Achieving understanding via interpreter participation in Sign Language / English Map Task dialogues:

an analysis of repair sequences involving ambiguity
and underspecificity in signed and spoken modes

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

Research into the role of the interpreter in dialogue interpreting has so far established that the interpreter participates in the interaction just as much as the two primary participants, particularly in the area of turn-taking. Less has been written about the nature of participation by the interpreter *when interpreting*. This thesis has contributed to knowledge through research into the extent and the manner of participation by the interpreter when there are problems due to seeing/hearing, producing or understanding: "repair" (Schegloff, Sacks and Jefferson 1977).

Using an established tool (a Map Task) in order to distract participants from their language use, the actions of the interpreter were examined through a Conversation Analysis lens, to observe what it is that interpreters do in these situations of uncertainty.

The findings were that the participation by interpreters, often described by practitioners as "clarifying", was due, for the most part, to what I have defined as "ambiguity" and "underspecificity". The interpreter must change stance from "other" to "self". I have considered this action, positing a model Stop – Account – Act, and also the responses from the participants when the interpreter changes from "other" to "self" and back, using those responses to show whether the clients understand the interpreter's change of stance.

It is already known that understanding is collaboratively achieved in interpreted interactions just as it is in monolingual conversations. My contribution to interpreting studies is to strengthen this understanding by empirical research. Interlocutors do not present an absolute meaning in one language which is then reframed in another language; meanings are differentiated between collaboratively through further talk. I show that an interpreter is tightly constrained in their participation, and that their overriding job of interpreting dictates the reasons for their participation. The interpreter seeks not "what does *that* mean?" but rather "what do *you* mean?".

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The following work investigates how the British Sign Language (BSL) / English interpreter speaks for herself when interpreting between an English-speaking non-BSL-using participant and a BSL-using participant *in order to* interpret. The focus of the study was to consider the strategies used and the strengths of the interpreter in one of the most problematic occasions in an interpreted interaction: speaking as oneself. What the study has also done is to illuminate the processes used by all speakers of language when negotiating meaning. During an interpreted interaction, there may be problems due to the interpreter not having heard or seen what was said, there may be problems due to her not having understood what was said (and further there may be problems with production on the part of the interpreter, but the focus of this study is on understanding). At these times, the interpreter does not have the necessary access to the language being used in order to interpret it. The interpreter can only deal with what she is *presented* (Seleskovitch 1978:54). Having given over her spoken voice to play the part of the BSL-user, and having given up her body to play the part of the English- speaker, how does the interpreter speak for herself *in order to* coordinate her main task of interpreting? The form of coordination specific to this thesis is what is called "repair organisation" in the branch of sociology called Conversation Analysis (CA). Repair organisation deals with problems of hearing, speaking and understanding (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977) and how individuals work with each other in order to solve these problems.

Repair organisation in BSL/English interpreted interactions is generally referred to by interpreting practitioners as 'clarifying', an umbrella term used to encompass the difficulties which are encountered by an interpreter who is unable to interpret from one language to the other for reasons of hearing/seeing, understanding and producing. When referred to in interpreter training, the term 'clarification' is used to describe

what an interpreter must do in order to understand, and therefore in order to interpret. To describe it as 'clarification' is understandable, as the concept of asking for more information in order to understand is mundane. Mundane, that is, in normal conversation, however, in interpreted conversation, when the interpreter asks questions *for herself*, she is contributing something to the conversation which has not been *presented* to her (Seleskovitch 1978:54), but has originated from her.

The discipline of Translation *and* Interpreting Studies is a relatively new one. Translation as a discipline has a long history, but while the practice of interpreting is just as old, the study of interpreting is more recent. Both areas of study were concerned with how the interpreter or translator produces *equivalence*. For the translator, working with written text, the equivalence is sought at six levels: word; above word; at grammatical; textual; pragmatic and cohesive levels (Baker 1992). The interpreter, however, works with live talk, which is situated in time and space. The same equivalences are sought by the interpreter. However, for her there is the added dimension of online recall and performance, which is far from the painstaking and considered work of re-rendering by the translator at a desk. This study considers specifically the work of two BSL/English interpreters working between monolingual English speakers, and BSL users.

If interpreters are to respond to their audiences (both deaf and hearing) they will need to continue to improve their practice. The reader will note that the word "deaf" has been used with a lower case "d". Woodward (1972) coined the use of "Deaf" to define those people who use a signed language as their preferred language, and are part of a deaf community. He used the term "deaf" to refer to those people who had a hearing loss, but did not use a signed language, nor did they associate themselves with belonging to a deaf community. Within current research (Dickinson 2010:4-6; Napier 2009:4; Napier and Leeson 2016:2) it is acknowledged that recent medical interventions and educational policies have meant that membership of the deaf community is perhaps more fluid than in earlier times. Larger numbers of people are coming into the community as late learners of sign language (Napier 2009:4), and therefore definitions of what constitutes membership of the deaf community are

changing (Napier and Leeson 2016:2). Like Dickinson (2010:5) I too have been acculturated into the use of "big D deaf" for those people who were users of signed languages. However, in order to avoid making judgements about a person's culture and identity, the word "deaf" will be used throughout, unless it appears in quotes, in which case the capitalisation/non- capitalisation will be retained.

Professional status has been considered by interpreters and interpreter/researchers in order to achieve the goal of improving practice. One of the ways to do this is by research (Peterson 2013:xvi). Monikowski (2013) reported that there was a process of academisation currently growing in the interpreting profession. She describes this as a "three legged stool" (2013:11) of practice, research and teaching, which allow interpreters to better understand their work and to better serve their clients[1] by regularly reflecting on their practice. Monikowski acknowledged that interpreter educators and working interpreters have begun to call themselves "practice professionals" to align themselves with the fields of social work, education, law and medicine (2013:13 see also Dean and Pollard's Demand-Control Schema (2001) section 2.2.5). Monikowski described how interpreter programmes are now including internships in their curricula in the manner of the above disciplines, and are also requiring interpreter trainers to be working interpreters as well as teachers of interpreting. In terms of research, Monikowski described the field of study as young and as yet without the same amount of backing of research as other fields. She explained that interpreters are "not *expected* to be scholars" (2013:16, emphasis in original), but that in order to progress as a discipline, more scholarly work must be produced. This thesis will become part of this body of work.

University level training for interpreters addresses the need for better educated interpreters to a large extent, and the registration of deaf people as Translator/Interpreters has meant that interpreting is no longer the sole preserve of hearing interpreters (Stone 2009; Adam and Stone 2011; Stone, Adam and Carty 2011; Stone and Woll 2010) and much is to be gained from deaf and hearing interpreters

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[1] Client refers to the recipients of the interpreter's services, which means the deaf person(s) and the hearing persons involved in the interaction.

working together. Turner (2007) described the co-operative nature of meaning making, encouraging interpreters to consider the collaborative nature of their work. Research into the interpreting process, such as the detailed description of how deaf clients can work collaboratively with interpreters produced by Napier, Carmichael and Wiltshire (2008), is needed to enable signed language interpreters and their hearing and deaf clients to work more effectively together. A distinctive feature of the early work of interpreter researchers is described by Gile (2011) as "personal theorising". This self-reflection he believes, while important to the early stages of developing theory, is ultimately self-limiting.

He further noted that empirical research is needed in order to have balance within the field. This thesis uses data from real interpreted interaction, and uses CA as its guide, and as such forms part of this necessary contribution.

The practice of interpreters asking what was said in order to interpret effectively is fairly widespread. It is, however, contentious, in that the interpreter could be perceived as not being able to do their job if they have a need to ask for more information. When describing the work of interpreters with deaf academics, Campbell, Rohan and Woodcock (2008) posited that the interpreter should be discouraged from asking questions for themselves, because it is the deaf client's right to choose whether the interpreter interjects or not. Their argument was that the deaf recipient of the services of an interpreter will know more about the subject than the interpreter. An interjection from the interpreter may appear to have come from the academic, who had no need to interject and it was the interpreter who was unaware of the meaning of a word, phrase or concept (or did not hear it, but that is not discussed) not the client. Campbell et al. argued that there is no need for the interpreter to interject in this instance and that they should ask their client to decide whether they should or not. As a registered BSL/English interpreter myself, my own work has included the relaying of information which made grammatical sense, but where I had no understanding of what was actually meant. Subsequently, that information was fully understood by the recipient, because of the context shared by both participants. This is different in kind to the sorts of (mis)understandings dealt with in the current thesis – the examples I

have chosen show the interpreter as unable to interpret due to problems due to hearing/seeing or understanding.

A common understanding of the term *interpreter* appears to project the image of a person who understands everything that is said in both languages, due to their skill in both languages. Any difficulties which arise in interpreting may appear to show incompetency in language skill, and can result in either the deaf or hearing client wondering why (or even asking the interpreter why) they do not know something. In order to elucidate some of the processes which create and resolve problems due to hearing/seeing, producing and understanding language in signed-spoken language interpreted interactions, this thesis uses the findings from the study of repair organisation to show that difficulties arise due to considerations other than simply language competence, vital though that is.

The study of repair organisation is situated in the field of conversation analysis (CA). CA is an approach used to consider *talk in interaction*. Drew (2005) described the term "conversation analysis" as a misnomer. Conversation analysis can be used to analyse talk which does not form part of what is generally termed conversation, but is more specifically *institutional interaction*. Such interaction would include doctor/patient appointments and police interviews. Indeed, the very first studies were performed on data which came from a suicide prevention phone line as described in the university lectures of Harvey Sacks. In section 2.2, the institutional nature of interpreting is discussed more fully, but it is worth noting at this point that interpreting jobs are sometimes advertised using the terms "social" or "networking" or sometimes "informal". The interpreter considering these jobs would gather from these terms that the assignments would be lunchtimes or evenings at an event, such as a conference, and would probably entail one deaf person in a group of hearing peers. The fact that the jobs were described in this particular way shows that the advertiser acknowledges the need to show how these jobs differ from the norm; that is, institutional interpreting assignments – doctor's, dentist's, or hospital appointments, visiting a solicitor, appearing in court, seeing one's supervisor and so on. The interpreter is rarely (but sometimes) booked for purely social occasions, although most interpreters would acknowledge that they would interpret on a casual basis if the need arose when

they were socialising with a group of deaf and hearing non-BSL users. Paid, or formal, work is most often between deaf and hearing clients who are unequal in status, with one of the two clients having a supervisory or advisory role, examples of which would be most commonly medical appointments (doctor/patient, nurse/patient, counsellor/patient, optician/patient, dentist/patient) and also work situations (supervisor/employee, interviewer/interviewee, HR/employee), telephone calls, and legal situations (solicitor/client, court official/defendent or witness, CAB/lay person) and so on. The information giving and receiving in these situations is perhaps what prompts the hiring of an interpreter (see also Roy 1989:116). There are, of course, meetings between peers, and community events, but mostly the work of a community interpreter involves professional/non- professional interaction. The divide is not deaf/hearing, however, and the person giving the advice, or information, is not necessarily the hearing person.

Conversation analysts use naturally occurring speech in order to discover and explicate the patterns in the organisation of language. This study builds upon the work of other researchers of signed language interpreted interaction who have used this approach (Metzger 1995; Roy 1989; Willoughby, Manns, Shimako and Bartlett 2014) and monolingual sign language conversations (Dively 1998 and Groeber and Pochon-Berger 2014).

At this point in the introduction, it is important to note that throughout this thesis the modal difference between a signed and a spoken language will affect the terminology which is used. Traditionally, when commenting on a signed language, it is not uncommon to use the verb 'to say' when describing signed communication. BSL users will report signed communication as "he/she said". One of the most common BSL signs for 'talk' is fully abstract, with no iconic reference to method of delivery of the talk (except, perhaps, that there is the binary use of two handshapes which are the same – perhaps suggesting dialogue). There is also another sign for 'talking to/with' which, again, uses a visual metaphor incorporating the dual nature of a conversation. This study is concerned with what individual participants 'say' in either language. Marking the distinction between 'saying' and 'signing' may confer an imbalance between the

methods of delivery of language, so I choose not to make the distinction unless it is necessary for the points being made.

Signed language research, having its roots in the 1970s and 1980s drew upon the work of spoken language research, as it does in sign language interpreter training. Goffman (1981) has been extremely influential in the training and, indeed, the rhetoric about interpreting.

Goffman challenged the traditional view of dyadic exchanges being between a 'speaker' and a 'hearer'. He proposed that the roles of 'speaker' and 'hearer' can be separable further: the speaker role can be split into the roles of author, animator, principal or figure; the hearer role can be split into the roles of addressed, or unaddressed, ratified or unratified participants, overhearers and bystanders (for a full description of these terms see Chapter 2). Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) described the coordination between speakers and hearers to be even more complicated than the model described by Goffman and remarked that hearers were also participants who were actively involved in the process of meaning making. They nevertheless agree that the layering of different kinds of speaker is a very powerful tool in describing the processes of participation in human interaction.

Another point to note throughout this work is the use of the words 'participant' and 'participate'. In this thesis the data used were a set of videos of three individuals – an English speaker, a BSL user and a BSL/English interpreter (the participants totalled six, but three were filmed at a time). The English speaker and the BSL user in each video were the primary participants, because they were talking to each other. According to Goffman, they are principal, author and animator of their talk. If the English speaker had been a BSL-user, and the conversation had taken place in BSL, the interpreter would not have been there. The BSL/English interpreter was a participant in so far as they formed part of the experiment, they were animator of the talk of one of the primary participants (for the other primary participant), but they were author of their version of what each primary participant had said. They were a participant in the study. The term 'participate' is one which will be revisited throughout the thesis.

Participation by interpreters is different to that of the primary participants and it is not simply a case of the interpreter either participating or not participating; the data showed that the interpreter participates to varying degrees based on the situation they find themselves in. Aspects of this gradation of participation (Chapter 2) have been described by Dean and Pollard (2001) as going from liberal to conservative, and by Tate and Turner (1997) as the adherence to a mechanistic understanding of the code of ethics, or a non-mechanistic one. Stone (2009) showed that Deaf Translators/Interpreters (DTIs) participated by taking responsibility for producing a stand-alone BSL text, rather than a translation. This study considers the participation of the interpreter in an interpreted interaction, when dealing with problems of hearing/seeing, producing and understanding language and, as such, will be explored within the rubric of repair organisation as defined in conversation analysis.

Wadensjö (1998) described *co-ordination* as central to the performance of interpreters. This co-ordination is not performed exclusively by the interpreter, it is also performed naturally by any participant in a conversation, but for the interpreter, it is part of their task of interpreting. Wadensjö (2012) described interpreted interaction and the task of interpreting as "complex"; an area which needs to be systematically explored and described. Further, she specified that while in some interpreted encounters, the mandate of the interpreter is known in advance, in others it is established and re-established through the course of the encounter. Seleskovitch (1998:53) described the need for the interpreter to have some knowledge of the subject matter in order to interpret it, but makes a caveat, saying that the interpreter uses comprehension skills more frequently than deep knowledge. The interpreter, she states, does not need to *know something* in order to interpret it. She does, however, need to be able to understand it (Seleskovitch 1978:53). Studies like this thesis are therefore necessary, due to the focus it has on the strategies used by interpreters to understand what has been said.

As was stated at the beginning of this chapter, the following thesis investigates how the British Sign Language/English interpreter speaks for herself when interpreting between an English- speaking non-BSL-using participant and a BSL-user. Having given

over their spoken voice to play the part of the deaf person, and having given up their body to play the part of the English- speaker, how does *the interpreter* speak for herself in order to coordinate her main task of interpreting?

The job of the interpreter is to speak on behalf of others. Whether professionally trained spoken or signed language interpreters, or bilingual members of the client's family, friends, teachers or other trusted professionals who are working ad hoc, the person *acting as an interpreter* is not expected, for the most part, to speak for herself. Such an act would appear odd, and may even be frowned upon by the recipients of their services (Berk-Seligson 1990:73-75; Frishberg 1990:27-8; Harrington and Turner 2001:xii; Mason 2001:ii; Pöchhacker 2004; Seleskovitch 1978:97-8; Wadensjö 1998:63). A family member or other non-professional go- between may be given more autonomy in terms of their adherence to interpreting standards. This is due in part to the trust between them that the deaf person's best interests are going to be at the forefront of the interpreter's mind. There is nevertheless an expectation that what is said by one person in one language will be said in the second language (Mindness 2006; Wadensjö 1998).

The expectation that what was said is passed from one person to the other without being changed is due to two factors. The first factor is that the behaviour of the professional interpreter does not (and should not) include contributing to the content of their clients' conversation. The following are two of the principles of professional practice as detailed on the Association of Sign Language Interpreters website.

> The interpreter: a) is impartial, maintains integrity and professionalism, keeping a professional distance, even in challenging situations and b) intervenes only to clarify meaning or to manage situations, e.g. to prevent misunderstanding and incorrect cultural inference, or to ensure that participants do not all speak at once. (www.asli.org)

Indeed, any opinion given by an interpreter about the *content* of what they are interpreting is irrelevant to the conversation between the two primary participants and could even be seen as "interfering" (Tebble 2012). Most monolingual interactions are not constrained in the same way, allowing all participants the option of contributing *as*

him- or herself. Partial participation, as displayed by the interpreter in an interpreted conversation, is therefore unusual. The interpreter and those who work regularly with interpreters may know that there are limits to interpreter participation, but those who are unused to working with interpreters may not. Full participation in non-interpreted conversation is more usual and therefore, any participation by the interpreter may at first be taken to be a change of state from non- participation to full participation, rather than a point on a scale of participation.

The second factor is the widely held, but false, belief that interpreting is a mechanical process of vocabulary substitution. If that were true, why then, would an interpreter *need* to participate? All they need do, surely, is to replace the words with signs, and signs with words. In fact, interpreting is anything but a mechanical process, as described in the work of Turner and Merrison (in press); Napier et al. (2010:1); Turner (2001:xi); and Wadensjö (1998:3).

1.1 Interpreter Participation

Dickinson (2010), Hale (2007), Metzger (1999), Napier et al. (2010), Pochhacker (2004), Roy (1989), Turner (2001), Van Herreweghe (2002) and Wadensjö (1998) have all shown that the interpreter is expected to participate in the interpreted interaction, but not at a content level. The opinions and expertise of the interpreter matter in the *execution* of the task of interpreting. Wadensjö (1992:266) coined the terms 'relayer'[2] and 'co-ordinator' to distinguish the work of 'doing interpreting' and 'participating as interpreter'. Wadensjö (1998) further distinguished between types of coordination: 'implicit' and 'explicit'. Implicit coordination is the coordination which is achieved when interpreting, or producing what Wadensjö (1998) calls a "rendition" (a rendition is the result of the source language being produced in the target language). In a situation where the languages are being produced in overlap, in this case when one language is visual/gestural and the other oral/aural, the interpreter is unable to produce both interpretations at once which means they find themselves having to

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2   This is not to be confused with the use of "relaying" found in Stone (2009), where the term is used by Deaf Translator/Interpreters to mean a less cohesive, less appropriate form of interpreting into BSL used by interpreters who are second language learners of BSL.

choose who speaks next (Roy 1989). Explicit coordination, according to Wadensjö (1998:108), involves "non- renditions", examples of which could be "requests for clarification" or for time to interpret what has already been said, comments about the process, invitations to speak and so on. This thesis considers these non-renditions, in particular requests for clarification, which is considered within repair organisation.

We have, then, two understandings of the job of an interpreter. There is the understanding backed by research, which is that the interpreter should be trusted to participate, but in a very specific way. Then there is the lay understanding, held by a number of their clients, that the interpreter should relay information, and should have no need to interject in any way unless they are lacking in competence. The subject of this thesis – the interjections of an interpreter – is something which is falsely deemed unnecessary by many of an interpreter's clients. This lends a certain tension to the choices an interpreter makes when considering whether or not to coordinate in an explicit way. Napier et al. (2010:34) note that "hearing and deaf consumers can usually only assess an interpreter's performance from the output they receive, and the behaviour they observe". If consumers are given a fluent, relevant delivery spoken or signed in their own language they will consider that to be a 'good' interpretation. What other concerns could there be? The interpreter is caught in the middle of the opposing views of a) their training and b) their experience in the field. No one wants to appear incompetent, but at the same time, in order to be professional, there are occasions when the need to interject is imperative. No interpreter can know everything about everything. There will always be concepts or terms which are outside the interpreter's knowledge. The interpreter *does not expect* to be able to know everything about everything. What they do need to be able to do is to comprehend quickly, as described by Seleskovitch (1978). This thesis shows that there are times when even the best comprehension skills are not enough if the information 'presented' to the interpreter is in some way insufficient for their current purposes. The needs of the clients should subordinate any hesitation on the part of the interpreter (even if the client does not want the interpreter to clarify (Campbell, Rohan and Woodcock 2008)). This is accepted by professional interpreters and taught in interpreter training programmes. (For more on this topic see Napier et al. 2010:83-85.) What an

interpreter knows to be true (that talk in interaction is messy) and what the consumers may assume (that a good interpreter 'just interprets' and is wholly responsible for cleaning up the messiness of talk) compounds an already complex task.

Dickinson (2010) found that sometimes the interpreter herself believed that she should 'just interpret'. Having this belief, an interpreter in Dickinson's study was challenged by the conflict between her own expectations of herself, and her knowledge that to 'just interpret' was impossible.

Another compounding difficulty is that of the interpreter being unable to act autonomously. Other service professionals such as nurses, doctors, vets, social workers, and so on, will mostly lead the conversation when executing their work and will explain their role if necessary, speaking for themselves the whole time. The amount the interpreter can explain her job is limited by the job itself. She needs to talk to two (or more) people, in different languages, and is expected to make sure that both parties are informed at the same time. Some clients will take on the role of describing the interpreting process, so that the interpreter can interpret what is being said to the second party. This is useful, and possibly best practice, as it gives the (usually) deaf client a voice, and demonstrates the role of the interpreter through example.

However, the interpreter is not then in control of what is being said about her role; she is reliant on the understanding that other person has of her job – which could be accurate, but it may not be. As soon as the interpreter starts to interpret, she does not contribute *content* to the conversation. She does not lead the conversation. The role of the interpreter can, therefore, sometimes be dictated by the *recipients* of her services, who will be more, or less, informed about her role. The interpreter is speaking for others, and is therefore unable to rectify any misunderstandings about her role *in the moment*, without inadvertently excluding one half of the interactive dyad. If she chooses not to explain herself, the interpreter risks being assessed against criteria which may be erroneous. Whilst in many cases this may not be a problem, misunderstandings about role can cause confusion about who is talking; the client or the interpreter (Metzger 1999). When possible, interpreters can take advantage of

Dean and Pollard's (2001) "pre-brief", a short pre-interview in which the interpreter can discuss the content of the meeting one-to-one with the less experienced user of interpreting services, and explain to the client(s) what they can expect from the interpreting process. The pre-brief process often mitigates against the misunderstandings clients may have (see also Turner 2001 and Napier 2005 on preparation). During the pre-brief, the interpreter does speak as herself and does not interpret and is able to guide her client(s) about the interpreting process. As soon as the interpreting starts, however, the input from the interpreter is considered over. By analysing the work of interpreters, I intend to contribute to the understanding of the nature of the difficulties faced by, and the strategies used, thus contributing to the understanding of interpreter as participant. This may provide a way that interpreters can reflect on their own practice and formulate what it is that they need to explain to their clients.

It is widely accepted academically (as noted above) that while interpreters do not lead the interactions they interpret, they do however *participate* in those interactions (Hale 2007; Pöchhacker 2004; Wadensjö 1998 inter alia). The participation they make is constrained, however, by the manner in which the interpreters participate. This thesis, drawing on the framework of CA, examines one type of participation used by two qualified British Sign Language / English interpreters in a series of interpreted interactions, specifically the times when the interpreter does not have enough information to continue to interpret. As mentioned in section 1.0 above, CA is the approach which has been used by a number of interpreter researchers. It is the study of *talk in interaction*. Much of the work in Interpreting Studies so far has concentrated on Conference Interpreting, the mono-directional interpreting of lectures or talks from one language to another without any direct exchange between addresser and addressees, this includes studies about the time delay (in number of seconds) between the source (the speaker) and the target language production (the interpreter's interpretation). Models (helper, conduit, semiotic, sociolinguistic, pedagogical, cognitive, bilingual-bicultural, text analysis and the discourse analysis models, see 2.2.5) have been produced to show the mapping of units of information from one language to the next. Due to the mono-directional nature of the interpreting of

lectures, such studies are concerned with how the target language is being re-presented in relation to the source language.

Dialogue Interpreting (which is the study of interpreting between two (or more) people who use different languages and who are talking to each other) has been included in Translation and Interpreting Studies (Hale 2007; Mason 2001; Pöchhacker 2004). This form of interpreting, in contrast to the more documented Conference Interpreting, is concerned with how either of the two primary participants (those who are talking to each other through the interpreter) understands the other, and the interpersonal relationship between the primary participants and the interpreter. Because this thesis is the examination of a series of signed/spoken conversations mediated by an interpreter, conversation analysis, with its specific approach to talk in interaction (see section 2.1), was chosen as the best fit for the type of research to be undertaken. Other approaches to signed language research are discussed further in Chapter 4.

CA is known for the consideration of the organisation of turns in conversation. The study of turn-taking concerns itself with how we can know when it is our turn to talk, how we can take or offer a turn at talk (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). Researchers such as Frischberg (1990) Metzger (1995), Roy (1989, 1996, 2000), Van Herreweghe (2002) and Wadensjö (1998) have all considered turn-taking in interpreted talk, with the interpreter working between two languages, and having to mediate *when* people talk, as well as *what they are saying*, with Frischberg (1990) designating the interpreter as a "communication cop" (1990:27). Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) went on to consider the 'organisation of repair', and this paper remains a seminal work for those interested in what is called the "self-righting mechanism for the organization of language use in social interaction" (1977:381). Dively (1998) focussed on repair sequences in ASL monolingual conversation, Groeber and Pochonberger (2014) considered turn-taking in the deaf classroom in the study of monolingual signed languages and Willoughby et al. (2014) have considered repair in Deafblind Australian Sign Language (recorded monolingual conversations and also lists of signs in isolation). Clarification requests have been considered in spoken language interpreting (Angelilli

2014) and sign language interpreting in healthcare situations (Major 2014). This thesis will continue that work, contributing to knowledge of repair organisation.

1.2 Interpreter Perspective

Interpreters, anecdotally, will refer to the difficulty of describing their role (or perhaps re- defining their role) when in the midst of interpreting from one language to the other. The most common reasons for interpreters to need to speak for themselves are when they do not understand something in the source language, when they do not know *which meaning was intended* when the source language was spoken or signed, or when they need more information in order to interpret. This study investigates this particular issue.

Often the role of the interpreter becomes germane when there are difficulties in understanding between interpreter and client or between clients – a time when the interpreter is working hardest due to faster exchanges between participants due to both parties attempting to use the 'self-righting mechanism' of repair (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). Interpreters often reflect on the best way to deal with these situations. It is at these points of difficulty in understanding that stress is at its highest and for the interpreter, the best way to get through these stressful times is to continue to be "other", that is to play the part of either primary participant, in order that the primary participants can reach an understanding between themselves.

If this is not possible, and the interpreter must intervene in order to continue to do their main task of interpreting, the intervention, or participation, by the interpreter is achieved more effectively by being unobtrusive and by participating as succinctly and as swiftly as possible. The more obtrusive the interpreter becomes, the more likely it is that either party will include the interpreter, *as herself*, in the conversation. When the interpreter is speaking for herself, she must somehow include both of her clients and thus her workload is much heavier. Interpreter trainer Beccy Field (personal communication) described how her students are told that there is a limited period of time in which to say the right thing in order to explain what is happening (difficulties in understanding, cultural difference, timing, or some other problematic cause). As a

practitioner myself, through time I may have become more skilled at explaining myself in these circumstances, but the situation itself remains complex. I know I must intervene, and I must speak for myself, but I have a limited amount of time to do so. It is important that the intrusion is swift, because either of the clients can become sidetracked, and forget what they were talking about if the intrusion is too long. It must also be effective due to the limited amounts of lenience on the part of those clients who believe an interpreter should 'just interpret'. Not all clients feel that way, but their beliefs often only become apparent in the moment the interpreter intervenes. Furthermore, if the intrusion is too long, clients may lose some faith in the interpreter's ability to interpret. They may start to question her abilities in a way they had not before. Straniero Sergio (2012) in his work with a male spoken language interpreter on an Italian talk show (talk shows feature greater visibility and involvement of the interpreter compared to other institutional contexts (Straniero Sergio 2012:71)) described how the interpreter and the interpretation process can become part of the entertainment. Repairs to the interpreter (questioning his proficiency), or questions about the interpreter's own repairs (ridiculing his seeming inadequacy) became part of the programme for the purposes of entertainment. Often, he pointed out, the hosts and the guests could speak both of the languages and were therefore able to comment freely on the choices made by the interpreter.

This research is intended to identify and describe the environments preceding interpreter repair in interpreted interaction. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) refer to these events as "trouble-sources". Knowing exactly why a problem has arisen, and being able to articulate that problem, is a skill which allows the interpreter to participate as co-ordinator of the interpreted conversation and go back to 'doing interpreting'. If the interpreter is able to clearly state the cause of the trouble, or if she is able to explain potential problems to her clients in advance, she can inform both parties more effectively. If the interpreter is not clear enough, she may become the focus of the talk and may be addressed personally, thus confusing matters further due to the interpreter needing to talk and to interpret what *she* is saying as well as what is being said to her. If the interpreter is clear about the reasons for the difficulty it will be easier to explain to others. It is at this time, the time when the interpreter has already

allocated her voice to be the voice of the deaf client, her hands and upper body to represent the hearing client, that the interpreter must do something more in order to display her own voice. She must display that she is now participating autonomously and must somehow take back her own body and voice to do so.

For most people, speaking for themselves is all that they do. Even if someone is advocating for another, it will be in their own words. Interpreters, however, spend most of their working day speaking *as* another. The topics they cover and the opinions they proffer, belong to another.

The emotions and reactions which they animate with language are not their own. Speaking *for* oneself is a separate skill. One example in my own life is the first conference I presented at as a researcher. It was not until my supervisor pointed it out that I realised that none of my slides displayed my name. This is not to say that interpreters are quiet, or meek, but that the skills they regularly use do not include speaking for themselves in the way that other practice professionals do.

Repair has been shown above as the work which is done between speakers in order to resolve a problem of listening, understanding or producing language (see also section 2.1.1). Dealing with a repair situation is, in and of itself, difficult. When it is the two clients who are repairing in an interpreted conversation, the interpreter will be *interpreting the repair* between the clients and will remain a relayer of information from one client to the other, without having to speak for/as herself. The focus of this thesis is not on this practice, although it is an area which deserves research. The focus here is on the times when the interpreter *herself* has difficulty in hearing/seeing, producing or understanding language.

Given the additional difficulties participation may cause, would the answer not be to simply gloss over any awkward parts, and avoid the resulting difficulties? This is a tack which some interpreters take. Clients may anecdotally express a preference for the interpreter who 'doesn't interrupt', or the one who seems to find it all very easy. These interpreters are either, extremely well prepared, and very, very good at their job

(and there are such interpreters), or they are avoiding the conflict which is at the heart of this thesis. Most deaf clients know that to be fully represented by their interpreter, they must be fully understood. In situations where the deaf client is due to present, such as at a conference, a recent practice is for the presenter to take the time to rehearse their whole presentation with their interpreters before the event itself. This practice allows the interpreters to have a trial run at producing an English interpretation, and even to make a recording of this interpretation in order to prepare fully for the performance later on. These clients understand that the better prepared their interpreter, the better their paper will sound to a hearing audience. Such detailed preparation is not possible in a dialogue interpreting situation, but preparation in terms of vocabulary and background are often given to (or requested by) the interpreter so that a better interpretation can be given (see Turner 2001). A recent client described the working relationship as a partnership. I believe this is the way forward for interpreters and their hearing and deaf clients. The more that is known by interpreters and their clients about the job of interpreting, the better we can be a partnership. This thesis will contribute to what is known about talk in interaction, and about interpreter participation.

1.3 The Research Aims and Questions

In order to make a contribution to furthering this partnership between interpreters and their clients, throughout this thesis I describe and analyse three aspects of the ways interpreters display the change of state from being *another* to being *themselves*. These three research questions were used to interrogate the data, choosing specifically those times when the interpreter speaks for herself in a repair sequence – when she has difficulties with hearing/seeing, producing or understanding language.

The first question was designed to discover *when* an interpreter finds it necessary to speak for herself in order to repair.

RQ1   In which environments does the interpreter most commonly repair as herself?

I will start by explaining the above research question. Firstly, the word 'environment' in this thesis refers to sequential/temporal positions in interaction. I mentioned above that sign language interpreters will discuss the problems due

to having to repair, which concomitantly means to interrupt the main speaker(s) of either language, and to interrupt the flow of the exchange between primary participants. We do so because it is stressful, and because we are sometimes challenged (see Straniero Sergio 2012) about our abilities as interpreters, which may result in loss of trust between participants and interpreter. Because we are working and not observing ourselves in these moments, it is easier to remember what happened when communication broke down, rather than the precipitating factors. This research question seeks to find the precipitating factors, those buildings up of difficulty which lead to the interpreter choosing to ask for more information, or for confirmation that the information they had inferred was correct. Why, this question asks, does the interpreter need to repair?

I have already described above that interpreters can find themselves having to align with the expectations of their clients or with those of their training. The investigation into *when* interpreters choose to repair is important because it is evidence of one expectation having greater strength than the other. There is always a cost when there is misunderstanding. The cost may be to the primary participants who are talking; their meaning has been changed by the interpretation process. The cost may be to the primary participants who are "listening"; they believe that the interpretation that they receive is what has been said by the other person. The cost may be to the interpreter; they must show their lack of understanding and potentially hold themselves up to ridicule, or more importantly, may damage the trust which had been bestowed on them as "all-knowing" and solely responsible for communication. Most interpreters would not even consider the ridicule perspective, but would be more concerned with the second. Much of what an interpreter does is based on client confidence in their abilities which usually means that they can "do the job", but those abilities include knowing when they do not know something. Interpreters have a primary aim and that is to allow both parties to understand the other. Asking for more information, checking that the information is right, these actions are part of the maintenance of trust and the goal of allowing either party to understand the other. Whether that be an old lady who now knows when to take her medication or a drunk driver in custody who now knows what the form is that he is signing, the interpreter should put the cost to herself of repairing before the cost to the client of not understanding.

Having found out "when" the interpreter repairs, the next step is a fine-grained analysis of *how* the interpreter displays their change of state from relayer to participant.

RQ2   How does the interpreter signal that she is repairing and not interpreting?

We have established that the interpreter has allocated her voice to play the part of the deaf person, and her body to play the hearing person. The results from this research question illuminaome linguistic, extra-linguistic or para-linguistic behaviour on the part of the interpreter in either or both languages which highlight the switch from *other* to *self*.

The third aspect in this thesis is the response by the recipient(s) of interpreter participation.

RQ3   How do the primary participants respond to the interpreter's repair?

When interpreting, I would hope that my own attempts at eliciting a response for my own repair behaviour would be that the person being addressed gave me the answer/information I sought. Other possible responses could be that the addressee did not know they were being addressed, or that they misunderstood "who" was doing the addressing.

These three research questions will enable the exploration of part of the repair process in interpreted interaction. The results found in this thesis will inform interpreter training by formalising the flashpoints in the interpreting process, and allowing interpreters to prepare for them. Through the search for answers to the above questions, this study will contribute to knowledge about repair, sign language interpreting and interpreting in general.

1.4   Outline of the Thesis

This thesis does not follow the usual pattern of introduction, literature review, methodology, analysis, findings, discussion and conclusion. Due to the nature of the project which spans signed languages, interpreting studies, signed language interpreting studies and signed and spoken linguistics this thesis has a different structure. There are two chapters discussing methodology, and one large chapter divided into three parts for the analysis and findings. There is also an appendix (Appendix B) containing the transcripts of the examples (the smaller, more specific fragment is in the body of the text), and a CD which complements the thesis by allowing the reader to view the clips on the CD.

Therefore after this introductory chapter, the rest of this thesis is set out as follows. **Chapter 2** is a review of the literature relating to CA, and to repair as a topic within CA and the broader areas of joint action, intersubjectivity and referencing. I then move on to examine the literature pertinent to this thesis within the area of Interpreting Studies. After this outline of Interpreting Studies in general, I review the work on sign language interpreting. As mentioned in 1.1, CA has been used in sign language interpreting studies and sign linguistics studies, and that work will be reviewed here. The status of the interpreter as being (predominantly) hearing people are also reviewed in this chapter, as is my status as a hearing researcher of sign language.

After the literature review, **Chapter 3** outlines the larger project of which this study forms a part. In this chapter, I describe the methods used by my colleagues to design the project and to collate the data. I discuss here the methodology of this team.

Having chosen to use the data from the larger project, I discuss the reasons for doing so in **Chapter 4**, and I then describe my own method and methodology in manipulating these data.

In **Chapter 5** I deal with the analysis of the three research questions, and as such consider the environments in which the interpreter interjects, and speaks for herself. I then detail the structures of such interjections, and consider the responses by the primary participants to the interpreter's interjections.

In **Chapter 6** I take the findings from the previous chapter, and outline what contribution these findings can make to the areas of Sign Language Interpreting, Sign Linguistics, Interpreting Studies and Conversation Analysis. I then summarise and evaluate the thesis, and consider possibilities for further study.

1.5 Summary

In this chapter I have described the nature of the problem of an interpreter speaking for herself. I have also set the study within the context of the profession of interpreting. I have stated the position of an interpreter. The research aims were introduced generally and the specific research questions of this thesis were described in more detail. An outline of the structure of the thesis has been provided as well as the motivation for the thesis, based on personal experience as a professional interpreter. Chapter 1 introduced interpreting studies, the concept of interpreter participation, and the reason for the study, which is to investigate the *participation* of the interpreter in dialogue interpreting. There are different ways that an interpreter can participate and *repair* is the type of participation which is the focus of this study. Chapter 1 described how this study relates to the real-world problem of the interpreter in her task of *co-ordination* in order to do her primary task of *relaying*. Chapter 2 continues by describing how this thesis relates to language in interaction and to sign language interpreting.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Chapter 2 outlines the scholarly work in the three areas of study pertinent to the thesis: conversation analysis; interpreting (spoken and signed); and the intersection of signed and spoken languages and conversation analysis.

Section 2.1 starts by describing Conversation Analysis, as the lens through which the study is viewed. Then I continue with the concept of joint action as the basis of all communication (Clark 1996). Consideration is then given to the notion of intersubjectivity and referencing and then more specifically, the phenomenon of repair. This section continues by introducing the concepts of 'underspecificity' and 'ambiguity' as defined in this thesis and applied to repair sequences.

Section 2.2 considers further the participation of the interpreter working in spoken and signed languages. Section 2.3 details the work done by interpreter researchers using CA.

2.1 Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA) is the systematic analysis of natural data. The close scrutiny demanded by this approach allows the researcher to consider the potential relevance of all talk in interaction. The meticulous micro-analysis of the data allows the analyst to identify patterns which can then be tested against further natural data. Coupled with a close analysis of data, CA holds that talk is recipient designed for the immediately relevant parties; as Schegloff (1987b) states, utterances are "produced by the parties for one another and were designed, at least in part, by reference to a set of features of the interlocutors, the setting, and so on that are relevant for the participants" (1987b:209). Further to the claim that talk is recipient designed, CA describes a "sequential architecture of intersubjectivity" (Heritage 1984:108), that is, each utterance is built upon the utterance which comes before it. If this is the case, then the utterances of the interpreter will also become part of the sequential

architecture. Choices the interpreter makes between participating as herself, or not, are therefore part of this architecture. CA takes the stance that conversation is locally organised, and that next turns display understanding of previous turns (Heritage 1984).

CA takes the premise that orderliness is locally situated (Sacks 1987). By this it is meant that an utterance means *what it is taken to mean* by the next speaker. Repair sequences are not always resolved in next utterance (Schegloff et al. 1977). As mentioned in earlier sections, repair is the effort we go to in order to immediately deal with what is known as a trouble- source, a mis-hearing, a mis-production, a mistake, or some other problem of understanding (Schegloff et al. 1977). If an interpreter repairs for herself she runs the risk of creating another, new, trouble-source, simply by behaving differently to how she is expected to behave (Lerner, Kitzinger, Raymond and Guimares 2014). If the recipient of her repair understands that she has changed state (from relayer to coordinator), this behaviour may be less likely to create a new trouble-source. If, however, the recipient does not understand this new position or stance, it could lead to more confusion. The recipients in these data react in different ways to the participation by the interpreter. Sometimes they reply to the interpreter, sometimes they reply (mistakenly) to the other participant.

Previous researchers (Dickinson 2010; Metzger 1995; Napier 2001; Roy 1989; Stone 2009) have interviewed interpreters for their studies. The interpreters in these studies have been asked about the interpreting decisions they made, and how they felt about those decisions. Sometimes these interviews have included watching video playback in order to prompt the interpreter in relation to their decision making. The benefits of such procedures are clear; however, interviews will not form part of this thesis. According to Heritage (1984), CA as a discipline has been a distinctive field, both in methodology and findings, and has been seen to be "strongly cumulative and interlocking" (Heritage 1984:234). CA practitioners have historically chosen to avoid certain research methodologies "as unsatisfactory sources of data" (Heritage 1984:236) when considering talk in interaction.

Heritage listed these as:

(1)   the use of interviews;

(2)   the use of field notes;

(3)   the use of native intuitions as a means of inventing examples;

(4)   the use of experimental methodologies involving the direction or manipulation of behaviour. (Taken from Heritage 1984:236).

The reason for these exclusions is that "empirically occurring interaction" has a depth and a richness which invented material does not (Heritage 1984:236).

Psathas (1995:7) describes the early researchers as "achieving a science that was grounded in a descriptive phenomenology of the mundane world". When describing language without recourse to any of the surrounding background information, patterns could be found which were not dependent on the relationships between the speakers. I am using data which have been gathered by others, and although I could have gone back to the participants and interviewed them about the reasons behind the linguistic decisions they had made, I chose not to do so. Not interviewing the participants does not mean that I am losing information, in fact from a CA perspective, interviews are not necessary.

2.1.1   Joint Action

Clark (1996:21) asserts that the act of one person speaking to another and that second person speaking back is a *joint action*. Talk is not a code produced by one person to be decoded by a second. When people talk to each other, the very first act is one individual *addressing* another. The addressed individual must know that it is *they* who are being addressed. A conversation cannot continue unless the addressee knows that the sounds (signs) being made by the speaker are being made for them. Both parties must be paying attention to the same stimulus, and the addressee must identify the utterances being made for them. These component parts of speaking and listening have been described by Clark as a series of paired actions.

Speaking	Listening
1a) A vocalises sounds for B	1b) B attends to A's vocalisations
2a) A formulates utterances for B	2b) B identifies A's utterances
3a) A means something for B	3b) B understands A's meaning

Table 1 Paired Actions of Speaking and Listening

1a)   A vocalises sounds for B

When A talks to B, the sounds that A vocalises, and the words that she chooses for B are for B alone, based on what they know of each other. These vocalisations must be in a form which is accessible to B. For example, A must take into account B's distance from A, or any possible effects of environmental noise. A's whisper from a distance would not appear to be for B.

1b)   B attends to A's vocalisations

B must be listening to A in order for B to be in a position to understand A's vocalisations. If B is listening to something else, B may not be attending to A's vocalisations. Or, if B does not realise that the vocalisations are for him, he may not be attending to the sounds. If the sounds are not at the correct volume, B may not be attending to A's vocalisations.

2a)   A formulates utterances for B

A will produce utterances based on what she believes B knows. This is known as recipient design. If they are strangers, A will be more explicit. If they know each other well, A will use the information which is shared by both parties (or the *common ground* that they share) when formulating utterances for B.

2b)   B identifies A's utterances

B must identify the words used by A. If A is using a different language to the language B speaks, B will not be able to identify what is being said. If A is too far away, B will not be able to identify what A has said.

3a)   A means something for B

A designs her utterance with B as her target audience. A's utterance may be unintelligible to
another person, but is meaningful for B.

3b)   B understands A's meaning

B understands a meaning of the meaning that A has designed for him. The meaning which prompted A's utterance is correctly deciphered by B, as opposed to a possible, but incorrect, understanding made by someone for whom the utterance was not designed.

In order to describe the process the procedure for speaking and listening Clark (1996) developed a model (see Table 1 above). His model involved sounds being made by one person, an acknowledgement by the listener that those sounds are words, and that those words have meaning, and that meaning has intent, and that something is being presented to another in order for meaning to be transferred. It presumes the speaker and addressee are the active participants in the conversation. The structures of talking, and repairing and contributing to discourse, are all oriented to one-to-one interaction.

The subject of this thesis, however, is that of the one-to-one conversation as mediated by an interpreter. As soon as an interpreter is included in these pairs of actions, an intermediary stage is created, a stage which is the understanding made by the interpreter (who may know neither party). Whatever understanding the interpreter comes to about the utterance made by A will be the version which is the starting point for the understanding B makes. B cannot make sense of what A said, only what the interpreter *said* she said.

For example, if A is using a different language to that spoken by B, B would know that A was speaking if he could hear what sounds like language coming from A, and typically, A would be looking at B. B would have an expectation that the interpreter would at some point (but fairly soon) tell him what A had said. The interpreter would do this by producing a version of what A had said, but in the language that B speaks. If A and B used a signed language, movement which looks like signed language produced by A, who was looking at B would be understood by B to be addressed to him. B would have an expectation that the interpreter would reproduce what had been said by A in the language signed by B. If only one person used a signed language, the situation is very different. If A signed, and B was reading something, or looking the other way, or simply not aware that movement could be construed as language, only the interpreter would

know that B had been addressed. The interpreter would not only have to interpret what A said into the language B used, but would also have to get B's attention, and inform them that A was addressing them. Unlike in the examples of the different language users who shared the same mode of language, B would not have an expectation that he would soon be addressed by the interpreter "as A", in fact B may have been about to say something themselves. In that case, when the interpreter started to speak (as A) they would have appeared to be interrupting. If A used spoken language, and B used signed language, then the same problem would need to be resolved the other way. A would naturally have an expectation that having spoken (if the volume of their speech was appropriately loud) they had been heard, and having been heard, they had been understood. It would only be the interpreter who had heard, and the interpreter would know that B's attention would need to have been gained before what A had said could be produced in the signed language B used. Usually, the interpreter would need to be respectful about how they gained that attention, and would possibly wait until B raised their head before signing what A had said. B could have been raising their head in order to say something, and could perceive the immediate production of A's talk as an interruption.

As far as 2a and 2b are concerned, the interpreter has a further hurdle; if A formulates her utterance for B, it would be formulated in order to correspond with what A believes B knows. There is no guarantee that the interpreter also knows what A and B know (see section 4.5.6). Somehow, the interpreter must have access to what is known. This can be achieved by both parties (A and B) making their interaction more accessible; by the interpreter realising that she needs to have something made accessible; or the interpreter must make a best guess.

As for 3a and 3b, the meaning made by A for B is not guaranteed to be opaque to the interpreter, despite clarity of articulation or reference. One example of which could be the statement "What about the game yesterday?". The inference here could be that the team supported by A and B won; or they lost; or took a long time; or the match attracted a streaker; lost a striker due to a foul. Unless the interpreter knows which of these (or many others) the inference meant by A would be inaccessible. The

interpreter could choose to interpret the meaning "there was a game yesterday, and there was something interesting about it", and this would be acceptable, but would be much less informative than the original, simply because the meaning meant for B was not known by the interpreter. At each of the six stages in Clark's (1996) model the interpreter can make a mistake in understanding just as much as the primary participants. Conversely, they may make an understanding that the primary participants may not have intended. The work of an interpreter is to make quick decisions about the meaning(s) intended, and any possible other meanings, so that the most appropriate meaning can be chosen and interpreted.

In uninterpreted interaction there is a separate possibility of potential misunderstanding at each of the six stages, and yet people appear to understand each other sufficiently in everyday life in order to function as a society. This seeming paradox was addressed by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) two decades before Clark (1996) when they wrote about the ways that addressers and addressees systematically work any misunderstandings through; they called this area of study 'repair' (see sections 1.3, 1.4 and 2.1.2). In order for interlocutors to be able to work through any misunderstandings, they must be able to form *an understanding* of the other person's point of view, that is, to be able to see the world from more than one perspective. The ability to consider the perspective of the other person is described in the next section as "intersubjectivity".

2.1.2 Intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity is a term used to describe the relationship between people, most usually as shared affective, intentional and cognitive states of mind. When treating language as a series of actions, it is possible for different levels of meaning to be addressed. The statement "It's a bit cold in here" may be a straightforward statement of fact, or it may be an invitation for someone other than the speaker to make the room less cold, by closing a window, for example. Speakers make sense of what is being said by the other person, utterance by utterance. Interpreters must make sense of what was said in two ways; first to themselves, and then to another, who then makes sense of the sense given to them by the interpreter.

Schegloff (1992) stated that intersubjectivity is first transmitted through primary socialisation in childhood, and secondly through the later segregation into social units which diverge culturally (1992:1296). A shared understanding of the world was that of individual minds encountering an external world. This was seen as the basis for an intersubjective understanding of reality: both physical and social (Schegloff 1992:1296). The main thrust of the term "intersubjectivity" is that a healthy human mind is a socialised one. We share knowledge of the world to greater or lesser extents with all the people we talk to. The process by which we negotiate what is mutually understood is what Janzen and Shaffer (2008:334) refer to as the "on-going negotiation of meaning". They described the position the interpreter takes as the third party in a conversation, and how "contextualization" plays a part in "managing others' shared and non-shared knowledge". Their paper discussed the part played by interpreters' assumptions about the participants' shared and non-shared knowledge. All discourse includes a balance of information which is new and information which is known, in order that the new information can be assimilated into the known, and the balance of old and new information allows for a discourse not to be "overly redundant or disconnected" (Givón 1984). Janzen and Shaffer (2008: 334-5) asserted that "contextualizing" in discourse may be something which all languages speakers do; that it was a part of the normal negotiation of meaning. They further stated that some aspects of this negotiation were required by the grammar of the language, and some were optional.

> In on-line discourse where meaning is co-constructed, interlocutors navigate based on pragmatic factors and assumptions, choosing from lexical and grammatical options to construct utterances they believe will signal their intended sense. On the other hand, if something is required by the grammar, the speaker or signer has no choice but to use it. (Janzen and Shaffer 2008:335).

Using the premise that meaning is co-constructed and based on pragmatic factors such as the delicate balancing of decisions about choices between different grammatical constructions, Janzen and Shaffer went on to discuss the work of Lawrence (1995) who described seven features of ASL, termed "expansions". ASL/English interpreters are often taught these seven features of ASL as *the ways* to interpret English into ASL.

Janzen and Shaffer (2008) believed these "expansions" were a simplification and a misrepresentation of ASL grammar. Better, they claimed, to use the concept of "contextualization" (Janzen and Shaffer 2008) following on from (Gile 1995). The premise of co-construction, and that discourse was navigated utterance by utterance is pertinent to this study. Janzen and Shaffer (2008) were clear that the interpreter must have a range of language and discourse strategies in order to represent what either speaker has produced in the other language. They stated that it was not feasible to narrow down language into a number of puzzles to be solved with set translations. The study of interpreted interaction in the manner of Janzen and Shaffer (2008) was also a way to view the very complex nature of intersubjectivity in monolingual interaction.

As well as grounding our new knowledge with old, speakers also give cues to their interlocutors as to what type of function their utterances are going to have. These cues are apparent from the outset of the utterance. The interpreter, therefore, needs to be able to display that her repair is functioning as a repair from the outset. Schegloff (1987a:74) considered the importance of turn beginnings as a place to project the "shape" of the turn a speaker is about to embark upon. This shape could function as a question, a statement, a rejection, a refusal, or other types of performative function; collectively known as speech acts (Searle 1975). Turn beginnings are one of the places to position one's talk in terms of, for example, quoting "he said ..."; denying "no, that's not ..."; disagreeing "well, I'm not sure if ..." and so on. This contributes to the intersubjectivity or the common understanding that speaker and hearer have. Part of the joint action when communicating is to make each contribution as informative as possible to the addressee (cf Grice's Maxim of Quantity 1975 see below). Despite the effort speakers undertake in order to make themselves understood, they still may be misunderstood. Schegloff (1987b) described how social standing, or minority-majority culture differences may explain difficulties in understanding, citing the difficulties between "young 'lower-class' black/chicano students" and their "anglo-middle-class middle-aged teachers" (Schegloff 1987a:202). However, these conversations are rarer than the everyday conversations which take place between individuals who are more socially matched. Cultural differences are discussed further in the next section.

Before the next section, I would like to define Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975). According to Grice, there is a rough principle to which .he considers most participants will follow, that is to "make your conversational contributuion suc as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice 1975:45). Additionally, there are four maxims to which a speaker and an interlocutor will expect to adhere, and these fall into the categories of Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner. For each of these Maxims, Grice provides some more specific maxims;

Quantity: Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).

Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.
Do not say what you believe to be false.
Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation: Be relevant

Manner: Be perspicuous.

Grice observes that some of these maxims are more important than others. For example, saying something which is known not to be true is more important than taking too much time to tell the truth. Grice uses these maxims to describe the expectations people have of each other when conversing. It can be seen in the data in this thesis that transgressions of these maxims are approached with surprise or confusion when they are encountered in natural interaction.

2.1.2.1 Cultural differences

Those shared understandings of language, culture and interpersonal information which are common to participants in a conversation are sometimes referred to as

'mutualities'. Despite the fact that many scholars agree that participants in a conversation make the effort to understand the other person and to make themselves understood as much as possible, little is known about the process by which they do this. Further, Foppa (1995:149) considered the amount that interlocutors can know about what the other person understands. Using counselling dialogues as his data, Foppa (1995) maintained that the fact that one person sought advice, and the other gave it, produced a certain amount of structure in these dialogues. The aim of the dialogue is to understand each other sufficiently for the advisor to give appropriate advice, and for the receiver to understand the advice sufficiently for the advice to be taken and used effectively. Foppa (1995:150) described the fact that participants in conversations generally appear to have no problems understanding or being understood, suggesting that there are shared mutualities in these situations, but he also wrote that people "frequently behave *as if* they have understood". His conclusion was that there is no way to know whether someone has understood, except by whether they reply appropriately or not.

In CA this is referred to as being "locally appropriate". In Foppa's dialogues, advice needed to be shown to have been given and received. This was achieved, he asserted, by the way the interlocutor replies. For an interpreter, there is less scope for behaving as if she has understood. The understanding reached by the interpreter is immediately available to the other person, who then sees that as definitively what had been said. The interpreter therefore, is tasked with more than a primary participant.

Foppa (1995) gave various reasons for partial understanding: not listening; not being interested; not wanting to give away their lack of knowledge; being satisfied with a partial understanding; or in fact believing that they have understood when they have not. He goes on to describe how this partial understanding becomes a difficulty when it is linked to a performance. The performance he is referring to is that of a task, where instructions are given and the accuracy of the following of those instructions gives some indication of how well the instructions are understood. The performance of an interpreter is the act of interpreting.

Every time an interpreter interprets, they are performing *their understanding* of what was said (see also Turner 2001). Additionally, they are performing *the version* of their understanding which they believe will be understood by the other person. Every utterance produced by an interpreter is designed in order to be understood (whether that is achieved or not). An interpreter needs to consider not only what she knows and understands, she must also take into account what she believes the other two (or more) primary participants know or understand. Signed languages, with their additional attention to visual detail, force the spoken to signed language interpreter to decide upon *an* understanding in a more definite way than someone who is simply receiving the language (i.e. in a non-interpreted conversation) and subsequently to produce that understanding, thereby closing off all other understandings for the recipient of the interpretation.

There is an urban myth amongst interpreters about a Liverpudlian BSL/English interpreter who when interpreting a conversation between two people about a turkey, hesitates when interpreting the utterance "Can you get Kosher turkeys?" and repairs with the speaker "Do you mean "not robbed"?". The interpreter knew the metaphorical meaning (legal, legitimate, above-board), but did not consider/know the literal one (according to Jewish law). The interpreter chose to find out whether her understanding was correct. The consequences of that interpreter not repairing, and using her first understanding as the only understanding, could have been that the deaf person might have been offended that the hearing person thought they would either steal, or be involved in stealing. If there were no offence taken, the answer may come back "No", which is the answer to whether the turkey is stolen, but the questioner would come away from the conversation believing that it is not possible to get Kosher turkeys. Both parties would have believed that they had asked and answered the other person, when in fact one of them had asked a question, e.g. 'Is it possible to obtain Kosher turkeys?', which had been relayed as 'So, I assume this turkey was not stolen?', and so the answer would not have been 'locally appropriate'. In the myth, the interpreter used her own intuition[3], and decided that the understanding she had (i.e. Kosher = legal) was inappropriate, and she decided to make sure. This is an extremely

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[3] I write "intuition" but such feelings about language often come about from years of practice.

important point to make, and it comes up in the data; the interpreter is not there to "decide" what is, or is not appropriate. However, if there is something which appears to be out of the blue, or surprising in some way, it is worth making sure. The trouble source could be that a word had been misheard or mis-seen.

2.1.2.2 Referencing and Mutual Knowledge

Clark and Marshall (1978) wrote about how speakers normally make sure that "our audience "shares" with us a certain knowledge about that thing" (1978:57). Introducing the Mutual Knowledge Paradox, the authors described the difficulties faced by addresser and addressee when they are creating together a "definite reference" – for example, referring to "that shirt", or "last night's movie".

Clark and Marshall (1978) described shared knowledge in terms of a sequence of facts which are known by either party individually and by both parties collectively. Using the film "Monkey Business" as a referent, Clark and Marshall (1978) set a scene where two people go to see a film. In order for the two people (Ann and Bob) to talk about the film they have seen by using the utterance "What did you think of the movie?", the person speaking (Ann) must know that the movie being discussed is Monkey Business. It is not enough that Ann knows which movie it is, she must believe that the other person (Bob) knows which movie is being talked about. *Believing* that the other person knows which movie is being referred to is not sufficient either, as the other person *may not know*. There must be some reason why Ann believes Bob knows, such as in this case co-presence at the movie. Just because Ann knows that Bob knows which movie is being referred to this is still not enough to determine definite reference, because Bob needs to know that Ann also knows which movie is being referred to. The authors stated that this pattern of knowing can go on indefinitely. What needs to be known for definite reference is described by Clark and Marshall (1978) as follows:

> For Ann to be sure that her reference goes through, she must put herself in Bob's shoes, reason as Bob would, and make sure that he would identify the intended referent uniquely (Clark and Marshall 1978:58).

Clark and Marshall (1978) were describing the processes between two speakers of the same language. Janzen and Shaffer (2008) described "contextualizing" as being the same as what those people did, putting themselves in the other person's shoes. The speakers of the same language behave in the same way an interpreter does. However, interpreters must do the task of considering the other person's viewpoint in two directions. Firstly, they must consider another's viewpoint when understanding the source language (what does person A mean?), and also when producing the target language (what does person B know?). Ann is interacting with Bob, and considering what Bob does or does not know about. If Ann were an interpreter, she would be working with Bob and another person, Carol. Ann would need to know (or try to assess) what Bob knows, and also what Carol knows.

Clark and Marshall (1981) elaborated on their earlier work by asking how speakers and listeners assess mutual knowledge. They decided that the idea that speaker and listener work through an infinite number of statements was not tenable, given that each of these infinite number of statements would need to happen in real time and, if so, no one would ever be able to say anything. Following this conclusion, the Mutual Knowledge Paradox of 1978 became obsolete. Clark and Marshall (1981:26-27) preferred the model of heuristics as the method of assessing mutual knowledge. These heuristics include making a guess at what the other person knows; or by choosing something which is close enough to what the other person knows for that person to then try to understand. Clark and Marshall (1981) described the processes used by the addressee to work with the addresser to understand if these guesses are not understood: looking puzzled, asking for clarification, showing by other means that they have not understood. By describing the process which is at work when assessing another person's knowledge of a referent as being guesswork much of the time, they allow for both "felicitous definite reference" (guessing closely enough to allow the listener to make the right choice of referent) and "non-felicitous definite reference" (guessing "wildly", and causing the listener to ask for clarification

In an interpreted interaction, the guesswork done on the part of each primary participant may well be designed for the other primary participant, just as it is in an

uninterpreted, monolingual conversation. In the words of Clark and Marshall (1981:55) "the way a speaker prepares [to talk to someone] is by accessing his model of the listener". The difficulty here is that the interpreter needs to be included in this process in some way, in order for definite referencing to be passed from the first to the second primary participant. It is true that the interpreter could seek clarification from either the first or the second primary participant by asking "What do you mean?" or "Do you understand what s/he means?". However, if the ideal is a "felicitous definite reference", then an ideal situation is that the referent forms part of the mutual knowledge of the primary participants, *and* the interpreter, or that the interpreter is included in the dialogue by being given pertinent information before or during the interaction.

As far as the speakers in a monolingual conversation are concerned, Schegloff (1992) observes that these speakers display through their talk the understanding they have made of the previous turn. Through this display of their understanding, they can "reveal understandings that the speakers of that prior talk find problematic" (1992:1300). He states that a hearer can only make an understanding of what they hear, and respond to that. It is when the understanding they have differs from what was meant, that we can see that meaning is not something which is absolute. In an interpreted conversation, the 'hearer' will hear *the interpreter's understanding* before they are able to make an understanding of their own, making them one step further away from the source than in an uninterpreted conversation.

In her work with Aboriginal Australian languages, Seyfeddinipur and Gullberg (2014) described the telling of a story about a boat capsizing. The same man, two years apart, described what had happened; both times this was captured on video. In 1980, the man described the actions of the boat with his hands when telling the story and the boat was shown to be beaten over by the sea in a particular direction. Two years later, in 1982, the same man told the same story, but the way he described the capsizing of the boat with gesture was different. The boat was shown to be travelling in a different direction, but the sea beat it over in the same relative direction as was shown in the first telling. Not only were the angles different, but one way was more physically complicated to produce than the other.

After much deliberation over the reasons for the difference in gestural content, including memory loss over time, or the gesture being not important, the researchers came to the conclusion that the description of the boat capsizing was being produced in accordance with true north. For these speakers, there is no "my north", it is always absolute north. This explains the direction of the boat; the teller was simply standing in a different position to true north during the first and second tellings. Seyfedinnipur's work shows how languages have their own conventions, and an interpreter working from another language into that Aboriginal language would need to either know which direction the boat was facing in relation to true north and include it in their interpretation, or they would need to ask. The difficulty with asking is that the person using language X, which does not express true north as a feature, may not know the direction, not having had any need to remember, or to find out. If the interpreter knew that there was no point in asking which direction the boat was going (because language X does not incorporate true north in its gestural conventions), another option is to choose an arbitrary relation to true north. Again, the recipient would access this model of what *might have happened*, rather than how it had actually happened. The recipient would receive the interpreter's understanding of what had happened. BSL does not have such strict adherence to absolute north, south, east or west, but rather adheres to the conventions that left and right, north, south, east and west are relative to those of the signing space, and *of the signer*.

Stratiy (2005) remarked upon certain practices by interpreters in which they spoke as if they had been present when the event had happened, rather than reporting what had happened. She claimed that such perspective-taking was to be avoided. She described an interpreter interpreting an event such as a car crash, and signing as if they had been present – showing the whiplash of the driver of the car, or showing the emotion on the face of the driver as the car sped towards the crash. This, she believed, was false, and by the very nature of the job of interpreting, the interpreter could not have been there at the time, so how could they describe it in this way? Reported speech was preferred, but adding what Stratiy (2005) believed to be unnecessary visual information, was felt to be inappropriate. Normal practice for interpreters would be to use role shift in order to represent what had been said in the source language. If, for example, the

English speaker said that they had been in a car crash, and had had a neck brace for four months afterwards, it would be expected that some of this detail would be shown by the interpreter, using role shift. It is very interesting that this particular form of interpreting is not accepted by Stratiy (2005), given that interpreters speak *for and as* others as a matter of course.

As a practitioner, I have sometimes observed clients look away from an interpreter's prolonged "descriptive" interpreting. There is often a tendency for an interpreter to go into a lot of additional visual detail in order to make a point clear (or perhaps even to get a response from their client that they have understood). The looking away is due to the client signalling that they have understood, and the additional information is excessive and as a consequence, over the years I have tended to make such descriptions shorter, what a colleague termed "micro" descriptions. The decisions made by clients (to look away in order to signal the interpreter to stop) would suggest that Stratiy's (2005) position is one shared by others. The difficulty for interpreters, however, is how to produce grammatical information in a way which will be understood. Janzen and Shaffer (2008) (see above) considered Lawrence's (1995) work on expansions to be an oversimplification of the grammar of ASL. While all the seven features of language described by Lawrence (1995) occur in ASL, their use is not prompted by a necessity in the grammar of ASL, but rather by "pragmatic principles having to do with negotiating the information exchange" (Janzen and Shaffer 2008:335).

Clark and Marshall (1981) considered the negotiation of meaning through the treatment of the concept of mutual knowledge; separating it into two varieties. They described mutual knowledge as being i) knowledge of *kinds* of things (generic) and ii) knowledge of *particular* things. Clark and Marshall (1981) state that when a person refers to a particular thing, they are also referring to its generic status as well as its particular status.

> Generic knowledge comes in generic sentences like: Lions roar; A canary is a bird; Rooms each have a floor, a ceiling, at least three walls, at least one door, and they may have windows, carpets, lights, and so on. Particular knowledge normally comes in non-generic sentences that refer to particular things, like: That lion roared just now; Our canary is yellow; and The room I

am in now has a floor, a ceiling, four walls, two doors, a skylight, a desk, a bookshelf, and so on. With definite reference, speakers refer to individuals- things in particular knowledge. Yet in doing so, they often need to draw on generic knowledge too. (Clark and Marshall 1981:35)

Particular knowledge comes: with membership of certain communities; from being physically copresent with an object or; having been engaged in a conversation where the particular thing had been referred to (linguistic copresence). Clark and Marshall (1981) describe the process of shared knowledge as sometimes being brought about by the reference act itself (1981:25).

Considering for a moment the situation of the interpreter in the light of the above work, by asking someone to 'Please pass the salt', there is an assumption on the part of the addressee that there is salt available to be passed. This would be based on knowledge about eating arrangements on tables, for example that salt is generally available if not on the table, but somewhere close by. It would also be based on the knowledge that there is generally one salt cellar (or pot) on a table and it is shared among the people at that table. In a spoken language conversation, the addressee would search (presumably on the table in front of them) for the salt. In a signed language conversation, the verb within this utterance would need to be directional, the referent "salt" would also necessarily be pointed to as a deictic device. Using the standard convention (Baker and Cokeley 1980) that capitalised words denote glosses of signs, a start and finish point would need to be defined in order to correctly produce the verb PASS-TO-ME. This difficulty could be avoided by signing SALT? with non-manual features signifying question-form. If such a strategy is used by an interpreter in order to interpret "Please pass the salt" due to the fact that she is unable to accurately locate the salt before interpreting, it may appear to the addressee to be lacking in substance (see Stone 2009 on "relaying"). The reason for this lack of substance would be the particular knowledge expected from the primary participants, e.g. the position of the salt. Due to the co-presence of the addresser (in this case the interpreter) and the addressee (the BSL-user) and the salt, the lack of suitable referencing by the interpreter seems odd. Another option for the interpreter hearing the question is to look for the salt herself and on locating it, produce the verb PASS-TO-ME accurately. This strategy may well be useful in producing the verb grammatically, but looking away

from the BSL-user with no explanation may seem odd to the BSL-user, as the interpreter may appear to be acting independently to the interpreting process. She *is* acting independently, but not for any other reason than to interpret what she has heard and to give that interpretation the visual accuracy which is necessary and expected in BSL.

Clark and Marshall (1981) recognised that copresence heuristics such as the above are necessary in the explanation of definite reference. The three basic types of definite reference are deixis, anaphora and proper names (1981:42). Deixis in spoken language involves a copresent pointing, either by looking at the referent, or by pointing with a finger, and the use of terms such as *that*, or *that woman*. Anaphora is a referring back to an object which has already been referred to. The example given by Clark and Marshall is "I bought a candle, but the thing was broken", where the thing refers back to "a candle". They acknowledged that anaphora can be construed as a form of deixis, but in their 1981 paper, Clark and Marshall showed how the two terms differ from each other. Proper names/nouns refer to one thing only, however these proper nouns may have different referents for different people. The examples the authors gave were "John Smith" a name which may refer to many different men, and "The Town Hall" which may refer to many different buildings, but would also work with "the salt" above, as there is no one "salt", despite the definite reference, it is "the salt which is part of the frame of dining". Clark and Marshall (1981) then considered the issue of memory. They described the workings of the human mind as having a combination of a diary (information built up over time, and from cues suggesting community membership and knowledge base of the other person) and an encyclopaedia (containing information about different types of person/object which was also built up over time) from which to draw inferences based on community memberships. According to this model, when one person speaks to another, that person accesses the unit of diary and encyclopaedia references which are allocated to that person, and assesses the amount of detail they include in their talk to that person based on the information they have in that unit. Likening it to the change from one language to another, Clark and Marshall (1981) suggested that the speaker shifts from one set of mutual knowledge to another when speaking to one person and then another.

The suggestion that Clark and Marshall (1981) put forward was that we each carry around detailed models of people we know, and conversations we have had with those people. Evidence of this was shown by the perception of inappropriateness brought about by a person who tells the same story, joke or gossip more than once to the same person. That person was seen to have failed to remember their model correctly. Further, the authors described how a good host will introduce one guest to another with items from the models they have of each person which are either in common with each party, or are useful to each party. By doing this, the host supplies both parties with topics with which to start a conversation, thus helping to ease any awkwardness which comes from not knowing anything about the other person.

This model of memory, a combination of models of people and of knowledge bases within communities, was new and addressed the issue of mutual knowledge being all pervasive and therefore "likely to complicate matters for some time to come"(1981:58). Later, Clark wrote with Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) about the work that speakers and addressees do together in order to agree upon a definite reference. Their experiment was composed of pairs of speakers who were tasked with arranging Tangram pieces (a Chinese game made up of triangles and squares) in a particular shape using only verbal instructions. The authors made a distinction between the "literary model" of definite reference, that is the deliberate and the considered, and the "conversational model" of definite reference, that is, the more time-constrained situation of speech. In the literary model, the speaker would select a noun phrase with the intention of enabling the addressee to uniquely identify what was being referred to, in the same way as if the speaker were writing it down. Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs then contrast this with the "conversational model" in which the same kinds of intentions are clear, but the speaker is limited by time for planning and revision. Seleskovitch (1978:15) described this as "evanescence". Due to this evanescent nature of conversation, speakers and listeners must understand almost as quickly as they hear what is said. Another difference between the two models is that in a conversation, the listeners "are not mute or invisible" (1986:3), they interact in various different ways with the speaker. Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) stated that addressees were collaborating during the talk

produced by the addresser, by this they meant that the addresser may amend or restart their talk based on what the addressee says or does.

The differences between the literary model and the conversational model are very much like the differences between translation and interpreting. Each one of these differences is of considerable importance to the work of an interpreter. The work of an interpreter is based in the evanescent environment of the conversation; they plan and produce language within a limited time frame, and they are particularly sensitive to the behaviour of the person they are interpreting to, in terms of that person's body language and whether or not that person seems to have understood what has been interpreted. Whilst the work of an interpreter, whilst being evanescent, and often forgotten as the interpreter drives away, every interpreting assignment contains some parts which the interpreter needs to remember for their potential next assignment. Each and every time an interpreter works with a group of people, those people will expect her to have remembered their names, and any acronyms used by that company. If there were events discussed at a meeting earlier where that interpreter was present, it is expected that she remember them. These are examples of Clark and Marshall's (1981:53) diary – a collection of information pertinent to a person (but in this case it is a group). The interpreter also needs to be aware of the sort of information which is what Clark and Marshall (1981:53) call the encyclopedia – knowledge of things which are more general; interpreting assignments will not be confined to strict adherence to the subject in hand. In a dialogue interpreting situation – the subject of this thesis – the same is also true. Typically a dialogue interpreting situation involves a professional and a lay person accessing the professional's knowledge, e.g. a doctor and a patient. In this situation the diary information may not be possible (if the interpreter and the patient do not know each other), but encyclopedic knowledge is very much at the forefront of the interpreter's mind. If the diary information is not present, then the interpreter will need to make sure (by participation through repairs) that any information given from the patient is accurate, for example: descriptions of symptoms; types of pain; how long the symptoms have lasted. Diary information would not be important in connection with the doctor (apart from interpersonal issues; for example, some doctors do not want an interpreter on their side of the desk) however

encyclopedic knowledge is very useful for the interpreter to have, but if they do not, the same need to participate through repair would be present.

In Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs' study, the speaker presented a noun phrase to describe a picture made from Tangram pieces such as "a guy leaning against a tree" (1986:17). The addressee then tried to work out which of the figures was meant by that reference, and when both parties were satisfied that they had understood / been understood correctly, the process started again with the next noun phrase. The authors showed that referencing became gradually less elaborate as the pairs learned from each other the relationship between descriptor and reference. An example of this was that one picture was described in Trial 1 as "the next one looks like a person who's ice skating, except they're sticking two arms out in front", and in Trial 6 "the ice skater". The amount of information needed when a topic or referent is unknown was more than that needed when the topic or referent was known. The next section describes this same phenomenon using the term "current purposes".

2.1.2.3 Current Purposes

Clark and Issacs (1987) recognised that in a conversation, one person would know more or less than the other about a topic of discussion. However, each person in a conversation would need to use shared knowledge in order to be understood by the other person. The authors believed that either party in a conversation would need to assess, supply and acquire mutual knowledge in order to understand and be understood. Using the terms "expert" and "novice" to describe those who possessed more or less knowledge, they paired up students from Stanford University who were either New Yorkers (and had lived there for at least 10 years, and had left within three years) and non-New Yorkers, who had never visited the city of New York. Various scenes of New York were depicted on 16 postcards and placed on a grid for one student. On the other side of a screen, the other student had an empty grid and 16 postcards in a pile. The student with the cards already arranged on their grid (the Director) had to describe the cards in the order on their grid to the person on the other side of the screen (the Matcher). They found that experts and novices adjusted to the amount of expertise the other student had and experts would use more proper names

to each other and novices would use more descriptions to each other. Between experts and novices there would be a process of supplying and acquiring expertise. This was significant through the trials, as the novices became more expert, and began using proper names more in the later trials, as they acquired them. Experts, too, would accommodate to their partner and give descriptions when necessary. This process of acquiring and supplying information enabled both partners to assess each other's expertise by both Director's description and by Matcher's response.

Clark and Isaacs (1987) described the difference between an expert and a novice as being partly to do with perspective. When a New Yorker sees a picture of a landmark, they are seeing a representation of something they already know, and are able to think about it from different perspectives, including its function and associations, and to describe such things. A novice will see only the picture, and will describe *that picture* rather than the object the picture represents. Clark and Isaacs (1987) expected that experts and novices would be sensitive to each other's expertise and adjust their descriptions accordingly.

Perspectives were shown linguistically by the use of place reference or picture reference. A fountain (1987:33) could be either described as "a fountain", or "a picture of a fountain" ("picture" was also manifested as "shot", "view", "scene", "photograph" and "postcard"). The authors found that the choice of place or picture referencing was evidence of the perspectives taken by the participants. The place reference was describing the object itself, and the picture reference was describing the postcard depicting the object. Directors alternated between the two perspectives, thus displaying what they were focusing upon, the place or the postcard. All of the pairs (including the novice – novice pairs) started by using more picture referencing, and by the last trial were using more place referencing.

Clark and Isaacs (1987) concluded that for successful referencing, both speaker and addressee needed to coordinate participation, and they considered successful completion of a reference as being when the addressee has understood *sufficiently for current purposes*, in this case knowing which of the postcards to choose. Both partners, they found, will adjust to the other person's expertise.

Clark and Isaacs (1987) showed that if one participant expects a certain amount of expertise from the other, which subsequently proves not to be present (as evidenced by the responses from the addressee) adjustments will be made by that first participant in order to accommodate the other person's lack of expertise. By describing the Citicorp Building as "the Citicorp Building" a participant shows expertise through their use of a proper noun. By describing the same building as "the one with the slanted roof", a participant shows lack of expertise through their use of a description. Proper noun use was one way of assessing levels of expertise, another was the use of definite reference, "the flea market" as opposed to "a marketplace" (1987:36). The authors acknowledged that the parameters of the experiment were very constrained, but nevertheless asserted that they had been able to show the facility that people have in assessing and adjusting to each other in conversation.

As discussed in the first chapter, the types of interpreting situations for BSL interpreters are changing and although the typical dialogue interpreting assignment would be between an expert and a novice (doctor/patient, nurse/patient, solicitor/client), there are many others, and more often between equals. Colleagues, for example, would be experts and have encyclopedic knowledge in common, but the interpreter may not be an expert, nor have the encyclopedic knowledge necessary. Generally an interpreter will assess their suitability for a job, and that assessment will include the content of the job, however, she may have been called upon to interpret something urgently, or perhaps an assignment was not what was expected by her. The interpreter would need to use any diary information they have of previous assignments with each of the colleagues, and with every further assignment, their diary information would be feeding into their encyclopedic information.

However, in the assignment itself, there would be two experts (the clients), and a novice (the interpreter) who only knew some of what was being discussed. There are implications here about what the interpreter does in such a situation – possibilities are to change the style of interpreting to allow the primary participants to understand each other, even resorting to a form of pidgin, Sign Supported English, for the deaf participant and a particularly close rendition of BSL into English. This decision would be

made in order to allow the English-speaker and the BSL-user to make *their own sense* of what the other is saying. I have been in a situation where both myself and my co-worker intuitively did this, but both of us felt it was the wrong thing to do. However the deaf participant (when we apologised) remarked that it had been much easier for them to understand the conversation when we did this, rather than having to try to work out from our interpretation (effectively to undo what we had tried to convey) what might have been said in English.

2.1.2.4 Misunderstandings

Misunderstandings can be caused by words or phrases which have more than one meaning (Schegloff 1992). A hearer may misunderstand the referent of a deictic term ("this way", "that fork") or to whom a pronoun relates. A misunderstanding may occur about the upshot or purpose of a turn. Examples could be either taking a joke seriously, or believing a simple statement of fact to be a complaint. When a speaker realises from the response (second position) to their utterance (first position) that the hearer has misunderstood, they have an opportunity to repair that misunderstanding. Schegloff calls this *third position repair* (1992:1301). He states further that this is the last chance the speaker has to converge their view with their interlocutor, and so continue to build on their mutual intersubjectivity. Despite their best efforts, speakers may make mistakes in their judgement of what is known by the other person. As outlined above (Schegloff 1992), part of what the addressee does is to display whether or not they have understood. This process of sequential claims to understanding was also studied by Clark and Schaefer (1989). They described conversations as "highly coordinated activities in which the current speaker tries to make sure he or she is being attended to, heard, and understood by the other participants, and they in turn try to let the speaker know when he or she has succeeded" (Clark and Schaefer 1989:259). They described the building of common ground as containing the "mutual belief" that addressees have understood what was said to them "well enough for current purposes". Language, they believe, is a highly coordinated activity, with both parties working hard to make themselves understood, and to show that understanding has been achieved. Further, Clark and Schaefer noted that earlier definitions of the building up of common ground were incomplete:

> [they lack] one essential requirement for the accumulation of common ground - namely, that the participants establish that each utterance has been understood as intended. Suppose that Ann utters "She's leaving" in trying to assert that Connie is leaving her job. That act doesn't automatically add the content of what is asserted to what is presupposed. What if Bob is distracted and doesn't hear Ann? What if he thinks she has uttered "She's sleeping"? What if he thinks she is referring to Diane and not Connie? What if he thinks Connie's leaving her husband and not her job? In these and other cases, Ann's beliefs about their common ground will change in one direction, and Bob's in another. (Clark and Shaefer 1989:261).

Clark and Schaefer (1989) presented what they described as three common assumptions made by different disciplines in their models of discourse. These were:

1) Common ground: participants presuppose some common ground

2) Accumulation: participants will add to their common ground through their talk

3) Unilateral action: the right thing must be said at the right time in order to add to common ground

While they agree that participants presuppose some common ground, and that the common ground they share will be added to throughout their talk, Clark and Schaeffer (1989) take issue with the assumption that the right thing must only be said at the right time. They state that this third assumption does not include the additional behaviour of the participants making sure that what was said was understood. Every speaker has their own set of beliefs or understandings, and they will assume that most of those are shared by the other participants in a conversation. The common ground of the participants will change as the conversation proceeds, or in other words it "accumulates" (Clark and Schaeffer 1989:261). The authors believed that there are two parts to this accumulation:

1) The contributor tries to specify the content of their contribution and the partners try to register that content and

2) Both contributor and partners try to come to a mutual belief that all participants now have the same understanding of what was contributed sufficient for current purposes. This process is called *grounding*.

Together these two processes are referred to as a contribution.

2.1.2.5 Inferencing

Before moving on to outline repair, it is important to first consider inferencing. The six stages of the joint action of talk described in section 2.1 above rely on the abilities the addressers and addressees have to infer what is meant. Repair can occur when this breaks down. Gumperz (1995) stated that conversation analysts were wrong to decontextualise their findings. He felt that the position conversation analysts take, which is to find patterns in the talk itself separately from any mitigating or circumstantial information was incorrect. He believed that "situated involvement depends on localized and in some sense culture-bound, on-line inferences" (1995:104). He considered speech only to be interpretable (understood) when contextualised. Rather than considering the speakers and listeners as participants, Gumperz (1995) considered them to be active agents, who rely on their own inferences in order to make sense of conversation. In order to be able to infer interactive conduct, and to know what a conversation is about, the interactants must share cultural knowledge. This cultural knowledge can be separated into two parts, "background knowledge of activity type" and being able to "perceive and recognise the significance of relevant contextualisation cues" (1995:104-105). These two types of knowledge are similar to that of encyclopedic information and diary information respectively. The model would also be seen as being similar to the knowledge of an expert and novice, with the novice becoming more expert through exposure to the information given by the expert.

I posit that the two points of view are not mutually exclusive. CA aims to observe and explicate patterns of language which can be seen to be replicated in unrelated conversational situations in terms of context, and in similar situations in terms of linguistic structure. CA is founded on the principle that understanding must necessarily be contextualised. In every separate conversation where the phrase "the salt" is produced, for example, the referent will be something different. The meaning or referent of "the salt" could continue beyond one conversation, but only if the utterers have a shared memory of the original referent.

Contextualisation, and the inferring of contextualisation cues, poses problems for both analysts and speakers alike. Due to the increase of ethnically and occupationally diverse populations, Gumperz (1995) maintains that it is becoming ever more difficult to assume that "speakers of the same language share communicative conventions at the level of discourse" (1995:106). When contextualisation is effective, the speakers design what they say in order to display understanding of what has just been said, and also to project what is expected from the other person's next turn in order to be locally coherent (Gumperz 1995: 119).

Krauss, Fussell and Chen (1995) liken conversation to walking, or the trajectory of a rocket ship. They highlight the recalculations constantly needed in all of these activities, whether that be adjusting to a) atmospheric conditions, b) to the road surface, or c) the turns of a conversation which are unpredictable. They cite the influential American social philosopher Mead who, as far back as the 1930s was writing about the need for participants in a conversation to "take the role of the other" (Mead 1934). By this it is meant that the interlocutors need to consider the other person's point of view in order to be able to understand what they are saying.

From the above works, it would appear that intersubjectivity can be seen as the collaborative work done between two or more participants in a conversation in order to make oneself understood, and to understand the other person(s). The constant recalibration which goes on in a conversation would seem to be based on the knowledge and understanding of the world belonging to the speaker, and their projected idea of what the addressee knows and understands of the world. The speaker uses the responses from the addressee to recalibrate their perception of what the addressee knows, or understands, gradually building up a better fit to the actual set of knowledge and understanding the addressee has. It is not just the speaker who takes this responsibility – the addressee will also be working in the same way, and together common ground and mutual understanding grows within a conversation. When this recalibration process is unsuccessful, and misunderstandings occur, conversation analysts refer to the process which can follow as "repair organisation". As seen in the introduction, repair is the process of resolving problems due to

hearing/seeing, producing and understanding. The next section outlines the major works pertinent to this thesis.

2.1.3 Repair Organisation

Misunderstandings do not regularly result in breakdowns in conversations. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) attributed this to repair; a "self-righting mechanism" (sections 1.1 and 1.3). They found that any misunderstandings in a conversation, if they are grave enough to stop the flow of the conversation, resulted in a topic shift away from the topic of the conversation and onto the misunderstanding itself. This new topic, the misunderstanding, would continue to be directly addressed until the problem was resolved. The original topic would then be resumed. The movement away from the main topic, and subsequent focus onto the problem topic is what they called "repair" or "repair organisation". Repair is the effort made by the interactants in a conversation in order to solve a problem of hearing, producing or understanding. The reason for the change in topic is to *be able to continue* the main conversation.

Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) were interested in the relationship between "self-correction", a phenomenon studied primarily by linguists (Hockett 1967 and DuBois 1974), and "other-correction", studied more frequently by psychologists (Garvey 1977). Schegloff et al. (1977) chose to use the term *repair organisation* to encompass both areas of study and to treat them as one. They found that repair organisation included more than just the correction of errors in speech. They incorporated a number of other phenomena within their definition of repair. These included 'word searches', where the speaker did not think of the right word at exactly the right time; repairs which occurred when there was no "hearable error, mistake, or fault" (1977:363); and repairs which *do not* occur even when there *is* a hearable error. The use of the terms 'repairable' or 'trouble-source' enabled Schegloff et al. (1977) to include those instances where no correction, or mistake, had been made, but in which either party nevertheless stopped, and/or recalibrated what they had said.

As well as the occasions when repairs were made when there was no discernible need, the researchers also found repair sequences which resulted in failure. Having the possibility of two outcomes – a success or a failure – enabled them to propose that a

repair sequence must have at least two parts. The first part was an initiation in which the repairable is identified by the speaker or the addressee, and a repair sequence is initiated by self (speaker) or other (addressee). The second part was the outcome and would have two possible values – success or failure.

This discovery led to the identification of six possible repair sequences:

i)   Self-initiated self-repair

ii)   Self-initiated other-repair

iii)   Self-initiated failure

iv)   Other-initiated self-repair

v)   Other-initiated other-repair

vi)   Other-initiated failure

Although there are six possible repair sequences, they do not all have the same distribution. Schegloff et al. (1977) found that self-initiated self-repair is more common, and occurs in three main places. These are:

i)   within the same turn as the trouble source;

ii)   in the space between that person's turn, and the next person's turn[4] or

iii)   in the third turn, when the speaker of the trouble source has a further opportunity to change what they said.

The space between that person's turn and the next person's turn is called the transition space. Self- and other-initiations are not simply different from each other in distribution, they also differ in form.

Self-initiations use "a variety of speech perturbations" (1977:367) such as cut-offs, sound stretches, hesitation markers such as 'um' or 'err' and intra-turn silences. Dively (1998), Groeber and Pochenberger (2014) and Locker (1992) have found similar perturbations in sign language use. These "perturbations" display the possibility of a repair sequence. This idea of *display* is of particular relevance to my work. If the repair

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[4] This is commonly referred to as a "transition relevance place" or TRP. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974).

initiation comes from the interpreter herself, as opposed to either of her clients, the interpreter must display not only that she is repairing, but also that she is no longer acting the part of either of her clients.

According to Schegloff et al. (1977), other-initiations use different devices such as:

- words like "Huh", "What?", "Who?", "Where?", "When?"

- a partial repeat of the trouble-source turn plus a question word - "the <u>who</u>?" "to a <u>where</u>?"

- a repeat (often emphatic) of the term which is causing trouble to the hearer "on <u>Wednesday</u>?"

- a production of a possible/candidate understanding of the meaning which is unclear possibly prefaced by a token such as "you mean …"

Schegloff et al. found that the most efficiently resolved repair is that which is self-initiated in the turn in which the trouble source is found.

For example:

```
Roger:     We're just working on a differen
thing, the same thing
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<div align="right">Schegloff et al. (1977:370).</div>

In the utterance quoted above, Roger registers that he has said the wrong thing, e.g. "different" when he meant "same". He restarts with "the" and uses emphasis on the first phonemes of the words "same" and "thing", as shown above with an underline. Most repair sequences are "accomplished successfully within the same turn" (1977:369). Other-initiated repair was found to take more turns in order for misunderstanding to be resolved.

Despite the differences in form, self- and other-initiation are not independent of each other; they deal with the same trouble-sources. Other-initiations must come after a trouble source, and not before. Interruptions may occur in order to initiate repair. However these are overwhelmingly self-interruptions (Dively (1998) also found this in ASL conversations). The other speaker usually waits until it is their turn before initiating a repair. In fact speakers may delay their response for a short time *after* they could have spoken. This gap was perceived as evidence that the other speaker withholds their initiation in order to allow the first speaker to self-initiate (Schegloff et al. 1977).

The difficulty for the interpreter is that they do not have access to anything other than what the client has said. The interpreter animates the thoughts *expressed by* either client. The interpreter needs to make explicit what is usually an internal process – the speaker may know what they are going to say, but make a mistake about how they express it, and rephrase – the interpreter cannot self-reflect, or rephrase in the same way as someone who is speaking for and as themselves. What might be a word search, or a rephrase, or other self-repair for an uninterpreted speaker becomes an other-repair, initiated by the interpreter.

There may be times when *the interpreter* asks for more information from the first speaker, when what the speaker has said is in fact sufficient for the second person to understand. Referring back to "last night's movie" (see section 2.1.2.2), the interpreter may or may not need to know which movie was on. If the speaker and the addressee both know, it may be enough to for the interpreter to refer to it as "the movie". The interpreter must make decisions about when to repair, and when not to. Her current purposes are different from her clients', and she must constantly be deciding when to check with the primary speaker, and when to trust her own understanding. As has been mentioned before, Campbell et al. (2008) point out that the deaf academic does not always want to have their interpreter ask for more clarification (see section 1.0). Their position was that the client should be in control of whether the interpreter interrupts for more information. They argue that the academic may understand what the interpreter does not, so they do not need clarification. I do not disagree with this point of view outright, however, there are situations when the interpreter does not have the choice. In one situation, the interpreter may understand enough to be able to inform their client that she does not understand something, in which case, they interpreter and the client can work together in order for the client to choose whether clarification is necessary. In the other, the interpreter may not have enough source language in order to be able to continue without more information simply *in order to interpret*. In this latter situation, the choices available to the interpreter (and therefore the client) are different. If the interpreter and the client have an understanding that clarification should be avoided, the interpreter would need to explain exactly what had

happened to their client, and leave interjections to the client, but the decision would be more difficult for the client to judge, because the interpreter would describe the trouble source as "someone coughed when the chair said who would be taking the action, and I missed it". I have been in the situation where I have not understood something, but have been able to give a rendition of what I believe I have heard, and ask my client if they understand (which is, of course, a repair), and the answer has been that they do. The fact that I do not have the encyclopedic knowledge, or the diary information is less important if my client does have that knowledge (section 2.1.2.2). The kinds of interpreter participation in this study are those times when the interpreter cannot continue due to insufficient matter to interpret.

While the interpreter is a participant, as seen in the above paragraph, she may not be a participant in the same way as the two main participants. If this is the case, it is possible that the interpreter does not have the same perceived powers of repair-initiation. If the clients believe that all the interpreter needs to do is to reproduce what has been said in one language, into the other, any participatory behaviour may appear atypical. In section 2.2.3 I describe the findings of research which shows that behaviour of this sort, e.g. asking someone to repeat, or to make something clearer can be perceived as the interpreter being critical. They can be seen to be 'correcting' the first speaker/signer. The use of the sign CLARIFY in BSL is commonly used – the person asking for clarification is showing that they are attending to the other person, and do not want to miss any information. To pretend to understand when you do not is impolite in deaf culture (Mindness 2006). However, for an English-speaker, to be asked to clarify yourself is to imply that you were not clear (section 2.2.2) and this is evidenced by the many hedges and other politeness markers which are used when asking for more information "would you mind…", "Could you possibly …", "I'm sorry but I don't think I have fully understood …" and so on (see Major 2014, section 2.3.5). English-speakers who did not understand fully what had been said would be more likely to wait and see if things became clear, and only intervene when absolutely necessary. Correction, in English, is not seen as being polite. The next section deals with correction.

2.1.3.1 Correction

So far, section 2.1.2 has described repair – the overarching term for difficulties in hearing, producing and understanding. Correction can be part of repair, but repair is not just correction. Interpreter participation, particularly when repairing, can appear to be correction. If the interpreter raises a question about what has been said, she can appear to be commenting on the *content* of what was said and the normal way that people comment on the content of what was said is to question the veracity, or to expose a transgression (Jefferson 1987 see below). Because the interpreter can be perceived to be commenting on the content (that is, correcting), the term "correction" as used in conversation analysis is described below.

Correction can take the form of offering a substitute term for the one previously used by the interlocutor (or by the speaker themselves). In section 2.1.2 we saw the use of repetitions of terms, or substitutions of terms, used by speakers to initiate repair – examples of which could be "On Wednesday?" or "To a where?". We also saw that interpreters are generally believed to be able to understand all that is said (section 1.1). If a client believes that the interpreter must know both languages perfectly, and if they further believe that the only thing the interpreter is doing is substituting vocabulary, word by word, from one language into another, a reasonable explanation is that the interpreter's actions are designed to judge or correct them.

Jefferson (1987) described two types of correction in natural conversations between speakers of the same language: "exposed" correction and "embedded" correction. Exposed corrections stop the ongoing talk in order to clear up any misunderstanding. They also allow for attendant activities (or "accountings") such as 'instructing', 'complaining', 'admitting', 'forgiving', accusing', 'apologising', 'ridiculing', and others. Due to the first feature – that exposed repair sequences suspend the ongoing talk until the repairable has been resolved in some way – Jefferson believed that at the point where the perceived misunderstanding became the main focus of talk, there was an opportunity for something else to happen. She asserted that the person correcting may use this time to make the person who has been *corrected* also be made *accountable*. Jefferson finds that this attendant activity specifically addresses lapses in

competence and/or conduct (1987:88). When such corrections are made, and the accountings are given, talk returns to the former topic. Schegloff et al. (1977) said that people will even wait for a short time in order to let the person self-repair. That does not work if it is only the interpreter who knows there has been a problem.

Self-initiated repairs are more common, other-initiated repairs are used to allow an opportunity for self-repair and self- and other-initiation are different ways to allow for self- repair. Any repair which is other-initiated (by the interpreter) seeks to better understand the speaker. For the interpreter, the repair is initiated *in order to* relay that information to the other language speaker. When an interpreter asks for clarification, or to distinguish between two (or more) understandings, they are doing so for the purposes of understanding in order to interpret. The interpreter is in a different position to a normal interlocutor. If they miss a point (someone coughs at the wrong time and they miss a word, for example, or they do not know a sign name used) they must find out what the point was. Participants in a non-interpreted, monolingual conversation have the option to allow the point to pass by. They can say something generic in response and move on to the next point. The interpreter would need to have good reason not to find out what the point was, because it is not up to them to decide what their client has access to.

When seeking to understand the speaker/signer, the interpreter will quite legitimately ask either primary participant to explain, repeat, or rephrase what they have said. This could be if something has been misheard, misseen, misunderstood, or seems not to make sense. The normal procedure in monolingual interaction is for the addressee to observe a 'trouble-source' and to wait for the speaker to identify it and correct it themselves. The interpreter, who does not wait, and by their actions appears to ask the speaker outright to correct themselves, can appear to be behaving atypically, and possibly inappropriately, to the clients of her services, despite the legitimacy of her reasons for doing so. It has been shown in Section 1.0 that clients have, and pass on, opinions about how an interpreter should conduct themselves. A client may feel justified in telling the interpreter not to partake in this behaviour due to their lack of understanding of the reasons for the interpreters' actions. I am not here advocating that an interpreter should have free reign, and demand explanation of all things, in fact

I believe my job as interpreter is to cause as little disruption to the conversation I am interpreting, but in order to achieve that I must sometimes stop the proceedings. The important consideration here is the motive for asking the question, and this can be discussed before the interpretation (a pre-brief), or during (an aside).

2.1.3.2 Open Class Repair Initiators

Drew (1997) considered the sequential environments which precede the type of repair initiation which treats the whole of the prior turn as problematic. These are 'open' forms of repair, such as 'pardon?', 'sorry?', 'what?', 'huh?' and so on. In his paper, Drew (1997) described a relationship between the occurrence of these forms of repair and a possible mismatch between speaker and addressee as to the trajectory of the conversation. Topic changes are often marked by "anyway" or, "oh" or "oh by the way". In his corpus such changes have not been marked by the speaker, and as such they are either not understood, or they are misunderstood by the addressee. Drew (1997) stated that the topic changes are not marked by the speaker because there is, in their mind, a continuation of the *same* topic. The addressee, however, fails to understand the link. When the open class repair initiator is produced, it is not because the addressee has misheard a part of the talk, it is because the talk they have heard does not appear to fit the preceding talk, that it is not 'coherent'. The importance of this to the work of an interpreter is that she may be unfamiliar with a lot of what the primary participants are talking about. In any work situation, from a factory to a university there will be place names, proper names, titles of working groups, sign names, and words which describe the functions of that workplace. Given that the typical interpreter's working day could be split between cities and between client groups, they will necessarily be going into situations where some contextual information is unknown. The link between one topic and another may be apparent to the primary participants, but is not guaranteed to be known by the interpreter.

2.1.4 Considering Interpreting

It has already been said that the interpreter, as a third party, should not contribute content to the conversation (I have found that the most frequent occasion when an interpreter is spoken to directly is to ask their opinion about booking interpreters – the best way out of this is to give a short answer, and say you (or your client) will talk to

them afterwards). The interpreter may not have previously met the parties involved – which brings difficulties due to 'insider talk'. They are there simply to enable the other two to converse. Somehow, the interpreter must signal their change from relayer to coordinator (Wadensjö 1998) when repairing for their own purposes.

One of the ways this has been modelled is by using the work of Goffman (1981). His analysis of frames (the way we know if we are in a restaurant or a theatre for example) and footing (our way of positioning ourselves within conversation) is an extremely useful tool, and has been used by many researchers into interpreting (Metzger 1995; Locker 1992; Roy 1989; inter alia). Goffman (1981:128) stated that a footing could be described in the following way: "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (1981:128).

Goffman claimed that "a change in footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events" (1981:128). Goffman further asserted that participants constantly change their footing, and as such it is a persistent feature of natural talk. Interpreting, however, is not natural talk, it is mediated talk, and as seen in section 1.0, it is institutional in nature. His structure of speakers and hearers with the additional sub-sections of overhearers, bystanders and ratified/un-ratified hearers has been used extensively in interpreter training, but for the purposes of this thesis, which deals with triadic interaction, those categories are not
applicable, except perhaps to the interpreter, who is a bystander, an overhearer, and both ratified (they have been hired to interpret), and unratified (they are not part of the talk). His model of footing shifts is pertinent for those times when the interpreter must become themselves again in order to repair due to a lack of specificity.

Additionally, Goffman (1981:144) described talk as being composed of four functions which are called:

i)   the animator – the "sounding-box" of what is said.

ii)   the author – the one who has selected the words and the sentiments to be expressed.

iii)   the principal – the person who is committed to what the words say.

iv)   the figure – the character being represented by talk.

Goffman described how one person can take on all three (or four if reporting speech) of these roles, or they can be author, and animator of the words of another – the principal.

Goffman also described the difficulty of what he called the "disruption" of norms in speech, and how a participant in a conversation can disrupt a conversation simply by behaving in an unusual or unexpected way (Goffman 1959). This is important when put in the context of an interpreter behaving in a way which is *perceived* as being unusual or unexpected simply by behaving as an interpreter.

2.1.5 Underspecificity

In this thesis I use the word "underspecificity" to outline the difference between languages which is so pronounced that despite the internal sufficiency of the source language (that is, it makes sense in one language), more information is necessary simply in order to interpret it into coherent target language. The types of restrictions which are found in interpreting between signed and spoken languages, are also found in spoken languages. Examples in spoken languages could include kinship terms. In some languages a sister may need to be specified as an older or a younger sister (Bengali, Tamil, Turkish, Sinhalese, Chinese and Japanese). An aunt may need to be specified by which parent she is related to (mother's sister, or father's sister as in Chinese). English does not differentiate in this way. Many languages have gendered nouns, which would affect adjectives, and pronouns. The singular pronoun "I" would need to be specified for gender before being translated into languages such as Hindi, which has verb agreement for gender. French uses two different verbs for "to know".

One is for the knowledge of things "savoir", and the other is for the knowledge of people "connaître".

Stone (2010) gives examples of similar linguistic differences between English and BSL. In medical interpreting (which is one of the largest areas of work for community interpreters), he described differences between the superordinate noun categories in English in order to describe treatment, which include: medication, treatment, radiotherapy, chemotherapy. Superordinate noun categories in BSL include: treatment-singular, treatment-continuous, tablets, syrup, injections, drips, and emanating-devices. The interpreter needs to either use less specific, and more neutral forms of the terms, Stone (2010) suggested for example an injection which is placed in a neutral position on the palm of the hand, or needs to find out specifically where the site of the injection will occur, and use that information in order to inflect the sign to include that part of the body.

2.1.6 Ambiguity

According to Piantadosi, Tily and Gibson (2011), ambiguity allows language to function. In section 1.4 we saw that, anecdotally, the reasons for the interpreter needing to speak for herself included having to choose between different 'potential' meanings. In recent work on role-space using Goffman's (1981) three part model of talk (section 2.1.3), Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2013, 2014) considered the interpreter to be animator of the interpreted talk, but not author nor principal. I would disagree, saying that the interpreter is both animator and author *of the target language*, but they are neither the principal, nor the *original author* of the talk. They are, however, the principal, author and animator of *their version* of the talk. Straniero Sergio (2012) a researcher who used a TV chat show as his data, noted specifically where the host, and also members of the audience challenged the interpreter. They question his understanding of what was said based on what he produced in the second language. Those challengers held *the interpreter* responsible for *his version* of what was said in the second language and did not attribute responsibility to the original speaker. Through their challenges, it can be seen that more than one understanding can be produced from the same source language. Talk is contextualised, and is subject to a process of disambiguation through interpretation. Turner (2007) had already stated that "Each participant in talk 'projects' their understanding, their vision or their story about the

universe through their contributions to talk". The interpreter, as a participant, projects *her* understanding.

Generally, the interpreter will make informed decisions about which potential meaning is appropriate, based on their knowledge of the languages being used, of the situation, of the context and of any previous encounters with each of the primary participants. Due to their stance as outsider, the interpreter should be more aware about different possible ways to construe what was said, and when the choice between possible meanings is unclear, they can interject.

As described in section 2.1.2.3, Drew (1997) outlined how the individual words of an addresser can be fully understood by the addressee, but the overall meaning can make no sense to them (see also Clark 1996). Given that it is generally accepted that the interpreter must understand before interpreting, disambiguation must be achieved before the interpreting process can begin.

Piantadosi et al. (2011:1) argue that ambiguity enables an effective communication system, when "context is informative about meaning". Further, they state, contrary to the Chomskian view that ambiguous language makes it harder to say things in a "short and simple way" (Chomsky 2002:107), that ambiguity in language is a desirable feature. If there were a language which was completely unambiguous, while allowing for no misunderstanding, it would be unwieldy and given that context, and contextualisation (see Janzen and Shaffer 2008) is important in the understanding of utterances, an unambiguous statement contains information which is rendered obsolete by context. They further state:

> We argue for two beneficial properties of ambiguity: first, where context is informative about meaning, unambiguous language is partly redundant with the context and therefore inefficient; and second, ambiguity allows the re-use of words and sounds which are more easily produced or understood that ambiguity in language allows for the reuse of phonemes and words which are easy to produce, and easy to understand. (Piantadosi et al. 2011:2).

Piantadosi et al. (2011) revisit the ideas of Zipf (1949) who posited the *principle of least effort*. This principle dictates that speaker and listener have competing desires to make

the least effort. The speaker would be able to minimise their efforts by producing one word "ba" (Piantadosi et al. 2011: 2) which would represent all that they needed to say. The listener, on the other hand, would have to expend less effort if all meanings had individually corresponding representations. Languages generally strike a balance between these two extremes, however, it may be that BSL places more emphasis upon the speaker to be clear.

Zipf (1949) suggests that natural languages will fall between the two opposing forces of what he calls "diversification" and "unification". Piantadosi et al. (2011) agree in principle with the idea that there is a trade-off between production and reception of language, but they consider the poles described by Zipf (1949) to be excessive. They prefer the terms "ease" and "clarity" to describe the "communicative pressures" inherent in any language. Using the NATO phonetic alphabet as an example of this trade off, Piantadosi et al. (2011) describe how the phonetic alphabet used by the military and pilots over the radio, trades effort for clarity. Instead of the usual letter names, which could be misheard, or confused one with the other over a radio in noisy places, the NATO alphabet uses conventionalised labels, which contain more than one syllable: "A" is "alpha", "B" is "bravo", "C" is "Charlie" and so on. The clarity achieved by the pilot when producing a two-syllable word instead of a single syllable letter name (most of which sound very similar) is worth the extra effort expended. More time could be wasted by repeating a letter name, and more could be at risk if one letter were mistaken for another. Ambiguity, then, is a natural part of human interaction, and disambiguation by the receiver is generally preferred over extra effort expended by the producer.

2.2 Interpreting

In order to adequately describe the language use of interpreters, it is important first to briefly describe the field of interpreting. The first section, 2.2.1, outlines definitions which have been applied to the field of interpreting, and section 2.2.2 describes studies of the community interpreter as participant. In section 2.2.3 consideration is given to where this thesis fits within the scholarly work undertaken by signed language interpreter researchers using CA-inspired approaches.

2.2.1 Definitions of Interpreting

Interpreting and translation are both ways in which the meaning of one language (the source language) is rendered in another (the target language). The major difference between the two is that translation is a rendering of the written word, and interpreting is a rendering of the spoken word. The term 'translation' is sometimes used to describe both types of process, but interpreting is only used for the spoken word. The skills necessary for translation and interpreting overlap. The author's or speaker's meaning must first be understood, and then delivered in the target language. However, just as writing takes time, and can be gone back to and rearranged, so too can translations. A translator can check meanings in books, and can collaborate with others. Interpreting is more like public speaking (Napier 2004; Pöchhacker 2004, Roy 2000:115, Wadensjö 1998:41). It can be prepared for, it gets better with practice, but it is in the moment, and is a performance.

Interpreters and researchers have defined translation and interpreting in different ways. Rabin (1958:123) highlighted meaning as most important. He described the process of interpreting and translating as a meaning produced in one language being reproduced in another and which is "intended and presumed" to have the same meaning as the first. The aim is for the reader/listener to trust that the meaning has been rendered accurately. Semantic equivalence alone may not express *how* something has been expressed nor the implications of the use of the term in the source language. Wadensjö (1998:41) described the process as "speaking and writing on behalf" of another, highlighting the responsibility taken by the translator/interpreter. Pöchhacker (2004:10) described the process in terms of the "here and now". He concluded that interpreting is the process of rendering an utterance, which is produced only once, into a different language which is also produced only once. Using this aspect of time, where translation is durable and interpreting is fleeting is perhaps the most potent difference between the two forms.

Seleskovitch's (1978) description of interpreting concluded that it is not enough just to render the message into another language, "it is not complete until the total message has reached the listener" (1978:121). The words "total" and "reached" are important

here; "total" suggests the entirety of what was said, and that would need to include the actions meant by the speaker as much as the words used. The word "reached" gives the impression that the recipient of the interpretation needs to have access to it for it to have "reached" them. Such a view is substantially important to this thesis, because repair, sought by the interpreter, is a method of achieving understanding of all of what was said, so that the recipient can also know all of what was said. An interpreter who intervenes when they are either a) sure that they have not understood or b) not sure that they have understood, is behaving in a way which allows the message to reach the listener/addressee. The interpreter who checks to see whether she has understood properly before interpreting has taken on the responsibility to produce that meaning in the target language for the other participant. Successful interpreting (an assessment of which can only be where both parties are satisfied by the appropriateness of the answers given by their interlocutor) must include the receipt (and uptake) of what was first said.

2.2.2 Perceptions of the Interpreter's Participation

This thesis deals with signed language outside of the court. However, Berk-Seligson's description of the work of Spanish/English interpreters in a court setting has been cited by many researchers about signed language interpreting. Indeed, Berk-Seligson (1990) outlined some of the same concerns which are addressed in this thesis, particularly regarding intervening, and how the recipients of the interpreter intervention responded to that intervention. She showed how interpreters can influence jury/witness perception of attorneys, by "interrupting" them for clarification. The interpreters were more experienced in the politics of the environment of the court than their Spanish-speaking clients, so they needed to guide their clients in the ways of the court, or they explained the court behaviour to their clients. As an ethnographer, Berk-Seligson believed that an interpreter would be seen by others as ideally not having a voice of her own, and to speak only for others, not for herself. Her research showed that the interpreter is far more than that, and actively takes a role within the proceedings, despite the wishes of the other participants in the court. Berk-Seligson showed how passive case constructions in source language can be changed during the

interpreting process, and appear as active constructions, even including named agents in the target language. She further showed how a change in grammatical case during the interpretation can affect placement of actors in the foreground or the background of an activity. With the insight she had as a researcher practitioner, Berk-Seligson gave reasons for the decisions made by interpreters; practitioners, therefore, recognise themselves and their practice in her work. Her approach was invaluable in the way that it allowed interpreters of different languages to understand the universal issues, and highlighted those aspects of interpreting which belong not to specific languages, but to the process of interpreting itself. Berk-Seligson's work has parallels with signed language interpreters and their clients. Whether the signed language interpreter is deaf themselves, or has deaf parents, or has a strong affiliation with the deaf community for other reasons, they, like the Spanish/English interpreters, will have empathy with the clients' point of view (Mindness 2006).

The court interpreters in Berk-Seligson's (1990) research were primarily concerned with the language of the court, rather than the process of the court, and they needed to highlight to the officers of the court specific grammatical issues. For example, in Spanish, in answer to a negatively worded question, such as "You wouldn't have told the border patrol agent something different from what you're telling us here?" (1990:79) someone can answer "No", as in "No, I wouldn't" but also "Yes", as in "Yes, you are right, I wouldn't". A straightforward translation of yes or no in this case would not render the correct meaning. A parallel in BSL/English interpreting is the question put to defendants/witnesses in court as to whether they are single. A more typical question in BSL is to ask if someone is married. The interpreter will do so, receive the answer "no" as in "no I am not married", and answer to the court "yes", as in "yes, I am single".

The interpreters in Berk-Seligson's (1990) research would sometimes point out grammatical differences to the court. By doing so, they exposed themselves to being seen as criticising the English-speaking professionals in the court, hence influencing jury perception. Interpreter misunderstandings, such as vocabulary which is unknown to the interpreter, or a novel use of a known term, caused them to interrupt the flow

of speech (1990:187). This is a finding which is at the very heart of this thesis. In order to do her job, the interpreter finds herself in the position of acting in a way which can be seen as disrupting the normal course of affairs (see also Goffman 1959). Napier et al. (2010) described it as "ethical" for an interpreter to ask for a repeat if they have not heard, or have misheard, but that repeat should be requested "within reason", naming graduation speeches and funeral services as examples of occasions when it would be inappropriate. Napier et al. acknowledge that by doing so the interpreter could be perceived as being less competent (2010:75).

Even if the trouble source is due to an interpreter mishearing, the subsequent clarification could be construed in a different way to that which was intended. An act of remarking upon (for the sole purposes of needing to interpret it) can become an act of drawing attention to something. Court officials use techniques to draw attention away from or towards certain aspects of a case. The interpreter may unwittingly draw attention to something said which is immaterial to the case (or being deliberately obfuscated by the lawyer) simply by wanting to know what had been said, or meant.

An interpreter who is working in court, and knows that there is a written record being taken by a stenographer, may choose certain ways to render a word which has two meanings in the source language. Interpreters may say "station wagon or small truck" (Berk-Seligson 1990:130) when a single Spanish word (*camioneta*) is used by the witness, because the word has two meanings. The intention may well be to allow for accuracy – allow for different meanings. Experienced court interpreters will know that any piece of evidence, or information, may be revisited, and cross-examination may well home in on any perceived discrepancies. Nevertheless the behaviour of the interpreter who is mitigating against inaccuracy may nevertheless be seen as hesitancy, or incompetence.

Unfortunately, the by-products of a) interpreter thinking time, b) recalling an item of vocabulary, c) finding confrontation difficult to cope with emotionally and trying to soften the edges (and other examples), can have attendant vocalisations, the "uhms" and "ers" and "kind ofs". For the interpreter producing these vocalisations, they

appear to be potentially interchangeable. However, from a pragmatic point of view, these vocalisations are not 'empty' or 'fillers', neither are they equivalent, they all add to the original message. An impression of the speaker can thus be produced unwittingly by the interpreter particularly at the beginnings of signed talk which is interpreted in group situations (Feyne 2014). This point is discussed further in section 5.1.

Hesitancy, hedging and other marks of this type of production of language may also be a strategy on the part of the interpreter to give themselves more time. Hearing people will fill gaps in talk by speaking, and if the deaf person is speaking in BSL, and therefore not contributing sound, the interpreter needs to hold the deaf person's place in the auditory mode, in order not to have to 'interrupt' the hearing person with what is actually a continuation of the deaf person's talk. Interpreters need to be fairly robust, and as such, their own natural speech would not necessarily be hesitant. It is something for interpreters and researchers alike to consider, however, because if the interpreter "sounds" hesitant, then so does the deaf person. There are interesting points to be made about the power of the interpreter (whether conscious or not), and how the participants are seen due to the behaviour of the interpreter.

2.2.3 Interpreter as Participant

As set out in the introduction, Berk-Seligson's work, and the work of others (Hale 2007; Harrington and Turner 2001; Mason 2001; Napier 2001; Pöchhacker 2002; Roy 1993, 2000; Seleskovitch 1978; Wadensjö 1992, 2000 and others) concluded that the interpreter is not an "unobtrusive figure" as the American statutes (Standards of Judicial Administration, 1981) would have it. In order to do her job effectively the interpreter needs to exert control over the questioning power of the attorneys in the court, and the perceptions of all participants. They are obtrusive despite the fact that most of their clients believe that they should not be (Berk- Seligson 1990; Frishberg 1990; Mason 2001:ii; Pöchhacker 2004; Seleskovitch 1978:97-8; Wadensjö 1998; Harrington and Turner 2001).

Hale (2007:7) further described how this simplified notion of transfer of meaning is impossible: equivalence is only possible, she argued, if it is viewed from a pragmatic perspective: "understanding the meaning of the utterance beyond the literal meaning of the words, understanding the speaker's intentions in context, taking into account the participants and the situation, and then assessing the likely reaction of the listeners to the utterance" (2007:7). That is, the interpreter must be an active participant, and part of the intersubjectivity between clients.

If, as seen in the work of Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977), the interaction between speakers of the same language is fraught with difficulty and misunderstanding, then this too must be manifest in the interpreting process. Hale (2007) described the conditions needed in order to have an optimal environment for interpreting as being two-fold – discourse-internal, and discourse-external. Discourse-internal means that the interpreter has a thorough knowledge of the languages involved, and the speakers have a coherence of discourse style, a willingness to be understood and to use unambiguous expression. Discourse-external means that the interpreter has an understanding of the discourse roles in the interaction, an understanding of the social roles attributed to the participants, an understanding of the context of the situation, an understanding of the setting, an understanding of the relevant cultures, a knowledge of the subject matter and a common or shared knowledge with the speakers. The setting should have good conditions which will not hinder hearing or concentration, and the speakers should have an understanding of the interpreter's role and needs (Hale 2007). The 'Demand-Control Schema' of Dean and Pollard (2001), echoed the need to understand the larger picture. This schema described the interpreting process as having a constellation of demands (inter- and intra-personal, paralinguistic and environmental) on the interpreter who then has a choice of varying controls (seating, heating, asking someone to slow down, repairing, and so on) in order to mitigate these demands. They, too, discussed the difficulties for the interpreter in judging what they call the "fund of information" (Pollard 1998) that each of the primary participants hold.

Seleskovitch (1978:ii) wrote that the process of interpreting transcends consideration of the languages used. Wadensjö (1998; Russian and Swedish), Roy (1989; American

Sign Language and English) and Seleskovitch (1978; French, German and English) all describe similar experiences of the interpreting process. This process of interpreting appears to be the same when working between two signed or two spoken languages. For the interpreter working *between* signed and spoken languages there are additional considerations due to the different modes of production which are used, spoken and signed, and while there are exceptions (Adam and Stone 2011) for the time being interpreters predominantly belong to the majority culture, and can hear (Baker-Shenk 1986; Napier 2005).

2.2.4 Interpreter as Other

Turner (2001:31-2) writes of the rights and responsibilities of deaf people and interpreters, and the need for mutual respect. High on the list is the need for deaf people to respect the interpreter's need for individuality and identity, "especially when they spend huge chunks of their waking hours taking on other personas and trying to get inside other people's skin" (2001:32). This is also true for the individuality and identity of the deaf person. Many deaf people have two sets of interpreters, one for work and one for personal interpreting so that they can keep their professional and personal roles distinct, in a way that hearing people take for granted. In fact some deaf people would prefer not to have an interpreter during a doctor's appointment, and will rely on written English (personal conversations with deaf colleagues and friends). This is not a possibility for those deaf people who have less facility with English.

To make such a clear distinction between interpreter roles may seem draconian, but it is in keeping with the awareness of differing modes of communication. In order for a deaf person to "hear" what a hearing person has said, they need to look at the interpreter. The hearing person will be looking at the expressions on the deaf person's face, looking for the usual cues of understanding, but these will be slightly delayed, and not the almost instantaneous cues usual in a face to face conversation. From the deaf person's view, they must trust that the interpreter has got "inside the other person's skin" (Turner 2001:32) sufficiently to portray the speaker accurately. Because the deaf person has to look at the interpreter, they cannot look at the speaker (apart from the odd glance). All parties will, in theory, understand the pretence which is being

deployed, which is that the interpreter is not talking to either party; they are playing the part of each party.

This conceit of the interpreter *being* the other person can become confusing, for example, judges have been known to reprimand interpreters for profanity, when they have in fact been interpreting for a defendant or a witness (personal experience, and communications with other interpreters). A spoken language interpreted conversation allows all parties to hear how things are said. Although there may well be differences between different cultures, with some cultures being more or less reserved than others, anger, upset, distress, suspicion, all can be heard in another's voice, even when the words are inaccessible. This is generally not the case between modes, hence the need for the interpreter to embody either party. It is this embodiment which can cause confusion on either part. It is also this which means that the interpreter must somehow display themselves as themselves when repairing. If they are already playing the part of interpreter, a part which everyone agrees on, how do they then shrug off that part, signal to both parties, in two languages, that they are now themselves, and that they have something to say? These are the issues which this thesis hopes to illuminate.

2.2.5 Interpreting Models

Early writers on signed language interpreting moved away from the spoken language texts which spoke of decoding, analysing and re-coding language. These writers (Cokely 1985; Metzger 1995, 1999; Solow 1981; and Roy 1989, 1992, 1996, 2000) state that such models could not be the case, as interpreters work not only between languages but also between cultures. Scott-Gibson (1990) called for interpreters who were bilingual and bicultural "for accurate transmission of information". In fact, Napier (2002) follows the work of Roy (1993), by suggesting that the interpreter is often the only person in the room who can see the issues due to culture difference, and can use this understanding to mediate between them. With this same idea in mind, writers have referred to interpreters as belonging to a "third culture" (Atwood and Gray 1986; Bienvenu 1987; Napier 2002).

The conduit model (Solow 1981), asserted that an interpreter should not impact on communication, and should be a bridge between the two cultures. This caught the imagination of a deaf community who were beginning to realise their own independence. However, just as with other pro-deaf arguments, which had been necessary in the 1970s and 1980s to aggressively throw off centuries of oppression (Harrington and Turner 2001:28), this view of interpreter as conduit was later considered to be incomplete. Roy (1993) and Metzger (1999) wrote about human dynamics and the rigidity which a conduit model imposed. Both authors agreed that the interpreter must participate in the process, and does not simply pass a "message" from one to the other. McIntire and Sanderson (1993) considered the interpreter as an ally of the deaf community. This change of status allowed for interpreters to participate, on the grounds that they were allied with the deaf person. Cokely (1992) defined a sociolinguistic model, which recognised the interpreter as part of interaction between deaf and hearing people. Stewart, Schein and Cartwright (1998) coined the term 'interactive model', which described a way of thinking about interpreting which included environmental factors, just as in the Demand-Control schema of Dean and Pollard (2001) and the work of Hale (2007) (section 2.2.3). Dean and Pollard's Demand-Control schema, with its idea of interpreter as practice professional, is the most current model used by interpreters today, and the carefully delineated parameters of participation, that is, for the purpose of interpreting only, leads to a more natural interaction than those which advocated for the interpreter to be ignored. We are currently in a state of change, with some clients and some interpreters still believing in the invisibility of the interpreter. Section 2.2.6 describes some of the remaining difficulties.

2.2.6 Interpreter as Mediator

In her study of the interpreter's role in workplace discourse, Dickinson revealed her research participants' views about the role of an interpreter (2010:227-49). The observations the participants made illuminate the line which both separates the conduit model from the participant model, and shows the extent of decision-making which takes place in the work of a competent interpreter.

Dickinson considered the views of a deaf employee, a hearing manager and two hearing Signed Language Interpreters (SLIs). Video clips had been taken of interpreted events, and each of the participants were interviewed individually (conducted in the language of their choice), in order to watch the videos and feedback their observations on them.

When dealing with multi-party talk, the interpreters who were interviewed spoke of "hearing dominated" norms being used in these meetings. They referred to spoken language norms of "just pitching right in" (2010:230) (c.f. French and Local 1983 for turn-competitive incomings) not putting their hands up, or waiting for others to stop talking before they spoke (see also Jefferson 1978 for sequential aspects of conversation, Lerner 1991, 2002 for turn-taking and turn-sharing, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974 for turn-taking, among others).

These behaviours of "pitching in" and not putting up your hand, speaking in overlap are usual in non-interpreted meetings with spoken language users. Some participants claim that waiting to be asked smacks of subservience, and putting up your hand reminds them of their school days. There is organisation within such meetings, facilitated through the use of norms of behaviour usual to spoken languages. The difficulty is that the norms of joining a conversation are not shared between the signed language and spoken language users.

When dealing with multiple speakers, and a time lag which leaves a deaf person at a disadvantage in terms of ability to intervene, often this is the very time when repair is necessary. In Dickinson's study (2010), the participants all agreed that the deaf person was at a disadvantage because they had to follow a fast, and possibly less clear interpretation due to the speed of delivery (see Gerver 1969). This is compounded further by less time being available to the interpreter to indicate who is speaking, leaving the deaf person struggling to follow both the information, and working out the source, as well as trying to enter into the discussion themselves (2010:231).

Added to this is the frustration expressed by one of Dickinson's research participant interpreters, who felt that some responsibility for understanding and for being clear should be taken by the hearing people in the meeting. She thought the hearing people who were part of the meeting, and were colleagues of the deaf employee should "know better" than to make life more difficult for herself and the deaf employee (2010:231). The hearing manager stated that in one clip the deaf person was "just sort of having a barrage of information". This shows that individuals are capable of understanding the effect a meeting of this sort will have on a deaf person who is working with an interpreter. These are the times when repair is necessary, and at the same time less easily accomplished. From personal experience, it can feel as though the interpreter is juggling three or four batons, and repair is yet another baton which is thrown into the mix – and it is on fire!

This section of Dickinson's (2010) work describes very clearly that what is necessary for the interpreter and what is necessary for the primary participants are different. Repair in mono- lingual conversation is not usually a difficult thing to do. While language has been labelled as containing "flawed presentation (hesitations, repetitions, incorrect language)" (Oléron and Nanpon 1965:44), and repair is the way in which people solve any problems in understanding which result from such presentations, it is the "(mis)understanding" which is seen as the problem. Repair is the solution.

2.2.7 Beginnings of Turns

Dickinson (2010), through interview, revealed the difficulties interpreters have in interjecting on behalf of the deaf person in multi-party interaction. The interpreter found it difficult to facilitate the inclusion of the deaf person (2010:230-1) because time lag meant that the deaf person was always a few seconds behind the hearing people's talk. The spoken language was either overlapped, or people changed from one to the other at speed, which meant the deaf person was left waiting for a turn (see section 2.2.2). A participatory strategy used by interpreters (personal experience and discussion with other interpreters) is to start speaking 'for' the deaf person in a general way (for example "What I have been wondering is …", "Could I just interject here …")

and indicating to the deaf person to start signing, and then to pick up the actual content of what they say as it is signed. These strategies are usually successful in facilitating a turn for the deaf person. They allow the deaf person access to the conversation in real time and at the same position in the talk as the hearing person could interject. This is a stressful time for the interpreter, who wants to give equal access to all the participants. The interpreter can often feel overwhelmed in these situations, and they are looking at the deaf person, who is making clear that they want to contribute. The interpreter can hear the conversation as it flows and will be waiting for an appropriate point in which to insert themselves (as deaf participant) into the conversation. The word appropriate has nothing to do with "propriety" here, it is simply that there are effective points to interject, and there are ineffective ones. The status of the interpreter (i.e. invisible, or non-participatory) means that even when she has intervened "as" the deaf person, that does not mean that she will be "heard" by the rest of the group. The client has eye-contact with them, and may even be holding up their hand, or raising their eyebrows and nodding slightly, which shows an intention to take a turn. By starting to talk, as described above, the interpreter can 'take' a turn for the deaf person who has already taken a turn in a culturally appropriate way for a visual language (hand raised, or eyebrows raised and head nod), but which is not understood as taking a turn by the spoken language users (who use pitch, loudness and repetition). The expectation of the BSL-user in this sort of situation may be that the interpreter should intervene in the conversation, and the waiting which is observed by the client, can appear to be preventing their BSL-using client from contributing, when in fact they are waiting for the right time. Van Herreweghe (2002) wrote extensively about turns at talk in meetings consisting of spoken and signed language users, showing exactly this difficulty between turn-taking methods in the two cultures/modes. Her work is covered in section 2.3.3.

Sentence beginnings project a shape of turn (Schegloff 1987:74). By giving a shape, for example, "What I have been wondering …" to a deaf person's utterance, the interpreter is making a choice. The hearing people will be expecting to hear about something the deaf person has been wondering about. They may or may not have been wondering, they may be about to complain, advise, or assert. The interpreter can

project an intent on the part of the deaf person unintentionally (Feyne 2014). This is an unexpected consequence of the interpreter's attempt to secure a turn at talk for the deaf participant, by using the spoken language convention of making sound. In section 2.2.2 we also saw how these strategies can inadvertently project a certain stance on the part of the interpreter. Here we see that an interpreting strategy may inadvertently and unintentionally project a stance onto the deaf person.

2.2.8 Interpreter Misunderstandings

In section 2.1.3, the statement was made, following Schegloff (1992:1300) that an interlocutor never accesses 'the' understanding meant by the speaker, but only 'an' understanding of what they might have meant. By their response, it was seen, the interlocutor displays 'their understanding' of such 'an understanding'. The interpreter, as someone who works with two languages, who should be / is likely to be acutely aware of nuance and polysemy, will have different reasons for asking for clarification, or for anticipating a misunderstanding than a primary participant may have. Background knowledge and experience mean that an interpreter will make sure not to leap to the first understanding which comes to mind – they will have a number of possible meanings for words or phrases, and will need to consider which is the most reasonable before it is interpreted. For example, the word "sheet" when used in a nursing context would seem to be straightforward. The sentence "He's on the sheet" would conjure up a particular picture of a male human lying on a sheet, or on a bed which has a sheet on it. When you know that there is a form used to display the nursing staff rota for the next four weeks which is called "the sheet", another meaning comes to mind. An interpreter may ask a nurse what they mean by "sheet", and the answer may be the first meaning. The reason for the interpreter asking for clarification may then seem bizarre, but it is based on their experience of nursing environments. Signed language interpreters need to have particularly detailed and explicit information in spoken language, due to the visual encoding demanded by signed languages (see Brennan and Brown (1997), Napier (2004) and Leeson (2011) for further descriptions).

2.2.9 Interpreting and Real Space Blends

In order for a grammatical theory to have descriptive accuracy, there must be a way for that theory to be consistent with the data. Early descriptions of signed language grammar claimed that signs were directed to specific loci in the signing space. Despite the lack of examples, it became part of the understanding of signed languages. Liddell in his (2003) seminal work on the grammar of ASL, described the extension to Fauconnier's (1985, 1997) work on Mental Space Theory used in spoken languages. The idea of a mental space is that the entities that people talk about are all conceptual entities within conceptual structures called *mental spaces*. Meanings are encoded by speakers which are intended to be associated with mental space elements (Liddell 2003:80). Liddell's work extended this framework to include something called 'real space'. He defined this as the representation of the world around the person perceiving it, which mostly corresponds with the world as that person interacts with it. A person will see a keyboard in front of them and, through years of experience, they expect that if they reach out, they will touch the keyboard which exists in the world. What we see and what we can deduce from our eyesight is mostly born out in the other ways we can perceive that object; our other senses. It is easy to imagine that the internal representation we have which is based on our perception *is* that object. The object we believe we see is an object we believe we will be able to touch if we reach out. Those times when our perceptions are not borne out in reality (or rather by our other senses) we react in surprise, and we call those situations *illusions*. The brain is also capable of imagining a keyboard, or remembering a keyboard, however in those cases the remembered entity is not treated the same way as the perceived entity. That is, there is no expectation that we can touch those entities, and no surprise when it is not possible to reach towards them and touch them (Liddell 2003).

To understand a real space blend, it is important to consider cognitive grammar, which defines three types of grammatical elements; phonological, semantic and symbolic. The symbolic linguistic unit consists of a semantic and phonological pairing, referred to as phonological and semantic poles. The phonological unit, when perceived by the addressee allows the addressee to access and activate the semantic pole of the phonological unit which was heard, thereby understanding it. Individuals are

constantly accessing the semantic poles of the phonological units they are perceiving. Fauconnier and Turner (1996) described a process they referred to as *blending*. Blending is the process of overlapping two different mental spaces onto a third mental space which is the blend. This is akin to other imaginary processes such as believing that the actors in a play are the characters they play.

Liddell describes the process of building a real space blend by using an analogy of a wooden representation of a map on top of a table, used by sailors. The sailors are aware that this a is a map on a table, and that the "ships" are in fact miniature and made of wood, but the real space representation of the actual sea, islands and ships outside allows the sailors to model that real space as a blend of the two entities (sea and table) by use of the map on a table. The sailors see the table, which is *grounded* (it has a presence in the immediate environment), but they also see there the blend of the conceptual seascape, with islands and ships (Liddell 2003:148).

Real space blends found in signed languages can be categorised by the signer becoming part of the blend themselves – this has been referred to as role shift – and is called a *surrogate blend*. In the world which has been created for the purposes of the conversation, the *surrogate space*. If the signer becomes one of the characters in that space, they have entered this surrogate space, and will interact with the surrogates within that space. In Liddell's case, the signer becomes a cartoon character Garfield, who then interacts with a surrogate, Jon (2003:151). When the signer does not become part of the blend themselves, the elements in the blend space are called *tokens*. Liddell's example uses two loci in front of the signer, one representing "College basketball" and the other representing "Professional basketball". Lastly, Liddell describes *buoys*. These are the signs used by the non-dominant hand which are held in a stationary position while the dominant hand continues to produce signs (2003:223).

Nilsson (2010) shows how real space blends are more difficult to process into Swedish, and are effective in assessing difficulty of an interpreting task. Her earlier work (Nilsson 2007) described the phenomenon of sign fragments, where the non-dominant hand remains in place, after a two-handed sign has finished. Nilsson (2008) also described the strategies used by signed language users which take advantage of the

signing space in descriptive discourse. Nilsson (2013) described the use of tokens by Swedish to Swedish Sign Language interpreters, showing how the interpreters who were L1 users of Swedish Sign Language used more upper body movement in their use of tokens in the sign space, compared with the L2 interpreters who were felt by the deaf consultants to be "too still" and seem to have arms/hands which are "detached" from the body.

2.2.10 Features of BSL Grammar

In order to continue into the next section which describes the work on signed language interpreting, it is necessary first to introduce aspects of BSL grammar which are pertinent to the work.

Firstly, signed languages, while being influenced by the spoken language of the host country, have a fully independent grammatical form. Deuchar (1948:8) states that "BSL as used natively by deaf people is quite different from English." She describes the rough equivalency of signs to words, and the possibility of translating signs into words, but clearly states that there is no direct representation of English words in terms of the sounds or meanings. The only part of BSL which directly represents English words, she sates, is what is called the fingerspelling system, or the manual alophabet. This system is used by signers for spelling English names and places, or for words which do not yet have an equivalent sign (Deuchar 1984:8).

Signs, according to Deuchar, are made up of a different set of hand configurations to that of the manual alphabet and include a variety of movements and locations on the upper body. This activity is accompanied with facial expression and also head and body movement (sometimes referred to as non-manual features). Both of these activities, which are additional to the sign which is produced, inform the watcher of various grammatical features (adverbials of manner and time) and distinguish between minimal pairs (e.g. "imagine" and "dream" Deuchar 1984:75), and also to denote questions (eyebrow raising or lowering), and negation (Deuchar 1984:91). Sutton-Spence

and Woll (1999) additionally describe the functions of a head nod. Both speakers of English and users of BSL use a head nod to mean "yes". However, in BSL a nod can be used to perform other functions. Nodding can be used to provide feedback to the person signing, in order to show attention. Sutton-Spence and Woll go on to list the ways in which a head nod can be used. They describe how a head dip can be used to indicate for person ('I'). Instead of signing I REMEMBER, the signer can nod while signing REMEMBER. Another use is that of fast head nods when insisting on the truth of something. Sutton-spence and Woll (1999) comment that the word "si" in French and the word "é" in Portuguese perform a similar function. Finally, Sutton-Spence and Woll describe the function of a head nod, or two small head nods, to show phrasal completion (Sutton-Spence and Woll, 1999:91-93). These head nods are used by the speaker, rather than the observer, and the head nods which are descrived in this study seem to be performing a similar role to this last function, that is, to show completion of understanding.

Constructed action (Metzger 1995), also known as *role shift* (Padden 1986) *referential shift* (Emmorey 2002) and *point of view predicate* (Lillo-Martin 1995), is a discourse strategy found in signed languages, similar to reported speech in spoken languages, where the signer uses their own body to represent the "actions, utterances, thoughts, feelings and/or attitudes of a referent" (Cormier and Smith 2013). Cormier and Smith (2013) go on to describe the difficulty in distinguishing between constructed action as quotation, and that of the thoughts, actions and feelings of the referents. Clark and Gerrig (1990) considered the quotations to be more like "demonstrations". They describe the "quotation2 as not necessarily representing the actual utterances produced, but rather the manner of the utterances – for example loudness of voice, pitch of voice, non-lexical sounds. When considering reported speech in this way, the constructed action of signed languages can be more readily understood as a feature of language than a feature of signed languages.

Dudis (2007) described the way in which the body and the surrounding space in front of the signer can be sued to represent entities of the scene being depicted (Dudis 2007:1). Considering the difference between depiction and iconicity, he

showed how the American sign Language sign for "bird", with its use of the shape of a beak to refer to a large group of entities which have beaks – birds, was different in type from the depiction of a specific bird being referred to in live conversation. Similarly, verbs such as "to give" and "to hand to" are realised differently when used as a citation form and use din live conversation. These differences from the citation forms are informative to both the signer and the watcher, and bridge the gap between the form "I gave the paper to him" and "He was given the paper".

These features of signed language grammar are necessary when considering the differences between spoken and signed language.

2.3 CA and Sign Language / Sign Language Interpreting

This section describes the studies conducted on signed languages, signed languages and interpreting, and how the affordances/constraints of the modalities of visual-gestural or aural- vocal languages impact on interpreting. This is where signed and spoken language interpreting part company, and the differences between spoken and signed languages become more pronounced. This is where the current thesis starts.

2.3.1 Repair in ASL

Dively (1998) working in monolingual American Sign Language (ASL) described the repair mechanisms she had found in ASL conversations. Firstly, her findings were that ASL conversational repairs indicated consistency with English and Thai conversational repairs. She found that a) self-initiated repairs occurred more frequently than other-initiated repairs, b) repairs take place with a trouble source having occurred, c) repairs take place without a trouble source having occurred and d) unrepaired trouble sources occur. These all appear to be the same as spoken languages. Further, she found that space can be a repair issue in ASL. In her data she found that a signer had referred to her mother placing her on the right-hand side, then later referred to the same person (her mother) put by indicating the left-hand side (Dively 1998:157). This is something which does not occur in spoken language. Dively (1998) showed that ASL has lexical items which are purely for repair, one to signify the last part uttered was wrong, and

another to show that a word search is in progress. Just as spoken language has lexical items which can function as repair or non-repair items, so too does ASL. Non-manual features, such as head turns and eye-gaze are used to show repairs, and Dively suggested that this was possible in spoken language too. The cut-offs, elongations and pauses discussed by Schegloff et al. (1977) were found by Dively to have equivalents in ASL. Additionally, Dively (1998) found that an ASL-user will ask their interlocutor for explanation of a particular sign used. This is acceptable and is due to the occurrence of regional signs across the US (most countries will also have regional differences). They may also ask the interlocutor whether the sign they are using is appropriate, or understood. What did not happen in her data is the repair of ungrammatical ASL utterances. Dively (1998) believed that this is because the participants were not known to each other before the study, and politeness dictated that grammar was not repaired. She suggested possible further study on the friendly repair of each other's sign language use, in order to contribute to the knowledge about signed languages and ASL in particular (Dively 1998:168).

2.3.2 Turn-taking and the Collaborative Floor

Coates and Sutton-Spence (2001) considered turn-taking patterns in deaf conversation. Citing Edelsky (1981) they found the Schegloff et al. (1974) model of conversation (few gaps, and few overlaps) to be insufficient, and posited a second type of conversational norm, the collaborative floor (which is where groups of equals all contribute to the discussion, sometimes simultaneously with other speakers). Coates and Sutton-Spence (2001) were interested to find whether or not deaf people had access to the collaborative floor. It had been thought that multiple contributions would be difficult due to the importance of eye-gaze, and the attention necessary to concentrate on one signer at once. Edelsky (1981) argued that researchers had misunderstood the norm of one-at-a-time because they thought simultaneous talk would be potentially unhearable. Like Edelsky (1981), Coates and Sutton-Spence (2001) demonstrated that "participants at talk can attend to more than one source of talk at a time, whether sound-based or visual" (2001:526). Participation, it seemed, could be more important to members of a group than being seen or being heard. Additionally, signed languages have an advantage over spoken languages due to being able to produce signs and then

keep the hands in the same position, actively "holding" the signs over time (2001:527) (also referred to as "sign perseveration" by Gee and Kegl 1983). This is impossible for spoken languages, as eventually the speaker will run out of breath; a more usual strategy in spoken languages is repetition of a word. Coates and Sutton-Spence also found repetition in their data, most commonly when the signer had started signing, but had not yet made eye contact with anyone (2001:523).

2.3.3 Turn-taking and Interpreted Interaction

In her study of three types of meeting in Dutch and Flemish Sign Language, Van Herreweghe (2002) described the turn-taking methods used by deaf and hearing people, and how the interpreter can affect participation by a deaf person. In spoken language conversations, next speaker is selected by a) affiliating a name, or other identifying term to the initiating sequence, b) using gaze direction as an addressing device, c) embedded addressing, accompanied by gaze direction (referring to someone as "you" and looking at them in particular), d) embedded addressing without gaze – "you" and the reference being contextual. In chaired spoken language meetings, there is a different pattern – the chair has "third party designation of next speaker" (Larrue and Trognon 1993:181).

In her study, Van Herreweghe (2002) first had to study turn-taking in all-sign chaired meetings, as there was no literature on this phenomenon. The first striking difference was that affiliating a name to a sequence-initiating action did not occur in the signed meetings. Names were only used when talking *about* someone, never as an addressing device. Secondly, embedded addressing without eye gaze did not occur. In fact, eye gaze proved essential in turn-taking activity. Self-selection proved to be similar to the turn-claiming signals described by Baker (1977); waving a hand, indexing (holding out their index finger), lightly touching the current speaker on the arm, and tapping the table. A very important difference found between self-selection in a dyadic and multi-party conversation was that self-selection is only successful when the current speaker looks at the self-selector, and not at the others. Self-selection is never *completed* by self, there must always be some visible acquiescence from current speaker. This extra piece of information is very important for this study. If deaf people expect to have

agreement from current speaker when self-selecting, and hearing people do not, the interpreter must do something in order for both groups to have equal self-selection rights.

Like Van Herreweghe, Dickinson (2010) noticed what seemed to be unclear practice (a lack of deictic referencing of next speaker when interpreting in a group meeting). She then attempted to correct this behaviour in her own practice – she made a decision to reference every speaker in her next jobs – and found that pressure of time made what was deemed clear practice (the referencing of speakers) almost impossible, despite her having made it a priority. The importance of being a practitioner is that we can test our hypotheses in the field. An interpreter may very well know what should be done, but is only able to manage what can be done.

The interpreted meetings were analysed by Van Herreweghe (2002), with the difficulties created by the interpreting process highlighted. These consisted mostly of difficulties caused by mode difference when attempting to gain a turn. These difficulties centred on the problems due to interpreters not referencing, or indicating the person speaking. This is generally done by pointing at the current speaker, and allowing the deaf audience time to look over and see who is talking. Van Herreweghe described this as forgetting to reference. In a very busy meeting, it could also be about not having time to reference. Although Van Herreweghe outlined these inadequacies (because they were present) her stance nevertheless was descriptive rather than prescriptive, a stance which is very different from the older assessments of interpreters which was concerned with errors, and as such is in line with the stance taken in this thesis.

Another important finding by Van Herreweghe was that in the mixed hearing and deaf groups, although all the hearing people looked at who was talking (deaf or hearing) the deaf people mostly looked at the interpreters. "Consequently, the Deaf participants had no control over the organisation of turn-taking and the allocation of the next turn" (Van Herreweghe 2002:85), which was a completely different pattern from that of an all signed meeting. It appeared that joint attention was achieved by voice in spoken

language meetings and by eye gaze in signed language meetings. Because of the lack of control experienced by the deaf participants, the interpreter became the one who allocated turns, as opposed to the primary participants collectively. This meant that the interpreter held the power of the right to speak in the meeting, simply because of inadequate chairing which made her a more active participant in the conversation than she would have intended, and put her in the "communication cop" situation described by Frischberg (1990:27).

Roy (1989) asserted that each speaker/signer makes decisions about turns due to the nature of talk. All participants were consulted about the process, and about the role of the interpreter. Roy (2000) recommended that any theory of interpreting should account for actual performance of the role in a discourse process. "Although interpreting what is said *is* a primary role of interpreters, it is incumbent on the profession to encourage and promote the academic investigation and study of the role as it is performed in interactive discourse" (2000:121, emphasis in original). Roy (2000) stated further: 1) that the basic and fundamental interpreting event is one where two people talk to each other through an interpreter; 2) that turns at talk can be smooth transitions from one person to the other, but that pauses and silences between turns fall into three categories i) those silences expected in any conversation (such as which occurs when one participant is reading something) ii) pauses created by the participants (for effect, or if they are remembering something) iii) those silences which are longer than is usual due to the interpreting process; 3) that the interpreter is an engaged participant; and lastly, 4) it is through the study of naturally occurring interpreted events that we can understand how the interpreter works. By concentrating on turn-taking, and by approaching interpreting from a discourse analysis perspective, Roy found that the interpreter had responsibility for the continuation of conversation. She discussed the "choices" made by the interpreter when overlapping talk occurs (1990:85-100) (see section 2.2.5). She asserted that interpreter behaviour is an *instinctive* act, based on these complex social reasons. What Roy stated here rings true, and the discourse analysis approach of her work is illuminating.

2.3.4 'Voice' in signed language

Locker (1992) described the ways in which deaf sign language users use prosodic markers, code-switching, the sign QUOTE, eye-gaze and body posture in order to "make distinct changes in their 'voice' throughout a lecture" (1992:195). She was able to describe the ways in which deaf sign language users in university lectures show these changes of state between speaking for themselves, and speaking for others (as in the case of using quotes in lectures) and in switching between recipients of their talk (as in asides to interpreters). Her findings allowed her to consider how an interpreter can use such discourse markers to enhance their interpretations. She wrote, "what is often lacking in an interpreted message are a speaker's subtle shifts in footing which help listeners make sense of utterances" (1992:197). Locker (1992:196-7) pointed out that consideration must be given to "what we can humanly expect" from interpreters. This is a very important perspective to take on the work of an interpreter. When analysing the work of an interpreter, the researcher has the time to view the interaction, and to review it over and over. It is easy to make observations about the interpreter "forgetting" to reference next speaker, for example, or missing out a segment of speech. There are outside pressures on the interpreter, so a fairer assessment might be that the interpreter "didn't have time to" reference next speaker or "chose to drop" a section (for reasons of repetition, or they genuinely missed what was said). Further, she considered the difficulty for the interpreter when there are mis-matches of *shared knowledge* between the deaf lecturer and the non-ASL speaking audience (see 2.1). According to Locker the interpreter "faces severe constraints" when attempting to recreate effects intended by the lecturer, which were to engage the audience and involve them in the discourse (Locker 1992:197).

2.3.5 Clarification Requests

Recent work by Major (2014) working in healthcare interpreting, has studied the use of clarification requests in Australian Sign Language (Auslan)/English interpreting. Major (2014) used discourse analysis to explore the clarification requests produced and conveyed by professional interpreters in role played doctor/patient interaction[5]. She stated that clarification can be considered a key skill for interpreters mediating between (in her case) patients and practitioners (2014:61). She found firstly that both the deaf and the hearing participants, on post-experiment interview expected the interpreters to clarify, and were surprised by the interpreters who did not. Major

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5   The person playing the part of a doctor was in fact a medical doctor herself, and the person playing the deaf patient was deaf and must have had some experience of being a patient interpreted by an interpreter.

(2014) also found that turn-taking was an important part of the clarification process, and distinguished between those times when the interpreter could use a next-turn to clarify, and when the interpreter needed to stop one or both the others, and take a turn more obviously (needing to create a turn). She also found that the use of "sorry"/SORRY was used as a turn-getting device or a *shift implicative device*. This is something which can be used to indicate difficulty in understanding, particularly when it prefaces a clarification request (Major 2014:55). Other devices found by Major were a WAVE (an attention-getting device in signed languages) and smiling in Auslan (Australian Sign Language), as well as the words "so", "okay" and "yeah" in English. The word "sorry" was seen by Major to be a multifunctional term, along with the word "so". Bolden (2006, 2009) established that the word "so" could be used to preface, and indicate an upcoming turn. Thus the interpreter could take a turn by making a vocalisation (Clark 1996) of either of the abovementioned "sorry" and "so" but also indicate that a trouble source has been detected, thus indicating that a clarification is imminent. Major (2014) found that interpreters not only consider the sentence level equivalence, but also the "participants' implicit intentions and perceived immediate consequences of the chosen interpretation, as well as the overall goals of the interaction". This means that the interpreter is thinking ahead to the consequences of each possible interpretation before it is chosen. This is also evidenced by the urban myth from earlier in this section, the interpreter did not want to interpret something before being sure that the meaning they had understood was the correct one.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that language is not simply spoken and understood. Each participant in a conversation works with the other in order to create understanding which is sufficient for the current purposes of the conversation being had. Using knowledge from social norms, from the conversations to date with that person, and from information which is naturally occurring within the conversation, speakers collaborate to understand each other, and to indicate to each other that understanding has been achieved (sufficiently for current purposes). Repair is the process of collaboration which occurs when there are problems of seeing/hearing, producing or understanding.

Reasons for repair can be more specific in the interpreter-mediated conversation. The differences between primary participants may well be extreme due to the mostly institutional nature of interpreted conversations. The expectations of each primary participant being understood by the other may be high, due to the interpreter being there to "neutralise" the differences. Language difference may mean that the interpreter has to ask for additional information in order to produce grammatical language (underspecificity). Cultural difference may mean that interactants are ignorant of certain norms which will need to be mediated by the interpreter, and also to be clarified by the interpreter before interpreting (ambiguity).

The work on repair in ASL (Dively 1998) shows that the same difficulties with production and reception are found and dealt with in ASL as with English. We find that modality has an impact on turn initiation by deaf interactants in a mixed mode meeting (Van Herreweghe 2002).

Locker (1992) wrote that asides and quotes were couched by footing shifts in ASL lectures. Throughout this chapter we see the expectations which are put upon the interpreter to not only have language skills, but also to be able to take the perspectives of both primary participants. This, as seen in section 2.1.1, is not insignificant, and relies upon a very wide base of both generic and particular knowledge on the part of the interpreter, and/or to make sure that they take responsibility for knowing they understand what has been said and not just hoping for the best.

The next chapter outlines the design of the BSL Map Task and the methods used to collect the data used in this thesis.

Chapter 3 Background to the Research

3.0 Introduction

The data for this thesis were part of the dataset collected by Turner and Merrison (in press); the thesis's central research questions arise from the need to give further consideration to this data. In order to collect naturally-occurring language, they used a tool called the HCRC Map Task (Brown, Anderson, Shillcock and Yule 1984). In this chapter the original Map Task is described, and the reasons for its modified use in this study are explained. The BSL Map Task is then outlined, including the adaptations necessary to cater for signed, as well as spoken, language. The decision behind the employment of a tool such as the Map Task was that the participants would find it easy to become engrossed in the task itself, and become less conscious of what they were saying, thus allowing the researchers to gather spontaneous, task-oriented conversation. Gathering spontaneous language in an experimental environment is notoriously difficult due to the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972:209) which hypothesises that naturally-occurring language which is sought by researchers can only be observed by a means which changes its nature. It becomes non-natural, simply by being observed. The use of a task as a distraction is a now well-established method, and it is for this reason that the originators of the BSL Map Task (Turner and Merrison (in press)) chose to use it.

3.1 The Map Task

The original Map Task (Brown, Anderson, Shillcock and Yule 1984) was designed to produce naturalistic language during the process of a task performed by the participants of an experiment. Each participant was given a map with pictures on it, each picture having a corresponding written label underneath it.
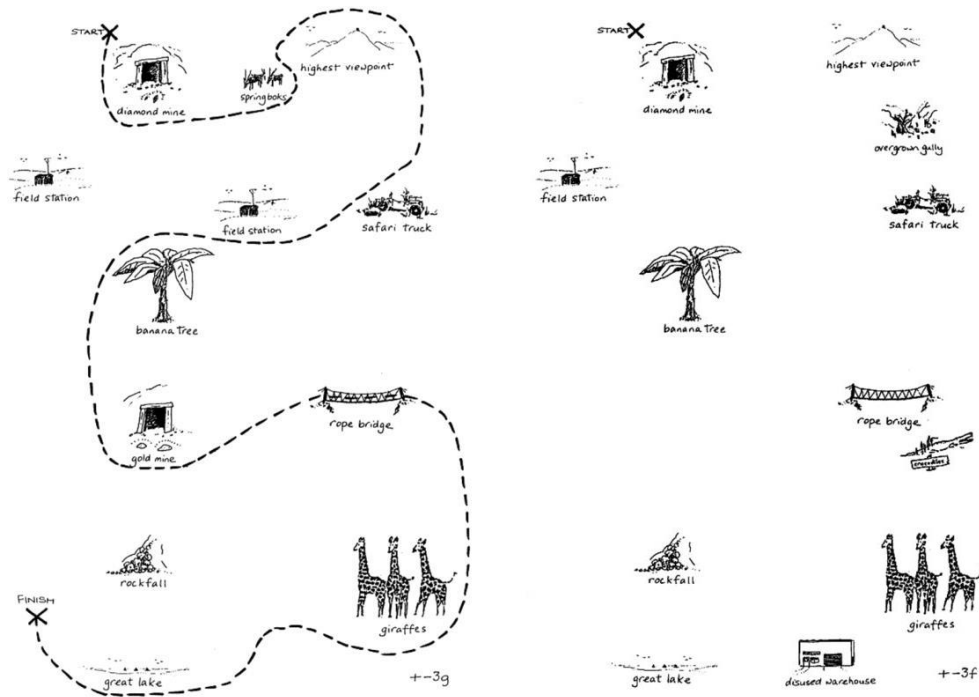
Figure 1 Examples of the Maps

One participant had a route pre-drawn on their map[6], and their task was to verbally describe that route to the other participant in order to direct that second participant to draw a similar route on *their* map. The participant with the route was named the Giver, and the participant drawing the route was named the Follower. The pictures on the map were referred to by Anderson et al. (1991) as features, or landmarks. In this thesis, the term 'landmark' will be used. These landmarks were mostly, but not entirely, shared by both participants. One map would have eleven or twelve landmarks with most in common with the other map, but each map would have three distinct landmarks not replicated on the other. These differences were built into the design to encourage interaction between Giver and Follower when negotiating the differences between the maps. The aim of the task was not to get two perfectly matching maps. The aim was to elicit naturally occurring talk which could then be analysed. The maps and the routes are distractions; they are a means to an end.

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[6] For the complete set of maps, see Appendix A.

The early research using the Map Task was interested in how certain variables affected the interaction produced during the accomplishment of the task of describing and drawing a route. Consideration was given to variables such as how well the participants knew each other, and how changes in physical context (that is, the availability or not of eye contact) would affect the interaction produced during the creation of the drawing of the route on the Follower's map. Subsequently the task has been used to assess the language and communication abilities of children (Anderson, Clark and Mullin 1991, 1992, 1994; Doherty-Sneddon and Kent 1996), adults (Anderson and Boyle 1994; Boyle, Anderson & Newlands 1994; Davies 1997; Kowtko

1997; Sotillo 1997), sleep-deprived soldiers (Bard et al. 1996) and people with aphasia (Anderson et al. 1997; Beeke et al. 1994; Merrison 1992, 1998, 2002; Merrison, Anderson and Doherty-Sneddon 1994;).

3.2 The BSL Map Task

When designing the BSL Map Task which is the source of the data for this thesis, Turner and Merrison employed the Map Task (Anderson et al. 1991; Brown et al. 1984) described above in section 3.1. They retained much of the original task (landmarks, landmark mis-matches, routes, and Givers and Followers). However to incorporate interpreted interactions between deaf and hearing participants, some adaptations needed to be made which are outlined below.

When combining two different language-users, a necessary addition was that of a BSL/English interpreter. Both primary participants (the Giver and the Follower) used their first language. The interpreter therefore used both languages; English to convey what was said in BSL, and BSL to convey what was said in English.

Another adaptation necessary when using BSL, English and an interpreter, was to rearrange the seating. A spoken language interpreter needs to hear and be heard. A signed/spoken language interpreter needs to hear, to see, be heard and be seen. In order to allow for this, and to produce video which would be complete enough to work with, the filming requirements needed to capture all three participants. An early trial had placed the interpreter next to the deaf participant. This decision had been made

for two reasons. Firstly the interpreter would have access to at least one of the maps, which more accurately emulates a real-life situation (an interpreter would usually seek to get sight of any materials relevant to the interpreting task). Secondly, the interpreter would be in the same camera range as the deaf person, thus allowing for only two cameras, one trained on the deaf person and interpreter, the other trained on the hearing person. Valid though these two reasons were, the two people using BSL found it too difficult to converse with each other when sitting so close. Spoken language users are comfortable conversing when sitting side by side, signed language users, however, prefer to face each other.

A more appropriate seating arrangement, and one which would reflect general practice, would be for the interpreter and deaf person to sit opposite each other, rather than side by side. Additionally, the interpreter would usually sit next to the hearing person, so that the deaf person has access to what was being said, and some access to the facial expressions of the hearing person. This traditional seating arrangement is in order for the deaf person to be able to see the interpreter for the translation of what the hearing person is saying, but also for the deaf person to see the body language of the hearing person. Pragmatic information such as jokes, or sarcasm, may only be shown by a smile or some other facial expression, which would be inaccessible to an interpreter who is not looking at the hearing person. They would, therefore, not be interpreted, and the spoken word could potentially be mis-interpreted. By seating the participants in this way, the deaf person would therefore be able to observe the body language and facial expressions of the hearing person, and thus 'fill in any gaps' resulting from the interpreter's inability to see the hearing person's mannerisms or facial expressions.

I find the decision to place the interpreter next to the deaf person odd. If the point was to use only two cameras, seating the interpreter next to the hearing participant would have been a more logical decision. The interpreter and the deaf person were able to see the materials, but not *each other* in any comfortable way. For the further dialogues (the current dataset), the seating arrangements were changed, and the interpreter sat to the side of both participants (see Figure 2, adapted from Turner and Merrison in press). This is still not the way that an interpreter would generally work,

and throughout all the videos, the participants using BSL turn to be more face-on to each other in order to see better. Nevertheless, the decision to use this positioning meant that each of the three participants was filmed face-on with her own camera. This meant that the researchers were able to observe signed language and also any other visual information from any of the three participants face on. This compromise seems sensible when the aim of the experiment was to observe language and gesture, as it ensures all of the participants in the task are videoed to the same standard.
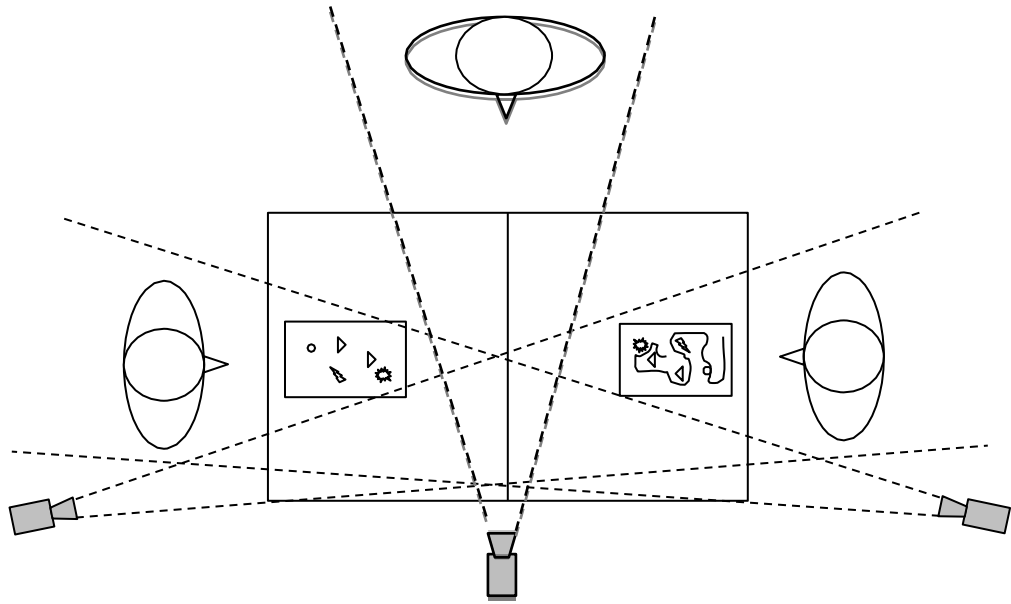
Figure 2 Positioning of the cameras

The BSL Map Task study consisted of recordings made at Central College in Glasgow, Scotland. The participants were six women, all living in Glasgow. Two were deaf, two were fully qualified BSL/English interpreters, one of whom was the child of deaf parents (and therefore a native BSL user), and the remaining two were hearing participants who had no knowledge or experience of BSL. None of the participants had had any previous experience of the Map Task.

Each participant was given specific instructions for the task before it began. These instructions were about how the task was to be performed. Participants (and the interpreters) were informed that each primary participant had a map which had been drawn by a different explorer, and so therefore may be different from the other persons'. They were informed that the Giver (the person with the route drawn on it) had the only "safe" route, and that it was important that the route was as described and followed as accurately as possible (without showing the other person the map). These instructions suggested that there may be differences between the maps, but

neither the type of difference nor the extent of difference was specified. The instruction to follow the only "safe" route was included in order to encourage negotiation between partners in order to achieve an accurately drawn route. (Turner and Merrison in press).

These instructions were given in the form of a DVD recording, in both English and BSL. The instructions were given in this way in order to maintain consistency between participants. The maps were face down before the start of the task, and neither primary participant could see the other's map. The interpreter could not see either map. The designers defended this decision by stating that the spirit of the Map Task is to encourage interaction. By having recourse to the map, the interpreter may interact with the map, rather than with the participants, and for the purposes of this experiment, the interpreter's interaction is more important than her execution of an interpreting task (see section 4.2). This particular decision may well have been beneficial to this thesis in providing more examples of repair in the execution of the task, although my experience as an interpreter would suggest to me that the overriding factor which encouraged repair from the interpreter would be the instructions saying that the route needed to be as accurate as possible. While the decision was made in order to encourage the interpreter to interact with the two primary participants, it specifically encourages the interpreter to negotiate the map which is built up in the sign space between her and the primary participant, as well as the map which exists in the task itself.

The researchers used a Latin Square system (Figure 3) in order to make certain that each of the primary participants worked with different participants, but that same language users did not work with each other.
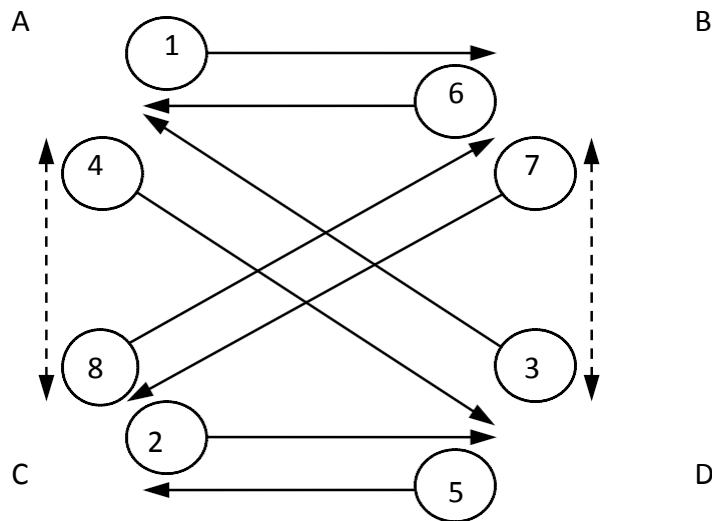
Figure 3 The Latin Square

In the above (Figure 3, from Turner and Merrison in press) the letters A and C represent the deaf participants, and the letters B and D represent the hearing participants. The numbers represent the order in which the participants worked with each other. The arrows represent who is giving directions to whom. For example, the first dialogue, represented by a 1 in a circle, with an arrow pointing from A to B means that the first dialogue filmed was with A giving directions to B. The broken lines with arrows at both ends represent the four possible dialogues between the two hearing and the two deaf participants. These are possible but not undertaken, as they would be between users of the same language, and therefore not interpreted.

Each participant was filmed four times, with the interpreter staying with the same deaf participant throughout. A different pair of maps was used each of the four times (see Appendix A – The Maps). This provided the study with eight dialogues, and eight maps with routes drawn by the Followers.

3.3 The Aims of the BSL Map Task

Turner and Merrison (in press) described the aims of their paper (and therefore the larger project) as considering a number of broad questions by using close observation of interpreter- mediated talk. They outlined the trajectory of interpreting studies away from the assessment of the production of language, and towards the co-production of language between participants (Mason 2001). By interrogating naturally-occurring language, they hoped to discover the "nuances of socio-cultural context" (Turner and Merrison in press: 5). They bring to the reader's attention the particular differences the signed language interpreter contributes to the field of interpreting studies. In complete contrast to the spoken language interpreter in a booth, the signed language interpreter is, and must be, seen (see 3.3.2).

How, they asked, was the understanding between the primary participants being done? By interrogating naturally-occurring language produced through the deployment of the Map Task, they were able to consider the reasons interpreters had for their choices in interaction. Given that many authors (see for example Turner 2007 and Dickinson and Turner 2008) have agreed that construction of meaning is done collaboratively, Turner and Merrison (in press) chose to gather video data in such a way that they were able to observe how such co-construction is achieved. Their aim was to find the "mechanisms for being meaningful" (Turner and Merrison in press: 2) within the interpreter-mediated talk, and by close observation, increase the understanding we have of the structure of interpreted talk. The researchers are clear in their intention to further knowledge not just for signed languages, and indeed they ask the reader to treat the languages used as 'incidental' but also to discover the behaviours of interactants in interpreter-mediated talk, which they considered to be the 'main contribution' of their paper.

3.3.1 Naturally-occurring Language

The notion of Dialogue Interpreting is described by Pöchhacker (2004) as a body of work which addresses naturally-occurring language in order to describe naturally-occurring phenomena. In order to mitigate the effects of Labov's Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972:209), Turner and Merrison used the Map Task, which is an established tool for eliciting natural language due to the emphasis being upon the task itself, rather than asking two people to be filmed "chatting". By raising the importance of naturally-

occuring language, this could imply criticism of Roy (1989, 2000) and Metzger (1995) for their decision to use data collected during a role play of an interpreted interaction, as opposed to "real" interpreting. It should be pointed out that the interpreter (despite whatever situation the primary participants find themselves in), will be interpreting naturally if the primary participants do not understand each other. It is not possible to role play interpreting; the interpreter is either interpreting or not interpreting. I therefore reject any such objection to the data in terms of the natural nature of the interpreting. Role play may affect the language used by the primary participants (note that Major 2013 used a GP to play the part of a doctor in her role plays in order to create a more realistic role play), however, the interpreter will never be pretending to interpret. The naturally-occurring interpretations used in this thesis are therefore valid as far as their authenticity.

3.3.2 Video Recording and Anonymity

Turner and Merrison (in press) described the difficulties faced by the observer when trying to find 'natural' language and to record it. In contrast to the spoken language researcher who can record language as audio, the signed language researcher must video their data. English-speaking participants may well be happy for their voice to be recorded, as their anonymity is more or less guaranteed due to the sheer numbers of speakers of English, and the purposes for which the recording was made. Turner and Merrison (in press) note that when "the personal identity of those filmed will be evident in them, participants' reluctance to permit recordings to be made may increase" (Turner and Merrison in press:8). As a deaf person, in the tight-knit deaf community, reluctance to being filmed may be considerably stronger due to the fact that the deaf person is far more likely to know any of the deaf or hearing people who will be analysing the video, and will be making themselves potentially vulnerable to scrutiny from peers. As noted in Meurant, Sinte, Van Herreweghe and Vermeerbergen (2013), for the researcher lack of anonymity due to filming presents the researcher with "issues not seen in spoken language research" (2013:11). For this reason it is important to note the generosity of all six of the participants, who agreed to be filmed and for the recordings to be shared.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have described the background to the study, and the decision to use the Map Task and its efficiency as an established data-generating tool. I have outlined the BSL Map Task, and the adaptations which were necessary in order to elicit visual as well as spoken language.

Analysis of the three research questions will be set out in Chapter 5. Before this can be done, my own methodology and method of manipulation of data must be described. I do this in the next chapter, Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 Methodology and Theoretical Frameworks

4.0 Introduction

The first research question, RQ1 "In which environments does the interpreter most commonly repair as herself?" is intended to reveal information about current purposes and falls into a socio-pragmatic field of enquiry (the use of language in a social context, in order to negotiate meaning). RQ2, "How does the interpreter signal that she is repairing and not interpreting?" lends itself to a close, CA approach. The third question, RQ3, is "How do the primary participants respond to the interpreter's repair?" which remains within the area of CA, but may have more to contribute to Interpreting Studies. With this in mind, Chapter 4 seeks to discuss these differing approaches, before describing the methods used to analyse the data from the BSL Map Task described in Chapter 3, section 3.2. The current chapter is set out in six sections.

The first section in this chapter, following the practice of transparency in the field of deaf studies and sign language research, 4.1, is a positioning of myself as a hearing researcher, and practising BSL/English interpreter. Secondly, to locate this study within previous fields of research, it is important to have an understanding of the way that previous work has been analysed. Section 4.2 addresses the stances taken by previous academics when analysing interpreted data, and briefly outlines the scope of these studies. Following from this, section 4.3 describes how I dealt with the data. The process of transcription has been described by many (Heritage 1984; Jefferson 2004; Kelly, Local and Wells 1986; Ochs 1979) as a process of analysis in its own right. Therefore section 4.4 outlines the theories I considered when preparing to transcribe the dataset. This study used a language transcription software called ELAN. Section 4.5 describes this software, and how it was used with these signed language data. Section 4.6 describes the methods used in this study to analyse the data.

4.1 Positioning of the practitioner/researcher

Napier and Leeson (2016:5) describe the "ongoing and vexatious" issue of non-deaf people carrying out research in sign language research and in Deaf Studies. Out of respect for the openness with which I have been integrated into deaf communities from South Shields to Nottingham, and from Hull to Lancashire, via York and Leeds it is appropriate at this point to position myself in terms of the research, and to discuss the reasons for the undertaking of this particular aspect of dialogue interpreting. As explained in the chapter above, this thesis was created out of the need for research to be done on data collected but as yet un-analysed by Turner and Merrison (in press). My choice to study the analysis of repair was born out of a long held belief by myself and other interpreters that the good practice of "checking" information, can be misconstrued by both deaf and hearing clients as incompetence. Interpreters and their work are often misunderstood by both sets of clients, and further, those clients believe that they are in a position to judge the competence of the interpreter despite these misconstruals. There is still the common belief that the modal difference is the only difference, and that signed languages are not full languages. I have been asked by hearing colleagues who have some sign language skill to interpret for them "because you will be quicker", with no understanding of the work we do. This lack of understanding is impeded by a country which is largely monolingual, and understanding about language difference is not generally part of British culture. This state of affairs is, however, becoming less true with an expansion in the population of British people who have languages other than English as a home language. It is far easier to explain difficulties with language use to the many Asian- and African-heritage psychiatrists in mental health work, than to their monolingual English- speaking counterparts precisely because of their bi- or tri-lingual status. Understanding of language use becomes important in the analysis of the data in Chapter 5.

Politically, BSL interpreters are today at their most vulnerable, with the government deciding what constitutes a "good" interpreter, again without full understanding of what that might actually mean. According to a survey (March 2016) carried out by the National Union for British Sign Language Interpreters (NUBSLI), fully qualified, experienced interpreters are reconsidering their choice of career, with many having secondary jobs, or retraining to get out entirely. Reasons given were a sense of

uncertainty about the future of interpreting as a career, and feelings of being undervalued. Trainee interpreters were also found to be reconsidering their choice of career even before it has fully begun, due to their inability to earn enough to pay for their student loans, and also feeling undervalued. My own experience is that it is a regular occurrence for interpreters to interpret a conversation about their fees or their invoices, a conversation often held by incredulous hearing clients who remark on how much we are paid (with the implication that it is undeserved). Interpreters are accused by the deaf community of living off a "Deaf Wage" (a term coined first for deaf people, Corker 1996:29) and deaf contributors to on line fora have asked the question why an interpreter should get higher wages than the deaf people they serve. Fewer interpreters work for agencies, so they are personally responsible for charging their own fees, and are thus seen to be taking advantage. Agencies are also viewed with suspicion, and are seen as profiting from the needs of the deaf community. This background of suspicion and tension in a time of cut backs and "austerity" means that the usual tensions which are to be found between the deaf community and the hearing majority are felt more keenly, and the interpreter, who appears to bring nothing to the table except knowledge of language, is inevitably seen as the one thing to be done without. Therefore, an interpreter who is biddable, works on her own, does not intrude, or impede progress may appear to the clients as being a better use of minimal resources.

The processes which underpin a valuable interpreter are many and varied. At the very heart of everything, I believe, is the desire to see that the clients are served well, and that means that the interpreter takes responsibility for working hard to understand the position either party is taking. Most of the interpreters I know and respect professionally will be happy to admit to a bias towards the deaf community, and a positive stance towards the viewpoint of the deaf person in the interaction, perhaps something similar to Napier's (2013) position of sign language brokering. Interpreters witness the injustices encountered by deaf people every day, and giving a voice to their clients is a way interpreters can contribute.

As an analysis of one part of the interpreter's job – making certain that she knows what has been said – based on empirical evidence, this thesis will lend weight to the argument that interpreters do more than transpose words for signs. My interest here is not in considering the fields of union politics, or Deaf Studies; instead I am keenly aware of the value of what the interpreter brings to the interaction between Deaf and hearing people. This is my contribution to the interpreting profession, to the Deaf community and the people I have served throughout the twenty-plus years I have worked as an interpreter.

My background is that I am a native speaker of English, born into a family of English-speakers. My sister is hard-of-hearing, but the medical profession at the time vetoed the use of sign language for her, and consequently – wanting the best – none of us used sign language, including her. At the age of six, I had visited Versailles with my family and was amazed that the French had different words for everything, and when I used those words (I was coached by my father to ask a vendor for a packet of crisps) I was understood. From then on I wanted to be a French/English interpreter at the UN. Later I trained as a bilingual secretary before starting a Linguistics degree, learning French and Hindi. Here I came across British Sign Language and started to learn BSL alongside my degree. After graduating, I continued my studies in Sign Linguistics at the Deaf Studies Research Unit at Durham University, worked as a communication support worker with post-16 students, and graduated with a Master's degree in Sign Linguistics at the same time as qualifying as a professional interpreter in 1996 through the RNID training programme. I subsequently continued working for the RNID, serving the deaf communities of Newcastle, South Shields, Middlesborough, Rotherham and Sheffield, until I became freelance in 1997, and had for nearly ten years mostly worked in Yorkshire as a freelancer. Latterly I have concentrated on forensic mental health environments, and have become part of the communities of deaf people working in those environments for the last ten years.

My position in the Deaf community is that of non-outsider, but not insider. I believe that as a hearing person this position is actually one to be proud of. O'Brien and Emery (2014) suggest that non-outsiders such as myself are "guests" in the deaf community. I

have already discussed the difficulties which are inherent with hearing researchers working with signed languages as evidenced by the work of Napier and Leeson (2016).

From the beginning of my training to be an interpreter it struck me as very odd that interpreters for a community must necessarily, due to modal difference, be part of the majority (hearing) culture. There are now more interpreters who are deaf, and more opportunities for those people to be working, all of which is fruitful for hearing interpreters.

Over the time I have been interpreting, I have seen considerable changes in the assignments I am offered. Many of the deaf people I interpreted for through their degrees are professionals now, and many more are retraining or holding different types of jobs to the sorts of jobs deaf people held in the mid-nineties. Interpreters are sometimes finding themselves with lesser skills in English than their deaf clients, and are being asked to interpret for academic conferences, PhD vivas, and presentations which are very specialised, which ask for different skills to those which were needed for the mostly community interpreting of twenty years ago. My position of non-outsider, and linguist, gives me, I believe, a distance from which to consider language use, outside of politics (if language can ever be seen as outside of politics), and my contribution to the lives of deaf people, through this thesis, is to help interpreters understand what it is that they are doing, in order that they be able to improve their practice, and grow with the deaf community.

4.2 Analysis of Interpreted Data

As described in Chapter 2, interpreting studies invites the attention of many different disciplines. In this section, the merits and results of these varied approaches are explored. The importance of such an exploration is a) to show how these approaches have developed and influenced interpreting through time, and b) to show how the approaches used are helpful or not helpful to this thesis. Most of an interpreter's work is to convey meaning, in different ways; the most accurate (interpreting only that which has been said); the most authentic (using knowledge of the speaker's culture and conveying not only what was said, but how it was meant); or faithful (not covering

up, or downplaying what was said – while remembering cultural difference). This thesis addresses the few occasions when this is impossible, and something else must occur in order to be as accurate, or authentic or faithful as is possible, and the only recourse for the interpreter is to break the fourth wall[7]. As soon as this fourth wall is broken and the interpreter becomes herself, she opens up the opportunity for people around her to react *to her* – she is then in the situation where (usually) the English-speaker takes the opportunity to talk the her, as a fellow hearing person. Once dialogue between English-speaker and interpreter has started, the interpreter must speak for herself and interpret not only what she is saying, but also that which is being said to her. This can mean that the BSL-user is suddenly an observer, when s/he is rightly a primary participant. This risk is to be avoided, and there are ways to do that which include: answering briefly and naturally, then going immediately back to interpreting; avoiding the question and telling the BSL-using client what is happening, allowing the BSL-using client to explain how to work with an interpreter.

Seeking more information from the speaker can be a sign of good practice, and yet (as seen above) the practice causes much tension in the minds of individual interpreters (see also sections 1.4 and 2.2; Berk-Seligson 1990; Dickinson 2010; and Roy 2000). The interpreter's participation in interaction has been a major focus for recent research, and this thesis contributes to this body of knowledge.

The early approaches used to research interpreted interactions were focused on educating future interpreters. They consisted of the creation of models of interpreting. Wilcox and Shaffer (2005:33) describe the arc of research to find the right model of interpreting as having a "slow but steady shift [...over the last forty to fifty years...] a shift in role from helper to passive, impartial conduit, and from conduit to active participant with some responsibility for the message".

Starting with this new wave of researchers considering the interpreter as participant, the late 1980s and the 1990s firstly saw the work of Roy (1989) who used a real-life

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[7] The "fourth wall" is an expression from the theatre describing the imaginary wall which sits between the cast and the audience.

example of a 15- minute conversation between a deaf student and a hearing tutor, interpreted by a professional ASL/English interpreter. The approach taken was that of Discourse Analysis, and analysed the participation the interpreter had in the conversation by observing the way he managed simultaneous talk, pauses and lags. Turn-taking was the main focus. Discourse Analysis, and conducting interviews to garner information on decisions and choices made, is very different from a conversation analytic perspective. Roy did not attempt to find structures in talk which are replicable. She referred to "complex social reasons" which account for interpreter behaviour. What CA searches for, however, are the structures which underpin these complex social interactions and which are "instinctively" used by speakers/signers of a language and which are, therefore, vital to this thesis.

Berk-Seligson (1990) also considered the interpreter as participant in Spanish/English interpreted court interactions. Her methodology was ethnographic. By attending Spanish/English interpreted court proceedings, and audio recording those proceedings deemed publically accessible, Berk-Seligson (1990) treated the attendees of the courtroom as a cultural group, and studied them as such. She described her work as being similar to how early ethnographers would have studied a "primitive" culture (1990:43). Berk-Seligson collected 114 hours of recordings and made attendant notes. She also conducted interviews with court interpreters and with attorneys (lawyers) who were accustomed to working with interpreters.

CA, however, does not ask for opinions, and does not make accountings in the ways stated above, but rather searches for patterns and structures, which can be built from individual examples. An accumulation of separate examples which follow a system is what this thesis aims to amass, in keeping with a CA approach. The procedure followed by conversation analysts allows for reproducible results to be obtained by other researchers (Psathas 1995). CA studies the most ordinary of talk to find structures within it. Dialogue is perhaps the most ordinary type of interpreting, making it ideal for CA research.

Wadensjö (1998) described "qualitative" as the approach to be used in order to "describe and explore the dynamics of interpreters' communicative behaviour" (1998:81). Using the work of Goffman (1981), Wadensjö used "role analysis" and "footing" to describe interpreter and primary participant behaviour. But most of all, Wadensjö wanted to provide a "set of tools, food for thought and fuel for discussions" (1998:3).

Metzger (1999) used frames and schema as the methodological basis of her work. In her research she mixed real encounters videotaped by her, with role plays which had been recorded at an interpreter training programme.

Napier (2002) used a sociolinguistic approach, following Metzger (1999). Her approach was Content Analysis (the quantitative classification and systematic description of written, spoken or visual communication) and she, too, used interviews with interpreters and with members of the deaf community.

Van Herreweghe (2002), made comparisons between the dynamics of an all deaf meeting, scholarly work done on all hearing meetings (turn-taking mechanisms as investigated by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), and meetings comprised of deaf and hearing people facilitated by an interpreter. The findings are described in section 2.3.2.

Dickinson (2010) used video-recorded data with interviews and with questionnaires. She explored the effects on interpreter, deaf person and hearing person of the interpreting process, particularly the use of humour and "small talk", using Discourse Analysis, and a community of practice model. A community of practice is a group of like-minded individuals who share a craft and/or a profession, or who have a common goal or purpose, such as a group of hobbyists or a group of workers, or a "group whose joint engagement in some activityor enterprise is sufficiently intensive to give rise over time to a repertoire of shared practices" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1999: 185). The term was coined by cognitive anthropologists Lave and Wenger in (1991) and expanded by Wenger (1998).

The current thesis follows on from the work of spoken and signed language interpreters, but it is also a continuation of Map Task studies. Isolating and counting, or measuring examples of artefacts (the maps with routes drawn on them) are ways which researchers have approached Map Task studies. Merrison (1992) counted speech acts in conversations between aphasic and non-aphasic participants. Davies (1997) compared participants in terms of how cooperative they were, and whterh this made any difference to the effectiveness of the interaction. Before then, Anderson et al. (1991) measured the deviation from the drawn route as an indicator of the effectiveness of the interaction. However, none of these approaches addressed what is the main focus of this thesis: repair. This thesis, through the application of the three research questions, isolated the occasions of repair produced by the interpreter, then worked back to see the precipitating factors, to explore whether there were patterns to be found. Attention was then drawn to the structures of interpreter repair. Finally the efficacy of these repair structures, that is, whether or not the recipient understood them to *be* repair structures was tested against the responses from recipients.

This section has concentrated on the ways that other researchers have approached similar projects. The next section describes the approaches which have been taken in this project.

4.3 Methodology

In this thesis I choose to analyse BSL interpreted interaction which has been designed and collated by earlier researchers. CA has been chosen as the approach to the data. As has been described in section 2.1, CA takes the stance that conversation is locally organised, and that next turns display understandings of previous turns (Heritage 1984). This particular method lends itself particularly to the sort of fine-grained approach which is needed in order to discover what has taken place in the talk preceding the moment the interpreter believes she needs to repair as herself (my first research question. CA is data-driven, and is an approach 3which encourages the researcher to focus on the "talk" rather than the content of the talk, so allowing the researcher to consider the form of the repair (my second research

question). CA holds that an utterance means what it is understood to mean by the interlocutor in time and place (my third research question). This is a new direction for the interpreter researcher, who has been trained to consider meaning above form. CA seeks to discover the mechanisms of speech: those features which transcend context.

I take the view that no one can *directly* know what something is, and in this case, what someone means. Taking phenomenalism – the idea that objects cannot be said to exist in their own right – but are rather perceptual phenomena, or sensory stimuli – as the approach to the data, regularity and patterns are sought for and analysed in the following chapters. Predictable patterns, rather than absolute knowledge, are the proposed end product of this research.

4.3.1 Validity

When searching for predictable patterns, it is important not to lose sight of whether what needs to be measured is being measured. Dively (1998) describes repair structures in monolingual ASL conversations, and these structures can be used to compare with any BSL structures found in the data. By using Dively's descriptions as a benchmark, I can compare my findings with established findings in another signed language. I aim to distinguish between the behaviours of the interpreter as *herself* and as *another*. These behaviours will be studied at such points which I label as *instances of* repair. I will class an *instance of repair* as that which conforms to the definition of *repair* in Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977), that is "problems in speaking, hearing and understanding". The patterns which are the aim of this thesis will include any linguistic environment which conforms to the definition above as a place of interest.

4.3.2 Observation

This thesis does not claim to explain reasons for linguistic behaviours.   The search for rules rather than reasons for behaviours separates this thesis from other works (Dickinson 2010; Metzger 1995; Roy 1989; Stone 2009) which have used interview and self- or other-reflection as the means to understand why participants have behaved in the ways they have in the data which are analysed. Such discoveries are not part of this thesis. As described in Chapter 3, I have had no access to the participants. I had no

part in the process of design of the original study. I was not involved in the selection of participants, nor in any of the decisions over seating and access to artefacts. The data were filmed and partly transcribed years before I started this study. I believe these facts allow me the freedom to simply observe. I may make some comment about possible reasons for the decisions taken by the interpreter, based on my own experience as a practitioner, but I do not assert any truth or knowledge beyond what is observable in the data ("details of actual events" Sacks 1984:26).

4.3.3 Coherence Theory

Coherence theory (Bradley 1914) holds that truths, while not absolute, can belong to a mutually explanatory framework. Within a CA framework, the perspective is taken that language is a collaborative joint action, where participants establish 'an understanding' of what the other person has said. This 'understanding' is then built upon sequentially and thus increases the common ground between the two primary participants. In this study there is a third party to the dialogue; the interpreter. She must build common ground with each participant separately, building common ground with the deaf participant and with the hearing participant in different ways. The deaf participant may be working from a visual representation of the map built in the signing space, whereas the hearing person may be using names of landmarks and prepositional phrases to navigate between landmarks. When these two people are working together to make meaning, they are collaborating. Or in the words of Clark and Schaeffer (1989:259) this action is the "collective acts performed by the participants working together".

Each of these two perspectives – visual (using a visual representation of a map, and concentrating on the route) and verbal (using a verbal representation of a map, using names of landmarks and working from one to the next) – may be used to guide the addressee from one to the other. It is important to note here that the first person who must be guided through the route is the interpreter. She needs to understand both ways of representing the map before mediating between the two different ways of representing. The interpreter must also work to actively facilitate the common ground built *between* the speakers of the different languages, and in their different methods of expressing that common ground. Coherence theory aligns with the belief that

understanding is only possible through collaboration between speaker and addressee. Understanding between speaker and addressee is not an absolute truth; it is a perception. Wolfson (1976) stated that any interaction is 'real' for the situation in which it occurs.

4.3.4 Ecological Validity

Ecological validity measures the extent to which an experiment produces natural behaviours *within the experiment*. This is not to be confused with external validity, which is the extent to which the results from an experiment can be generalised. A criticism which may be made about the data is that they have been collected through the work of an experiment, and are therefore unnatural. It may be true that the Map Task is an unnatural task (it is rare that a person will describe a route to another who draws this unseen route), however, the product of the experiment, *the interpreting*, and more specifically, *the repair*, is natural. The interpreter is interpreting in a way which is natural to her. The two primary participants are listening to or watching the interpreter in a way which is natural to them. As described in section 3.1, the Map Task has been established in order to produce natural, spontaneous speech (Brown et al.1984). Distracted from their own speech by the task in hand, the constraints of the Map Task allow for freedom in the interactions between participants. As this, the interaction itself, is the area of study, the Task has ecological validity.

One part of the design runs contrary to this; not allowing the interpreters to see the maps. In any interpreting environment, the interpreter will ask to see any artefacts, and will often ask to read through any documentation before the assignment. The interpreter needs to consider language difference, for example the concept rendered as "a document" in English remains abstract – it could be one sheet or up to 50 pages of A4/A3-sized paper, it could be a file on a computer, or flash drive, it has connotations of "record" and some touches of formality, or legality. The constraints of a visual language mean that BSL must describe something concrete, and the citation form of "a document" in BSL would describe *the shape* of an A4 sheet of paper, which may or may not consist of more than one sheet. The interpreter knows that all of the other meanings are potentially held within the English word "document" which may later need to be differentiated by size, shape or colour from another, or from a group

of unspecified documents. If so much information can be potential in a simple word like "document", is it clear why an interpreter will try to get as much *visual information* about the assignment as they can before they start. As seen in section 3.2, Turner and Merrison (in press) actively chose to keep the map from the interpreters in order to allow and even to encourage (they use the term "tacitly to invite" (in press:19)) the interpreter to interact with the primary participants.

In addition to the ecological validity (the interpreter is actually interpreting in the experiment) is the mundane reality of the experiment. Mundane reality is a measure of how natural the behaviours being analysed are (Aronson and Carlsmith 1968). Interpreting between a hearing and a deaf person is a mundane activity for an interpreter. Having some, but not all the information is also a mundane activity for an interpreter. Any pressure the interpreter may feel by being videoed, and that their work in this experiment will be analysed, is offset by the fact that there are no potentially adverse consequences to their interpreting. Compared to an appointment in a surgery, or in a hospital, or the courtroom, any mistakes made in this experiment are relatively harmless.

4.4 Transcription

The data which form the basis for this thesis are audio-visual files of interpreted conversations derived from participants undertaking a Map Task. The languages used are BSL and English. Transcribing the two languages was necessary to be able to observe patterns in the interplay between them.

Transcription is not simply a method of reproducing talk in a way which allows analysis, it is a form of interpretation of its own (Ochs 1979). Simply by choosing what to commit to paper, the researcher is also choosing what to leave out (Bucholtz 2000; Green et al. 1997; Neimants 2012). Phonologists Kelly and Local (1989) advise trying to keep as much detail and complexity as the raw data itself presents, in order to preserve enough of the original to make any analysis valid. Conversation analysts mitigate against any skewing of their analysis by actively resisting any prejudging of the data, particularly at the transcription stage, believing that *any* part of the talk in interaction

has the potential to be of significance (Drew 2005:78). This thesis is based on the premise that any recording onto paper is an interpretation. An audio-visual recording is a way to preserve ("delay" Ochs 1979) the data until it is played back. The use of video recordings allows the researcher to play back the sound and vision as often as they want, so contributing to more accurate analysis. Transcription, however, is a rendering of that recording, and is an interpretation.

My approach to transcription was to use as much detail from the original as possible, within the constraints of time, and the facilities available, while also knowing that I would be consciously deciding what should be represented. I am aware that any transcription, however detailed, will never be an exact rendition of the original conversation, it will remain an impression, or an interpretation. Given that this must be true of all transcriptions, my transcription will be no less valid than any other.

By committing a re-presentation to paper, I was able to analyse the talk of all three of the participants in the experiment, and how they relate to each other. The timings of the interaction between all three of the participants in each dialogue were important, and best observed when set out next to each other. In the following section, ELAN is described in more detail, but it is useful to mention here that although all three videos (the deaf person, the hearing person and the interpreter) are accessible at the same time when viewed on ELAN, the researcher still has to be looking in the right place at the right time, to catch the turn-taking and the exact sequence of events. When it is committed to paper, even if this takes away from the richness of the original, it is possible to see more clearly the timings of when utterances were signed or said.

The difference between a signed language interpreted interaction and a spoken language interpreted interaction is that in signed/spoken language interpreting, it is often *only* the interpreter who has access to the discourse markers in both languages. This is not to say that discourse markers are transparent between spoken languages, but a deaf person will not have the same experience of sound, and a hearing person will not be expecting discourse markers which are mono-modally visual. For example, a raised finger may be accompanied by an inbreath by an English-speaker, or it may be

accompanied by a lack of speaking, which is sufficient for the (hearing) addressee to look up to see why the other person has not spoken. Both of these examples of visual cues include an auditory component.   Sign language users will be alert to movement alone as being potentially part of the interaction.

Transcription was a challenge for this study, and is discussed further in section 4.6. The level of analysis was too broad for ELAN, but traditional CA transcripts proved problematic for BSL data.

4.5   ELAN

This is a linguistic tool designed for text annotation of audio and video files. Created by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in the Netherlands, the European Distributed Corpus (Eudico) Linguistic Annotator, ELAN, can be used with spoken and signed languages, with audio only, or audio and video files.

Figure 4 ELAN – a sample of one of the eight dialogues

Figure 4 shows a section of the first dialogue, Glasgow1[8]. It includes annotations which are mapped onto the time line which is depicted by the red vertical line halfway through the lower part of the rectangle. Along the left, are in different colours are "tiers", effectively layers of annotation, each one able to capture one aspect of the transcription.

This tool allows the researcher to make annotations, labels, or notes of important features which are then associated with a particular segment of time in the audio and video. Layers of annotations, tiers, allow the researcher to keep track of different features. Once annotations are attached to the video, ELAN allows the user to replay an annotation; to vary the speed; to jump from one annotation to another; to search for particular characteristics; and to export annotations to a spreadsheet (see Bickford 2005). This tool allows for the capture of all three videos in one place. Having a face on view of all three of the participants is particularly useful when observing signed language.

Finally, the use of ELAN (see section 4.5) is often accompanied by coding of features, and labelling of different types of findings. Works on corpuses (Johnston and Schembri 2007) include close recording of the activities of either hand, eye gaze, and numbering or coding of lexical items in sign language, as well as free and close translation and glossing.

4.6 Method

The transcription format used in this thesis is my own and came about after a considerable amount of time testing different ways to produce multi modal interpreted data which displayed both languages (BSL and English). The format allows the researcher to analyse the interpreted data through a CA lens, in that the focus of the transcript is wide enough to allow for pragmatic information to be observed.

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[8] From the original eight dialogues produced by Turner and Merrison named Glasgow (1-8)

(2) and (40) G2Rep25_12.27-12.36

Gaze:	+map_____	+DG_____
HF:	all the way round the high view point	uhuh

Gaze:	+DG____+away and back twice_____	
IBSL:	AROUND-L AROUND-R WHICH I-DON'T-KNOW LEFT RIGHT? AROUND-RIGHT	
IEng:		uhuh

Gaze:	+INT_____	+map+INT____
Mouthing:		round round round
DG:		NOD

Figure 5 The musical score

In this, my version of the musical score, the participants are referred to by the initials H and D for hearing and deaf participants respectively (to indicate which language was being used). This first initial is followed by the letter G or F (to indicate whether the person was giving or following directions). The interpreter is referred to with the initial I, but additionally, the initials BSL (British Sign Language) or the abbreviation Eng (English) is added to indicate which language is being used. The interpreter is most often situated in the centre row, between the other two participants. This was done because I wanted to be able to compare what was being said by either language user directly with what was said by the interpreter. As a practitioner, I predicted that having the interpreter's row in the centre would allow for more easy comparison. In some scores, the interpreter was the only person to produce language (the others may have been looking at each other or at maps) and in these cases, I chose to put the interpreter's row first.

I also wanted to know where the participants were putting their visual attention. In the case of either of the BSL-users in any given dialogue, being able to see what was said was pivotal. As has been mentioned in chapter 2, signed languages are visuo-spatial in nature, and must have direct visual attention in order to be understood. This is very different in nature to spoken languages, which are under stood to be "heard" if the volume is loud enough, with or without the speaker being seen. To this end, I

added a row for gaze. The purpose of this row is to be able to see immediately where visual attention is placed. It may seem that the row for the hearing participant would be redundant. However, it was useful to be able to see where their gaze was at any given time, in order to account for overlaps with the BSL-user doe to their not having seen that the other person was signing.

A final row was introduced for the purpose of representing additional features as they became pertinent. In the example above, Figure 5, there is a row which is labelled "mouthing". The BSL-user in this example was repeating back to herself what she had seen the interpreter produce, namely ROUND. She did not produce the whole sign, however, and was simply mouthing the English word "round". Other uses were to show gestures and eyebrow raising or lowering. These features were considered integral to the BSL used, and were therefore important to include. Sections 4.6.5 and 4.6.6 describe the process through which I developed the final version of the transcription, and also describes what was rejected and why.

The following information has already been set out fully in section 3.2, but for ease of reference, I will briefly describe the dataset here. This thesis uses a set of British Sign Language / English interpreted dialogues as its corpus (Turner and Merrison, in press). The participants were six women. Two were hearing English speakers, two were deaf BSL users, and two were hearing BSL/English interpreters. For the purposes of the thesis, the deaf person, as well as the hearing person, is classed as monolingual – in the deaf person's case, a non-English speaker, and in the case of the hearing person, a non-signer of BSL. It may well be that each deaf person in each dialogue is able to access English in its written form – in fact the influence of the written word becomes very apparent in some of the dialogues (see Chapter 5) – but as the interaction is spoken or signed, and the deaf person has limited or no access to the spoken word, the deaf person acts as a monolingual BSL-user. Using a Latin Square system (Figure 3) eight interactions were produced. While such a system can produce 12 unique combinations, the researchers needed to avoid having speakers of the same language interacting with each other, thus producing eight dialogues. Each of the eight dialogues has three participants – one deaf BSL user, one hearing English speaker (and

non-BSL user), and one BSL/English Interpreter. In order to code the participants in terms of both language use and whether they were Giving or Following directions, the primary participants in each dialogue were labelled in one of two ways. Firstly they were labelled D or H (deaf or hearing), and then G or F (Giver or Follower), so the primary participants could only be represented as D or H, DG or DF, HG or HF.

The two deaf women were additionally experienced at being filmed (signed languages are generally recorded not on the page, but on camera); the two hearing participants had no previous experience with BSL. The Interpreters were both fully qualified BSL/English interpreters (as being filmed forms part of the assessment process in achieving the BSL/English interpreting qualification, the interpreters were also used to being filmed). None of the participants had previous experience with the Map Task.

4.6.1 The data

The data used in this study are a set of six of the first eight dialogues, comprising 18 videos, each produced using ELAN. The dialogues were balanced, in that three of them were led by the English-speaking participant, and three were led by the BSL-using participant (described further in section 4.6.6). The six dialogues were studied using ELAN, and when I had examples of repair sequences, I transcribed them using the musical score method show in Figure 5. The set of repair sequences are therefore stored as ELAN files and as transcriptions.

At the start of my study, I was given access to the full set of 24 video files (three per dialogue), eight audio files, and a set of eight transcriptions of the English half of the conversations, which had been fully transcribed by a colleague (Jack Wilson) following CA conventions. I chose not to use all eight (described further in 4.6.6), and instead had a corpus of six. CA transcription conventions (Jefferson 2004) are different from traditional phonetic transcriptions because they use a combination of a written form of the spoken language, with spelling changes used to show variation from standard pronunciation, as well as specific uses of punctuation marks in order to mark loudness, pitch height, and intonation and other prosodic information. This is effectively a

compromise between orthographic English and phonetic notation, and is easily read on the page. Using courier font, which allows the same amount of space per letter, regardless of its shape, the conversation analyst can mark timings of turns, or overlaps, and so show a verbal conversation in space. As has been described above in 4.3, any transcription must leave some information out: by using an established orthography (written English) analysts are in fact using a conventionalised representation of spoken language (Ochs 1979; Davidson 2009).

In addition to this set of videos, I was also given access to ELAN files with annotations of the deaf participants' BSL. This was in the form of a free translation into English produced by another registered, qualified, BSL/English interpreter. Subsequently, I chose to use my own translation of all the BSL. This was not due to any perceived shortcomings in the translation I had been given, but rather for me to be a part of the translation process, and to be more instrumental in the process overall (this also meant that I had another qualified interpreter's translation on which to compare my own translations). I then needed to translate the BSL of the interpreter in each of the dialogues. Having both languages always available in the form of video meant that my written interpretation could constantly be compared with the source language. Using paper versions of my interpretation meant that I was one step away from the languages used by the participants, but I made sure I consulted the video often.

The transcription is the skeleton on which the analyst makes visible any connections they have made, and notes important features. This is done using two senses, sight and hearing. The ability to hear is irrelevant if the language used (or one of the languages used in this case) is visual. The analyst is not able to attend to the signed language and the written transcript at the same time, in the way it is done for spoken language CA research. Therefore, the data used in the six dialogues existed in two forms – video (+ELAN), and a written transcript – for the purposes of this thesis, there are the aforementioned Appendix B and the attached CD. However, the production of the written transcript was not unproblematic, as discussed below.

4.6.2 Signed Language Data

It is possible to write signed languages down. The transcription system of Stokoe (1960, 1978), which was subsequently developed by Brennan et al. (1984) fully captures the linguistic movement used by signed languages. However, there are difficulties which arise from such systems. Morgan (2005:119) describes these difficulties in the following way. The notation systems describe signs in citation form, and when it becomes necessary to transcribe a sign in connected discourse, the transcriber will need a way to transcribe the modification which occurs naturally to this citation form. Unlike spoken languages, which are limited to breath and articulators in the throat and mouth, signed languages have the entirety of the upper body, head and arms, which complicates the process further, as there are multiple articulators to annotate.

Research on all languages is currently disseminated primarily by written journal articles. The implications of that are that for signed language research to reach the same audiences as other language research, it must be in print. One way that researchers have traditionally dealt with signed language data is to produce what is called a *gloss* of the manual signs (see Baker and Cokely 1980). This is where an English word which is roughly equivalent to the sign produced is written in capital letters for each manual sign. Often this is accompanied by a description of the other factors which are linguistically relevant, such as eye gaze, head tilt, facial expression and so on.

According to Stone and West (2012) British deaf researchers often choose to translate signed language into English rather than to gloss. Sometimes the researcher will add pictures, or make some other note in order to portray some peculiarity. In the words of one of their interviewees:

> I also make notes in brackets to myself to help remind me of particular signs a person has used. So for example they use an old sign, I'll put a prompt in brackets to help me remember what sign they used, (Stone and West 2012:14).

Glossing can be used as part of the process, and to disseminate findings, but as Stone and West (2012:14) warn, it is only a partial representation and can be difficult to read without footnotes.

ELAN, with its ability to make multiple annotations (tiers) which are time-bound to video and searchable, appeared to be a way to solve the problem.

4.6.3 Tiers

Using the methods of glossing BSL, and writing English described above, I started to transcribe the first dialogue, Glasgow1 onto ELAN. Working with headphones for English, and watching the BSL, I worked through the first few seconds of data. It was crucial that the tiers I chose represented all the information necessary for the thesis. The first tier allowed me to show what the deaf person was saying, in the form of a gloss of signs used, in their original order, so as to retain something of the source language. This first tier was labelled the gloss.

Then I needed to have a translation which gave the *essential meaning* of the glossed signs. This second tier was a translation of the gloss. I labelled this tier the essential translation. The next tier, number 3, was chosen to provide all the available information in BSL including directions, trajectories, morphemes of movement and so on.

Much of this visual information is *not* necessary in English, and would ordinarily be left out by the interpreter (Brennan and Brown 1997). It would not be part of her *current purposes*. By using the term *rich translation* (Turner 2010) I wanted to show that this was a *version* of the same product as the essential translation, but that it included as much of the visual information found in BSL as possible. In the example below (Figure 5), the deaf participant is using her right forearm to show the direction of the route,

with her fingers curved around the landmark, she is also using her left index to define the referent landmark (highest viewpoint).

Figure 6 Describing the "highest viewpoint"

The landmark she is portraying (highest viewpoint) is seen in Figure 6 below. She is able to show the position of the route with the curve of her arm. She is able to show the direction of the route by using her fingers as the "front" of the route, and by continuing to move, she implies aspect; that the route is not fixed and completed, but is continuing. She is also able to refer directly to the landmark with her index finger, while at the very same time she is checking with the interpreter to see if she has understood. By using rich translation, I was able to note down all of these features. Glossing does not offer a way of recording this sort of visual information. The third tier was labelled the rich translation.
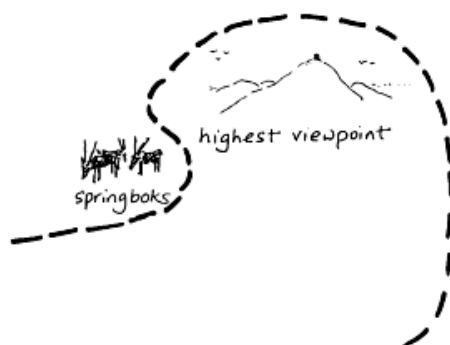
Figure 7 "highest viewpoint"

Having three versions of BSL may seem like too much, but each one had a different use. The deaf person and the interpreter (INT), when watching each other, would be able to see individual signs (shown in the gloss), understand the bare gist of what was said (shown in the essential translation) and also be able to see very specific visual information (shown in the rich translation) all at the same time. I believed that INT's BSL would also need to have the same three categories, while her English output, and that of the hearing person would only need one category, as English has a written form, and CA has conventionalised a way to show features of spoken language which are not fully available in written English (Jefferson 2004). In this study, the CA version of the English produced by Jack Wilson was used as a basis, and then refined as the work continued. It was unavoidable that the translations done by me and the interpretations done in the moment by the interpreters in the video may differ. My translations were not meant to correct the work of the interpreters. My translations are done with the advantage of having seen all of the maps and all of the dialogues (sometimes called "armchair interpreting") and are there to describe the language which is present on the video files.

The BSL utterances of the INT were also translated into three tiers. Tier 6 is a gloss of the interpretation by INT of the hearing person's English, tier 7 is an essential translation of what has been interpreted, and tier 8 is a rich translation of what was interpreted.

Having described the tiers used for the BSL utterances above, the tiers for the spoken English elements of the interaction are described below.

Tier 4 is what INT voiced (from BSL into English), and is the interpretation in real time of the BSL used by the deaf person.

Tier 5 is also English, and shows what the hearing person is saying. Both of these tiers are represented by written versions of the spoken English in the video, following CA conventions.

These categories of tier can be represented as:

Tier	Source Language	Description	Form
1	BSL	What the deaf person is saying	Gloss
2	BSL	What the deaf person is saying	Essential Translation
3	BSL	What the deaf person is saying	Rich Translation
4	English	What INT says the deaf person is saying	BSL->CA English
5	English	What the hearing person is saying	CA English
6	BSL	What INT says the hearing person is saying	English->BSL GLOSS
7	BSL	What INT says the hearing person is saying	Essential Translation
8	BSL	What INT says the hearing person is saying	Rich Translation

Table 2 Tiers used in the analysis of the first dialogue

It was initially felt necessary to have six tiers for BSL and two for English. This in fact proved to be too unwieldy (see section 4.5.5).

4.6.4 Early Observations

Early into the first transcription it was clear that INT needed to have extra tiers when speaking for herself in BSL and in English (which were then added). The tiers already allocated to her, in Figure 4 above, were only for when she was speaking "as" either party. There were occasions when she spoke as herself, and when she signed for herself. On a further occasion a single sign and a "wait-a-minute" said in English were produced simultaneously.

Another observation was that in some of the dialogues the Hearing participant and INT had similar sounding voices. The original transcription had occasionally mixed up the

owners of the voices. Having access to video files, and being able to see the faces, it was easier for me to accurately say who was speaking when, and to amend the transcripts accordingly.

Lastly, I found that transcription needed to be done in a certain order to preserve my objectivity. I had started by listening to the English and watching the BSL at the same time, and annotating both languages. I had started this way because I believed it was closer to the way that interpreters would experience the dialogue. I soon found that working through in that manner was not helpful. I was being influenced by the language choices in the interpretations I heard. Significantly, in the first few seconds of the first dialogue, the Deaf Giver utters what could be translated as "there's a mountain here, and the train is here". INT, having been told that this is a map, and that there will be places on that map and is given two places, a mountain and a "train", she interprets "TRAIN THERE" as "train station". It made perfect sense to me, and I was fully confident that this is what the Deaf Giver had said. It was only after many revisions that it was clear that the Deaf Giver had only said "train", and shown where that train was, rather than "train station". The dotted line of the route, and the large distances between the landmarks may have given the impression to that Giver that a train was being used to travel such distances. As I have stated clearly above in section 4.2, I am not at liberty to make such assumptions about the motivation of participants for their utterances, but what *was* clear to me was that I needed to translate the BSL myself, and from then on, I translated the BSL without sound.

Transcription for interpreted data, therefore, must deal not only with what has been said, but with the decisions made by the interpreters in the moment. In order to remain impartial, and open to reinterpretation, CA uses transcriptions *and* recordings, in order to retain access to the original version, and to correct the transcription if necessary. By remaining true to CA methodology, it was possible to rectify that mistake.

4.6.5 The First Dialogue

The first dialogue, Glasgow1, proved to be very different from the other seven. It is 30 minutes long, compared to the others which are between seven and sixteen minutes long. HF did not turn over her page, which meant that she did not have a landscape on which to base her route, so that particular Task was different in *manner* to the others. This meant that I could not include it in the final dataset. Bearing this in mind, it made sense for me to use this as a pilot in order to test out candidate tiers.

Early annotated versions of this first, pilot, dialogue proved complicated and difficult to read. Having three versions of all the BSL, and three or four versions of interpreter's production (four if she spoke and signed at the same time), gave a level of detail which was not helpful. The aim of this thesis, as described in section 4.2, is to describe conversational behaviour between modalities, not to analyse BSL monolingually. It is the interaction of the two languages which is of interest to this study. This meant that the focus of the thesis needed to zoom further out than is usual for sign linguistic research, both in order to cover more ground chronologically, and also to reduce the detail in order to see patterns which form between interactants, rather than within an interactant's talk. Ochs (1979) described the importance of transcription as an interpretive process, not a descriptive one. The data she used to demonstrate this were conversations between a mother and child, in which the adult speech was on the left and the child's on the right. This automatically (for those of us who read from left to right) placed the adult speech in a more prominent position, which could be interpreted as a more dominant or powerful place. It then looked as if the child was replying rather than interacting. The decision to place the adult first had, therefore, enormous repercussions in terms of how the conversation was perceived. If positioning of words on a page can have such a dramatic effect on the reader's understanding of a transcript, the effect of having a translation is going to be even more dramatic.

The issue with my data was that two conversations were taking place at the same time. Each language was being interpreted into another, and each conversation happened first with the interpreter and then with the other language user at a slightly later time.

When showing my work to colleagues, the problem of the interpreter seeing one language and hearing another and transposing the information from one mode to another was both difficult for me to represent on paper, and difficult for my colleagues to comprehend. I was asked on many occasions whether or not the English and BSL were occurring at the same time. What for me is an everyday part of my work became a stumbling block for those not used to simultaneous interpreting, or to reading these kinds of representations. For example, Figure 8 below is from an earlier version I had made of a CA transcription which included a translation of BSL.

The BSL translations were depicted using italics. To then add the tiers which represent the richness of BSL, I decided that the resulting format would become inappropriately detailed. I considered using screenshots of ELAN, but in order to show all of the information I needed, the resulting pictures would be too small to be accessible (see figure 8).
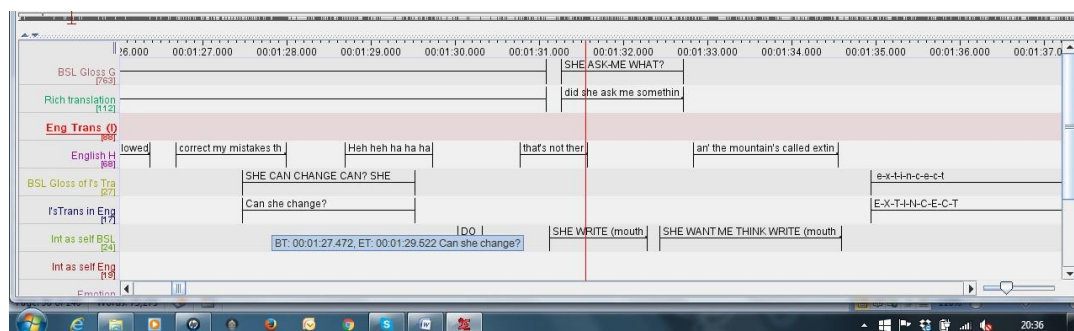
Figure 8 ELAN annotation

When adding the "rich" information to ELAN, and using the annotation tool to do so, the annotation often exceeded the space available, and so was inaccessible except when highlighted, as seen in pale blue in Figure 7 "Can she change?". I needed the information to be accessible in order to work on it, so this appeared to be a difficulty.

4.6.6 The Final Six Dialogues

Having decided that while the tiers were very necessary, they were cumbersome, and may need to form *part* of the study as a reference, rather than to be the "data" per se, I worked through the other dialogues.

Using ELAN, I translated the BSL into English annotations for all of the dialogues. I then transferred these English translations into the CA transcripts of the English half of the dialogue done by Jack Wilson. For the written English version, I edited his English transcription onto the ELAN files. I was then left with six ELAN files with both languages rendered in English. I also had six transcriptions with the addition (in italics) of the BSL translated into English. These formed the corpus for this project. The ELAN files allow constant access to the original BSL, and the transcripts had been there to allow CA data sessions to be held, but as described in section 4.5.5 they proved to be less useful than hoped.

A further difficulty with using the CA scripts with BSL translated into English in italics was that it was impossible to have accurate timings. I have already discussed the problems with simultaneous speech, but when translated BSL needs to be put in between written English which has been allocated timings by Jeffersonian conventions, the BSL is compromised in a number of ways. In Figure 9 below, BSL is shown in italics.

```
G:        the: al:↑lotment↑
I:        do you have the allotment
F:        ((looks at map))
I:        they are alongside each other
F:        yes yes
I:        so you go up between those two
F:        straight up or around
I:        so in the middle <of the shop> (.) sort of >an the allotment<
          or the other si:de of the allotment
F:        I mean is the camera here and then the other place here
I:        to the right side¿
G:        no: to the LEFT SIDE I:    no
```

Figure 9 An early version of a BSL/English transcript

One of the ways of getting around this is to have boxes with timings above them, and put all the free translation into the time allocated boxes (Roy 2000; Stone 2009). However, I wanted to consider overlap and eyegaze, which would be likely to continue across time allocated boxes, and so I chose not to use this particular format.

Dively (1998), in her study of ASL/ASL conversations followed a convention of having a full section of a monolingual ASL conversation, followed by another representation of the same conversation but translated into English, so that she had two representations of signed language one above the other. This proved a useful way of presenting data. It did not lend itself to my data, which were bilingual, and used one language with a conventional writing system, and one without. A solution to this problem used by signed/spoken language interpreter researchers is the so-called "musical score" method of presenting their bi-lingual, bi-modal work (Roy 1989; Metzger 1995; Van Herreweghe 2002; Stone 2009; Napier et al. 2010) and it is a version of this musical score which appeared to be the best way to present this data, as seen above in Figure 5.

Subsequently, Major (2014) has used a version similar to Dively's (1998) gloss and translation combination. She calls the two versions in her transcripts "clean" and "technical", with the "clean" version showing what was said, with overlaps removed, and the "technical" version using glosses of Auslan (Australian Sign Language) and spoken English written with CA conventions.

This work does not consider turn-taking as its main focus, but it was necessary to display turn- taking in the transcript, so a line was added for eye gaze. Using this musical score method of data presentation provided the freedom I needed to make this addition. BSL cannot be attended to without vision (Baker 1977; Brennan and Brown 1997), so if eye gaze from the intended interlocutor is not directed at a BSL user, that which was signed by that BSL user cannot be said to have been "heard" by the intended interlocutor. A signed language user will be more aware of movement as meaningful, and most signed language users have increased peripheral vision, so despite no direct eye contact between BSL-users in these data, understanding could be possible. However, there is no guarantee that the BSL-user is attending in the same way that an English-speaker is guaranteed to hear English if it is at a reasonable volume (which can be judged by the speaker themselves). The interpreter and the deaf participant know that it is not possible to guarantee to be seen when using BSL in the

same way that it is possible to believe that a speaker has been heard. The English-speaker is less likely to know this. With eye gaze as part of the transcription we can see on paper those occasions when an English-speaker attempted to use sound as a turn-taking mechanism, a mechanism which cannot be *guaranteed* to be effective in the other language if the BSL-user is looking down.

Another area of concern was that a free translation of BSL cannot be back-translated accurately, or rather word for word. For example, in one instance I translated the deaf participant as having said "oh sorry". However, the BSL used to express "oh sorry" was not OH and SORRY, it was small headshake with pursed lips, then a mouthing of "sorry" and a gesture with her right hand, which used the metaphor of pushing something away. The something she was pushing away was the sign she had used which she now considered to be wrong. The richness of that small gesture was completely lost in the translation process. By continuing to refer to the video, the original signs used were not lost.

BSL does not have word for word equivalence with English, as is to be expected from a natural language. A translation of a BSL sign into English (or vice versa) may prove to be extremely lengthy. Translating BSL and forcing the subsequent English translation to fit into a timed rendering of English felt absurd. Spoken language users often try to "adjust" spoken language methods to cater for signed language needs. Just as Ochs (1979) showed that power lies in what is placed first in a script, power must surely lie in the order in which I placed my languages. The idea of having English first and then BSL fitted in afterwards, and translated to boot, was untenable, as it smacks of a "hearing researcher pushing a hearing agenda" which O'Brien and Emery (2014:29) state categorically is a major threat to Deaf academics and the "emancipatory roots" of Deaf studies (O'Brien and Emery (2014:29).

The nature of the Map Task itself (giving and receiving directions) meant that the BSL-using participants in the dialogues were using more gesture, and more spatial information than they would in a conversation about bank accounts, for example. The

early glosses included a lot of descriptions "B-handshape[9] moving towards left" as opposed to a more usual representation of lexical items. Glosses of this type were not clear because the specific meaning of the signs was contained in the movement and relative positioning (which could be seen in the video) and not the form of the handshape, which was acting as a proform; depicting either the route follower, or the route being followed.

The final version used in this thesis is therefore my version of the musical score (see Figure 9). The original videos were also referred to when doing the analysis, using ELAN. Glasgow1 (which had been used as a pilot) had been a deaf-led example (i.e. with a Deaf Giver and Hearing Follower), so I decided to take the first hearing-led video out, thereby leaving six videos, three of which were deaf-led, and three were hearing-led (i.e. with a Hearing Giver and a Deaf Follower). This set of videos was rich with examples of interpreter repair, and the fact that three of them were deaf-led and three hearing-led gave an equality to the overall dataset. The resulting, smaller, group of dialogues, Glasgow2, Glasgow4, Glasgow5, Glasgow6, Glasgow7 and Glasgow8, totalling 61 minutes, became the dataset of this thesis.

4.6.7 Finding the Examples of Repair

The process of transcribing as is necessary in any CA study meant that I was watching and re- watching the interaction when translating and adding the English transcripts. My early rationale was to make note of any repair sequences, and so when I came across a problem of hearing/seeing, production or understanding in the dialogues I wrote down the time stamp for more attention later. At the beginning I did not make any distinction between repairs done by INT or D or H, so started out with 105 places to revisit and to review. It is imperative in the CA process for the patterns of language to emerge from the data. I knew that I wanted to consider repair sequences more than any other feature. I chose, therefore, to include findings which featured repair of some

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[9]   A "B" handshape follows the Stokoe notation system and is the same shape as the universal gesture for "stop", with the hand flat with all the digits closed together.

kind before eliminating them, rather than projecting a requirement on the data before starting.

For the purposes of the thesis, repair was defined as anything that INT says in either language which does not have a corresponding previously produced equivalent in either language. If no one had said it first, then it must come from INT. I had a corpus of 105 examples of what I believed to be repair sequences. When looking more closely at the 105 examples, I soon saw that some of the repair examples originated with D or H. Some of these examples, where INT interpreted the mistakes and the repair sequences between the other two participants and had no repair work of her own, were discarded. The other examples of repair which originated with D or H resulted in INT having to perform some repair and therefore were included. I was left with 77 examples of INT repair. These 77 were when INT produced a repair which was not an interpretation, but was self-generated, and came from a need to have more information due to a problem with hearing/seeing, producing or understanding, and due to the fact that an interpreter has a different reason for listening/watching than the other two participants. This 'different reason' is because they are listening/watching in order to interpret. They are listening/watching for someone else as well as themselves.

The first 105 examples were recorded as separate clips with ELAN. I saved the clips in a folder, and numbered them chronologically. I kept a separate notebook with the clip numbers as headings, and added more written observations under the relevant clip heading as I discovered more, and made connections between the differing types of INT behaviour. The final 77 clips, which were INT repairs, were not all alike, and I was able to separate out 11 different types of repair found in these data (section 5.0.1). Each clip was an INT repair, but they were produced for differing reasons, or in differing ways. In order to contrast INT repair with *interpreted* repair, I also discuss some examples from the discarded 28.

When I had chosen the clips which were to form part of the thesis, I transcribed them using the musical score method, and these are found in Appendix B, numbered in respect to the order they appear in the thesis. There is also a CD with the video clips

(numbered in the same way) provided with this thesis, so that the original data can also be accessed.

4.7 Summary

In this section, I have described the methodology and the method of this project. I have described the contribution I have made to the transcription of bilingual, bimodal interpreted data. I have listed the theories which are important to the research, and described the transcription process, and the decisions made which led to the final representation of interpreted data used in the thesis. I have also presented the methods used by other signed language interpreter researchers.   In the next chapter, Chapter Five, I present my analysis of these data.

Chapter 5 Data Analysis

5.0 Introduction

The following chapter presents an in-depth analysis of two categories of interpreter repair found in these data. In this study I found 11 broad categories of the cause, or source, of interpreter repair from the 77 examples of INT repair found in the data. The reason for this starting point is the same as that outlined in sections 1.3 and 4.1; the interpreter may realise at the time what the precipitating factors leading up to the repair (the trouble sources) are, but it is not the time to reflect on these factors in the middle of an interpreting assignment. This thesis is the place to reflect on such trouble sources. These 11 categories are presented and listed in frequency order below. While this is an exhaustive list of all categories of interpreter repair found in this dataset, it is important to note that they may not be representative of all *possible* categories. I have chosen to consider two categories, the most frequently observed: underspecificity and ambiguity.

5.0.1 Eleven Types of Repair Found in the Data

5.0.1.1 Underspecificity 25/77 cases

This category has the most examples, in 25 cases the interpreter must interject because the information given in the source language is not specific enough to be interpreted fully into the second. This has been chosen as one of the categories to study in this thesis, and will be analysed further in the following sections.

5.0.1.2 Ambiguity / Deciding on an Understanding 13/77 cases

Category number two consists of 13 examples of the interpreter checking vocabulary or a candidate meaning with the speaker/signer. This is different from the interpreter not understanding, or misunderstanding. The difficulty here is which of the possible

understandings to choose, in order to interpret.   This is the second category chosen for further study due to the number of examples.

5.0.1.3 Significant Language Difference 9/77 cases

There were nine examples of significant language difference, two involving recall. One example of recall was where the referent had been identified in BSL by using a locus in space, but when interpreted, needed to be referred to with a place name in English. The other example of recall was a more straightforward vocabulary search. Five of these examples were concerned with the difference in structure between English and BSL. In English a route can be described ("You go around …") and a new landmark introduced by name ("the extinct volcano"). In BSL, the new landmark must first be introduced ("there is an extinct volcano and it is here …") before any route can be drawn around it ("and this is how you go around it").

This is a simple thing (cf Nilsson 2013 – an interpreter must start interpreting without knowing how she is going to finish), and indeed the interpreter became better at predicting when it would happen. The instances of repair associated with this structural difference are only in the early dialogues. Two of these examples were when the vocabulary item 'left' or LEFT is used in conjunction with a gestural component which is opposing or perceived to be opposing the lexical item describing left. The person speaking or signing says/mouths "left", but describes right with their hand. Another repair sequence in this category was a lengthy sequence describing the manner in which a rope bridge was approached and crossed. This is a simple matter in BSL, but very elongated when described in English – ordinarily, the approach, the direction, the relation of walker to bridge is not defined, in contrast to the "matter of course" (Brennan and Brown 1997) nature of such visual depictions in BSL.

5.0.1.4 Visual encoding 8/77 cases

There were eight examples of INT being overwhelmed by the richness of visual information in BSL and the necessity of having to choose what to edit out. In these examples, INT hesitates, either finding it difficult to produce in English in terms of vocabulary choice (word search), or in deciding which parts of the information to interpret.

5.0.1.5 Insufficiency 4/77 cases

There were four instances of language input being insufficient to make enough sense to understand it. Three of these were examples of DG not having given enough topological detail. In each, INT goes back and repeats back what she has understood, in order to demonstrate to DG which information she has seen and knows, and then asks for additional information. In CA research this is referred to as a *partial repeat*, used as an other-initiation device (Sacks et al. 1977:368). The fourth example is when HG uses a term "below the page", which is uninterpretable without explanation. INT repeats back to HG "below the page" with a rising and falling intonation.

5.0.1.6 Prosody (grammatical ambiguity) 4/77 cases

The sixth category is where in four cases, a head nod and pause on the part of DG looks like a boundary marker and INT interprets into English what she believes is a boundary marker, but when DG continues, it is clear that it was not a boundary marker after all, but a check by DG that INT had understood the first lexical item before continuing with the next.

5.0.1.7 Problems with Production 4/77 cases

The seventh category contains four occasions when the communication breaks down. In two examples, one of the primary participants makes a mistake. In the other two, INT makes a mistake.

5.0.1.8 Hesitancy 3/77 cases

This category is where INT needed overt confirmation of understanding from the recipient of what they have interpreted. In three instances INT had understood what was said, and had interpreted it. In each case she needed to make sure, by asking the recipient, that what she said (her interpreted version) was understood, and/or made sense.

5.0.1.9 Continuity Strategies 3/77 cases

The ninth category consists of three examples. In this category INT is instrumental, and answers HF's question directly in two cases and prompts DG to answer in the third.

She does so in her capacity of co-ordinator.   INT speaks as herself in order to accomplish her main job of interpreting.

5.0.1.10 SISR 2/77 cases

This category contains two examples of INT self-initiated self-repair (mistakes in production), which do not include the primary participants.

5.0.1.11 Clarification 1/77 cases

The last category contains only one example, but in it INT uses the English phrase "and this is for my clarification".

5.0.2 The Categories Chosen

Each of the eleven categories is deserving of further study. In this thesis, however, in keeping with my first research question, I choose to present the categories which are the most frequent in these data. These are the categories which I have termed *underspecificity* and *ambiguity*.

Underspecificity

This category has the most examples. In 25 cases (out of the 77 found) the interpreter interjects because the information given is not specific enough to be interpreted fully.

Ambiguity / Deciding on an Understanding

This category consists of 13 examples of the interpreter checking vocabulary or a candidate meaning with the speaker/signer. This is different from the interpreter not understanding, or misunderstanding. The difficulty for the interpreter here is which of the understandings to choose.

The third most common category found in these data was that of "Significant Language Difference". At times, this category overlaps with the first two – significant language difference can be the cause of paucity of specificity, or the cause of ambiguity. Some

of the examples which I have decided belong to the category of Significant Language Difference will also be analysed.

This chapter will be set out in three parts, one for each research question.

5.1 Research Question 1

RQ1 In which environments does the interpreter most commonly repair as herself?

As seen in sections 1.0 and 1.2, the interpreter is faced with the conflict between interjecting for reasons of accuracy and not interjecting for the purposes of flow of exchange. This section looks at those sequences of events *just before* the interpreter changes her position from 'relayer' to 'coordinator' (Wadensjö 1998 section 2.3) and repairs in some way. Section 5.2 describes the activity of the interpreter when they do so, but this section is concerned with why and where the interpreter needs to participate. This means that the repair which has been identified in these sections will sometimes not be shown in the fragments chosen for this section because it is the precipitating factors which are being analysed. Each of the fragments of dialogue is numbered, and the numbers correspond to the full version of the repair in Appendix B of this thesis and also with the clips which are to be found on the accompanying CD. On this CD there are all of the clips which are separately numbered and can be watched individually. In a number of cases, the clips have been repeated and are renumbered in order for ease of reference (for example, (21) is also (25)), but whichever clip is being discussed in

the thesis can be found on the CD or in Appendix B by its corresponding number.

5.1.1 Underspecificity

In section 2.1.4 I outlined the concept of underspecificity. The speaker/signer may have been fully explicit in their own language, however, for the interpreter to produce the same information in another language, they may need more information, simply in order to produce grammatical language. Parallels were drawn from other languages than those used in this thesis. A clear case is that of kinship terms which in some languages need to specify maternal or paternal line; older/younger siblings; aunt/uncle by marriage or blood, all of which are found in Chinese and Japanese (Wallace and

Atkins 1960). Another case was that of a language such as French having more than one verb for "to know", and making a further branching of distinction between concepts; "to know something" (savoir) or "to know someone" (connaître). This is not specified through verb choice in English, but rather by modification of the verb "to know", using "someone" or "something".

As full and natural languages, BSL and English consider the world differently from each other, commonly known as 'linguistic relativity' or the Sapir – Whorf hypothesis, and is based on the work of Sapir (1929:160) and Whorf (1940:212). When the difference between languages is profound, to the extent that the language spoken (or signed) is insufficient to be interpreted, the interpreter has various options. The options chosen by the interpreters in this study will be discussed in section 5.2. These options include asking for more information, but there are others. This section explores the environments which lead to the interpreter to participating as herself. The first environment which shows a mismatch between BSL and English is described in the next section and the mismatch is that of left and right.

5.1.1.1 Direction and Movement

In signed languages, verbs of direction must necessarily include morphemes or adverbials of direction (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999). The most simple of these is left and right. One might think that leftness and rightness would be fairly straightforward, particularly in a visual language. In the following analysis however, we discover that the concepts of leftness and rightness are not so simple.

The following fragment (1) shows that there are conventions which deal with left and right in BSL. It would be easy to think that left and right are absolute, but this is not the case. Leftness and rightness are not iconically accessible either. If left and right are produced without convention, the laws of probability dictate that the addressee has equal chances of understanding the direction given, either correctly or incorrectly. BSL uses the convention that *the left and right of the person signing* are considered to be 'left' and 'right'. A similar convention which serves to denote the left and right of a boat or ship are the terms "port" and "starboard" respectively. Port is associated with the colour red, starboard with the colour green, and boats or ships use this code to

display to others the direction in which they are going by the use of red and green lights. An approaching vessel, or other observer, is able to gauge the direction of the observed vessel by the colours of the lights on either side.

A BSL user knows that what is on the utterer's right (despite being on the watcher's left) is taken to be on the right. This convention also works for east and west, and for describing topographical information. A movement to the BSL user's left denotes (when in Britain) Ireland or the Atlantic or America, depending on grammatical markers. To refer to America and place it on the utterer's right would be ungrammatical for a BSL user when talking in Britain. The convention has parameters, however, even if the BSL-user is facing south, east and west would be denoted by the speaker's right and left. Other languages, particularly Aboriginal Australian languages, which are spoken languages, use absolute north and south, when describing with gesture as seen in the literature section, 2.1.1.1.

Fragment (1) shows how this does not work when one party is unaware of the conventions. This is not an interpreter repair, it is a DF repair. The reason for its inclusion is that it is an example which shows that left and right are not arbitrary in BSL. It is presented here in the notation system devised by Jefferson (2004) (see section 4.5 for discussion of different notation systems used in this research)[10]. The repair takes place over nine turns, and although Jefferson's notation system is not the convention used to consider the repairs the interpreter produces in the rest of the thesis, it is useful here due to the necessity to clarify a number of close turns. Also useful is being able to see how the simultaneity of signed/spoken language cannot be represented accurately with this system of conventions.

The language used by the interpreter (INT) is represented in the row corresponding to the label IBSL (INT using BSL) or IEng (INT using English) and also by the convention of having italics showing that the utterance was a translation of the BSL used by INT. DF also has italicised English, showing that this is a translation of what was said in BSL and not a gloss. The numbering system down the side of the transcript follows CA

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[10] For the sake of continuity, the same clip has been reproduced in the musical score method. See Appendix B.

conventions, and enables the referencing of lines of talk by number. The words used are different to those used in Appendix B, because a free translation of the BSL used by the interpreter and the BSL-user has been inserted into the transcribed version of the English spoken by the interpreter and by the English-speaker. In Appendix B and also in the fragments throughout the thesis, glosses have been used for BSL.

(1) G5Rep2_00.27-00.40

```
01      DF:    right or left
02      IEng:  >sorry is that on the right=or the left hand side of
03             the page¿<
04      HG:    the: right hand side
05      IBSL:  the right
06      DF:    no!  that's on the left
07      HG:    nex[t to the burnt forest]
08      IEng:     [˚o::n my:: le:f:    ]t hand side of the˚ page,
09      DF:    let me try to see it round your way
```

I have translated DF's utterance in line 9 as "let me try to see it round your way", and what she does is to turn her upper body round in order to imagine the perspective of the Hearing person. BSL users routinely perform this perspective shift mentally when watching someone sign. Physically turning around to see something from another point of view is not a common thing to do in a BSL-BSL conversation, but in this instance, the deaf person is not talking to another signed language user, and appears to recognise that negotiation must be undertaken.

The fact that HG places something on the right which is on the left side of DF's map appears to suggest to DF that something has gone wrong and that it includes a reversal of some kind. Of course, the design of the experiment means that a second possibility is that H and G have the same landmark but in different places (as explained in the participant preparation), however, DF appears to believe the first possibility. It is conceivable that the Hearing person is adjusting her map to the deaf person by using the term which is correct from the other person's point of view, much in the way that "stage left" is used for the right side of a stage when standing on it looking out at the audience, thereby using the "left" seen by the audience. Despite the convention which is used in BSL, DF appears to have considered the possibility that HG has made the

"stage left" assumption, and tests it by turning around. INT is not consulted, which can be explained by DF being aware that she does not have sight of the map. The difficulty appears to be in the visualisation of the map, and how it has been presented by HG. This would explain why DF tries a different perspective physically rather than mentally.

The fact that it is DF who is working at a metalinguistic level by considering possible reasons for misunderstanding, and checking to see whether misunderstanding can be rectified by a renegotiation of conventions, is far more important than it at first appears. Roy and Metzger (2013) found that interpreters will negotiate meaning more readily with deaf clients than with hearing clients. The example given was that of the questions from the hearing person (the dentist in their experiment) posed directly to the interpreter. These questions were, among others, asking her what her qualifications were, or where she studied, and the interpreter chose to interpret the questions to the deaf person, rather than answer the questions herself. My own experience of working with deaf people is that this meta level of language use, this openness to what someone *might* have meant, is more readily and more widely accessed by deaf people than by hearing people. This is presumably because deaf people have more everyday experience of having to negotiate meaning with English speakers.

Fragment (1) showed that leftness and rightness are conventionalised in BSL. The next fragment, which is the first INT repair fragment shown in this thesis, is being used to describe how language difference means that current purposes in one language may be different to current purposes in the other. The fragment shows *the lead up to the repair*, and not the repair itself. In order to follow to the end of the repair, please consult Appendix B. the smaller number which appears second (below (2) is first and (40) is second) shows that this fragment will appear twice, once as (2) and once as (40).

(2) and (40) G2Rep25_12.27-12.36

Gaze: +map_____

HF: all the way round the high view point

Gaze: +DG____+away and back x2_____

IBSL:

Gaze: +INT_____

DG:

In fragment (2), INT hears "all the way around the high view point". In English, the concept being described is that the drawn route circles a drawn landmark. The exact direction of the route is not described, but in English it does not need to be described. The use of the phrase "all the way around" by H conveys semi completion of a circle, but although that is helpful information, it is unusable until direction has been established. When used in tandem with sight of the map, an English-speaker would be satisfied with the term "around", without the further specification of which way around. It may be that the direction can be extrapolated by the position of the landmark and the route. The fact that there is movement and it is circular in shape is enough for the English-speaker as far as understanding how to go about performing the action suggested. They can ask whether the movement is going round to the left or round to the right as an additional question, but do not need to do so in order to understand. INT, as an English-speaker, can also accept that there is a movement, direction not yet defined as to left or right, which goes around the landmark. However, for the purposes of translating into a visual language, having a direction which is not yet defined is not enough to produce an accurate, or a definitive interpretation in BSL, which leads INT to repair. The options available to INT are discussed further in section 5.2.

The next extract (3) shows a similar problem with the English word "round".

(3) and (41) G2Rep27_13.01-13.11

Gaze: +map_____

HF: I wen' rou::nd the field station

Gaze: +HF_____   +DG_____

Brow:

IBSL: FIELD STATION

Gaze: +HF_____   +INT _____

DG: NOD   NOD

In (3) too, INT is faced with a difficulty which comes from a verb in English which is not specific enough to be interpreted easily into BSL ("going round"). We also have a minor issue with differences in syntax; BSL puts the landmark first, and the route second, whereas English does the opposite. INT needs to hear the name of the landmark before starting to interpret. Subsequently, INT needs to remember the name and the position of the landmark. What we see is that INT looks at H while H is stating "I went round the field station", at the point that INT hears "field station" which is the landmark she was waiting for, she turns to D and signs FIELD which receives a nod from D and STATION which also receives a nod. She has thus established with D that there is a landmark and its name.

(4) and (35) G2Rep29_14.04-14.12

Gaze: +map   _____

HF: I then went   rou::nd   the rope bridge

Gaze: +HF _____+up

IBSL:

Gaze: +INT _____

DG:

The difficulty for INT in (4) is that "round the rope bridge" has not previously been produced by the English-speaking primary participant in English. The two primary participants have at this point ostensibly finished their task, and the Follower, in this case the English-speaker, is describing what she did in response to what the BSL-using Giver produced. The interpreter will have interpreted the route described by DG into English. The route given by DG will include those aspects of the route deemed important by DG. Those aspects will have become part of the current purposes of DG and INT. INT and DG will only have these aspects of the route in common. To put that another way, DG has shown INT, through her depiction of the map, her *version* of the map. INT then produced that version in English for HF. Now INT is faced with remembering not only what was said (by DG), but also *how she (INT) said it*. This is the only version of the map which INT has had access to, and therefore any route described by HF will have aspects in common and aspects which are new to the route INT has formed with DG. INT now has to reformulate the map she has in her memory (the map she has built with DG) using the reference points which are deemed important to HF. That is, INT must integrate two different maps, from two different perspectives (DG's and HF's) and produce meaningful language, which is comparable against a real artefact – the map. Stone (2010) wrote about how the use of an inappropriate handshape to describe a cancerous growth resulted in a patient believing that they had severe and possibly metastasised cancer, when the reality was that the cancerous growth was minuscule, and not metastasised. Any mistaken decisions on the part of INT in these data will not result in equivalent anguish, but will nevertheless be pivotal to the task.

Given the above, it is not surprising that INT leaves a large gap here, shown by no BSL in her row. What we can see, however, is that before INT starts to interpret (seen in full in Appendix B) she looks upwards. This is a gesture associated with word search, or visualising something (Dively 1998 and Baker 1977). In order to be grammatical, INT must remember visual information from earlier in the dialogue. This is not in order for the interpreter to do a better than average job, or for any sense of nicety, it is for the interpreter to be able to give accurate information.

The use of the word "round" in this instance is problematic to INT in terms of her needing to understand what is meant in English. A bridge is generally gone "over" or "under", not "round". The whole point of a bridge is that it spans a feature which is impassable, such as a river, or a road, or a valley. Going "round" such a structure is an odd thing to do, and highlights a difference between the two languages. In English, in this utterance, "the rope bridge" would appear to refer to a landmark on the map; the main task of the experiment. The utterance would appear to be expressing the idea of "the picture on the map of the rope bridge" which is similar to the descriptions found in Chapter 2 (2.1.1) of "The Citicorp Building" in Clark and Wilkes Gibbs (1986). In BSL, the fact that "the rope bridge" is a reference to the picture needs to be made more explicit. In order to interpret the phrase "the rope bridge" which has two meanings inherent within it, i.e. "the rope bridge" and "the picture on the map of the rope bridge", the interpreter would need to choose between two different grammatical structures in BSL. The meanings must be first disambiguated (see section 5.1.2 for ambiguity and disambiguation) before an accurate interpretation can be achieved. Going "round" a bridge *in this case* would appear to mean giving a name to a particular landmark, and going around that landmark. The landmark needs to be placed on the visuo-spatial map shared by INT and DG *before* the verb can be produced.

However, as we can see from Figure 10 below which shows the section of the map to which "round the rope bridge" refers, the route does not go *round* the bridge at all; it goes over it. This is a major benefit of the design of the experiment, as the researcher has access to the route itself in the form of a map, how the route is described by the Giver, the language used by the Giver, and also the understanding derived by INT due to the way she interprets it.
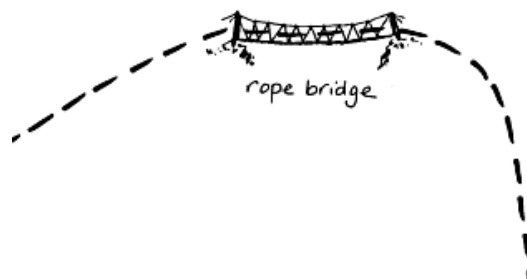
Figure 10 Close up of a section of the Giver's map in Glasgow2

There is also another issue in this fragment which is a problem for INT. The utterance is being delivered by the person *following* the directions (HF), not the person *giving* them (DG). The person talking is referring to things which have already been described. Some of this detail will have been seen already by INT, and will be potentially recoverable from INT's memory of what was said. However, some of the information is known only to the two people who can see the map. In these circumstances, the amount of detail given may well be lesser, because there has already been a description of this route earlier in the dialogue, and both parties are referring to what has already been agreed between them. Considering Grice's (1975) Maxim of quantity, the primary participants would tend towards stating only that which is necessary for the current purposes of the interaction. HF is explaining where she went. HF followed the directions given by DG (in BSL and then in the English version from INT), and therefore HF is referring to something in their shared knowledge, or their (assumed) common ground (see section 2.1.1). It may well be something that *the two primary participants* have in common, but which is unknown to INT.

It has already been seen (Napier et al. 2010 among others) that a spoken to signed language interpreter needs to make a visual representation of a linear, spoken language. This is most usually done by the interpreter visualising a picture of what is being said, making a concrete, but imagined, version of what is being said by the English speaker, and using that version as a base on which to place grammatical structures such as: directional verbs; to show hierarchy; for classifier use and so on.

Both interpreter and deaf client are aware that this is a conceit, and this concrete, but imagined version of the abstracted spoken English is built between the deaf client and the interpreter throughout the course of the conversation (Liddell 2003). In other words, this version is controlled by the interpreter and referred to and added to by the deaf client.

INT does not control the features on the map, neither does she have access to the map itself. She is able to interpret the features she is given (by either participant and in either language), but when either participant refers to something which has not been explicitly described, INT needs to know exactly where it is, in order to keep the integrity of the map she has co- constructed with D. Her usual method of building a picture, and being able to compose and impose structures on the visual space or "frequently conceive of areas of the space around them, or even themselves, as if they were something else" (Liddell 2003:141) is impeded by the absolute necessity to be accurate to the map itself. The picture built between INT and D needs to also tally with the paper map. Referring again to Grice's Maxims (1975), in particular the Maxim of Quality, where the speaker is expected to give information which is true, if INT deviates from the version D gave (or a version comparable to D's), D will expect this other, new version to be true, and may believe that there has been a misunderstanding not on the part of INT, but on the part of H.

Visual information which is essential in BSL and incidental in English needs to be generated by INT in order to produce grammatical BSL. Interpreters are trained to consider meaning to be the most important factor in their interpreting practice. We are taught to pay more attention to what a client means (in either language) than the words or signs used. This is an important part of the interpreting process, and allows the interpreter the freedom to produce natural- seeming target language which has not been overly affected by the source language. This is very helpful when dealing with a monologue, but when dealing with conversation, the interpreter must also remember the source language in order to use the correct vocabulary which has become the common ground for that particular conversation.

The following fragment (5) shows a similar difficulty with the word "next". Note that a + sign after a gloss means a repeat of the sign. Two + signs "++" means a double repeat.

(5) and (36) G2Rep30_14.10-14.18

Gaze: +map_____

HF: and next to the rope bridge

Gaze: +sign space_____+DG_ +sign space

IBSL: ROPE BRIDGE

Gaze: +INT_____

DG: NOD++

As in (4) INT waits for H to give further information, and she signals to D that she is waiting by not having eye contact until she has something to interpret. In this fragment (5), H utters "and next to the rope bridge". The word "next" is given no context (apart from that on the paper map in front of the two participants) and therefore INT must deal with the partial information in some way in order to convey the meaning given by H. INT is not looking at HG, and does not have sight of the map, so the only version of the map she has is the one which she and DF have built up together. Here INT is not yet able to perform the sign NEXT with accuracy, because the direction is underspecified. Note also that INT looks up, a signal seen before in (4) which displays word search, or recall. There is also a change of eye gaze to DG at the point of starting the sign BRIDGE, which is countered by two quick nods from D, which acknowledges receipt of the information given (e.g. the landmark is a rope bridge).

In fragment (6), firstly we see that it is difficult to portray in words all the visual information included in BSL.

(6) G2Rep31_14.27-14.51

```
Gaze:   +map____+DF_____+INT_____+map_____+DF
HG:      er:: no the inside      under the rope bridge


Gaze:   +HG_____+DF+signs_____+HF__
IBSL:         I-hold  THERE ROPE BRIDGE-UNDER AROUND-AND-UNDER


Gaze:   +INT_____
DF:
```

Fragment (6) includes the repair sequence as well, simply because it occurs at the same time as the English from H. Here INT needs to deal with the prepositions "inside" and "under". As with the other examples, the words themselves are intelligible in English, and the lack of specific direction (leftness or rightness) is tolerable. Considering these prepositions, when compared to the needs of a visual language, spoken English differs because it allows for specification to be i) omitted; ii) to be given in the visual mode in parallel with the spoken mode; or iii) to be added sequentially, with the earlier, less specific, information being modified by more specific information at the end of an utterance (which I believe is the case here). Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999 state that BSL also allows for information to be modified sequentially. Adjectives are usually found after the noun (1999:52) e.g. FOOD HOT. In question forms, the question sign is usually placed at the end of a question, such as KEYS WHERE? (1999:54) and THREE CHILDREN HAVE RIGHT? (1999:67). It is where the languages differ that the interpreter will potentially need more information from one or other of the participants *in order to interpret*. The interpreter's current purpose in these situations is very different from the current purposes of the two primary participants.

The fragment starts with a reply from HF of "er:: no the inside… under the rope bridge" to INT's interpretation of DG's BSL "see you've come round the outside of the crocodiles?". Because HF is *replying*, given recipient design, it is plausible to concede that she is using what she believes to be common ground with DG or INT or both. All of what HF perceived when hearing the words "round the outside" is in effect being

negated, or reversed, by HF's use of "inside". Rather than a topographical description which is possible in BSL (a curve from top to bottom of the right hand side of the sign space described by the right hand), HF uses lexical opposites (inside/outside). HF has said "er:: no the inside" as an answer to the question from DG asking whether she had gone "outside". DG's question (translated by INT above) describes a downward curve from the north around and out to the right and then down and in at the south, her mouth movement is "round". INT chooses to interpret this into the English preposition "outside". For the purposes of INT the reply to the question "you've come round the outside?" needs to be very explicit and defined, involving directions and angles, just as the BSL question from DG was (not shown here), and in a monolingual BSL conversation, due to the nature of the language, both parties would ordinarily be very specific about such angles and directions, and relative distances. The English words "inside" and "outside" simply do not give enough information for BSL to be produced accurately, because BSL syntax requires an object to be placed in the sign space first in order for someone or something to go inside or outside of it.

HF continues with "under the rope bridge". HF presumably hopes to make herself clearer by giving more information to INT, however, this additional information makes the interpreting process more difficult, because INT now has to consider the meaning (which in BSL will need positioning and direction) of "under the rope bridge" as well as the former meaning of "er:: no the inside". The meaning of "under the rope bridge" could be more than one thing. The meaning could be "walking beneath" or "taking a route below the landmark". INT now has to make sense of that as well as reformulating outsideness and insideness, which is how she gets to a point of needing to repair.

In fragment (4), we saw that HF talks about going "round" the rope bridge. Looking at the map (figure 4) we saw that if anything, the route goes "across" the bridge. The bridge she is talking about here is the same bridge. Just as HF did not go "round" the bridge, she also did not go "under" it.

Even more troubling for the interpretation is that the map in front of DG has more landmarks in that area than does HF's. DG has an addition of the landmark called "crocodiles" as shown in Figure 11 below.

Figure 11 Close up of the rope bridge on the Follower's map

The landmark "crocodiles" has been established between DG and INT, and as something which has been established as part of the sign space, it must be negotiated by INT when interpreting "under the rope bridge". It is the difficulty of reconciling a reversal of direction (and whether it is in fact a full reversal of the sign INT interpreted as "outside") with the new, and complicating information which finally adds up to a repair by INT.

Fragment (6) also highlights a major difference between English and BSL. My experience as an interpreter has shown me that in spoken English, if there is any concern on the speaker's part that there will be difficulty in understanding what they are saying, there is a tendency for the speaker to say more, hoping that something which is said will finally make sense to the other person. In BSL, I have noticed that the person attempting to make themselves understood will put more emphasis on clear referencing, however, I have not found any scholarly work which evidences this, and I believe it woudbe an interesting topic for further research.

In fragment (7), we have another example of "round", and the difficulties this presents to INT in terms of direction and movement.

(7) and (30) G2Rep32_14.59-15.08

Gaze: +map_____+DG_____

HF: okay   I went round the giraffes

Gaze: +DG_____

IBSL: GIRAFFE

IEng:

Gaze: +INT_____

DG: (continues to talk about differences

        between maps until INT signs)

In a non-interpreted BSL conversation, either signer would be talking for themselves and would therefore know which way they were going. In a non-interpreted English conversation, information about direction and movement could be given visually *at the same time as the spoken English*. The issue INT has is that she needs to be specific in BSL when she has received information which she believes is not specific enough for her to interpret accurately.

In fact, specification has been provided by HF. HF speaks and at the same time she is drawing the route with her finger on the map. What has happened for HF is that she has separated the two tasks of giving directions and delineating the route on the map into two different modes. This is usual practice for spoken language users, particularly with map directions. Any number of war films show soldiers referring to maps and giving instructions at the same time. If they were sign language users, they would refer, and then they would give instructions. INT knows that this is usual for English speakers, and yet, because of her immediate job of interpreting (therefore looking at DG), she is not looking at HF. DG's immediate job is to watch the interpreter in order to receive information from HF. These two vital actions mean that at the moment HF gives visual information for DG, neither DG nor INT is looking at her. She is looking at the map, and not looking at them, so she does not know that the extra information which she provides in the form of a delineation of a route has not been seen. In

section 5.2, and 5.3, the consequences of this, and other misunderstandings are described. However, even given that H is delineating a route, the directions are being traced on a map which neither INT nor DG can see, because they are looking elsewhere, and even if they were looking, the route would be side-on to INT and upside-down for DG. The amount of access which is arguably possible is limited. The point here is that an *attempt* was given by H to give visual information, but vision needs to have direct attention, just as noted by Clark (1996) in section 2.1.1, and the simple act of *showing* needs to be accompanied by *attending*, and by an understanding that attention is necessary.

The next two fragments describe the underspecificity of the word "edge".

(8) and (39) G5Rep12_04.55-05.06

Gaze: +map
HG: so now you are at   the edge   of the crane bay
Gaze: +HG   +DF   +sign space   +DF
IBSL: NOW b-a-y THERE YOU
IEng:

Gaze: +map   +INT
DF: NOD

In English the word "edge" can have a number of different meanings, and HG's more specific "edge of the crane bay" narrows down the possibilities, however, for INT the meaning expressed by HG is that there is a bay, called the 'crane bay', and the route goes along the part of the bay which is demarcated by water. Without recourse to the map, INT must express to DF that there is a bay, that the water could be in any direction, and that the route goes along that direction, which is as yet undefined. The water could be anywhere, the edge could be in any direction and therefore INT must create a statement showing indeterminacy from what HG considered to be determinacy, and was expressed as complete. What INT does before the repair is to make certain with DF (by waiting for a nod to show that DF has understood up to that

point) that she knows that there is a bay, and that the route is at that point near the bay. From that point of certainty, INT can then repair with HG without having to go back and negotiate with DF about where on the route she should be.

The second half of the clip (9), which I have labelled (9)a, includes another example of the difficulty for INT linked with the English word "edge". HG's reply to INT's "over the crane bay or ..." is "you are walking along the edge of the crane bay".

(9)a G5Rep13_05.11-05.23

Gaze: +INT_____
DF:

Gaze: +DF_____
IBSL:

Gaze: +DF___+map_____
HG: you are walking along the edge of the crane bay

The information given by HG – present progressive tense (you are walking), specification of where on the edge the route goes (along the edge) is attempting to give INT more detail, but the detail given is not the right sort. Context (a map task and a person following a route) is inherent in the BSL narrative, so the information given by "you are walking along the edge of" is obsolete; the specificity needed by INT is about the shape of the edge in question. The earlier part of this same clip (9)b also shows difficulty with differences between languages.

(9)b and (42) G5Rep13_05.11-05.23

Gaze: +INT_____+HG
DF: SO I PASS-ACROSS c-r-a-n-e-b-a-y PASS OR (BEFORE)

Gaze: +DF_____
IEng: so do I pass the- pass over the crane bay or…

Gaze: +map_____

HG:

In fragment (9)b, DF produces BSL which is very clear, and yet when it is interpreted by INT, some of the information about manner and direction are inevitably omitted. I believe this to be a cross cultural difficulty for INT. The BSL-user has described two differing manners in which to navigate around the landmark called the "crane bay". The question being asked is actually something like "at what point do I cross the crane bay? Is it at this point (x) or at that point (y) or some other point or manner?". This has been captured by INT when she stops herself and adds the preposition "over" as a descriptor, and then stops her utterance with "or…" in order to invite not only the selection of the two different choices she has proposed, but also to leave the possibility open for a third choice.

In fragment (10) we see how "down the side" is problematic for INT.

(10) and (43) G5Rep14_05.21-05.32

Gaze: +map_____
HG: so now you are going to walk down the side

Gaze: +DF_____
IBSL: NOW   WALK   THERE

Gaze: +INT_____
DF: NOD   NOD

As has been described before, the interpreter is animating the talk of another, and does not have access to the map. Most of the time, when people are talking for themselves, they have access to information belonging to all three of the speaker types depicted by Goffman (1981). They are principal (and have access to their own thoughts), they are author (and have access to how they will say something) and they are animator (they have access to the production of the words/signs). If there are problems in the animation of what they are thinking and how they want to say something, people talking for themselves have access to their own thoughts and they

have access to how they want to put those thoughts across. The animation of the person's thoughts and intentions is the last part of the process, and is the only part which is public. This public part of the process is where the idea of recipient design is important (Garfinkel 1967; Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 1987b). INT only has access to the public part of talk, and cannot, therefore, access the thoughts or the way those thoughts would be produced. In fragment (10) INT once again confirms with DF time – NOW, form – WALK and place – THERE, and receives acknowledgement through nods from DF before she repairs.

In fragment (7), we observed that HF has traced the route with her finger on the map. The specificity is present, but not in the correct mode, and not in an accessible form. This is the case with every one of the examples in this section. Had both participants been English- speakers, the option to watch each other would have been possible. INT is an English-speaker, but she is occupied with the job of interpreting, and is not looking at HF. Fragment (7) shows how cultural differences between the two languages regarding the delivery of visual information and linguistic information means that the supplementary information needed by INT in order to deliver grammatical language is present for HF, but lost to INT and DG.

Spoken languages use both modes, and signed languages use a single mode. English speakers expect to be able to attend to visual and oral information at the same time. Signed language users expect to alternate between visual language and visual information. The interpreter is caught between these two expectations. As has been stated above, a line traced on a map which is not seen fully by the other person does not constitute actual visual access to information, but may allow the other person to see that *something* was being added to the verbal part of the direction-giving, which could then be queried. D is able, due to her positioning at the table which affords her a front-on view of INT (despite the positioning at the table, D has turned to be facing INT) and a side-on view of H, to potentially be aware that H is drawing something with her finger on the map. The fact that she is physically able to see this, does not mean that she categorically did see, but simply that the possibility is there that she could have.

5.1.1.2 Underspecificity and Time Constraints

Prepositional difficulties were dealt with in the last section. In this section we deal with another subsection of underspecificity, those which are complicated by time constraints. In the section above we saw that the difference between spoken and signed languages is such that the use of one mode consecutively (signed languages) and two modes simultaneously (spoken languages) causes problems for INT who is aware of both types of use, and needs to mediate between the two. This section deals with problems due to the inaccessibility of discourse markers, particularly due to mode difference, between spoken and signed language users, and how that can be made more difficult due to time constraints.

The first observation we can make about the next fragment, number (11), is that the repair sequence for INT (as with all the above fragments, the repair sequence is not shown here and will be considered in section 5.2) is initiated by the repair by HF, "so walking straight down past it then?".

(11) G2Rep8_03.35-03.46

```
Gaze:   +INT_____+map_____+INT_____
DG:      LITTLE-BIT LIKE ALONG  GOOD    NEXT WHAT? STAY


Gaze:   +DG_____+away___+DG_+up___+DG
IEng:   sort of   til you are       past the safari


IBSL:                                        INDEX-HOLD LIKE ((starts to
                                        ………………   produce  placement
                                                  for safari))


Gaze:   +DG_____+map_____+DG____+INT_
HF:                                       so walking straight down past it then
```

The interpretation of DG's directions into English by INT has been "past the safari". The English preposition ("past") does not include direction, and direction is what HF is asking for. HF requests this by using a candidate understanding "so walking straight down past it". In her BSL production, DG has been very clear about direction, and about placement of the route and the map. There is a large amount of detail, and INT has not interpreted all of that detail, because she must choose how much visual information to interpret into English. As has been explained in Chapter 2, such detail is generally obsolete in an interpretation into English and if it is included, it can sound pedantic or irrelevant (Grice's Maxim of Relevance 1975) and may therefore reflect badly on the deaf person. Interpreters may choose to omit some of the minute detail which is present in BSL but would not be present in an English utterance. However, minute detail can be important when giving and receiving directions. The difficulty for the interpreter is *how* to interpret visual directions into verbal ones (the data included a number of verbs which were used in order to give as much visual information as possible, e.g. "meander" "snaking back on yourself" "gently snaking"). HF asks a question about the manner of arriving "past the safari". The BSL utterance from DG had included a North East trajectory with the safari on the North West of the route. In order for INT to interpret the question from HF, she must reformulate the route on the map as a candidate route, and produce a route with a northern trajectory.

The title of this section is 'underspecificity and time constraints', and the further complication for INT in this fragment is indeed the timing of turns. I have established that BSL users use the visual mode, and that English speakers use the oral/aural mode. I have also established that INT has access to both modes (if she is looking in the right direction). In section 1.0 I described how an interpreter uses their voice to play the part of the deaf person, and their body to play the part of the hearing person. This is the normal state of affairs, and is in fact the only way that interpreting between a hearing and a deaf person can be done. However, it means that the interpreter can become more responsible for aspects of the coordination of the conversation which rightly belong to the primary participants. According to the work of Dean and Pollard (Mental Health Interpreting Training 2008) the interpreter is there to pass information on to either party, in order for the primary parties to decide what is useful to them and what is not. The interpreter is not there to judge, but should constantly be making decisions about what each party knows of each other, and which nuances need to be made overt in the second language (see Fund of Information section 2.2.5). Because the interpreter is present, there is the danger that they will take / be given the role of coordinator, additionally to that of "communication cop" (Frischberg 1990:27). But it also means that the hearing person may well relinquish their responsibility for looking out for visual cues from the deaf person.

In fragment (11), we see how DG has not finished giving directions when HF comes in with her question. DG does not know that HF has spoken because speech is in the wrong mode for her, and HF does not know that DG is still talking, because all she has heard is INT's voice saying "past the safari" and stopping. HF comes in at a transition relevant place in a spoken conversation; when the other person appears to have finished talking, and because to HF the visual mode is not the mode for talking, she may not see DG's movement as being language based. INT is therefore faced with two people talking at the same time, both of whom consider that they are talking at a relevant point. Neither of them knows that they are talking over each other.

Not only are the two people unwittingly talking over each other, they have also diverged in terms of what they are talking about. DG has given a clear description of where she has gone, and is now describing what is coming next; her focus is on the future. HF is trying to figure out details of the route, which have been adequately interpreted by INT, but HF is focussing on what has just been said; her focus is in the past. What INT is facing here is not just the interpreting of languages, she also needs to bring both parties back to the same focus.

What we can see in fragment (11) is that an addressee must be given sufficient information in order for them to understand. The information given by DG was potentially sufficient for a signed language user to understand, but not enough for HF when it had been interpreted.

We can also see in this fragment that INT needs to have sufficient information in order to interpret. As a BSL user, she had access to the amount of detail which I have claimed is potentially sufficient for her to understand. The difference is that INT is in a very different position. She undoubtedly understands what she has seen, but a usual next step when having been given information in BSL about a map, would be to look at the map. This is not an option for INT here. INT therefore i) has incomplete information (no access to the usual checking process that monolinguals would have in these circumstances); ii) has no option to clarify what she knows against the referents which are contained in her map built up with DG and that built up with H; iii) must also display her understanding of what has been said; as well as iv) must field an unexpected mismatch of direction between HF and DG. Her responsibility for coordination is fairly high here, and is not able to be grounded with sight of the map.

In fragment (12) we see another way that time constrains INT in her work. The construction in English is that of: "and you should be above" + new feature.

(12) and (15) G5Rep9_03.34-03.46

Gaze: +map_____+DF_____

HG: and you should be above   a concealed hideout

```
Gaze:   +DF_____+up__
IBSL:                    NOW SHOULD PLACE-BELOW HAVE
IEng:


Gaze:   +INT_____
DF:                                      NOD
```

There are two problems for INT here, firstly the fact that "and you should be above" can also mean "and underneath you is". INT does not know yet, which of these two structures is the best focus with which to approach the map she and D have together. INT must wait for the new feature to be described, and then work out which of the two structures would be clearer. At the same time as waiting to find out what the feature is, INT will be deciding whether she should sign "you are above" or "below you is".

Following on from those two problematic (but mundane) language differences, the name of the feature is problematic too. The name of the feature is the "concealed hideout". Neither of these words is in regular use in English. When entered into a frequency list (*www.wordandphrase.info/frequencyList.asp*), the word 'hideout' ranked at 19,492nd, and 'concealed' ranked at 12,691st. I then arbitrarily chose the words 'literature' which ranked at 1554th and 'and' at 3rd. Both of these words ("concealed" and "hideout") would be difficult to transliterate (to sign in English order). They would also be difficult to describe with a definition in the place of a noun due to the combination of time constraints and the amount of information contained within each of the two words. Anything is describable from and into any language if you have enough time, but the meaning contained in the term "concealed" is that of not being able to see it from the outside. For a visual language, describing something which cannot be seen is a challenge. The term "hideout" is also challenging; a hideout is a place where you can see out, but others either cannot see you, or do not know you are there. Both of these complicated concepts can be described in BSL. However, both need to be processed and interpreted in the moment and when they occur after not only a difficult construction difference but a difficult perspective difference, time is

against INT and indeed this series of difficulties results in a self-repair (not shown here).

In fragment (13) we see another case of underspecificity compounded with time constraints resulting in difficulties for INT.

(13) G4Rep10_04.40-04.54

```
Gaze:   +map_____
HG:
```

```
Gaze:   +DF_____+HG_____
IBSL:   (diagonally) DOWN TO-A-LOCUS
```

```
Gaze:   +map_____
DF:                                  NOD++
```

Spoken languages produce far less visual information compared to what is necessary in signed languages. INT has described the route in terms of its direction (down and to the right), but having done that, it appears that the name of the next landmark has slipped her mind while producing the visual description. DF is quite content with the BSL utterance DOWN-TO-A- LOCUS, to which she responds with nods. INT will be aware that this landmark has a name (because HG has said it before). INT has been given the same pre-experiment information as the other two participants (outlined in Chapter 4), and she knows that there are differences between the two maps. It is imperative that INT gives enough information to DF for her to identify which landmark HG means (here it is the telephone box), and despite DF being content with A-LOCUS, INT cannot know whether the locus that DF has identified is the one to which HG is referring (see section 2.1.1.2, Clark and Marshall 1978). After INT checks the name in English, HG gives more information very fast, but not the information INT needs, e.g. the name of the landmark. HG says "directly down to the very bottom of". When HG does eventually give the name of the landmark, INT has had so much information to convey in such a short space of time, she ends up making a production error and for

the English word "box" she mistakenly signs the equivalent of a cardboard box, rather than a kiosk, which is what the "box" in "telephone box" really means. She immediately corrects herself, as seen in

Appendix B.

An interpreter must be acutely aware of what either person has had access to, and who knows what (and also how this information changes through the course of an interaction). The next section deals with issues of difference of viewpoint between English and BSL.

5.1.1.3 Underspecificity of Viewpoint

In the following two fragments, language difference in terms of the positioning of self becomes a problem for the interpreter. In spoken languages the difference between active and passive constructions is that the *focus* changes between the two. The object of an active construction becomes the subject of a passive one. Something similar is found in BSL. It is not a difference between active and passive, but is a difference of focus, or of viewpoint.

Consider the following two English sentences:

a)   You are under the bridge
 b)   The bridge is over you

They mean the same thing, but the focus is different. If the two sentences were to be translated into BSL (considered and performed off line, and in the translator's own time), the construction in BSL for both sentences would probably be similar, in that the sign for bridge would be produced first, and the sign for "you" would be signed in relation to the bridge. However, in the first sentence there would need to be some indication that the person classifier is the main focus. Equally, in the second sentence, while the signs would remain similar (the bridge first and then the person classifier) there would need to be some indication that the bridge is the focus, and not the person.

One way to do this is to role shift[11] into the person, and for the first sentence "you are under the bridge" to look out from under the bridge, and for the second sentence "the bridge is over you" to look up at the bridge from underneath it. This kind of adjustment is simple enough for an interpreter to do, and indeed they may well be doing so every day. Some English constructions, however, are more difficult to visualise than others, and as with the compounding problems of time constraints mentioned above, the interpreter has to make fast decisions about how they portray these English constructions. The consequences of these decisions may be that the interpreter has to go back to correct a mis-interpretation due to making a premature decision about what was meant before having received all the information. Examples of mis-interpretations could be producing a sign out of context (a leaf (of a book or a tree); a boot (of a car or footwear)), or it could be that the topographical information given in spoken English builds to produce a different picture than the one decided on as reasonable by the interpreter. It is at these points that the interpreter may need to repair, and to make sure that the visual image she has constructed from her understanding of English is the same as the one intended by the English-speaker. The following fragment, (14), is an example.

---

[11] Role shift is a grammatical feature of signed languages similar to the function of reported speech in spoken languages, which allows the speaker to speak/behave as protagonist in talk (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999).

(14) G6Rep13_07.54-08.04

Gaze: +map _____

HG: okay just directly up to the very bottom of east lake

Gaze: +HG_____+DF__+HG_____

IBSL: THIS-   YOU- THIS-   UP-

IEng:

Gaze: +HG_ +INT_____

DF:

In fragment (14) INT has to visualise "up to the very bottom of east lake". When given

in conjunction with the map, this utterance makes more sense.

Figure 12 Close up of the telephone box

For INT to produce the meaning of "up to the very bottom of", she needs first to know where to start from, and where to end, in order to trace an accurate route. The preposition "up" is not enough information for INT to do that. Then she needs to wait to hear the name/description of what it is that the route is going to the bottom of (east lake), so that she can place "east lake" in the visual space, before tracing a route from the start point to the bottom of the now known landmark. We can see the hesitation markers which INT produces as she is determining which way she needs to interpret the information, "THIS-", "YOU-", "THIS-", "UP-" are all false starts.

In fragment (15) (which was discussed above as fragment (12) because of the need to consider the implications of the term "concealed hideout") we also have an example of INT needing to alter the focus of the sentence in order to interpret it. INT transposes "you should be above" to NOW SHOULD PLACE-BELOW HAVE.

(15) and (12) G5Rep9_03.34-03.46

Gaze: +map_____+DF_____

HG: and you should be above   a concealed hideout

Gaze: +DF_____+up___

IBSL: NOW SHOULD PLACE-BELOW HAVE

IEng:

Gaze: +INT_____

DF: NOD

The way that INT has presented the information allows for the next landmark to be introduced into a place allotted to it in the signing space. The landmark is placed before being given a name. This appears to have been understood by D, who gives a nod in the middle of PLACE- BELOW. In order for someone to be above something, that something needs to be given a place. This section has considered the different types of underspecificity, and how specificity in one language can become underspecificity when it needs to be interpreted. The next section defines and describes the second most common cause of interpreter repair; ambiguity.

5.1.2 Ambiguity

Ambiguity was first described in section 2.1.5. The reuse of words and sounds allows for ease of delivery for addresser and context allows for ease of disambiguation by addressee. A language which uniquely mapped sounds and meaning would be completely disambiguated, but unmanageably large. Languages need to have some ambiguity in order to remain flexible and manageable (Piantadosi et al. 2011).

5.1.2.1 Disambiguation With and For Addressee

In this section I deal with the phenomenon of the interpreter accommodating the addressee by negotiating sign meaning. The next fragment, the second half of clip (16), is an example of the negotiation of the sign for "gold". DG uses a sign which looks very much like the sign for "mine", but mouths "gold". Before INT interprets the sign as "gold", she needs to know if that is what was meant by DG.

(16) and (26) G2Rep13_05.38-05.44

Gaze: +INT_____

Mouth: gold   mine gold

DG: MINE_____m.i.n.e. _____MINE_____

Gaze: +DG_____chin lift_____chin lower

IBSL:

IEng:

Gaze: +DG_____+map_____+DG_____

HF:

The difficulty for INT is not that she does not understand the sign MINE, but rather that it has been complicated by the mouthing of "gold". The spelling of "mine" does not help either, because that could be a reiteration of the sign before, or it could be a new lexical item. INT pre-empts her repair with a chin lift, and then a chin lower, signifying lack of understanding. More than a simple "WHAT", the chin lift and lower suggest that INT has partial understanding of what was meant, but not full understanding. I

would argue that the partial understanding covers the sign for "mine" and the spelling of "m-i-n-e" and needs more information. This is a case of INT having all the information to hand, but not the meaning. The chin lift is an invitation to D to add more information. (In fact D does give lots more information in the form of adverbial body movement showing the cramped nature of the mine, and the effort used to get the gold out. She even goes on to give an analogy of "the stuff you have put in your teeth". This case is similar to the giving of more information, but not the information needed by INT which was seen in "up to the very bottom of" and "you are walking along the edge".

In fragment (17), there is discussion between INT and DG about the meaning of a few signs for "rock". The first time that INT sees the signs for "rock" and "fall" (earlier in the clip, see Appendix B, (17)) she understands them to be "rockfall". By the time she voices "rockfall" DG is having trouble herself with the signs to be used. DG is translating from the written word on the map, and presumably is working out for herself which signs fit the context of "rockfall" best.

The following clip shows the same gloss ROCK and FALL numbered with (1) or (2). This numbering is meant to show that there are two different signs being used by DG.

(17) G2Rep19_10.01-10.19

Gaze: +map_____+INT_____+map__+INT _____
DG: ROCK(1)R(2) ROCK(1)+++FALL(1) ROCK(1)+ FALL(2)

Gaze: +DG_____
IBSL:
IEng: and beside- the lake is ah- a rockfall?

Gaze: +map_____+DG_ +map_____
HF:

The difficulty in this fragment remains with DG, who is unsure whether the signs ROCK and FALL which she has chosen to represent the English word "rockfall" are contextually grammatical. INT repeats the word "rockfall" while looking at DG. We see in the full version of clip (17) that INT then nods, and then mouths "I know" while nodding. At this point, INT appears to have seen that the trouble source is in fact the hesitancy or slight indecision of DG. The trouble source "rockfall" has been resolved (in terms of the interpretation process), and yet DG is still repairing. It is only after what is in fact a resolution of the interpreting problem (INT understands and has told DG so) that INT becomes involved in the negotiation with DG about the signs which are grammatical, thus participating as herself. This may well be an occasion of the type of repair when there is no need which was described by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977:363).

In fragment (18) there is another negotiation between INT and DG over the sign for "diamond". INT makes sure that DG understands what she means by that sign before moving on. INT is interpreting the word "diamond", but she is also collaborating with DG about the sign to be used for this word. DG, as a BSL user, will be capable of understanding any of the signs INT suggests as the sign for "diamond", however, if the sign used by INT is the sign used by DG naturally, there is no need for DG to expend effort in searching her memory for the meaning of the sign (see Piantodosi et al. 2011).

(18) G2Rep23_11.55-12.06

```
Gaze:   +map                      +DG___+map___+DG_____+map
HF:     My starting point was the diamond mine          uhuh


Gaze:   +HF_____+DG_____
Brows:                 up_____down_____up_____
IBSL:                  RIGHT HERS START MI- DIAMOND(1)++(2)++(3)++ MINE


Gaze:   +HF_____+INT_____
DG:                                              DIAMOND(3)++++
```

INT shows that she is negotiating with D by her use of an eyebrow lower and raise. The negotiation happens while INT has her eyebrows lowered in questioning form. When the sign for "diamond" has been established, INT raises her eyebrows to signal that she is now interpreting again. This fragment may be a little out of place in that the repair is shown, however, the reason this has been shown here is to describe negotiation.

The last few fragments have been about the negotiation between INT and the speaker/signer in order to be sure about an interpretation of a lexical item. This leads to the next section which describes INT negotiating with the speaker/signer to make sure INT has understood before she starts to interpret.

5.1.2.2 Disambiguation with addresser before committing to an understanding

When an interpreter believes that there are a number of different ways to understand an utterance, one of the options they have is to make sure they have checked with the addresser that the understanding they are about to interpret (the meaning they have chosen) is the same as the one intended. Once INT has chosen a meaning from an internal list of possible meanings (see section 2.2.8), the ambiguous statement becomes disambiguated, and now has only one meaning. If the meaning chosen were the one intended by the addresser, all well and good, but if not, there is the risk that having chosen the wrong meaning, there may be remedial work to be done in order to resolve that wrong choice. Another outcome could be that the addresser might just accept the new version, even if it was never intended. This process of disambiguation of meaning through the process of interpreting means that an interpreter (and indeed INT here in the data) is often cautious about their own understanding before starting the interpretation process.

The following fragment shows INT negotiating meaning before interpreting – once something has been said, there may well be considerable work needed to recover from a mistake. It is far better for the interpreter to make sure she has the correct understanding before she commits to *an understanding* and interprets that. In fragment (19) we see INT taking her time with the interpretation of FINISH. DG has

signed it three times before INT checks the meaning of DG's signs. This may be to give herself time to wait for more information (possibly including a negation of what has been said) *before* she commits to her interpretation into spoken English.

(19) G2Rep21_10.58-11.09

```
Gaze:   +INT_____+HF___+INT_____
DG:     THERE _____FINISH(1)_FINISH(2)_FINISH(3)_____FINISH(5)
Gaze:   +DG_____
IBSL:                                                        FINISH(4)
IEng:           not going all the way round the great lakes just going round the front
Gaze:   +map_____
HF:
```

So reticent is INT that she checks with DG at the very same time as interpreting "the front". DG has used three non-standard signs for the concept of completion, equivalent to "that's it" or "there you go". These types of finalising signs are not definite enough in themselves for INT to dare to interpret them as "I have finished". They are less definite, and could potentially be followed by another set of directions – "and there you go until the end of the forest" or "and that's it for another 20 metres". The sign used by INT is a more standard sign, and a sign which holds more definite finality. The impression I get from this is that INT does not want to give an interpretation of what she has seen until she is completely sure. To "finish" something is a definite action, so if INT has misunderstood and incorrectly interprets to HF that DG has finished, the recovery work involved in undoing that action would be great. The risk here is greater than just saying the wrong word. If INT interprets that DG has finished, it may seem very odd if she then appears to renege on an action. A participant surely has either finished or they have not.

Fragment (20) is slightly different in that the repair is not directly negotiated with DG, however, there is a similar reticence on the part of INT to interpret the word "spring".

(20) and (28) G2Rep2_01.21-01.28

```
Gaze:   +map_____ +INT_____+map_____+INT_____
DG:     OVER-THERE  SPRING SPRING                WAIT GO-BACK b-o-k-s
Gest:                               palms together           mouthes
                                    touching twice           "sorry"
Gaze:   +DG_____
IEng:           so then when you go left and you go straight there is a spring sorry sorry books


Gaze:   +DG___ +map_____
HF:
```

INT appears to be reacting to the uncertainty shown by DG over the sign SPRING. The same sign is produced twice, and then immediately followed by a look at the map, perhaps signifying a check by DG that what she had signed was right (in fact it was right, but INT does not know that). DG then frames the beginnings of the sign BOOK, but does not actually sign BOOK. This is all very tentative behaviour, and INT appears to be waiting for more information before producing the English.

5.1.4 Summary

The first research question was:

RQ1 In which environments does the interpreter most commonly repair as herself?

When considering this question, it has been seen that the amount of specificity differs between English and BSL, and that INT's job of interpreting means that what is specific enough in one language may not be specific enough to be interpreted. Firstly we saw that left and right must be produced grammatically, and are not absolute. Then we saw that the use of prepositions can be difficult for INT to interpret, due to the amount of specificity needed in BSL and not needed in English. INT needed to retain more of the topographic detail from BSL than is usual, and needed more topographic detail from English than is usual because of her unique role of interpreting. INT was *understanding* for another as well as *speaking* for another.

We then saw how the interpreter must work within a particular time frame (turns at talk) and that an aggregation of what are in fact small difficulties due to language

difference and underspecified language led to INT needing to repair as herself, in order to be sure that everything had been understood. The processing required by the accumulation of closely spaced uncertainties led to INT wanting to stop the current talk, and deal with those misunderstandings, or potential misunderstandings, before continuing with still more information to process.

Another form of underspecificity which led INT to repair was that of viewpoint. In order to be able to interpret something, INT needs to know where the speaker is in relation to the things around her and also what is on the map. The structure of the interpreted utterance will change due to the focus of the original utterance. The picture is built up between D and INT with input from H, but how INT negotiates herself around that picture linguistically depends on her understanding and her ability to accurately visualise something she has not seen.

Ambiguity and disambiguation were the topics of the second type of repair chosen for this thesis. The first of these was the work that INT does in order to make sure that a sign is agreed upon by both INT and D. The signs may not be unknown by either party, but negotiation needs to happen so that the correct referent is represented by the sign. The work might be started by D, as in the case of "rock" and "fall", but INT must engage with this process in order to carry on with their interpreting work. The second type of disambiguation which was found in the data was that of INT making sure that the understanding they believed had been meant by D was the understanding meant by D. This work of disambiguation was done *before* being interpreted, in the case of FINISH, due to the consequences of mis-interpreting, and in the case of SPRING because INT appeared to expect D to repair for herself.

In 5.2 we go on to consider how INT shows that she is now speaking for herself and not for others, by answering the second research question.

5.2 Research Question 2

RQ2   How does the Interpreter signal that she is repairing and not interpreting?

INT, having reason to participate, must do something to allow the primary participants to become aware that she is now speaking as herself. This section deals with how the interpreter shows participants that she has changed her position from relayer to coordinator. What I am suggesting in this study is that INT uses a three part pattern of stop – account – act.

5.2.1 Methods of Stopping the Current Relayer Talk

When INT wants to change state from relayer to coordinator, she will need to alert either or both of her clients to let them know that she is no longer relaying. What I am suggesting in this thesis is a formulation which allows for INT to change from being "other" to being "herself". We have seen previously, particularly in Chapter 2, that any interpreter who is working between spoken languages must use her own voice for both languages, and for a BSL/English interpreter they must use their voice to play the part of the deaf person and their body to play the part of the hearing person.

There are no special aspects of language which are available and/or reserved for interpreting. Interpreters can only use the same features of spoken and signed language that are available to all. The interpreter must mark in some particular way the change from active interpreting (being another person) to the co-ordination of interpreting (being themselves). There are no special discourse markers reserved solely for interpreters in any language, so the only discourse markers are those in the languages being used in the interpreted conversation. In these data, INT can only use English or BSL discourse markers.

Many interpreters have a story about their anxiety and frustration which have come about by the difficulties of people talking in different modes and the interpreter needing more time to process what is being said. Groups of interpreters will tell horror stories about having got to such a point of difficulty that they have slammed their hand on the table to stop proceedings so that a deaf person can have a turn, or that people speak one at a time, or that someone stops using jargon, or unknown sign names. They will also tell stories about how they had kept calm when someone gives a piece of

paper to a deaf person and then immediately starts talking to them when they are looking at the paper.

Interpreters must behave in a way which is appropriate to the situation. The conversation being had by the deaf person and the hearing person must set the tone for any intervention made by the interpreter. That is easily said, but difficult to carry out. The stress and frustration which are felt by the interpreter at these moments are often at complete odds with the experiences of the other participants. The primary participants could be talking about something completely non-contentious and therefore they cannot suspect that the interpreter could be under stress. Deaf people have told me about their embarrassment when an interpreter suddenly seems to be "cross". Being able to reflect on and prepare for these situations by understanding the different ways to stopping the current talk is a vital contribution to interpreting studies.

5.2.1.1 Eyegaze withdrawal from addressee

We saw in section 2.4.4 that signed language needs to be attended to with vision. Withdrawing eyegaze (Figure 13) effectively ends incoming information. The sort of eyegaze withdrawal which is used as a discourse marker is not a removal of self from the conversation in that way, it is used to indicate that continued visual information must be momentarily delayed. Dively (1998) (section 2.3.1) found that eyegaze withdrawal was a repair marker, used particularly for word searches. If INT was word searching, it would be a search for an equivalent to the source language in the target language. This would be the usual form of word search needed by INT, including when she was self-repairing.

Figure 13 INT withdrawing eyegaze from addressee in order to process – D is off to the right- hand side of the picture.

Eyegaze withdrawal happens in a number of examples of INT repair in the data, and not always because INT is searching. INT is sometimes using eyegaze withdrawal to stop visual input, but in some instances, INT is doing a different type of internal visual processing, not simply word search. They are making sense of what someone else has said (additional behaviour), before finding a way to say it (word search behaviour). If an addressee of BSL withdraws eyegaze even though the addresser has not finished talking, the message is that the addressee is considering what has been said, rather than word searching, and needs to process before receiving more information. Used by INT, this marker shows the deaf participant that something has changed. INT is no longer relaying, she is doing something internally, presumably to do with understanding, or phrasing. Often in the data the deaf participant will wait, still watching INT, until eyegaze is returned indicating that INT is now relaying again, and then D will continue. This waiting, I would argue, is not just a patient wait until INT starts interpreting again. I believe this wait to be an example of tacit understanding on the part of the deaf person, acknowledging that something is happening, and recognising that the interpreter is doing something different from just talking. My own experience is that it is more often the deaf person who has a greater understanding about the differences between languages that need to be negotiated by an interpreter. Evidence, perhaps, that all deaf people will have some experience of not understanding

or not being understood compared with the experiences of the average monolingual English-speaker.

The fact that it is pragmatic for the interpreter to co-ordinate understanding more openly with the deaf person is not the same as relying on the deaf person to help the interpreter. I am not advocating the bad practice of not interrupting the hearing person but believing that interrupting the deaf person is "different". Deaf researchers into power dynamics, and the continuance of oppression (conscious or unconscious) in interpreted interaction would be better placed to discuss this at length. What I am describing now is the facility, the Deaf Gain if you like, of the collaborative nature of meaning making which is inherent in signed languages and is lesser in spoken languages.

5.2.1.2 Leaning Towards Addresser

When leaning toward the addresser (either deaf or hearing) INT is showing that there is information that she needs from that person. Generally, INT leans her ear towards the hearing person (as in figure 14), and her full face towards the deaf person, thereby showing what form of information is needed from that person (aural or visual). It may be that the deaf person is the only participant who derives any meaning from this leaning action, in which case the leaning of the ear towards the hearing person may seem redundant.

Figure 14 Slight lean towards the addresser (H) who is off to the right-handside of the picture.

However, if INT leans towards the hearing person (indicating needing to hear something) and then withdraws eyegaze from the deaf person (indicating that she needs to think about something), she is showing that she needs to reformulate something she has heard, or misheard.

5.2.1.3 Body Movement

This is a more obvious movement of the body than the leaning actions described in section 5.2.1.2. More often used to address the spoken language user, this body movement is a turn towards the person addressed. Sometimes this movement coincides with an INDEX-HOLD to the BSL-user (see 5.2.1.6).

**Figure 15 Full turn by INT away from addressee and towards addresser (H)
who is off to the right-handside of the picture**

Fragment (21) shows a full turn towards HG by INT, in order to check the word "crane".
This is the full turn shown in Figure 15.

(21) and (25) G5Rep11_04.41-04.56

Gaze: +map_____+DF__+map_____

HG: the crane bay

Gaze: _____ +HG_____

IBSL: DOWN TO

Gesture: full turn

IEng: crane?

Gaze: +INT_____+map_____

DF: NOD

This method of stopping both participants is very effective. Notice that INT's DOWN-
TO has been given an acknowledgement by DF in the form of a nod. DF is not nodding
that she knows what crane bay is, she is nodding to say "yes, I know that we are going
down towards something which you are going to describe next". When INT moves her
upper body round towards HG (this occurs at the same time is the +HG eyegaze shown

on the fragment), while the notion of "something" is still unclear, DF looks at her map. This would suggest that DF knew why INT was looking away (to find out the name of the landmark), and that DF was attempting to find the landmark as well.

5.2.1.4 Speaks and signs

One way to stop both parties at once is to use both languages at the same time, thus taking the turn from both speakers for oneself (see Figure 16).

Figure 16 INT speaking and signing H is out of shot on the left

This is not a long term solution, and indeed INT only uses this strategy to stop both parties, and then she goes on to address one or the other in the appropriate language (either as herself or as other) when the primary participants realise that something has gone wrong, and that the conversation proper, needs to be put on hold until that problem is resolved.

(22) and (29) G7Rep12_06.58-07.10

Gaze: __+INT_____

DG: GO DOWN   NO GO-DOWN

Gaze: +DG _____ IBSL: GO-DOWN   UP-AR(

IEng: go down   not round it   no

Gaze: __+INT___ +DG___+map_____

HF:

With the use of signing and speaking, INT effectively stops HF from interjecting by taking a turn with her voice, as well as taking a turn in BSL. She has solved the problem of receiving more information.

In this next fragment (23) the interpreter appears at the top, because she is the only person talking.

(23) and (44) G8Rep9_05.22-05.28

Gaze: +DG_+HF_____

IBSL:

IEng: that's what Tricia's saying that okay?

Gaze: +map_____

HF:

Gaze: +map__+HF_____

DG:

In this example, DG is looking away from INT to look at HF. INT uses this time of not being watched by DG to talk to HF. It is possible that this utterance, "that's what Tricia's saying, that okay?" is a kind of interpretation of DG's eyegaze to HF, which may be in some way expectant, and need a response. Such prompting by eyegaze is more usual in signed conversations. It is possible that INT recognises this and elicits a response for DG with a question to HF. However the form of the utterance, with INT

using not only third person, but the name of the deaf participant, makes it more likely to be a repair from INT. If the latter is the case, then INT has chosen a fortuitous break in DG's talk in order to check with HF. As DG has already stopped talking, she does not need to be stopped by INT, thus giving INT an opportunity to talk to HF.

In the next fragment (25), INT uses speaking, or rather a continuing of the turn to stop H from speaking, and then needs to sign in order to get D's attention, because she has been looking at the sign space in front of her, and has not seen that INT needs to ask something. The movement from INT attracts the attention from D and stops her from continuing.

Another tactic used by INT to stop both parties is seen in fragments (6) and (11). Here she speaks and signs as well as rubbing her hands together and says "right" with an exaggerated lip pattern as a way to stop both parties by using both languages at the same time.

Fragment (25) shows how even before INT makes a full body turn towards HG she has indicated that she needs to stop. The signs for DOWN and TO are elongated, and the mouthing of "to" is held until the body turn. INT does not simply twist away from DF, she shows with elongation of both the signs and the mouthing that something is not quite right.

(25) and (21) G5Rep11_04.41-04.56

```
Gaze:        +map_____+DF__+map_____
HG:                  the crane bay


Gaze:        +DF_____ +HG_____
IBSL:           DOWN__TO____
Body:                          turn
IEng:                               crane?
Gaze:        +INT_____+map____
```

DF: NOD

During the turn, INT also brings her hands closer to her body, thus displaying a lack of intent to sign. This gesture, along with the elongation of the signs discussed earlier, appears to signal that INT is not addressing herself to DF, who occupies herself in a different way.

5.2.1.5 Index hold, hold and stop

Figure 17 Index-hold to stop BSL-user in order to relay English to BSL – D is off to the right- hand side of the picture

Figure 18 Flat hand (stop) and chin lift to halt D in order to clarify – deaf person is off to the right hand side of the picture

Locker (1992) was the first to describe the index-hold gesture (Figure 17) and the index-hold gesture (Figure 18) as discourse markers to display footing shifts in ASL lectures. An appropriate translation of either gesture would be "stop". However, Figure 18 shows INT using the index-hold gesture, but rather than appearing to say "stop", her mouth movements look more like "wait a minute" or "one minute" (the picture shows the lip pattern corresponding to "w"). Figure 19 shows INT using a flat hand "stop", but here she is also using a chin lift, and has closed lips which correspond to "m", and could be "erm", or "minute". Whatever the lip patterns actually were, they were not "stop". Both gestures are articulated with prosodic features of politeness (slow production, eyebrow raises, questioning facial expression) which would make me consider that gesture/sign as corresponding with the English "so, hang on". This ends up being something different from the use of STOP, which although may be used if the English speaker says "Stop", but would not have a place within the *interpreter's* repertoire of gestures used *to coordinate*. I had expected to see more examples of HOLD, where a fist is closed in the direction of the speaker, the closing action using the metaphor of stopping the person from continuing, but in fact there are none in these data.

Subsequently I have been informed by a deaf colleague that HOLD is used when the person signing is in control of the interaction, e.g. chairing a meeting, teaching in class. For that informant, the absence of HOLD was to be expected.

5.2.1.6 Talks Directly to D

Figure 19 INT talking directly to D – seated off to the right-hand side of the picture

Figure 19 shows INT stopping the deaf participant by talking directly to them. This shift is achieved by a body movement of hunching down, a faster delivery of BSL, and the use of a tighter sign space. These changes are in keeping with what was found by Locker (1992) when the lecturers shifted from speaking to a larger audience to addressing the interpreter directly.

5.2.1.7 Chin Lift

This movement is only used for the BSL-user. It is a discourse marker which means that the person watching does not fully understand what has been said. In the data, this movement is followed by a BSL utterance "what do you mean?" in one instance, and with "so you mean …" in another.
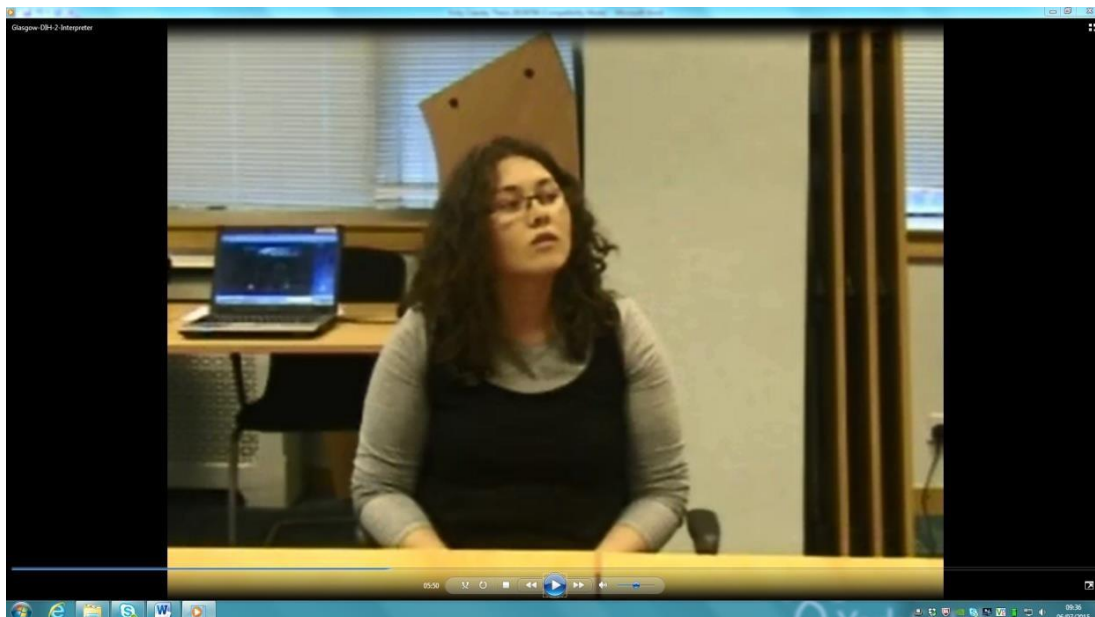
Figure 20 Chin lift used as an indication that that INT does not quite understand – the deaf person is off to the right-hand side

As with the lean in section 5.2.1.2 this is a pre-emptive marker to indicate that the watcher may need to ask for more information. This was found in the fragment treated as (16) above, where INT and D negotiate the appropriate sign for "diamond". As stated then, the chin lift is being used to show D that what she is saying is not entirely understood.

(26) and (16) G2Rep13_05.38-05.44

Gaze:	+INT			
Mouth:	gold	mine	gold	mine
DG:	MINE	m.i.n.e.	MINE	m.i.n.e.

Gaze:	+DG			
			chin lift	chin lower
Mouth:				gold
IBSL:				MINE
IEng:				

Gaze:	+DG	+map	+DG	
HF:				

In fragment (27) INT again uses the chin lift to signal lack of understanding. In this case the misunderstanding is caused by insufficient referencing on the part of D.

(27) G2Rep28_13.24-13.38

Gaze:	+map	+INT	+HF	+INT	+sign space	
DG:	YOU MEAN-YOU WHAT? BANANA TREE POINT YOU NEAR OVER-THE-TOP

Gaze:	+DG	
Mouth:		open/chin up
IBSL:		
IEng:	hmm do you mean at your banana tree	

Gaze:	+DG	+map	+DG	
HF:		uhuh		

In fact INT ends up signing WHAT? and mouthing "what d'you mean?". Immediately D realises what has gone wrong, and she goes back and restates the route she is describing, and references fully. I particularly appreciated this exchange. There is such a sense of trust between INT and D. INT knows that she has seen something which is uninterpretable, and when she asks, D knows it too.

5.2.1.8 Stopping the Hearing Participant

In the sections above I have outlined the ways in which INT stops D. I also discussed speaking and signing as a way to stop both parties, and thereby including the hearing person. Below I show other ways that INT stops the hearing participant.

The first fragment in this sequence is (7).

(7) and (30) G2Rep32_14.59-15.08

```
Gaze:   +DG__+INT_____+DG_____+map____
HG:                                              uhm

Gaze:   +DG_____
IBSL:      ROUND-L ROUND-R THIS-WAY THAT-WAY
IEng:                  sorry left or right round the giraffes

Gaze:   +INT_____+HF_____+map_____
DF:
```

This fragment comes late on into the first task by this interpreter, and she does not wait to find out which way to go, she initiates clarification early on. She speaks and stops HF with "sorry", and gestures (presumably for DG) demonstrating visually that there are two different potential ways to go around the giraffes. While this may be pre-empting the discussion set out in more depth in section 5.3 in which I discuss research question three, it is nevertheless important here to discuss the response of HF. HF's immediate response to the word "sorry" is to look up at DG. Seeing that the apology does not in fact come from DG, she then looks at the map. We know the apology does not come from DG, it comes from INT. We know that the sorry is less of an apology, and more of a request. This could be a form of account for the interruption by and from INT. When contrasted with the gradual chin lifting to indicate partial, but not complete, understanding in the above examples, it is important to note that the stopping of H by INT is more abrupt. This is evidenced by H's next turn "uhm". By this she is signalling uncertainty. This is different to the immediate reframing

produced by D after INT's query, which is far less specific – WHAT? – compared to "sorry left or right round the giraffes?". Again I am pre-empting my third research question, but it is inevitable that the three questions will overlap somewhat, and as the response is the way to judge how something has been understood, it must be discussed here.

Clip number (28) shows INT using "sorry" twice in short succession. The first time the "sorry" is an interpretation of DG's own apology for a mistake. But the second seems to be a form of participation from INT, who says "sorry" and with her next word "books", she appears to be repairing the word "spring" with "books".

(28) and (20) G2Rep2_01.21-01.28

```
Gaze:  +map_____  +INT_____  +map_____  +INT_____
DG:      OVER-THERE  SPRING SPRING                            WAIT GO-BACK b-o-k-s
Gest:                                 palms together          mouthes
                                      touching twice          "sorry"
                                      leans forward

Gaze:  +DG_____ ____

IEng:           so then when you go left and you go straight there is a spring sorry sorry books

Gaze:  +DG___ +map_____

HF
```

What DG is doing is repairing the half-formed sign for "books" which she had mis-read on the map, hence her half-articulated sign. On closer inspection (DG leans forward over the map) she now appears to see that the word is in fact "boks". When DG spells "boks", INT sees "books". At this point it is important to discuss the use of fingerspelling and the difficulties that interpreters have when interpreting spelling.

If a deaf person has English as a second language, spelling is always going to be in their second language. Interpreters are aware that the spelling they see should be used as a guide, rather than being treated as definitive. For example, in the early 1990s, any combination of "f" "l" and "x" in the context of dates and times would probably have

been "Filofax". Fingerspelling in fluent BSL is also subject to the same influences of adaptation from the citation form that lexical signs are. Repetitive combinations of letters become more stylised, and double letters may not be articulated completely separately, but rather may be signed as a slight elongation of *one* letter.

INT has seen the half represented sign for "books" which she did not voice (presumably because it was not fully produced). When DG negates the *previous sign* with her signs WAIT GO-BACK and the mouthing of "sorry", INT appears to have taken the fully articulated sign SPRING to be the one to be repaired, and when she sees the fingerspelled "b-o-k-s", which accords with the half-articulated BOOK from before, and the possibility that a single "o" could be a double "o" at speed, it would make more sense that what DG means is "not spring, but books". INT says "sorry" – the interpretation of DG's WAIT GO-BACK, but then she adds her own "sorry" which could be a repair indicator, but it could also be an account, thus allowing HF to know that something went wrong, and is now going to be repaired. The repair is then produced by INT with the word "books".

(29) and (22) G7Rep12_06.58-07.10

```
Gaze:  __+INT_____
DG:    GO DOWN                                    NO GO-DOWN


Gaze:  +DG _____
IBSL:  GO-DOWN     UP-AROUND-R-DOWN                 NEG-WAVE
IEng:  go down        not round it                     no


Gaze:  __+INT___ +DG__ +map_____
HF:
```

In the above fragment, INT gets both of the participants to look at her by using the two different modes. HF looks away again, because it is DG who is being spoken to, and as HF looks away, DG carries on watching. INT has successfully got both participants to

look at her, and because HF can hear what INT is asking, and it is obvious that her talk is directed to DG, HF goes back to looking down at the map.

When INT stops the talk of either or both of the participants, she is not asking for herself in the usual sense of the term 'for oneself'. As has been explained in earlier sections, she is asking
for herself *in order to interpret*. This is a question driven by the interpreter in her role as co- ordinator of interpreting, and not as an individual asking for herself.

5.2.2 Participation by INT

For many of the repair sequences found in these data, INT does not stop both parties, but participates by giving the deaf participant information on which they can act if they wish. In Chapter 2, I cited Campbell, Rohan Woodcock (2008) who explained that it is the deaf person who should decide if something needs to be clarified. The following few fragments show INT doing exactly that. INT leaves it to D to decide if she wants INT to find out more (or indeed for D to ask herself). This is possible because INT has enough information for her current purposes of interpreting. INT is aware that both of the main participants have access to the map, and her main task is to give both parties access to what the other person is saying. The fact that INT does not understand something may not matter. INT appears to ask for clarification if, and only if, she is unable to interpret without more specific information.

5.2.2.1 The Interpreter Can Choose to Ask

In fragment (30) (seen earlier as (7)), INT has not been given enough specificity about direction to interpret. She first starts to sign two different directions, and then asks HF "sorry left or right round the giraffes?".

(30) and (7) G2Rep32_14.59-15.08

```
Gaze:    +DG +INT____+DG_____+map____
HG:                                      uhm
```

```
Gaze:   +DG_____
IBSL:    ROUND-L ROUND-R THIS-WAY THAT-WAY
IEng:                    sorry left or right round the giraffes

Gaze:   +INT_____+HF_____+map_____
DF:
```

In fragment (30), INT looks at DG throughout her repair sequence. She indicates that she is speaking for herself to DG by signing what she is saying in English. In fragments (31), (32), (33) and (34) INT also asks a direct question, but in these, INT indicates that she is speaking as herself by withdrawing eyegaze from D.

(31) G2Rep33_15.37-16.03

Gaze: +map_____+INT_____

HG: Go down the side

Gaze: +DF_____+sign space_____

IEng: sorry which side?

Gaze: +INT_____

DF:

In (31) INT asks straight away for direction. These fragments are all late on in one dialogue, and INT appears to have learnt that direction will not come unbidden. Rather than wait, INT is asking directly. She holds her hands static in the sign space, and looks at the sign space while speaking. D knows that she has not said anything, so what INT is saying cannot be interpreted from her. The static holding of the hands in front of INT show that she has stopped interpreting for D. The only explanation for this behaviour is that INT needs more information from H. In the fragment below, INT has an even more truncated repair utterance.

(32) G5Rep4_00.54-01.13

Gaze: +map_____+INT_____

HG: towards the side of the page   okay?

Gaze: +DF_____+HG+up_____+DF___+up_____

IBSL: DOWN AND LEFT

IEng: the side?

Gaze: +INT_____

DF: NOD

This fragment comes from the fifth dialogue. INT in this dialogue has interpreted two other dialogues with the same D, so there has been a learning process between D and INT. INT has had to repair about direction a number of times, and so here, her repair is very brief. Considering the interviews conducted by Dickinson (2010) in section 2.3, where the interpreter discussed her frustration about the hearing members of a team who "should know better", a similar phenomenon is found here. INT has needed to ask for this information on many occasions, and is no longer giving a long description of what it is that she needs.

(33) G5Rep5_01.28-01.46

```
Gaze:   +map_____+DF_____+INT_____
HG:     up the side of the ravine

Gaze:   +DF_____+up+DF_____
IBSL:   UP_____LEFT RIGHT
IEng:                              the s- right    the left or the-?
Gaze:   +map_____+INT_____
DF:     NOD
```

Fragment (33) is the very next repair sequence after (32), and the trouble source is the very same word, "side". INT holds her hands still, and starts to say "side", stops herself, restarts the sentence with "right", an indicator that she is summarising what has been said, then uses a candidate direction "the left" but leaves it open by adding "or the?". INT is in a position where she has to repair, and she should repair, but there is a tension, often felt by interpreters between the need to clarify and the desire to be unobtrusive (this is dealt with in section 6.3). Despite the form which it takes, the "WHAT?" signed to D in (27) is no different. The sign used was WHAT?, but it was hedged with a chin lift, and with an opening of the mouth, both markers of polite partial understanding, which invite the addresser to adjust what they sign in order to make themselves clear. This is not, in my opinion, a reluctance to interrupt the majority language speaker, H, but rather in (27) D was not clear, and by her response to INT it is apparent that she knew that she had not been clear. Here, in fragment (33) the underlying difficulty is that INT has asked H on many occasions for the same thing –

which way? – and H has still not altered her descriptions to include direction. Continuing to ask the same thing over and over becomes difficult to do without sounding rude. INT has changed the way she is asking and by leaving a question open in this way, she is allowing H to self-repair.

The frustration on the part of the interpreter in this section is very clear. The hearing participant does not appear to be able to understand how to adjust what she is saying in order to make the interpreter's job easier. This is exactly the frustration felt by the interpreters in Dickinson's (2010) study, where they described how the hearing members of the meeting "should know better". This is not to say that the hearing participant does not learn, in fact section 6.1.1 shows how the English-speaker uses the same terms as those used by the interpreter (e.g. meandering, veering) so there is alignment, but not in the ways which are necessary in this fragment (e.g. which way is the route going).

(34) G5Rep8_03.28-03.37

```
Gaze:   +map_____
HG:     and then back out again


Gaze:   +DF_____
IBSL:
IEng:                                    out the same way?


Gaze:   +INT_____
DF:
```

In fragment (34) INT asks for direction using the a partial repeat and again constructs a question which allows H to self-repair. She signals to D that she is talking to H by holding her hands in the position of the last sign, thus holding the turn for herself, stopping D from taking the turn.

5.2.2.2 Two Possible Alternative Directions

In each of the following fragments, INT does not ask a direct question to H, but describes both possible directions to D, showing that direction is not yet defined.

(35) and (4) G2Rep29_14.04-14.12

```
Gaze:          +map_____+DG_____+map_____

HF:                                              okay


Gaze:          +DG_____+HANDS_____+DG _____

IBSL:          (then) BRIDGE NOD ROUND-R OR ROUND-L    NOD RIGHT?


Gaze:          +INT_____

DG:                 NOD++      NOD++       NOD++          NOD++
```

This technique appears to be effective, and is accompanied by a number of acknowledgement nods from D. D nods for BRIDGE, then for INT's question "did you get that?" in the form of her own nod. Then INT looks at her hands and describes ROUND-R OR ROUND-L, as a piece, which is then acknowledged by D with another double nod. The final part of the sequence from INT is NOD RIGHT?, meaning "did you understand that the direction could be either way?", which is acknowledged by D's double nod.

(36) and (5) G2Rep30_14.10-14.18

```
Gaze:   +map_____

HF:
          sign
Gaze:   +space_____+DG__ +sign space_____+HF _____

IBSL:          ROPE BRIDGE   THERE NEXT-R OR NEXT-L

Gaze:   +INT_____

DG:                    NOD++
```

In fragment (36), the sequence starts with INT pausing. Her eye gaze is on the sign space, then when she looks directly at DG, she signs ROPE BRIDGE, which is acknowledged by DG with a double nod. INT looks back at the sign space, and signs THERE, meaning "the rope bridge" and describes a "next" on the right and a "next" on the left.

(37) G5Rep6_02.11-02.22

Gaze: +map   +DF

HF: out the side of the   the village   right

Gaze: +HG   +up   +DF   +up   +DF

Mouths   village

IBSL: PRO-1 OUT- OUT- PLACE point-l OR point-r

Gaze: +HG_+INT

DF: NOD   NOD+

In fragment (37) above, at the mention of "side" by H, INT looks up (signalling recall or processing) and signs PRO-1 or "me/I". This is not a role shift from third person to first, I believe that it is signalling a shift from relaying to coordination. There is no need for INT to sign "me/I". This appears to be the first of three false starts, with INT finally choosing to start again with PLACE. The nods from D would support this theory, as they appear after the shift to PRO-1, then again when INT returns eyegaze to D and signs PLACE and mouths "village".

(38) G5Rep7_03.08-03.18

Gaze: +map

HG: and then out

Gaze: +DF

IBSL: PLACE UNDER-r OR UNDER-l PLACE

Gaze: +INT

DF: NOD   NOD

The above fragment, (38) shows not only INT's treatment of the previous turn by H, but also the acknowledgements by D. INT places a landmark in the signing space, and then states that the direction of the route is under and left, which D accepts with a nod, and under and right, which is again accepted by D with a nod. INT then goes back to the locus in the signing space, and reiterates that it is this locus which is the focus of the route.

(39) and (8) G5Rep12_04.55-05.06

Gaze: +map _____

HG: the edge   of the crane bay

Gaze: +DF _____

IBSL: NOW b-a-y THERE YOU EDGE-r EDGE-l

Gaze: +INT _____

DF: NOD NOD

In fragment (39) INT sets up the positioning of the bay, and states that the route is now THERE, which is acknowledged with a nod from D, she then goes on to describe a sharp dropping off to the right, and then to the left, while mouthing "edge" for each dropping off. At the end of the description of the two "edges", both hypothetical, D acknowledges with a nod. This nod comes after both "edges", and thus appears to be an agreement that there are two directions, neither of which is definite.

5.2.2.3 Claim that the author has not specified

In the following fragments, (40), (41), (42), (43), INT starts to ascribe the responsibility for the lack of specificity onto H. As has been stated before, the relationship between interpreter and either client is based on a certain amount of trust, and that needs to be maintained throughout an interpreted exchange. In these fragments the trust being maintained is that between INT and D. For INT to continue having to ask H the same thing over and over may appear to D to be an indication of incompetence, so ascribing the lack of specificity is a way to retain the trust between INT and D. This is not about blame, it is about accounting for what could be seen as strange behaviour (not understanding something said by H).

(40) and (2) G2Rep25_12.27-12.36

Gaze: +map _____

HF: all the way round the high view point

Gaze: +away and back twice _____

IBSL: AROUND-L AROUND-R WHICH I-DON'T-KNOW LEFT RIGHT

Gaze: +INT_____

DG:

INT signals to D that there is a trouble source by her pause (shown by no BSL on the musical score) and by her withdrawal and resumption of eye gaze twice. INT keeps her eye gaze on INT. INT has not turned to H, nor has she signed and spoken, so the only reason for INT to not be signing or speaking is that she is processing, evidenced by the eye gaze withdrawal and resumption.   When INT repairs, she not only gives alternative directions, but she also states that *she (INT)* does not know which. By the addition of this meta talk, INT demonstrates to D that it is H who has not specified, rather than INT who has not understood. This is the 25th repair in this dialogue, and INT has asked for direction already from H. INT goes as far as to specify what it is that she is missing – after describing the route in two directions, she then adds that it is the "leftness" and the "rightness" of the two depicting verbs to show the way around which is missing, and that it could be either.

(41) and (3) G2Rep27_13.01-13.11

Gaze: +map_____

HF:

Gaze: +DG_____

Brows: down____up_down

IBSL: FIELD STATION ROUND-L ROUND-R

Gaze: __+INT_____+map+INT_____

DG: NOD   NOD   NOD

In fragment (41) INT chooses a different way to show that the direction is not available to her. She and D have established that there is a "field station" with D giving an acknowledging nod to each of the signs for "field" and "station". Then INT includes D in the process of working out which way it is going by lowering her brows, in a question to D when she signs ROUND-LEFT. D responds by looking at the map, and when INT again lowers her brows to indicate that she is asking D about if the direction is now "right", there is a nod from D. This could be a nod to say "yes it is right, not left" or it could be "yes, I understand that it could be either way".

(42) and (9) G5Rep13_05.11-05.23

Gaze: +INT_____+map_____

DF:

Gaze: +DF_____

IBSL: LIKE EDGE-TOP

                                                   EDGE-SIDE

                                                   I-DON'T-KNOW WHICH

Gaze: +DF___+map_____

HG: you are walking along the edge of the crane bay   yep

In fragment (42) INT uses a pause, and then says that the edge could be at the top or at the side, but that she does not know. As stated above, the edge in this case is not a

sharp edge, like that of a cliff, or a building, it is the place where land becomes water mass, and could be any shape, and any orientation hence INT's description of EDGE-TOP EDGE-SIDE.

(43) and (10) G5Rep14_05.21-05.32

Gaze: +map_____

HG: but not too – but not as close cause you want to go across

Gaze: +DF_____

IBSL: SIDE-RIGHT OR   SIDE-LEFT I DON'T KNOW WHICH

Gaze: +INT_____

DF: NOD ++

In fragment (43) INT simply states that there is a side, and that it is to the right or to the left. This ambiguity is accepted by D with a double nod.

In this next fragment, (44), INT chooses to ask a direct question, not about what was said, but about whether it had been understood.

(44) and (23) G8Rep9_05.22-05.28

Gaze: +DG_+HF_____

IEng: that's what Tricia's saying … that okay?

Gaze: +map_____

HF: yeah

Gaze: +map__+HF_____

DG:

This fragment was discussed earlier as (23), and it was noted that D's eye gaze to H could possibly be a request for confirmation which is then interpreted by INT. If it is

this or if it is solely from INT, the fact that INT uses not only third person but also the name of the participant suggests that a response is needed, (either from D or INT), and that INT knows this, and uses a more direct way to elicit a response from H than a simple "okay".

5.2.3 Resuming Interpreting

The only reason that INT participates as herself in the conversation between the primary participants is to continue the process of interpreting. The *act* part of the process is the resumption of relaying information. It may not even include actual relaying, it may only include the settling back into the position of relayer. Often, however, there is negotiation between INT and either party so that the interlude where INT is herself is concluded, and her role as relayer is reinstated. This next section deals with how INT shows that she has reverted back to relaying.

Locker (1992) referred to a particular postural cue denoting quoting, as opposed to signing American Sign Language. In her work she stated that there was a "subtle stiffness (or lack of free movement) of the body and head. This stiffness contributes to the neutral tone of the quotation, which indicates distance between the speaker and the text." (Locker 1992:115).

Locker (1992) was referring to the shift performed by ASL users showing their change in stance from self (lecturer) to other (written text). Something very similar appears to be happening with INT in the current data. While the ASL lecturer was shifting from self to other and then back to self, INT shifts from other to self and back to other. Body movement, in the form of a certain straightening up and what could be Locker's "subtle stiffness" is seen when INT goes back to interpreting as relayer.

Locker (1992:114) found through the insight of one of her deaf consultants that ASL users would hunch over when attempting to engage the audience despite being "other" in the form of producing a quote. The deaf consultant said that the act of the

lecturer lowering his body, and therefore reducing the distance between the page and the lecturer's eyes meant that there was less need to move his head up and down from the page to the audience, and was an attempt to engage, and involve the audience. The consultant recognised that the attempt failed, but asserted that the intent to engage was displayed through this postural cue. What we see in the data is the same; INT is hunching to engage D (as herself), and straightening up to distance herself from D (because she is now no longer herself). She is using the same sorts of postural cues as the ASL lecturer did. More often, though, INT signals her resumption of interpreting (being another) by her resumption of direct eyegaze with D.

5.2.4 Summary

The second research question was:

RQ2   How does the Interpreter signal that she is repairing and not interpreting?

We saw that in order for INT to be herself and not another she first needed to stop either or both parties, then account for the stop, and then resume the stance of other again, in order to allow the conversation between H and D to continue.

Stopping was found to be achieved in a number of different forms: eyegaze withdrawal, leaning her ear towards speaker to indicate difficulties in *hearing to understand*, leaning her face towards the speaker, with or without lifting her chin, and with or without open mouth towards to indicate she had difficulties in *seeing to understand*. Turning towards the author of the trouble source was often preceded by discourse markers (in either language) to show potential difficulties in the current talk.

Having stopped the talk, INT sometimes needed to account for her change in stance, this could be in the form of asking a direct question, by explaining that something had not be made explicit, by giving alternatives, with or without comment.

Acting, the last part of the sequence could be simply going back to interpreting (relaying), sometimes accompanied by a sign or vocalisation like "right" or OKAY, or "oh". When only one party had been stopped (as happened more often when

negotiating with D) a straightening up type gesture was observed, as described by Locker (1992) when writing about ASL-using lecturers. What was also found that there was more interplay between D and INT with understanding receipts being solicited and acknowledged. Terms which were part of the common ground were receipted (with nods) before new ground was covered by INT. This form of behaviour was less often observed between INT and H.

5.3 Research Question 3

RQ3   How do the primary participants respond to the interpreter's repair?

Section 5.2 dealt with INT's participation. This part of the chapter deals with the responses to INT's participation from D and H. At first glance, consideration of responses may seem to be a different issue to the work in sections 5.1 and 5.2, which deal with INT's behaviour. However, it was seen in the last section that at times the responses from the participants were an integral part of the participation of INT. I show in this section that responses to interpreter participation are in fact part of the overall participation sequence. Clark (1979), while considering a different area, that is, indirect speech acts, used the responses to these indirect speech acts to assess how an utterance could be seen to have been perceived. When an interpreter changes her position in the interaction from speaking as another to speaking as herself the effectiveness of this change can only really be assessed when the person being addressed responds appropriately. Responses to the change yield information about how the interpreter's utterance has been construed.

INT needs to weigh up the benefit of participating, and the cost of forsaking her part *as* either main participant, and becoming herself. Part of the decision-making process must include consideration about how well the participation will be understood by the participants in the dialogue. The purpose of section 5.3 is to evaluate how participation is responded to by the two primary participants, D and H.

Responses found in the data can be roughly divided into the participation behaviour of INT being either understood, or not understood. These categories can be further divided into the ways in which they were understood, or not understood.

5.3.1 Response to Direction Alternatives Posited by INT

This type of response is where D or H understood that she was being addressed by INT, and that INT was giving a choice of two possible directions – left or right, and the permutations of these; outside, inside, next to, the edge of and so on. What D or H did with that information can be further split into two behaviours. The first of these behaviours was that D or H acknowledged with a nod, or some other affirmation such as RIGHT, or "right", "okay", either that:

i)   they understood that there were two alternative directions or

ii)   after checking the map they acknowledged that they now (after consultation with the map) knew which of the two ways they were supposed to go.

The acknowledgement produced was the equivalent of "yes, I understand" (see Gardner 1997 for minimal responses).

The second was that D or H treated the participation by INT as *interactive* and responded to INT. These times, D or H acknowledged receipt of the information but additionally repeated back to INT which of the alternatives was correct. This acknowledgement was the equivalent of, for example "yes, it's on the left", or NOD LEFT.

Fragments (2), (4), (5), (8), (9), (10), (37) and (38) (and (3) which is a slightly different type) are examples of D acknowledging the information given by INT. The response D gives in these fragments is to accept the fact that the information given to INT from H is not complete, or perhaps not yet specific enough. Acknowledgement is often produced with a nod, but sometimes there are additional behaviours, such as in fragment (2).

(2) and (40) G2Rep25_12.27-12.36

Gaze: +map_____+DG _____
HF: uhuh

Gaze: +DG_____
IBSL: AROUND-RIGHT
IEng: uhuh

Gaze: _____+map+INT_____
Mouthing: round round round
DG: NOD

There are no manual signs used by DG in this fragment, however, she produces a mouthing "round". Generally the mouthing "round" would form part of the sign ROUND, thereby having a manual component and a mouthing component. The mouthing produced by DG echoes the complete sign ROUND which has been produced by INT (in Appendix B the full clip is reproduced where INT signs AROUND-LEFT just before this fragment). It is possible that DG was acknowledging receipt of the two possible ways that the route could go around a landmark. She produces two mouthings of "round" before looking down at the map, producing another mouthing of "round" and then looks back up to INT and nods. The last nod is interpreted by INT into English, as "uhuh", which sounds like a receipt, and is acknowledged by HF with her production of "uhuh".

(4) and (35) G2Rep29_14.04-14.12

Gaze: _____+DG_____+map _____

HF: okay

Gaze: _____+HANDS_____+DG_____

IBSL: BRIDGE NOD ROUND-R OR ROUND-L   NOD

RIGHT?

Gaze: +INT_____

DG: NOD++   NOD++   NOD++   NOD++

In this example, DG accepts the information given by INT with nods of information receipt. INT signs BRIDGE, which DG accepts with a double nod, then INT signs ROUND-TO-THE-RIGHT, which is accepted by DG with a double nod, INT then signs ROUND-TO-THE-LEFT, which is accepted by DG with another double nod. At this point, HF looks up from her map and looks at DG, and presumably seeing her nodding, looks back to her map and says "okay". INT, who has been looking at her hands during the production of the two possible directions, looks back to DG and interprets HF's "okay" with NOD RIGHT?. DG immediately acknowledges INT's nod with a double nod of her own. But she does not indicate in any way which direction is found on the map. This is understandable, as it is not usually important for INT to know what D or H knows. This task is a more complicated situation than most in that the map needs to be adhered to as well as the maps built up between INT and D and INT and H.

(5) and (36) G2Rep30_14.10-14.18

Gaze: +map

HF: and next to the rope bridge   I don't

Gaze: +sign space_____+DG_ +sign space_____+HF

IBSL: ROPE BRIDGE   THERE NEXT-R OR NEXT-L

Gaze: +INT_____

DG: NOD++

Fragment (5) is complicated by the fact that INT's repair of NEXT-RIGHT OR NEXT-LEFT is immediately followed by HF's next utterance about the writing underneath the picture of the rope bridge. DG nods to acknowledge the rope bridge, and briefly looks down to check the map, but as has been described in section 2.1, when vision is directed to visual information, it is directed away from signed language, and the checking of the map is very fast, much faster than the other examples of D checking the map for verification of information. In this example, the only acknowledgement which appears is for ROPE BRIDGE. The nodding which occurs here appears to be acknowledging the fact that DG has a rope bridge on her map. She does not need to check because she knows she has one.

(8) and (39) G5Rep12_04.55-05.06

```
Gaze:   +map                                                    +INT          +map
HG:           the edge      of the crane bay

Gaze:   +HG____  +DF_____  +sign space__+DF_____
IBSL:              NOW b-a-y  THERE YOU    EDGE-R EDGE-L        WHICH    EDGE-R
EDGE-L
IEng:

Gaze:   +map_____+INT_____
DF:                  NOD                  NOD                           NOD
```

The nods in this fragment are all information receipts. DF nods to accept the description of the bay, that there is an edge, and that the direction or location of the edge is underspecified. DF's last nod is interpreted into English by INT as "right". DF either knows or does not know which direction/location is being described, but this is not shown to INT.

(9) and (42) G5Rep13_05.11-05.23

```
Gaze:    +INT_____+map_____+INT__
DF:                                                        GOOD


Gaze:    +DF_____
IBSL:              LIKE EDGE-TOP
                   EDGE-SIDE I-DON'T-KNOW WHICH
Gaze:    +map_____+DF___+map

HG:           the edge of the crane bay              yep
```

This fragment shows an acknowledgement of the underspecificity of direction/location not with a nod, but with an immediate checking of the map. DF appears to be addressing HG, rather than INT. The reply is different to the fragments before this one, as it is not the same sort of information receipt addressed to INT. D's response to the description of underspecificity is a lexical item, GOOD. The description of two possible ways around appears to be enough for DF to orient herself to the map. It is more like "yes, that's fine".

(10) and (43) G5Rep14_05.21-05.32

```
Gaze:    +map_____
HG:                     but not too – but not as close 'cause you want


Gaze:    +DF_____
IBSL:              THERE    SIDE-RIGHT OR                          SIDE-
LEFT I DON'T KNOW WHICH
Gaze:    +INT_____
DF:                NOD                  NOD ++
```

Fragment (10) is also a case where simply knowing about underspecificity is enough for DF. DF produces a nod immediately after each of INT's signs for WALK and THERE. This appears to be acknowledging the fact that the route is being described (WALK), and

that the landscape is being described (THERE). A double nod occurs towards the end of the time INT was signing the entirety of the repair phrase SIDE-RIGHT OR SIDE-LEFT. Rather than an acknowledgement of "right" or an acknowledgement of "left", this nod appears to be acknowledging the indeterminacy, or the binary state of the potential direction. In other words, DF is nodding to say that she understands that it could be either left or right. Soon after this particular fragment, she looks down at the map, lending weight to the above analysis.

(37) G5Rep6_02.11-02.22

Gaze: +map _____ +DF_____ +map _____
HG: right   below the village sorry

Gaze: _+DF___+up_____HG_____
Mouths: village   below   below
IBSL: PLACE point-l OR point-r   point-l-down   point-r-down

Gaze: +INT_____
DF: NOD   NOD+   NOD   NOD

Fragment (37) shows acknowledgement both for individual direction giving and for phrasal indeterminate direction giving. INT's phrase POINT-LEFT OR POINT-RIGHT which finishes with eyegaze to DF is met by a double nod. Straight after INT's production of two possible directions, each accompanied by the mouthing of "below", DF accepts each direction with a nod for one way and a nod for the other way.

(38) G5Rep7_03.08-03.18

Gaze: +map_____
HG: and then out

Gaze: +DF_____
IBSL: PLACE UNDER-r OR UNDER-l PLACE

Gaze: +INT_____

DF: NOD   NOD

Fragment (38) also shows each of the two possible directions being acknowledged one at a time. In this fragment the reader will notice that I have included a line for eyebrows.

(3) and (41) G2Rep27_13.01-13.11

Gaze: +map_____

HF:

Gaze: +DG_____+HF_____
Brow: down___up_down___up
IBSL: FIELD STATION ROUND-L ROUND-R   ROUND-L NOD

Gaze: _+INT_____+map+INT_____+map+INT_____+map+HF
DG: NOD   NOD   NOD   NOD   NOD

The last fragment in this series, (3), is different because it shows DG nodding after one of the two possible directions (left), but not after the other (right). The nod for left comes after a very brief look at the map, and INT appears to take this as a choice, because she reuses the combination of ROUND-LEFT which is again given a nod, and INT nods back, and immediately shifts gaze to HF, signalling that the sequence has finished. Although DG does not produce the direction for INT, by not acknowledging right, she nevertheless expresses a choice, and this is observed and taken up by INT.

When I considered whether or not the repairs were successes, my criteria were from a practitioner's point of view which was whether or not D or H knew where they were going after the repair. If this were the only stipulation, all of the above are successful. The fact that INT does or does not know herself was not considered, because generally the aim of the interpretation process is for the primary participants to understand. As a researcher, considering this through a conversation analysis lens, a more successful outcome would be for INT to understand as well as the other two participants. If INT

had more information, the overall task of the giving and following a route would be more effective.

This is an important point to be made, as most of the recipients of an interpreter's services would not consider what the interpreter knew to be relevant. The above examples show that sight of the map is not vital, and can be worked around, but if the action being achieved is for Giver and Follower to complete their task, the more information INT has, the better.

5.3.2 Response to Vocabulary Check

This type of response is when INT understands what has been signed, but needs to make sure that she has understood fully, and accurately before she interprets into the other language.

(19) G2Rep21_10.58-11.09

Gaze: +INT   +HF   +INT
DG: THERE   FINISH(1)_FINISH(2)_FINISH(3)
FINISH(5)

Gaze: +DG
IBSL: FINISH(4)?
IEng: not goin' all the way roun' the great lakes just goin' round the front

Gaze: +map
HF:

In this fragment (19), we see that INT's repair is in the form of a question, FINISH(4)?, which is immediately countered with DG's FINISH(5). This is a straightforward check and confirmation interaction, where INT, reluctant to give voice to something as final as "and then I have finished" when the signs used by DG (described below) have been intelligible as finality, but not as definite as the sign FINISH(4). This fragment is described in 5.2 in terms of the reasons for INT making the request in the first place, but here we are concerned only with what happens. INT sees all three of the signs for "finish" which are:

FINISH(1) both raised 5-hands back to shoulder, metaphorically releasing the topic by releasing the hands from the signing space.

FINISH(2) both 5-hands, palms down in front of body, then moving back to shoulders with fingers bent at knuckles, metaphorically distancing oneself from the topic.

And FINISH(3) both 5-hands out to the side of the body, fingers spread and two rotations of the wrists (possibly a regional sign).

INT uses a fourth sign, meaning "stop" or "finish" or "end" (5-hands from open to closed at fingertips) which is a more conventional sign, and less likely to be misconstrued. DG uses a truncated version of this sign back to INT and INT starts to interpret that into English, but is hesitant in her production of something as definite as "and you have finished", and rather uses the less definite "and that should be your end point". DG smiles and raises her shoulders which I take to be further confirmation that she has got to her finishing point. INT smiles back to DG after interpreting into English, but she still looks a little uncertain that this is where they are on the map.

(21) and (25) G5Rep11_04.41-04.56

Gaze:　+map_____+DF__ +map_____+INT__
HG:　　　　　　　the crane bay　　　　　crane C-R-A-N-E

Gaze:　+DF_____+HG_____+DF__
IBSL:　　　DOWN TO
IENG:　　　　　　　　　　　　crane?

Gaze:　_+INT_____+map_____+INT_
DF:　　　　　　　　　NOD

This shows HG behaving in a similar manner to DG in fragment (19). HG describes the landmark as a "crane bay". INT breaks eye contact with DF and asks "crane?". HG immediately follows this request with "crane" and then spells it ("C-R-A-N-E"). HG has understood that INT is talking to her, and she knows that INT needs confirmation about the name of the landmark.

(14) G6Rep13_07.54-08.04

Gaze: +map_____

HG: from the telephone box

Gaze: +HG__+DF_____+HG_____

IBSL: TELEPHONE   BOX

IEng: so from the telephone box?

Gaze: +INT_____

DF:

This is another request "so from the telephone box?" from INT and a repetition of the
request as an affirmative response from HG, "from the telephone box".

The next two fragments show two differing ways that requests for more information
are taken by D and H. The first (7) is a specific request for clarification about which way
around H meant. INT asks "left or right around the giraffes?". We saw in section 5.1.1.1
that H often traces the map with her finger to show direction, despite this not being
accessible to either D or INT. When H hears INT's request, she appears to take it as a
request for *more* information. She says "uhm" and looks at the map, and then says
"*my* right" (shown in Appendix B). By adding the word "my", H has added a
perspective to the direction "right" (which as far as she knows has already been given),
in order to make it clearer for INT.

(7) and (30) G2Rep32_14.59-15.08

Gaze: +INT___ +DG_____+map_____

HF: uhm

Gaze: +DG_____

IBSL: ROUND-r THIS-WAY THAT-WAY

IEng: sorry left or right round the giraffes?

Gaze: _+HF_____+map_____

DG:

The second fragment, (27), is an example of DG using visual information which is not accessible to INT who has no map to measure against. INT signals her lack of understanding with a chin lift and an open mouth, and when DG stops signing, INT signs WHAT, but mouths "what d'you mean?". This is an open class repair, signifying that it is not just one aspect of what was said which was difficult to hear, process or understand, but that the whole utterance needs to be overhauled. DG responds to this by immediately going back to frame what she is saying more clearly. DG appears to have understood, and she appears to know that INT needs a complete restatement, and does so with the utterance starting with BANANA TREE THERE.

(27) G2Rep28_13.24-13.38

```
Gaze:    +SIGN SPACE _____+INT_____
DG:      OVER-THE-TOP RIGHT? POINT OR UP-DOWN-LEFT-SIDE?    BANANA TREE
                                                            THERE

Gaze:    +DG_____
Mouth: open/chin up_____what d'you mean?
IBSL:                                            WHAT
IEng:                                                 right banana tree

Gaze:    +DG_____+INT_____+map___
HF:                                                          yeh
```

5.3.3 Response to INT Difficulty

In these three examples to follow, fragments (6), (11) and (13), INT is overburdened in some way, and D and H respond to INT herself and not to the information she is giving (or is unable to give yet).

(6) G2Rep31_14.27-14.51

```
Gaze:   _+DG_____+INT_____((smiles))_____
HF:                                        okay
```

Gaze:
      HF_+down_____+signs_____+D
G_____

IBSL: CAN'T THINK VISUALISE ((rubs hands))

IEng: I can't picture this – ((rubs hands)) just a second
(right then)

                                                  (ready)

Gaze: +INT_____smiles_____

DG: NOD

In (6) INT is attempting to interpret the English utterance "er no the inside, under the rope bridge" from HF, and due to the compounding of "inside" which has no stated direction, and then "under" which has no stated direction, INT has to keep the options of left and right open for the first preposition, and then for each of these two options there are two additional options for each of the first two, and INT needs to keep unspecified:

a) left + left,
b) left + right,
c) right + left and d) right + right.

Keeping four options active in the sign space is not only difficult, but also unclear for the recipient of the talk, and INT chooses to stop and regroup.

By looking down at her hands, and rubbing them together which occupies them in a way which is firmly contrasted with signing, and by saying in English that she cannot picture what has been said, INT stops all talk and gives herself time to process. Both primary participants stop producing language, they orient to INT, and they both smile at her. HF additionally acknowledges the problem with "okay". Once ready, INT looks at DG who nods, to acknowledge INT's shift back to relayer, and at the same time, INT says either "ready" or "right then" (it is indistinct) and the interaction carries on as before.

(11) G2Rep8_03.35-03.46

Gest: smiles/laughs

Gaze: +INT_____

DG:

Gest: smiles____rubs hands together

Gaze: +up____ +DG_____

IEng: right

Gaze: +DG_____+INT_____

HF:

In (11) INT has been overloaded with information and stops both participants, and rubs her hands together to show that she is not signing, and both primary participants wait, and smile as they wait.

(13) G4Rep10_04.40-04.54

Gaze: +map_____+INT+DF+map

HG: bottom of the telephone box the very bottom

Gaze: +DF_____+away headshake+DF

IBSL: HAVE TELEPHONE BOX(1) – WRONG   BOX(2) NOD

Gaze: +INT_____+map_____+INT

DF: NOD   NOD   NOD

Lastly, in fragment (13) above, it is INT who makes a mistake in her production of a sign, she signs an interpretation of a homonym, not the word which was meant. The phrase is "telephone box", and in this context it means "the kiosk in which people go to make a telephone call", rather than "the box in which you would pack a telephone". INT makes a mistake, and signs the latter, when the former was meant. Midway through the sign for BOX(1) (cardboard box), INT realises her mistake, and signs what Dively (1998) calls I-WRONG, and signs the correct meaning of "box", which here is "kiosk". DF shows what I take to be compassion in this instance by looking away from INT as she makes the mistake. DG may well have sufficient English skills to know that the kiosk you walk into in order to make a phone call is called a "box". She has

received sufficient information for her current purposes of identifying landmarks, and does not need to watch INT correct her mistake.

5.3.4 Summary

The third research question was:

RQ3   How do the primary participants respond to the interpreter's repair?

In this section I first considered the responses by primary participants to alternative directions given by INT. I found that D would acknowledge that there were two alternatives, or that they would firstly acknowledge the alternatives, and then check with the map to see which it was. Here D appeared to be reacting to the information. At other times D appears to be reacting to INT, and treats the production of alternatives as a question, rather than a statement, and rather than acknowledging, she gives the answer to INT.

Secondly I considered those occasions when INT needs to differentiate between meanings before interpreting. In (19) we see that when INT repairs with what could be described as "do you mean you have finished?". D may have understood her question as "is that your sign for "finish"?", because she gives another sign for finish in reply. In (21) when H is asked to clarify the word "crane" by INT, she responds with a repeat, and with a spelling. In (14) when INT repairs with a partial repeat and questioning intonation "so from the telephone box?" in order to elicit more information from H, H repeats "from the telephone box". This appears to be a misunderstanding of the question from INT, who did not need a confirmation or acknowledgement, but more information. Lastly in (7) and (27) we saw that there were differing ways that repairs can be taken. In (7) H appears to believe that more information is needed, when in fact acknowledgment is enough, and replies to the repair with "my right". In (27) when INT uses an open-class repair WHAT, D responds as if to an open-class repair with a rephrasing.

The third type of response was how the participants responded when INT shows that she has become overwhelmed due to the complexity of the interpreting task. She has made it clear to either or both parties that she is unable to continue, but will continue

when she has worked out how to interpret. In the data, the response from the primary participants was to show empathy and patience. But equally, they might have responded with frustration and impatience. Either way, the primary participants understood that INT needed to rephrase, or reframe what she had heard/seen, and needed time, which they gave her.

Chapter 6 Discussion

6.0 Introduction

The interpreter has only one purpose in an interpreted interaction: to interpret what is said by the main participants. It has been shown in earlier studies (Roy 1989, Wadensjö 1992 and others see Chapter 2) that the interpreter participates in the interaction. This study has explored the nature of the interpreter's participation and showed that she is constrained by her main purpose, which is to mediate between primary participants, and her participation does not include contributing to content, but rather remains focused upon the task of providing the primary participants access to what has been said in either language. It is not a case of whether the interpreter participates or does not, as it has been found that she does. What has been shown in this study is the manner of her participation, that is, to facilitate the interaction.

The *current purpose* of the interpreter is therefore different from those of the primary participants. Her current purpose is to understand enough *source* language in order to produce coherent *target* language. Any participation, whether that be environmental (asking for doors or windows to be closed in order to be able to hear properly or not to be overly cold, hot or uncomfortable), or linguistic (asking for more information from the source language speaker in order to make sure she has understood enough to be able to interpret) is for the sole purpose of interpreting.

Using one form of participation, repair, this thesis addressed three questions in relation to interpreter participation:

1) Firstly interpreter repair sequences were isolated in order to identify sources of difficulty.
2) Secondly, these sequences were analysed in order to find patterns of behaviour when repairing.

3) Thirdly, the consequences of the interpreter participation were analysed, in the shape of primary participant responses. This was done in order to assess how the interpreter behaviour was viewed by the primary participants.

In this concluding chapter, I will answer the questions posed at the start of the thesis and list my contributions to knowledge. I will also discuss recommendations based on my findings, and suggest topics for further research.

6.1 Discussion of the Research Questions

6.1.1 In Which Environments Does the Interpreter Most Commonly Repair as Herself?

My original hypothesis before starting to address the data was based on personal experience and the anecdotes of interpreter colleagues. This was that an interpreter will feel compelled to check information, and repair *as herself* most often to ask the questions "What does *that* mean?", "What do *you* mean?" and "*Which* meaning do you intend?".

I searched through the data, looking for examples of non-interpreted production from INT. Having found that there were a number of different types of repair, I decided to consider the two most common types. The two most common environments found in these data which were problem sources sufficient for the interpreter to repair were when one language needs more information than the other in order to produce coherent, grammatical language – which I called "underspecificity" – and when there are competing meanings possible in what has been said and the interpreter needs to be certain of which meaning was intended by the speaker before they can interpret it – which I called "ambiguity".

Underspecificity, as defined in this thesis, is not a characteristic of language internal insufficiency, it is what gives rise to the interpreter asking "What does *that* mean?" or "What do *you* mean?". People using the same language may well be able to

understand each other to a standard acceptable by them both, not needing the additional information required by the interpreter. The diary and encyclopedic knowledge (Clark and Marshall 1981) of both parties will generally be sufficient for them to work out what the other means. Verbs of direction in English (e.g. "go around") are acceptable without lexical specificity (leftness, rightness).

English-users can accept that there is an undefined direction, which could be left or right and will be defined by reference to the map. Verbs of direction in BSL must have a *specified* direction. This is easy for a person using sign language as and for themselves. In the case of the interpreter, speaking for another, direction must either be pre-known, or requested (or indeed part of the utterance to be interpreted). If neither of those possibilities is available to (or indeed chosen by) the interpreter, the direction verb can be produced in both of the possible ways, and the direction must be overtly described as being one of each of them, and not yet specified. The interpreter, therefore, needs to have *more* specific information than the primary participants may require of the other. The data reflected this very clearly, and the use of prepositions, and use of certain grammatical structures (e.g. "up to the very bottom of") proved to be more difficult for INT to process, due to the needs of BSL compared with the output of English.

Also present was an overspecificity which came from BSL. This difficulty sometimes resulted in INT using rather unusual vocabulary (e.g. "veering slightly left", "snake like back round", "slight snaking movement", "take a curvature around", "fork back on yourself" and "meandering") which in some cases was taken up by the hearing participant, and subsequently used by them. This subsequent use of the exact lexical items used by INT (or perhaps in the eyes of the hearing participant used by D) shows an attempt to align with the other speaker, in order to co-operate and collaborate in order to complete the task. I believe the vocabulary used by INT was an attempt to capture all of the visual information produced by the deaf participant. English does not have the same level of visual encoding as BSL (see Brennan and Brown 1997), and in order for INT to attempt to include that information, she turned to poetic vocabulary as a way to include more visual detail. The usual practice for the signed language

interpreter is to reduce the amount of visual information which is presented in English as it is unnecessary; English speakers are generally not interested in the way a door handle was approached and turned, for example (unless there is good reason, such as a conversation between two people discussing the design of a door), and the amount of detail when interpreted into English could be seen to be inappropriate or irrelevant. In fact, further, such detail could suggest to an English speaker that by its mere presence it is highlighted in some way. Conversation analysts interrogate the data, in order to find patterns of use of particular lexical items and their function in the utterance. To refer to something in such detail appears remarkable to an English-speaker, but for a BSL-user it is not. Interpreters as a matter of course will cut such detail out, in order to produce culturally acceptable language in English. The difficulty the interpreter had in the experiment is that directions and relative distance is for once needed for the accomplishment of the task. INT, with her years of experience of cutting down excess visual information in order to produce coherent English, suddenly needs to edit out less visual encoding. She further needs to produce visual information in English, a language which does not generally evidence very much visual information.

Further difficulties were faced by INT in that her usual strategy when interpreting from English to BSL is not available to her. The usual method is to map entities (both physical and conceptual) onto the sign space in front of her, using real space blends (Liddell 2003). She cannot arbitrarily choose places for the landmarks which are labelled by the hearing person, because the map that she builds in the sign space must correspond with the map in front of D and H. She is bound to build a picture (a real space blend) which will match something she cannot see. Entities (tokens) are being added to the blend from two different languages, one with specificity in terms of movement and relative distances from one landmark to the next, and the other with a cultural bias towards describing end points – in this case landmarks – rather than routes. There is a fundamental difference between the approaches to the task taken by the English-speaker who uses landmark names as pertinent points on the map, and the BSL-user who uses the shapes of the route as a guide through the map.

Ambiguity, as defined in this thesis, is the reason for the question "Which meaning did you intend?". This is also a feature of language which affects interpreted interaction. Although it is true that speakers of the same language may encounter difficulty when distinguishing between possible meanings, those who are interacting as and for themselves do not have the added difficulty of having to display their understanding in the way that an interpreter does. The interpreter does not always have the possibility of waiting for more talk which will help to differentiate between possible meanings. They must produce *in the moment* (and in the second, or target, language), that which they have understood in the first, or source, language. Additionally, the interpreter who spends her days considering meaning, and has a large encyclopedic knowledge of different situations and different points of view, may not have the diary knowledge in which to narrow down the possibilities. Such an interpreter has perhaps an additional type of knowledge, that of *possible meanings.*

A second type of ambiguity was when INT was unsure about *whether* she had understood correctly. This is the reason for an additional question which arose from the research. That question is "Is *this* the meaning you intend?". This is especially important when the information in question is important to the progression of a task. An example in the data was (19) when DG appeared to have said that she had finished her route. This statement was unexpected by INT, and the signs used by DG were not definite; they depicted stepping back, refraining, and completing. INT was reluctant to voice something as important as "I have finished" at that point in the route, because it appeared unexpected, and so she checked with DG before tentatively giving an interpretation "and that should be your end point", rather than a more definite "and you have finished". Similar examples were found where INT had heard correctly, but needed to check before interpreting.

If these four questions, the answers to which are under- or over-specificity or ambiguity, are applied to the preparation for an assignment, the interpreter can cover most of the problems which will occur during the assignment. These four questions could be asked of her clients:

1) What does *that* mean?

2) What do *you* mean?

3) *Which* meaning did you intend?

4) Is *this* the meaning you intend?

By asking these questions, the interpreter will be able to avoid a large portion of the difficulties which generally occur in an interpreting assignment. It is a way to build a diary-type information base (Clark and Marshall 1981), as a filter in order to triage possible meanings as they occur in the assignment. In the Demand-Control Schema model, this could be placed under the pre-assignment controls. The interpreter cannot predict what will be said during the assignment, but with a mini diary entry which is specific to that assignment, the interpreter has given herself a template of what sorts of things will be discussed. The model of frames (Goffman 1981) is an effective way that interpreters have been able to predict what sorts of topics, or meanings will be pertinent in an assignment. However, this is more general than the diary entry model and can even be misleading. Mishearing "lamp" in a church service, for example, an interpreter may use the religious setting as a frame in order to make sense of the mishearing, and produce "lamb" due to expressions such as "lamb of God", and the wide use of shepherd and flock metaphors in biblical imagery. To have a specific, assignment-based diary entry may well avoid those sorts of misunderstandings. Indeed this is one of the ways that interpreters help each other when one of them knows more of the particulars of an assignment, or a person, or work-specific technical signs/words.

The interpreter's need to repair, as described in this thesis, is linked with what Clark and Isaacs (1987) describe as their "current purposes", that is, they repair in order to understand sufficiently to be able to produce coherency in the target language. Difficulties arise when there is a mismatch between INT's understanding of the current purposes of the interpreter, and the understandings held by H and D. Two examples show that both D and H can have difficulty when identifying INT's current purpose. The first is (7) where H replies "my right" in answer to a question of whether she had meant right or left. The second is (19) where there are the different signs used by D for "finish" when she is describing the end of her route. The responses from D and H would suggest that the current purpose of INT is different in type from the purposes of

D and H and is particular to the situation INT finds herself in, e.g. to ask for more information for the purposes of interpreting. Participation is very tightly bounded by interpreting needs, and is not directed in any way by personal interest. The interpreter does not ask these things because she is curious.

As stated in the very first chapter, the effectiveness of the interpreter is judged by the clients of their services. Those clients may or may not understand the work or the role of the interpreter. This can cause complications for the interpreter if the clients of her services are mistaken ("don't you know the sign for …?", "why does the interpreter always interrupt the deaf person?", "<u>how</u> much?" and so on). However, if the clients do not understand, that is less important than the interpreter not understanding what her job is. Clients of dentists or car mechanics do not necessarily know what they do, and yet may criticise them. What is important is that *interpreters* know why it is important to know the answers to the four questions above. When they know the answers they are more able to represent the intended meaning from each of their clients to the other. Major's (2014) work showed that clients (both deaf and hearing) expect the interpreter to make sure that they understood. In fact, as was seen in section 2.3.5 both clients were particularly aware of the interpreters who did not repair. All parties want to have a smooth-running interpreted conversation, and it is best if the interpreter does not intrude on the conversation too much, but surely not at the expense of either client. Appearing to be an effective interpreter is not the same as being an effective one. The two approaches have different aims and may well present in different ways. This is one of the major contributions to practice this thesis brings. By demystifying the processes of the interpreter, I intend to allow all the participants of an interpreted interaction to be able to collaborate with each other, either in preparation for the assignment or during the assignment.

6.1.2 How does the Interpreter Signal That She is Repairing and not Interpreting?

As described in Chapter 5, there are no special features of language solely used for interpreting. INT therefore needed to do a number of things in order to repair. I propose a model of Stop – Account – Act in order to describe this. Firstly INT must stop

herself from interpreting, and then stop at least one of the others from talking, depending on which of the techniques she uses in order to repair.

These techniques were found to be:

1)   eyegaze withdrawal in order to stop current BSL user talk

2)   leaning towards either addresser in order to display difficulty with source language to stop current BSL user talk

3)   body movement: turning towards English-user to stop their current talk

4)   using discourse markers such as "sorry", "so", "bu- er", or using questioning (rising)

      intonation when repeating the troublesource word (to H) or

5)   using discourse markers such as a chin lift, with or without open mouth, or leaning towards D.

Once the addresser was stopped, INT could account for the interruption. This could be done by INT:

1)   asking a direct question,

2)   going back and rephrasing what they had understood, and asking for additional information, or

3)   repeating back to the addresser what they thought they had heard or seen.

Once the addresser and the addressee knew that INT needed more specification, or needed to disambiguate what has been said, both parties either gave the information, or waited for the other person to do so, and then once the problem had been resolved, INT reverted back to interpreting what was said by either party.

In some cases, by reverting back to interpreting, INT could accomplish both the 'account' and the 'act' part of the model. By interpreting, INT shows that she has now become the voice of D or the body of H. This action in itself is an account – the talk was stopped, and has now started again, INT has got what it was that she needed (more information, or confirmation of information she had) and is now back to her main task of interpreting.

When INT stopped only one of the parties (usually D) it was to explain to D that a direction was unspecified (THIS-WAY OR THAT-WAY). As well as giving alternative directions, and indicating that either way could be correct, INT sometimes made an account to D about why she had not simply interpreted what was said by H. This was an account which needed to be made to D. If the job of the interpreter is to say what the other person has said, it must seem odd that something as basic as direction has been omitted. The way that INT dealt with that in some cases was by giving examples of either left or right and then adding that she did not know which, or that the other person had not said which.

These behaviours seemed very natural to me when I was working through the data. It was only when considering them as examples of repair that the repercussions of this type of behaviour became clear. I would engage in this behaviour, and I have observed other interpreters doing the same. I have been comfortable, and the deaf clients have also appeared comfortable. It allows the BSL-user to choose whether they want to ask themselves (in the way a participant would if there were no need for an interpreter), and it makes the interpreters behaviour explicable. In the data, D nodded when these sorts of explanations were given, and were able to accept unspecified direction from INT and work out which way was reasonable by looking at the map.

The implications for English-speakers who are being interpreted for are slightly less positive. There is allegiance between D and INT evidenced by the open negotiation of meaning between them, however, by stating that H had said something which could be either "and she didn't say", is simultaneously positive to D and negative to H. What I saw here was that due to the lack of specificity in English, the interpretation of what H produced in English showed that H was lacking in clarity, despite her efforts to give directions. Earlier in the same dialogue, INT had asked a number of times for H to be more forthcoming about direction, and the instances of the type "she didn't say" or "could be this way or that way I don't know" occurred after those attempts had failed to produce a modification to H's behaviour. What the English-speaker is showing is a

lack of awareness of what was needed and INT was not wrong to imply that the speaker was unclear.

In my own interpreting work, English-speakers are more often found to lack awareness about language. For example, in the moments before a meeting where a paper will be discussed, my co-worker and I will be reading through it to find all the instances of what I now call underspecified or ambiguous language and we will often ask the author of the paper to explain any incidences of this type of language. Sometimes that English-speaking client will reply that it does not matter and that we do not need to know, we need just to interpret. In those situations, most interpreters would use the strategies as seen in the data.

When considering the interpreters' shift back into interpreting proper, the use of discourse markers was found to be used by INT. Locker (1992) had previously found discourse markers (section 2.3.4) in use by deaf participants giving lectures in ASL. In her data, discourse markers such as a slight body shift to a more formal stance showed a speaker shift into a quotation, or away from an aside and back into the formal style of a lecture (showing gradation of body shift). I found that INT used a similar shift to show her change of stance out of interpreting what was said in English and into speaking for herself. This was seen as a slight hunching and moving towards D. Like Locker (1992), I observed a corresponding shift back into a more formal stance by INT in order to show her resumption of interpreting. Also observed in my data were the use of various lexical items in either language corresponding to the function of having finished what they were doing (stopping and accounting and asking for more information) and going back to interpreting (e.g. "right", "okay", and RIGHT (as also seen by Major 2014)), and a visible turn back to the addressee (D). These were all observed ways for INT to show that she was now back to her original interpreting stance. INT therefore used discourse markers as well as lexical items available in both languages in order to show her change in stance from other to self and back. In other words, the interpreter in the data worked hard to show her stance in the interaction.

Such effort shows that the interpreter attached importance to the way she was perceived by both clients. When an interpreter changes state from interpreter to speaker, it is vital that the person addressed knows who is speaking; the interpreter or the other client. The amount of additional linguistic effort which needs to be expended by the interpreter at these times needs to be weighed up against the exigencies of clarity. The situation is already unclear (because the interpreter feels she needs to intervene and make something more clear) and the act of making it more clear, may itself make the situation less clear. It could be the case that the addressed client may not know who is talking; they may not understand what is being asked of them; they may even be surprised to be addressed at all. All of which is happening at a time of difficulty, and in two different languages.

Major (2014) described the lack of specific training received by interpreters about how to clarify. One of her participants, for example, described how she had been taught to say "interpreter error". There is no generic way to clarify, and neither should there be. In personal communication with an interpreter trainer, they described the difficulty of teaching a skill which is based on so many complexities about who the clients are, what the situation is, whether you know them, whether you have the right to stop at all (which in the case of interpreting for Trade Unions the interpreter must follow a strict protocol not to stop the speaker). The trainer's answers to her students' questions about this area of "clarification" were inevitably couched in anecdotal evidence and a gut response. Through the process of defining and naming the constituent parts of real repair situations, this thesis allows trainers and trainees to talk about why a repair can be necessary, and the ways this repair could be carried out by an interpreter. The last research question addresses how the repair is understood by an interpreter's clients.

6.1.3 How do the Primary Participants Respond to the Interpreter's Repair?

The responses to INT repair were found to be loosely categorised by being one of three types.

The first type was that of D or H understanding that they were being addressed by INT *as INT* and they answered in the following ways:

1) the primary participant (D) would act by acknowledging one of the alternatives given as candidates by INT

2) the primary participant (D or H) would produce an affirmative repeat of the lexical item which was being questioned

3) the primary participant (D) would acknowledge understanding that there were two alternatives, directions which were as yet not determined, but would not indicate to INT whether she knew which direction it was.

The second type of response to interpreter repair was that of repeating back what had been asked, in the way of a confirmation. Sometimes, when this came from H, there were attending clarifications. For example in (21) H repeats "crane" (the word that INT has queried) and then spells it aloud. In (7) H adds "my" to "right", this appeared to be a way for H to give additional information which she must have believed was necessary.

The third type of response is to INT's overt display of difficulty when interpreting what has been said. A number of times INT rubs her hands together, thus showing both parties that she is not interpreting, and this is often accompanied by a signed and/or spoken account that she cannot picture what has been described. The responses from both D and H were to smile and give her time to process what has been said. INT successfully stopped, and accounted for and acted by using these strategies.

The responses by the recipients of the interpreting, shown above, evidence the complexities of meaning making. What this thesis has uncovered is the emerging importance of explicit transparency about what interpreters do and how and why they do it. The resulting transparency can then inform and empower our deaf and hearing clients. Research has shown that interpreters have moved from "invisible" to "visible", but this visibility needs to be underpinned by deeper knowledge of what it is that we do, and why. Armed with this knowledge, the interpreter can make professional decisions about their own repair strategies.

6.2   Discussion of Approaches

6.2.1 The Map Task

The use of the HCRC Map Task as a tool for addressing signed/spoken language interpreted data was fitting. The emphasis of this particular framework upon the analysis of fine detail allowed the study to deal with what the interactants *did*, rather than considering what they *should have done*. The task of giving and following a route allowed the participants to be distracted from how they were talking, and onto the task itself.

Signed languages are far better at describing physical features (Brennan 1992, Leeson 2011), and this bias towards the BSL-users in the study was refreshing. The amount of detail which was produced by D, and which is a natural part of the language, highlighted a feature of signed language interpreting, which is that the interpreter must edit the amount of detail produced in BSL when interpreting into English. The detail contained within signed languages may inform lexical choice, it is not lost, but if the interpreter were to interpret all of the detail, the resulting English would appear unusual. The interpreter nevertheless needs to keep track of which information is important and also keep track of visual information which has not been interpreted into English, but which nevertheless needs to be remembered by the interpreter. This information will be stored by the interpreter in order to produce an interpretation into BSL which is coherent with what the deaf person signed before. It is not simply a recall of lexical items, the interpreter will need to remember the viewpoint, the direction of the route, the sharpness or bluntness of turns and so on. This is not particular to the interpreting process, sign language users will also remember such factors. My point is that the interpreter is storing this information not just so that they will understand, but also for their main task of interpreting.

The use of a map also meant that there was a connection between D and H. They could use the map to confirm each other's verbal/signed directions whereas INT could

not. Additionally they could confirm INT's interpretations against the map. This is in contrast to the situation in most interpreting situations. Often in interpreted interaction, an interpreter is the central or focal point for the deaf and the hearing clients and there is no way of checking the accuracy of what has been signed or said except through the interpreter. In this study, the focal point for clarification and for accuracy was an impartial drawing. It made the work of INT more difficult, as she knew that the map she created in the visual space was something which needed to be matched and linked to the artefact.

The usual situation for interpreters (see section 2.2.9) is that they build a map of entities in the visual space, negotiated with the BSL-user. Both interpreter and BSL-using client will refer back to any entities discussed by referring to the place in the visual map (the blend) they have created together. Whether or not that tallied with anything in the real world is not important, as the places in visual space will be re-created, and re-placed in the visual space by interpreter and client in any subsequent conversations. In this case INT was constrained by an *actual* layout, and was unable to negotiate in this way with D, however, it meant that the route could be checked by D in negotiation *with H*.

The use of a route meant that at times of difficulty between D, H and INT during the dialogues, the researcher could refer to the drawn route, and see where those difficulties lay. This opportunity would not have been available to the researcher if there had not been a map to refer to after the experiment. Having routes drawn onto the unmarked maps by the Followers also gave clues about how the directions from Givers had been understood. Any restarts or wrong directions which were drawn onto the map were available for the researcher to observe, and to gain insight into how the Follower had understood the directions, and also to see from any crossings out, or re-drawings whether and how they had rectified any mistakes. Analysis of these re-drawings when compared with the directions given, may offer insight into how the misunderstandings arose.

As a teaching tool, the Map Task is ideal. One of the ways the maps could be used is as a measure of progress through time. At intervals during an interpreter's training, the same maps could be used, allowing trainer and trainee to assess the different strategies used by the trainee interpreter as they learn more. Another way to measure skills is by having different terrain on the maps, allowing for particular grammatical difficulties; such as viewpoint difference, and syntax difference to be artificially highlighted. It has been shown that an interpreter cannot pretend to interpret, therefore, the artificiality of the maps would not detract from the real work of interpreting performed by the students.

6.2.2 Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis proved an effective approach to use with these data. By choosing repair as a focus for analysis of interpreter participation, there were already definitions of repair types, and repair organisation in spoken language to be used to compare with signed and interpreted language. There was also a format of transcription, data sessions and collegial debate to follow, thus allowing the researcher to observe differences between spoken, signed and interpreted language.

When preparing the data for the data sessions which are so much a part of the CA method, it became clear that timings were going to be a challenge. In a spoken-language conversation, speakers are limited to how much they can speak in overlap with each other because they occupy the same modal space. In a signed-spoken language interpreted conversation, participants and the interpreter will be speaking over each other all the time. Due to the modality difference, it is possible for signing to be present at the same time as speaking. That could be due to:

1) primary participants speaking/signing[12] at the same time as each other, or

2) interpreter speaking/signing (as herself) at the same time as the other primary participant is speaking/signing, or

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[12] Here it is important to point out modal difference.

3)   one of the primary participants is speaking/signing to or answering the interpreter while the other primary participant is speaking/signing directly to the first primary participant, expecting to be interpreted.

The normal state of affairs for an English/BSL interpreter is to have two conversations continuing at the same time. At first I produced a translated version of the BSL, and combined it with the English transcripts I had been given. I believed it would be useful to have an English version of the entire interpreted conversation. When presenting the material, it proved difficult to explain to the audience that the transcript depicted two conversations which were occurring *at the same time*. For them it seemed very odd.

Having solved one of the difficulties of inaccessibility, I had a transcript which allowed for two conversations to happen concurrently, but which was inaccessible. When working on spoken languages it is possible to write a transcript of what has been said, and the original recording of the conversation (from which the script was produced) can be played during data sessions, and the people in the sessions are able to look at and read the transcript whilst listening to the recording. This is not possible for a signed language, as information is potentially lost when looking between the script and the video, so the data sessions and the transcripts I produced for them ended up being skewed towards spoken language.

With hindsight, I spent far too long trying to fit the data to the CA procedure. I considered adding translations of BSL to the English which had been produced in CA transcripts. Then I considered adding the English to the annotations of ELAN. In the end, I opted for a completely different model, and used what is referred to as the musical score method of producing signed and spoken interpreted data. Any written version of a conversation in signed language is pale in comparison to the language itself, but issues of languages being produced in parallel are more accurately represented by this method. Once this adaptation had been made, it was easier to consider the data from a CA perspective. I watched and listened to the video, and I worked on the musical score. For this reason, this thesis contains both an appendix of the musical scores, and a CD with the video clips.

6.2.3 Translation and transcription

The decision to use an English translation of BSL (as described in Chapter 4 and above) appeared to have been a natural start to a CA-inspired study. In this field, the starting point is to have all the conversation available on paper. Every attempt is made to include as much detail as is possible, and for the analysis to be done upon the written transcription. The study I had been invited to join had been set up with the objective that ELAN and its facility with annotations, and the ability it affords to see video and the written word at the same time was a reasonable way to transcribe and analyse the data. This seemed like a logical and feasible decision, and I was certain that it was simply a matter of finding a way to reproduce this on paper.

I started to add annotations which were intended to capture as much detail from the English and the BSL as was possible, using tiers to separate out glosses, basic translations and rich translations of all of the participants. The resulting complicated annotations proved less useful than I had hoped. Because I am an interpreter myself, I am used to giving free translations of BSL (and English, but the spoken English was transcribed using written English as a guide) and when analysing, it became difficult to trace back timings of signs and words, which had been translated, and I was relying less on the annotations than I was on the video. A particular example was (19) where I translated D's expression WAIT GO-BACK as "sorry". This wasn't because I misunderstood, but rather that I had given what I believed was an equivalent in English to what D had said. Other translations could have been translated as "scratch that", "I don't mean that", "sorry that's wrong" and so on. When I looked back for the sign SORRY, it was not present in the video, and this made me see that a more literal glossing must be used in the transcripts.

Difficulties were also found in the accurate marking of timings, as the two languages are often very different, and a short utterance in BSL needed to have a long representation in either gloss or in translation. There were difficulties getting the written version into the space in time taken by BSL, in some cases, the written glosses took up two lines, rather than the one line of English. Rather that, though, than making BSL "fit" into the written version. However, a *translation* of BSL, even a gloss, is not

BSL, and cannot be fully representative of BSL. It can be argued that English, when written down, is not really spoken English. It just seems so because we are accustomed to seeing it, and we can read it aloud and/or imagine the spoken version.

It was only after much deliberation that I decided that ELAN was extremely useful in terms of being able to see all three participants, but that its focus was too close for my purposes. ELAN is best used at a closer analysis of language, such as lexical, or even morphemic/handshape level. The work being done in this study is at a pragmatic level, and therefore coding of handshapes or lexical items would not produce the kinds of information needed. The way I used ELAN was as a sophisticated video playback utility, rather than for the purposes it was originally designed.

6.3 Original Contributions of the Thesis

This thesis considers repair organisation in interpreted interaction. Thus it is a contribution to knowledge in the field of interpreting (both signed to spoken and spoken to spoken language interpreting) by considering in detail the phenomenon referred to by interpreters as
'clarification'.

An important contribution of my work is the methodological contribution my approach brings to transcribing bilingual bimodal conversation. Others have used musical scores, but my approach allows the user to concentrate their attention on the discourse level of the interpreted interaction. Rather than focussing on what has been said, my approach allows for the user to see what was said, and also to see how the other members of the conversation react to each other. By showing in the transcript where eye gaze is placed, the reader can make inferences regarding whether signs have been attended to or not. Timings of utterances can be seen together, in both modes and therefore mistimed turns can be accounted for. By allowing the flexibility of adding, for example, a row for brows or for mouthing, my score allows for pertinent visual information to be noted.

Interpreters have seen many different models of interpreting gaining and losing favour over the last three decades. With each, it has been suggested that our behaviour has needed to change. Inevitably every new model arises out of the failure of the last, which has meant that we have been variously too helpful, too professional, or too English. Despite these swings, I believe it is vital that the profession is guided by, and remains responsible to, its clients. As was discussed in section 4.1, it is not only our clients who are interested in what we do, and what we are worth. Interpreters are at this moment fighting for their rights to payment both with the agencies, and with the government. Now is the time to show both our hearing and our deaf clients what it is that we bring, and how we can all work collaboratively in order to have even more effective interaction. The way to do that is to look closely at what it is that the interpreter does. The study has shown that there are a number of collaborative actions which are used by interpreters in order to understand and make herself understood. Janzen and Shaffer (2008) stated that there were no set ways to contextualise, and that the interpreter must work with what is presented to her, and use judgement and experience in order to negotiate meaning. It would seem that the same may be true of models of interpreting. Rather than representing an evolution of models up to the present model, which inevitably will be replaced by a newer version, I believe it to be more useful to see the models as ways of behaving, using whichever is the best fit for the particular interpreting assignment.

I have shown through the BSL Map Task data that 'clarification' is more than simply checking, or making sure of something which has been said. By considering the occasions when INT repairs as herself, I have found that there are at least eleven different environments which occasioned INT to stop and find out more, which have not so far been elucidated in the literature. These occasions were not simply when INT did not understand, or did not know a lexical item. This work has shown that knowledge of both languages does not eliminate the necessity of asking for more information. INT intervened even at those times when she believed she had understood, but when she did not want to commit to an interpretation without making absolutely sure that what she had understood was what D had meant. This could show that INT was aware that mistakes in production are possible, and did not want to

interpret a mistake from D. Thus this work will contribute to interpreter training by allowing interpreters to believe that clarification is a natural part of speech, and is expected of an interpreter. By listing the reasons for clarification, based on pragmatic and grammatical reasoning, this work allows for trainers of interpreters to teach those reasons and to explain the reasons for needing to participate in this way. This contributes new vocabulary with which to consider one of the most difficult parts of the interpreter's work – needing to speak as herself. This thesis considered only two of the eleven types of environment identified where the interpreter speaks for herself in order to repair. It has therefore opened up discussion of what is at the root of the need to clarify, and how it is performed.

Skilful use of discourse markers in both languages (and sometimes simultaneously) was demonstrated by INT in these data to change stance from 'other' to 'self' and back. The change of stance was very similar to those found by Locker (1992) when observing ASL-using lecturers. It was also demonstrated that INT chose to talk to D about language meaning and language use, and she did so on a number of occasions, but did not ask H anything except the names of landmarks or the direction of travel. Building on this finding, trainers could work with students to find ways to explain this in a prebrief, further research could consider if this remained the case if the hearing participants were more familiar with being interpreted.

What has been demonstrated in this thesis is that the version the interpreter produces is also one which they believe will be understood by the other person(s). This is a demonstration of the active use of recipient design by the interpreter. The sorts of questions which will be asked of the English-speaker will be different from those asked of the BSL-user due to language difference. Analysis of the data revealed the route versus landmark difference between BSL-users and English-speakers, and also that BSL-using participants are able to retain two (and possibly up to six) potential directions, before the grammar becomes too unwieldy.

A factor which is central to the difficulty of the process of clarification by interpreters is the shame which is attached to the act of clarifying. Interpreters can consider the act

of clarifying as a form of failure. This work shows that the reasons behind the need to clarify goes beyond lack of knowledge of language(s). Asking for *more* information in order to interpret can be due to the differing viewpoints of the world held by the speakers of those different languages (or even simply to an utterance that was not sufficiently shaped to the addressee's knowledge). Our clients expect us to be able to do something which is impossible, and yet so far, no one has described it as such, and so the onus on understanding falls at the feet of the interpreter – as we are often told, it is, after all, what we are paid for.

The effect of this shame can be for the interpreter to delay a repair. Perhaps this is due to a hope that all will become clear after a while. However, if the difficulty lies within the language being used (a referent is not made clear, or a verb is given without direction) no amount of waiting will make any difference. The interpreter may decide not to ask for information at all, in which case the interpretation given will be insufficient. The interpreter may delay a repair for so long that when that repair is produced, the interpreter may be under so much stress
that the repair is expressed with irritation. A repair may also be produced by the interpreter when it is too late, and the resulting effect on the clients is that of mistrust. Why was this not asked before? What else has been missed? By allowing interpreters – and by extension, their clients – to understand that repair is a good thing, even something to be expected, reduces this sense of shame. Repair is a phenomenon found in non-interpreted interaction: it seems that understanding one another is not straightforward. Beware, therefore, the interpreter who *never* asks for clarification.

When considering these points, it is also useful to note the access that either participant has to the repair processes which are addressed to the other person. For example, does the BSL-user need to have access to the interpreter's repair of the English-speaker? In the data, one of the interpreters signed and spoke when she repaired to the English-speaker, giving the BSL-user access to her process – giving transparency. At other times, this same interpreter used exaggerated body movements, or leans, or rubs her hands together in order to show both parties that she is not interpreting, and does not fully understand. By displaying this behaviour she

indicates to both participants what sort of question she will be asking the English-speaker. This appears to work, because these behaviours did not ever result in the BSL-user asking her what she was doing. There is the possibility that the BSL-user did not feel able to ask, but the natural way that she interacted with the interpreter would suggest that this was not the case.

In the data, this public questioning of the English-speaker is at odds with the more private interaction between the interpreter and BSL-user, where the English-speaker may not be aware of the BSL-user having been questioned. The collaboration between INT and D in the data appears very natural and relaxed. Could it be that users of signed languages are more collaborative with meaning making? Or could it be that the BSL-user had the necessary eye- contact with the interpreter? The English speaker is rarely able to have the equivalent eye contact and body language cues to that of the BSL-user. The data show the segmental way in which the understanding of meaning is receipted by nods. Is this a way for both parties to keep track not only of what has been understood, but what has *not yet* been understood? This behaviour is in contrast to how the English-speaker behaved. In the data, she gave an affirmative answer to a question put by the BSL-user, and then went on to give a grimace of non-comprehension (which went unseen by both the interpreter and the BSL-user). My work contributes to the understanding of headnods as information receipts. This perspective is one which can be included in interpreter training.

Clark and Schaeffer's (1989) process of "contribution" described the situation of two people speaking directly to each other. I have argued that in an interpreted situation, the interpreter is tasked with building an understanding with both parties separately and also to enable those parties to build an understanding between each other. In an interpreted interaction, common ground, mutual knowledge and sufficiency for current purposes will need to be built in three ways:

A and interpreter,

B and interpreter and

A and B via the interpreter.

These contributions appear to be built cumulatively between the interpreter and the BSL-user, but not as effectively between the interpreter and the English-speaker.

It could be that signed language lends itself to tracking understanding in a way that is not present in spoken languages. BSL-users are more aware of the difficulties of understanding and being understood. English-speakers do not generally have a repertoire of ways of making themselves clearly understood. It is so much more important, therefore, for the interpreter to be able to empower herself to advise her clients about the sorts of difficulties which may arise during the interpreted interaction. Often interpreters do not want to intrude on the time of their clients by imposing a list of possible problems which may occur during the course of their work. It is easy to believe that what would be better for a smooth handling of the situation is to deal with problems when and if they arise. As can be seen in the data, without explanations, the English-speakers often did not understand what it was which was being asked of them. If the interpreter uses the time before an assignment to explain the sorts of issues which could become problematic, the English-speaker can be encouraged to collaborate in the meaning making process in a way which might not be achieved by constant repairs.

When this preparation is omitted (sometimes due to factors beyond the interpreter's control) the English-speaker can often be defensive, feeling that they have not only been unclear, but have also been judged. This feeling of defensiveness can result in the hearing person being dismissive (for example replying "you don't need to know that"). These additional problems the interpreter is now faced with could have been avoided if the right sorts of preparation had been carried out. If possible the interpreter can explain that the languages are different, and that any repair work done on the part of the interpreter is not about competence on the part of the BSL-user or the English-speaker, but is inherent in the language difference.

The difference between a signed and a spoken language can be compared to the difference between watching a film and reading a book. A signed language gives an external, visual representation – which is like watching a film. Spoken languages, even

at their most poetic, necessitate the visualisation process to be internal – which is like reading a book. I do not mean by this that signed languages are somehow more visceral, or closer to reality in the way that is sometimes believed by spoken language users. Any language is symbolic, signed or spoken. My point is that when the interpreter is the interface between spoken languages (where visualisation and representation of images and ideas is internal), and signed languages (where the visualisation takes place in the signing space), the interpreter will almost certainly encounter gaps between the visualisations of the English-speaker and the BSL-user. Interpreter training can benefit from this contrubtion, and teach students to predict when these gaps will occur.

Another contribution to the field is that interpreters should know that they need not believe that repair work is necessarily due to lack of competence. It can be, and of course that is to be avoided, but so far as the types of repair work outlined here are concerned, there is an absolute necessity for the interpreter to intervene. As has been seen, the intervention may not be in the classic "sorry what did you say?" format, it may be "she has done it again [missed vital information], I have no idea which way she means" format. The aim of the thesis was to observe the practice of the interpreter, without prejudging. The result is that a number of examples of good practice have been uncovered.

I have endeavoured in this thesis to shed light on a very difficult area of the work of the interpreter, and to give interpreters and interpreter trainers the vocabulary with which to consider their own practice. My contribution to the field of interpreting studies is to illuminate the processes of a real interpreting event, and to therefore open up the discussion of how repairs can be done, and the relative effectiveness of the different ways of repairing as seen in the data. Knowing about the collaborative nature of meaning-making in the interpreting assignment allows the interpreter to reflect on a difficult misunderstanding in a different way. The interpreter is by nature professionally self-doubting and, in my view, such self-doubt is a feature to nurture. It is often said that an interpreter needs to have a "thicker skin" but it is becoming increasingly the case, backed by research (Hetherington 2011), that the opposite is true. The interpreter needs to be more self-reflective and to make use of supervision to increase

self-awareness, in order to improve practice and to avoid the inevitable build up of stress, which comes from not having grown a thicker skin.

6.4 Suggestions for Further Research

6.4.1 Repair Organisation in Interpreted Interaction

A first project could be to analyse the nine other categories which were not analysed in this study. A further project could be to discover in a different dataset whether there are any categories for interpreter participation in the form of repair other than those found in these data. Then each of those cateogries could be analysed.

Schegloff et al. (1977:396) claimed that self-initiated repair is mostly successful within the same turn, and that other-initiation led to more lengthy negotiations in order to be successful (see section 2.1.1). When an interpreter asks "for clarification" it could be that they are actually prompting or initiating a self-repair. Such a decision, I believe, would be made in order not to lengthen the process of negotiation which will inevitably ensue if the trouble source is interpreted, and is an error. In one of the examples (not shown) H uses her left hand to describe a turn to the left, but says "right". INT stops interpreting altogether, in fact she puts her hands in her lap, and repeats "right", H confirms "right", but looks at her hand at the same time, realises her mistake, and says "left".

More research is needed on the participation between interpreter and primary participants. In this study, we saw that INT and D worked together to come to an understanding, but this did not happen between INT and H. Further research projects could use data gathered from primary participants where H is as accustomed to working with an interpreter and between languages as D is. If all three participants in the exchange are equally able to understand metatalk about language use, more could be found about the joint action between INT and H as well as between INT and D.

6.4.2 Pragmatics

Empirical research is needed to work through the reasons for and solutions to problems to do with trouble sources in interaction, building up a toolkit of interpreter responses. This study has found that the interpreter uses pragmatic devices found in either language in order to speak for and as herself, and also to go back to being other. More information could be gathered about the pragmatic devices found in both languages, in order for interpreters to be able to consciously access them.

6.4.3 Modifications to the Map Task

In this study, the interpreter was not allowed access to the maps. This proved to be an interesting variable. Eager to encourage interaction, the original designers of the experiment chose to disallow access. A modification would be to have interpreter access to either, or both, maps, and see how this affects their participation. It is possible that access to the map would be more natural, and would perhaps even result in fewer repair situations, but such a study might illuminate different strategies used by interpreters.

6.4.4 Responses to Repairs

It was found in 5.3.3 that some of INT's repairs (e.g. this way or that way) were responded to as if INT had delivered information, and some were responded to as if INT had requested information. It would be useful to collect more examples of this particular type of request and response to see whether there is anything in the way that INT produces these alternatives which distinguish between "It is either left or right" and "Is it left or right?". Such pragmatic devices may also be useful in the training of interpreters.

6.4.5 Institutional Talk

In conversations between same language speakers, it may well be true that most conversations are between social or cultural equals. The data in this study includes participants working as equals. However, *interpreted interaction* is more often between those individuals who *are* mis-matched socially or culturally. Most of the work of the community BSL/English interpreter is in hospitals, doctors' surgeries,

courtrooms, police stations, tribunals, places of work, universities or schools. In the workplace the interpreter is not necessarily present for the entirety of the deaf person's working week, but is brought in for meetings and those occasions which are deemed out of the ordinary. An interpreter being present indicates that the interaction is deemed somehow different to mundane interaction.

As stated in Chapter 1, the interpreter is often present because there is an exchange of information from a professional (deaf or hearing) to a member of the public (deaf or hearing). The work of the interpreter must often be to mediate language and culture difference. This mediation would be between the languages, *and also* between social difference and minority- majority cultural difference. This means that they are interpreting exchanges between non- equal clients more often than exchanges between equal clients. The social and cultural differences will need to be understood by the interpreter, and in some instances made overt to the other person.

The job of the interpreter, therefore, is to mediate between mis-matched individuals, and to *understand* both of them well enough to produce what they have understood in a different language. Intersubjectivity between participants is negotiated through the interpreter.

The interpreter, responsible for understanding in a bilingual situation, can sometimes be made responsible for more than their fair share of the interactional success. A supervisor is responsible for seeing the point of view of an employee, a tutor is responsible for noticing body language of their student, and staff members are responsible for noticing when their colleagues are signing, and therefore talking. These responsibilities do not stop when there is an interpreter present. The interpreter is not there to neutralise those sorts of considerations. This thesis showed how it is the active intersubjectivity of *all three* participants which allows for the most effective communication. While this study has been qualitative, further studies could take a more quantitative stance, using the Map Task as a guide, to consider whether participants are more successful at understanding each other when the interpreter is actively collaborating, or not collaborating. The results could inform best practice, and also reinforce the need for preparation before and debriefs after an assignment.

6.5 Conclusion

Early research into sign language interpreting concentrated on the (in)effectiveness of the interpreter; their omissions and mistakes. While this was a useful stage in the process of understanding the work of an interpreter, it has been shown through recent studies, including this study, that there is more to understand about the work of an interpreter than what is being done wrong. There are interpreters qualifying every year, and still the deaf community cry out for better, rather than more interpreters (arguably they would prefer both). This study focussed on the analysis of what is good, rather than what is lacking, in the work of interpreters.

Interpreters are often reluctant to participate, due to the unwritten gold standard in interpreting which is that the interpreter understands everything, and can produce it in the second language without asking for any additional information. Building on the work of conversation analysts who have unequivocally shown that natural, monolingual conversation is sometimes misheard, misproduced, or misunderstood, this study allows interpreters, and their hearing and deaf clients to understand that an interpreter who does not ask for more information is not the ideal, and that a certain amount of clarification is to be expected.

Through this study I have considered the significance of what is called "clarification" by interpreters and "repair organisation" by conversation analysts and interpreter researchers. By studying the precipitating factors in the data which resulted in an interpreter speaking as herself, I have been able to identify trouble sources in English and BSL talk. By doing so, I have been able to consider how the interpreter can better prepare for an assignment, and also the importance of preparing the clients too, however reluctant they may be. The work in this study is what an interpreter needs to convey to their clients: that language is not fixed and transferable like beads on a string; that one language may need different information from another in order to be grammatical or coherent. I have shown empirically that meaning is collaborative, built utterance by utterance by addresser and addressee – and sometimes with an interpreter.

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List of Abbreviations

ASL	American Sign Language
ASLI	The Association of Sign Language Interpreters
BSL	British Sign Language
CA	Conversation Analysis
ELAN	European Distributed Linguistic Annotator
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NUBSLI	National Union of British Sign Language Interpreters

Appendix A: The Maps

START
X
burnt forest

carpenter's cottage

ravine

pine grove

tilled land

avalanche

concealed hideout

crane bay

boat house

pebbled shore

washed stones

flag ship

-+4f

START
X
burnt forest

remote village

ravine

pine grove

tilled land

boat house

concealed hideout

coconut palm

crane bay

boat house

pebbled shore

FINISH
X
flag ship

-+4g

picket fence

parked van

east lake

level crossing

alpine garden

telephone box

disused monastery

west lake

flight museum

START
X
camera shop

allotments

yacht club

--1f

picket fence

parked van

FINISH
X
east lake

youth hostel

thatched mud hut

alpine garden

telephone box

disused monastery

START
X
camera shop

allotments

parked van

yacht club

--1g

Appendix B: The Transcripts

(1) G5Rep2_00.27-00.40

Gaze: +INT+map_____+DF_____+map_____+DF_____

HG: the right hand side   next to burnt forest

Gaze: +DF_____

IBSL: RIGHT_____

IEng: that's on my left hand side of the page- of the paper

Gaze: +INT_____+map+INT_____   +INT_____

Gesture: ((turns upper body round))   ((negation))

DF: NO-   LEFT-THERE   OH

(2) and (40) G2Rep25_12.27-12.36

Gaze:

    +map_____+DG_____

_____

HF: all the way round the high view point

uhuh

Gaze: +DG____+away and back

twice_____

IBSL: AROUND-L AROUND-R WHICH I-DON'T-KNOW LEFT RIGHT? AROUND-RIGHT

IEng:

uhuh

Gaze:

    +INT_____+map+IN

T_____

Mouthing: round round round

DG:

NOD

(3) and (41) G2Rep27_13.01-13.11

Gaze: +map_____

HF: I wen' rou::nd the field station

Gaze: +HF_____+DG_____+HF_____

Brow: down____up_down____up_____

IBSL: FIELD STATION ROUND-L ROUND-R   ROUND-L NOD

Gaze: +HF_____+INT_____+map+INT_____+map+INT_____+map+HF_____

DG: NOD   NOD   NOD   NOD   NOD

(4) and (35) G2Rep29_14.04-14.12

Gaze:

    +map_____+DG_____+map_____

_

HF: ah then   went   rou::nd   the rope bridge   okay

Gaze: +HF_____+up_____+DG_____

+HANDS_____+DG_____

IBSL: (then) BRIDGE NOD ROUND-R OR ROUND-L   NOD RIGHT?

Gaze:

    +INT_____

_

DG: NOD++   NOD++   NOD++   NOD++

(5) and (36) G2Rep30_14.10-14.18

Gaze: +map_____

HF: and next to the rope bridge   I don't know what it says ...

Gaze: +sign space_____+DG__+sign space_____+HF_____

IBSL: ROPE BRIDGE   THERE NEXT-R OR NEXT-L

Gaze: +INT_____

DG: NOD++

(6) G2Rep31_14.27-14.51

Gaze: +map_____+DG_____+INT_____+map_____+DG_____+INT_____((smiles))

HF: er:: no the inside   under the rope bridge   oka y

Gaze:

        +HF____+DG+signs_____+HF_+down_____+signs_____+DG__

_____

IBSL: I-hold THERE ROPE BRIDGE-UNDER AROUND-AND-UNDER   CAN'T-THINK VISUALISE ((rubs hands))

IEng: I can't picture this – ((rubs hands)) just a second

(ready)

(right then)

Gaze:

        +INT_____smiles_____

_____

DG:

NOD

(7) and (30) G2Rep32_14.59-15.08

Gaze: +map_____+DG_____ +INT_____+DG_____+map_____+DG_____

HF: okay   I went round the giraffes   uhm   my right

Gaze: +DG_____

IBSL: GIRAFFE ROUND-L ROUND-R THIS-WAY THAT-WAY

IEng: sorry left or right round the giraffes

Gaze: +INT_____+HF_____+map_____+HF_____+INT__

DG: (continues talk about differences

        between maps until INT signs)

(8) and (39) G5Rep12_04.55-05.06

```
Gaze:  +map_____+INT_____+map_____+INT__
HG:    so now you are at      the edge     of the crane bay
```

```
Gaze:  +HG_____+DF_____+sign space__+DF_____
IBSL:              NOW b-a-y THERE  YOU    EDGE-r EDGE-l        WHICH     EDGE-r EDGE-l
IEng:                                                                                    right
```

```
Gaze:  +map_____+INT_____
DF:                              NOD                   NOD                        NOD
```

(9) and (42) G5Rep13_05.11-05.23

Gaze:

    +INT_____+HG_ +INT_____+map_____

____+INT__

DF: SO I PASS-ACROSS c-r-a-n-e-b-a-y PASS OR (BEFORE)

Gaze:

    +DF_____

_____

IBSL: LIKE EDGE-TOP

                                              EDGE-SIDE I-DON'T-KNOW WHICH

IEng: so do I pass the pass over the crane bay or

Gaze:

    +map_____+DF___

+map_____

HG: you are walking along the edge of the crane bay

yep

(10) and (43) G5Rep14_05.21-05.32

Gaze: +map_____

HG: so now you are going to walk down the side   but not too – but not as close cause you want to go across

Gaze: +DF_____

IBSL: NOW   WALK   THERE   SIDE-RIGHT OR   SIDE-LEFT I DON'T KNOW WHICH

IEng:

Gaze: +INT_____

DF: NOD   NOD   NOD ++

(11) G2Rep8_03.35-03.46

Gaze: +INT_____+map_____+INT_____

DG: LITTLE-BIT LIKE ALONG   GOOD   NEXT WHAT? STAY_____

Gaze: +DG_____+away____+DG_____+up____+DG____

IEng: sort of   til you are   past the safari

IBSL: INDEX-HOLD LIKE ((starts to produce

                                                         placement for safari))

Gaze: +DG_____+map_____+DG_____+INT_

HF: so walking straight down past it then

Gest: smiles/laughs

Gaze: +INT_____+map____+INT_____

DG: SAFARI-THERE YES   NOT STRAIGHT DOWN

Gest: smiles_____rubs hands together

Gaze: +up____+DG_____

IEng: right

IBSL: SAFARI-THERE ROUTE-STRAIGHT-DOWN-FORWARDS?

Gaze: +DG_____+INT_____+map_____

HF

(12) and (15) G5Rep9_03.34-03.46

Gaze: +map_____+DF_____

HG: and you should be above   a concealed hideout

Gaze: +DF_____+up_____+DF_____

IBSL: NOW SHOULD PLACE-BELOW HAVE   c- o- n-   c- e- a- l

IEng:

Gaze: +INT_____+map

DF: NOD   NOD   NOD

(13) G4Rep10_04.40-04.54

Gaze:+map_____+INT____+map_____+INT+DF+map____

HG: directly down to the very bottom of the telephone box the very bottom

Gaze: +DF_____+HG_____+DF_____+away headshake+DF___

BSL: (diagonally)DOWN TO-A-LOCUS   DOWN-TO THERE HAVE TELEPHONE BOX(1) – WRONG BOX(2) NOD

IEng: bu- er sorry diagonally down to

Gaze:
     +map_____+INT_____+map_____+INT

DF: NOD++   NOD
NOD   NOD

(14) G6Rep13_07.54-08.04

Gaze: +map_____

HG: okay just directly up to the very bottom of east lake   in the middle   from the telephone box

Gaze: +HG_____+DF__+HG_____+DF___+HG_____

IBSL: THIS-   YOU-   THIS-   UP-   PHONE-   TELEPHONE   BOX

IEng: so from the telephone box?

Gaze: +HG__+INT_____

DF:

(16) and (26) G2Rep13_05.38-05.44

```
Gaze:      + I_____
DG:        ((placement for route))          NOD                    NOD NOD RIGHT


Gaze:      + DG_____+ HF_____ + DG_____
IENG:      and coming in front of it                does that make sense      okay
IBSL:                                                                RIGHT


Gaze:      +map_____+ DG_____+ map_____
HF:                                        okay                    ((grimace))




Gaze:      +INT_____
Mouth:                 gold                mine                gold                mine
DG:        MINE_____m.i.n.e. _____MINE_____m.i.n.e. _____UNDERGROUND__


Gaze:      +DG_____
                           chin lift     chin lower
Mouth:                                                                 gold
IBSL:                                                        MINE
IEng:                                                        right    okay       there's a gold mine


Gaze:      +DG_____+map_____+DG_____+map_____
HF:
```

(17) G2Rep19_10.01-10.19

Gaze:+map_____+INT_____+map____+INT_____+UP_+INT_+SIGNS_+INT_____

_____

DG: ROCK(1)R(2) ROCK(1)+++FALL(1)   ROCK(1)+ FALL(2)   r.o.c.k.f.a.l.l. ROCK(1) CAN'T WRONG   r.o.c.k. ROCK(3)++RIGHT ROCK(1)

RIGHT-ROCK(3)

Gaze:+DG_____

_____

Mouthing: I know   ok

IBSL: NOD   NOD NOD NOD   lifts   R(3)r.o.c.k ROCK(3)+++

ok

                                                                                                hands

IEng: and beside(.) the lake is ah: a r::ockfall?   Rockfall   ok

rock

Gaze:+map_____+DG__+map_____+DG__

_____

HF:

(18) G2Rep23_11.55-12.06

```
Gaze:  +map_____+DG_____+map_____+DG_____+map_____
HF:     My starting point was the diamond mine                    uhuh
```

```
Gaze:  +HF_____+DG_____
Brows:                up_____down_____up_____
IBSL:                 RIGHT HERS START MI- DIAMOND(1)++(2)++(3)++ MINE START RIGHT?
IEng:                                                                        that's right
```

```
Gaze:  +HF_____+INT_____+map_____+INT_____
DG:                                                     DIAMOND(3)++++        START THERE YES
```

(19) G2Rep21_10.58-11.09

Gaze:

    +INT_____+HF____+INT_____

_____

DG: THERE _____FINISH(1)_FINISH(2)_FINISH(3)_____FINISH(5)   smile and
shoulder raise

Gaze:

    +DG_____

_____

IBSL: FINISH(4)
smile

IEng: not goin' all the way roun' the great lakes just goin round the front   and that should be your end point

Gaze:

    +map_____

_____

HF:

(20) and (28) G2Rep2_01.21-01.28

Gaze: +map_____+INT_____+map_____+INT_____

DG: OVER-THERE SPRING SPRING   WAIT GO-BACK b-o-k-s

Gest: palms together   mouthes

                                 touching twice   "sorry"

Gaze: +DG_____

IEng: so then when you go left and you go straight there is a spring sorry sorry books

Gaze: +DG___+map_____

HF:

(21) and (25) G5Rep11_04.41-04.56

Gaze:+map_____+DF__+map_____+INT_____
_____

HG: okay well at the tilled land you want to go straight down towards   the crane bay   crane C R A N E

Gaze:+DF_____+HG_____+DF_____
_____

IBSL: OKAY   YOU LAND   YOU DOWN   DOWN TO   c. r. a. n.
e

IEng: crane?

Gaze:+INT_____+map_____+INT_____+map_____+INT_____
_____

DF: NOD   NOD

RIGHT

(22) and (29) G7Rep12_06.58-07.10

Gaze: +sign space_____+INT_____

DG: placement of landmark __GO-UP GO-OVER GO-DOWN   NO GO-DOWN

Gaze: +DG_____

IBSL: GO-DOWN   UP-AROUND-R-DOWN   NEG-WAVE

IEng: go down,   not round it,   no

Gaze: +map_____+DG__+INT___+DG__+map_____

HF:

(23) and (44) G8Rep9_05.22-05.28

Gaze: +DG_+HF_____+DG

IBSL: OKAY____(hold)

IEng: that's what Tricia's saying   that okay?

Gaze: +map_____

HF: yeah

Gaze: +map__+HF_____+INT

DG: GOOD_____

(24) G7Rep10_05.05-05.19

```
Gaze:  +sign space_____+INT_____+sign space_____+INT_____
DG:    UP-PAST-landmark   OVER-THE-TOP-OF              DOWN-THE-OTHER-SIDE-OF


Gaze:  +DG_____
IBSL:                                              UP-PAST-landmark     COLLAPSE
IEng:                     so basically  er   above              right so it's going up above   collapsed mountain


Gaze:  +INT_____+DG_____+map_____+INT __+DG_____
HF:
```

(27) G2Rep28_13.24-13.38

Gaze: +map_____+INT__+HF_____+INT_____+SIGN

SPACE_____+INT_____

DG: YOU MEAN-YOU WHAT? BANANA TREE POINT YOU NEAR OVER-THE-TOP RIGHT? POINT OR UP-DOWN-LEFT-SIDE?   BANANA TREE THERE

Gaze:+DG_____

_____

Mouth: open/chin up_____what d'you mean

IBSL: WHAT

IEng: hmm do you mean at your banana tree   right banana tree

Gaze:+DG_____+map___+DG_____+INT_____

__+map___

HF: uhuh

yeh

(31) G2Rep33_15.37-16.03

Gaze:

    +map_____+INT_____+map_____+INT_____+DF_

_

HG: Go down the side   down the the- back down the way basically the way you came up and back down

Gaze: +DF_____+sign

space_____+DF_____

IBSL: THEN ROCKFALL   BEEN UP AGAIN BACK   AGAIN BACK

IEng: sorry which side?

Gaze: +INT_____+map_____

DF: NOD NOD

(32) G5Rep4_00.54-01.13

Gaze:

    +map_____+INT_____+map_____

____

HG: and then you are going to meander out towards the side of the page   okay?   So you are walking down

downwards

Gaze:

    +up_____+HG+up_____+DF____+up_____+DF_____

_____

IBSL: DOWN AND LEFT   PAPER GO-DOWN-TURN-TOWARDS-

LEFT??

IEng: the side?

Gaze:

    +INT_____+map_____

_____

DF: NOD   NOD   NOD   NOD

(33) G5Rep5_01.28-01.46

Gaze: +map_____+DF_+map_____+DF_____+INT_____+map_____

HG: and then you are going to go up   up the side of the ravine   er yeah the right hand

side

Gaze:

    +DF_____+up+DF_____

_

IBSL: THEN   UP_____LEFT RIGHT LEFT RIGHT

IEng: the s- right   the left or the-?

Gaze:

    +map_____+INT_____+map_____+INT_____

_

DF: NOD

(34) G5Rep8_03.28-03.37

Gaze: +map_____+INT____+DF__

HG: and then back out again   uhuh out out towards   uhuh

Gaze: +DF_____

IBSL: GO RIGHT

IEng: out the same way?   mhmm

Gaze: +INT_____+map_____

DF: NOD

(37) G5Rep6_02.11-02.22

Gaze:+map_____+DF_____+map_____

_____

HG: 'kay so you come out the side of the   the village   right   below the village sorry

Gaze:+HG_____+up_____+DF___+up_____HG_____

_____

Mouths: village   below   below

IBSL: YOU   OUT- OUT- PLACE point-l OR point-r   point-l-down point-r-down

IEng:

Gaze:+INT_____+HG_____+INT_____

_____

DF: NOD   NOD+   NOD   NOD

(38) G5Rep7_03.08-03.18

Gaze:

    +map_____

____

HG: and then you are going to go slightly under the pine grove   and then out

Gaze:

    +DF_____

_____

IBSL: PLACE UNDER-r OR UNDER-l PLACE

IEng:

Gaze:

    +INT_____

_____

DF: NOD   NOD