Parallèles 37(1) April 2025

Sustaining embodied participation frameworks with gaze and head gesture in signed-to-spoken interpreting

Vibeke Bø

OsloMet – Oslo Metropolitan University

Abstract

This study investigates embodied participation frameworks in a signed-to-spoken interpreted encounter. Using a multimodal conversation analytical lens, the analysis demonstrate how interpreters exploit available semiotic resources to sustain participation frameworks. While participation frameworks are constantly negotiated in both same-language and interpreted interactions, this study puts forward unique challenges that arise in signed-to-spoken interpreted encounters: Although gaze is an important interactional resource, the nature of signed-to-spoken interpreting sometimes requires an alternative strategy because the gaze is occupied with perceiving the signed discourse. Head gestures have been found to serve as this alternative strategy. The notion of the coupled turn in interpreted encounters is supported, as it helps unravel these patterns that are unique to interpreted interaction. The naturalistic data in this study provide examples of how navigating two communicative needs simultaneously leads to several simultaneous processes of embodied conduct: The interpreter visually perceives and renders an utterance, while also interactionally indicating the addressee with a head gesture. Findings from this study highlight the need for further exploration of how interpreters navigate competing communicative demands. Moreover, signed-to-spoken interpreting exemplifies the diversity of language practices, pointing to the need for an inclusive approach to language practices.

Keywords

Simultaneous interpreting, head gesture, coupled turn, embodied participation framework, conversation analysis

 DOI:10.17462/para.2025.01.09

1. Introduction

Gaze is an important resource for negotiating participant roles in face-to-face interaction (Goffman, 1981; Kendon, 1967; Rossano, 2012; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Moreover, in the complex participation frameworks of interpreted interaction, gaze is attributed an important function (e.g., Davitti & Pasquandrea, 2017; Napier, 2007; Vranjes & Bot, 2021; Wadensjö, 2017). Gaze and head gestures are described as interactional resources in a substantial body of literature on interpreted interaction in which two spoken languages are used in the interaction (Davitti, 2012; Mason, 2012; Pasquandrea, 2011; Vranjes et al., 2018; Vranjes & Brône, 2021). However, in signed-to-spoken interpreted interactions, the exploration of the role of gaze and head gestures is still in its early stages.

In this paper, I investigate one interpreter's gaze and head gestures used as interactional resources in signed-to-spoken interpreting, i.e., from Norwegian Sign Language (NTS) into Norwegian. As gaze is the only way of perceiving the signed utterance, I suggest there may be a "trade-off" (Vranjes & Brône, 2021) between the resources of gaze and head gestures in the context of conversational signed-to-spoken interpreting, i.e., head gestures are used instead of gaze. The interactional character of interpreting is now well established in the literature (E.g., Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998). However, there are not many studies that consider interactional processes in terms of their semiotic characteristics. Moreover, in-depth analyses of conversational signed-to-spoken interpreting are almost absent from the field. The current qualitative study on a single case of informal naturalistic interpreted discourse can serve as a starting point in that respect as it offers some important insights into how interactional and semiotic resources are interconnected in the context of face-to-face dialogue interpreting.

This study foregrounds how the interpreter deploys the semiotic resources she has at her disposal in the situation. Applying the concept of the coupled turn (Poignant, 2021), I demonstrate how the interpreter puts considerable work into sustaining the embodied participation framework (Goffman, 1981; C. Goodwin, 2007), thus maintaining the interactional space (Mondada, 2007) between two different language ecologies.

2. Embodied participation framework

When people engage in any form of social interaction, they unavoidably gain the status of a participant (Goffman, 1981, 1986). The status affects relations and expectations within the interaction, such as "who is addressing whom, and who is supposed by whom to react how?" (Wadensjö, 2017, p. 127). The character of this participation is constituted by the norms of whatever activity they are engaged in (Rossano, 2012). Within the participation framework, speakers are ratified as such by co-participants (Goffman, 1986). This ratification may occur by means of different resources, among which gaze is considered especially important (C. Goodwin, 2007; M. H. Goodwin, 1980; Kendon, 1967, 1990; Rossano, 2012). The question arises as to what specific expectations and norms, considering embodied participation frameworks, are activated when the activity type is an interpreted encounter between a signed and a spoken language.

Participation status is not static but is organized moment-by-moment through at times subtle communication practices. Goodwin (2007) stresses how embodied participation frameworks can reveal "the interactive organization of action, and of the active work required to sustain it" (C. Goodwin, 2007, p. 63). Part of the process of organizing the embodied participation framework is positioning one's body to have "appropriate perceptual access to relevant phenomena" (C. Goodwin, 2007, p. 63). The notion of appropriate perceptual access lends itself perfectly to make sense of signed-to-spoken interpreted interaction, as the interpreter needs visual access to the signing participant in order to interpret. The framework helps us identify the intricate

patterns to sustain the embodied participation frameworks accomplished by the interpreter. In the following, I review literature on relevant spoken and signed interaction before reviewing studies on how participation frameworks are achieved in interpreted encounters.

2.1. Gaze and head movements in spoken and signed interaction

Gaze is an important resource for establishing types of participation in conversation, specifically for selecting the next speaker, as extensively documented in spoken language interaction (C. Goodwin, 1981; Heath, 1986; Kendon, 1967; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Moreover, interlocutors frequently need to pay attention to something while simultaneously conducting an interactional project through gaze (Rossano, 2012). Goodwin (2007) describes how visibly orienting to both other participants and the environment results in a cooperative stance, demonstrating the joint accomplishment of the activity in progress. Further, the cooperative stance requires appropriate perceptual access, for which people need to position themselves as needed physically (C. Goodwin, 2007). The cooperative stance can be described in more local terms: Gaze and postural shift can allow participants to display recipiency and a body movement can elicit speech by the other participant, or it can elicit a gaze re-orientation (Heath, 1986). Head nods may contribute to topicalization in both spoken (Bernad-Mechó, 2017) and signed (Liddell, 1980; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999) discourse.

Concerning signed interaction, gaze behavior has been attributed several functions. Regarding participation frameworks, eye gaze plays a crucial role in seeking and yielding turns (Baker, 1977). In this seminal study on turn-taking in signed discourse, Baker (1977) investigates a small deaf meeting and finds that head nodding, combined with a palm-up gesture, functions as a means of claiming a turn. In informal conversations among deaf friends, Coates and Sutton-Spence (2001) found that participants mostly waited until eye contact was established before beginning their turn. In addition to contributing to participation frameworks, gaze plays an important role in organizing discourse. Janzen and colleagues (2023) compare two signed languages and find that gazing upwards represents something that is unknown or distant in time or place. In constructed dialogue sequences, gaze serves as a co-establishing resource (Young et al., 2012). Additionally, in signed discourse, gazing at a significant point in space attributes a specific meaning, which is especially exploited in highly depictive modes of discourse (Dudis, 2011; Roy, 2011). In these depictive discourse strategies, signing space is perceived as a stage on which discourse entities may be placed. This way of organizing the signing space involves real space blends in cognitive linguistic terms (Liddell, 2003) and may be described as indicative of the discourse complexity (Nilsson, 2023). In interpreted interaction, depicting strategies may pose additional cognitive challenges for interpreters because they may entail a transition of semiotic strategy in the interpreting process (Nilsson, 2010, 2023).

Importantly, the pattern of gaze behavior is dependent on activity type, i.e., gaze expectations by participants are associated with the ongoing course of action. Rossano (2012) stresses that there are different norms for gazing at co-interactants depending on conversational activity type, which supports the need to study gaze patterns in different types of interactions. However, these norms also depend on language-specific ecologies. In this study, interpreting will be conceptualized as a form of conversational activity type, thereby suggesting that it involves specific norm-governing gaze behavior. Thus, in addition to activity type, I suggest the semiotic character of the source utterance also affects the interpreter's gaze behavior. Moreover, an interpreted event is constituted by the presence of at least two language ecologies, and thus, two different sets of gaze behavior norms are represented in the same interactional encounter.

2.2. Embodied participation framework and gaze in interpreted interaction

In interpreted interaction the complexity of participation frameworks is increased compared

to monolingual conversations, as acknowledged by Wadensjö (1998) and Roy (2000). Consequently, the interpreter has specific professional conversational and communicative needs (Jucker et al., 2018; Vranjes & Bot, 2021). Gaze is ascribed several functions in spoken language interpreting, including turn taking (Hansen & Svennevig, 2021; Lang, 1978; Mason, 2012; Pasquandrea, 2011; Vranjes et al., 2018), sequence organization (Vranjes et al., 2018) and the signaling of position and epistemic authority (Davitti, 2012; Mason, 2012). The current study leans on findings from studies on the role of gaze and participation roles, resulting in a non-normative, interactionist, and dialogical view (Wadensjö, 2017). Furthermore, an interpreter's participation has been conceptualized in terms of a professional role-space (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014). Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) claim that interpreted interaction depends on interactional signals from the interpreter. If the interpreter suppresses these signals, as some are trained to do, the interaction might be perceived as dysfunctional (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 39).

Some experimental studies have described linguistic phenomena of signed-to-spoken interpreting (Gabarró-López, 2024; Nilsson, 2010; Quinto-Pozos et al., 2015; Santiago et al., 2015). Nilsson (2010, p. 64), finds that the character of discourse affects interpreters' ability to render it appropriately. However, to investigate interactional resources, a real audience for renditions is required. One naturalistic study explored the teamwork between a deaf professional and two interpreters in the context of a formal, monological talk given by the deaf professional (Napier, 2007; Napier et al., 2008). Pause, nods, and eye contact were found as important discourse markers for achieving clarification and controlling the pace. Nodding (often co-occurring with a sign or gesture) was also found to serve the communicative function of reassuring that all was going well (Napier et al., 2008, p. 32). Also in a formal context, Henley and McKee (2020), using an interactional sociolinguistic approach, compared two interpreted meetings led by a deaf and a hearing chair-person. In the deaf-led meeting, they found gaze, nodding, and pointing to have important turn-allocation functions. They highlight the two sets of discourse norms present in a mixed meeting and find that only in the meeting led by a deaf chairperson were the visual discourse norms adhered to. This adherence was found to increase the perceived access by the deaf participants in the meeting (Henley & McKee, 2020).

Finally, one study investigates interpreted classroom group-work activities among deaf and hearing upper secondary school students. In this study the direction of interpreting is mostly spoken-to-signed, as the deaf student is rarely ratified as a member of the hearing students (Berge, 2018, p. 108). The few instances described of signed-to-spoken renderings are consequences of the interpreter's negotiation of the participation status of the deaf student by means of, e.g., gaze and gestures (Berge, 2018, p. 108). In signed-to-spoken renditions, the interpreter exploits body leans and eye contact to indicate the addressee(s) of the signed utterances (Berge, 2018).

2.3. Interactional space and the coupled turn

In Conversation Analysis (CA), the adjacency pair consists of two self-contained turn-construction units (Sacks et al., 1974). The organization of interpreted interaction involves a turn-construction unit that is not self-contained, i.e., the interpreter's contribution is better viewed as the extension of the original utterance than an independent turn. This has led to the notion of a coupled turn, consisting of the original utterance and its rendition (Poignant, 2021). The notion of the coupled turn helps to understand how the interpreter manages to create a domain of conversation (Ciolek & Kendon, 1980, p. 237) or a joint interactional space (Mondada, 2013) by means of embodied resources. Sometimes, the interactional space of an interpreted encounter needs extra work to be negotiated according to ratified participation

roles. It is not always the case that hearing participants who are not used to interpreted interaction look at the deaf participant holding the floor. As the interpreter is making a signed utterance audible, people tend to look at the interpreter, while the principal is actually a deaf participant (Napier et al., 2019).

The research question of the present study is: How does the interpreter accomplish and sustain the embodied participation framework in a signed-to-spoken interpreted conversation? In particular, I focus on the role of gaze and head gestures and the intricate pattern of their interdependency. Findings may serve as evidence of the notion of a coupled turn in interpreted interaction.

3. Data and method

The analysis is based on naturalistic data consisting of one video-recorded informal lunch conversation (duration: 42:35 min) with two deaf participants, one non-signing hearing participant and an interpreter. The deaf participants and the interpreter have been colleagues for many years, familiar with each other. The interpreter is trained (in Norway, interpreters are required to have a BA to be qualified) and has more than ten years of experience. The hearing participant works in the same corridor, but in a different department and was previously unacquainted with both participants. She had very limited to no knowledge of sign language or deaf people in general and became intrigued by the subject. This situation led the conversation to focus on being and growing up deaf. This theme proved to benefit the research focus because many utterances were directed from the deaf participants to the hearing participant. The conversation was initiated by me, approaching participants by email (in Norwegian). The data is thus co-constituted between the researcher and participants in the study (Mondada, 2006). However, the participants are actual colleagues and are in a situation where there is something real at stake; they remain in a common workspace after this conversation.

The conversation was video recorded with two cameras while I was present in the room to manage the recording. The choice to stay in the room could be perceived as unfortunate because of my position in the field as an interpreter, interpreter trainer, and interpreting researcher. For this reason, I ensured that the participating interpreter had not been my student. The possibility of affecting the ongoing course of interaction in some way is nevertheless difficult to entirely dismiss; a human presence will always affect the room. The decision was also affected by the availability of data, as technical issues could compromise the quality of the recordings. In several instances, adjustments to camera angles were required due to participants changing their positions.

The study was granted approval by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (SIKT). All participants signed written informed consent forms, which stated how the data would be used and presented. All participants agreed to openly sharing the data, without anonymization. Even though I have been granted permission to publish pictures and video clips, this does not relieve the researcher from treating participants as carefully and responsibly as possible (Skedsmo, 2021, p. 83). Thus, the names of the participants are changed to pseudonyms, following the alphabet: Anna, Beatrice (deaf participants) and Cora (hearing non-signing participant).

The data was annotated in ELAN (Crasborn & Sloetjes, 2008). The videos from the two cameras were aligned to display them in the same ELAN file. Initially, I identified all instances in which the interpreter orients towards the hearing participant with a head gesture, with or without gaze. Next, the corresponding NTS source utterance and gaze direction of the signing participant were annotated on two separate tiers. This was done in order to see how the gaze patterns of a rendition aligned with the original utterance in a coupled turn. Finally, the interpreter's verbal rendition (orthographically transcribed), gaze direction, and head gestures

were annotated on three separate tiers. The annotations of head gestures of spoken language renditions are inspired by the MUMIN schema guidelines (Allwood et al., 2007). The approach in this qualitative study is informed by multimodal conversation analysis (C. Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2014; Deppermann & Streeck, 2018).

To represent both the signed and spoken discourse of this interpreted event, I consulted different transcription traditions and developed an annotation guide in accordance with the research focus of the current study. The annotations of NTS discourse in this study are highly influenced by the guidelines used for Auslan[1] (Johnston, 2019). Since NTS does not have a written form, the annotations follow the tradition of glossing, which entails denoting each sign an English word that is close in meaning, written in SMALL CAPS. A gloss is not a translation but a lemma to represent signed discourse in written form. Importantly, though widespread in the field, this tradition is problematic because of the risk of signed languages being represented as a simple version of a spoken language (Janzen & Shaffer, 2023; Rosenthal, 2009). In this paper, the annotations of signed discourse are minimalistic, and readers are encouraged to view video clips to see the signed source utterance analyzed. The three short sequences analyzed for this paper can be found here: https://osf.io/n4c79/?view_only=e7af211d65c5485787a5848f0f196a7a.

The multimodal transcription conventions of embodied conduct are highly influenced by Mondada (2018). The full list of annotation conventions can be found in the Appendix. Still images from the open dataset are provided in annotations.

4. Results and analysis

This section includes the analysis of four extracts from the conversational data in which the addressee is the hearing participant. Overall, a total of 174 sequences were identified in which the interpreter gazes or moves her head (or both) towards the hearing participant while interpreting from NTS to Norwegian. The examples shown in this paper are selected to represent indicative behavior with and without gaze, and also to show a variety of head gestures. In most cases, the head gesture movement consists of a mixture of tilting (governed by the top of the head) and turning (governed by the chin). This variation may be explained by considering seating arrangements, displayed in figure 1.

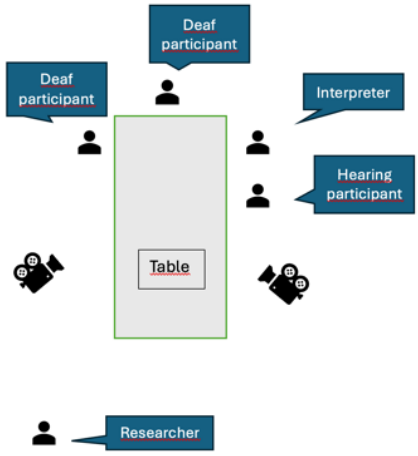

Figure 1. Seating arrangements

Consequently, all variation of head gestures without gaze is treated under the umbrella of head gestures. The types of head gestures are illustrated in figures 2-5. Figure 2 displays one of the examples where the interpreter includes gaze to indicate the addressee is provided:

[1] The majority signed language used in Australia.

Figure 2. Head gesture (side-turn) and gaze

In figures 3-5, I present examples of the interpreter indicating the addressee without gaze, realized with different head gestures. However, the positions are all in some way oriented towards the hearing participant. Examples of three different realizations without gaze are provided in the following:

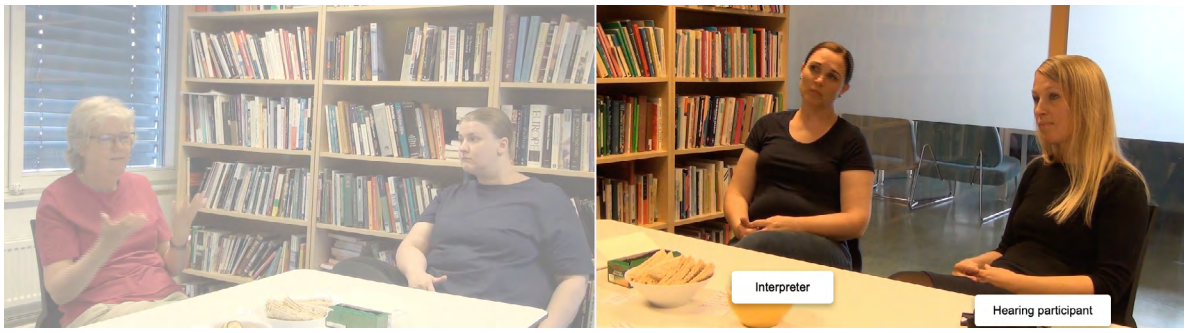

Figure 3. Head gesture: side-tilt

Figure 4. Head gesture: side-turn

Figure 5. Head gesture: back

The difference in form was not found to reflect a difference in meaning but is nevertheless presented to potentially serve as a starting point for future studies.

To get an impression of the relative frequency and distribution of the interactional resource of head gestures with and without gaze, see Table 1:

Gaze and head gestures used to visually indicate the addressee in spoken Norwegian renditions	Number of occurrences
Head gesture (side-turn) with gaze	24
Head gesture without gaze	150
Total	174

Table 1. Distribution of gaze direction and head gesture

From Table 1 we can see a total of n=174 tokens of rendered utterances (in spoken Norwegian) indicating the hearing participant (named Cora) as addressee with visual resources, with or without gaze. There is quite a small category (n=24) in which the interpreter directs her gaze towards the hearing participant. These instances consistently co-occur with a side-turn head gesture. The larger second category (n=150) are instances without gaze in which there is a variety of combinations of head-tilt and head-turn gestures. While it would be possible to categorize this further, according to type of head gesture, I leave more fine-grained analytic work concerning head gestures to future studies with a larger body of data. For this study, the point is to show how the embodied participation framework is navigated and affected by the signals of participation and the semiotic character of the source utterance.

In what follows, in-depth multimodal conversation analysis of four extracts from the recorded conversation are provided. The first two examples represent examples in which the interpreter shifts her gaze, joining the gaze direction of her co-participant in a coupled turn.

4.1. Interactional space and the coupled turn

In the dataset, head gestures frequently accompany an utterance directed towards the hearing participant but are not necessarily followed by gazing in the same direction. The gaze pattern I analyze in Extract 1 only occurs in n=24 instances from the data (see Table 1). In this extract, the interpreter's gaze is briefly directed towards the hearing participant, subsequent to a wh-question[2]. Interactionally, the interpreter selects the next speaker, reflecting the gaze behavior accompanying the source utterance, which indicates Cora (the hearing participant) selected as next speaker.

After figuring out that they have never met, but that their offices are actually quite close to each other, Anna asks Cora how long she has worked there.

[2] In Extract 1, there is a small particle *a* (line 2), marked <DM:Q>, and it is thus labelled a discourse marker. This is not a regular question word; it is a Norwegian way of signaling the request of a response in an informal style.

Extract 1:

1. Anna	GLOSS	#HOW-LONG [BE-AT #PRO-2p #COME-HERE
	Gaze	*Cora----------->>
	Trans	How long have you been here?
2. INT	Norwegian	# [men hvor #lenge har du #vært her a
	Head G	*Neutral---* *side-turn----------*
	Gaze	*Anna----------* *Cora(0.3)-* *Anna>>
	Trans	<DM:but>how long have you been here <DM:Q>

Images **#1.1** **#1.2** **#1.3**

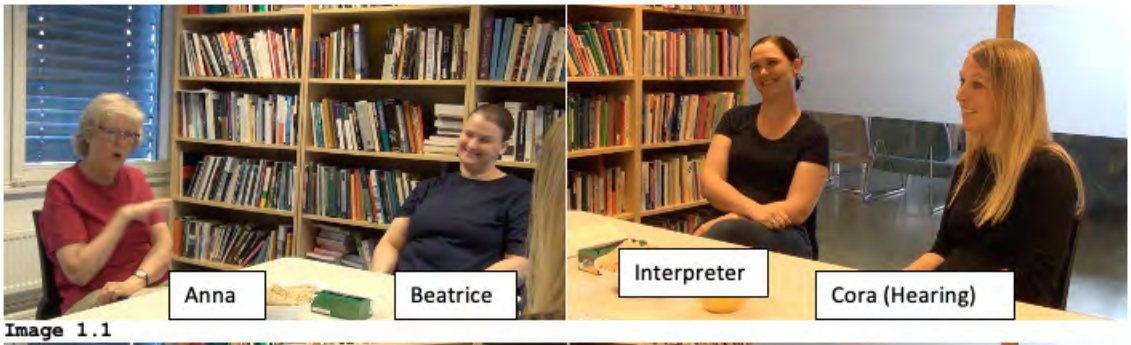

Image 1.1

Image 1.2

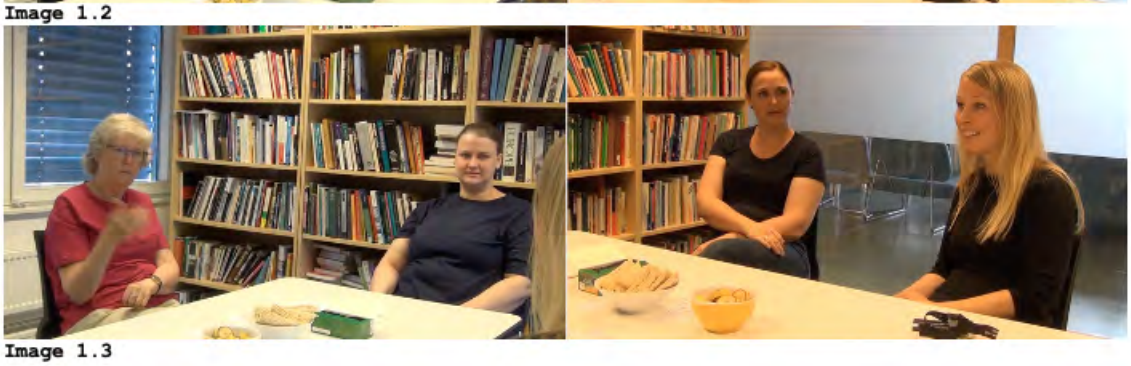

Image 1.3

Anna self-selects and produces a wh-question while gazing (and pointing) at Cora, who is thus selected as the next speaker: (´how long have you been here?´) (line 1). Anna maintains her gaze on the addressee while asking the question, aligning with observations made in monolingual encounters concerning gaze accompanying questions (Rossano, 2010; Stivers et al., 2009).

Before producing a rendition, the interpreter's head is slightly tilted towards her right (line 2, image 1.1). Starting the rendition, her head immediately turns slightly towards the hearing participant (line 2, image 1.2), signaling her emerging turn. The rendition includes a deictic pronoun 'you', a recipient indicator (Lerner, 2003, p. 182), making the next speaker explicitly addressed. This pronoun is immediately followed by an embodied orientation towards the hearing participant by a gaze shift (line 2). All participants now share a mutual focus of attention with their gaze (image 1.3), establishing Cora as the next speaker in the embodied

participation framework. The interpreter's gaze towards the hearing participant (0.3 sec) is not reciprocated, nor the interpreter's gaze back to the deaf participant. The interpreter is thus not treated as speaker in the participation framework. The hearing participant has her gaze directed towards Anna throughout the sequence, which is evidence that Anna is treated as ratified speaker (Goffman, 1981). This is not always the case in signed-to-spoken interpreting as hearing interlocutors tend to look towards the interpreter instead of the deaf signer (Napier et al., 2019). The interpreter's gaze is held for 0.3 seconds (image 1.3) before returning to Anna. The interpreter receives no gaze throughout the sequence. The absence of orientation towards the interpreter's gaze supports the notion of the coupled turn (Poignant, 2021), shared between Anna and the interpreter. The choice of prioritizing a gaze shift in a context with potential signed utterances that the interpreter needs to monitor, speaks to gaze as a powerful signal for selecting the next speaker (C. Goodwin, 2007; Rossano, 2012).

This example is illustrative of how the interpreter, when rendering a direct question accompanied by a gaze behavior selecting the next speaker, may join the gaze behavior of the signing participant and thus conduct a full shift of gaze, despite her perceptual requirement to look at a signing participant. Copying the gaze behavior of the speaker may serve as evidence for the coupled turn in interpreted interaction, as both participants (ratified speaker and the interpreter) cooperate in selecting the next speaker with gaze. We now move on to another example in which the gaze behavior in the original utterance is more complex, and where the physical angles of seating arrangements add to the complexity. To demonstrate how the interpreter organizes her gaze behavior in a rendition when faced with a more complex gaze pattern in the original utterance, the following example represents an instance with a very swift gaze shift in the rendition, reflecting a more indecisive gaze pattern from the original utterance.

In Extract 2, Beatrice has just explained that growing up, she sometimes had speech therapy, like most deaf children (in Norway), and she did not like it. The utterance, towards the end of her turn, summarizes that she is pleased that period of her life is finished. In the previous example, where we saw a direct question, Anna consistently gazed towards the hearing participant throughout the utterance. Beatrice displays a different gaze pattern: after a short gaze towards the hearing participant, she shifts her gaze towards a high location in signing space (gazing upwards). An upwards gaze is used to signal "distance" in time and/or space (Janzen et al., 2023), which aligns with the pattern observed in this example: Beatrice addresses the distant past in describing experiences from her childhood. Note how the interpreter's head position is high, possibly orienting towards the same area as Beatrice's gaze (image 2.1). The specific gaze behavior of Beatrice is annotated in Extract 2 (see lines 1 and 3). When producing her rendition in the coupled turn, the gaze pattern of the interpreter can be seen in the images 2.1-2.4. In image 2.2, observe how the interpreter orients towards the hearing participant with a gaze shift.

Extract 2:

1. Beatrice	GLOSS	[#FEEL HAPPY FINISHED PT-DET PERIOD
		*folding hands--->
	Gaze	*Cora* *Up----------* *INT/Cora(0.7)->
	Trans	I am glad to be finished with that period
2. INT	NOR	[#<DM:så> <DM:ja> jeg er egentlig veldig glad
	Head G	*Back---------->
	Gaze	*Beatrice---------->
	Trans	<DM:so><DM:yes> I am actually very happy
3. Cora	Gaze	*#Beatrice---------->
	Images	**#2.1**

Image 2.1

4. Beatrice	Gaze	INT/Cora----------**Anna(1.1)** #INT/Cora(0.4)**Anna#(0.6)>>
		folding hands--->>
5. INT	NOR	for at jeg er ferdig med #den #perioden
	Head G	Back--------* *side-turn----------*
	Gaze	Beatrice----* *Cora----------* *Beatrice->>
	Trans	for being finished with that period
6. Cora	Gaze	*Beatrice----------#----------* #*INT(0.7)-*
	Images	**#2.2** **#2.3**

Image 2.2

Image 2.3

Beatrice signals the potential completion of her turn placing her hands on her lap (lines 1 and 3). However, her facial expression also signals marking of a stance (pursed lips; images 2.2-2.3) toward her own story (Ruusuvuori & Peräkylä, 2009, p. 386). The pursed, smiling lips may signal contentment because she is finished with the period of her life that included speech therapy, but it may also mark decisiveness, i.e., something she feels strongly about. Simultaneously, she displays a pattern of gaze behavior co-occurring with her facial expression. Accompanying her hands on her lap, her gaze is directed towards the interpreter (0.7 sec.), who is in the middle of her rendition. This aligns with the monitoring reported from other deaf professionals working with interpreters (Haug et al., 2017). Then, she looks at Anna (1.1 sec.), opening a possibility for her to take the floor. As Anna does not take the floor, Beatrice returns her gaze to the interpreter (0.4 sec.), and finally to Cora (0.6 sec.) (line 3). In sum, this sequence of gaze behavior with a facial expression of stance (Feyaerts et al., 2022; Ruusuvuori & Peräkylä, 2009) lasts 2.8 seconds. Interactionally, she signals readiness to yield the floor to someone else. Note however, that she does not select the next speaker. The gaze behavior, where she looks at all participants in turn (including the interpreter), leaves the floor to a potential self-selected speaker.

In the rendition part of the coupled turn, the interpreter is not provided with sufficient embodied cues to treat anyone as the selected next speaker, and her gaze toward Cora is very brief before returning to Beatrice. However, note that the interpreter's gaze toward Cora is reciprocated (image 2.3, indicated with arrow) which again speaks to the power of gaze in conversation in general. While a gaze would normally be evidence that the interpreter is treated as a speaker and thus contests the participation framework, Cora gives several signals that she treats Beatrice as the speaker. She orients towards Beatrice with gaze after 0.7 seconds. In the previous example, the absence of gaze served as evidence that the interpreter was treated as different than the other participants, but still considered an active participant in the embodied participation framework. This may serve as evidence for the notion of the coupled turn, considering that Cora's gaze toward the interpreter is visible for Anna. This suggests that Cora, by gazing at both the interpreter and Anna, sequentially acknowledges the coupled turn and thus signals a cooperative stance (C. Goodwin, 2007) towards the participation framework.

Given the seating arrangements of this situation, the interpreter's orientation towards Beatrice leaves Cora almost behind her, outside of her visually accessible area, making the interactional space between them physically different. This may be the reason why the head gesture is more tilted backwards than in the previous example (image 2.1, line 2-3) as this will increase her physical peripheral range of vision. The moment Beatrice places her hands in her lap, signaling readiness to yield the floor, the interpreter initiates her shift of gaze almost simultaneously (0.1 seconds subsequent of placing the hands in her lap). Thus, the interpreter's initiated gaze shift occurs immediately after Beatrice is orienting towards the interpreter with her gaze. Gaze in this sequence is timed as if the interpreter is forwarding the gaze to Cora (see timing of this gaze behavior in lines 3 and 4). As we have already seen, the gaze is only a very quick orientation towards Cora before returning her gaze back to Beatrice. In addition to semiotic work relevant to the embodied participation framework, seating arrangements may also impact this pattern: The seating angle now leaves Beatrice outside of the interpreter's visually accessible space, making the interpreter unable to monitor and recognize communication signals.

Summing up, this example illustrates how the interpreter restricts her gaze behavior to align with the interactional signals of the original utterance. In addition, it demonstrates how seating arrangements in interpreted interactions may impact the possibilities of maintaining the interactional space. The interpreter initiates a gaze shift but does not fully direct it toward Cora (see Image 2.2); instead, she immediately returns her gaze to the other participants. This

may in part be due to the gaze pattern in the original utterance, where Beatrice shifts her gaze between all participants in the interaction, not selecting a next speaker. However, this swift gaze was sufficient for Cora to reciprocate it, possibly displaying a cooperative stance towards the participation framework. Moreover, depending on visual access because the interpreter does not know where, or in which modality the next utterance will come from, she needs to position herself to have visual access (C. Goodwin, 2007) to the deaf signing participants in particular. Having seen two examples in which the interpreter shifts her gaze to indicate the direction of utterances, we will see instances in the following two examples in which gaze is not shifted; the interactional semiotic work is conducted by other resources, specifically head gesture.

4.2. Head gestures without gaze

The data presented above has demonstrated how the interpreter indicates the addressee using both gaze and head gesture. However, most of the indicative behavior towards the addressee in the data occurs without gaze and thus solely with a head gesture. The next two examples are originally one sequence, divided into two extracts because the interpreter displays two different head gestures in the sequence. The semiotic work to sustain the embodied participation framework is subtle, but significant, as it represents a pervasive pattern of the interpreter's embodied interactional resources (see Table 1).

Extract 3 depicts an example of indicative behavior solely with head gesture. Anna talks about a dog she used to have. As the dog was also deaf, they would both be startled if a car came up behind them. Anna provides Cora with some information, that the dog was also deaf. She selects Cora as the addressee with her consistent gaze throughout this piece of information. However, Anna does not signal any readiness to leave the floor to someone else, as she gazes towards the signing space in the next sequence (line 1). Early in her rendition, the interpreter makes a slight head gesture towards Cora (indicated with an arrow). Consider the difference in head position between images 3.1 and 3.2:

Extract 3:

1. Anna	GLOSS	POSS-1p.s	#DOG ALSO	[DEAF PRO-1P.s#DEAF
	Gaze	*Cora----------		*SS----------
	Trans	My dog is also deaf		
2. INT	NOR		#	[eh (.)og #hunden min var også døv
	Head G			*side-turn/downward--*
	Gaze	*Anna----------		---------->
	Trans			eh and my dog was also deaf
	Images		**#3.1**	**#3.2**

Image 3.1

Image 3.2

In this example, the interpreters' slightly downward side-tilt (image 3.2) accompanies the introduction of a new topic: the dog (recently introduced) is deaf, as its owner. Anna topicalizes the sign DEAF with a head nod (Liddell, 1980; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999). This topicalization of a discourse entity is also reflected in the rendition. It may be an instance of copying behavior, although head nods are also used for topicalization in spoken discourse (Bernad-Mechó, 2017). However, the direction in which the head is directed simultaneously signals visual orientation towards the hearing participant, semiotically indicating the addressee in a coupled turn. This argument is further supported if we consider image 3.2 in extract 3 in which we can see that the head position is moved out of the optimal position at which she can look straight ahead to perceive the signed utterance she is interpreting. The communicational need to perceive what is signed, and the communicational need of interactionally indicating the direction of an utterance compete for the resource of gaze. In alternative terms, there is a "trade-off" (Vranjes & Brône, 2021) between gaze and head gesture. The interpreter's head gesture oriented towards the addressee creates a joint orientation towards the hearing participant, which again reveals the cooperation between the interpreter and Anna in the coupled turn.

In the continuation of this sequence (see Extract 4), the gaze behavior of Anna is more varied. Moreover, the semiotic character of discourse also has consequences for the interactional space in this example. Consider again the difference between head positions in images 4.1 and 4.2.

Extract 4:

1. Anna	GLOSS	CANNOT HEAR #[BEHIND CAR DEP:VEHICLE-PASSING #DEP:HOLD-LEASH
	Gaze	*SS---* *Co* *SS--* *Co* *INT---* *Cora----* *SS----------*
	Trans	If a car came behind us, none of us could hear it
2. INT	NOR	#[så så vi hørte(.)ingen#av oss hørte
	Head G	*side-tilt---------->
	Gaze	*Anna---------->
	Trans	so, so we didn't hear, neither of us heard

Images #4.1 #4.2

Image 4.1

Image 4.2

3. INT	NOR	det kom bil bak <DM:da>
	Head G	side-tilt--*
	Gaze	Anna---------->>
	Trans	a car came up behind us <DM:then>

Anna is engaged in a discourse semiotically characterized by depiction (Dingemanse, 2015; Ferrara & Hodge, 2018), in which she depicts a car coming up from behind (her right hand represents the car), and how she and her dog would react if that happened (enacting how she would hold the dog leash). The depictive sign system prompts recipients to imagine what the depicted entities look like (Clark, 1996; Dingemanse, 2015; Ferrara & Hodge, 2018). This discourse mechanism organizes the interactional space in a specific way: the space in front of Anna is now perceived as a stage for the invisible referred events to unfold. This highly depictive discourse will in turn have its effect on the perceived interactional space, and could affect the interpreter's cognitive load (Nilsson, 2010). Depictive sequences like this are typically organized in part by gaze: the signer establishes specific areas in signing space as significant by looking at them (Dudis, 2011; Roy, 2011; Young et al., 2012). This is also the case here: Anna shifts her gaze between signing space, Cora (the hearing participant) and the interpreter (line 1). Anna's gaze pattern is not reflected by the interpreter, whose gaze is not shifted, but consistently directed towards Anna in the coupled turn with a Norwegian rendition. However, the embodied conduct of leaning towards Cora with a side-tilt head gesture allows her to visually indicate the addressee without gaze. This indicative behavior is in part an independent choice by the interpreter, as Anna is shifting her gaze between participants and signing space. Note that the interpreter's head gesture is somewhat elevated, which may reflect the interpreter's need to obtain a bird's eye view of the interactional space, as Anna is actively exploiting the 3D possibilities of depictive signed discourse. The highly depictive character of discourse is also physically affecting the interactional space of this conversation.

5. Discussion

The interpreter is faced with the complicated task of being highly attentive towards the deaf participant in order to perceive the NTS utterance, while simultaneously including the hearing participant in the interaction. If this interactional goal is not attained, the perceived participation framework is at stake (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 39). When the interpreter's attentiveness towards the deaf participant requires gaze, she needs to make use of other available resources, as demonstrated in the current study. The findings support previous claims of gaze and head movements in signed-to-spoken interaction, i.e., they are important interactional resources (Henley & McKee, 2020; Napier et al., 2008), and the character of discourse may affect the interpreter's language practices (Nilsson, 2010). This study complements the literature on signed-to-spoken interpreting with conversational data.

Rossano (2012, p. 313) argues that earlier studies on gaze behavior have not accounted for the different expectations and norms of gaze behavior of different activity types. Regarding interpreting as an activity type, this study supports this view. Moreover, based on observations from the last example (see section 4.2), it was argued that the interactional space is not only affected by activity type, but also by the semiotic character of discourse. Discourse in this example was characterized by depiction as a semiotic strategy. Consequently, part of the physical space between interlocutors was conceptualized as a scene in which discourse entities were placed, in part by looking at these places. When gaze has this additional semiotic function, a different expectation regarding gaze behavior emerges, in turn affecting the interactional space. Thus, I argue we should not only account for activity type, but also the semiotic character of discourse when discussing participation frameworks and gaze. The semiotic lens applied to gaze behavior also highlights that two sets of discourse norms are present in one interactional event (Henley & McKee, 2020), or a "constant overlap between target and source environment" (Wadensjö, 2004, p. 105) which is constitutive of the face-to-face interpreted event. Bringing this feature of the interpreting task to the forefront has implications for how we discuss the task of interpreting.

Interpreters have been found to inhabit a key coordinating role in interaction in dialogue interpreting settings (e.g., Mason, 2012; Pasquandrea, 2011; Wadensjö, 1998). While this "key coordinating role" could be conceptualized as an interpreter-specific behavior, coordinating discourse is in fact a fundamental characteristic of interaction in general, recognized since Goffman (1963, 1986), and emerges as a consequence of the interpreter being an active participant in interaction. This study has provided examples of how an interpreter can find herself with competing needs between her conversational needs and the role of coordinating discourse as an interpreter (Vranjes & Bot, 2021). This is specifically observed in the need to perceive an utterance while visually indicating the addressee of the utterance. The need to focus on the signed discourse might be affected by the semiotic character of the utterance: Highly depictive sequences may pose specifically demanding cognitive tasks for the interpreter (Nilsson, 2010, 2023).

When the resource of gaze is occupied with perception, we have seen examples where resources are organized successively, i.e., the interpreter shifts her gaze towards the addressee (the hearing participant) after perceiving the signed utterance. However, the majority of instances in which the addressee is indicated visually occur without gaze. In these instances, head gestures have the interactional task of sustaining the participation framework, and thus the interactional space. Moreover, due to the different positions of the two deaf participants, the interactional spaces provide different possibilities to shift the gaze, as the interpreter risks losing visual access due to her perceptual capacity. Thus, she positions herself with different head positions to ensure visual access. The notion of an interactional space foregrounds what is at stake: shifting the gaze might entail losing the common interactional space. Thus, the interpreter finds strategies of accommodating space to her communicative needs (Jucker et al., 2018, p. 99).

6. Conclusions

In this study, I have demonstrated how the embodied participation frameworks of one signed-to-spoken interpreted encounter are constantly negotiated with intricate patterns of semiotic resources, similar to the patterns of participation frameworks in general (Goffman, 1981, 1986; C. Goodwin, 2007). However, there are some specific ecological factors of these situations that will inevitably affect how participation frameworks are accomplished. First, the interpreter's gaze is consistently occupied with perceiving the NTS utterance, which results in the constant navigating of (at least) two simultaneous communicational needs: perception of signed discourse and indicating the addressee of renditions. In the first two examples, the interpreter nevertheless prioritized a gaze shift, which speaks to gaze as a powerful resource of indicating the addressee of an utterance (C. Goodwin, 2007; Rossano, 2012). In the last two examples, representing the majority of instances in which the interpreter visually oriented towards the addressee, there was no gaze shift involved, only head gestures.

Applying the notion of the coupled turn (Poignant, 2021) I have demonstrated how dialogue interpreting requires a specific form of collaboration between all parties involved: When the speaker selects the addressee of an utterance by means of gaze, the interpreter may reflect this gaze direction. If the gaze is occupied with perception, the interpreter may instead exploit head gestures to visually mark the addressee of the rendition. Thus, the interpreter navigates two simultaneous interactional processes, perceiving an NTS utterance on the one hand and producing a spoken language utterance on the other.

This study is limited in terms of the size of data, and further investigations are needed to explore gaze and head gesture patterns of different constellations of participants. Furthermore, this study only considers gaze and head gestures; in future studies, a larger variety of visual

resources could be investigated, e.g., manual gestures, other facial expressions and body leans. Also, this study only briefly looks at the involvement from the hearing participant. To learn more about the intricate patterns of signed-to-spoken interpreting, more focus should be directed towards the hearing participants of such encounters.

Finally, I claim the methodological tools of multimodal conversation analysis have proven useful to highlight the organization of resources deployed to sustain the embodied participation frameworks in interpreted discourse. The framework has allowed for the scrutiny of the semiotic characteristics of resources at play, which is useful to increase specificity in terminology when discussing language practices of interpreters. Also, it is a framework that is not concerned with the vehicle of a semiotic resource, or its linguistic status, which makes it a more inclusive approach. The explorations of interpreted discourse in this qualitative study add to our knowledge regarding semiotic strategies deployed interactionally in a signed-to-spoken interpreting context. The claim in this paper is that this approach is useful when documenting and analyzing the language practices of interpreters as it foregrounds that interactional and pragmatic resources are crucial parts of an interpreter's competence.

7. Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am grateful to the deaf and hearing participants for their willingness to be published without anonymization. I also extend my sincere appreciation to the interpreter for openly sharing her professional practice. Additionally, I am deeply thankful to my supervisors, Professor H. Haualand and Professor A.-L. Nilsson, as well as Associate Professor J.P.B. Hansen, for their invaluable support in shaping this article. Lastly, I express my gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments, which have significantly improved this work.

8. References

Allwood, J., Cerrato, L., Jokinen, K., Navarretta, C., & Paggio, P. (2007). The MUMIN coding scheme for the annotation of feedback, turn management and sequencing phenomena. *Language Resources and Evaluation*, *41*(3), 273–287. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10579-007-9061-5

Baker, C. (1977). Regulators and turn-taking in American Sign Language discourse. In L. A. Friedman (Ed.), *On the other hand: New perspectives on American Sign Language.* (pp. 215–236). Academic Press, INC.

Berge, S. S. (2018). How sign language interpreters use multimodal actions to coordinate turn-taking in group work between deaf and hearing upper secondary school students. *Interpreting: International Journal of Research and Practice in Interpreting*, *20*(1), 96–125. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.00004.ber

Bernad-Mechó, E. (2017). Metadiscourse and Topic Introductions in an Academic Lecture: A Multimodal Insight. *Multimodal Communication*, *6*(1), 39–60. https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2016-0030

Ciolek, T. M., & Kendon, A. (1980). Environment and the Spatial Arrangement of Conversational Encounters. *Sociological Inquiry*, *50*(3–4), 237–271. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1980.tb00022.x

Clark, H. H. (1996). *Using language*. Cambridge University Press.

Coates, J., & Sutton-Spence, R. (2001). Turn-taking patterns in deaf conversation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *5*(4), 507–529. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00162

Crasborn, O., & Sloetjes, H. (2008). Enhanced ELAN functionality for sign language corpora. In O. Crasborn, E. Efthimiou, T. Hanke, E. D. Thoutenhoofd, & I. Zwitserlood (Eds.), *6th International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation: Third workshop on the Representation and Processing of Sign Languages: Construction and Exploitation of Sign Language Corpora, 26 May-1 June 2008, Marrakech, Morocco* (pp. 39–43). European Language Resources Association.

Davitti, E. (2012). *Dialogue Interpreting as Intercultural Mediation Integrating Talk and Gaze in the Analysis of Mediated Parent-Teacher Meetings*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Davitti, E., & Pasquandrea, S. (2017). Embodied participation: What multimodal analysis can tell us about interpreter-mediated encounters in pedagogical settings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *107*, 105–128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2016.04.008

Deppermann, A., & Streeck, J. (2018). *Time in embodied interaction: Synchronicity and sequentiality of multimodal resources* (Vol. 293). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Dingemanse, M. (2015). Ideophones and reduplication: Depiction, description, and the interpretation of repeated talk in discourse. *Studies in Language*, *39*(4), 946–970. https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.39.4.05din

Dudis, P. (2011). The body in scene depictions. In C. B. Roy (Ed.), *Discourse in signed languages* (Vol. 17, pp. 3–45). Gallaudet University Press.

Enfield, N. J., & Sidnell, J. (2022). *Consequences of language: From primary to enhanced intersubjectivity*. The MIT Press.

Ferrara, L., & Hodge, G. (2018). Language as description, indication, and depiction. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *9*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00716

Feyaerts, K., Rominger, C., Lackner, H. K., Brône, G., Jehoul, A., Oben, B., & Papousek, I. (2022). In your face? Exploring multimodal response patterns involving facial responses to verbal and gestural stance-taking expressions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *190*, 6–17. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2022.01.002

Gabarró-López, S. (2024). Towards a description of PALM-UP in bidirectional signed language interpreting. *Lingua*, *300*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2023.103646

Goffman, E. (1963). *Behavior in Public Places*. Free Press. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hioa/detail.action?docID=4934774

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Northeastern University Press.

Goodwin, C. (1981). *Conversational organization: Interaction between speakers and hearers*. Academic Press.

Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *32*(10), 1489–1522. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00096-X

Goodwin, C. (2007). Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse & Society*, *18*(1), 53–73. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926507069457

Goodwin, M. H. (1980). Processes of Mutual Monitoring Implicated in the Production of Description Sequences. *Sociological Inquiry*, *50*(3–4), 303–317. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1980.tb00024.x

Hansen, J. P. B., & Svennevig, J. (2021). Creating space for interpreting within extended turns at talk. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *182*, 144–162.

Haug, T., Bontempo, K., Leeson, L., Napier, J., Nicodemus, B., Van Den Bogaerde, B., & Vermeerbergen, M. (2017). Deaf leaders' strategies for working with signed language interpreters: An examination across seven countries. *Across Languages and Cultures*, *18*(1), 107–131. https://doi.org/10.1556/084.2017.18.1.5

Heath, C. (1986). *Body Movement and Speech in Medical Interaction*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511628221

Henley, R., & McKee, R. (2020). Going through the motions: Participation in interpreter-mediated meeting interaction under a deaf and a hearing chairperson. *International Journal of Interpreter Education*, *12*(1).

Janzen, T., & Shaffer, B. (2023). *Signed Language and Gesture Research in Cognitive Linguistics*. Walter de Gruyter.

Janzen, T., Shaffer, B., & Leeson, L. (2023). What I know is here; what I don´t know is somewhere else: Deixis and gesture spaces in American Sign Language and Irish Sign Language. In T. Janzen & B. Shaffer (Eds.), *Signed language and gesture research in cognitive linguistics.* (pp. 211–242). De Gruyter.

Johnston, T. (2019). *Auslan Corpus Annotation Guidelines*. Macquarie University.

Jucker, A. H., Hausendorf, H., Dürscheid, C., Frick, K., Hottiger, C., Kesselheim, W., Linke, A., Meyer, N., & Steger, A. (2018). Doing space in face-to-face interaction and on interactive multimodal platforms. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *134*, 85–101. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.07.001

Kendon, A. (1967). Some functions of gaze-direction in social interaction. *Acta Psychologica*, *26*, 22–63. https://doi.org/10.1016/0001-6918(67)90005-4

Kendon, A. (1990). *Conducting Interaction. Patterns of behavior in focused encounters.* Cambridge University Press.

Lang, R. (1978). Behavioral Aspects of Liaison Interpreters in Papua New Guinea: Some Preliminary Observations. In *Language Interpretation and Communication* (pp. 231–244). Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-9077-4_21

Lerner, G. H. (2003). Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in Society*, *32*(2), 177–201. https://doi.org/10.1017/S004740450332202X

Liddell, S. K. (1980). *American sign language syntax* (Reprint 2021., Vol. 52). Mouton Publishers.

Liddell, S. K. (2003). *Grammar, Gesture, and Meaning in American Sign Language*. Cambridge University Press.

Llewellyn-Jones, P., & Lee, R. G. (2014). *Redefining the role of the community interpreter: The concept of role-space*. SLI Press.

Mason, I. (2012). Gaze, positioning and identity in interpreter-mediated dialogues. In C. Baraldi & L. Gavioli (Eds.), *Coordinating participation in dialogue interpreting* (pp. 177–199). John Benjamins Publishing.

Mondada, L. (2006). Video Recording as the Reflexive Preservation and Configuration of Phenomenal Features for Analysis. In H. Knoblauch, J. Raab, H.-G. Soeffner, & B. Schnettler (Eds.), *Video Analysis* (pp. 1–18). Lang.

Mondada, L. (2007). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies*, *9*(2), 194–225. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607075346

Mondada, L. (2013). *Interactional space and the study of embodied talk-in-interaction* (pp. 247–275). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110312027.247

Mondada, L. (2014). The local constitution of multimodal resources for social interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *65*, 137–156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.04.004

Mondada, L. (2018). Multiple temporalities of language and body in interaction: Challenges for transcribing multimodality. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *51*(1), 85–106. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1413878

Napier, J. (2007). Cooperation in interpreter-mediated monologic talk. *Discourse & Communication*, *1*(4), 407–432. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481307082206

Napier, J., Carmichael, A., & Wiltshire, A. (2008). Look-pause-nod: A linguistic case study of a deaf professional and interpreters working together. In *Deaf Professionals and Designated Interpreters: A New Paradigm* (pp. 22–42). Gallaudet University Press.

Napier, J., Oram, R., Young, A., & Skinner, R. (2019). When I speak people look at me. *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*, *5*(2), 95–120. https://doi.org/10.1075/ttmc.00027.nap

Nilsson, A.-L. (2010). *Studies in Swedish Sign Language: Reference, Real Space Blending, and Interpretation* [Stockholms Universitet, Humaistiska fakulteten, Institutionen för lingvistik]. https://su.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A305811&dswid=-6372

Nilsson, A.-L. (2023). Exploring real space blends as indicators of discourse complexity in Swedish sign language. In T. Janzen & B. Shaffer (Eds.), *Signed Language and Gesture Research in Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 275–301). De Gruyter.

Pasquandrea, S. (2011). Managing multiple actions through multimodality: Doctors' involvement in interpreter-mediated interactions. *Language in Society*, *40*(4), 455–481. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404511000479

Poignant, E. (2021). The cross-lingual shaping of narrative landscapes: Involvement in interpreted storytelling. *Perspectives, Studies in Translatology*, *29*(6), 814. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2020.1846571

Quinto-Pozos, D., Alley, E., Casanova de Canales, K., & Treviño, R. (2015). When a language is underspecified for particular linguistic features: Spanish-ASL-English interpreters' decisions in Mock VRS Calls. In *Signed language interpretation and translation research: Selected papers from the first international symposium* (pp. 212–234). Gallaudet University Press.

Rosenthal, A. (2009). Lost in transcription: The problematics of commensurability in academic representations of American Sign Language. *Text & Talk - An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse & Communication Studies*, *29*(5), 595–614. https://doi.org/10.1515/TEXT.2009.031

Rossano, F. (2010). Questioning and responding in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *42*(10), 2756–2771. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.010

Rossano, F. (2012). Gaze in Conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (1st ed., pp. 308–329). John Wiley & Sons.

Roy, C. B. (2000). *Interpreting as a discourse process*. Oxford University Press.

Roy, C. B. (2011). *Discourse in Signed Languages*. Gallaudet University Press. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hioa/detail.action?docID=4860681

Ruusuvuori, J., & Peräkylä, A. (2009). Facial and Verbal Expressions in Assessing Stories and Topics. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *42*(4), 377–394. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810903296499

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation. *Language*, *50*(4), 696–735. https://doi.org/10.2307/412243

Santiago, R. R., Barrick, L. F., & Jennings, R. (2015). Interpreters' views on idiom use in ASL-to-English Interpreting. In B. Nicodemus & K. Cagle (Eds.), *Signed language interpretation and translation research: Selected papers from the first international symposium* (pp. 164–195). Gallaudet University Press.

Skedsmo, K. (2021). *Troubleshooting in Norwegian Sign Language. A conversation analytic approach to other-initiations of repair in multiperson Norwegian Sign Language interaction, and ways to communicate conversation analytic data on signed languages in printed and online publications.* [PhD]. OsloMet - Oslo Metropolitan University.

Stivers, T., Enfield, N. J., Brown, P., Englert, C., Hayashi, M., Heinemann, T., Hoymann, G., Rossano, F., de Ruiter, J. P., Yoon, K.-E., & Levinson, S. C. (2009). Universals and cultural variation in turn-taking in conversation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *106*(26), 10587–10592. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0903616106

Stivers, T., & Rossano, F. (2010). A Scalar View of Response Relevance. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *43*(1), 49–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810903471381

Sutton-Spence, R., & Woll, B. (1999). *The linguistics of British Sign Language*. Cambridge University Press.

Vranjes, J., & Bot, H. (2021). A multimodal analysis of turn-taking in interpreter-mediated psychotherapy. *The International Journal of Translation and Interpreting Research*, *13*(1), 101–117. https://doi.org/10.12807/TI.113201.2021.A06

Vranjes, J., & Brône, G. (2021). Interpreters as laminated speakers: Gaze and gesture as interpersonal deixis in consecutive dialogue interpreting. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *181*, 83–99. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.05.008

Vranjes, J., Brône, G., & Feyaerts, K. (2018). On the role of gaze in the organization of turn-taking and sequence organization in interpreter-mediated dialogue. *Language and Dialogue*, *8*(3), 439–467. https://doi.org/10.1075/ld.00025.vra

Wadensjö, C. (1998). *Interpreting as interaction*. Longman.

Wadensjö, C. (2004). Dialogue interpreting: A monologising practice in a dialogically organised world. *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies*, *16*(1), 105–124. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.16.1.06wad

Wadensjö, C. (2017). Dialogue Interpreting and the Distribution of Responsibility. *Hermes (Århus, Denmark)*, *8*(14), 111. https://doi.org/10.7146/hjlcb.v8i14.25098

Young, L., Morris, C., & Langdon, C. (2012). "He Said What?!" Constructed dialogue in various interface modes. *Sign Language Studies*, *12*(3), 398–413.

9. Appendix

Main tiers	Transcript conventions	Explanation
GLOSS		Identifies tokens of lexical signs that are part of NTS source utterances.
INT Norwegian		An orthographic transcription of the interpreter's verbal rendition into Norwegian
Trans		A translation into English. Source utterances and renditions are both provided with an English translation.
	<DM:example>	Identifies a discourse marker
	POSS-1P.s	Identifies first person singular possessive pronoun
	PRO-1P.s	Identifies first person singular personal pronoun
	PRO-2P.s	Identifies second person singular personal pronoun
	Raised eyebrows------	Descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between * * Transcriptions of embodied actions are based on Mondada (2018)
Gaze	*Cora----*	Identifies gaze towards named interlocutor for as long as dashes show *indicates the point where gaze shifts
	ss---------	Identifies gaze towards signing space for as long as dashes show
	[[	Identifies points of simultaneity between source utterance and rendition
	*---->	Action described continues across subsequent lines

	*----->>	Action described continues until and after extract ends
	#	Indicates the exact moment at which the screen shot has been recorded
	(.)	Identifies pause lasting less than 0.3 seconds
Head G		Identifies a head gesture
	side-turn/downward--	Identifies types of head gestures. Transcriptions of head gestures are based on Allwood et al. (2007)

Vibeke Bø
OsloMet – Oslo Metropolitan University
Pilestredet 42
NO-0130 Oslo
Norway

vibeb@oslomet.no

Biography: Vibeke Bø is an interpreter, interpreter trainer and interpreting researcher with experience in linguistics, interaction studies and interpreting studies. She holds a Master's degree in linguistics from 2010, where she investigated a syntactic phenomenon in Norwegian Sign Language (NTS). Recently, she submitted her PhD dissertation, focusing on the semiotic practices of signed-to-spoken interpreting. This dissertation exemplifies her interdisciplinary approach. From this work, three articles are in the process of being published in peer-reviewed journals. She currently teaches in the BA program in Norwegian Sign Language at OsloMet.