positioned hose. The metaphor then becomes a shared understanding where the firefighters can extend it to refer to a meal being laid out short. The members of the group understand the speaker's meaning when using the metaphor. In the same way, the interpreting community has a jargon that is specific to the work they do but also is folded into the day-to-day conversations of the group. An example would be the use of the term "feed" to mean providing support to the "on" interpreter during a job. The term "feed" is then generalized and applied outside of the actual interpreting event to refer to providing support in other settings.

The insider communication indicates shared experience and a "constellation of techniques gained over years of experience" that allow for no need of elaboration (McCarl, 1978, p. 150). An outsider may have a hard time understanding a conversation between two interpreters without added explanation. This lingo, shared experience, and behavioral communication are a part of what defines a person as a member or not (McCarl, 1978).

A custom of the occupational folk group is the rite of passage that allows an individual to enter the group. McCarl (1986) described the experience of a novice worker experiencing the learning curve of a new job. The novices must understand that "there are traditional ways of doing things in the workplace which workers themselves create, evaluate, and protect" (McCarl, 1986, p. 72). As Tynjala (2008) said, "Interaction between novice and experts is of crucial importance in the workplace learning" (p. 135). The pace of a work setting may be quick and sometimes the work setting alone is not adequate to bring novices successfully into the folds of

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the group. The informal learning is crucial in the enculturation of the group. McCarl (1978) called it the "canon of work techniques" which is the informal understanding of how things work that one must understand in order to get by (p. 71). It could be called the unwritten rules, the techniques as learned skills and norms on the job.

Tynjala (2008) adds that the learning occurring on the job is not all desirable; "we learn bad things" (p. 134). An organization that does not value its new hires may tell stories in a way that teaches the new hires the general view of their group.

Storytelling serves an important role to the folk group. The stories are used as a way to show the prescribed behavior. The discouragement of some behaviors and the support of others defines the "canon of work techniques." These stories reinforce the expected norms of the group in behavior and perspective (McCarl, 1986, p. 71).

Folklore versus Gossip

One potential criticism of studying a community as a group may be that the stories circulated among the members of the group are simply gossip. Though gossip may share some similarities with a folk story, there are important differences that make a story folklore and not gossip. Foster (2004) describes gossip as "… the exchange of personal information (positive or negative) in an evaluative way (positive or negative) about absent third parties" (p. 83). Gossip focuses on discussing personal information with a specific focus on an individual. An important distinction here is the "evaluative" and "about absent third parties." Finkelstein discusses the power as, "the capacity of individual actors to exert their will" (as cited in Kurland and Pelled, 2000, p. 438); power being the end goal of someone who spreads gossip. Gossip is a specific socially functioning event that does not carry the same tradition as folklore. Gossip is used in a

specific instance of garnering control for an individual or to influence a situation. The story

functions for the individual but may not be connected to a community in any way. The

underlying motivation is self-serving. An example of the effect of gossip is:

> In a work setting, gossip will have a curvilinear effect on the gossiper's referent power
>
> over recipients; it will enhance referent power until it reaches a very high level, at which
>
> point it will detract from referent power (Kurland & Pelled, 2000, p. 432).

Meaning, we know who the gossipers are, the "big mouths" (Kurland & Pelled, 2000, p. 432).

The quote shows an important difference between gossip and folklore. Gossip is

individual-based. If a gossiper is prolific, people will eventually catch on, and the gossiper's

power is diminished. Gossip is, "informal and evaluative talk in an organization, usually among

no more than a few individuals, about another member of that organization who is not present"

(Kurland & Pelled, 2000, p. 429).

Folklore, on the other hand, is group-based and is continued on by the group as a tradition

of story. The circulation of folklore, and the passing on of folklore, happens because of a

standard of values and perspectives the community promotes.

Though some stories that are folklore can be self-serving, there is a much deeper

connection to the community in which it is told. Gossip is power-based for the individual.

Gossip and folklore can share characteristics but that does not identify them as the same. The

folklore is connected to a tradition that is an essential part of our everyday experience (Georges

and Jones, 1995).

Paradigms of Interpreting

The philosophical view of the role of ASL/English interpreters has changed over time. This change in philosophical views parallels changes in the field of ASL/English interpreting. The field has become professional only in its recent history. The growing pains of becoming a profession have influenced the identity of the community.

The earliest model of interpreting was the "helper model" (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001, p. 8.1; Janzen & Korpiniski, 2005, p. 166). The helper philosophy of interpreting was prevalent during a time when the Deaf community was "generally viewed as handicapped, limited, and unable to fully manage their personal and business affairs" (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001, p. 8.2). Seeing the Deaf community as in need of assistance led to interpreters being involved as "care-takers to some extent" (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001, p. 8.1). Many of the people providing interpreting services did so on a volunteer basis. There was no likelihood that the interpreter could make a living at the job. Those who commonly acted as the interpreter were "family members - parents, siblings, and children of Deaf people - or they were teachers or members of the clergy who could sign" (Janzen & Korpiniski, 2005, pp. 166-167).

During the middle of the 20th century, research was being done on sign language that established it as a legitimate, living language. Educational opportunities were becoming more available for Deaf people, and the Deaf community was becoming more empowered. The need for interpreters in a professional capacity was increasing (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001).

The mode of helper began to be viewed as paternalistic and "there was a dramatic swing of the pendulum to the other extreme in an attempt to have no influence on the dynamics or communication taking place" (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001, p. 8.4). This philosophical shift was connected to the changing view of the Deaf community. With the establishment of the Registry

of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) in 1964, the interpreting community took note of the change. In an attempt to be more professional, the interpreters turned to the "conduit" philosophy (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001, p. 8.4; Janzen & Korpiniski, 2005, p. 167). This perspective explained the interpreter as a machine that transmitted the message between ASL and English but did not influence the message or the dynamics of the communication situation. The goal was to empower the Deaf individuals by maintaining full neutrality, in the same way as a machine may function.

The reactionary conduit model became less preferred as people took notice of the effect an interpreter had on the communication situation. "The interpreter is necessarily heavily involved in the transfer of the message because decoding and re-coding draw on a host of skills and strategies that the interpreter must have" (Janzen & Korpiniski, 2005, pp. 169-170). The "cultural mediator" or "bilingual-bicultural" model came about as "interpreters have sought to understand more about the cultural differences between Deaf and hearing communities and the impact this has on their communication" (Jenzen & Korpiniski, 2005, p. 170). This view emphasized taking culture as well as environment into account for the decision-making process in an interpreting event.

One step beyond the cultural mediator philosophy is the proposed "Ally" (Jenzen & Korpiniski, 2005, p. 170). The Ally model proposes that the cultural and situational awareness that the interpreter possesses should be used to create equality between participants. "Cultural equality may be assumed - but in cross-cultural interaction, an imbalance is probable - one party or the other is likely not feeling that they are interacting on their own turf" (Jenzen & Korpiniski, 2005, p. 171).

Changes in RID

The Registry for Interpreters of the Deaf (RID) was established in 1964 at a conference in Indiana.

> The composition of this group reflected the entities that were currently providing interpreting services – adults who had deaf parents, deaf consumers, educators of the deaf, and religious workers. During the next eight years a board was established, Interpreting for Deaf People was published, a code of ethics was developed, and issues related to the skills and/or quality of interpreting were discussed. (RID, 2003).

The RID was established during the time the interpreting field was becoming more of a profession, instead of only family and friends providing volunteer services. The members developed a code of ethics meant to standardize the practice and role of the interpreter.

Certification has been available since the early 1970's for interpreters through RID. Many changes have happened in the certification process over the years. The certifications that were once administered, but no longer exist include: TC (Transliteration Certificate), IC (Interpretation Certificate), IC/TC (Interpretation Certificate/Transliteration Certificate), OIC:V/S (Oral Interpreting Certificate: Visible to Spoken), OIC:S/V (Oral Interpreting Certificate: Spoken to Visible), OIC:C (Oral Interpreting Certificate: Comprehensive), RSC (Reverse Skills Certificate), MCSC (Master Comprehensive Skills Certificate), CSC (Comprehensive Skills Certificate), CT (Certificate of Transliteration), CI (Certificate of Interpretation), NIC (National Interpreter Certification with: NIC, Advanced, and Master level), (RID, 2013).

The certifications still offered through RID are: NIC (National Interpreter Certification), Ed: K-12 (Educational Certificate: K-12), SC: L (Specialist Certificate: Legal) OTC (Oral Transliteration Certificate), CDI (Certified Deaf Interpreter), (RID, 2013).

The organization has undergone many changes to its testing system as it identified testing techniques and identified appropriate content for certification. This change shows the concern for quality assurance by the continual revamping of the testing systems.

In the beginning, there were no degree requirements to sit for certification. In 2003, the membership of RID passed a motion that established a requirement for an education level to take certification exams. On June 30, 2009, RID required any hearing person wishing to take a certification exam to have an Associate's degree or higher. On July 1, 2012, RID required any hearing person wishing to take a certification exam to have a Bachelor's degree or higher. There is an alternative pathway to eligibility that was also established July 1, 2012. "The Alternative Pathway uses a point system that awards credit for college classes, interpreting experience, and professional development" (RID, 2012).

Law Affecting Change in Interpreting

In November of 1975, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA) was signed. EAHCA was renamed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in 1990 (Bradley, Katsiyannis & Yell, 2001). The provisions IDEA laid out had a direct impact on the ASL/English interpreting community.

Before 1975, the educational opportunities for students with disabilities were very limited. Local schools were rarely equipped or inclined to provide services for children with

disabilities. "The education of students with disabilities was seen as a privilege, rather than a right" (Bradley, Katsiyannis & Yell, 2001, p. 325).

IDEA provided federal money to states providing service to students with disabilities. The law required that states establish their own laws to make sure their programs aligned with the federal requirements to receive the grant. The requirements were:

(a) are provided at public expense; (b) meet the standards of the state education agency; (c) include an appropriate preschool, elementary, and secondary school education in the state involved; and (d) are provided in conformity with an Individualized Education Program (IEP) that is designed for each student.

(Katsiyannis, Yell & Bradley, 2001, p. 326)

Two years prior to the signing of IDEA, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act was signed which:

Prohibits discrimination against persons with disabilities in programs or activities that receive federal financial assistance.

Requires that students with disabilities receive an education that is comparable to that provided to nondisabled students.

(Katsiyannis, Yell & Bradley, 2001, p. 326)

IDEA and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act set the way for Deaf students to be mainstreamed to public school instead of Deaf residential schools. Deaf students going to mainstream schools required interpreters to a much greater degree than had been required in the residential schools. With the Federal and State laws requiring interpreting services to be provided, the work available to interpreters in the school system, and other federally funded activities, increased.

METHODOLOGY

Research Focus

The goal for this research was to start a collection of the folklore for the American Sign Language interpreting community. The first step in this process was to identify the interpreting community as an occupational group that circulates folklore. The literature review section of this paper describes how the interpreting community can be viewed as a folk group. Based on my own personal involvement in the interpreting community, I felt the interpreting community did have folklore. During the literature review phase of research, there was no data found pertaining to the folklore of the interpreting community. Since no research had yet been done on the subject of folklore for the interpreting community, this research was an initial step toward further research on the topic. The focus of this research needed to be limited in scope in order to be feasible based on the fact that there was no previous research on which to build. Early in the research planning it was decided to focus on one specific story that circulates in the interpreting community. The story was picked based on my own experience working as a part of the interpreting field. The story was chosen as the focus for research because of how frequently the story came up in the day-to-day workings of an interpreter -- which made for better opportunities to collect. Stories that seasoned interpreters tell about young/new interpreters was chosen as a starting point for research on folklore in the interpreting community. Specifically, to focus the research further, negative stories that are told by seasoned interpreters about young/new interpreters was the focus. Negative stories were chosen based on my personal experience hearing the story often within the interpreting community. This focus does exclude many potential topics of folklore in the interpreting community that will need to be included in further research projects for a full representation of the interpreting community's folklore.

Interview Method

The stories were collected by face-to-face interviews, though other approaches were considered. Three approaches were considered for collecting data.

The first option for collecting data that was considered was through email. Email provides certain benefits to collecting data. It is asynchronous which can be of benefit to the busy lifestyle many people have. Email can also cover a large geographic area in a short amount of time. However, email was not used to collect stories for this research based on the benefits of face-to-face communication versus electronic communication. In email there is the potential to "ignore behavioral interactions that constituted the storytelling event" (Boje, 199, p. 109). The electronic format may differ in conversational flow compared to an in-person interview. The stories that were being collected for this project were stories told between interpreters in conversation. Though stories may spread through written communication, face-to-face interviews were used in an attempt to provide a closer approximation to the storytelling event as it naturally occurred. The hope was that the storyteller would do less editing or alteration of the story to adapt to an unusual situation if the collection method fit more closely to how the stories were told in an everyday environment. Additionally, the stories were collected from interpreters working in a relatively local geographic area. Email could gather data from a larger geographic area, but the data collected for this research focused on interpreters working in the Pacific Northwest. This allowed for the research to keep within a manageable and specific scope. Additional geographic areas can be looked into with further research.

The second approach considered for this research was interviews by phone. Interviewing by phone would be synchronous in time as well as providing direct interaction. A phone interview could provide more spontaneous responses compared to what an email survey could

provide. The phone interview would not allow for face-to-face interaction, which would mean a loss of facial expression and other visual cues by the informant. The face-to-face interaction was considered an important component of the collection of folklore in order to see the nuances of facial expression and gesture. The visual cues can add layers of meaning to what the informant says; therefore telephone interviews were not used.

The third approach for collecting data that was considered was to attend social events for interpreters. Attending an interpreter social event would provide the most natural environment for collecting stories. There would be the opportunity for observation of conversation which is less intrusive than direct questioning. As Brunvand (1998) wrote, "Probably the closer the collectors are to blending in with the folk as participant-observers themselves, the better and less self-conscious the performance will be" (p. 28). The informal nature of this approach could lead to stories being told naturally without the editing and alteration that can occur if an interviewer calls attention to the process. To obtain permission to research a story, it is necessary to call attention to the process. However, the natural storytelling setting provides one less obstacle of inhibition. Hearing the stories in the social environment could also lead to finding informants who would be willing to participate in interviews. Though this approach seems ideal as an initial step to research, it did not fit the timeline of the research. To go to social events requires time, and successful outcomes are not guaranteed. Participants in the event may tell stories during any given event, but the participants may also end up not telling stories for a variety of reasons. The hit-and-miss nature of social events, as well as the time limitations, were the two main reasons why going to a social event was not used to collect data. It is worth noting that after the stories were collected through interview, it became apparent that the informants believed these stories are told more often in a one-on-one situation rather than at a social event.

All of the above-mentioned approaches for collecting stories have positive attributes. In a larger study, or a multitude of studies, a mix of approaches would provide a fuller variety of data. For the scope of this research, the approach used for collecting data was face-to-face interviews. This approach provided the benefits of synchronous time and space. Using a videophone to do the interviews could also provide a synchronous time and virtual place, though luckily all the informants were geographically close enough that a true face- to-face interview could be done. The face-to-face interview also provides the ability to see the whole communication situation; this allows for observation of other social cues (Opdenakker, 2006).

The number of informants for this research was kept to three since the goal was to gather in-depth qualitative data from a few participants as opposed to quantitative data from many. The small number allowed for more time and focus to be given to each informant. As Kvale (1983) said about qualitative interviews, "[the] purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of meaning of the described phenomena" (p. 174). Qualitative research can not only explore the individual, but also the group to provide better understanding. (Gay & Airasian, 2003).

To collect stories from seasoned interpreters, it is necessary to define the difference between seasoned and new/young interpreters. It is difficult to define a specific set of requirements to denote an interpreter as "seasoned." Years of experience in the field of interpreting does not guarantee an informant would be considered seasoned, though years of experience does seem to be part of the requirement for being defined as seasoned. To set a minimum years-of-experience for the informants seemed an appropriate beginning to verifying an interpreter was seasoned. The informants for this study all had at least eleven years of interpreting experience; with two of the informants having over twenty years of experience.

This, however, did not prove to be a sufficient time to ensure the label of "seasoned." A discussion of the years-of-experience requirement can be found in the findings section of this study.

Additionally, interpreting in a variety of settings provides a range of experiences to an interpreter. For this research it was decided that having worked in a variety of interpreting situations was an important requirement for an informant to have in order to be viewed as seasoned. Having worked in various venues better ensured that the interpreter had exposure to a wide variety of experiences within the interpreting field. The exposure was seen as providing a well-rounded sense of the interpreting field and community. All the informants in this study have worked in a variety of settings including, but not limited to; education, platform, community, and video relay service.

Certification was included as a requirement in the delineation of seasoned and young/new interpreters. Certification was included as a criterion because it showed connection to the national organization of ASL/English interpreters. Connection to the organization can provide opportunities for development, interaction with interpreters, and knowledge of the interpreting field in general. Being certified does not, in itself, guarantee an interpreter is seasoned. However, it was included as a requirement that furthers the legitimacy of the term "seasoned" when applied in concert with the other requirements. All of the informants held national certification through the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) at the time of the interviews.

The definition for what "new" meant was left to the informants to decide. The decision to not specifically define "new" was part of the overall goal to have minimal influence on the telling of stories. Had a definition for "new" been provided, it may have limited the stories that the informants decided to tell. For example, it could have been stated that one requirement for

being labeled as "new" meant the interpreter had been working for no more than three years. That definition could have impacted the informant's willingness to tell stories about interpreters they viewed as new but who had been working for four or five years.

All the informants lived and worked in the Pacific Northwest during the interview process. All of the informants were women, though there was no demographic goal of only including women in this study. The majority of the interpreting field is women (Frishberg, 1990), and the informants represent that majority. The informants were picked based on my personal experience in the field of interpreting. It was a non-random purposive sampling, which means the sample was chosen based on personal experience with the group which guided the decision of who to ask to participate (Gay & Airasian, 2003). People who were known as experienced interpreters who seemed open to discussion of the field were contacted through email to ask for an interview. As Bynum (1992) said, folklorists tend to turn to friends and family in their first endeavors to collect folklore. It is a known entity that can be more comfortable for the collector than venturing out into the unknown. The comfort level can be of benefit to the folklorist when he/she is navigating a story collecting event. This benefit is double--edged; the collector should be aware of his/her influence on the collecting environment and should be careful of any biases. As Brunvand (1998) put it, "... editorial additions to or 'improvements' in the texts have no place in honest research" (p. 26).

An initial email was sent to four interpreters to gauge willingness and ability to participate in the research. The email explained the general goal of the research as well as the requirements of the person who chose to participate. The email stated the IRB had recently approved the research, and the next step was to interview seasoned interpreters. The topic of the interview was explained as a starting collection of interpreter folklore which would be focused

on stories of students/new interpreters. Once the interpreter responded to the email saying she

was available to participate, a dialogue was started to figure out the details of the interview.   In

subsequent emails it was explained that the collection of stories would be focused on negative

stories about the students/new interpreter. The emails stated that the informant's identity would

be kept fully confidential. All four interpreters responded that they were interested in

participating in the research. Due to the busy schedules of all those involved, a series of email

exchanges was required to establish a time and place for the interviews. In the end, three

individual face--to--face interviews were scheduled. The fourth interview was not set up due to

scheduling delays and time constraints. Also, there was a wealth of data collected from the first

three informants, and the additional informant did not seem necessary for the purposes of this

research.

   The nature of a face-to-face interview means that the informant's identity is not kept

confidential from the interviewer. The consent form stated that no identifying information would

be used in any part of the research. Though one of the informants said they did not require full

confidentiality, it was still a set standard that all informants understood. The stories that were

being collected could be negative in nature, and it was decided early in the research process that

anonymity would be established for the informants to be certain that there were no negative

consequences, or perceived negative consequences, from participation. Each informant was

assigned a pseudonym to preserve anonymity. The names given were Rachel, Monica, and

Phoebe.

   Before any interviews were conducted, an application for research went through the

Institutional Review Board process at Western Oregon University. The initial application was

turned in to the Institutional Review Board at the end of October 2012. They suggested revisions

which were incorporated into the proposal. Due to the holiday season and some additional revision requests, the proposal was approved in mid-January 2013. After the IRB approved the application for research, the next step was to obtain approval from the graduate office. The necessary paperwork was then filed with the graduate office and shortly afterwards was approved to start research at the end of January 2013.

The first information gathered from the informants was demographic information. The demographic information was initially a form that the informant could fill out before, during, or after the interview. During the first interview it seemed easier to simply ask the demographic questions as the first part of the interview. With this approach, the demographics became part of the same transcript that included the full interview. The subsequent informants were also asked the demographic information as part of the interview. Once the transcripts were typed out, the demographic information was moved to a separate document to ensure confidentiality. Analysts of the transcript included the thesis advisors; the informants' confidentiality was better insured by removing the demographic information.

The interview format was a structured interview (Gay & Airasian, 2003) because the questions were set before the interview occurred. The interview was structured based on the IRB process which required the interview questions to be submitted prior to the research. This limited the questions to what was approved by the IRB, but this also allowed for more cohesive data since there was a script that was followed. There were a total of twenty interview questions approved by the IRB to collect folklore about young/new interpreters from seasoned interpreters. Though twenty questions were approved for use, not all questions were used in each interview. Some informants' answers covered multiple questions. In cases where the informant answered a question before it was asked, the question was skipped. Within the twenty questions there were

questions pertaining to the informants' knowledge about folklore. In the planning stages of

research the informants' perception of folklore as a topic in the field of interpreting seemed to be

helpful for analysis purposes. After consideration of the actual focus of the research, it was

decided that the informants' understanding of folklore was not pertinent to the focus of this

study. The stories the informants told and heard, as well as their view about the stories, did not

need to be connected to an academic understanding of folklore in order to be useful to this study.

The questions were developed specifically to elicit the desired stories from the

informants; therefore some questions asked directly for negative stories about students/new

interpreters. The questions were also designed to encourage an open sharing of the stories. An

interview setting is not the same as a natural interaction where a story may be told; however, the

questions were made open-ended to allow the informant to expand as they saw fit. The questions

did not procure the desired responses as easily as had initially been expected. The informants, at

times, resisted answering a question for a variety of reasons; this response was not fully

anticipated at the onset of research. The questions did elicit valuable data, though a reworking of

the questions would benefit any further research on the subject. The full list of questions that was

approved by the IRB can be found in Appendix B of this paper.

One of the informants asked to see the questions before the interview so she would feel

more prepared and comfortable. The questions were emailed to her with the hope that knowing

what questions to expect would ease any concern the informant had about the interview and

thereby provide more genuine answers.

I administered the interviews myself, despite the fact that I am a part of the interpreting

community. Being a part of the community could have positive and negative impacts on the

interview situation. Since I am a part of the group, I understand the interpreting world – a fact

which could help the informant to trust me as compared to an outsider. There is also the possibility of "observer effect" (Gay & Airasian, 2003), which is how the researcher affects the informant during the interview. There was the possibility of a negative impact if the informant perceived me as someone within the interpreting community that should not be privy to the stories. A risk to all research, and possibly more so with being a part of the group, is observer bias (Gay & Airasian, 2003). Observer bias was minimized by reading about the topic in an effort to be aware of the possible challenges of a situation and biases that may influence the interviews and data analysis. There are also positive aspects to being a part of the group, as stated above, "Probably the closer collectors are to blending in with the folk as participant-observers themselves, the better and less self-conscious the performances will be" (Brunvand, 1998, p. 28). Being a part of the group also makes it easier to understand the nuances of the story. "Stories can therefore be correctly interpreted only to the extent that the researcher grasps the story in situ" (Boje, 1991, p. 109). After thinking through the possible negative and positive effects a participant-observer could have on the interview setting, it was decided that the benefits outweighed the possible negative effects. Additionally, the negative effects could be mitigated by paying attention to them. The rapport I had with the informants was positive enough that I did not feel my involvement in the interview would affect the situation negatively. As Toelken (1996) said, "Folks do not give out family recipes to just anyone, do not share songs with people whose reactions might be hurtful, contemptuous, or careless." (p. 348).

The interviews took place in two different locations. The first interview was done in my home. The informant said the setting seemed comfortable and would feel safe to answer questions. Since the interview took place while sitting on the couch in my living room, there was an informal feel to the situation which seemed to create a comfortable environment. The

second interview took place in the informant's office. The informant was asked where she

would prefer the interview took place, and she picked her office because she would already be at

that location. The third interview took place at my home as well. The informants chose the

location for where the interview would be done to make them feel comfortable. By having the

informant choose the location, there was less chance that the setting would hinder the

informant's willingness to fully participate and allow for a less inhibited storytelling event. The

setting may not have been where the informant would normally tell a story, but the informant's

feeling of comfort was a priority. The informant's comfort was essential to create an

environment that supports the informant's willingness to fully participate.

     The interviews were audio-recorded to preserve the informant's expressed content more

accurately than would have been possible with hand-written notes.   Having the exact words of

the informants also helped to guard against a collector's bias. There was no chance of recalling

the words from memory incorrectly -- they were clearly recorded. Bynum (1992) discussed the

hesitance of some informants to tell stories when they see a recording device of some kind.

Bynum made a simple adjustment of moving the recording device out of sight to ease her

informant's nerves. For this research project it was explained at the beginning of the interview

exactly how the recording would be used to lessen any anxiety about being recorded. The

informants were told before the interview that the audio recording would be used only as a

source from which to create a transcript for coding and analysis. The audio recording was only

heard by myself while making the transcription and was deleted after a satisfactory transcript

was created.

     The transcription process required a lot of time. Notes about the storytelling event were

included in the transcripts to try to capture some of the nuances. The additional notes made on

the transcript, as well as notes written during the interview, were fact-based to avoid including any personal bias in the descriptions. The notes were of what was seen during the interview but not opinions on what was seen. These notes included what signed language was used during the interview. One informant used signed language to emphasize some points she made. Obviously, the signs did not show up on the audio recording, so notes were added about the emphasis.

An online document-sharing program was used to house the interview transcripts. This program allowed for typing out the transcript, color-coding sections of the text, making notes in the margins of the document, and sharing the document with thesis advisors. The advisors could make notes on the document as well, which allowed for smoother collaboration. There was no need for continual emailing of drafts. The program was password-protected and only accessible to me and my advisors. The online format also made it possible to access the transcripts from a variety of places.

Any identifying information was removed from the language during the transcript typing process. For example, if the informant said, "I talked with Jane Doe about that," the name was removed and substituted by [teacher's name]. Though the audio recordings would not be heard by others, the transcripts would be viewed by advisors for help with the coding process. The identifying information was removed as a precaution as well as to better ensure the informant felt comfortable to talk freely.

The interview transcripts were used for coding the data. As the goal of coding data is to find patterns in the data (McMilan & Schumacher, 2009), the data was coded using open coding which is a way to look at that data and label sections by noticing the patterns (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This approach allowed for identification of themes within the data as they emerged. The

initial codes were applied after the second reading of each transcript. During the transcribing phase there was much stopping, rewinding, and starting again in order to be sure of accuracy. The first read-through was to become familiar with the transcript as a whole. During the second read-through, codes were added to sections of text for general points. Examples of general codes are: *view of new interpreters by the field, negative story of arrogance about certification, personal story as model to new interpreters, kinds of stories described*. This coding allowed the general content topics to be seen at a glance. A second coding was done to refine the topics into themes that could be categorized. Examples of the second codes are: *certification, arrogance, they don't know enough*. Since the interview questions were focused on retrieving a specific kind of story about students/new interpreters, the data produced more content connected to that theme.

Methodological Weakness and Strength

The fact that I had established good working relationships with each of the informants helped the interview process go more smoothly than if the informants had been strangers. Even though I did have positive relationships with the informants, the skill of interviewing and creating interview questions was a new experience. Some of the questions seemed clear on paper but were not as successful as expected during the actual interview. Clearer and more succinct data might have been gathered by a more experienced interviewer.

The data collected within this study, and the findings from that data, should not be automatically generalizable to other areas. The locations where the informants worked and lived during the time of the interviews was within 50 miles of two interpreter education programs. The programs provide a constant source for interaction with students/new interpreters in a way that

may not be applicable to interpreter communities that are not near interpreter education programs. It is not known at this time whether the stories collected in this study are generalizable to the entire interpreting community.

The audio recording was very useful for gathering the exact wording from the informants. However, the performance behavior of the informants could have been captured if video had been used. The notes made during the interview and the notes added to the transcript helped to capture the performance, but a video recording would have been a more reliable and a fuller approach to collecting data about performance.

The data for this research came from three informants. Three informants is not a statistically significant number out of the whole of the interpreting community. This research was qualitatively focused and therefore gathered in-depth data from a few rather than statistically significant data from many.

The group of informants all had a minimum of eleven years of experience. Students/new interpreters were not included in the pool of informants since the focus was on the seasoned interpreter's story. The collection of the students/new interpreters stories about seasoned interpreters would provide more insight and a more encompassing representation of the groups.

FINDINGS

Seasoned

Findings outside the planned analysis of this research occurred connected to some presumptions at the onset of data collection. A working definition of "seasoned" was established to differentiate a novice interpreter versus an experienced interpreter. The focus of research was on the stories that the seasoned interpreters told about students/new interpreters. One criterion established to define the term "seasoned" was a minimum years of experience requirement for an informant to have; which was established as eleven years. Through observation by the researcher, it seemed eleven years allowed for an appropriate amount of experience in the field to say a person was "seasoned." This requirement was one part of identifying the group to be studied. Having less than eleven years of experience did not mean that the interpreter was "new," it simply meant he or she was not yet "seasoned." The possible intermediate level of interpreter was not included as a category in order to focus the research. The exclusion of the intermediate group was also based on the initial hypothesis that it was only the seasoned group of interpreters that told the stories about the young/new interpreters.

Analysis of the interview transcripts showed that the eleven-year minimum requirement was not a sufficient criterion to denote the status of "seasoned." The minimum-year stipulation was only one requirement meant to ensure all the informants were within the group to be studied. However, even with the other requirements to ensure a level of experience, the eleven years was not enough time in the field to guarantee the informant a sense of being "seasoned."

The informant with the least amount of years of experience was Phoebe, who had the minimum amount of eleven years. Her experience as an interpreter included many settings: video relay, medical, freelance, performing arts, and postsecondary; which provided a well-

rounded knowledge of interpreting settings and developed her skills as an interpreter. She also

interacted with interpreters on an almost daily basis in both work and social situations, which

expanded her awareness of the interpreting field. The eleven years of exposure to, and

participation in, interpreting did not equate to her feeling she was a" seasoned" interpreter.

Before the interview began, Phoebe expressed some concern that she may not be

qualified to discuss the perception of the "seasoned" interpreter. She stated that when she first

received the email inviting her to be involved in the research, she wondered if she was a fitting

candidate because she did not view herself as "seasoned." Her decision to be involved in the

study was influenced by her own experience hearing negative stories about students/new

interpreters. She said that she could tell the stories she had heard circulate in the interpreting

community if it would be of help.

Phoebe did not seem comfortable with the label of "seasoned." In a discussion with the

researcher before the interview she said, "I guess I'm experienced though, right? I'm not super-

experienced, but that's okay, right? Probably wouldn't call myself seasoned, because, hello, ego.

But that's still good data isn't it? I hope so anyways." Her comments show that she viewed

herself as having valuable experience that could contribute to the discussion of stories that

circulate in the interpreting community, but that she was not comfortable labeling herself as

"seasoned."

During the interview Phoebe made the comment, "Like, I don't feel like I'm one of the

people who've been working for a million years -- seasoned seasoned interpreter. I know I'm

not a recent grad either. So I feel that I'm in-between."

Once the interview with Phoebe had ended, she commented on not knowing if any of the

information she had provided would count as a "seasoned" interpreter's view but that, "it's done

now though I guess, so I hope it helps." This comment further emphasized her own misgivings as to whether she did indeed fit in the "seasoned" interpreter group.

During the interview, Phoebe provided positive examples along with the negative examples which appeared to be an additional cue to her identifying not as "seasoned," but not as a student/new either. This approach effectively placed her between the seasoned and new/student interpreters and not within either camp. This tendency also negated many of her comments. For example, she said that she heard more negative stories about students/new interpreters than positive; though, after that statement, she went on to say that she did also hear positive stories. After telling a story of a new interpreter, she told a story about a more experienced interpreter as a way to seemingly keep balance. For example, after telling a story of a young interpreter who did not understand appropriate job behavior, she was asked for other stories that occurred often. She then told of an experienced interpreter whose behavior was not appropriate for an interpreting setting.

When Phoebe told negative stories without providing a counter story, it was a story of her own mistakes when she was a new interpreter. She personalized the account which put the onus on only herself. The lesson in the story was similar to the stories told by the other two informants, but Phoebe's approach used her own experience as a model from which to learn. The other two informants in the study, Rachel and Monica, identified themselves as "seasoned" interpreters. Both had more than twenty years of experience working in the field of interpreting. The additional years of experience allowed them more exposure to the field as well as more time to develop skills and knowledge. Other than the difference in number of years working, there was no overt differences in the three informants' backgrounds within the interpreting community.

The interview with Phoebe, as well as discussions between the interviewer and Phoebe before and after the interview, showed that eleven years of experience is not an appropriate criterion to guarantee an interpreter as "seasoned." This does not mean that a person with eleven years experience in the field cannot view themselves as "seasoned." The term is not a fully known entity. Based on the comments from Rachel and Monica, it may be more appropriate to set a minimum year experience requirement at twenty years, though that may exclude interpreters below twenty years of experience who feel they are "seasoned" in the field of interpreting. Though a person may label him or herself as "seasoned," and a person may view another as "seasoned," it is hard to define a line where on one side is the "seasoned" and on the other side the "non-seasoned."

Resistance to Storytelling

Two informants displayed some resistance to telling negative stories of students/new interpreters. Discussion of what kinds of stories are told in the interpreting community, and the effects of those stories on the community, was more often discussed than a telling of the story itself. Some of the responses from the informants did not answer the question directly. The informants' answers, at times, were phrased neutrally, which avoided a direct answer as well. This unease may have stemmed from the difference between a natural storytelling event and an interview setting. The interviewer being a part of the interpreting community may have played a role in some informant's resistance to tell stories as well. As explained in the methodology section, precautions were taken to minimize the effect that an interview setting can have on a participant's willingness to participate. No matter the precautions, being recorded and the understanding that the ideas being expressed will be documented could have had an impact on

the informants' inhibitions. Though two of the informants did seem cautious about telling their own stories, meaning avoiding direct answers, they did become more open as the interview progressed. The reluctance to storytelling may have been part of becoming comfortable with the process of being interviewed.

Certification

A common thread that appeared in each informant's story was the topic of inexperienced interpreters receiving certification. Phoebe, Rachel, and Monica all talked about recent graduates from an interpreter education program getting certification close to the time that they graduated. The comments suggested that certification right after graduation was too soon. The interviews did not show that each informant agreed that certification near the time of graduation was not appropriate for an interpreter. However, each informant made comments about their sense of the field's perception on the topic of certification for new interpreters. All three agreed there is unease among the interpreting community about certification of young interpreters.

Phoebe viewed certification through the lens of her own experience starting in the field. She talked about how different things were when she first started interpreting. Certification was approached differently in the past compared to the present in her opinion. The standards for when an interpreter should take the certification exams were not the same. Phoebe said:

> I feel like things are different than when I graduated. Recent grads and people who are starting out sit for certification so much earlier in their track....But I feel like people who recently graduate, and they get their certification, maybe there is a sense of entitlement like, "I can charge this much, I can be put in this job because I have this piece of paper that makes me qualified."

Phoebe expressed the view that the newly certified graduates believe certification means qualification, an opinion with which she did not agree. Taking certification as a right to charge a certain amount and accept jobs was a perspective that Phoebe felt was not appropriate in new interpreters.

Monica also commented on newly graduated interpreters viewing certification as signifying more than she thought was appropriate. She said there needed to be more than certification to create an interpreter who is the "full package." Certification by itself did not signify that the new interpreter had what was required to become a successful interpreter. She said, "They just walk out of the program, get certified, and they think they're all that and a bag of chips." Monica's comment reflects the same sentiment that Phoebe expressed; certified does not equal qualified.

Additionally, Monica believed that the new graduates with certification overestimate their own skill based on receiving certification. She talked about new interpreters taking jobs they were not ready for based on a false sense of confidence. Part of the reason for the false confidence, Monica believed, was because they had certification.

Phoebe not only commented on her perception of new interpreters receiving certification near the time of graduation, she also discussed her understanding of the interpreting community's view in general. She said:

But I've heard more often than not about people who have a bad taste in their mouth from people who just graduate from programs and then are working in venues that maybe they shouldn't be yet. Like taking that piece of paper [degree] for experience and taking it for the same thing [degree =experience].

Again, she commented not only on the new interpreters having certification, but also that they believed it signified more of their experience and skill than the interpreting community would agree with.

Phoebe used her personal story, and the view of certification when she was a student, to explain the difference between her time being new and the present group of new interpreters. She remembered that she and her classmates were encouraged to take the written portion of the certification exam before they graduated. However, Phoebe was told the performance portion of the exam should only be taken after having sufficient experience working as an interpreter. Her teacher recommended working as an interpreter to get experience, and only then taking the performance test. The experience Phoebe had with the certification process in her past influenced how she viewed what she was noticing about the current generation of graduates. The fact that some new interpreters were getting certified without having much interpreting experience did not fit with her understanding of the certification process as she learned it in college.

Rachel echoed the same sentiment when she discussed what she observed about other interpreters' views of the students/new interpreters. She said, "They come across as thinking they know more than they do. And that they really should not be certified yet. They should work first some, get some experience, and then have the right to get certified." This again shows the view that someone without sufficient experience working as an interpreter should not sit for certification.

Rachel also discussed the perception that the new interpreters had not yet earned the experience necessary for certification. She said that, within the interpreting community, there is the view that if "they do get certified and they do graduate from an interpreting program, that somehow they haven't earned their stripes as interpreters." She said stories are told in the

interpreting community that describe the newly certified graduates as thinking that obtaining certification indicates an end point. She said, "And once you get certification then [signs "shiny"] aaahhh [like angel choir], then that's it. That there's no more development needed. That you've arrived." She went on to disagree with this sentiment, saying that certification does not decide a person's ability or willingness to develop. For continued development, she said that certification did not signify anything and that it was dependent on the individual. Rachel said she noticed interpreters thinking that some new interpreters believe certification means an arrival of sorts, but she thought it depended on the individual.

Rachel also described the view in the interpreting community that one must earn the right to be certified. Rachel's view did not support the ideas that she felt were prevalent among the seasoned interpreters about new interpreters with certification. She says:

So, with newer interpreters who just come out of school and just so happen to take the test and pass, they're not seen as equal colleagues, or equal to the people who have been in the field. They, for some reason, don't see their certification as valuable compared to people who have "earned it," in a way.

Rachel emphasized the idea of "earning" certification. The seasoned interpreters with certification felt that they had the right to certification based on their experience and skills. The story that the seasoned interpreters were telling of the young interpreters who had certification showed they did not put value in certification if it was not appropriately earned.

While Monica, who was describing the actions of a new interpreter, said, "So, even though they're not certified, they're working in the [setting] with a certain agency." She said that the new interpreter was not qualified for the job but had obtained the work because of her certification. She said of those who have certification but are not qualified, "And if you can

interpret your way through the test and get certified...bless you, you're certified. Go make your

55 dollars an hour." This comment was said with sarcasm that pointed to Monica not agreeing

with the new interpreter who made her way through the test and used that certification to access

more work and higher pay. Phoebe made a very similar comment.

When Phoebe was explaining the new interpreter's view of his/herself after receiving

certification, she said, "Woohoo! I'm certified. I just graduated and I can earn 45 dollars an hour

and I can go work in legal settings." Phoebe's comment and tone emphasized that legal work

was not a job to be taken lightly. Phoebe said that the newly-graduated interpreters thinking it

was okay to take legal interpreting work was connected to their ill-placed sense of entitlement.

Both Phoebe and Monica made direct comments about money related to obtaining

certification. The comments about money paint the newly-certified interpreters as greedy.

Monica made other comments about new interpreters working only for a paycheck; Phoebe

commented on money only connected to certification. Obtaining certification allows an

interpreter to get a higher pay rate in some work venues. The comments about money again

point to the view that seasoned interpreters do not view a new interpreter's certification as

signifying any rights; but, the perception is that the new interpreters do believe it signifies rights

to work and pay.

Rachel suggested that many seasoned interpreters view new interpreters getting certified

as a sign that the test itself is flawed. She said, "When people find out that they're certified,

telling them, 'oh, something must be wrong with the test,'...because it's 'something had to be

wrong with the test since you passed it,' that kind of thing."

Rachel compared her own experience as a new interpreter to the stories she heard of recent

graduates. "Even when I wasn't certified and then I became certified and I was a newer

interpreter, there was respect for me and where I was in the process that somehow is getting lost now."

Rachel's comments about certification focused on describing what she had seen and heard in the interpreting community. She did not agree that the views were correct, but she did agree that there was a negative view of certification for the students/new interpreter. Monica's comments about certification described what she had heard as well as what she believed. She not only described her sense of the general feeling in the interpreting community about new interpreters getting certified, she also added her view that students/new interpreters getting certified was inappropriate and causing problems. Phoebe's perspective seemed to be in between Rachel and Monica's perspectives. Phoebe talked about her perception of the community's problem with the newly certified graduates, and she had some negative stories of her own about the new interpreters with certification.

Arrogance

The theme of arrogance appeared in all three informants' interviews. Rachel said she noticed other seasoned interpreters talking about students/new interpreters as being arrogant. Phoebe heard comments from interpreters; she also thought that students/new interpreters were arrogant at times. Monica said the students/new interpreters were arrogant based on her personal experience with the group; she also believed the interpreting community had a similar view of the students/new interpreters.

Part of the discussion about arrogance was connected to certification as discussed above. The aforementioned perception of entitlement and over-confidence in skills was discussed in

conjunction with certification. There were other points that the three informants brought up about arrogance that were not tied to certification.

Rachel first commented on the topic of arrogance when she was asked to describe what kind of story is usually told about the student/young interpreters. She did not say she agreed with the view, but she believed there was a general perspective by experienced interpreters that the group was arrogant. When asked what she thought others' view was of student/young interpreters, she said, "They are arrogant. They come across as thinking they know more than they do."

Rachel told a personal story of when another interpreter told her about new/student interpreters. She started by saying that the topic always seemed to come up when interpreters were talking to each other. One way or another, the conversation inevitably turned to the students/new interpreters and it, "just opens the whole can of worms."   After a conference session, Rachel was talking to a colleague who said, "Newer interpreters coming out" and "who do they think they are thinking that they know better than I know? I've been interpreting for 30 years and they're going to tell me that that sign is wrong?" Rachel commented on the animosity she heard from interpreters about the student/new group. She said the clear animosity was jarring sometimes because of the power and influence these seasoned interpreters have. She also wondered how those perspectives affected the seasoned interpreter's working experience with the students/new interpreters. She suggested that the stories being told impact the teller as well as those about whom the story is being told.

The way that the stories affected the students/new interpreters was something that Rachel had concerns about. She said many seasoned interpreters will label the whole group, even though, "...this one isn't. But you don't give them a chance to show that they're a different

person." Rachel believed seasoned interpreters assumed from the start that the students/new interpreter was arrogant. The assumption caused trouble for the students/new interpreter. They were starting with a negative label and had an uphill battle to enter the field.

The fact that many new interpreters have degrees was something Rachel thought added to some views of the group as arrogant. She said she heard comments like, "those newer interpreters are arrogant. They come out of school and they think they know everything. They don't have any life experience or experience with the Deaf community." To this point, Rachel believed it was a different approach to the job that caused the belief that the students/new interpreters were arrogant. She said, "People think they're arrogant because they came to school and learned Demand-Control Schema. They know how to talk about their process, they know their process."

The education caused an assumption of arrogance in Rachel's view. This different way of approaching the work of interpreting and discussing the work of interpreting impacted the seasoned interpreters' view of the students/new interpreters.

Phoebe heard seasoned interpreters commenting on students/new interpreters, saying, "Who do you think you are? You think you know everything and you maybe just don't." She viewed the group as having both humble and arrogant members. She also believed this view was how the general interpreting field viewed the students/new interpreters. Although there were both humble and arrogant students/new interpreters, she mentioned that the majority view was of the group as arrogant. The humble students/new interpreter was a novelty and not the standard.

Phoebe also noticed the concern about arrogance when she talked with experienced interpreters about working with interns. Some of the interpreters were hesitant to work with interns. One explanation she put forth was that the interpreters do not trust the mentees. Often

she would hear a sentiment like, "I don't want the judgment. When they watch, are they judging me?" She wondered what characteristic of the students/new interpreters was causing seasoned interpreters to resist interns. Phoebe suggested one reason could be the perception of the group as arrogant.

Some of the arrogance could come from the perspective that, "We're so special. We're so entitled, and we have this gift-- look at me," as Phoebe suggested. She prefaced the comment by saying that she was generalizing, but that it was a tendency she noticed. Phoebe mentioned there are those who view themselves as special or unique compared to the others. One view she quoted was, "Look at me now. I'm in college and I'm graduating. I'm in this field that's way specialized. Plus, I passed the test. Now look at me." If new interpreters think of themselves as special, as Phoebe put it, they will take jobs that they should not. Phoebe cautioned that the students/new interpreters thinking highly of themselves could cause problems. Those problems are not only temporary; a new interpreter being perceived as arrogant could have future consequences as well.

Phoebe told of a lecture she heard discussing how the image a person presents now will influence their options in the future. She applied this lesson to interpreting students. The arrogance, or assumed and perceived arrogance, that is connected to the students/new interpreters now could have a lasting effect on their image. A tarnished reputation can effect job security as well as social standing in the group.

Being accepted into the interpreting community is highly dependent on attitude. Phoebe observed that interpreters were often willing to work with and help grow a young interpreter with a good attitude and less developed skills, yet were less willing to mentor someone with well developed skills but an arrogant attitude. This fact, as she saw it, "Speaks volumes too."

Seasoned interpreters are open to working with students/new interpreters who show themselves to have an attitude that fits with the field's standard. The skills of the job are important, but Phoebe put attitude as a higher priority than skills in the students/new interpreters.

Monica viewed the students/new interpreters as arrogant, based on her experience with the group. Her comments showed she believed the new interpreters did not seek out input from seasoned interpreters; they assumed they had enough knowledge on their own. Monica had stories of her interaction with the new interpreters that made her feel they were purposefully separating themselves from the seasoned interpreters. For example, when she or other seasoned interpreters would walk into a break room where many new interpreters were talking, the new interpreters would stop their conversation upon noticing the seasoned interpreter(s) entering the room. Monica wondered, "Like, what are they talking about that they can't say to somebody else? It's just interesting." Those experiences lead her to avoid the break room and the new interpreters at that job setting. Monica said the new interpreters are new to a workplace but take it over as if it were their own. The sense that the new interpreters were taking over areas was not appropriate in Monica's view.

Monica talked about the new interpreters having an attitude of ownership. She said they had an arrogance of entitlement like, "Yep, that's mine." The new interpreters had been at the job for less time than the seasoned interpreters. Monica said the new interpreters came in and took for granted all the things she and others had worked to obtain.

Monica also talked about new interpreters just entering the field and earning the same or more money than she made. She said they graduate, get certified, and start making a lot of money that they think they deserve. The issue as she saw it was that they thought highly of

themselves and were in it for the money. She said, "It's just a way to make a paycheck so they can go have fun."

Arrogance was a common theme in the three informants' stories and discussion. The informants all agreed that the view, true or not, impacted the willingness of seasoned interpreters to engage with students/new interpreters.

They Do Not Know Enough

A prevalent theme that was included in the discussion of certification and arrogance was the view that the group of students/new interpreters does not know enough yet. All three informants commented that the seasoned interpreters do not think the students/new interpreter knows enough to be a trusted member of the community. Rachel discussed what she noticed about other's perceptions, but she herself did not agree with the evaluation. Her comments were focused on what she noticed, but not about things she was involved with. Monica viewed the students/new interpreter group as not knowing enough and having a misconception about many things in the field. She noticed this perception in the community of interpreters and also supported the view. Phoebe was in between, saying she heard these stories but did not fully agree or disagree.

Seasoned interpreters thought the students/new interpreters need to be tried over time in order to become an accepted member of the interpreting community, according to Rachel. She said, "For newer interpreters, that you can't possibly do any type of interpreting until you've gone through the fire, or earned your place to sit in the interpreting chair." Though the new interpreters needed to earn through experience, the process to fully gain all the knowledge required was not well-defined. Rachel said, "It's as if there is some kind of special hazing

process that nobody really knows what it is, but they feel the newer interpreters haven't gone through it."

Rachel noticed that the process seasoned interpreters said was required of new interpreters takes time. She said there is the opinion from the seasoned interpreters, "That they're not ready to be here interpreting whatever it is that they're interpreting." The belief that the new interpreter does not know enough to do the job leads to an imbalance in the job responsibility. Rachel said, "You figure they don't know anything, so I'm going to have to carry the load because they're new."

During her interview, Phoebe brought up that students/new interpreters do not understand appropriate behavior and boundaries for professional interpreters. One example she provided of inappropriate behavior was the use of social media by new interpreters. New interpreters post comments like, "minus 24, billable" to their social media sites and discuss the idea in a public forum. Phoebe explained "minus 24, billable" to mean that the interpreter was booked for a job that was cancelled. The cancellation did not occur 24 hours prior to the scheduled beginning of the job, so the interpreter would still bill for compensation for the time reserved. Phoebe said that bragging about getting paid for not doing a job was inappropriate. To post this information on a social media site was not respectful to others.

Another example Phoebe provided of a young interpreter without enough knowledge in the field of interpreting was a story of a young interpreter going to a job and becoming overly involved in the event. It was an ongoing job, and people sometimes brought food to share. The new interpreter brought food for the group which Phoebe viewed as not maintaining the interpreter role. The job eventually passed to another interpreter. There was tension for that subsequent interpreter since she was going into a situation where the participants expected her to

bring food. She did not bring any food and the participants in the event viewed her in a negative light. Phoebe attributed the problems in this situation to the new interpreter who did the job first not knowing what was appropriate.

By not knowing enough about what a job entails, an interpreter can find his/herself in difficult situations. Phoebe told a story of a new interpreter who took a job that she was not ready for. The new interpreter did not realize that she was not appropriate for the job until it was too late and she was already at the job. The new interpreter, trying to make an ethical decision, excused herself from the job which required the participants to reschedule their meeting. Phoebe saw this event as an example of a new interpreter not having enough knowledge to be able to prevent the need to leave a job because she was not qualified. Had the new interpreter known more and been more cautious, she could have avoided the problematic situation in the first place.

Phoebe used her own personal stories as a new interpreter starting out to show her own missteps. She emphasized some of her own mistakes as examples of what other new interpreters may experience as well. She told of signing up for an agency that had a bad reputation. Since Phoebe was new to the field, she did not know the history of the agency. Later, she heard stories from older interpreters about the agency that helped her learn of the bad reputation. Phoebe wondered if taking work from the agency may have affected her reputation in a negative way. She said that the new interpreters can taint their reputations merely by not knowing things about the field.

Another personal story Phoebe relayed highlighted the idea of early reputation. She had been working with a seasoned interpreter in a classroom setting. She was new and, unbeknownst to her, was coming off as arrogant to her team. It was not until years later that she had the opportunity to sit down and talk with the interpreter. When they had worked together in the past,

Phoebe did not know enough about the field to be mindful of how she was coming off to others. She said she had so many other things to focus on that she had not even realized she was doing the things that were upsetting her team interpreter. The discussion with the interpreter about their past working experience together brought up things that Phoebe had never known. Luckily, she had the opportunity to explain her own perceptions to the other interpreter. The interpreter she had worked with had carried a less-than-favorable opinion of Phoebe for many years. During the interview, Phoebe cautioned that new interpreters need to be careful because she has heard stories of new interpreters taking jobs for which they are not ready. She said they are, "thinking they can do xyz job. But not really." The seasoned interpreters may not give second chances, so she suggested being careful.

Being aware of what you do not know and what you cannot handle was a value that Phoebe discussed in a personal story of observation. She went to view an interpreting setting to get a better idea of what the setting entailed. She was glad she went to observe because the content of the event impacted her in a negative way. The event was so impactful that she was not even sure she would have had the ability to interpret it successfully. She likened this story to that of a new interpreter who takes a job without fully understanding what it may include. For those who are new to the field of interpreting, it is possible to be blindsided by many unknown things. As an experienced interpreter, Phoebe said she has many tools to deal with a variety of settings now that she did not have when she was first starting out. She said it is a questionable decision for newer graduates to put themselves in jobs when they do not know themselves yet. The consequences from the lack of knowledge could be negative to both the consumers and the interpreters.

Monica's comments described the students/new interpreter's knowledge as lacking in many key areas. She said the majority held a different view on the work and the field than she did, which she attributed to a generational gap. The students/new interpreters that she viewed in a positive light were few. She said it was a rare new interpreter:

> ...that comes out of a program right now that can actually - that has what I call a full package. And by a full package I mean ethics, skills, and processing facility. I think the view is that students are coming out very unprepared.

The topic of social media came up in Monica's interview as it did in Phoebe's interview. She viewed the use of social media as another example of the students/new interpreters not understanding the profession. Monica provided an example of new interpreters using social media programs at a work computer. The new interpreters would leave their information open on the computer when they left. The new interpreters also worked with personal documents on the shared computer and did not close out the accounts when they were finished. Monica said of this happening, "I mean, there are private documents that these interpreters have left there. Like, they didn't delete them. Yikes. I mean, where is your sense of privacy or confidentiality in certain situations?" Monica attributed this behavior to the differences between the generations. She said,

> It's like this generation just grew up in a technology age that I didn't grow up in... So the whole Facebook thing and putting their whole life out there and what they're doing, it's like there's not - people don't have any self respect for their own privacy.

Using social media in an appropriate manner seemed obvious to Monica, and she thought it interesting that coordinators and agencies were having to tell their new interpreters about appropriate behavior – and not only using social media in general, but specifically during a job.

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Monica said, "Well like, you're texting and not teaming, and someone is paying you. That's a problem." The new interpreters, according to Monica's perception, are misusing technology and social media. "They have no ethics, they don't know how to dress correctly, they don't know how to stay off their phones."

Not dressing appropriately was another idea Monica linked to students/new interpreters not understanding the field fully. She said she had seen new interpreters dress inappropriately and think there was nothing wrong. She commented that the new interpreters did not seem to take into consideration how the clothing they wear is the backdrop for the job of interpreting. Inappropriate colors, patterns, and styles were some of the first things that Monica noticed that made her aware of a generational gap. She said she has been appalled by some of the clothing new interpreters believed was appropriate for work.

The biggest example Monica saw of the lack of knowledge in the students/new interpreting group was a disconnect from the Deaf community. Monica explained how her generation had been involved in social as well as professional interaction with the Deaf community. She noted that the new generation of interpreters did not have that same connection to the community they served. She said, "Yeah, not connected to the Deaf community. It's just a job." Monica thought the disconnect between Deaf people and the students/new interpreters caused problems for new interpreters as well as being disrespectful to the Deaf community.

Monica said that there are students who want to become interpreters who have no Deaf friends and have no connection to interpreters. She recalled one example of being contacted by a coordinator asking for someone willing to be interviewed by a student. The student needed to interview an interpreter but did not know any. This, Monica felt, probably meant the person had

no connection to the Deaf community, which she saw as, "scary and appalling." She wondered how a person could get into a program for interpreting if they did not know any Deaf people.

The lack of connection to the interpreting and Deaf communities meant that the students/new interpreters did not have a way to access information they needed to know. Monica told a story about young interpreters signing up for work through agencies that had a bad reputation. The same topic was discussed by Phoebe in her interview. Monica told of a new interpreter who had wrong information about the field because the new interpreter did not seek out information from more experienced interpreters in the field. There was an agency that had a bad reputation that was known to those interpreters who had been around for a while. Many seasoned interpreters stayed away from the agency. The new interpreter did not have the background knowledge, nor did she seek out information about the agency from more experienced interpreters. Monica said that the new interpreter needed to be connected to the community so she could avoid bad situations and possibly damage to her reputation. The only way to learn the background knowledge was from those with experience in the field.

The three informants told of things they had witnessed and things they had heard about students/new interpreters not knowing enough to function appropriately in the interpreting community. The view was that the students/new interpreters were lacking. There were differing opinions on the way to become more knowledgeable, but all the tales put the responsibility on the students/new interpreter to seek out the knowledge they needed. Those who did not seek out the knowledge were looked on negatively.

Variation of Performance

Rachel set herself as an outside observer to the stories of students/new interpreters. She discussed what she saw and heard from other interpreters about students/new interpreters, but she did not view herself as a participant in those stories. Her comments about the stories did not support the actions of those telling the stories, but instead wondered about the truth in the stories and what the impact was on the students/new interpreters. This manner of observation and analysis focused on the motivations and effects of the stories and not on the stories themselves. She also emphasized the impact on the students/new interpreter population. She proposed questions as to the wisdom of spreading negative stories.

Phoebe made comments about the students/new interpreters directly but she also used tales of her personal life to show her perspective on appropriate behavior for students/new interpreters. The stories were about her own failures to conduct herself appropriately as a young interpreter. During the interview, Phoebe commented that her professors in her interpreter education program would tell their personal stories as a way to model what to do and what not to do. Her professors would simulate inappropriate behaviors for interpreters as another way to show appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Phoebe said, "Even when I was in school in the program, [teacher's name] told us stories of stuff they had experienced and stuff they had done." One example the professor simulated was the appropriate way to enter a job and get set up. The professor walked quietly into the classroom and sat down in the interpreting chair. She got a notebook out of her bag and sat, waiting to begin. The professor then reentered the room in an inappropriate manner. Her hair was a mess as she rushed in late, making noise and calling attention to herself. Once she sat down, she got her bag out which further called attention to herself.

The professor's stories and simulations were lessons on appropriate and inappropriate behavior. The personal stories as a model for behavior does not need to be an overtly stated lesson in order to teach. This is similar to an idea within occupational folklore that McCarl (1978) discussed as non-verbal "patterned, behavioral communication" (p. 147). He was talking about communication that happens through the manipulation of objects and materials, but also about the lessons that are learned without direct teaching. The learning happens through observation of another's behavior. The stories that Phoebe told of her own mistakes were not directly stating what was right or wrong behavior, but the implied lesson of right and wrong behavior is meant to be understood by those hearing the story. She said, "Instead of starting out saying 'you do this' or 'you do this,' it's more like, see what the person does." Phoebe also explained that in her own experience, "A lot of what I've learned, I know, is just from observation without any words." In much the same way that a machinist may model the correct movements for calibrating a machine, the stories Phoebe told modeled expectations for interpreter behavior.

While Phoebe was discussing the wisdom of student interpreters doing real interpreting jobs, she told a story of her own experience as a student interpreter. When she was still a student, a Deaf friend asked her to volunteer to interpret an appointment. Phoebe explained the reasons why she had been uneasy about accepting the job. In the end, she went and did the job. As she told the story she questioned whether she had enough understanding to really know if doing the job was appropriate. Through this story she modeled what she viewed as a possible mistake and provided the lesson that she did not know enough to make that decision at that time.

Phoebe further displayed the concept of learning through observation by telling a story of her own experience when she was a student interpreter. On her internship she worked with an

interpreter who showed up inappropriately dressed for the situation. There was no discussion of clothing with the interpreter, but Phoebe learned through seeing the problems that the interpreter's clothing caused. Without being told, she knew the clothes were not okay and she decided never to dress in that manner.

Monica told stories as an observer as well as a direct participant. Of the three informants, Monica was the one who labeled herself as a spreader of stories, as well as a hearer. Her approach was direct in criticism, with no hesitation in commenting on the negative characteristics she said she saw in the students/new interpreter group. Of the three informants, Monica also told the most direct stories when asked. For the telling of a story, and not a discussion of the views in the field, Monica provided the most material.

Informants' View of Why the Story Exists

Rachel talked of the stories as gatekeepers. Those students about to enter the field, or recently-entered new interpreters, were not yet full members of the interpreting community. To become a full member, there was a "special hazing process," as Rachel put it. One use of the negative story about students/new interpreters was to keep the lines drawn until they were ready to become members of the interpreting community. Rachel said that this process can make the new interpreters feel unwanted.

As a step toward enculturating themselves into the community, some new interpreters will begin to tell the negative tales about the students/new interpreters. Rachel said it was, "Almost like the oppressed become the oppressor." She went on to say that even though the new interpreter may have been working for only five years, by telling the stories of the new

interpreters just graduating, they distance themselves from the new group and better connect themselves to the seasoned group.

The seasoned interpreters also may tell the stories out of a fear of changes to their own position in the field. Rachel discussed the sense that the seasoned interpreters may fear losing their work to the newer generation of interpreters. As for herself, she did not feel this fear, but she suggested it was a reason that the stories circulated. The seasoned interpreters did not want the new generation to influence their own status.

Rachel said the negative view of students/new interpreters weakens the field in general. The experienced interpreters may tell stories of the new generation of interpreters as a way to keep hold of their position in the field, but the effect is a divided community. Rachel said:

And I think it weakens the field. Especially if we are the seasoned interpreters, so to speak, and we're not helping those that are coming after us to take our place one day. That should be the ultimate goal. And you would want those coming behind you to be better, I would think. And that should be.... But we're not helping the field to grow.

Phoebe believed the stories exist because there are some students/new interpreters who were not behaving in a manner that matched the community's expectations. She did not believe that the entire group of students/new interpreters was acting inappropriately, but that there were enough that the stories did have validity. Through her own examples, she showed that the story's purpose could be to explain appropriate behavior instead of condemning what is viewed as inappropriate. She said, "I feel like there are stories of what not to do or what to do."

Monica's view was that the stories exist because the students/new interpreter group has many flaws, and these stories circulate based on the reality of that situation. She viewed the students/new interpreters as detached from the Deaf community and having inappropriate

priorities for work. She noticed this view in other interpreters' view of the students/new interpreters, and the stories were a way to share this common experience.

Discussion

One of the reasons that this research was first undertaken was to examine the relationship between negative stories of students/new interpreters and a hierarchical structure of the interpreting community. The first task in discussing the stories' effects was to prove the existence of the stories. Through interviews it has been shown that, for the three informants in this study, the negative story of the students/new interpreter is actually, and is perceived as, a commonly shared tale. The stories of the new interpreter tell of a novice entering a complex field. This novice feels confident in her ability based on education and possibly obtaining certification. The seasoned interpreters view the novice as arrogant, with an over-estimation of her own skills. The novice does not know enough to know that she does not know enough. Her lack of connection to the Deaf community and the interpreting community means she does not have the resources or cultural understanding to develop the skills and knowledge needed to be accepted into the community of interpreters.

The stories of the students/new interpreters as told by the seasoned interpreters separate the two groups distinctly. This research did not include the students/new interpreters' tales of the seasoned interpreters. However, the seasoned interpreters' stories create an inner group and an outer group perspective of the field. Rachel, Monica, and Phoebe all commented on the perception that students/new interpreters have not yet earned the right to become a full member of the interpreting community. It was the seasoned interpreters who viewed the students/new interpreters as not yet full members of the community. For the seasoned interpreters to perceive

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that they have the power to decide what is and is not appropriate for the students/new interpreters effectively places the seasoned interpreters at the top of a hierarchical system. Therefore, the three informants provided data to support the theory that the interpreting community does have a stratified system of authority in place. For someone to be able to decide the fate of another, they must have a position of more authority than the other.

Rachel made a comment directly related to the relationship of hierarchy. She told of an interpreter starting to tell the stories of the students/new interpreters as a way to show themselves as a part of the inner group. In that way, the story functions as a signifier of membership in the interpreter community. Those who tell the stories identify themselves as different from those about whom the stories are told. Therefore, if an interpreter is telling a negative story about a student/new interpreter, she is necessarily placing herself as separate from that group of students/new interpreters. Rachel described this phenomenon as the "oppressed becoming the oppressor." The language Rachel used emphasizes the separation of a hierarchy. The comment defines an authority differentiation which illustrates a hierarchy. Rachel, when talking of hierarchy, explained that there was a sense that a person could only get to the top by fitting a certain mold, but the mold itself was not clearly defined. Perhaps telling the negative stories of the students/new interpreters is an attempt by those trying to move up the hierarchy to satisfy expectations, or in other words, to fit into the mold.

The three informants all relayed examples of the unprepared newcomer. Comments about those just graduating and thinking they were ready for any interpreting job were made by each informant. Tynjala (2008) discussed how informal learning is equally important as the formal learning that occurs in the classroom. The informal learning for most jobs occurs while performing the work alongside those who have experience in the job. On-the-job informal

training is crucially important, especially when the classroom environment was mainly theoretical and abstract. McCarl (1978) also discussed the importance of on-the-job training for a person to become a member of a group. The learning through observation of experienced workers was an important process for a novice to become enculturated to the folk group.

The comments from the informants point to the seasoned interpreters viewing the theoretical and methodological knowledge that the students/new interpreters learned in the classroom as not transferring over to the practical skill and understanding required for the job of interpreting. Some believe that education programs create workers ready to transition from an educational setting to a job setting. However, this view, "is patently inadequate to meet the demands and realities of modern day workday situations" (Candy & Crebert, 1991, p. 571). As Tynjala (2008) said, "Interaction between novices and experts is of crucial importance in workplace learning" (p. 135). This idea shows that the interaction between students/new interpreters and seasoned interpreters is significantly important for the continued education of the new interpreters after formal education has ended. The perceived problems the informants discussed were the students/new interpreters' attitude toward learning, a sense of arrogance and entitlement, as well as a lack of experiential knowledge.

Monica shared her view that the gap between generations was the cause of the disconnect between the seasoned interpreters and the students/new interpreters. This disconnect was something that Monica could not see overcoming. In all three interviews, there was the sentiment that the group was, or almost was, a lost cause. The seasoned interpreters, as evidenced by Monica discussing her personal view, did not wish for the students/new interpreters to become a part of the community based on the behavior observed in the group. However, the learning of appropriate behavior and knowledge requires the interaction with the community.

Tynjala (2008) said, "Social communities socialize novices into their culture... Through participation in these communities people share their knowledge, negotiate meanings, form their identities, and develop their work practices" (pp.135-136). The novices require an experienced hand to guide them into the community. The perception of the students/new interpreters, as described by the three informants, results in a roadblock to transition into membership in the community.

All three informants compared the views of the seasoned and the students/new interpreters. Monica and Phoebe articulated it as the "gap;" the difference in skill, knowledge, and understanding of the field of interpreting. Monica commented that the new generation was different from the older generation. Not that the new generation had not yet learned and developed, but that they are fundamentally different from the seasoned interpreters. All three informants discussed the perception that the students/new interpreters were different. They perceived a change as having occurred.

The field of interpreting is relatively young compared to other professions. The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf was established in 1964 (RID, 2003). In this young field there have been many changes as the interpreters became viewed as professionals and worked toward establishing the profession. Evidence of the changes can be seen in the changes in the certification systems through RID over the years. From the early 1970's to 2013, the testing system has undergone numerous overhauls that show a desire to refine the system to better fit the interpreting profession. The changes show a young profession working to define itself as it develops.

The philosophical views of the role of an interpreter have also changed over the years. These changes show a profession striving to define itself. Interpreters started as helpers. Family,

friends, teachers, and clergy provided interpreting services to the Deaf community that was viewed by many as a "handicapped" group (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001, p. 8.2). Laws were enacted in the mid 1970's that provided Deaf people with a right to interpreters in education and publically funded events (Katsiyannis, Yell & Bradley, 2001). These new laws changed the field of interpreting. What had started as a "helper" perspective on the job of interpreting changed into a more professional mode which was still trying to define a role. The "conduit model" was an attempt to facilitate communication while trying to empower the participants in the communication event to make all decisions for themselves. Further reflection on the role of interpreters changed the model again to one that included a realization that the interpreter inevitably influences the communication situation. The change from the initial "helper" model to the eventual "bicultural-bilingual" model indicates a profession growing and working to define itself (Humphrey & Alcorn, 2001; Janzen & Korpiniski, 2005).

The change did not happen overnight, nor did all agree with the changes as they happened. The informants point to a change occurring currently in the interpreting community-- the divide between the seasoned and the new. Boje (1991) said that stories will emerge or be emphasized during a time of change. Stories will be told to articulate a community's unease about the perceived change. The folk group will use stories which "recounted and compared to unfolding story lines to keep the organization from repeating historically bad choices and to invite the repetition of past successes" (Boje, 1991, p. 101). The informants discussed their perceptions that many stories are told about the inappropriate attitudes of the students/new interpreters -- stories of misusing technology, of not being connected to the community they serve, of being arrogant, of only caring about the money, and of not understanding the profession. The differences cause a separation. "In complex organizations, part of the reason for

storytelling is the working out of those differences in the interface of individual and collective memory" (Boje, 1991, p. 107). The stories serve to allow the new member to become familiar with the culture. As Deetz (1982) said, "An organization's culture consists of whatever a member must know or believe in order to operate in a manner understandable and acceptable to other members and the means by which this knowledge is produced and transmitted" (p. 133). Therefore, stories are told to explain to the students/new interpreters what is expected of an interpreter. The expected effect is for those outside the desired behavioral patterns to learn and change to what is appropriate.

Geiger and Antonacopoulou (2009) discussed how stories "simultaneously construct and shape organizational dynamics" (p. 412). The stories told of the group shape the group itself. The stories can represent a perspective that change is not desirable. The storyteller can use the story to articulate their own unease about change and attempt to block the change they view as undesirable. As stated in Geiger and Antonacopoulou (2009), "Inertia occurs when a web of related, self-reinforcing narratives evolves in an organization... such a web of narratives has the potential to construct unquestioned, self-legitimizing "truths" that the organization may be unaware of (blind spots)" (p. 412). The story being circulated among the community, being told and retold, further enhances the perception of the story as truth. "This process of replication via repetition is driven by a focus on reproducing a 'regime of truth' that eventually becomes legitimized because it is institutionalized" (Geiger & Antonacopoulou, 2009, p. 429). The seasoned interpreters telling negative stories of students/new interpreters may be viewed as truth. As discussed above, the seasoned interpreters have a place of authority in the community. Telling stories from a position of authority legitimizes the truth of the story, possibly leading to a blind spot in the interpreting community when people accept the story as truth without question.

The goal can be to stave off change and use the story to "evoke a degree of stability" (Geiger &
Antonacopoulou, 2009, p. 414).

The blind spot created by self-legitimizing stories sets the story as dominant to any story
of varying content. In this way, stories that are told from a place of authority establish a position
of truth even when other contrary stories exist. As Geiger and Antonacopoulou (2009) said,
"Thereby, even the deviating narratives could have been integrated smoothly into the overall
sense-making process without calling the governing, hegemonic assumptions of the dominant
narrative into question" (p. 430). In essence, the stories told by seasoned interpreters create a
"self-reinforcing feedback mechanism that implicitly confirms dominant assumptions" (Geiger
and Antonacopoulou, 2009, p. 431). The change that the informants noted in the students/new
interpreters became a common story which limits the group's willingness to openly assess the
perceived change as positive, negative, or both.

The findings suggest that the stories seasoned interpreters tell of students/new interpreters
can function as a mechanism to support an existing hierarchical structure and a representation of
the unease toward change as well as an attempt to forestall the perceived change. The findings
are based on three informants' perspectives about negative stories about students/new
interpreters. Therefore, these findings are not generalizable without additional research.

Suggestions for Further Research

Research involving more informants would provide a more substantial basis from which
to make claims about the interpreting field. It is the belief of the researcher for this study that the
three informants are a representative sample of the experienced interpreting community in the

Pacific Northwest. However, to support this view, a statistically significant number of informants should be interviewed.

To obtain knowledge on regional differences, it is also suggested that research be done in a variety of geographic locations. As stated in the methodology section of this research, the three informants all lived and worked in the Pacific Northwest at the time of the interviews. The three informants also lived and worked within 50 miles of two interpreter education programs. Many of the comments from the informants were connected to students. Other geographic areas that do not have such direct contact with the student population may tell stories that differ in significant ways from the stories collected in this research.

This study focused on the stories experienced interpreters told about the students/new interpreter population. To better understand the dynamics between the groups, data should be collected from the students/new interpreter population as well. The views from the different sub-groups in the interpreting field can more fully explain the intergroup dynamics. The effects of the stories the seasoned interpreters tell can be better understood by studying the stories and perspectives of the students/new interpreter population as well.

The history of the story investigated for this research would provide a deeper understanding of context. The informants provided examples of arrogance and not knowing enough connected to certification and education. Perhaps these same stories of arrogance and not knowing enough occurred in the community before certification and education were available. A broader understanding of the history of this story could better reveal the relevance of the story to the community.

The findings suggest that the topic of folklore in the interpreting community has merit as a topic of study. Better understanding the stories interpreters tell expands knowledge of the field

itself. This research is presented in the hopes that there will be further research into the

interpreting community as a folk group.

CONCLUSION

I was drawn to this topic of research based on personal experience in the field of interpreting as well as interest in the topic of folklore. I have always been interested in exploring the stories we tell and the function of those stories to the community. There is much research on the topic of folklore, but none geared toward the ASL/English interpreting community. I view the group as a folk group based on my six years of experience as a working interpreter and member of the community. It seemed a natural progression of my interests to begin a study of folklore of the ASL/English interpreting community.

The many ideas that came to mind about where to start a study of folklore could not all be satisfied within this project. For that reason, one story was chosen to focus the research and provide a clear scope. The story chosen to study was of the students/new interpreter told by the seasoned interpreter. The initial hypothesis for the study of the story involved four components; first, that the interpreting community is a folk group that circulates folklore among its members; second, that one story circulated is the negative story of the students/new interpreter; third, that this story can reinforce a hierarchical structure within the interpreting community; and fourth, that the story represents an unease in the interpreting community about perceived changes.

Interviews were done with three informants to obtain opinions and perceptions about the stories that were told. The qualitative research method allowed for in-depth data to be collected from the participants in the research. The questions for the interviews were focused on the stories told about students/new interpreters, how they were told, by whom, and why they were told.

After the interview data was collected and transcribed, it was coded. First, coding identified general topics that appeared in the informants' comments as a first step to noticing any

over-arching themes present in the data. Subsequent codings further specified and categorized the themes for analysis.

The three informants provided evidence of stories about students/new interpreter being arrogant, unqualified, and unknowing. Their sense of the field was that there was an overlying view of the students/new interpreters as arrogant, unqualified, and unknowing.

The findings suggest that the stories indicate an unease about a change occurring in the interpreting community that can be noticed in the generational differences between seasoned and new/student interpreters. The findings also suggest that the stories function as a support to an existing hierarchical structure within the interpreting field. These findings are based on the stories of three informants and cannot be generalized to the interpreting population at large. However, I do believe the three informants represent a prevalent perspective in the interpreting field.

For generalizable results, data needs to be collected from a larger informant population. The larger population will provide statistically significant data. By collecting stories from a variety of locations, the variation of the story can be better understood pertaining to region.

This research was done to provide a starting point for inquiry into the ASL/English interpreting community through the lens of folklore. More research of the story included in this research, as well as the vast array of other stories in the interpreting field, is suggested. We can better understand our community by understanding the stories we tell and the reasons behind those stories. The further study of the interpreting community in this way can help us to analyze our priorities and motivations in a way that will lead to development of a better understanding of ourselves as professional interpreters.

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Appendix A

Thesis Research

A beginning study of interpreter folklore: The stories interpreters tell.

Western Oregon University, MA in Interpreting Studies Program

Peter Flora

For this research I want to collect and analyze the stories that sign language interpreters tell about other interpreters. In my six years as a working interpreter, I have heard some common stories shared regularly. It is my view that these stories actually are folklore for the interpreting community. By circulating these stories, interpreters are reinforcing a structure and set of norms within the profession. The goal of this research is to collect the folklore of the interpreting community and provide some analysis of the stories. By doing this analysis I hope to open a dialogue about the values that these stories seem to support. By seeing the effect these stories have, perhaps people will be motivated to analyze the reasoning behind this folklore and possibly work to change it.

This research will ask you to answer questions about your experience hearing and telling stories about young/new interpreters. The interview should take between two to three hours.

You have been asked to be a part of this research because you are a working interpreter with a connection to the interpreting community.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You can end your participation at any point. If you chose to participate but change your mind, you can end your participation at any point or ask that the information you give not be used in the research study. Interviews will be kept strictly confidential. Counseling will be made available to any participant who may regret or feel uncomfortable about sharing a negative story.

The study is focused on collecting stories that working interpreters circulate about new/student interpreters. If you accept the invitation to be a part of this research, you will be asked questions about your experience hearing and telling stories about new/student interpreters. You will also be asked questions about your views on the field of interpreting.

The interview will be one-on-one. I will ask you questions and then write down notes about your answers for later reference. I will also audio record the interview for use in analysis of the stories. The audio recordings will be kept on my personal computer that is password protected. No identifying information will be kept with the audio files. You can (and are encouraged to) expand on the questions as much as you are comfortable with during the

interview. If there are any questions that you are not comfortable answering, you may say so and that question will be skipped. Any names, places, or specifics that you share during the interview will be kept confidential. The data you provide will be used in a research thesis, but information about you will be kept confidential.

Some people will be asked to fill out a questionnaire through the internet if they cannot do a one-on-one interview. If you fill out a questionnaire, you can (and are encouraged to) expand on the questions as much as you would like. You may skip any question you do not wish to answer. Any names, places, or specifics that you include in your answers will be kept confidential. The data you provide will be used in a research thesis, but information about you will be kept confidential.

The interview should take no more than three hours to conduct.   Participants filling out a questionnaire should be able to finish between one to three hours, but can take more time if needed.

The risk to you as a participant is low because all identifying information will be kept minimal. The stories that participants tell may be negative in nature and may make some participants uncomfortable. If at any time you feel uncomfortable, you can skip the question or withdraw from the study. The research will benefit the field of interpreting by clarifying the stories interpreters tell and why.

The data collected will be included in a thesis for a MA degree in interpreting studies.

There is no obligation to participate in this research if you do not wish to do so.

You may ask me any question you have now or later. For questions you wish to ask later you may contact Peter Flora at florap@wou.edu.

This proposal has been reviewed and approved by Western Oregon Universities IRB, which is a committee whose task it is to make sure that research participants are protected from harm.

I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study

Print Name of Participant_____

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

Appendix B

Demographic Questions:

1. With what gender do you identify?
2. How old are you?
3. With what race do you identify?
4. What is your highest level of education?
5. Did you complete an interpreter education program? If so, where?
6. What town and state do you live in?
7. How long have you been working as an interpreter?
8. In what venue do you do most of your work as an interpreter?
9. In what other venues do you work as an interpreter?
10. How often do you work in a team while interpreting?
11. How often do you socialize with other interpreters? (once a week, once a month, etc.)
12. Do you work as a mentor for student/new interpreters? If so, how often?
13. Do you do any work as an interpreter trainer?
14. How often do you socialize with new/student interpreters?

Interview Questions:

1. What do you know about folklore?
2. Do you feel that there is folklore in the interpreting community?
3. What kinds of stories do you think circulate in the interpreting community?
4. How would you characterize these stories? Do you feel stories about other interpreters are usually more negative or positive?
5. What do you feel is the interpreting field's view of new/student interpreters?
6. Do you notice a specific kind of story told about younger interpreters?
7. What kinds of stories are told about younger interpreters?
8. From which group do you hear negative stories about new/student interpreters?
9. From which group do you hear positive stories about new/student interpreters?
10. Where do you hear these stories told? (at work, social groups, etc)
11. Do the stories usually reference a specific interpreter or are they more general? (as in, "new interpreters" instead of "John Smith").
12. How would you characterize these stories? For example, do you hear more positive or negative about new/student interpreters?
13. Is there a specific group that tends to tell negative stories about young interpreters?
14. Is there a specific view or opinion about new/student interpreters by the field of interpreters? Where does that view come from?

15. What reoccurring stories about new/student interpreters do you hear or have told?

16. Please tell me a story you've heard about a new/student interpreter. Why do you think this story is told?

17. Please tell me a story you've told about a new/student interpreter. Why do you tell this story?

18. In what kind of structure do these types of stories result? For example, do you feel there is a hierarchical structure in the field of interpreting that has new/student interpreters and experienced interpreters at different levels? Or do you see the structures as inviting and collegial where interpreters are playing on an even level?

19. What other stories do you recall hearing about new/student interpreters? Why do you think these stories are told?

20. What reoccurring stories do you hear from interpreters about any other subject? Why do you tell these stories?