

PhD thesis

**Using Multimodal Analysis to Investigate the
Role of the Interpreter**

Jie Bao-Rozée

Division of Literature and Languages

School of Arts and Humanities

University of Stirling

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Abstract

Recent research in Interpreting Studies has favoured the argument that, in practice, the interpreter plays an *active* role, rather than the *prescribed* role stipulated in professional codes of conduct. Cutting-edge studies utilising multimodal research methods have taken a more comprehensive approach to investigating this argument, searching for evidence of the interpreter's active involvement not only through textual analysis, but also by examining a range of non-verbal communicative means. Studies using multimodal analysis, such as those by Pasquandrea (2011) and Davitti (2012), have succeeded in offering new insights into the interpreter's role in interaction. This research presents further investigation into the interpreter's role through multimodal analysis by focusing on the use of gesture movements, gaze and body orientation in interpreter-mediated communication; it also looks at the impact of the state of knowledge asymmetry on the interpreter's role. This thesis presents findings from six simulated face-to-face dialogue interpreting cases featuring three different groups of participants and interpreters representing different interpreting settings (e.g. parent-teacher meeting, business meeting, doctor-patient meeting, etc.). By adapting a multimodal approach, findings of this study (a) contribute to our understanding of the active role of the interpreter in Interpreting Studies by exploring new insights from a multimodal approach, and (b) offer new empirical findings from interpreter-mediated interactions to the technical analysis of multimodal communication.

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Introduction

As a practising translator and interpreter, I have a particular interest in the role of the interpreter in facilitating bilingual communication. Existing research regarding the role of interpreters has centred around discussions on whether the interpreter has a prescriptive role or an active one. Recent research has increasingly supported a position that favours a more descriptive and ‘active’ role for interpreters (Wadensjö 1998; Angelelli 2006; Gavioli & Maxwell 2007; Hale 2001; Morris 2010; Takimoto 2012). However, most of these studies were primarily conducted from a linguistic perspective with only a few studies taking into account the impact of the non-linguistic elements used in communication (Pasquandrea 2011; Davitti 2013). According to conversational analysis (CA) research, non-linguistic aspects are just as important as linguistic aspects in communication (e.g. Goodwin 1979), but in Interpreting Studies the non-linguistic aspects that contribute to interpreter-mediated interaction are largely underexplored. This study contributes to the existing literature by presenting a systematic, in-depth investigation of interpreter-mediated communication that includes non-linguistic aspects. It clearly demonstrates that the interpreters’ active involvement in interaction is evident in both linguistic and non-linguistic levels of communication, and that non-linguistic aspects contribute significantly to interpreter-mediated interaction. This study also shows how multimodal communicative means contribute to the flow of information in the interpreting process, and specifically how multimodal resources are used by all participants in communication (including interpreters) to balance the state of knowledge asymmetry.

In order to understand both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects as a whole, this study has adopted a multimodal perspective to investigate this special type of communication: an interpreter-mediated bilingual communication. The multimodal perspective adopted by this study is originated from three theoretical assumptions of social semiotics. Firstly, a multiplicity of modes (such as visual, spoken, gestural, and many more) contributes to the meaning-making process of representation and communication. Secondly, all forms of communicative modes are shaped by their cultural, historical and social use to realise social functions. Thirdly, ‘the meanings realized by any mode are always interwoven with the meanings made with those other modes co-present and co-operating in the

communicative event' (Bezemer & Jewitt 2010:183-4). Therefore, this study uses a multimodal lens to look at how different linguistic and non-linguistic modes collectively contribute to the more intricate meaning-making process in interpreting and cross-cultural communication contexts. Moreover, because the purpose of the study is to look in much detail at the interaction on a turn-by-turn basis, I have chosen a qualitative method to conduct my analysis. Six cases of interpreter-mediated communications were video-recorded as original raw materials for case studies. In these six cases, interpreters were working face-to-face between native Chinese-speaking participants and native English-speaking participants in six different settings, including parent-teacher, businessman-businessman, doctor-patient, neighbour-neighbour, interviewer-interviewee and traveller-traveller. Video-recordings of the six cases were then transcribed for data analysis.

The data analysis is oriented to address the research question 'How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?'. In order to answer this question from more specific angles, this main question is divided into three sub-questions: 1) 'How does gesture use reflect the interpreter's involvement in communication?' 2) 'How does the interpreter coordinate communication through gaze and body orientation?' 3) 'How does knowledge asymmetry influence the role of the interpreter?'. Following this quick introduction of the whole study, the next section will explain the full research context upon which this study is based.

1. Research context

As indicated in the main research question, the main interest of this study is to look at the role of the interpreter through a multimodal perspective. In the literature of Interpreting Studies, there has long been an argument around whether the role of the interpreter is a prescriptive or descriptive one. More and more, empirical research has shown a variety of real-life interpreting cases involving practising interpreters taking different roles under various circumstances. Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 of this thesis set up the research context for this study.

In Chapter 1, key research regarding the role of interpreters carried out in both China and the West is reviewed in order to lay out a basic foundation for this study. Based on this, the chapter also reviews the most recent studies focusing on the role of interpreters, but adopting a multimodal research method. More specifically, multimodal research, mainly employed in monolingual communication contexts, investigates human communication from both linguistic and non-linguistic perspectives. Recently, scholars from an Interpreting Studies background have started employing a multimodal perspective to look at interactions happening in interpreter-mediated communications. Their findings have further discussed the ‘active’ role of the interpreter using a descriptive approach. These cutting-edge studies not only reflect the limitations of the current textual-based methods commonly used in Interpreting Studies, but also demonstrate the great potential for multimodal research methods to be applied to Interpreting Studies. Therefore, this research aims to explore this under-researched area by exploring non-linguistic aspects of communication utilised in interpreting contexts and their implications for the role of interpreters and our understanding of interpreter-mediated interaction. In addition to academic findings, some key implications for practice will also be discussed on the basis of the findings.

In Chapter 2, the theoretical background of this study using theories, frameworks and methods from both the Interpreting Studies and the Multimodal Research is laid out. This includes reviewing the conceptual elements (including role, footing, multimodality, multimodal resources), how they are constructed to form the conceptual framework for this study, and how these elements are measured and observed. Relating to Interpreting Studies, the chapter reviewed the concepts of role (Goffman 1961) and footing (Goffman 1981), which are two concepts that have frequently been employed to research the role of interpreters. In terms of multimodal research, this chapter also reviews the concept of multimodality, multimodal resources that are relevant to human communication, how multimodality has been adopted to recent Interpreting Studies. In order to understand how this study might be able to employ multimodal research methods, the chapter reviews how to observe and measure multiple communicative modes, setting up an analytical foundation for this study.

2. Originality and significance

After reviewing existing literature in Interpreting Studies, the research gap is identified, which covers two aspects. One is that the current Chinese Interpreting Studies lack data-driven empirical research (Mu & Wang 2009); the other is that most existing literature in Interpreting Studies has focused on linguistic analysis rather than incorporating non-linguistic aspects to study the role of interpreters (Pasquandrea 2011; Davitt 2013); the literature therefore lacked a sufficiently comprehensive understanding of the interpreter's role. Therefore, in order to address the above two research gaps, I have focused my attention on producing an empirical study in Interpreting Studies featuring the use of multimodal methods. First of all, an original data set is designed and collected to fit the purpose of this study; secondly, I present my original approach for employing multimodal research methods in Interpreting Studies. Through this approach, the research aims to find out what more a multimodal perspective can demonstrate about the role of the interpreters than the traditional linguistic perspective does not offer.

Based on an original design of a data set and an original employment of multimodal research methods in Interpreting Studies, the significance of this study can be summarised in two areas. The first is that this study has created a brand-new data set based on my own design and collecting methods to fit the purpose of this study. Because I have used a simulated method to collect the data, it also re-enforces the possibility of creating and utilising simulated data sets for empirical studies (precedents of using interpreting simulations as research data sets include Cambridge 1999; Napier 2011). Since the collection of naturally occurring interpreting data has become more and more complicated as concerns regarding ethical and confidential issues have increased, carefully designed and collected simulated data could be a reliable alternative source for data. Secondly, following a very recent trend, this research presents a further application of multimodal approaches to Interpreting Studies. My own selection of multimodal elements for this study shows that analysing several key non-linguistic communicative means in details can enrich our understanding of the roles of the participants and interpreter in interaction. The significance is that multimodality not only exists in monolingual human communication, but also contributes to bilingual cross-cultural communication. This study shows how multimodal means work together to contribute to the outcome of interpreter-mediated communication; it also

demonstrates that only a multimodal perspective can give a complete picture of a situation and what happens in it.

3. Purposes

In order to answer the main research question of this study, I have selected three main aspects to further my investigation. I have used a multimodal approach to investigate how gesture, gaze and body orientation are used in interpreter-mediated communication as well as how the state of knowledge asymmetry is balanced through the employment of both linguistic and non-linguistic means. There are some interconnected reasons for me to select these three aspects to tackle the research question.

First of all, the use of gesture movements is chosen. People use gestures in daily communication, as ‘co-speech gestures provide channel for speakers to express additional information related to their communication intent’ (Wu & Coulson 2007: 234). In bilingual interpreter-mediated communication, language has become a main barrier for the two primary participants, so it is interesting to look into how the interpreter gestures while translating and how participants gesture when they are aware that their ability to communicate through the normal linguistic channel directly to their target audience is no longer available. In this kind of situation, the participants might consider that the interpreter may not be a native-speaker of their languages, may not be an expert in the topic concerned, and may not be able to fully convey the intended meanings due to differences in cultures, societies, education and experiences. All of these factors could make participants in interpreter-mediated communication feel it is a bit of a struggle or unnatural to express themselves. Therefore, their use of gestures can offer insightful information not only about what people have said, but also how the messages are efficiently or complementarily conveyed through channels other than language, such as gestures, in this case.

Secondly, the use of gaze and body orientation are chosen for analysis in this study. In a daily communication environment, people can move around and get closer to each other when they intend to communicate (Weick 1968:390). On some occasions, when strangers get together unexpectedly or make eye contact in passing, they seem to feel

obliged to say something to each other, even just say hello. It seems that body orientation, showing an intention to communicate, has created a precondition for people to engage in a communication and that eye contact has started or confirmed that communication (Robinson 1998). In this study, I am interested in looking at how participants and interpreters change their body orientation during the course of their communicative engagement, as this might indicate their change of attentions and engagements with each other. This study also focuses on finding out the importance of eye contact by analysing instances of eye contact established among participants and their interpreters as well as patterns in its correspondence with interpreting. For the primary participants who do not speak each other's languages, the instances when they establish meaningful eye contact are crucial, because these moments can tell more about how they manage, and what contributes to, the establishment of eye contact. If the non-linguistic means such as gaze, gesture and body have prepared the preconditions to open up or facilitate a bilingual communication, then the next step will be to identify what drives forward and maintains the ongoing interpreter-mediated communication.

Finally, instances of knowledge asymmetry are chosen for analysis because this state of information imbalance is the driving force for continuous communication (Goodwin 1979, Heritage 1984). In a daily conversation, people start by greeting each other, and then gradually move on to identify news or recent events that they can tell each other about. The exchange of new information is the actual process of balancing the state of knowledge asymmetry between the two conversationalists until the conversation comes to an end. In monolingual communication, the state of knowledge asymmetry can be easily identified by linguistic information. For example, if person A poses a question: 'what time is it?', then person B who happens to have a watch with him will take over the turn by answering: 'It's 8:30'. The flow of information (knowledge) in this example was from B to A. A conversation could carry on for as long as the two conversationalists each takes their turns initiating and balancing the knowledge asymmetry between them. However, in interpreter-mediated communication, the primary participants may have problems in identifying the instances of knowledge asymmetry due to the language barrier, so it will be interesting to investigate how the interpreter steps in to help drive forward bilingual communication and how the primary participants handle this tricky communicating situation.

To sum up, in order to analyse the role of interpreters through a multimodal perspective, this study has chosen three concrete angles to tackle its research question. These three angles include both non-linguistic and linguistic elements of communication. Not only can gaze and body orientation show the intention of communication, but they can also ‘silently’ form communication. During actual communication, different types of gesture movements facilitate the whole linguistic meaning-making process in combination with the use of gaze and body. Moreover, interpreters play a very important role on identifying “news” that directs and maintains the flow of information. The role of interpreters in utilising multimodal communicative means to facilitate communication will be laid out in each chapter of this thesis.

4. Thesis structure

Following this introductory chapter, the main part of this thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 is the literature review chapter, which reviews and summarises the major existing research in Interpreting Studies regarding the role of interpreters. Chapter 2 is the theoretical background chapter, which reviews major analytical frameworks and concepts upon which this study draws. Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter, which illustrates the main methods used in this study and how the data were collected and then analysed. These first three chapters form the foundation of this study and the subsequent three chapters are empirical chapters that detail the analysis of the data sets and findings of the analysis. Chapter 4 focuses on the analysis of the use of gesture movements; Chapter 5 focuses on the analysis of the employment of gaze and body orientation. Chapter 6 mainly investigates the mechanism of the state of knowledge asymmetry working in interpreter-mediated communication. All these three empirical chapters have based their analysis on a multimodal perspective. Finally, this thesis is completed with a conclusion chapter at the end, summarising the major findings and contributions of this study as well as acknowledging its limitations and envisaging its potential for future research.

Chapter 1 Literature review

1.1 Introduction

To identify a research gap in the field and produce the research question for this study, this chapter provides a brief overview of the literature that this study contributes to. This section starts with making a clear definition of interpreting in comparison with translation. The role of interpreters, as one of the main research topics in Interpreting Studies, is identified as the main interest of this study. The literature review of the role of interpreters focuses on academic arguments regarding whether interpreters have a prescriptive role or a descriptive role. The prescriptive role of the interpreters is stipulated in the codes to promote professional conduct. However, the descriptive role of the interpreters is highly supported by empirical research, which has found increasing evidence of multiple roles of the interpreters in different situations.

The literature review includes representative research regarding the role of interpreters both done in China and in the West; it also reflects the most recent research that has shown new insights by using a multimodal approach. This study aims to build significantly on this foundation and to offer original insights into how a multimodal analytical approach can deepen our understanding of the role of interpreters. The literature review shows that Chinese interpreting research stays at a theoretical level and lacks the support of empirical studies, while Western interpreting research is dominated by the textual-level analysis tradition and requires more empirical studies through multimodal analysis. This chapter also identifies the research gap and originality of this study. At the end of this chapter, the scope of this study is set out and the specific area of Interpreting Studies that the research question relates to is explained.

1.2 Interpreting Studies

The first section starts by defining interpreting, finding its close kinship with translation and identifying the differences between them. It then goes on to introduce the role of interpreters as one of the main research interests in Interpreting Studies. Academic arguments regarding the interpreter's role have centred around whether the interpreter

has a prescriptive role, as is stipulated in the codes of professional conduct, or a descriptive role, as has been suggested by certain empirical research (Wadensjö 1998). This section includes the main research interest of this study and main academic argument in the field.

1.2.1 Defining interpreting

It is not hard to recognise that interpreting has a close relationship with translation. To understand *interpreting*, one must first define *translation*. The classical definition of translation was made by Catford (1965:20): ‘the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) [the source language] by equivalent textual material in another language (TL) [the target language]’. Over the years, researchers attempted to define translation in various ways (Rabin 1985; Brislin 1976; Salevsky 1993; Toury 1995), from which Pöchhacker extracted the basic conceptual components of translation. He summarised that ‘translation is an activity consisting (mainly) in the production of utterances (texts) which are presumed to have a similar meaning and/or effect as previously existing utterances in another language and culture’ (Pöchhacker 2004:12).

An early definition of interpreting came from Kade, who regarded interpreting as ‘a form of translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language’ (Kade 1968:35). Interpreting seems closely related to translation, with the only difference being that translation is to transfer written text from one language to another while interpreting is to transfer spoken information from one language to another (Seleskovitch 1978). Although this definition of interpreting is widely accepted, sign language interpreting researchers argued that the definition should not be simply based on distinguishing between spoken and written forms, believing that sign language should not be excluded by only covering the written and oral forms of interpreting. Thus, sign-language researcher Brislin (1976:1-43) proposed that interpreting is ‘to transfer thoughts or ideas’ from one language to another regardless of the form of interpreting. In other words, no matter which form of communication is used (these forms could be linguistic forms such as text and speech or non-linguistic ones such as signs), the main purpose of interpreting is to transfer thoughts and ideas from one

language to another. Based on Brislin's (1976) definition of interpreting, this study also took into consideration multimodal information (the meaning of multimodality in communication is explained in Chapter 2) that can appear in interpreting interaction. The next section will review the main paradigm shifts that have occurred in Interpreting Research, the overall scope of the academic field of Interpreting Studies and the specific area of Interpreting Studies that this study focuses on.

1.2.2 The main paradigm shifts that have occurred in Interpreting Research

Early Interpreting Research started by studying conference interpreting, with a focus on simultaneous interpreting. Developed by Seleskovitch and Lederer (1984), the cornerstone of Interpreting Research is *the interpretive theory of translation* (or IT) (Snell-Hornby 2006:30), which takes the view that 'translation is the transmission or reproductions of sense' (Viaggio 2006:21). It views interpreting as a three-phase translating process, which includes interpretation of discourse, de-verbalization and reformulation (Lederer 2014). In this early theory, interpreting was understood as '... an act in which interpreters extract the meaning by de-verbalizing the input information in its original linguistic form, and then express the extracted meaning out in the target language naturally' (Qiang 2013:239). Seleskovitch and Lederer (1984) indicated the importance of collecting empirical data, using methods such as observation and reflection with the help of recordings and transcriptions (Pöchhacker 2002:68-9). IT was criticised for lacking a clear definition of 'sense' in its theory and for disregarding 'contextual effects' (Viaggio 2006:22). More specifically, the theory was based on 'a limited range of experimental data and theoretical approaches' without any 'systematic observations and descriptions of interpretation in practice' (Stenzl 1983:47). To improve upon IT, a new paradigm focusing on a more descriptive, empirical approach emerged to give 'priority to observational research' (Gile 1990:37), which is called cognitive processing (CP).

The CP paradigm benefited from interdisciplinary contributions including 'scientific disciplines such as cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics and applied linguistics' (Gile 1988:363) and was thought to have 'more precision, logic and depth' (Gile 1994:156). The CP paradigm was concerned with the 'interplay of language and

cognition’, defining interpreting as human information processing (Pöchhacker 2002:73). As specified by Gerver (1975:127), ‘though the focus of the interpreter’s activity and attention will be on the actual translation of a message, information may be acquired simultaneously in a buffer storage while a running comparison is carried out between former input and output’. Other interdisciplinary research featured a neurolinguistics (NL) paradigm (Tommola 1999), which adopted the imaging technology from neuroscience to study ‘the translating brain’ (Rinne et al. 2000). Moreover, CP may also stand for ‘cognitive-pragmatic’ analysis (Setton 1999:4), which aimed to ‘develop an account of human language exchanges which models cognition in communication’. Both CP and NL paradigms show the long-standing tradition of incorporating techniques from other disciplines into Interpreting Research. This also inspired this study to adopt interdisciplinary ideas such as multimodal research and conversational analysis methods.

In the late 1980s, the target-text-oriented translation-theoretical approach (or TT) emerged, which takes into consideration the situational and socio-cultural contextual aspects that previous paradigms/theories failed to address. Represented by Shlesinger (1989) and Pöchhacker (1994), the TT paradigm was influenced by Toury’s (1995) *translational norms* and Vermeer’s (1989/2000) *skopos*¹ theory. Taking a functionalist perspective, TT focused on the interpreter’s output as a product in the macro-process of mediated communication, rather than on a cognitive process from the CP paradigm (Pöchhacker 2002:77). Unlike the IT and CP paradigms, the TT paradigm was not only used to study conference interpreting, but was also expanded to investigate community interpreting, which is mostly conducted in a form of dialogue interpreting.

The cornerstone of dialogue interpreting research, however, is a new interactionist approach, which emerged in the 1990s. Spearheaded by Roy (1996) and Wadensjö (1998), the dialogic discourse-based interaction (or DI) is characterised by employing qualitative analysis to study video-recorded corpus of interactive discourse. The turn-taking process was investigated by using a combination of conversational analysis (CA) and discourse analysis (DA) methods. Through her study, Roy (2000:66) proposed an ‘active’ role of interpreters in interaction and found evidence to support the argument

¹ ‘Skopos’ refers to ‘the aim or purpose of a translation’. Translation is ‘seen as the particular variety of translational action’ that has ‘an aim, a purpose’ (Vermeer 1989:227).

that, “an interpreter’s role is more than to ‘just translate’ or ‘just interpret’”. Although Roy’s (1996) study was based on sign-language interpreting, the interaction-oriented approach was developed further by Wadensjö (1998) in spoken-language dialogue interpreting research. She also provided evidence that interpreters are not ‘just translating’, but also ‘coordinating’ the primary parties’ utterances (Wadensjö 1998:105). Inspired by sociological and sociolinguistic discourse studies, the DI paradigm has built upon the previous paradigms. It shares the functionalists’ concern about interaction and mediation, like TT; it is also interested in translational norms such as professional codes of conduct. DI’s emphasis on the pragmatics of interactive discourses is also a shared interest with the CP paradigm. In addition, unlike the IT paradigm, the DI paradigm mainly explores empirical data gathered through video-recordings or observations while using a combination of qualitative and descriptive analysis. This study is rooted in the literature by building upon the existing studies under the DI paradigm.

The scope of Interpreting Research can be mapped out by Pöchhacker’s (2004:23-4) eight dimensions of interpreting theories, which include: (1) medium; (2) setting; (3) mode; (4) languages (cultures); (5) discourse; (6) participants, (7) interpreter; and (8) problem, the details of which is shown in the below Figure 1.1.

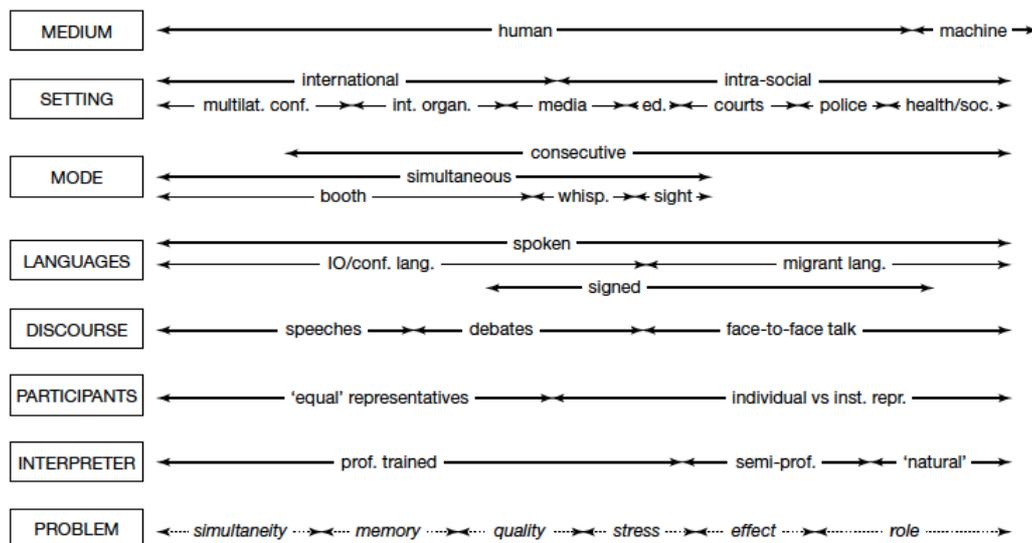


Figure 1.5 Domains and dimensions of interpreting theory

Figure 1.1 Pöchhacker’s scope of the Interpreting Studies (Pöchhacker 2004:23-4)

In Pöchhacker's (2004:23-5) eight horizontal dimensions (see Figure 1.1), the rectangle boxed arranged vertically on the right-hand side indicates the eight main subdomains of Interpreting Studies, while the horizontal lines with arrows on the left-hand side includes features of both conference interpreting and community interpreting. At the very bottom of this figure, the main problems to be addressed in Interpreting Studies are listed and connected by dotted lines, which are *simultaneity*, *memory*, *quality*, *stress*, *effect* and *role*. Among these, the main interest of this study lies in *role*.

1.2.3 Role of interpreters

The concept of role originates from sociology, so the role of the interpreters is closely linked to a 'social position' that requires meeting 'a set of more or less normative behavioural expectations' (Pöchhacker 2004:147). Social expectations towards the interpreters could be different depending on different settings. Therefore, the role of interpreters is ever changing rather than static.

Not surprisingly, attitudes towards the role of interpreters have been changing over the years. Traditionally, interpreters were normally bilinguals, carrying out all-round tasks, not only translating meanings but also carrying out other functions in helping with communication, such as 'messenger, guide and negotiator' (Pöchhacker 2004:147). In the early 20th century, the advent of conference interpreters had highly increased the interpreters' visibility at international conference sessions. Consequently, professional codes of conduct were made to restrict interpreters' behaviours, giving them a rather 'invisible' role in the conference setting (Pöchhacker & Shlesinger 2002). According to Pöchhacker (2004), the mechanistic concept of the role of interpreter originally came from legal interpreting, as the courts sought to avoid interpreters' freedoms in the translation of the source meanings and circumscribe legal interpreters to do 'verbatim translation' (Morris 1995:42). However, no matter where this idea of invisibility came from, the professional role of interpreters was not only prescribed to aim for 'accurate, complete, and faithful rendition, but also narrowly assumed as a machine-like non-person in a neutral position' (Pöchhacker 2004:147). Sign-language interpreting researcher Roy (1993) argued that, on the one hand, interpreting itself is a highly

demanding task; on the other hand, this task has its own need for flexibility, which has been confined by the codes of conduct.

With consideration of the complexity of interpreter-mediated communication, an increasing number of researchers have discussed the limitations caused by having a prescriptive role for interpreters. The following sections will firstly review the professional codes of conduct that are used to restrict the role of interpreters. Following this, the chapter will then review the main research carried out that has favoured a descriptive role for interpreters.

1.2.4 Development of professional codes of conduct

The earliest standards of conduct for interpreters were made by the Spanish Crown between the year of 1529 and 1630 (Bowen 1995). At that time, interpreting was far from being concerned as a profession, and the motive of formulating these standards was due to lack of trust towards the interpreter. The main purpose was, therefore, to limit interpreters' capacities in terms of conducting interpreting between colonial officials and the natives.

The idea of professionalism was only raised in modern society. When the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) set up its Code of Professional Ethics in early 1957, the main concern was not only to form a professional practice for interpreters (mostly regarding conference interpreters), but also to safeguard the rights and interests of interpreters. After the AIIC code, the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) Code of Ethics came out in 1965 (Fant 1990) with an aim to promote sign language interpreters' professional abilities. It then became the model of professional codes for many other types of interpreting in many countries to form their own codes. UNESCO adopted the 'Recommendation for the Protection and Improvement of the Legal and Social Status of Translations and Translators' by International Federation of Translators (FIT) in 1976 at its Nairobi general conference, which was a landmark for professionalization in translation.

The most prominent efforts made in the construction of professional codes of ethics were in sign language interpreting. The emphasis of ‘impartiality’ and ‘faithfulness’ kept intact in the RID Code of Ethics (hereafter referred to as Code) raised an enormous debate around ethics and role in the sign language interpreting field. Several researchers (Tate and Turner 1997/2002; Wadensjö 1998; Mikkelson 1998) started to argue that the issue of ethics in community interpreting is different to that of conference interpreting, due to the much more complex role that the interpreters play in community interpreting.

Supported by survey research, Tate and Turner (1997/2002) suggested that a complementary ‘case law’ might be added to the codes. Both worked as sign language interpreters and started their research from an interpreter’s own perspective, looking at how interpreters view the codes and how much they are guided by the codes in real practice when an ethical dilemma² occurs. Tate and Turner (1997/2002) examined the interpreter’s views and actions in four representative scenarios featuring a dilemma of whether to obey or depart from the codes. They found that interpreters do adhere to the codes while interpreting, but the codes appeared to hamper effective communication. They also found out that the ‘Code-model does not accord fully with interpreters’ views on their own professional practices’ (Pöschhacker & Shlesinger 2002:381). At a time when interpreters could not find a solution by referring to the codes, their decision-making often indicated an ethical dimension, for they believed that they were responsible for communication. In the end, the researchers proposed that the codes should resemble a type of ‘case law’ that can always evolve as interpreters’ experience changes in various contexts and progress with development of theoretical studies in the field (Tate and Turner 1997/2002). The limitation and prescriptiveness of the RID Code of Ethics were also criticised by Cokely (2000), who stated that interpreters should have more freedom in terms of decision-making under different situations (Harrington & Turner 2001).

As for spoken language interpreting, ethical issues were mainly discussed in community interpreting, predominantly in legal and health settings (Mikkelson 2000/2001). In legal settings, Niska (1995) and Mikkelson (1998) advocated more freedom for interpreters, believing that interpreters should act as professionals who are responsible for the

² An ethical dilemma that interpreters face is one that ‘require prioritizing competing moral beliefs and views on professional practice’ (Mendoza 2012:58).

outcome of communication, instead of simply converting messages without being noticed. Using a descriptive approach, Wadensjö (1998) emphasised the dynamics of interpreter-mediated encounters and challenged the shortcomings of the Swedish Codes of Conduct. Through cases studies, Kanfert and Putsch (1997) also discussed the difficulties of guaranteeing confidentiality, accuracy and completeness that are formulated under American and Canadian standards of practice for medical interpreters.

Aiming to make sure that all people, no matter what language they speak, can have equal access to healthcare services, the California Standards for Healthcare Interpreting was set up by California Healthcare Interpreters Association (CHIA) in 2002 to increase professional standards in medical interpreting. Although CHIA includes ethical principles and guidance in intervention and advocacy while formulating their standards (Pöchhacker 2004), Angelelli (2006) presented a focus group study on the validation of the Standards, which indicated several contested issues of the role, ethical issues and expectations in medical interpreting. She suggested that the development of codes and standards in the profession should be in line with evidence provided by empirical research. In US National Council on Interpretation in Health Care's (NCIHC) framework for medical interpreters, it formulated an 'incremental intervention role' that enabled interpreters to provide 'linguistic clarification, cultural brokering, and limited advocacy' with an ultimate aim of realizing 'communication', as explained by Beltran Avery (2001:9, cited from Bischoff et al 2012:3).

As one of the member associations to FIT, the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI), the sole independent organization for practitioners working in translation and interpreting industries in this country, was found in the UK in 1986, aiming to 'promote the highest standard in the profession' (iti.org.uk, n.d.). Its Code of Professional Conduct is applicable to individual members until today. Regarding the standard for work in interpreting, 'impartiality' remains a core issue highlighted at the beginning, but it also offers the interpreters a certain degree of freedom by stating that under specific situations, they may 'take all reasonable steps to ensure complete and effective communication between the parties, including intervention to prevent misunderstanding and incorrect cultural inference'. This modern version of a professional code of conduct seemed to acknowledge that interpreting is an active role in practice and interpreters have an impact on the outcome of communication. In order to regulate their active role

to a certain extent, it highlights that the ultimate goal of interpreting is to ensure successful communication with completeness and effectiveness and that the main purpose for the interpreter to intervene is for ensuring correct understanding of cultural differences.

In his paper published on the official website of the Translators Association of China (TAC), Bao (2010) addressed more specific issues in the process of professionalization for interpreters. He mentioned that ‘the standards for conference interpreting are not suitable to community interpreting’ (Bao, 2010), and suggested that specific norms of interpreting should be formed according to each type of interpreting. A feature of this should be ‘multi-standards’ to suit all types of interpreting rather than taking an interpreter’s linguistic ability as the only standard for the measurement of interpreting quality. The manipulations of the content of interpreting are different under different types of interpreting, so that the complete rendering of source language is not always necessary. He suggested that interpreters should follow specific norms for doing specific type of interpreting instead of referring to a set of general standards.

All scholars and professional associations around the world appear to be highly concerned with the wordings and applicability of the professional codes of conduct, as they have subsequent impact on interpreters’ behaviour and the role of a professional interpreter. An interesting case involving a Belgian rest home presented by Van DeMieroop, Bevilacqua and Hove (2012) provides evidence of the potential impact that the codes of conduct can have on an individual interpreter. This study found out that the interpreter kept her professional behaviour in line with the codes of conduct, even though she was working in a loosely regulated situation (in this case, in the rest home with the elderly) where the interpreter could have more freedom in her active involvements. The study showed that professional norms have exerted a strong ‘guiding influence’ on regulating professional behaviours in practice, regardless of the behaviour of the interpreter being watched or not. In addition, it mentioned that the existing codes are not absolute and some parts are negotiable.

From all the above review of the codes of conduct for professional interpreters, we can observe that the codes have come into play in the process of professionalism and that constant amendment and revisiting of the existing codes are necessary to catch up with

the changes within the profession so as to avoid the occurrence of contradictions with interpreters' real practice. With this section as a background, the next section will review the main research regarding the role of interpreters.

1.3 Main research focusing on the role of interpreters

The main Interpreting Research regarding the role of interpreters will be reviewed in this section to show how it has developed. This review of research on the role of interpreters is divided into two parts: (1) research in China and (2) research in the West. This is not to differentiate or individualise Chinese literature from the body of literature in the West, but is intended to outline differences in the research focus between China and the West; this will highlight different research gaps that are to be addressed by this study. This section also includes a short introduction to the latest development in research on the role of interpreters, which uses a multimodal perspective rather than a traditional textual-based one.

1.3.1 Role research in China

China's Interpreting Studies started to touch on the topic of the role of the interpreters only about a decade ago. Most existing studies in Chinese academia stayed on a theoretical level and were not substantiated by findings from empirical research (Mu & Wang 2009). Over the last thirty years, the main research topics were focused on interpreting training, interpreting skills (Chen 2004, Liao 2006), interpreting theories (such as the principles, characteristics and mechanism of interpreting), interpreting quality assessment, language transfer and only a few studies focusing on interpreter's role, according to Mu and Wang's (2009) analysis of publications in Interpreting Studies.

Among the few studies relating to the role of interpreters, Chen's (2004) study was the most influential. Chen (2004) examined the interpreting process from an intercultural communicative perspective. He proposed the term 'intercultural noises', referring to the intercultural communicative barriers that get in the way in interpreter-mediated intercultural communications. Chen proposed possible strategies to reduce 'intercultural

noises' theoretically, but without supporting evidence from empirical studies. Apart from Chen's research, Ren and Jiang (2006) investigated the interpreter's role using discourse analysis, inspired by Roy (2000) and Wadensjö's (1998) studies in the discourse process of interpreting. Ren and Jiang found that the interpreters used discourse strategies to control the "flow of talk" with other participants in the conversation. They also agreed with Wadensjö that the interpreter's involvement might influence the direction and outcome of the interaction. Wang and Huang (2010) adopted Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING³ model, a model for the microanalysis of context, to their analysis of the role of the interpreter. They argued that the interpreter is an active participant in the interaction and that both the interpreter and the other participants are playing multiple roles in different contexts. Wang and Huang (2010) also summarized the common features of the interpreter's multiple roles and proposed to define the role of the interpreters as 'cross cultural coordinator', as they are mediating the cultural context both intentionally and unintentionally.

Since the 1990s, with increasing social changes and market demands, interpreters have started to play multiple roles in their actual practice, such as acting as project managers, conference organizers and translators, message conveyors, negotiators, reporters or consultants and so forth (Liu 2005:92). This trend increases the need to redefine the interpreters' role, as a precise understanding of the interpreter's role will enable interpreters to handle their responsibilities and protect their rights. Although research efforts and interests were on the role of interpreters, most of the relevant studies lacked the support from empirical findings. A few discourse examples shown in some studies came from second-hand online resources (i.e. examples adopted from the internet, but without clearly indication of the sources), which were neither reliable nor sufficient. In contrast, the data-informed research conducted in the West forms tangible precedents in this respect.

1.3.2 Role research in the West

This section will provide an overview of some main empirical studies regarding the role of interpreters that have been done in the West. Many researchers challenged the

³ SPEAKING model was designed by Hymes (1974), in which S stands for setting and scene, P for participants, E for ends, A for act sequence, K for keys, I for instrumentalities, N for norms, and G for genres.

prescriptive role of interpreters established in the early 20th century. They called for a re-description of the role of interpreters by taking consideration of the linguistic, socio-cultural and interactional complexity of the interpreter-mediated encounter (Pöchhacker 2004).

A new perspective to address the interpreter's role is especially noticeable in the studies of sign language interpreting. Roy (1993) reviewed Witter-Merithew's (1986) four basic descriptions of the interpreter's role, namely, 'helper, conduit, communication facilitator and bilingual/bicultural specialist', arguing that interpreters in general depend on their experience to determine language use and cultural adjustment (Roy 1993:347). She proposed that the complexity of the interpreter's role should be examined not only from the aspect of psycholinguistics but also from the perspective of the interactive communication system. The interpreter is not simply processing information or passively transferring it; the interpreter has to re-organise information, activate grammatical and pragmatic systems, use discourse analysis and adaptive systems. Using her data-informed qualitative research, Roy (1996, 2000) presented evidence that interpreters frequently adopt 'self-initiated turns' to maintain the flow of communication, supporting the notion of the interpreter as a communication facilitator.

Wadensjö (1998) was the first researcher in spoken language Interpreting Studies to reveal the interpreter's visibility at work by the employment of a discourse-based approach. With a sophisticated descriptive approach, Wadensjö (1998) proposed that the interpreter has a 'multiple speaker-hearer role', because the interpreter co-constructs interactive discourses with other participants. She believed that the interpreter is not only translating the information but also coordinating the dynamics of the interaction. Not only do the primary participants construct the conversation, but the interpreter also makes his/her contributions in shaping the construction of interactions (Gavioli & Maxwell 2007). Empirical studies regarding the role of interpreters in spoken language interpreting have also shown the interpreter's visibility in facilitating communication in various settings.

In medical interpreting settings, Brett Rosenberg's (2002) quantitative corpus of recorded medical interviews provided concrete evidence to demonstrate that the interpreted renditions have both translational function and interventional function.

According to Wadensjö's (1998) observations, the majority of community interpreters seem to resort to complementary strategies to balance the situation between the prescribed codes and their real practice, which indicated the contradictions between the codified norms and interpreting realities. Other examples of the role of interpreters found in medical interpreting settings include 'patient advocates' (Kaufert & Koolage 1984), co-therapist (Weiss and Stuker 1999, Drennan 1999), 'multi-purpose bridge or miner' (Angelelli 2004), 'facilitators of integration' (Bischoff et al 2012).

A special encounter overlapping both medical and legal interpreting settings was shown in Zimanyi's (2009) case study of an interpreter-mediated forensic psychology setting. An instrument called 'diagrammatic representations of interpreter role definitions' was proposed in her study in an attempt to provide a tool for interpreters to position themselves in different circumstances and to make specific decisions. There were four functions of this visualized instrument: a. interpreters can position their various roles according to the "triangular illustration"; b. the common features of different interpreter role definitions can be found; c. the nature of the specific situation can be visualized; d. figures generated from this instrument show the outcomes of different decision-making.

Even though in legal systems interpreters are typically required to function as 'faceless voices' (Morris 2010:20), Morris observed that over the last three decades the image of interpreters has gradually changed away from 'mere bilingual listening and speaking machines' or 'translation robots' in research in legal settings (Morris 2010:22). By examining court records, especially through a court interpreter's own records of his feelings and thoughts while conducting a legal interpreting practice, Morris (2010) found that court interpreters perceived that their own role has surpassed simply rendering linguistic meanings, and has influence on the proceedings.

The changing attitudes towards the role of interpreters are not only limited to within community interpreting settings but are also found in other settings such as media, conference and business settings. Sergio (1999) analysed interpreter-mediated communication in a media setting, where interpreters were observed using 'turn-taking initiatives and active participation in meaning negotiation and topic management' in order to co-construct interaction. Diriker (2001) observed in his case study that even professional conference interpreters do not limit themselves by reproducing the original

speaker's words, but add various forms of active involvement into the interaction. In business settings, Gavioli and Maxwell (2007) found evidence to support interpreters' coordinative behaviours, which tested Wadensjö's argument of the interpreters' explicit coordination featuring 'text-orientated activities' and 'interaction-orientated activities' (Wadensjö 1998:110). They also found that business interpreters' purpose of promoting business interactions fundamentally drives their behaviour. Takimoto's (2012) studies regarding multi-party business talks also found that interpreters have different degrees of involvement as either speaker or listener. As a listener, the interpreter is a 'full participant'; as a speaker, the interpreter becomes a 'secondary principal' (Takimoto 2012:41-5).

The above-mentioned research in Interpreting Studies favours the argument that, in practice, the interpreter plays an active role, rather than the prescribed role stipulated in professional codes of conduct. Cutting-edge studies utilising multimodal research methods take a more comprehensive approach to investigating this argument, searching for evidence of the interpreter's active involvement not only through textual analysis, but also by examining a range of non-verbal communicative means (such as gaze, gestures and body orientations, etc.). Studies using multimodal analysis such as those by Pasquandrea (2011) and Davitti (2013) succeeded in offering new insights into the interpreter's role in interaction, which will be reviewed in the following section.

1.4 Multimodal research

The previous sections of this literature review outlined research on the role of interpreters that followed the tradition of using textual-based analysis such as discourse analysis. This section will first introduce what multimodal research entails and will then discuss a recent trend in the role research that uses multimodal analysis to investigate the role of interpreters.

According to Stivers and Sidnell (2005:2), face-to-face interaction is defined as 'multimodal interaction in which participants encounter a steady stream of meaningful facial expressions, gestures, body postures, head movements, words, grammatical constructions, and prosodic contours'. Multimodal research recognises not only verbal

communicative means such as language, but that all multimodal means of communication are interacting together with one another to realise social interactions. All multiple modes of communication can be divided into vocal/aural and visuospatial modalities (Enfield 2005). The vocal modalities include not only spoken languages but also prosody; visuospatial modalities consist of gaze, gesture, and body postures (Enfield 2005).

Multimodal analysis has its root in conversational analysis (CA), which originally is based on vocal analysis. Since the 1960s, CA studies have been focusing on investigating the organisation of talk to accomplish social interactions. Some CA studies focused particularly on the selection of lexis that is shaped by the interactional context (e.g. Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Schegloff 1972, 2000); others paid more attention to the turn-taking organisation in interaction (e.g. Schegloff et al. 1977; Heritage 2002). Apart from the lexical and syntactic aspects, many studies also researched the use of prosody such as intonation (e.g. Ford and Thompson 1996; Local et al. 1985, 1986; Sacks et al. 1974; Wells and Peppé 1996). As a whole, CA studies investigated systematically the organisation of a wide range of actions accomplished through vocal modalities (Stivers and Sidnell 2005:2-3). Inevitably, the interests of the organisation of actions were extended towards visuospatial modalities (e.g. C. Goodwin and M. H. Goodwin 1986, 1987; M.H. Goodwin 1996).

As mentioned earlier, visuospatial modalities can be understood as gaze, gestures, and body postures (Enfield 2005). Studies in gaze patterns showed their contributions to unfold in interactive situations. For example, speakers can use their gaze directions to select recipients, and as a result, to get attention from recipients (C. Goodwin 1979). Gestures were studied in many fields such as psychology and psycholinguistics, where a good deal of interest was focused on the use of different types of gestures in relation to linguistic production (e.g. McNeil 1992). For example, gesture could be understood as a recognition and confirmation (e.g. M.H. Goodwin and C. Goodwin 1986) and as a display of co-participation from the recipients (e.g. Heath 1992; C. Goodwin 1986). Body postures such as body orientations towards each other are important to facilitate a common focus of attention (Kendon 1990). For instance, when people enter into a 'F-formation' (i.e. three people's bodies are oriented towards one another in a triangular seating arrangement) as a means for establishing interactional 'withness' (Kendon

1990:250), they depend on visuospatial modalities to show willingness of participation (Stivers and Sidnell 2005:5). Details of more visuospatial uses will be mentioned again in the following chapters.

Although multiple modes can be divided into different groups to analyse the functions of each mode in interaction, ‘recent studies have suggested that different modalities work together not only to elaborate the semantic content of talk but also to constitute coherent courses of action’ (Stivers and Sidnell 2005:1). Since a multimodal approach provides concepts, methods, and a framework for the collection and analysis of visual, aural, embodied, and spatial aspects of interaction and environments, and the relationship between them (Jewitt 2013:2), it is a useful analytical approach to investigate the dynamics in face-to-face interaction, including face-to-face dialogue interpreting interaction.

After Lang (1978), several pieces of research in Interpreting Studies (Apfelbaum 1995, Roy 2000, Wadensjö 1999, Ticca 2008/2013, Pasquandrea 2011 and Davitti 2013) show the importance of multimodal aspects – that is, the importance of a comprehensive range of communicative means – in coordinating interpreter-mediated communications. The great potential of multimodality research in communication has been identified in describing semiotic resources for meaning-making and inter-semiotic relations, in developing research tools, and in application to a wide range of topics or contexts (e.g. technology-mediated interaction, questions of knowledge, pedagogic practices and literacy, the production of identity, to name just a few) (Jewitt 2011:16).

Pasquandrea (2011) observed a doctor’s use of multiple modes of communication in interpreter-mediated doctor-patient meetings, and he found out that the doctor employed multiple resources in the meaning-making process in order to coordinate with the interpreter and the patient. He found that the doctor, though, did not speak the patient’s language, but kept the dyadic interaction between the interpreter and the patient under control by utilising multimodal resources such as verbal interruption, pauses and body orientation. His findings also suggested that the interpreter’s active involvement in interaction was influenced by the primary participants’ multimodal behaviour and their social roles.

In another employment of multimodal analysis, Davitti (2013) analysed participants' gaze patterns in parent-teacher settings. She found that, in addition to providing an oral translation, the interpreter also used gaze to actively promote alignments between the participants. She observed that the interpreter was deliberately sustaining mutual gaze with one of the participants in order to elicit response or encourage the participant's engagement in the conversation. Pasquandrea (2011) and Davitti (2013) drew insights from conversational analysis (CA) by employing the approach of multimodality to investigate the various non-verbal aspects in interpreter-mediated communications. Details of these two studies will be mentioned again in the next chapter. Although new insights were brought in through the employment of a multimodal approach (Pasquandrea 2011, Davitti 2013), little subsequent work has been done in Interpreting Studies to continue the investigation into the role of the interpreter from this multimodal perspective.

This section pointed out the latest emerging approach of utilising a multimodal approach to study the role of interpreters. Through multimodal analysis, researchers gained more fresh insights than a traditional textual analysis such as discourse analysis could offer. More importantly, both textual-based analysis and multimodal analysis have produced evidence of the interpreters' active involvement in interaction. With regards to those practical reasons that trigger interpreters' interrupting initiatives such as clarifying a misunderstanding or providing culturally relevant information, these seem to be justifiable reasons that have been mentioned in the Code of Professional Conduct for the individual members of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting, which writes,

Members shall interpret impartially between the various parties in the languages for which they are registered with the Institute and, with due regard to the circumstances prevailing at the time, take all reasonable steps to ensure complete and effective communication between the parties, including intervention to prevent misunderstanding and incorrect culture inference. (ITI-Code of Conduct-individual, 2013)

It seems that interpreters can be 'active' in a situation with a purpose of preventing 'misunderstanding and incorrect culture inference' (ITI-Code of Conduct-individual,

2013). However, as Hale's (2001) data showed, a misunderstanding based on the interpreter's own judgment could sometimes be subjective; some information provided to clear up cultural differences could be considered rather unnecessary and unjustifiable on certain occasions. This seems to support the idea that the codes can hardly be universal and might not be applied to all interpreter-mediated communication alike. All in all, although the role of interpreters is prescribed by the codes, the interpreters seem to have oriented their judgements towards different real-life situations. Therefore, the following section will review existing literature about how interactions in various situations can be classified.

1.5 Institutional and non-institutional interactions

The previous sections reviewed different roles that interpreters could play in various settings. The literature suggests that the type of role that interpreters tend to play is not simply a static prescriptive role, but an active role that evolves with the dynamics within a specific situation. Thus, this section will review the classification of interactive talks in different situations.

Typically, Habermas (1984) divided talk into *institutional talk* and *communicative talk*, arguing that the former is 'goal-oriented' interaction, which features 'asymmetry' in its 'unequal distribution of social power and status' (Thornborrow 2002:2), while the latter is achieved through mutual understanding. Although other researchers (i.e. Harris 1995) challenged Habermas's classification of talk as 'ideal' speech situations, this category still has influence on other traditions of research regarding the use of language. In conversational analysis (CA) studies, for example, talk is thus classified into *ordinary conversation* and *institutional conversation* (Drew and Heritage 1992) or *non-institutional conversation* and *institutional conversation* (Levinson 1992). Both ordinary conversation and non-institutional conversation are like Habermas' (1984) communicative talk in that they are interactions conducted outside institutional settings. Apart from the fact that it is 'goal-directed' (Habermas 1984), 'institutional conversation' is characterised by its 'systematic variation and restriction of activities' (Drew and Heritage 1992:19). Institutional talk 'sets up positions for people to talk from and restricts some speakers' access to certain kinds of discursive actions' (Thornborrow

2002:4), such as the fact that the interviewer asks questions while the interviewee answers questions. Therefore, this restriction on interaction here is that of ‘asymmetry’ in talk (Levinson 1992). In CA, this ‘asymmetry’ in talk is ‘most often used to describe the distribution of different types of turns between different participants’, for example, in doctor and patient medical interviews, the doctor normally asks questions and the patient gives answers (Thornborrow 2002:2-3).

These two different types of social relations in interaction can either be pre-determined by participants’ different social status (Habermas 1984) or by the way that each turn is distributed among participants (Levinson 1992; Drew and Heritage 1992). Rather than comparing differences between institutional and non-institutional talk, Thornborrow emphasises the characteristics of institutional discourse, which is ‘a form of interaction in which the relationship between a participant’s current institutional role (such as the interviewer) and their current discursive role (such as questioner) emerges as a local phenomenon which shapes the organisation and trajectory of the talk’ (Thornborrow 2002:5).

It was originally intended that this study would use this classification of institutional and non-institutional interactions as a basis to compare the influence of different social roles played by the participants and the interpreters on their communication outcomes. However, although interactions or talks could be classified as institutional and non-institutional, participants in a real interaction can display a mixture of institutional and non-institutional roles. For example, in a doctor-patient consultation, the interaction is not always institutional. Depending on different personalities or different situations (e.g. repeated meetings with the same doctor), the supposed institutional interaction could grow more informal or non-institutional. Therefore, instead of drawing a clear line between institutional and non-institutional interactions, this study looks at both interactions by collecting data set with participants playing both institutional and non-institutional social roles within the same interaction. Using this background, the following section will identify the specific research gap for this study.

1.6 Identifying research gap

After an overview of the main literature regarding the role of interpreters, this section is going to identify the research gap in order to produce a research question for this study. The research gap is identified in current research on the role of interpreters in both China and the West. Finally, the research question is proposed along with an explanation of the originality of this study.

1.6.1 Lack of data-driven research in Chinese Interpreting Studies

There is a need to develop professional Chinese interpreters, and the establishment of a professional organisation for translators and interpreters is an evidence of this. China founded its national translator's professional organization in 1982, named the Translators Association of China (TAC), with the following aim:

TAC aims to protect the rights and interests of translators and interpreters as well as people engaged in the language service industry, uphold the quality of translation and interpreting, and facilitate understanding and cooperation among all stakeholders of the language industry. (Tac-online.org.cn, 2016)

In general, the purpose of establishing this professional body was to promote the profession of translation and interpreting for research, training and regulation in the industry. TAC has been promoting translation and interpreting research by organizing national and international conferences, setting up forums such as the Asian Translators Forum, and issuing its own publication, Chinese Translators Journal (CTJ), which features the recent translation and interpreting research interests and achievements. TAC has also been running a series of professional training sessions and is responsible for the registration and examination of the China Accreditation Test for Translators and Interpreters (CATTI), a nationally recognised certification for professional translators and interpreters since 2008. Differently from other regional certificates for translation and interpretation in China, CATTI requires its holders to renew this certificate by completing further training on a regular basis. This shows TAC's emphasis on a continuous professional development for translators and interpreters. In order to live up to the international standards for professional translators and interpreters in China, TAC joined the International Federation of Translators (FIT) in 1987 and adopted its

Translators' Charter for its members as reference. In addition, TAC has also set up its own charters and standards to regulate translation and interpretation services. Despite the many efforts made by the TAC for the professionalization of translators and interpreters over the years, there remain issues that need to be addressed.

First of all, CATTI is still at its early stage. Although the examination has set up high standards for assessing translation and interpreting quality, only a small number of practising translators and interpreters have successfully passed the test and gained the CATTI certificates. On the other hand, there are other industrially acceptable regional certifications such as Shanghai English Interpretation Accreditation, which has enjoyed higher popularity than CATTI due to its earlier establishment and applicability in the Shanghai region where interpreting services are in large demand.

Secondly, like many other national-level certifying bodies such as the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) in Australia, CATTI is a language skill-based test that based its quality assessment solely on linguistic translation skills. Universities offering degree-level training in translation and interpreting also assess their graduates based on language skills rather than taking consideration of some ethical related issues such as the role issue in practice. This explains the fact that over the last few decades, most interpreting research in China has been focused on training interpreting skills (mostly linguistically), translation and interpreting theories and quality assessment while the issue of the role of the interpreters has been less addressed in academic publications (a brief review of these research can be found in 1.3.1). In a small number of studies regarding the role of interpreters, such areas as intercultural communication (Chen 2004), participation framework and discourse analysis (Ren & Jiang 2006), pragmatics (Qin and Yang 2003) and context (Liu 2003, cited from Chen 2011) have been discussed. However, most discussions stay at the theoretical level without giving sufficient evidence from empirical data to verify their theories.

Clearly, from what has been shown in the large amount of empirical research in Western literature, the role of interpreters is one of the major issues identified in the Interpreting Studies (see Pöchhacker's (2004) eight dimensions of the theoretical territory of Interpreting Studies) that need to be addressed in order to recognise a

complete professional image of a translator or an interpreter. What is needed in Chinese Interpreting Studies is more empirical data-driven research (see 1.3.1 for a brief review of Chinese Interpreting Studies), for empirical research regarding the role of the interpreters can present concrete evidence of what the role of the interpreters is like in practice. Issues can be addressed case by case from concrete examples in empirical data, thus informing and updating current codes of conduct for promoting professional development. This study will also address this gap in the Chinese literature by providing more empirical data from a series of simulated face-to-face interpreting cases. By detailed examination of each case, this study will be able to provide empirical evidence of how Chinese interpreters play their specific roles in various interactive situations. The next section will look further at what is lacking in the research approaches of existing empirical studies regarding the interpreter's role.

1.6.2 Lack of empirical Interpreting Studies using multimodal analysis

Being aware of the importance of empirical research at an earlier stage, in Western literature, discussions regarding the role of interpreters have been shown to be more rigorous in providing concrete evidence from empirical data to support any theoretical analysis. Empirical findings have favoured the argument that the interpreters play an active role in practice rather than an 'invisible' prescriptive role. Evidence of the interpreters' active involvement in interaction has been presented from various settings, including legal (Mikkelsen 1998, 2000/2001), community (Wadensjö 1998), medical (Karfer & Putsch 1997), sign language (Roy 2000, Tate & Turner 1997), business (Gavioli & Maxwell 2007; Takimoto 2012) and so forth (a brief review of these research can be found in 1.3.2).

However, most of these studies have followed traditional methods of discourse analysis. Only a few most recent studies (such as Pasquandrea 2011, Davitti 2013) adopt a multimodal perspective and offer new insights into our understanding of the role of interpreters. The difference between a textual based perspective and a multimodal perspective is that the former only focuses on linguistic analysis while the latter also takes into consideration the impact of non-linguistic information. Non-linguistic

communication is important in that it is an integral part of the meaning-making process; it also has its influence on cross-cultural communicative interactions.

The importance of non-linguistic information lies in its inseparable relationships with linguistic-verbal meanings. Ekman (1965:441) argued that ‘...the classes of information provided by nonverbal behaviour can serve to repeat, contradict, or substitute for a verbal message, as well as accent certain words, maintain the communicative flow, reflect changes in the relationship in association with particular verbal messages and indicate a person’s feelings about his verbal statement’. The micro-level analysis in CA studies has also indicated that speech is only one of many forms of human communication (Schegloff 1991), which is ‘seamlessly intertwined with other corporeal means of actions such as gaze and gesture’ (Goodwin 1981, cited from Peräkylä 2004:155).

In addition, the importance of non-linguistic information can also be shown in cross-cultural communication contexts. Although language is considered as ‘the most technical [element] of the message system’, there are other non-linguistic means in which humans can communicate that ‘either reinforce or deny what he has said with words’ (Hall 1959:28-9). These non-linguistic means are ‘the silent language’, as termed by Hall (1959), which people often employ to communicate with one another either consciously or unconsciously. The ‘silent language’ communicates from ‘our handling of time, spatial relationships, attitudes towards work, play and learning to facial expressions and gesticulations’ (Hall 1959:29). Since Rainer Lang’s (1978) pioneering research taking into consideration the non-linguistic aspects in Interpreting Studies, it is believed that ‘without visual contact such clues will be missed, resulting in impaired communication’ (Lang 1978:231). Therefore, in order to address the lack of attention to the importance of non-linguistic aspects in interpreting interaction, this study will examine its empirical data through a multimodal analysis rather than a simple textual analysis, taking consideration of both linguistic and non-linguistic information as a multimodal ensemble.

1.6.3 Originality of this study

The above two sections revealed that more empirical research is needed in Interpreting Studies; also, more interpreting research using multimodal analysis is needed to offer fresh insights to the current Interpreting Studies regarding the role of the interpreters. Most recent studies have found through multimodal analysis that the interpreter has actively engaged in interaction, but the amount of the activeness is limited, as the primary participants are to some extent monitoring the interpreter's engagement. For example, Pasquandrea (2011) provided evidence from doctor-patient consultation that the interpreter's self-initiated engagement was elicited and controlled by the main participants using multimodal resources such as gaze, body orientation, and so on. From the textual-level analysis, the doctor seemed to show disengagement from time to time, but a multimodal analysis revealed that the doctor was utilising various multimodal communicative means such as gaze and body orientation to maintain her engagement with the interaction as well as to monitor the interpreter's engagement with the patient. In other words, multimodal analysis has deepened our understanding and revealed a different facet that a simple textual analysis could not offer. Therefore, this study is going to explore some main non-linguistic communicative means such as gesture movement, gaze and body orientation. By taking consideration of these non-linguistic elements, more can be revealed regarding the role of the interpreters.

Through multimodal analysis, current studies also found that in settings featuring asymmetrical social relations among the two primary participants (such as doctor and patient), information tends to flow from the dominant side (one participant is more dominant than the other in terms of knowledge expertise, authority or social status) to the less dominant side. As a result, the less dominant participant could become a 'marginal participant' or a passive information recipient (Davitti 2013). In such settings as interpreter-mediated teacher-parent meetings, Davitti (2013) observed that the interpreter was actively making efforts to engage the 'marginal participant' by using multimodal means such as gaze to elicit a response from the less dominant participant (in her case, the parent). Interpreter's efforts to engage the 'marginal participant' cannot be seen from a textual-level analysis, but only through a multimodal analysis. Therefore, this study is going to further investigate in a range of different settings how the interpreters direct the flow of information by employing multimodal means.

As explained earlier in this chapter, most empirical data collected for studying the role of interpreters in face-to-face dialogue interpreting is from institutional settings such as public service interpreting in medical, legal, governmental settings, which are settings featuring ‘asymmetrical relations’ between different participants (Habermas 1984; Levinson 1992; Drew and Heritage 1992). This study is also interested in looking at how interpreters act in non-institutional interactions or ordinary interactions, in which the characteristics of the institutional interaction (Thornborrow 2002) are less distinctive and that both sides of the participants are having ‘symmetrical relations’ or equal social status. Therefore, this study is going to analyse case studies including both institutional and non-institutional settings and aims to solve the following research question:

- How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?

This thesis is going to approach this question through three different angles, so this question is further divided into three sub-research questions:

- 1) How does gesture use reflect the interpreter’s involvement in communication?
- 2) How does the interpreter coordinate communication through gaze and body orientation?
- 3) How does knowledge asymmetry influence the role of the interpreter?

In order to specifically address each sub-research question in a manageable scale, the next section will lay out the scope of this study.

1.7 Scope of this study

To answer the main research question and its three sub-questions in a research project of feasible scale, the scope of this study is set up based on Pöchhacker’s (2004: 23-4) eight dimensions of the theoretical territory of Interpreting Studies that was mentioned in 1.2.2 of this chapter. Again, these eight dimensions are: (1) medium; (2) setting; (3)

mode; (4) languages (cultures); (5) discourse; (6) participants, (7) interpreter; and (8) problem.

Firstly, according to these eight dimensions, in this study the medium will be professionally trained human interpreters only, which means that the interpreting process does not involve amateur bilingual speakers. The professional interpreters used in this study have all received professional or degree-level training, and have worked as professional interpreters for some years. Moreover, interpreters in this study will not be using any interpreting facilitating technology (for example, conference interpreters normally working in the sound-proof booths would carry out simultaneous interpreting by using microphones and other facilities).

Secondly, the settings in this study included both institutional and non-institutional ones, the differences and similarities of which have been detailed in 1.5.3 of this chapter. In addition, settings in this study also included both *inter-national* and *intra-social* communications. On the one hand, *inter-national* communication means the interpreting interaction takes place when members of different linguistic and cultural communities entered into contact for some particular purpose. For example, a Chinese delegation has travelled from China to Britain for a business visit. The communication that follows between the Chinese delegates with their British host is treated as international communication. On the other hand, mediated *intra-social* communication can also be ‘conceivable within hetero-lingual societies, in which case we can speak of interpreting in intra-social settings’ (Pöchhacker 2004: 13). For example, a British person is consulting a Chinese medical doctor who lives in the Chinese community within Britain. Therefore, a variety of interpreting settings across the inter-national and intra-social dimensions can be selected for the data gathering and analysis processes.

Thirdly, the working mode of interpreting concerned in this study is short consecutive. Consecutive interpreting is to interpret after the source-language utterance, different to simultaneous interpreting (which is to interpret as the source-language text is being presented). Consecutive interpreting with the use of systematic note-taking is referred to as ‘classic’ consecutive, in contrast to short consecutive without notes, which usually implies a bi-directional mode in a liaison constellation (Pöchhacker 2004:19). Most international conference interpreting is carried out through either simultaneous or

consecutive modes where the interpreters are in a separate booth and have no direct contact with either the speakers or the audience. This study is only concerned with face-to-face dialogue interpreting, in which the interpreters can have direct contact with either side of the participants. Dialogue interpreting is a ‘three-party interaction’ with a bilingual interpreter assuming the pivotal mediating role between two (monolingual) clients (W. Anderson 1976/2002, cited from Pöchhacker 2004:16). Dialogue interpreting is closely associated, if not synonymous, with ‘liaison interpreting’⁴ (Pöchhacker 2004:16) and this type of interpreting is mostly conducted via short consecutive mode.

Fourthly, the languages used by participants (including the interpreters) of this study were spoken Chinese and spoken English. The Chinese transcriptions were back translated into English for analysis and presentation. Discourse in this study was face-to-face talk between different Chinese and British participants, which was mediated by professional interpreters. Data for analysis was termed as utterance, which was used to refer to the ensemble of actions, whether composed of speech alone (speech refers to the vocal activity engaged in when a spoken language is employed), visible action alone, or a combination of the two, that counts for participants as a ‘turn’ or ‘contribution’ or ‘move’ within the occasion of interaction in which they are engaged (Kendon 2004:110).

Finally, participants of this study were members of society who engaged in the interaction mediated by a professional interpreter. Participants were either social individual representatives or institutional representatives. Speaker refers to any participant who engaged in the production of an utterance. Recipients refer to the addressees of an utterance, normally both the interpreter and one of the primary participants. Interpreters are professionally trained with hands-on working experience. The problem this study intended to address is how to understand the role of interpreters from a multimodal perspective.

1.8 Conclusion

⁴ The generic meaning of ‘liaison’ denoted as the idea of ‘connecting’ and ‘linking up’ (Gentile et al. 1996).

This chapter reviewed the main academic arguments regarding the prescriptive and descriptive role of interpreters. Literature was reviewed relative to these arguments from different levels both theoretically and empirically. More empirical studies are required, especially for Chinese Interpreting Studies. More multimodal research is needed, as it offers fresh insights into the role of the interpreters. The research question of this study addresses the interpreter's role from a multimodal perspective to bring new insights into the field. In order to answer this research question and its three sub-questions, the next chapter will explain how to approach and solve this question theoretically. All the theories and analytical approaches reviewed in the literature formed as examples and foundation models for this study.

Chapter 2 Theoretical background

2.1 Introduction

Over the last decades, researchers examining interpreters' verbal interactions (through textual-based analysis) have frequently challenged traditional assumptions about the 'invisible' (non-active) role of the interpreters: 'Descriptive studies of dialogue interpreting have made the idea of the dialogue interpreter as an invisible conduit untenable' (Davitti 2013:168). Evidence from recent interpreting studies on the role of the interpreter indicates that the interpreter showed active involvement in actual interaction (such as Roy 1989, Wadensjö 1998, Drennan 1999, Hale 2001, Angelelli 2004, Leanza 2005, Gavioli & Maxwell 2007, Takimoto 2012). These studies also tried to describe how this happened and what consequences this active involvement from the perspective of the interpreter might have to the overall interaction. This means that, contrary to the role boundary set up by the professional codes of conduct, the interpreter has taken on extra initiative in interaction. Such findings have started to challenge the practical use of those codes.

Furthermore, recent studies increasingly note the limitations of examining the interpreter's role from a solely textual perspective, highlighting the extent to which multimodal communication contributes to the construction of interpreter-mediated interaction (such as Pasquandrea 2011, Davitti 2013). The most cutting-edge literature on this topic seeks to apply multimodal analysis – that is, an analytical approach that takes into account the comprehensive range of communicative means (Jewitt 2013) – to the question of the interpreter's role. The importance of the multimodal approach is that it offers new insights to the role of the interpreters that the traditional textual-level analysis could not offer.

Utilising a multimodal analytical approach, this research aims further to explore what a multimodal analysis could reveal about the role of the interpreters; more specifically, what multimodal communication means are deployed in interpreter-mediated interaction by the interpreters and their participants, and how all these contribute to the overall outcome of communication; such a study has a potential to offer valuable new

insights into our understanding of the role of the interpreter. It is useful to develop a ‘conceptual framework’ for the study (Maxwell 2013; Miles and Huberman 1994), as a conceptual framework ‘explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, constructs or variables – and the presumed relationships among them’ (Miles and Huberman 1994:18). In order to produce such a conceptual framework for this study, this chapter includes a review of the theoretical background found in the literature regarding the role of the interpreters. It then unpacks each conceptual element that will later form part of the whole conceptual framework.

This chapter will set out the theoretical background of this study and explain how each conceptual element can correlate together to address the research question that was proposed in the previous chapter. This chapter will be structured as follows. Firstly, conceptual elements used for the construction of this study’s conceptual framework will be reviewed. Secondly, the way in which all these conceptual elements are to be measured and observed in this study will be systematically explained.

2.2 Conceptual elements

The purpose of this section is to introduce the theoretical background that forms the basis of this study. A number of analytical tools and academic perspectives will be incorporated into a conceptual framework to be used in this study. The conceptual elements set out here include the notion of role and its relationship to Goffman’s (1981) concept of ‘footing’, the concept of multimodality and multimodal resources. This section explains how each of these conceptual elements forms a useful integral part of the theoretical background for this study.

2.2.1 The notion of role

This study aims to investigate the interpreter’s role using a multimodal analytical approach. In order to analyse what can influence the role of the interpreters (briefly explained in 1.2.3), it is necessary to firstly understand the notion of role in general. This section is going to introduce Goffman’s (1961) theoretical understanding of role and how this understanding can be applied to the role of the interpreters.

Goffman (1961) categorised ‘role’ into three levels: ‘normative role’, ‘typical role’ and ‘role performance’. The *normative role* refers to how people would normally think of themselves, believing how they should be acting in certain manner; *typical role* refers to specific behaviours that have been developed over a period of time to fit the requirements of specific situation; *role performance* means that each individual has included their own personal style when playing a certain role. These three levels of *role* explanations are valuable to the understanding of the interpreter’s role. The norms stipulated in the professional codes of conduct are guidance for both the interpreters and the interpreting service users as to what the interpreters should be doing can be deemed as appropriate and competent, which could be understood as the *normative role of the interpreter*. However, when taking into consideration some typical situations and personal interpreting styles, the interpreter also has *typical role* and *role performance*, as indicated by Wadenjö (1998:83). Goffman’s three levels categories of role help us understand the discussion around the role of the interpreter being *prescriptive* or *descriptive*. In fact, the *prescriptive role* of the interpreters stipulated by the codes of conduct can be seen as Goffman’s *normative role*, which is based on commonly shared norms; the *descriptive role*, on the other hand, is concerned with both *typical role* and *role performance* regarding situational and individual aspects, which has been largely supported by empirical findings. A simplified explanation of the different roles played by an interpreter is set by the argument around whether the interpreter should be ‘translating’ or ‘mediating’. The debate about public service interpreting in Britain, Australia and Canada also referred to these as ‘interpreting’ or ‘advocacy’. ‘Advocacy’ means “actively supporting, defending and pleading for one of the parties – the client – while ‘interpreting’ would mean to avoid any such activity” (Wadenjö 1998:6). For example, legal interpreters were supposed to act as ‘faceless voices’ (Morris 2010), but were observed making ‘pragmatic changes’ in their interpreting to advocate for minority language groups or for institutions, service providers and so on (Hale 2004/2008). Therefore, the prescriptive and descriptive roles of interpreters reflect different levels of the concept of role.

Compared to the more static prescriptive role, the descriptive role is rather active and dynamic, driven by different situations and individual elements. In order to understand the ever-changing characteristics of role, Goffman’s (1981) concept of footing will be helpful for this study to analytically analyse the active role of the interpreters. Also, a

descriptive empirical study will offer informative insights into the prescriptive role of the interpreters. The next section will explain the concept of footing and its relation with the analysis of an active role.

2.2.2 The concept of footing

Having explained the interpreter's active role supported by the empirical studies (Roy Wadensjö 1998/1999; Tate and Turner 1997/2002; Roy 1996/2000, to name just a few), it is necessary to find an applicable analytical tool to examine and describe changes brought about by the activeness of the interpreter's role. The concept of 'footing' can facilitate our understanding of the role changes or multiple roles adopted by the interpreter. It is useful for this study, as it allows for a more flexible examination of social interactions.

Footing is one of the key concepts in Goffman's (1981) *participation framework*, which is used to explain how people participate in social interactions. *Footing* refers to 'the alignment of an individual to a particular utterance, whether involving a production format, as in the case of the speaker, or solely a participation status, as in the case of a hearer' (Goffman 1981:227). A change in footing indicates a change of the alignment between the speaker and the hearer. Since 'participants over the course of their speaking constantly change their footing, these changes being a persistent feature of nature talk' (Goffman 1981:128), the change of footing is therefore closely linked to the change of role in interaction.

The difference between *role* and *footing* is that '*role* is a fixed stance (which one has adopted in advance and sustained throughout an encounter) that involves mostly pre-determined stances deemed to be appropriate for fulfilling a particular socio-professional task', whereas '*footing* adopted by participants is of a temporary and evolving nature' (Wadensjö 1998, cited from Mason 2009:52-3). The concept of *footing* provides us with a flexible stance for the analysis of *role*. In terms of analysing the role changes in interaction, *footing* is a much more workable notion.

When the relationship between the two concepts has become clear, the concern has been shifted to how to analyse the change of *footing*. According to Goffman (1981), the changes of *footing* in interaction can be perceived through our senses, mostly hearing and sight, that is, what we can hear and what we can see. The sense of hearing is commonly analysed linguistically and through linguistic markers (e.g. code switching, phonetic clauses, pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, tonal quality and etc.). The sense of sight can be analysed non-linguistically, such as gaze, facial expression, gesture, body postures and so on. In other words, people engaged in interactions identify one another's change of *footing* through a multimodal ensemble that consists of both linguistic and non-linguistic information via audible and visible cues. Because 'audible and visible acts of meaning together form an integrated message' (Bavelas, Coates & Johnson 2002:567), it is necessary to incorporate the notion of multimodality into the analytical approach of this study, which will be explained in the following section.

2.2.3 Multimodality

Since people in communication identify each other's change of *footing* through audible and visible clues, that is, through multiple means of communication, it is useful to understand the notion of *multimodality* before applying it to the analysis of interpreter-mediated communications. This section will explain multimodality and its relationship to *role*.

Multimodality offers a comprehensive understanding of communication, as it considers not only language, but also 'a full range of communicational forms people use - image, gesture, gaze, posture and so on - and the relationships between them' (Jewitt 2011:14). In multimodal analysis, each communicative means contributes equally to the meaning-making process; participants can select and rearrange various combinations of *modes* (Jewitt 2011). Under the context of social semiotics, '*mode* is a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning. Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack are examples of *modes* used in representation and communication' (Jewitt 2011:54). The focus of analysing multimodal interaction is 'on the situated interplay between *modes* at a given moment in social interaction' and how

‘people draw upon the available modal resources to make meaning in specific contexts’ (Jewitt 2011:22).

Semiotic resources are the multimodal resources used by participants for the meaning-making process. According to Van Leeuwen, ‘semiotic resources are the actions, materials and artefacts we use for communicative purposes’, which ‘have a meaning potential, based on their past uses, and a set of affordances⁵ based on their possible uses, and these will be actualized in concrete social contexts where their use is subject to some form of semiotic regime’ (Van Leeuwen 2005:285). This concept understands that rules within social semiotics are variable during social interaction. Participants can represent and communicate their meanings by selecting available semiotic resources at each specific moment. The approaches of multimodality not only help outline available semiotic resources for the meaning-making process, but also help develop new ways to employ these resources (Jewitt 2011). Therefore, a multimodal approach will be employed in this study to investigate the interplay of the use of multiple modes of communication in interpreter-mediated interaction. Understanding the use of the multiple modes will in turn help identify the change of *footing*, thus helping understand the role of the interpreters. In order to employ a multimodal analysis for this study, the following section will introduce all the multimodal resources that can contribute to the meaning-making process.

2.2.4 Multimodal resources

In order to examine the use of multiple modes in interpreter-mediated interaction, this section introduces the multimodal resources that are defined in multimodal research, and how they are categorized. This definition and categorization of multimodal resources will serve as the foundation for categorizing multiple communicative modes to analyse multimodal resources in the interpreter-mediated interaction for this study.

Unlike the early Psychological and Social Psychological Studies that regarded audible and visible behaviours as ‘verbal and non-verbal communication’, multimodal research does not separate visible communication as analytically independent of aural

⁵ Affordances refer to the material and cultural aspects of modes (Gibson 1977, cited from Jewitt 2011:24).

communication, especially verbal language (Health & Luff 2013: 284, cited by Sidnell & Stivers 2013). The predominant position of spoken and written language in communication was challenged by multimodal research, which emphasised that language is ‘part of a multimodal ensemble’ (Jewitt 2011:14) and it contributes equally to overall communication along with other multimodal resources.

Apart from language, Ortega (2011) categorised other multimodal resources into four main types: *paralanguage*, *kinestics*, *proxemics* and *cultural signs* (Ortega 2011:20-1). First of all, *paralanguage* refers to the quality of voice such as intonation, rhythm and tone. Secondly, *kinestics* includes body movement, gesture, and facial expressions. For instance, body movements have the function to ‘regulate and pace interpersonal relationships’ (Schefflen 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, cited from Weick 1968:388). Ekman (1965) suggested ‘head and facial cues communicate information about the type of affect the person is experiencing, whereas body position gives information about the level of arousal or intensity of the emotion...’ (Weick 1968:383). Thirdly, *proxemics* refers to spatial behaviour, such as physical distance between interactants. A person’s territory or space is regularly constructed, indicating drastic changes on their behaviours if their spatial border is trampled on (Hall 1966). An example of spatial behaviour in conversational interaction is termed ‘conversational clustering’ (Weick 1968:390): when a person intends to speak to another, they would move closer to their listener keeping a conversational distance. Lastly, *cultural signs* refer to the connotation of colours, locations, appearance and so forth.

All the multimodal resources discussed above can be active in human communication. They have formed the basis for investigating the multiple communicative resources that are available to use for participants in interpreter-mediated interaction for this study. Such multimodal resources as gaze, gesture, posture, body movement, object manipulation, and spatial arrangement enable the interpreter and the participants to regulate their participation, gain mutual alignment and attend multiple actions at the same time. Before reviewing the main use of each multimodal resource and how to apply multimodal analysis to this study, the next section will analyse how recent developments in Interpreting Studies have applied multimodal analysis to researching the role of the interpreters.

2.3 Employment of multimodality in interpreter-mediated interaction

Having briefly explained all the key elements of multimodality, this section reviews how multimodality has been applied to recent Interpreting Studies. This relates to why multimodality is an important and useful tool for the purpose of this study.

Multimodality has recently been applied to research on interpreter-mediated interactions, showing the analysis of the interpreter's use of multiple modes of communication, which offered important new insights to the role of the interpreters. These studies found that multimodal resources could achieve various functions such as competing for the floor (Ticca 2008, 2010, cited from Pasquandrea 2011), synchronizing the rhythm of turn taking (Apfelbaum 1998, cited from Pasquandrea 2011), eliciting a response (Davitti 2013) and signposting verbal activities (Pasquandrea 2011). Details of two relevant studies are reviewed below.

The first study is Pasquandrea's (2011) observation of a doctor's use of multiple modes of communication in interpreter-mediated doctor-patient meetings. He found that the doctor employed multiple resources in the meaning-making process in order to coordinate with the interpreter and the patient. The textual-level analysis showed that the interpreter acted on behalf of the doctor to obtain information from the patient and to give advice to the patient, as if the doctor was disengaged with the interaction. However, the multimodal analysis revealed that the doctor kept the dyadic interaction between the interpreter and the patient under control through her employment of different multimodal means. For example, by leaving long intervals between her turns, the doctor deliberately allowed the interpreter to interact with the patient without interfering with the dialogue between the interpreter and the patient; by shifting her body orientation (away from the computer and face towards the interpreter), the doctor showed her availability to re-enter the interaction, which automatically stopped the dialogue between the interpreter and the patient and triggered the interpreter to do the translation accordingly. Findings like this suggest that participants in interpreter-mediated interaction use multimodal resources rather than a single linguistic resource to interact with each other. In this way, multimodal analysis has deepened our understanding of each participant's engagement in interaction.

Another recent employment of multimodal analysis in Interpreting Studies can be found in Davitti's study regarding the gaze patterns of the primary participants. Davitti (2013) found that the interpreter actively utilised the gaze function to promote interaction between the two primary participants who do not speak the same language. She noted that despite the interpreter's efforts to engage the participants, the integration of both participants' engagement was not always successful. Although the interpreter was deliberately sustaining gaze duration with the 'marginal participant' (the one less-engaged participant) in order to elicit more responses and increase engagement, this active effort made by the interpreter had a very limited effect. Davitti (2013) suggested the asymmetrical institutional relations between the two primary participants (in her case, a parent and a teacher) might be the reason that limited the effect of the interpreter's active effort to engage participants.

Although new insights were brought in through the employment of a multimodal approach (Pasquandrea 2011, Davitti 2013), little subsequent work has been carried out in Interpreting Studies to continue this investigation into the role of the interpreter from a multimodal perspective. Since the existing employment of multimodality unveiled the abundant multimodal activities displayed by both the interpreter and the participants, this study will explore further the role of the interpreters working in various settings with different participants with a multimodal approach. The next section will review the applications of some major multimodal resources and how they can be applied to the analysis of the role of the interpreters for this study.

2.4 Measuring and observing multiple communicative modes

This section firstly outlines the communicative modes to be observed and measured in this study. All communicative modes are grouped and presented in three categories, *audible modes*, *visible modes* and *other resources*. The reason for grouping them in these categories is due to their relations with Goffman's (1981) notion of *footing*. As the change of *footing* relates to the change of *role*, to identify the change of *footing* can help understand the multiple *roles* of the interpreters in different situations. According to Goffman (1981), people identify one another's footing through different senses, i.e. hearing, sight or feeling. For this reason, this study categorises all communicative

modes into audible modes, visible modes and other resources accordingly in order to relate to the notion of *footing*, and in turn to understand the concept of *role* (see 2.2.1).

The subcategories under each of these three main categories are adapted from Ortega's (2011) five categories of communicative modes – *language*, *paralanguage*, *kinestics*, *proxemics* and *cultural signs* – that were explained earlier in this chapter (see 2.2.4). Therefore, *audible modes* refer to resources that can be heard, including spoken language and features of language (or paralanguage). *Visible modes* refer to resources that can be seen, including written language resources (e.g. notes, PowerPoint slides), kinestics, proxemics and visible cultural signs. *Other resources* refer to things that can be felt, but not necessarily seen or heard. Within these broad categories of communicative modes, there is an enormous range of ways in which people can communicate in practice; in fact, a list of all possible examples of human communication would be almost inexhaustible. As such, for the purposes of this research, the following sections are going to set out key examples or subcategories of communicative modes based on established literature in Communication Studies and Conversational Analysis Studies.

2.4.1 Audible modes

Audible modes include spoken language and its related features. Spoken language, if used in a collaborative form is referred to as talk (Robinson 1998), has been widely investigated in conversational analysis (CA) studies. The turn-taking system, which has been used to systematically analyse conversational talk in CA studies, will firstly be reviewed in this section. Other relevant concepts such as repair, knowledge asymmetry, adjacency pair and state of change index will also be explained. Finally, this section will discuss the connections between audible and visible modes.

a. Turn-taking system

In CA studies, the turn-taking system offers participants the opportunity to speak in turns in a conversation, but the way this system works depends on the rule that 'one party talks at a time' (Sacks 2004:37). This means that while one person is speaking, the

others must be listening and waiting for the next turn. However, ‘potential next speakers do not wait for the completion of a turn-at-talk. Rather, they project its possible completion and coordinate their own contributions with what that projection allows them to anticipate’ (Sidnell 2010:42). Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) termed the point of possible completion as a *transition relevance place* (TRP). A potential TRP consists of ‘projected possible completion of the *turn constructional unit*⁶ (TCU)’, which could be any syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic features embedded in the current turn and are monitored by the hearer to anticipate when they can leap forward to take the floor.

TRPs reflect the distribution of the turns-at-talk in conversation. Not only can the listener take the next turn at a possible TRP, but the current speaker can also select the next speaker by asking a question with an address term. For example, ‘What do you think, Jill?’ shows that Jill has been picked up by the speaker to take the next turn. Here, the address term ‘Jill’ functions as a TRP. The turn-taking distribution rules were summarised by Sidnell (2010) as follows:

A next speaker may have been selected to speak next by the current turn (e.g. an addressed question). If this is the case, the one so selected should speak at the first point of possible completion. If, however, no speaker has been selected by the current turn, at its possible completion any other party may self-select. If no speaker has been selected and no other party self-selects at the possible completion of the current turn, the current speaker may continue (Sacks et al. 1974, cited from Sidnell 2010:43).

Hence, the selection of the next speaker works in two ways: 1) selected by the current speaker and 2) self-selected by other participant(s) after a potential TRP.

As shown in the previous example, a speaker’s action such as asking a question with an address term can project a TRP and pick up the next turn-taker. This type of action can be referred to as sequence-initiating actions. Sequence-initiating actions are not only

⁶ Turns in conversation are constructed out of units, each of which is termed as “turn-constructional unit (TCU)”. A single turn-at-talk can be made of several TCUs (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, cited from Sidnell 2010:41).

'hear-able' but also 'see-able', such as a direct gaze (Lerner 2003, cited from Sidnell 2010). Hence, it is possible for the speaker to use multiple modes of communicative means to achieve the purpose of distributing turns-at-talk in conversation. The analysis of the turn-taking system can therefore be applied to this study using a multimodal approach, taking into consideration both audible and visible modes of communication.

Situations in interpreter-mediated interaction are different to and somewhat more complicated than normal monolingual conversational interactions. In interpreting settings, most audible modes of communication, especially linguistic meanings cannot be understood until they are translated; most visible modes of communication cannot be understood unless the verbal translation comes in time. In this case, the turn-taking system in interpreter-mediated communication is not as straightforward as it is in a normal monolingual conversation. More specifically, the interpreter is the only person in the interaction that can anticipate a possible TRP to take turns while other participants must wait for the translation and then look for TRPs.

When passing on information, the interpreter sometimes must use personal pronouns to indicate points of reference such as 'she/he says...'. As one of the main functions of spoken language, people often use personal pronouns to signify the main subject of concern in daily communication. Normally, the interpreters in interpreter-mediated interaction are expected to take on the role of a 'direct reporter' (Tannen 1989), using the first-person pronoun (Harris 1990) and repeating after the original speaker (Bot 2005). In practice, however, the interpreters were observed to shift personal pronouns based on their own perceptions of the interpreter's role under specific circumstances (Zhan 2012: 196-7). By shifting between the first, second and third person pronouns, the interpreter managed to clarify misunderstanding, avoid impoliteness, deal with constant change of subjects, and correct misinterpretations (Zhan 2012).

When the turn-taking goes on smoothly in an interpreter-mediated interaction, the turn-taking order should be either from participant A to the interpreter and to participant B, or from participant B to the interpreter and then to participant A, shown as: $A \rightarrow I \rightarrow B$ or $B \rightarrow I \rightarrow A$. Basically, every next turn must go through the interpreter. However, the turn-taking does not always run smoothly, as participants often encounter troubles of

hearing or understanding and require *repairs* from each other. The next section will explain the *repair* mechanism from CA studies.

b. Repair

Repair is very common in monolingual conversations, let alone in an interpreting conversation where chances of misunderstanding are more likely to occur. A repair can be self-initiated or requested. A speaker who has made a mistake in speaking can self-initiate a repair and a hearer who is having troubles hearing or understanding can also request a repair. The outcome of a repair is either to solve the problem or to abandon it. The repair mechanism in a conversation is to ensure intersubjectivity, which is a basis of any collaborative course of action (Sidnell 2010:110-1). In interpreter-mediated bilingual conversation, the repair mechanism is even more crucial as the interpreter is constantly working on establishing a common understanding between different participants who speak different languages and have different cultural backgrounds. There are two main types of repair established in conversational analysis, namely, *self-initiated repair* and *other-initiated repair*, which can be adapted to the analysis of the interpreter-mediated interaction in this study.

Firstly, *self-initiated repair* means when a speaker detects his/her own mistake(s) in the previous turn, s/he then immediately initiates a self-correction. In English, self-initiated repair can often occur with a cut-off interruption such as a phonetically glottal stop in the same turn as the trouble source. For example, a common place for initiating a self-repair is directly after the first syllable of the repairable word. Self-initiated repair can also be found with an elongated sound or other peculiar articulations (Sidnell 2010:114).

Secondly, *other-initiated repair* occurs when a hearer has trouble hearing or understanding and then requests the speaker to make it clear. There are four types of *other-initiated repair initiators*. The most common format is *Open-class repair initiator* (Drew 1997), which indexes a trouble with hearing but does not locate any specific trouble sources. In English, ‘what?’, ‘Sorry?’, ‘Pardon?’ and ‘Huh?’ are some of the examples. In contrast to this most common type, the second type *Class-specific question words used as repair initiators* are used to locate trouble sources. Question words such as ‘Who?’, ‘Where?’, ‘When?’ and ‘Which?’ may be used to initiate repair. The third

type is *repetition with and without a question word as repair initiators*. Take ‘they are what?’ as an example. “The repetition of phrase plus the use of ‘what’ at the point where some not-heard or not-understood word occurs, as a way of locating for the person who has just spoken what part of what they said you didn’t hear or didn’t understand” (Sacks 1995:723). Lastly, the fourth type is *offering a solution*. The hearer not only requests a repair but also offers a possible solution to or an understanding check with the speaker. For example, when the hearer asks ‘Who? You?’ to the speaker, this understanding check may be either confirmed or negated in the next turn.

The above-mentioned literature showed that *repair* includes not only what has happened when a trouble of hearing or understanding occurs, but also how the problem of understanding can be dealt with. In interpreter-mediated interaction, both the interpreter and the participants can encounter troubles with understanding and may request repairs. In interpreter-mediated interaction, linguistic information must go through the interpreter, so two main types of repairs could occur in an interpreting interaction. One is the participant(s) detects potential troubles with understanding in the interpreting and the other is that the interpreter requests repairs from the current speaker. Turn-taking and repair are useful for understanding and analysing how participants and interpreters interact with each other during interpreter-mediated communication. However, to sustain the turn-taking process during interaction, it is important to understand what drives forward and sustains a conversation. Therefore, the next section is going to review the driving force of communication – knowledge asymmetry.

c. Knowledge asymmetry

What is the driving force of communication? ‘The driving force...both initial utterance and its subsequent modification is epistemic: the conveying of news to otherwise unknowing recipient(s)’ (Goodwin 1979, cited from Heritage 2012:30). Heritage argues that knowledge asymmetry is one of the principles of sequence organisation that initiates the flow of information or motivates the on-going communication.

Knowledge asymmetry is a state of information imbalance, the concept of which originated from a range of conversation analytic findings (Goodwin 1979, Heritage 1984, Terasaki 2004). This relates to one’s ‘territories of knowledge’, a notion that has

been discussed by many academics (Heritage 2012). ‘When a speaker indicates that there is an imbalance of information between speaker and hearer, the indication is sufficient to motivate and warrant a sequence of interaction that will be closed when the imbalance is acknowledged as equalised for all practical purposes’ (Heritage 2012:32). A person’s epistemic status regarding different subject matters is marked as either [K⁺] (more knowledgeable) or [K⁻] (less knowledgeable) (Heritage 2012). In other words, the flow of information in communicative interactions goes from the more knowledgeable [K⁺] to the less knowledgeable [K⁻], initiating sequences of exchange, which ends when a shared understanding is fulfilled.

d. Adjacency pair and change of state index

The basic unit to analyse the process of passing on knowledge from [K⁺] to [K⁻] is through the analysis of adjacency pair. According to Schegloff (2007), an adjacency pair is the basic unit for constructing sequences, which features the following characteristics:

It is: (a) composed of two turns; (b) by different speakers; (c) adjacently placed: that is, one after the other; (d) these two turns are relatively ordered; that is, they are differentiated into ‘first pair parts’ (FPPs or Fs for short) and ‘second pair parts’ (SPPs or Ss for short). FPPs are utterance types such as question, request, offer, invitation, announcement, etc. – types which initiate some exchange. SPPs are utterance types such as answer, grant, reject, accept, decline, agree/disagree, acknowledge, etc. – types which are responsive to the action of a prior turn...the components of an adjacency pair are (e) pair-type related...such as greeting-greeting, question-answer, offer-accept/decline, and the like (Schegloff 2007:13).

The adjacency pair can be simply marked as (Schegloff 2007:14):

- A First Pair Part
- B Second Pair Part

Suppose that there is a knowledge asymmetry between A and B, and if A is [K⁺] and B is [K⁻], the information should flow from A to B. The ongoing sequences between A and B could be long or short, depending on how much information each sequence

carries. These sequences will be closed when B acknowledges that A's information is received and the previous information gap is closed, which may be marked by a change of state index. A typical example of the change of state token is 'Oh'-particle (Heritage 1984), for example:

A: I rang you earlier but you were out.

→ B: Oh, I must have been at Dec's mum's.

(Heritage 1984:301)

A change of state token, such as the 'Oh'-particle, is 'used to propose that its producer has undergone some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness' (Heritage 1984:299) and it is 'a means by which recipients can align themselves to, and confirm a prior turn's proposal to have been informative' (Heritage 1984:304). In other words, a change of state token signifies that a shared understanding is achieved at a sequential level.

Certainly, linguistic information does have the advantages of making clear expression and references. However, the implication of the above-mentioned audible modes is that language only forms part of the communication system. Speech interacts with visible modes in the meaning-making process. Goodwin (1979) showed how the speaker shifted gaze directions over three recipients while uttering one sentence. Unuttered meanings embedded in the speaker's gaze allocated towards different listeners were interpreted based on the collaborative relations between talk and gaze. Wadensjö (1999) compared the social interaction between telephone interpreting and face-to-face interpreting. She found that there was a significant difference between the two types of interpreting interactions in term of the potential for participants to coordinate with one another. The telephone interpreting interaction prevented the interpreter from seeing and utilising all the communicative resources that were otherwise available in a face-to-face interaction such as gaze, body orientation and gesture movements. To form a complete understanding of an interaction, meaning conveyed by visible modes should also be taken into consideration. It is also important to include the analysis of visible modes because audible and visible modes of communication form a collaborative relationship. For example, speech can initiate visible modes, as a simple utterance of 'Could you

show me where?’ is enough to initiate the next visible action. More of the collaborative relations between audible and visible modes will be discussed in the next section.

2.4.2 Visible modes

Many studies (Argyle and Cook 1976, Beattie 1978, Goodwin 1980, Kendon 1967, Rutter and Stephenson 1977, 1979, cited from Li 2004) have indicated the significance of visual communication as ‘[it] plays an important role in synchronizing conversation, maintaining interaction, and preventing communication breakdown’ (Li 2004: 19). It is even more important to use a multimodal approach to look at the interpreter-mediated interaction, as ‘micro-analyses of communication conduct in face-to-face interaction have shown that visible bodily action, including gesture, can play a crucial role in the processes of interaction and communication’ (Kendon 2004:3).

The interpreter-mediated interactions are very different to monolingual interactions because of the involvement of two different language speakers. More specifically, if meanings are made in a multimodal ensemble, interlocutors who do not share the same language cannot receive the whole ensemble of meanings from each other all at once. They must depend on their interpreter to relay the linguistic information. In other words, this linguistic information will come later and cannot be matched with the original speaker’s other multimodal information. From each interlocutor’s point of view, there is always a mismatch between the visible bodily actions and linguistic utterances from their counterparts. Under this context, it is important to identify how the interpreter ‘re-matches’ multimodal information for her targeted audience. Therefore, this section will discuss all the visible modes concerned in this study.

Among all visible bodily actions, this study is only concerned with the movements made by the interlocutors’ ‘upper body’ (as all participants were all arranged in a sitting position), which will be examined together with their co-occurring speech. As important as linguistic utterances in the meaning-making process are, one’s visible actions also carry important meanings such as to express affection, gratitude, greeting or submission, etc. One’s upper body displays actions through gestures (made by hands and arms), body orientations, and handling of other resources (such as an object). One’s head

expresses meanings through eyes (gaze directions), face (facial expressions) and head movement (nod).

One of the main visible modes is established through mutual gaze. Simmel commented on the significance of mutual gaze that ‘the totality of social relations of human beings, their self-assentation and self-abnegation, their intimacies and estrangements, would be changed in unpredictable ways if there occurred no glance of eye to eye’ (Rossano 2012:358). Therefore, the main functions of gaze will be reviewed in the following section, which is useful for the data analysis of this study.

a. Gaze

‘Gaze is of central importance in human social behaviour’ (Argyle 1994:27). The term ‘gaze’ was defined as human individuals looking at each other, mostly in the region of the eyes, intermittently and for short periods of time, during their conversation or other types of social interaction (Argyle 1994:27-8). There are two main insights from the kinesic approach that have greatly influenced many studies regarding gaze in social interaction: 1) ‘the dichotomy according to which language is communicative, while every other visible behaviour simply works as a cue for who is speaking or what is supposed to happen next is wrong’; 2) ‘a participant does not speak, gesture, smile and hold a posture simultaneously to form a single message with redundant parts. Rather, each modality is employed for specific purposes, some of which may be purely communicational, others might be regulatory and others again might be used to induce or sustain specific relationships between the participants in the interaction’ (Rossano 2012:311). Thus, research on the functions of gaze in social interaction can be categorised into three main aspects: the participation function, regulatory function, and the role of gaze in action formation (Rossano 2012).

Firstly, in terms of how gaze contributes to the participation framework, Goodwin (1980:275; 1981:57) proposed two gaze-related rules, explaining gaze behaviour in interaction in general: 1) ‘a speaker should obtain the gaze of his recipient during a turn-at-talk’; 2) ‘a recipient should be gazing at the speaker when the speaker is gazing at the hearer’. Based on these rules, when looking toward his recipient, a speaker expects to get attention from his recipient(s), engaging them into the interaction. Conversely, the

speaker's looking-away may potentially diminish engagement with his listener(s) when, for instance, an utterance is drawn to an end (Rossano 2012). However, a speaker withdraws his gaze from his recipient(s) may also be temporary rather than intending to disengage from the interaction. For example, the speaker may be engaged with other co-occurring competing activities such as eating, drinking or story-telling (Goodwin 1984). To some extent, 'looking toward or looking away from the other participant(s) is often a good clue in terms of participants' (dis)engagement in the conversation' (Rossano 2012:315).

Secondly, the regulatory function of gaze is another focus of studying gaze behaviour. Early research (such as Kendon 1967; Duncan 1975; Duncan et al. 1974, 1977) indicated that gaze at the end of one's turn is to signal and hand over the floor to the next speaker. This seems to suggest that gaze can potentially regulate turn-taking order in conversation. More specifically, 'speakers tend to gaze away at the beginning of turns and look up toward the recipient when approaching turn completing to signal that they are ready to turn the floor over to the other participants' (Rossano 2012:315). Goodwin (1979:99) investigated how gaze can be used to select addressee(s) in multiparty conversations, suggesting that 'the gaze of a speaker should locate the party being gazed at as an addressee of his utterance'. In addition to the turn allocation function, gaze can also be used to solicit responses (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987) as well as to secure mutual gaze (Bavelas et al 2002). In their research, Goodwin & Goodwin (1987) described that a speaker looked toward his recipient(s) in some instances of word-searching (e.g. when the speaker cannot recall a name), in a way to solicit prompts from other participants. Similarly, Bavelas et al. (2002) also found in their experimental study that a speaker's gaze toward his listener(s) was to solicit responses rather than monitor action. Their research further concluded that 'the listener tended to respond when the speaker looked at her, and the speaker tended to look away soon after the listener responded. Together, speakers and listeners created and used the *gaze window* (i.e. mutual gaze) to coordinate their actions' (Bavelas et al 2002:576-7). In addition, other research (Rossano & Stivers 2010; Rossano 2012) suggested that a speaker's gaze alone can mobilize his recipient responses, that is, recipients are more likely to respond when the speaker is looking at them. Moreover, some research addressed the regulatory function of speaker's gaze withdrawal. Gaze withdrawal from a speaker displays a diminished participation in the conversation (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987); it is also a

‘resource for making a bid for closure, or for displaying a specific understanding of the ongoing development of the course of action’ (Rossano 2012:320).

Thirdly, a different stream of research regarding gaze function is action formation. Most prominently, Kidwell’s (2005, 2009) studies showed gaze function in implementing social action. In a childcare setting, Kidwell (2005) pointed out that children can understand different meanings of their carers’ looks, thus adjusting their own behaviour accordingly. More specifically, a shorter look from the carer is perceived as normal and children will carry on what they are doing. A prolonged look from the carer is perceived as meaningful; it can stop children’s mischievous behaviour. As well as that, Haddington’s (2006) identified how gaze can be utilised to indicate different stances when making assessments. On the other hand, a gaze withdrawal can be an act of resistance (Kidwell 2006) depending on whether it happens in the middle of a conversation or whether it is necessary to obey a directive order (e.g. a suspect avoiding a policeman’s eye contact). Furthermore, Sidnell (2006) observed that, when a speaker is performing a re-enactment, gaze withdrawal is used to indicate that the speaker is not directly addressing anybody, but recalling or describing another event.

The above key findings regarding the main functions of gaze behaviour are summarised in the following tables. Table 2.1 includes the gaze functions of a speaker, when gazing at the listener(s); Table 2.2 summarises the gaze functions of a speaker when withdrawing gaze from the listener(s). Both tables also indicate the differences in gaze functions between two-party conversation and multi-party conversation. Gaze functions used in multi-party conversation are useful for analysing the three-party interpreter-mediated conversation.

Table 2.1 Speaker gazes at the listener (s)

Participants Functions	Two-party conversation	Multi-party conversation
Participation function	1) Getting attention from the listener; 2) Engaging the listener into the interaction (C. Goodwin 1981).	1) Getting attention from the audience; 2) (Dis) engaging the listener (s) into the interaction (C. Goodwin 1981).

Regulatory function	Signalling and handing over the floor (Kendon 1967, Duncan 1975, Duncan et al. 1974, 1977).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Selecting addressee (s) (C. Goodwin 1979); 2) Soliciting response or securing mutual gaze (Goodwin 1986, Bavelas et al. 2002, Rossano 2010); 3) Mobilizing response (Rossano 2010, Rossano 2012).
Action formation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Implementing social action (Kidwell 2009); 2) Taking stance (Haddington 2006). 	

Table 2.2: the speaker withdraws gaze from the listener (s)

Participants Functions	Two-party conversation	Multi-party conversation
Participation function	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Sequential completion (Rossano 2012); 2) Engaging with competing an action (C. Goodwin 1984) 	
Regulatory function	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Reducing engagement (Goodwin 1981, 1984); diminished participation (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin 1987); 2) Making a bid for closure (Rossano 2005, 2012); 3) Displaying a specific understanding of the on-going development of the course of action (Rossano 2012). 	
Action formation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) An act of resistance (Kidwell 2006); 2) In the process of re-enactment (Sidnell 2006) 	

All the above findings from CA studies on gaze functions indicate that the role of the participant, as either a speaker or a listener, correlates with the participant's gaze behaviour (Sidnell & Stivers 2013:315). As one of the key participants in interpreter-mediated interaction, the interpreter keeps switching roles between a speaker and a listener on a turn-by-turn basis in order to pass on information from one participant to another. This means that the gaze behaviours and the functions of the interpreter and of other participants in the interpreter-mediated interaction could reflect or relate to the role of interpreters.

In his pioneering interpreting study looking at multiple communicative modes, Lang (1978) observed gaze behaviour in an immigration interpreting setting. He found that, instead of looking at his ratified addressee, the immigration officer was always gazing at the interpreter while speaking. This lack of eye contact with the ratified addressee was probably caused by the fact that the addressee speaks a different language. Lang (1978) suggested that the likely cause of the immigration officer's gaze behaviour was linguistic insecurity. Therefore, it was the participant's gaze behaviour, rather than his speech, that showed his ways of participation in interpreter-mediated interaction. By shifting gaze from one participant to another, the interpreter also managed to use gaze directions to select recipient and get attention from participant(s).

Lang's (1978) research showed a variety of participating functions of gaze shift in interpreter-mediated interaction. The most recent study (Davitti 2013) regarding the role of interpreters also mentioned the interpreter's gaze function. Davitti's research showed that the interpreter was using gaze to elicit responses from the participant. Davitti's finding offered another example of the regulatory function of gaze employed by the interpreter, especially in comparison with the gaze function of mobilising a response (Rossano 2012).

All these studies showed the potential of studying participants' gaze functions in interpreter-mediated interactions, and the necessity of comparing gaze functions with existing findings from CA studies in monolingual interactions. Apart from gaze, there are obviously many other elements of facial expressions. Due to the limited length of this PhD study, not all of them can be studied in detail, so this research has selected the next visible mode to analyse: gesture movements, which is closely linked to a person's gaze. Therefore, this study will mainly focus on gaze functioning as a part of gesture movements. This section will move on to review the literature regarding gesture as another type of visible mode.

b. Gesture

Gesture movements are important because they are an integral part of *utterance*. As explained in Chapter 1, in this study, *utterance* refers to the ensemble of actions both linguistically and non-linguistically. David McNeil (1992) argued that 'gestures that co-

occur with speech are so intimately bound up with it that speech and gesture must be seen as inseparable components of the act of utterance' (McNeil 1992, cited in Kendon 2004:98). Therefore, the gesture use in in interpreter-mediated interaction might also contribute to the meaning-making process as much as the linguistic means do. This section will first outline gesture uses investigated in the literature of Gesture Studies and it will then define the scope of the main gestures that this study is concerned with.

Gesture was generally considered to support verbal meanings, as it coordinated with related verbal expressions (Marslen-Wilson et al. 1982). For example, gestures combined with deictic expression⁷ such as pointing gestures are meaningful. They occurred at the moment of (or even prior to) the speech utterance of a deictic expression, such as 'this, that, here and there', thereby acting as pointers (Duranti & Goodwin 1992:43). Moreover, gesture movements could sustain until the completion of the deictic utterance (Hindmarsh & Heath 2000). For example, a person reaches out a pointing finger on the document, saying 'that number' with the pointing finger staying on the telephone number. Not only can gestures work with their related linguistic expressions to direct and draw participant's attention to a certain object or feature, but deictic expression can also reflexively work on gestures' behalf. As Hindmarsh & Heath (2000) stated: 'the deictic term, in the sequential and interactional context of the business at hand, not only encourages the co-participant to look for and at some object, but highlights the very moment at which the physical orientation of the speaker becomes relevant to find the object' (Hindmarsh & Heath 2000:1864). Therefore, it is important to understand gesture movements in accordance with their linguistic references.

However, gesture has many more functions beyond the deictic referencing function. McNeil (1992) proposed that there was a co-expressive relationship between gesture and speech. The thinking process involving speaking included both linguistic categorical thinking and imagistic thinking, in which the linguistic categorical thinking was manifested in speech and the imagistic thinking unfolding from a 'growth point' (GP) was manifested in gestures (Kendon 2004:98-100). A growth point (GP) is 'the

⁷ The term deictic in traditional grammar designates (roughly) linguistic elements, which specify the identity or placement in space or time of individuated objects relative to the participants in a verbal interaction (Hanks 1990:5).

initial unit of thinking for speaking’ that combines both linguistic categorical and imagistic components (McNeil 2005:4). Before adapting his interpretation system of gesture use, it is important to define the scope of the main gestures that this study is concerned with. Similar to McNeil’s research focus of gesture, the term ‘gesture’ focused on by this study refers solely to hand and arm movements with the characters of *gesticulation*. The notion of *gesticulation* can be clearly illustrated from ‘Kendon’s continuum’ as follows.

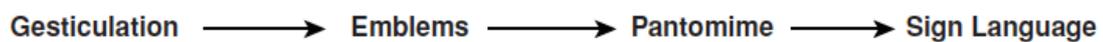


Figure 2.1 Kendon’s Continuum (McNeil 2005)

‘Kendon’s Continuum’ illustrates a spectrum of different types of gesture movements. From one end to the other, ‘the degree to which speech is an obligatory accompaniment of gesture decreases from gesticulation to signs language and the degree to which gesture shows the properties of a language increases’ (McNeil 2005:5). *Gesticulation* is motion that embodies a meaning relatable to the accompanying speech and it sits at one end of ‘Kendon’s continuum’. Moving towards the right-hand side, *emblems* refer to conventionalised signs, such as thumbs-up. *Pantomime* is ‘dumb show’, a gesture or sequence of gestures conveying a narrative line, with a story to tell, produced without speech. Lastly, in *sign language*, ‘signs’ are lexical words used for the deaf. ‘Kendon’s continuum’ demonstrated the various degrees of the relationship to which gesture has with speech in the meaning-making process. Since this study is mostly focused on analysing how gesture works together with speech to generate meanings, the ‘gesture’ referred to in this study will be in the realm of ‘gesticulation’.

Gesture appears most frequently in daily use and it covers many variants. Although unlike linguistic utterances, visible actions used in conjunction with speech do not feature ‘an established vocabulary of lexical forms organized in structures that unfold as a temporal succession, according to rules of syntax’, speech and gesture are integrated forms of expression, produced together under the guidance of a shared aim (Kendon 2004:2-3). In order to analyse this relationship, McNeil’s (2006) theoretical concepts of ‘growth point’ (GP) and ‘hyperphrase’ are also useful to approach the multimodal data in this study. A hyperphrase is a package of multimodal information (indicated by

different symbols) that can be used to present a GP. As the main aim of communication is to achieve a common ground, McNeil assumed that if the two interlocutors share GPs, then they would ‘inhabit⁸’ the same cognitive state (McNeil 2005:1). Based on these two analytical tools, McNeil empirically tested his assumption in multi-party interactions and found that interlocutors did align their growth points, and that the current speakers emitted multimodal signals (shown in a hyperphrase) until they sensed alignments, then allowed turn exchanges (McNeil 2005:2). This study is going to apply McNeil’s concepts to a three-party interpreter-mediated interaction to find out how the interpreter uses multimodal signals to achieve communication aims.

Before applying the above-mentioned two concepts, this study will use McNeil’s category system of gesture use as a basis to its data analysis. In McNeil’s (1992) gesture interpretation system, he firstly made a distinction between *non-imagistic gestures* and *imagistic gestures*. *Non-imagistic gestures* consisted of the previously mentioned deictic gestures (such as pointing gestures), simple rhythmic movements (referred to as ‘beats’) to mark segments of or rhythmic structure of a speech. *Imagistic gestures* were movements used to describe the shape of an object, displaying a type of action, or representing certain pattern of movements. He then divided imagistic gestures into *iconic gestures* and *metaphoric gestures*. Both referred to movements describing either a shape or a movement, but iconic gestures depicted a concrete object or scene while the metaphoric gestures displayed the image of an abstract concept (McNeil 1992, cited from Kendon 2004:98-100). McNeil’s system will be useful for this study for the interpretation of gesture use (examples of GP and hyperphrase can be found in 3.4.2).

Gesture and its references also correlate with the bodily actions presented by the recipient(s). The notion of ‘*recipient design*’ (Sacks 1992) means that verbal expressions are designed according to a particular audience under a specific context. Similarly, a particular gesture and its verbal references are not only used to gather the co-participant’s attention to a certain object, but are also related to the recipient’s body orientation and the configuration of the object. In other words, ‘the actions of the co-

⁸ Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) concept of inhabitation: ‘language certainly has inner content, but this is not self-subsistent and self-conscious thought. What then does language express, if it does not express thought? It presents or rather it is the subject’s taking up of a position in the world of his meanings’ (cited in McNeil 2005:1-2).

participant, even as the reference is being articulated, can inform the emerging shape or design of the gesture and talk' (Hindmarsh & Heath 2000:1866). The following section will discuss the impact of body orientation on the construction of interaction.

c. Gestural deixis

The phenomenon of deixis is considered in this study during the analysis of gesture use (i.e. pointing) and direction of gaze, because deixis is regarded as 'the single most obvious way' to reflect the relationship between language and context in the structures of languages. It is a 'constant reminder to theoretical linguists of the simple but immensely important fact that natural languages are primarily designed...for use in face-to-face interaction' (Levinson 1983:54). The concept of deixis can be applied to not only spoken/written language, but also gestures, direction of gaze and other communication media, so deixis is seen as a feature of all natural languages to some extent (Lyons 1977).

Originating from ancient Greek, the word deixis means 'pointing' or 'indicating' (Levinson 1983:54). Deixis is linguistically defined in Oxford English Dictionary as 'words and phrases that cannot be fully understood without additional contextual information'. Deictic words have fixed semantic meanings but with varied denotational meanings depending on person, time and space, etc. Among main usages of deixis (e.g. gestural deixis, symbolic deixis and non-deictic usages, see Levinson 1983:108), gestural deixis is the most relevant to this study, which shows that the understanding of referential meanings must rely on some audio-visual information. For instance, we need to be able to see the object being pointed at to understand what object 'this/that' refers to. This type of audio-visual information includes pointing, direction of gaze, tone of voice, etc. On the contrary, the meaning of symbolic deixis depends on existing spatio-temporal knowledge of the speech. Similarly, non-deictic usages of deictic words do not have any specific points of reference (Levinson 1983:54-96). The usage of gestural deixis will be closely analysed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 regarding gesture use and functions of gaze in interpreter-mediated communication.

d. Body orientation

This section introduces another visible mode that is closely linked to the function of gesture and gaze, which were explained in the previous sections. The function of body orientation of participants is to create certain spatial frame, a frame of dominant orientation (Goodwin 1981; Kendon 1990; Schegloff 1987, cited by Robinson 1998). This means that, if one participant orients his body towards another co-participant or towards an object, this body movement is to include the co-participant or the object into a spatial frame. Therefore, participants' body orientation could indicate their engagement or disengagement with one another in a given interaction.

Although body orientation shows participant(s)' availability to engage in the interaction with their co-participant(s) (Goodwin 1981; Kendon 1990), it does not necessarily guarantee that this person has actually engaged in the collaborative interaction. In other words, body orientation shows availability to engage, yet does not accomplish a full engagement. In a multi-party interaction, for instance, not all participants have constantly engaged in the collaborative actions. However, the engagement or disengagement of participants in interaction can be reflected from other means of communication such as gaze. For instance, Heath's work (1984) indicated how gaze and body orientation towards a co-participant was used as 'display reciprocity', for it 'is sequentially implicative for an action by a co-participant; it breaks the environment of continuous opportunity, and declares an interest in having some particular action occur in immediate juxtaposition with the display' (Heath 1984:253). Research (Argyle & Cook 1976; Goffman 1967; Goodwin 1981; Kendon 1990; Scheflen 1974, cited by Robinson 1998) showed that gaze is a crucial indicator of participants' engagement or disengagement in interaction, for 'gaze communicates current attention to, availability for participation in others' actions' (Robinson 1998:98). To summarise, even if two participants are facing each other, showing their body orientation towards each other, it does not necessarily mean that they are talking to each other. However, if they start eye contact, they may start an interaction such as a short conversation. In short, body orientation can create a pre-condition for participants to engage in an interaction but does not guarantee one; it requires other communicative means such as gaze and speech to initiate and sustain an interaction.

Once the engagement in interaction has been established, another matter is how to interpret the details of each body orientation. The term 'body' is seen as *an*

organization of segments by Kendon (1990), which includes head, hands, legs and so on. Each segment can orient towards different directions.

Even when people arrange these segments of their body to have divergent directions, a socially understood body-segment hierarchy exists that indicates level and orientation of attention. Because the positioning of lower-body segments establishes a physical framework of limits for the positioning of upper-body segments, lower-body segments are relatively stable and, therefore, more strongly communicate people's frames of dominant orientation (Kendon 1990, cited from Robinson 1998:99).

This means that in the case of the occurrence of divergent directions of different body segments, body orientation is determined by a more stable part of the body, usually the lower-body. The more stable body segments indicate a long-term, dominant action, whereas the less stable body segments indicate a temporary one (Robinson 1998). When participants are sitting together in a set seating arrangement, this stabilised lower-body seating position has provided a spatial frame for a possible actual engagement. The actual engagement, as discussed early in this section, must be analysed through the temporary movements of upper-body segments (i.e. gesture movements) and gaze functions.

To sum up, the multimodal resources discussed above were divided into *audible modes* and *visible modes*. This study aims to investigate how participants, especially interpreters, utilise multimodal resources in interpreter-mediated interaction and to produce new insights to the role of the interpreter. The data analysis of this study is based on a multimodal context, which will be reviewed in the following section.

2.4.3 Multimodal context

Goodwin's (1979) classic analysis of the interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation provided an excellent example of how a sentence was organised and shaped by a multimodal context. In his example, the speaker John (dinner host) was shifting his gazes to look at different recipients while producing his sentence: 'I gave up

smoking cigarettes::. (0.4) I-uh: one-one week ago t'da:y acshilly'. The utterance was initially addressed to Don (a dinner guest), as the speaker John was looking at Don when uttering 'I gave up smoking cigarettes'. Then John shifted his gaze to Beth (John's wife) when adding 'one week ago today' to his utterance. In this example, the speaker John was passing on the news about his quitting of smoking to a recipient Don, who did not know about this news. As John's wife, Beth probably already had the knowledge about John's news, so John added a specific piece of information regarding the exact time of him stopping smoking when addressing Beth. Thus, 'with the addition of this section to the sentence, the news that John has stopped smoking cigarettes is transformed into a different piece of news: that today is an anniversary of that event. Such an anniversary is a new event that none of the parties present, including Beth, need be expected to know about' (Goodwin 1979:100, cited in Heritage 2012:30).

It is quite clear that people change ways of speaking when facing different audiences, but this example indicates that the change of target recipients (in this case, indicated by the speaker's gaze shift.) can even influence the construction of a single sentence. Goodwin's finding could also be applied to interpreting settings where the interpreters are constantly shifting between their two different recipients who speak two different languages. In other words, the interpreter's construction of each interpreting sentence could potentially be influenced by the change of target recipients.

Goodwin's (1979) analysis indicated that a sentence was reformed in the process of its utterance. In a face-to-face interaction, it could be influenced by factors such as direction of gaze and the relationship of the participating parties to one another. His analysis also showed that the meaning of a sentence had to be correctly understood within a context and that this context was created by multi-modalities. Therefore, this study will consider a multimodal context as a basis when analysing various audible and visible modes.

2.5 Conclusion

Based on all that was explained in this chapter, this last section presents a summary of the conceptual framework for this study. The final aim of this study is to find out how a

multimodal analysis contributes to the understanding of the role of the interpreter. In particular, the purpose of the conceptual framework presented above is to answer the main research question of this study: ‘How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?’. This main research question is addressed through three specific sub-research questions: ‘(1) How does gesture use reflect the interpreter’s involvement in communication? (2) How does the interpreter coordinate communication through gaze and body orientation? (3) How does knowledge asymmetry influence the role of the interpreter?’. In order to tackle these questions one by one, the next chapter will detail the specific methods that will be used to prove this conceptual framework in a practical way, how case studies are selected and examined, and how empirical data is to be recorded and transcribed for further analysis.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 reviewed the literature regarding the role of interpreters in Interpreting Studies and identified a research gap for this study. Recent empirical research has favoured the argument that the interpreter plays an ‘active’ role in practice rather than the prescribed ‘invisible’ role stipulated in the professional codes of conduct. Most recent Interpreting Studies (such as Davitti 2013) utilising multimodal analysis to investigate the active role of the interpreters have offered more insights than a simple textual analysis could offer. Therefore, this study is aiming to further investigate the active role of the interpreters through multimodal analysis by looking at aspects such as gesture, gaze and body orientation and knowledge asymmetry that could potentially offer more insights into the role of interpreters. In order to analytically approach the main research question and its sub-questions, Chapter 2 presented a conceptual framework as a basis for data analysis. This methodology chapter will focus on the process of ‘finding answers to questions by collecting evidence from different sources that will support a logical conclusion’ (Hale and Napier 2013). This includes the research design, research methods, data collection and preparation as well as approaches for data analysis. The following section will start by introducing the overall research design for this study.

3.2 Research design

Based on the research question and the conceptual framework set out in the previous chapters, the main purpose of the research design in this chapter is to explain the type of data that will be collected and the methods used for collecting data. Before moving onto explaining the research strategies of this study, the research philosophies and qualitative/quantitative paradigms will be explained, which will form the logical foundation and methodological position of this study.

Firstly, the research philosophy of this study must be determined, as this will have an influence on the overall approaches and perspectives of the actual research process.

There are two main research philosophies that are used in this type of research: the positivistic research philosophy and the phenomenological research philosophy. Positivistic approaches are mostly used in scientific research that focuses on systematically identifying, measuring and evaluating facts or causes of any social phenomenon whereas phenomenological approaches, on the other hand, hold that human behaviours often act in unpredictable ways under different circumstances and do not follow identifiable rules or norms. Essentially, the positivistic methodologies are quantitative and the phenomenological ones qualitative (Hale and Napier 2013).

Secondly, quantitative methods and qualitative methods are two different types of research methods that ‘are valid and useful, (but) not mutually exclusive, (so that) it is possible for a single investigation to use both methods’ (Best and Khan 1989, 89-90). They are different in that qualitative research concerns mainly the quality or characteristics of the research subject whereas quantitative research focuses on the data that can be quantified in terms of numbers. More specifically, qualitative methods are used to explore human subjects’ subjective experiences, of which they attached certain feelings and meanings (Devine 1995:138-9). For example, they can be used to analyse representative case studies, examine human behaviours under certain social context (Best and Khan 1989, 89-90). Quantitative methods, on the other hand, emphasise mainly the quantity or the amount of the data gathered, and can be experimental or non-experimental, with typical examples including surveys and questionnaires. The following section will explain why this study has chosen a qualitative method as its research strategy.

3.2.1 Research strategy

This study has chosen a solely qualitative method design as the most suitable research strategy for the following reasons. Firstly, the research question of this study has determined its qualitative nature. Unlike research in a quantitative paradigm, the research question of this study does not provide a hypothesis. To answer this research question will require detailed descriptions of social behaviour (more specifically, the account of the interpreter’s action), which involve a detailed analysis of interpreter-mediated talk on a turn-by-turn or even on a second-by-second basis. Secondly, considering the diverse and evolving nature of interpreter-mediated interaction, the data

to be gathered for this study within a limited period of time will not be large enough to generate generalizable statistical results. Therefore, a quantitative method will not be suitable. In short, this research opted for a qualitative method to enable detailed multimodal analysis of individuals' behaviour in various settings. The next section will explain the selection of specific research methods for this study.

3.2.2 Selection of research methods

In the qualitative tradition, there are three typical approaches: ethnographic studies, case studies and grounded theory studies (Robson 2011: 130-31). In these approaches, ethnography can be defined as “the study of a social group or individual or individual representative of that group, based on direct recording of the behaviour and ‘voices’ of the participants by the researcher over a period of time” (Hale and Napier 2013:84). Case studies focus on the interpretation of one case with its particular context, which ‘adopt ethnographic principles, but are not ethnographic in the strictest sense’ (Hale and Napier 2013:92). Although not being able to provide a complete account of a culture, case studies give in-depth analysis of a particular aspect of a culture (Nunan 1992:77) and offer rich descriptions of the interpreter working in that context (Geertz 1973). Case studies and ethnographic studies are well-established approaches whereas grounded theory studies are relatively recent. Grounded theory studies feature a new approach in which a theory of a specific social context is developed in the process of the study with as few preconceptions as possible (Hale and Napier 2013).

Case studies are selected as the main qualitative research method for this study in consideration of the following reasons. Firstly, although different to traditional ethnography studies, case studies can be regarded as neo-ethnographic (Stenhouse 1975), as they acknowledge the critical feature of ethnography: to contextualise problems in the wider context (Hale and Napier 2013:112). Secondly, a traditional ethnographic study is normally time-consuming, as it requires the researchers to commit a prolonged period of time to enable tangible results. On the contrary, conducting case studies requires relatively shorter period of time, which is more suitable for the limited time scope of a PhD project.

The following sections will explain how this research conducts a series of case studies to investigate the role of interpreters in a range of different settings. Firstly, the general definitions and features of case studies will be set out, along with an explanation of the design of the case studies used in this research. Secondly, methods used for data collection will be introduced, followed by considerations of ethics in the data gathering process. Lastly, the methodological approaches employed for the analysis of each case study will be discussed.

3.2.3 Case studies

This section will further define case studies, evaluate case studies, recognise the advantages and limitations of using case studies, and finally explain in detail the design of case studies and cases that are gathered as data for this research.

a. Definition

Case studies can be used to explore a wide range of subjects including individuals, groups, situations or settings. Based on the critical features of case studies, Yin (2009) proposed a twofold definition of a case study when considering it as a serious strategic option. Firstly, when considering its scope, ‘a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigate a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’ (Yin 2009:18). However, a case study is not entirely qualitative, a combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods has been broadly accepted in this type of research design (e.g. Gerring 2006 and Yin 2009, cited from Robson 2011). Secondly, regarding its technical side, ‘a case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis’ (Yin 2011:18). The core of this definition is not only on a particular case, but also on its context or setting. A case usually happens in a particular social and physical context

that cannot be studied in isolation of its context (Miles and Huberman 1984, cited in Robson 2011).

Based on Yin's (2011) definitions, case studies require comprehensive investigation of a phenomenon in real-life contexts. Rather than a 'soft option' in methodology (Campbell and Stanley 1963, cited from Robson 2011:137), case study is 'a fundamentally different research strategy with its own designs' (Cook and Campbell 1979, cited from Robson 2011). It is 'an all-encompassing method that covers the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis' (Yin 2009:18).

b. The advantages and limitations of using case studies

This section will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using case studies. Using case studies for this research has the following advantages. Firstly, the use of case studies fits the aim of this study. As the main purpose of this research is find out how multimodal elements reflect the role of the interpreters, case studies can 'contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organisational, social, political, and related phenomena', and their methods 'allow investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events' (Yin 2003: 1-2). Moreover, case studies are useful when exploring questions such as 'what, where, when, who and how', and when the researcher prefers minor influence or control over the situations (Burns 2000:460). This fits the researcher's intention to maintain a minimum of interference in the interaction. Secondly, to fit different research purposes, case studies have a wide range of different types, such as 'individual case study, set of individual case studies, community studies, social group studies, studies of organizations and institutions, studies of events, roles and relationships and cross-national comparative studies' (Hakim 2000:63-72, cited from Robson 2011). Moreover, when considering the level of the unit of analysis, cases studies include holistic case studies, which concern a single, global level analysis, and multiple case studies that include more than one single case (Robson 2011:139). Results generated from multiple case studies are generally more convincing than those from a single case study (Burns 2000:463-4).

However, there remain limitations of using case studies. Firstly, unlike many other research strategies that follow systematic procedures, the use of case studies is rather flexible. For this reason, the use of case studies is regarded less favourably than experiments (Yin 2003). The case studies must be planned with great care to minimise the influence of this kind of drawback. The second limitation is that case studies may not provide enough scientific support for generalisation. However, as Yin (2003) explains, the purpose of case studies is not for accumulating sample cases for ‘statistical generalization’, but for producing ‘analytic or theoretical generalization’ (Robson 2011:140). The last limitation to consider is that case studies might require a huge amount of time such as doing participant observation. However, this is not often the case, as case studies also incorporate other types of methods such as interviews and documentary analysis (Yin 2003:11). To sum up, this section covered the advantages and limitations of using case studies as the research methods. The design of the case studies for this study should make full use of the advantages of using case studies while paying attention to minimise the influence of their limitations.

c. Design of case studies for this research

This section will explain the case studies design for this research, which includes a series of simulated cases. It will then justify why this study chose to use simulated interpreting cases rather than authentic real-life interpreting interaction.

The case studies designed for this research include six simulated cases, consisting of six different interpreter-mediated settings. The six settings are a meeting between two businessmen, a parent and teacher’s meeting, a doctor and patient’s meeting, talk between two neighbours, an interviewer and interviewee’s lunch meeting as well as a meeting between two travellers. Each case followed the same design pattern, that is, two primary participants and a professional interpreter were arranged in a sitting position. The interpreting mode is face-to-face consecutive dialogue interpreting. In total, six participants and three professional interpreters were used. All six cases were video-recorded and analysed in order to answer the research question – ‘How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?’. Before moving onto the data collection and analysis process, the next paragraph will

explain what kind of simulation was used in this study and why simulated cases are appropriate and useful for the case studies in this research.

Simulated cases used in this study were cases re-enacted by primary participants to simulate a real-life interaction. The roles that played by the primary participants were deliberately matched with their real professional or social roles. For instance, the participants who played the roles of businessmen in the business interpreting case were real business people and the participant who played a doctor role in the doctor-patient interpreting case was a retired Chinese doctor. In addition, primary participants in each case were native-speakers of different languages: in each case one was a Chinese native speaker and the other an English native speaker. As the two primary participants could not speak each other's language, their communication was assisted by a professional interpreter. It is worth noting that the primary participants were not given any ready-made scripts to read, rather, they were instructed by the researcher to carry out natural conversations based on some general topics and their social or professional roles. In other words, although the participants were simulating a real-life situation, the interpreters were in fact doing their own interpreting work as they normally do in real-life situations.

There are several reasons for this study to use simulated cases rather than real-life cases for data analysis. The initial reason was because it is very difficult to obtain permission from individual participants to video-record real-life talks that often involve personal matters and private information. As Hale and Napier (2013) argued, 'one way to overcome the difficulty [in accessing authentic interpreting interactions] is to reproduce an interaction and have a professional interpreter interpret live. This way, your data will still be authentic, because it is the interpreter's behaviour you are mostly interested in' (Hale and Napier 2013:132). Although the use of simulated cases may seem 'artificial', it enables the possibility of systematic analysis of data that otherwise cannot be obtained naturally (Major and Napier 2012:15). More importantly, whether the data collected is 'natural' or 'artificial' depends on how the data is to be used (Speer 2002:511-25). As the focus of this study is the role of the interpreter, the simulation creates an authentic environment for the interpreters to work in (Major and Napier 2012; Hale and Napier 2013). The data generated from those cases can still reflect the interpreters' real work situations and behaviour. Secondly, there are already precedents

for using simulated interpreting interaction in Interpreting research (e.g. Cambridge 1999; Napier 2011). Inspired by these precedents in Interpreting Studies, improvements were also made when designing the simulated cases of this study. The researcher deliberately matched the participants' role-play with their real-life professional and social roles. Moreover, unlike previous studies using simulations, participants in this study were not given ready-made scripts to read through, but were asked to improvise their conversations based on some general scenarios and topics. These approaches further ensured the reproduction of a natural interpreting environment for the interpreters. Finally, even for naturally-occurring data, if it needs to be recorded and analysed for research purposes, then informed consent must be obtained from all participants before the actual recording process. In other words, participants' knowledge of the research purpose of the recording has already added a layer of 'unnaturalness' to the data (Speer 2002). Based on the above reasons, this study chose to collect and use simulated data for analysis.

d. Considerations of possible cases

When considering possible cases, there were several factors that needed to be considered. The first factor was the interpreting setting. Weick (1968:366-9) points out 'greater deliberateness in the choice and arrangement of an observational setting can lead to sizable improvements in the precision and validity of observational studies'. In order to answer the research question, the selection of the six cases was designed to cover a range of different institutional (e.g. doctor and patient meeting) and non-institutional settings (e.g. two neighbours' talk) in order to capture an overview of how the interpreters deal with different professional/social roles in varied settings.

Another factor considered was the choice of participants. In this study, all six cases were three-person face-to-face dialogue interpreting, each consisting of one professional interpreter and two primary participants speaking two different languages (in this study, the two different languages were Mandarin Chinese and English). Participants were considered under the precondition that they should be representatives of their own group and culture. In terms of the selections of the interpreters, they should either hold a degree-level translation and interpreting certificate or diploma or completed a formal interpreting training programme. In addition, the interpreters should have worked

several years in the translation and interpreting industry. The primary participants were representatives of some social or professional roles. The roles they played in the simulated cases should fit their real-life professions.

The third factor was the generalizability of findings of the case studies. As a qualitative study, the main concern was not about whether the findings are generalizable. Rather, the focus of this study was on a detailed analysis of a group of individuals engaged in a specific interaction. Although this study concerned only some small range of cases, it was adequate for carrying out a detailed descriptive analysis. As Mason (2000, cited from Hale and Napier 2013: 299-30) put it:

What matters is not the scale of the study but that the resulting generalizations are commensurate with the supporting evidence. Valid findings may range from the relatively weak claim that 'X happened' (on some occasions), though the stronger claim that 'X happened' (from time to time), as evidenced by qualitative analysis, to the very strong claim that 'X frequently or typically happens' on a basis of a quantitative study. All such generalizations will be worth making, provided that they are not stronger than the evidence adduced in support of them. Beyond this, the difficulty remains of seeking to add explanation to description. However, frequently a particular interpreter move is attested, it can never be stated with certainty that the move can be attributed to a particular case. What we can do is show regularities of behaviours and co-occurrence of various features

Therefore, when reporting the findings of case studies, the emphasis of this study will be on the qualitative detailed descriptions and interpretations. The findings should not be generalised statistically but analytically.

To ensure the validity of the simulated cases of this study, the following two steps were taken in the design of the simulations. Firstly, the primary participants needed to have the knowledge background of the roles that they played. For instance, the participants who acted as businessmen must have been doing business or had previous business experience in real-life. With relevant professional knowledge, they were in fact simulating their real-life experience. The topics and main points of discussion were

given to the primary participants beforehand, but these materials were not written scripts for them to read through, but only notes of main points for them to improvise upon (as discussed earlier in 3.2.3 c). This consideration in the design of the simulation is fundamentally different to any interpreting experimental studies, in which participants are generally actors given ready-made scripts to read through for the interpreter to translate. In such a manner, the interpreters would not have a natural working environment to do interpreting, but a very artificial one.

However, in the simulated cases of this study, all participants improvised their speeches during the interaction. In addition, in order to ensure the interpreters' performances as authentic as possible, the interpreters were not given any detailed information of the meetings/talks, apart from the general scenarios. In this way, the interpreters were simply carrying out interpreting work as they normally did. These above steps were used to make sure that the simulations have created an authentic interpreting environment. All six simulated cases were video-recorded by the researcher on site. To minimise the impact of her presence, the researcher (myself) was simply acting as a cameraperson. The following table summarises the six simulated cases recorded for this research.

Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
Parent and teacher's talk	Doctor and patient meeting	Interviewer and interviewee
Case 4	Case 5	Case 6
Two businessmen's conversation	Two neighbours' talk	Two travellers' conversation

Table 3.1 Six simulated cases

In these six simulated cases, Case 1 was a conversation carried out between a Chinese parent and a British university representative. In this context, with the help of an interpreter, a Chinese parent was speaking with a university representative, making inquiries about studying at a UK university to decide whether to let his child study abroad; the parent lacked sufficient information regarding a foreign university

recruitment process, so he posed lots of questions. Therefore, the flow of information in this case was mainly from the university representative to the Chinese parent.

Case 2 was a consultation meeting between an English patient and a Chinese medical doctor. In this context, with the help of a professional public service interpreter, the English patient was seeking advice from the Chinese traditional medical doctor about the possible treatment for her back pain. The patient was actively asking advice from the Chinese doctor, as he possessed more expert knowledge in medicine. The flow of information was from the doctor to the patient, but the patient was the person who initiated the topics and questions.

Case 3 was an interview meeting between a Chinese company recruitment officer and an American prospective interviewee. In this context, the Chinese company was intending to recruit a foreign computer programmer to work in their Beijing office. As neither participant could speak the other's language, this interview was carried out with the help of an interpreter. The interviewer was the one posing questions, so the information flew mostly from the interviewee to the interviewer.

Case 4 was a conversation between a Chinese businessman and a British businessman, initiating a potential interest of selling a traditional Chinese drink to the UK market. Both participants are experienced business people in real-life and the topic being discussed was closely related to their own businesses, although the intention to sell the drink to the UK market was artificial. Both participants had similar business experience and expertise in their own industries and the exchange of information flowed in both directions with the help of an interpreter.

Case 5 was a casual, informal conversation between two neighbours regarding British and Chinese university education. The English neighbour had a student wanting to go to China to study Mandarin, so she was consulting her Chinese neighbour on her student's behalf about the choice of Chinese universities and cities, as well as foreign students' general life and study in China. The Chinese neighbour gave some relevant answers in his own capacity.

Case 6 was a conversation between two travel enthusiasts: one is a travel blogger and the other is a photographer. Both are frequent travellers in their own countries, China and the US. The two met discussing interesting places to travel and take photographs in China and in the USA. In the interpreter-mediated conversation, they were sharing with each other their own traveling experiences while making recommendations of places to visit in their own countries.

Three professional interpreters were used to interpret in these six cases. Each interpreter was asked to interpret in two cases: one setting was formal and institutional while another was less formal and non-institutional. All three interpreters were professionally trained to degree level and are practitioners in the interpreting industry. Before the simulation, the interpreters were only given the general scenarios of the conversation without much detail. They were instructed to do the interpreting work as they would normally do in their real working conditions. The primary participants in these six cases were either native speaker of Chinese or a native speaker of English; neither of them understood the other's native language. As explained earlier, the two primary participants in each case were carefully selected to play certain institutional or social roles.

In each case, the two primary participants were arranged to sit directly facing each other with the interpreter sitting in the middle, forming a triangular shape (see Figure 3.1 below). Two cameras were used to record each case, one as a back-up recording. They were set up as fixed cameras in the same place to record the interactions from one direction, about one and half metres away from all participants, which captured most of the upper body of both participants and the interpreter. The interpreter was facing directly towards the camera while the two participants were facing the cameras in a 45-degree angle. The recording length of each case was about 30 minutes. With the design of case studies in mind, the next section will explain what methods are used for collecting data in this study.

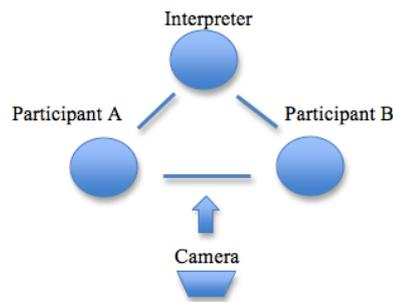


Figure 3.1 Seating arrangement

3.2.4 Methods for data collection

Since this study adopted a qualitative paradigm as its primary research methodology, the main source of evidence under this paradigm is *observation*. The following sections will explain this main source of evidence and what method is going to be used to collect the data. It will introduce observation as a source of evidence in qualitative studies. It will also review both the advantages and disadvantages of using observation, and explain what type of observation will be most suitable for this study.

According to Weick (1968:360), “an observational method is defined as *the selection, provocation, recording, and encoding of that set of behaviours and settings concerning organisms ‘in situ’ which is consistent with empirical aims*”. This definition details the whole process of using an observational method, but research relating to human subjects mostly includes observation of people. It is understandable that people’s behaviour and actions in interaction are the primary concern of real-life research, so ‘a natural and obvious technique is to watch what they do, to record this in some way and then to describe, analyse and interpret what we have observed’ (Robson 2011:313). However, before employing this method, both the advantages and disadvantages of using observational methods must be discussed.

The most obvious advantage of observation is its directness, as the researcher does not ask questions about participants’ opinions or feelings but ‘watch[es] what they do and listen[s] to what they say’ (Robson 2011:316). Observation overcomes the drawbacks of interviews and questionnaires where the responses given sometimes lack compatibility between people’s words and their actual behaviours (Robson 2011). It is often true that ‘saying is one thing, doing is another’ (De Montaigne 2004). The incompatibility

between words and acts can come from two causes. One is from memory deficiency and the other from ‘social desirability response bias’⁹. In other words, it is possible that all human beings have memory deficiencies and may forget specific details within the interaction; it is also possible that ‘the basic human tendency to present oneself in the best possible light can significantly distort the information gained from self-reports’ (Fisher 1993:303). Therefore, *direct observation* appears to be an alternative technique that can remove a layer of indirectness. However, observation also brings about another layer of artificiality.

A commonly encountered disadvantage of using observation is *reactivity*, termed by McCall (1984:273), which refers to the impact that an observer (the researcher) could bring into a natural interaction. More specifically, the presence of a researcher can potentially influence participants’ normal behaviour when they notice that they have been watched. Interpreters, for instance, may experience a deviation from their regular performance or behaviour while being recorded (Wadensjö 1998:96). As Wadensjö explained, ‘[a] documented subject [will] probably find it difficult from time to time not to pay attention to the fact that they are under surveillance’ (Wadensjö 1998:95). There are, however, two specific ways to reduce the so-called ‘observer effect’: one is *minimal interaction* and the other *habituation*. *Minimal interaction* can be realised by minimising direct contacts with the group, such as avoiding eye contact, facial expressions on certain incidents (e.g. smiling at the interpreter to express encouragement) and arranging the observing position in a less distracting manner (e.g. wearing darker clothes and keeping still). *Habituation* is another strategy, which is used to prolong the presence of a researcher as a ‘minimal interactor’ in the scene, based on the assumption that people tend to behave more naturally when they get used to the environment and pay less attention to the existence of an observer (Robson 2011:331). This study employed both strategies to minimise the impact of the presence of the researcher.

In order to choose a specific observational method, it is important to differentiate different types of observations. Observational methods can be classified in two dimensions: one is regarding different approaches of observation and the other relating

⁹ A *social desirability response bias* means that people respond in a way that puts them in a favorable light (Robson 2011:240).

to the role of the observer. In the first dimension, according to the different approaches of observation, they are divided into *formal* and *informal* observation. In formal observation, the researcher has pre-designed all specific aspects that she must attend to in the observation. On the other hand, the informal observation requires less structured contents to be observed and the researcher simply takes notes and collects information from participants. Consequently, data collected from formal observation can achieve higher reliability and validity whereas informal observation requires a complex task in terms of data analysis, for its data is comprehensive but also massive. Furthermore, data collected through formal observation thus lacks comprehensiveness, as it is only focused on the ones that the researcher is interested in (Robson 2011: 318-9).

Within the second dimension concerning the role of the observer, there are two aspects: *direct observation* and *participant observation*. *Direct observation* provides the researcher with invaluable opportunities to observe and analyse not only the individual behaviour on the site, but also relevant evidence such as environmental conditions. More importantly, *direct observation* can generate evidence that ‘adds new dimensions for understanding either the context or the phenomenon being studied’ (Yin 2009:110).

Participant observation means that the researcher must become one of the participants in the events and take on certain roles in the interaction. However, one of the major issues in participant observation is probable prejudice. According to Becker’s (1958) summary, firstly, the observer is less likely to assume an external role but rather a supporting one, which is quite contrary to the common practice in Social Sciences; secondly, the observer may become an advocate to certain groups, altering the original dynamics in the group; thirdly, being a participant will distract the researcher, as much of their attention will be diverted to participation rather than simply observing others; lastly, if there is more than one group having simultaneous activities, it will be implausible for the observer to participate and observe in different groups at the same time. Therefore, this study did not consider participant observation methods and the researcher was only a neutral observer, rather than playing other roles.

This study opted to use an observation method, as it requires a rather flexible time frame, either over an extended period of time or just on a single field visit. The observational methods used were *direct* and *formal*, in which the researcher only acted

as an observer. In consideration of the amount of data that could be generated through an informal observation, this study found that a pre-structured *formal* observation was more feasible for smaller scale case studies. In order to avoid memory deficiencies, apart from observation, all simulated cases in this study were video-recorded for further detailed analysis, as it is a common practice in Interpreting research that much observational data was collected by direct recording of the events or activities (such as Wadensjo 1998, Angelelli 2006, Hale 2001, Takimoto 2012, to name just a few).

As mentioned above, all of the chosen cases were video-recorded and then selectively transcribed in writing. I was on the site, observing and recording while the interactions were occurring. The transcriptions of the recording provided a detailed record for scrutinised analysis, which supplemented what cannot be captured or what was omitted by the researcher when doing on-site observation. The recorded data was later used for conversational analysis, especially for carrying out multimodal analysis.

To sum up, the main source of evidence used in this study was direct observations. Before carrying out fieldwork with human participants, relevant ethical issues were considered in advance. The next section will present detailed considerations of ethics associated with the fieldwork of this study.

a. Considerations of ethics

Research including human subjects requires ethical considerations, as the research participants might experience stress, anxiety, injury and a great number of other possible consequences (Robson 2011:194). Traditionally, science was regarded as ‘value-free’ and all the researchers had to do is to describe objectively. However, Robson argued that ‘in real world research, we may not be able to, or wish to, control the situation but there is almost always the intention or possibility of change associated with the study. This forces the researcher, wittingly or not, into value judgements and moral dilemmas’ (Robson 2011:198). Therefore, ethical codes and guidelines are used to differentiate acceptable social behaviours from those unacceptable ones (Burns 2000:17). Since the research subjects of this study involved individual human subjects, it was essential to ensure that both ethical and legal issues were considered throughout

the research process of the study. This section will discuss ethical concerns that might be involved in this research and how these issues were addressed.

Firstly, at the beginning of the research process, informed consent must be obtained from all participants voluntarily. In order to obtain their consent to participate in this research, all participants should be informed of the overall purpose of this study and the detailed procedures of participation. I provided written documents detailing the participation process as well as offered face-to-face meetings to answer any questions and concerns from the participants beforehand. The Ethical Research Committee at the University of Stirling approved all written documents prepared by myself for getting the informed consent from participants and from the interpreters. The original documents of ethics approval from the University are attached at the end of this thesis as an appendix.

In addition to informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality are important issues to consider at the stage of analysing data and producing research findings. I am responsible for keeping all participants' identities anonymously in my research reporting, which is a regular norm considered by ethical research boards and committees and required by the UK's Data Protection Act (1998). To ensure anonymity, all participants in this research were asked to use an assumed name to address each other, so their real names do not appear in the final report of the data analysis. In some cases, an individual can be identified even without disposing any personal details. For instance, an interpreter may be identified simply when an acquaintance has heard their voice. Therefore, I should keep this in mind when deciding how to store and present the data in my findings, in order to minimise any possibility of revealing participants' identities if they wish to remain anonymous. If the images of any participants appear in the final report, I have anonymised all participants' facial features by using specific software. In terms of confidentiality, I am fully aware of not invading individual privacy even after obtaining participants' informed consent, as the invasion of privacy could result in very detrimental consequences to the researcher and her researcher findings (Robson 2011). After carefully thinking through this matter, I emphasised to all the participants many times throughout the participation process not to include any personal or private information. In addition, issues regarding how to keep all information confidential were explained to all potential participants at the initial stage and are also detailed in the informed consent form.

b. Ethical concerns relating to observation

In this section, ethical considerations directly relating to the methods of observation will be discussed in detail. It is possible to have other unexpected ethical issues coming out during the fieldwork, but many ethical issues relating to research design can be anticipated before starting the actual fieldwork and the researcher can be well prepared as to how to handle these issues (Mason 2002). Therefore, several principles relating to the ethics of using observations should be followed consistently throughout the research fieldwork to meet ethical and legal requirements (Mason 2002: 78-9).

In terms of observation, the researcher should not pose direct questions to the participants. However, the presence of the researcher on site and the fact that the interaction was recorded would inevitably have an impact on the participants, as the researcher had to inform all the participants why she was there to observe and record, and what the purpose of the study was. Because of this influence from the side of the researcher, there were documented cases where researchers conducted covert observation. However, ‘observing people as part of a research project without letting them know what you are doing is clearly at odds with the principle of informed consent’ (Robson 2011:206). Therefore, this study mainly followed the ethical codes and guidelines to design its simulated cases, making sure that all participants were fully informed of the procedure and voluntarily consent to participate. The recordings are stored safely and kept confidential by myself, and have only been used for the purpose of this study. The next section will explain the methods for analysing data after the data has been collected from the fieldwork.

3.2.5 Suitability of CA and multimodal analysis

The contents of the video-recorded interactions were transcribed and analysed using a combination of Conversational Analytical (CA) and multimodal analytical approaches (details of transcription methods will be explained in Section 3.4). This section will explain why the combination of CA and multimodal analysis is useful to the data analysis of this study and how these approaches can be adopted in this study.

Since the data of this study needed to be prepared and analysed on both linguistic and non-linguistic levels, a combined use of methods from CA and multimodal analysis was suitable and useful. Broadly speaking, CA is suitable for empirical analysis of the organisation of talk or text and it also focuses on audio or video recordings as its main data. Moreover, CA offers distinctive and consistent methodological procedures for analysing interaction. It can reveal ‘how participants’ own interpretations of the on-going exchange inform their conduct’ (Wooffitt 2005:86-7) rather than relying on subjectively explaining the significance of the interaction from the analyst’s own perspective.

The key methodological features of conversational analysis, such as ‘the analysis of mundane verbal interaction as a systematic and highly organised phenomenon, and close attention to the detail of naturally occurring activities’ (Wooffitt 2005:26), made CA an ideal choice for the detailed textual-level investigation of this study. The organisation system of the turn-taking in ordinary conversation proposed by Schegloff and Sacks (1973) offers a foundational method for this study to investigate the interpreter-mediated conversation. Specifically, turn construction components (such as transition relevance place, TRP), rules of turn allocation (Schegloff 1992) and the basic unit of adjacency pair (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Details of each of the key elements such as TRP and adjacency pair applied to this study were reviewed in Chapter 2 (2.5.1).

In addition to the above points, CA can also be applied to study aspects of multimodal interaction (e.g. Goodwin (1979) studied speaker’s gaze shift over the course of constructing a single sentence. Details of this study can be found in Chapter 2, 2.5.4), which forms a perfect combination with multimodal approaches. Having detailed linguistic analysis prepared by CA, the multimodal approaches can bring in analysis of the non-linguistic aspects (such as gaze, gesture and body in this study), as they draw ‘attention to the range of different modes that people use to make meaning beyond language – such as speech, gesture, gaze, image and writing – and in doing so, offers new ways of analysing language’ (Bezemer & Jewitt 2010:180). Detailed approaches of analysing different types of modes can be found in Chapter 2.

3.2.6 Employment of CA and multimodal analysis

As discussed in the above sections, both CA and multimodal analysis are employed in this study. This section will explain how both approaches can be used to facilitate data analysis in this study.

Following Coulthard and Johnson's (2007) suggestions, the first thing to start with in analysing a text is comparing its similarities and differences with other texts in different contexts. Hence, it is important to identify the main characteristics of the discourse under study. In this study, firstly, the main differences between an interpreting conversation and a monolingual conversation will be identified. Secondly, the similar and different characteristics of each case will also be compared. Knowing these features can better equip the analyst to produce a more reliable analysis and more valid findings. Another way of carrying out initial data analysis is by starting from various levels of a discourse, such as pragmatic, semantic, syntactic, and so on (Hale and Napier 2013). This study uses multimodal analysis, combined with CA, to analyse both linguistic and non-linguistic levels. Detailed transcription methods will be mentioned in later sections.

The next step is to summarise the initially analysed features into useful findings. One way to draw findings is through a quantitative analysis, for example, through certain features – such as gaze directions and gaze duration, use of personal pronouns and so on. Another way is through a content analysis to summarise the sequences of the discourse thematically (Hale and Napier 2013). When analysing interpreting discourses, there are three main approaches. One way is to analyse different sets of discourses separately. Each interpreting interaction consists of source language discourse, target language discourse and interpreting discourses of both source and target languages. Patterns and features of each discourse can be descriptively compared and summarised. Another way is to focus on the interrelated discourse, for instance, how each turn of the participant influences another. Main issues under consideration include turn-taking, overlapped talk, and details as to how the interpreter coordinates the interaction. The final approach is to compare the translated version with its original source text, so as to analyse issues such as interpreting quality, difficulties, errors and solutions. Above all, these approaches can be applied together or separately according to the specific research questions and objectives (Hale and Napier 2013).

The main focus of this study is not to assess interpreting quality but to investigate how the interpreter coordinates the interpreting interaction both linguistically and non-linguistically and what influences the role of the interpreters in interaction. Therefore, the data analysis will focus on using the above-mentioned second approach as well as a combination of the first and second approaches. For the first approach, analysing different sets of discourses will be useful. The interpreting discourses will be compared with the source language discourse and the target language discourse respectively. When comparing those two sets of discourses, changes such as word choices or sentence structures made by the interpreter can reflect different influences from different participants. Those changes can be categorised, quantified and compared with discourses of both the source and target languages so as to see how the changes happen when interpreting for each side of the participant. For instance, the frequency of using polite words for one side over the other can reflect the asymmetrical relations among different participants. The second approach of focusing on analysing the interrelated discourse is also useful, as it reflects how all participants including the interpreter coordinate with each other. This approach can be used to describe how the interpreter coordinates each turn for the participants, especially at the moments when the interpreter starts to become 'active' rather than 'invisible' in the interaction. The extra coordination work done by the interpreter can then be identified and analysed in detail.

3.4 Data preparation

At the stage of transcribing the contents of the recordings, the first step was to identify the *Significant Instances* from the recordings, which are instances where non-linguistic communicative means can be observed to show similar patterns (such as imitating gestures, forming eye contact or joint attention) to collaborate with their co-occurring linguistic means in negotiating a shared understanding (see more details in 3.5). The recordings were played multiple times, shifting between the audio mode and the video mode, in order that the researcher (myself) could note down the time periods of instances for further transcription and analysis. Then the data for analysis was prepared by using the transcription methods for multiple modes, both linguistic and non-linguistic. For transcribing linguistic data, this study adopted some transcription

conventions from Conversational Analysis (CA). Most of the CA transcription symbols were designed by Gail Jefferson to record the features and structure of a conversation. For transcribing non-linguistic data and reflecting its relationship with linguistic data, the transcription methods of this study were based on McNeil's (2006) transcription method for coding multimodal information. Please note that in this study, different transcription schemes were used according to different focuses of the analysis. Firstly, when analysing gesture in Chapter 4, McNeil's (2006) transcription scheme was used, as his transcription methods are most suitable for displaying the synchronicity of gesture movements with their co-occurring speech. In addition, images or screenshots from the video-recordings were added to exhibit a better description of the gesture movements concerned. Secondly, when analysing gaze and body orientation in Chapter 5, the transcription software ELAN was used as it enables a clear presentation of different tiers of linguistic and non-linguistic elements in its vertical layout. In this case, however, the CA transcription conventions were not used, as ELAN was not compatible with adding special symbols. Luckily, the vertical layout presented by ELAN is enough to provide a basis for the analysis of gaze and body orientation. Finally, when analysing the state of knowledge asymmetry in Chapter 6, Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions (cited from Psathas 1995:70-78) were used to present most linguistic information while non-linguistic aspects were presented using screenshots from the videos. To summarise, the transcription scheme used by this research is rather flexible and diverse, aiming to use the best possible presentation of transcripts to support the focus of the analysis. The following sections explain in detail the two main transcription methods that were adopted by this study for analysing both linguistic and non-linguistic information.

3.4.1 Transcription methods for linguistic information

According to CA studies (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Psathas 1979; Goodwin 1981; Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Psathas and Anderson 1990), the following is a summary of the coding scheme used as the transcription conventions in analysing linguistic information in CA-based research (Psathas 1995). These transcription conventions are useful for this research, as the researcher can select these symbols when analysing linguistic information and its audible features in the cases of this study.

	Symbol	Example
I. Sequencing		
a. Simultaneous utterances	[[A: [[I used to do lots of exercises B: [[I used to...
b. Overlap	Start: [End:]	A: I used to do [lots of] exercises B: [I see]
c. Latching (i.e. no interval between the end of a prior and the start of a next part of talk.)	=	A: I used to do [lots of] exercises = B: [I see] C: = So did I
II. Intervals within and between utterances		
a. Timed intervals	(seconds)	A: I used to do (0.6) lots of sports. (0.4) B: I see.
b. Untimed micro-intervals	(.)	A: I used to do (.) lots of sports
c. Long intervals	((pause))	B: I see ((pause))
III. Features of speech production		
a. Sound stretch	:::	A: I'm so::: sorry re:::ally I am
b. Cut-off	-	A: Th' U:sac- uh:
c. Intonation		
1. A stopping fall in tone	.	A: I'm sorry.
2. A continuing intonation	,	A: There was a bear, a cat
3. A rising intonation	?	A: A do:g?
4. Rising and falling shifts	↑↓	A: A ↑marvellous deputy.
5. An animated tone	!	A: An that!
d. Emphasis	—	A: It's <u>MINE</u> .
e. Pitch		
1. Pitch drop	Underscore under the vowel immediately	A: It's only a venee:r though,

	preceding the colon	
2. Pitch rise	Underscore under the prolongation	A: It's only a venee: <u>r</u> though,
3. No pitch changes	Underscore both	A: It's only a venee: <u>r</u> though,
f. Volume		
1. Loudness 2. Softness	Upper-case Letters o o	A: Get OUT! A: How are you feeling? (0.4) °these days,°
IV. Aspiration		
1. Exhale 2. Inhale	h or hhh .hhh	A: I'm <u>not</u> sure hhh A: .hhh <u>Ok</u> ay
V. Verbal descriptions	(())	A: I used to ((cough)) smoke a lot
VI. Presentation conventions		
1. To call reader's attention	→	→ A: I'm <u>not</u> sure hhh
2. Ellipses a. Horizontal ellipses b. Vertical ellipses	
3. Numbering of lines	1, 2, 3	
VII. Transcriptionist doubt	()	

Table 3.2 A summary of CA transcription conventions (cited from Psathas 1995:70-78)

According to Hale and Napier (2013), when applying CA transcription system to the studies of Dialogue Interpreting (DI), a number of points should be noted. Firstly, the unit of analysis determines the numbering of lines in Interpreting Studies. If the unit is a short exchange, then each exchange should be numbered. If it is a longer exchange, then

each line should be numbered. Secondly, although depending on the purpose of the study, the transcription generally includes turn taking (such as latching and overlap), intervals, verbal descriptions (such as cough and sneeze), non-verbal communication (such as nods, gazes), pitch, emphasis, volume, intonation, etc. Thirdly, when transcribing video-recorded data, the researcher should decide whether to include the description of the parameters of each non-linguistic element. The description of non-linguistic information such as gaze, gestures and postures in this study will be detailed through McNeil's multimodal transcription method, which will be discussed in the following section.

3.4.2 Transcription methods for non-linguistic information

Although the above-mentioned CA transcription methods include using certain symbols to indicate non-linguistic information, the focus of CA transcription is on linguistic information. However, McNeil's hyperphrase transcription method (2006) can show detailed non-linguistic visible features and clearly present the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic information.

McNeil's transcription method is based on his conceptual notion of growth points (GP). As briefly explained in Chapter 2, McNeil's GP concept refers to the 'the initial unit of thinking for speaking' that combines both linguistic categorical and imagistic components (McNeil 2005:4). According to McNeil, the linguistic thinking is achieved through linguistic utterances while the imagistic thinking, which is emerged from a GP, is manifested in gestures (Kendon 2004:98-100). In other words, we express ourselves using multiple means of communication, all of which are synchronised together at certain points, which are GPs. This conceptual meaning of GP can then be analysed using an analytical tool called 'hyperphrase', which is a package of multimodal information (indicated by different symbols) that can be used to present a GP (McNeil 2005). McNeil used several different symbols to indicate non-linguistic information and attached them onto the linguistic transcription to show how the two parts of information fit together at certain growth point. An example of McNeil's 'hyperphrase' is shown as follows:

we're gonna go over to # thirty-five 'cause / they're ah / they're from the neigh
borhood they know what's going on #*
(McNeil 2005:2)

In this example, the hyperphrase began part way into the verbal text from the first F0 break. Symbols such as # means an audible breath pause, / is a silent pause, * is a self-interruption, italics show gaze, and the underlined segments (named as F0 groups) subdivide the thematic cohesion of the hyperphrase. This example showed that the speaker was gazing at the listener(s) while making this speech (indicated by italics); it also reflected an immediate self-repair after a self-interruption indicated by * and /. Moreover, the underlined segments also indicated that each gesture down stroke in the F0 break compensated for the over-segmentation. 'This hyperphrase implies a communicative pulse structured on the verbal, gestural and gaze levels simultaneously' (McNeil 2005:2). It showed that the two non-linguistic features, gaze and gesture, together with the lexical content of the speech were a single production pulse organised thematically around the main idea that 'the people from the neighbourhood in thirty-five' (McNeil 2005:2). In the data analysis of this study, I adopted some of McNeil's existing coding scheme, but also added a few more symbols for the purpose of this study.

As discussed above, this study followed CA transcription conventions when focusing on the analysis of linguistic information and its audible features; it used McNeil's transcription methods when focusing on analysing multimodal information (such as gesture movements) and the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic information. Some screenshots and hand-drawings were also embedded in the transcripts to indicate more clearly certain key non-linguistic information. Furthermore, since this thesis is presented in English, all interpreting discourses in Chinese were not only presented in their original form, but also back-translated into English.

When analysing gaze and body orientation in Chapter 5, however, the presentation of the transcripts was slightly different to other transcriptions in Chapters 4 and 6. ELAN was used as a tool to enable a second-by-second transcription, to show greater details of gaze direction and its duration, as well as other co-occurring non-linguistic information. In addition to that, ELAN allowed different verbal and non-verbal aspects to be

transcribed into individual tiers. These tiers were arranged vertically in relation to a same timeline (see transcripts in Chapter 5). In this way, the relationship between linguistic utterances and their co-occurring non-linguistic elements could be clearly presented. Please note that due to the limitation of this software, texts transcribed from ELAN could not include the symbols from CA transcription conventions. The technical procedure of the transcription process will be explained in the next section regarding transcription equipment and software.

3.4.3 Transcription software and procedure

The researcher recorded the simulated cases by using two high-definition cameras borrowed from the University of Stirling. The recordings of the six cases were safely stored on DVD copies. Firstly, the transcription software used by this study was ‘ELAN 4.9.2’ (available for downloading at <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/download/>). ELAN is a professional tool to create complexed annotations on video/audio recordings for detailed multimodal analysis, its multi-tier function making it possible to transcribe both linguistic and non-linguistic information and reflect them in real time. Apps such as PhotoSketch and Meitu were used to burr participants’ facial features to anonymise their identities, which ensures that the researcher can present the data as well as the final report in accordance with the ethical principles discussed earlier in this chapter.

In the transcription procedure, the first step was to identify significant instances and then produce transcriptions following either the Jefferson-style CA conventions or a McNeil-style ‘hyperphrase’ multimodal transcription, depending on each specific focus of the data analysis. The second step was to add anonymised images in the transcripts in order that all the multimodal information was also presented visually, which was useful when referring to specific interactions when describing them in the findings.

As mentioned at the beginning of 3.4, it is necessary to identify ‘*significant instances*’ of interaction using a multimodal analytical approach. The next section will explain in detail how these significant instances are to be identified and the purposes for which they are selected.

3.5 Significant instances of interpreter-mediated interaction for investigation

As explained earlier in this methodology chapter, this study gathered data through empirical observation conducted as part of a series of case studies. This involved examination of video recordings of interpreter-mediated interaction. Within this empirical observation and data-gathering, significant instances of interpreter-mediated interaction from the perspective of multimodal analysis were selected for further investigation. This section explains how these significant instances were identified for this research.

Significant instances of interaction in this study refer to those interpreting instances where non-linguistic communicative means exhibit patterns when individuals form or confirm shared understandings. Significant instances were identified in the following ways. Firstly, the video recordings must be watched several times. When the videos were played at different speeds (faster or slower), similar non-linguistic patterns start to emerge. At a fast speed, repeated patterns (such as repeated gesture movements) could be seen more clearly; at a slower speed, details of how multiple communicative means in relation to one another could be seen (such as the shift of gaze and body orientation in relation to their co-occurring linguistic utterances). Secondly, the videos could be watched silently. By muting the sound of the recordings, the visual aspects became more prominent without any distractions from the audio channel. Similarly, the audio version of the data could also be examined on its own. All instances where the audible resources convey seemingly incomplete messages were noted. Then, the instances of incomplete messages noted could be re-examined using the video version of the data; this comparison allowed instances of visible modes of communication that added meaning to verbal communication to be identified. To select significant instances in this way is to expose those instances where additional or different meanings are conveyed in multiple modes of communication for further analysis. In those instances, we will be able to address any partial meanings or even misinterpretation of meanings caused by having access to only audible modes of communication. The reason that gathering data about significant instances is important for this study is because it can be used to produce fresh insights through a multimodal approach into the active role of the interpreter.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the methods that are utilised to answer the research question. The theoretical orientation and methodological position of the research design were set out. It explained that a qualitative method was chosen for this study. To suit the purpose of this study, case studies were chosen as the primary research methods and simulated interpreting cases were video-recorded as the main source of data. Ethical issues regarding human subjects were discussed with regards to the whole process of data collection. At the stage of data preparation, CA transcription conventions as well as multimodal transcription method were used to prepare the raw data for analysis. Lastly, the whole data analysis process considered multiple approaches from Discourse Analysis and Conversational Analysis. More specifically, how significant instances were identified for further investigation in each case study was explained step by step, and this study's findings are drawn from multimodal analysis of those significant instances. The following empirical chapters will explain in detail the results of applying these approaches to the analysis process of each case study.

Chapter 4 Multimodal analysis: gesture use

4.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have identified a gap in the Interpreting Studies literature regarding the role of the interpreter and laid out a theoretical foundation to answer the research question: ‘How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?’. In this study, this broad research question is to be answered in three specific aspects, which are the three sub-research questions: (1) ‘How does gesture use reflect the interpreter’s involvement in communication?’ (2) ‘How does the interpreter coordinate communication through gaze and body orientation?’ (3) ‘How does knowledge asymmetry influence the role of the interpreter?’. This current chapter and the following two chapters are the empirical chapters of this PhD thesis, presenting the details of data analysis and its findings to answer the above three sub-questions respectively. These three empirical chapters are: Chapter 4, multimodal analysis of gesture use, Chapter 5, multimodal analysis of gaze functions and body orientations and Chapter 6, knowledge asymmetry.

As detailed in the previous chapters, the data gathered for this study includes six case studies featuring a range of different settings (see Table 3.1 in Chapter 3). Six participants were involved and three professional interpreters were used in these six case studies. All six cases were video-recorded and were analysed together using a multimodal approach to identify the ways in which the interpreters are actively involved in communication and why their active involvement occurs.

The purpose of this current chapter is to analyse participants and interpreters’ gesture use from the data gathered in order to find evidence of the interpreters’ active role from a multimodal perspective and how it relates to the research question. The structure of this chapter is as follows. It begins by introducing the scenarios of all six cases, including the background of all participants and their institutional and social roles set up in the simulations. All cases were then examined around one of the main multimodal aspects: gesture use. Other main multimodal aspects such as gaze and body orientation will be examined in Chapter 5. After unpacking detailed observations from all the cases,

analysis was carried out, from which findings were drawn. The following section explains how all these cases were examined in this chapter.

4.2 Approach to analysing data

The aim of the data analysis in this empirical chapter is to identify the ways in which the interpreters are 'active' and why they are actively involved in interaction. As detailed in Chapter 2, all of the multimodal information is important for studying face-to-face interpreting interaction in order to identify what the interpreter does in 're-matching' the whole package of multimodal information for the target hearer. Multimodal analysis was used in all six cases. Since all participants in the case studies were in a triangular seating position, this study can only observe and examine their 'upper body' movements along with their co-occurring speech. Within the scope of upper-body movements, gesture use (including handling of objects), gaze and body orientation are the main points of analysis. This current chapter focused its analysis on gesture use and the following chapters will discuss analysis of gaze and body orientation.

4.2.1 The importance of gesture use

Gesture use of the interpreters and that of other participants in interpreting interaction was selected as one of main multimodal aspects for analysis for the following reasons. Firstly, more information can be conveyed through gestural communication, as 'the addition of gestures to speech improves the accuracy with which shapes can be communicated' (Argle & Graham 1975:65). Secondly, 'it seems likely that gestures will be used more and found more useful in areas where verbal coding is inadequate' (Argle & Graham 1975:65). For the primary participants who do not understand each other's languages in any interpreting settings, verbal coding seems inadequate even with an interpreter present. For that reason, gesture use in interpreting settings could be potentially more prominent and useful than in monolingual settings. Lastly, although there may be cultural differences or individual differences in terms of gesture use, the focus of this study is to see how participants overcome these differences to achieve common understanding. The main approach used in this chapter is to look at the use of

similar gestures among participants in order to convey meanings. It has been observed in this study that participants imitating each other's gestures is a prominent feature in the case studies, the details of which will be explained in the following sections.

4.2.2 The analysis of gesture use

The analysis of gesture use in this study is based on the understanding of a speech-gesture synchrony relationship, which is established by McNeil's (2006) theoretical concepts of 'growth point' (GP) and 'hyperphrase'. For the purpose of analysing gesture use from all six case studies in a systematic way, the analysis was carried out according to Kendon's (2004) six referential meanings of gesture as well as McNeil's classification of gesture use (see details of McNeil's classification in Chapter 2, 2.5.2 b). Kendon (2004) has differentiated six ways that gesture contributes to referential meaning: 1) gestures that are used in parallel with equivalent verbal expressions; 2) gestures that are used in parallel with non-matching verbal expressions; 3) gestures used to specify semantic meanings of something just being said; 4) gestures used to represent an object being referred to; 5) gestures used to show object properties and spatial relationships and 6) gestures used as objects of deictic reference (Kendon 2004: 177-197). The multimodal analysis of gesture use in this study will be based on both Kendon's distinctions of gesture use and McNeil's classification of gesture use, which can be summarised in the following table 4.1.

<p>Types of gesture use</p>	<p>1) <u>Imagistic gestures</u> (McNeil 2005):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Iconic gestures: semantic specifiers, representation of an object (Kendon 2004), etc. b) Metaphorical gestures: Object properties and spatial relationships (Kendon 2004), etc. <p>2) <u>Non-imagistic gestures</u>: pointing (McNeil 2005) or deictic reference (Kendon 2004), etc.</p>
<p>Speech and gesture relations</p>	<p><u>Speech-gesture synchrony</u> (McNeil 2005):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Match with verbal expression (Kendon 2004); 2) Not match with verbal expression (Kendon 2004).

Table 4.1 A summary of Kendon's distinctions of gesture use and McNeil's classification of gesture use

The analysis of gesture use in this chapter was based on both McNeil and Kendon's classification of gesture use. It starts by looking for different types of gesture use in all cases and then investigates the relations between speech and gesture. In past research regarding interpreter-mediated interaction, the analysis was always solely focused on how the interpreter translates the original speaker's linguistic information, but this research also analyses how the interpreter translates the speaker's non-linguistic information, in particular, the meaningful gestural information.

4.2.3 Why analyse imitated gestures

The analysis of gesture use started from contemplating which instances of gesture use are significant and meaningful for this study. While watching the video recordings, I noticed that participants were constantly using gestures. As gesture movements are varied and each individual uses gestures in their own manner, gesture data can be rather messy and difficult to analyse. However, there were some noticeable instances in interaction where all the participants (including the interpreter) from time to time were imitating each other's gestures that accompanied their speech.

The gesture movements that were imitated among participants could be significantly interesting for the following reasons. Firstly, repeated gestures could potentially bear key information, the same as key words in conversation being frequently referred to by participants. Secondly, it has been observed that the interpreter has gesticulated less than the participants, but specifically imitated certain gestures, which implies that the process of selecting information could potentially be reflected from those repeated gestures. Thirdly, gesturing in relation only the key information could be useful to avoid ambiguity and obscurity. Having these assumptions in mind, the following section investigates the significant instances where participants (including the interpreters) were imitating each other's gestures in the interpreter-mediated cases of this study.

4.3 The analysis of the use of imitating gestures

This section analyses the instances of imitating gestures according to McNeil and Kendon's classification of gesture use. The analysis is divided into two categories according to McNeil's classification, including the use of imagistic gestures (such as copying an abstract concept or describing a concrete object, describing a process) and the use of non-imagistic gestures (such as deictic gestures). According to McNeil (1992), *imagistic gestures* are those gesture movements that are used to describe the shape of an object, display a type of action, or represent certain pattern of movements. He further divided *imagistic gestures* into two sub-categories: *metaphoric gestures* and *iconic gestures*. *Metaphoric gestures* are to describe an abstract concept whilst *iconic gestures* are used to describe the shape of a concrete object (see details of McNeil's gesture classification in Chapter 2). The next section will analyse the use of imagistic gestures from all recorded cases.

4.3.1 The use of imagistic-metaphoric gestures

This section looks at how participants and interpreters were imitating each other's imagistic gestures. More specifically, this section will examine instances of imitating imagistic gestures that are used to describe an abstract concept, a concrete object and a process. Through unpacking the multimodal elements within the interaction, findings will be drawn from it in order to explain why participants and interpreters were imitating each other's imagistic gestures and how this contributes to the overall meaning-making process in interpreter-mediated interaction.

The transcription of the following examples demonstrates how multimodal information (i.e. visible bodily actions) could be presented alongside linguistic utterances. This coding scheme is adapted from McNeil's hyperphrase transcription method (2006:2). In the transcriptions, # refers to any audible pause; / is a silent pause; * is a self-interruption; gaze and its duration at the listener(s) are indicated in italics; ° refers to head nodding; gesture strokes are in grey shadow; for the purpose of this study, the researcher has also added the symbols of the head nod ° and the grey shadowed areas indicate the gesture movements concerned. In addition, in each example, C represents

the Chinese participant; *BT* refers to the back translation of any Chinese utterances; *I* refers to the interpreter and *E* the English participant.

The first instance to be discussed below is the use of imagistic gestures (more specifically, *metaphoric gestures*) to describe an abstract concept. The following example 4.1 is from case study 1, it has been observed that similar gesture strokes were passed on among them when the interlocutors were describing different university rankings.

Example 4.1

- 1 C: 根据我所了解地在我们中国# 大学是分等级地 是吧
- 2 就是有 # / 一线品牌大学# 二线的 /
- 3 不知道英国是不是也这样区分
- 4 (*BT*: Based on my understanding universities in China# have *different levels*
- 5 that is # / *top-tier universities*# *second-tier* /

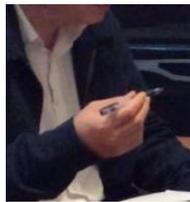


Figure 4.1.1



Figure 4.1.2

- 6 I don't know if it is the same situation in British universities)
- 7 *I*: En° so in China we have different *standard of** uh standards of universities
- 8 we have *high standard* and like *medium standard* and *lower standard*

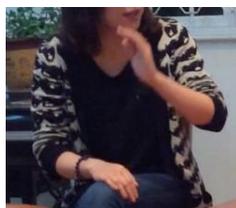


Figure 4.1.3



Figure 4.1.4



Figure 4.1.5

- 9 so he is asking that if it is the same situation in England
- 10 *E*: °°Yes it is the same situation essentially Now within the UK
- 11 we place a little bit less of a *strict hierarchy in the universities*
- 12 there is a *league table overall which tells you*
- 13 *the best universities overall medium and lower ones*



Figure 4.1.6

Figure 4.1.7

Figure 4.1.8

Figure 4.1.1 to Figure 4.1.8 Screenshots of gesture movements in Example 4.1

a. Data analysis

In this example, by watching the video it was clear to see that both the Chinese participant (*C*) and the English participant (*E*) used a lot of gesture movements as they spoke, while the interpreter (*I*) seemed to have simplified both participants' gesture movements as she only gestured occasionally. In the above transcription, the grey shadowed areas indicate the gesture movements concerned and show when each gesture movement stretches over a participant's speech. The italics, showing the amount of eye contact made by the current speakers with their hearers, indicates that *C* had less eye contact with his hearer(s) than *I* and *E* with their hearer(s). More details regarding the function of gaze will be discussed in the following chapter.

When looking at each interlocutor's multimodal information, line 4 to line 5 shows *C*'s multimodal information such as: several pauses (indicated by # and /), long duration of not gazing at listeners (i.e. contents not covered in italics). Pauses suggest hesitations in making the speech and the lack of eye contact further indicates that *C* was thinking while speaking. *C* has been gesticulating while making his speech, indicated by the grey shadowed areas. From line 7 to line 9, *I* started her interpreting of *C*'s original utterance. In her interpreting, there is only one self-interruption (showed by *) followed by an immediate self-repair. At the beginning, *I* nodded her head and made an audible sound (showing by 'En°'), which confirms her understanding of *C*'s previous utterance. After this acknowledgement, *I* immediately took over *C*'s speaking turn. In other words, 'En°' has marked the point where *C* and *I* have achieved growth points' alignment¹⁰, that is, *I* has received all multimodal information sent out by *C* and both of them have

¹⁰ McNeil's hypothesis is that 'conversationalists align GPs' (McNeil 2005:2), which was empirically tested.

achieved a cognitive alignment. This cognitive alignment has been further reflected in her clear interpreting.

Most importantly, *I*'s gesture strokes have fallen on three key words that she uttered in her interpreting: 'high', 'medium' and 'lower'. Figure 4.1.3 to Figure 4.1.5 shows that the interpreter's hand gestures were striking in a high position, then a middle position and finally a low position in the air, which are clearly supporting the verbal meanings of 'high', 'medium' and 'lower'. These gesture strokes coincide with what *C* did in his previous turn. In his turn, *C*'s gestures feature redundancy, but some key words such as 'top-tier' and 'second-tier' were all prominently gesticulated (from Figure 4.1.1 to Figure 4.1.2). His hand gestures were striking in a higher position and then a lower position when uttering 'top-tier' and 'second-tier'. The word 'lower' was not clearly articulated by *C*, but the interpreter has actively added this 'lower' standard in her interpreting, treating this as implied by *C*. Consequently, this added meaning was also reflected in the interpreter's third gesture stroke (shown in Figure 4.1.5), which accordingly indicates the added verbal meaning of the 'lower' standard. In other words, the interpreter has not only selected key information from *C*'s original speech, but also complemented key multimodal information, in this case, the key gesture strokes corresponding to those key words. After this, the interpreter then re-synchronised them into a new multimodal ensemble and send it to her target hearer *E*.

Again, after hearing the interpreting, a cognitive alignment was established between *E* and *I*, showing by *E*'s nodding and uttering, 'yes...' at the beginning of his turn in line 10. *E* made lots of gesture movements in his turn, explaining the similarities and differences of the British universities standards to the Chinese ones. Most prominently, *E* also gesticulated on those key words 'best universities', 'medium and lower ones' while gazing at his listener(s). These hand gestures (from Figure 4.1.6 to Figure 4.1.8) were striking at three different positions (high, middle and low), just as *C* and *I* did in their previous turns. While the three interlocutors were copying each other's gesture strokes, the linguistic concepts of the three different standards of universities were also passed on simultaneously, which shows a successful cognitive alignment achieved through a multimodal ensemble among the three parties.

b. Summary

By imitating each other's *imagistic-metaphoric* gestures, Example 4.1 shows how the primary participants use similar gesture strokes to facilitate understanding. This example not only tested McNeil's (2006) assumption that interlocutors share growth points to achieve a cognitive common ground, but also shows in interpreting interaction how the interpreter manages to select and re-synchronise multimodal information. On the one hand, both primary participants in an interpreting interaction who do not speak each other's language can use multimodal information, in this case the three gesture strokes, to confirm their cognitive understanding of the corresponding linguistic meanings. On the other hand, what the interpreter did was not simply interpret the original speaker's speech, but select key multimodal information from the original speaker and then re-synchronise them into a new multimodal ensemble for the target hearer. It shows that the interpreter was 'active' in terms of adding or enhancing or selecting useful multimodal information. This type of interpreter's active involvement can only be seen through a multimodal analytical approach.

Example 4.2 is another instance found from case study 1 that features interpreter re-synchronising multimodal information from one interlocutor to another. In this example, the interpreter was translating from English into Chinese. The Chinese parent was asking about how the grading system in a British university works and the following transcription starts from the British representative's response to this question. The interpreter imitated the English speaker's gestures when describing the different grading system relating to different degrees.

Example 4.2

- 1 E: ... if you do a Masters degree so you begin your course and it's divided
- 2 into three possible categories a pass a high pass or a merit and a distinction



Figure 4.2.1

Figure 4.2.2

Figure 4.2.3

- 3 if you do a PhD PhD is simply pass or fail

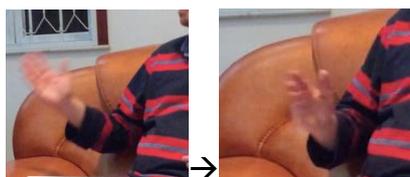


Figure 4.2.4 Figure 4.2.5

- 4 *I*:继续往下读 然后之后的话 会分成三个等级
 5 就是什么高分制 然后中等 以及通过这样子的
 6 如果是你去读那个就是博士的话 他只有简单的两个 就是过和不过
 7 (*BT*: ...then (students) can be divided into three levels
 8 that is with high scores medium scores or pass if you do a PhD



Figure 4.2.6 Figure 4.2.7 Figure 4.2.8

- 9 for a PhD they simply have two categories pass or fail)

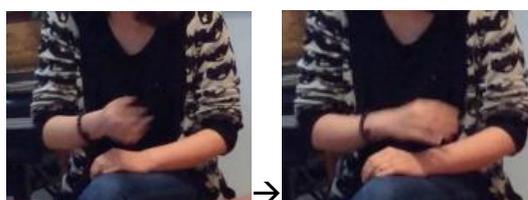


Figure 4.2.9 Figure 4.2.10

Figure 4.2.1 to Figure 4.2.10 Screenshots of gesture movements in Example 4.2

c. Data analysis

In the above example, *E* was making several continuous gestures throughout his turn, which were not all marked out in this transcription. The grey shadowed areas in the transcription only marked out the parts of *E*'s gesture strokes that later were copied by *I* in her interpreting, that is, similar gesture strokes used by both *E* and *I*. The interpreter copied two pairs of gesture movements from the speaker *E*.

E's gesture strokes were striking either at three different heights or at two different angles in order to indicate the meanings of the different grading categories. When *E* was describing the three possible grading categories from postgraduate courses, he made three gesture strokes striking at three different heights while uttering the key words 'a pass', 'a high pass or merit' and 'a distinction' (shown from Figure 4.2.1 to Figure 4.2.3). Note that his hand moved from a lower position to a higher position, which are in line with the hierarchy of the grading system uttered verbally. Again, when describing the two possible results from a PhD study, *E* made two gesture strokes striking at two different angles, right hand side first and then left hand side (shown in Figure 4.2.4 and Figure 4.2.5). While interpreting, *I* copied *E*'s two pairs of gesture strokes (shown from Figure 4.2.6 to Figure 4.2.10). The only difference is that *I* interpreted the grades from a higher grade to a lower grade (shown in Figure 4.2.11), so her gesture strokes went from a higher level to a lower level in accordance with her utterance. Although the order of the interpreter's gesture strokes is opposite to the order of the English participant's gesture strokes in his turn (*E*'s original gesture strokes started from a lower level to a higher level, shown in Figure 4.2.12), it reflected a speech and gesture synchrony both in the original speech and in the interpreting.

- 1st stroke → "high scores"
- 2nd stroke → "medium scores"
- 3rd stroke → "pass"



Figure 4.2.11 The order of the interpreter's gesture strokes

- 3rd stroke - "a distinction"
- 2nd stroke - "a high pass or a merit"
- 1st stroke - "a pass"

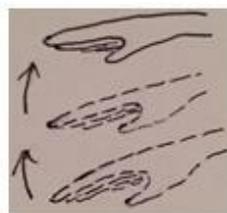


Figure 4.2.12 The order of the English speaker's gesture strokes

d. Summary

Like example 4.1, example 4.2 also indicates that the interpreter has selected or extracted key gesture information that she considered would be related to the key verbal

words from the original speaker's many other continuous gestures. The interpreter's reversed order of using gesture strokes in different levels matches with the order of her verbal meanings, which has clearly indicated that the interpreter re-synchronised linguistic and non-linguistic information in her interpreting by combining them into a multimodal ensemble for her target audience.

4.3.2 The use of imagistic-iconic gestures

Previous examples have shown how participants were imitating each other's *imagistic - metaphoric* gestures while replaying co-occurring linguistic meanings. The following example 3 shows another type of imagistic gestures: an *imagistic – iconic* gesture used to describe a concrete object. In this example, an *imagistic – iconic* gestures occurred when there was trouble understanding an item of vocabulary. One of the primary participants immediately used an imagistic-iconic gesture when he found that the interpreter was having trouble to comprehending certain terms.

Example 4.3 is taken from the case study 4 when a Chinese drink distributor (*C*) was having a conversation with an English sales manager (*E*). In the following transcript, they were talking about whisky. The use of an imagistic-iconic gesture happened when the interpreter (*I*) had difficulty understanding the terms “malt and barley”, so the English speaker resorted to some iconic gesture movements while explaining the two words. In her interpreting turn, the interpreter also imitated the English speaker's gesture movements while interpreting the meanings of the two words.

Example 4.3

- 1 *E*: ...whisky is made from malt and barley
- 2 so it's made from...er [
- 3 *I*: [Wha what's malt and barley?
- 4 *E*: Like a kind of ...Similar to a kind of grass with with corns inside



Figure 4.3.1

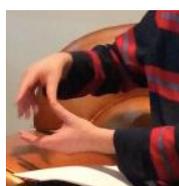


Figure 4.3.2



Figure 4.3.3

- 5 Do you know [
 6 *I*: [Aaah::it's er a plant? [it's a plant °okay
 7 *E*: [yes yes but it's made from a very very
 different process...
 8 *I*: [°°Em
 9 *E*: [Er so it's er somewhat more like brandy or something like that
 10 *I*: Ah (*I turned around to translate*)
 11 *I*: 它其实不是白酒 它是一种就是比较特殊的长得有点像草但它上面那有一
 颗一颗籽的一种植物提炼做出来的.....
 12 (*BT*: It is in fact not a white wine it's a * it's made from
 13 one special type of plant * looks like grass but with seeds on the top...)

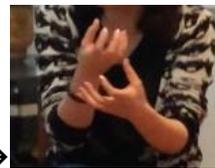
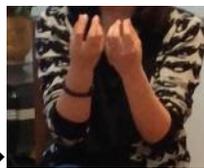


Figure 4.3.4

Figure 4.3.5

Figure 4.3.6

a. Data analysis

In this example, the interpreter (*I*) was having trouble understanding certain words and requested an explanation from the original English speaker (*E*). In line 3, *I* interrupted *E* to request an explanation of the words ‘malt and barley’ without letting him continue his speech. *I* picked these words out, as she considered them to contain key meanings in *E*'s utterance. Apart from a direct question ‘what's malt and barley’, *I*'s confusion might also be shown from her facial expressions such as furrowed eyebrows when posing this question.

E's self-correction (changed ‘like’ into ‘similar to’) at the beginning of his speech in line 4 indicates that *I*'s question was unexpected by *E*. Immediately afterwards, *E*'s gaze moved away and then returned to gaze at *I* after a short period of time, indicating that *E* was experiencing a thinking process regarding how to explain these two words. This unexpected question evoked *E*'s use of *iconic gestures* when he started explaining. Figure 4.3.1 to Figure 4.3.3 under line 4 shows that *E* used both hands to gesture a grass-shaped plant and to depict its main characteristics. In this case, the gesture movements were used to ‘create the representation of an object of some kind’, in

particular, ‘laying out the shape, and size and spatial characteristics of an object being referred to’ (Kendon 2004: 176-7) and these gestures were also ‘used in parallel with those words or phrases that are ... equivalent to them’ (Kendon 2004:176). *I* then imitated *E*’s gestural representation of this plant when she was interpreting the meanings of these two words (shown from Figure 4.3.4 to Figure 4.3.6).

b. Summary

This example has shown how participants utilised their gesture movements when encountering a problem of understanding. Both the participant and the interpreter opted to use *iconic gestures* to specify the meaning of ‘malt and barley’. The gesture descriptions made their verbal explanations more concrete and specific in such a way that it facilitated the whole meaning-making and understanding process. That is perhaps why the interpreter decided to imitate this gesture when conveying this meaning to the other participant. On the one hand, the interpreter not only selected or extracted an essential piece of information from the previous turn, but also achieved a speech-gesture synchrony in her interpreting turn aiming for the target Chinese hearer. On the other hand, the interpreter’s gesture movements were not exactly the same as *E*’s original gesture movements, as this probably involved the interpreter’s own interpretation of *E*’s original gestures. From line 13, it can be seen that the interpreter was not simply doing verbal interpreting, but using her hand gestures to describe the meaning of the two words. The differences in gesture movements between the original speaker and the interpreter seem to suggest that the interpreter was not simply imitating the original speaker’s gesture movements, rather the translation process was also carried out on a non-verbal level. In this case, the interpreter was also ‘translating’ through her gesture movements. Because the gestural meaning and verbal meaning synchronise with each other to be understood as a multimodal ensemble for the Chinese listener, both the verbal interpreting and the gestural description would jointly influence the Chinese listener’s understanding of the two words.

The above examples have shown how interlocutors imitate each other’s *imagistic gestures* to describe either an abstract concept or a concrete object. The following example 4 shows how interlocutors imitate each other’s gesture in order to describe a process. Example 4.4 is from Case study 2, when the English patient (*E*) was asking the

Chinese medical doctor (*C*) about the process of using acupuncture treatment. In this example, the English patient was not sure about the process of acupuncture treatment, whether all the acupuncture needles are applied at the same time or one at a time, so the interpreter (*I*) was interpreting the English patient's question for the Chinese doctor.

Example 4.4

1 *E*: ...and all needles are applied at one time (.) or in turn?



Figure 4.4.1

Figure 4.4.2

2 *I*: 每一针是不是同一个时间插进去(.)还是(.)不同的时间?

3 (*BT*: Is each needle applied at the same time (.) or (.) at a different time?)



Figure 4.4.3

Figure 4.4.4

a. Data analysis

From Figure 4.4.1 to Figure 4.4.2, in accompanying her speech, *E* used her gesture movements to describe two different actions to which the acupuncture needles can be applied. Firstly, she opened her left hand, palm down and spread her fingers while uttering ‘...applied at one time’. Her spreading fingers imitated all individual needles. Palm down and a downward hand movement showed the directions of all needles applied at one time. Therefore, these gestures were also ‘used in parallel with those words or phrases that are ... equivalent to them’ (Kendon 2004:176). Secondly, as she continued, *E* used a different hand gesture while uttering ‘...or in turn’. In the meantime, her left hand index finger was used to point at different directions, one direction at a time, indicating the direction and a movement of each individual needle being applied one after another. This type of gesture is typically used as ‘a way of exhibiting patterns of action which provide either visual or motoric images of processes’ (Kendon 2004:177).

In interpreting from Figure 4.4.3 to Figure 4.4.4, while conveying the same meaning, *I* adopted *E*'s this gesture use in a slightly different form. When interpreting the idea of

applying all the needles at the same time, *I* raised both hands at a same level in a hand shape as if each hand holding an imaginary needle and applying them at once (Figure 4.4.3). When explaining applying each needle at a different time, he only raised one of his hands as if holding an imaginary needle and then re-enacted the action of applying an individual needle (Figure 4.4.4) on an imaginary surface.

b. Summary

Similar to what has been mentioned in Example 4.3, in Example 4.4, *I*'s gesture movements are also slightly different from *E*'s original gesture movements. Firstly, this is reflected in a slight difference in *I*'s rendition of *E*'s original verbal expression. *E* asked '...and all needles are applied at one time or in turn?' while *I* translated as 'Is each needle applied at the same time or at a different time?'. More specifically, *E*'s emphasis is on the order of applying the needles while in *I*'s rendition, the emphasis is on the timing of applying each needle. Consequently, the accompanying gesture movements are shown in a slightly different form. This indicates that the interpreter's reinterpretation of the original meaning can even be identified in their slightly different gestural movements. Secondly, when examining *I*'s gestures closely, the re-enactment of the process of applying the needles suggests that he has an existing knowledge of how acupuncture needles would work. More importantly, the way he was holding the imaginary needle was in fact imitating the way a Chinese doctor would hold an acupuncture needle during an actual acupuncture treatment session. This indicates that the interpreter's gesture can also be used to accommodate cultural differences by changing into a slightly different form. Therefore, this example not only represents that the interpreter has succeeded in re-assembling the speech-gesture synchrony and in relaying the multimodal information from *E* to the target hearer *C*, but also shows that the changes in gesture movements can reflect the changes in verbal expressions and cultural accommodation.

The above examples have presented the use of *imagistic gestures*, but the following examples will focus on presenting examples of the interlocutors' use of *non-imagistic gestures*, pointing gestures, in particular.

4.3.3 The use of non-imagistic gestures

One type of meaningful non-imagistic gestures mentioned by McNeil is *pointing gestures*. Pointing gestures, also known as deictic gestures, ‘have been recognized as a separate class’ in the classification of gesture use, which ‘can play a fundamental role in establishing how an utterance is to be understood’ (Kendon 2004:199). Why are pointing gestures meaningful? Specifically, pointing ‘is typically produced in order to share attention with somebody about something and exchange comments about it. In this respect, the joint attentional component of pointing is instrumental in identifying the referent or topic’ (Eilan et al. 2005:159).

With the feature of ‘movement toward’ (Eco 1976:119), pointing gestures can be recognized as ‘a movement [that] appears to be aimed in a clearly defined direction as if toward some specific target’. Whether using the index finger, the open-hand shape or any other forms of pointing, pointing gestures are used to ‘indicate an object, a location, or a direction, which is discovered by projecting a straight line from the furthest point of the body part that has been extended outward, into the space that extends beyond the speaker’ (Kendon 2004:200). This section will be looking at how different types of pointing gestures are used in interpreter-mediated interaction, including index finger (palm down/vertical) pointing gesture and open-hand (palm vertical) pointing gesture¹¹. This section will also discuss how each type of pointing gesture observed from the case studies contributes to interpreter-mediated communication.

A. Index finger (palm down) pointing gesture

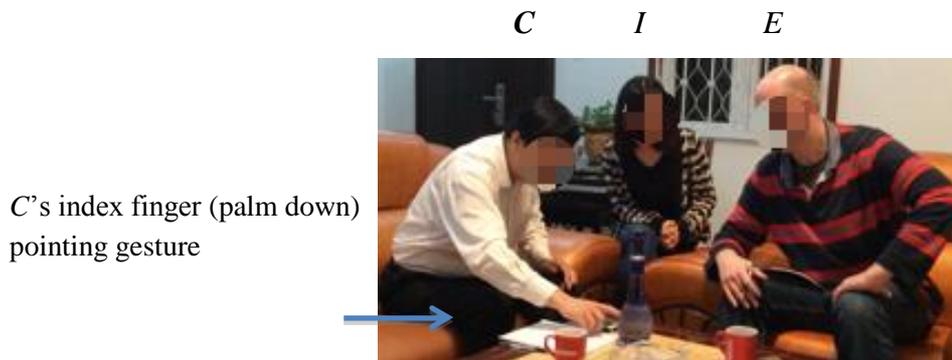
As Kendon (2004:205) mentioned, *Index Finger Extended Prone (palm down)* (hereafter referred to as *Index Finger (palm down) pointing gesture*) is commonly used when the speaker wants to single out an object that is to be attended to as a particular

¹¹ Kendon has mentioned seven hand positions that can be counted as specialized pointing gestures. These are ‘Index Finger Extended Prone (palm down), Index Finger Extended Neutral (palm vertical), Thumb Extended (orientation of forearm is variable), Open hand Neutral (palm vertical), Open Hand Supine (palm up), Open Hand Oblique (forearm supination partial, palm of the hand faces obliquely upwards) and Open Hand Prone (palm faces downwards or away from speaker, depending upon flexion of the elbow or extension of the wrist)’. (Kendon 2004:205).

individual object and is also most likely to be used with an explicit deictic word. Example 4.5 and Example 4.6 are two instances where participants were using an *Index Finger (palm down) pointing gesture*. The use of *Index Finger (palm down) pointing gesture* in the two instances will be described and its contribution to the meaning-making process in interpreter-mediated interaction will then be discussed.

Example 4.5:

Note: E is the English sales manager; I is the interpreter; C is the Chinese drinks distributor.



a. Data analysis

The above screenshot from case study 4 shows that the Chinese drinks distributor (*C*) was showing the English sales manager (*E*) one of his company's drink products. In this context, participants were talking about the packaging appearance of the bottle of the Chinese wine (shown in Figure 4.5.1 presented on the table). *C* firstly raised his right hand forward and then extended his index finger (palm down) pointing at the bottle, while saying 'this is our company's advanced level drink' (back translation). This deictic word 'this' was uttered almost at the same time as *C* executed his index finger pointing gesture. This gesture-speech synchrony has attracted both the interpreter and the other participant's joint attention on the bottle. Afterwards, the interpreter started her interpreting turn. The following Figure 4.5.2 shows what happens in the interpreter's turn.

C *I* *E*



I copied the exact index finger (palm down) pointing gesture.

Figure 4.5.2

It can be seen clearly on Figure 4.5.2 that *C* did not immediately withdraw his pointing gesture after his turn, but sustained this gesture. When taking over her turn, the interpreter (*I*) soon copied the exact *Index Finger (palm down) pointing gesture* used by *C* in his previous turn. While pointing at the bottle, the interpreter started her interpreting and the other participant *E* still focused his attention on the bottle.

b. Summary

In this instance, the Chinese speaker (*C*) has firstly initiated an *index finger (palm down) pointing gesture*. With the use of the deictic word ‘this’, *C*’s intention was to single out his audience’s attention on the bottle that he was presenting at that moment. His gesture-speech synchrony has successfully joined all attention on the bottle being pointed at. For the interpreter (*I*) and the other participant (*E*), this joint attention was actually formed differently. For *I*, her attention was not only attracted by verbal understanding of the deictic word ‘this’, but also directed by the pointing gesture on the bottle. For *E*, his attention was simply directed by the pointing gesture. This means that, in this joint attention, *I* had a full understanding of what happened while *E* only had a partial understanding. Because of this difference in understanding, *C* sustained his pointing gesture while *I* started her turn and *I* immediately copied *C*’s pointing gesture while starting her interpreting. In this process, *C* and *I* were trying to sustain and prolong the previously formed joint attention while *I* was fitting in her interpreting content, such as explaining the labelled name of the drink.

Once the interpreter pointed her index finger at the right position of the bottle and completed her interpreting, then the whole multimodal information package was completed for *E* and he could join in understanding the context initiated by *C*'s pointing gesture. For *E*, there was a slight delay between the gestural meaning and the verbal meaning. However, *C*'s sustaining of his original pointing gesture and *I*'s copying of the exact pointing gesture seem to have mitigated this delay and helped re-synchronise the speech and gesture meanings. Consequently, a cognitive common ground was achieved, so that all participants learned forward and focused their joint attention on the bottle of drink. This multimodal analysis of this instance indicates that the interpreter not only uses pointing gestures to direct participants' attention, but also uses them to control the timing of when to put in verbal interpreting information. Participants also know how to collaborate with the interpreter in this sense.

Another sets of screenshots from case study 2 also show that all participants have utilized similar pointing gestures in their communication for the same reason. In the following Example 4.6, the English speaker (*E*) was asking her Chinese neighbour (*C*) about the location of a potential Chinese university, so she took out a China city map to show the other two interlocutors.

Example 4.6:

Note: E is the English neighbour; I is the interpreter; C is the Chinese neighbour. The drawing of the pointing gesture indicates E's gesture at that moment, which is partly hidden in the screenshot.

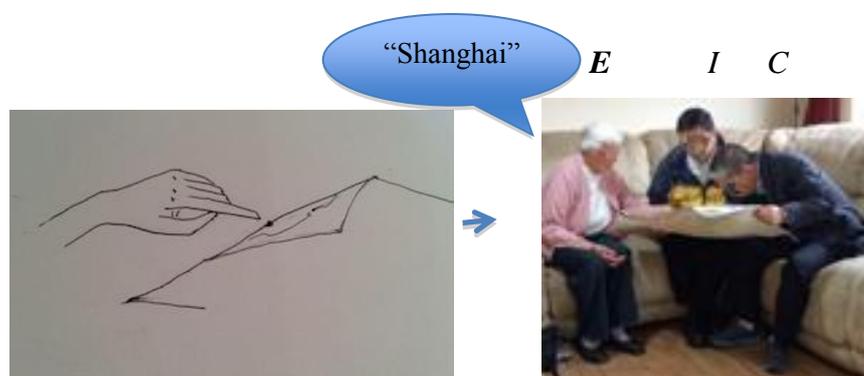


Figure 4.6.1

E *I* *C*

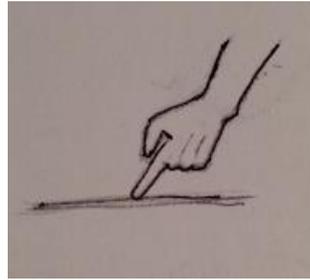


Figure 4.6.2

a. Data analysis

Figure 4.6.1 shows the English speaker was pointing at one of the Chinese cities on the map, as she mentioned the name of that city – ‘Shanghai’. This screenshot clearly shows that all participants have oriented their bodies towards the map following the execution of *E*’s *index finger (palm down) pointing gesture* and the attention of all participants was focused on the location of the map that was pointed at. Understandably, it seems reasonable and convenient for the interpreter to copy this *index finger (palm down) pointing gesture* as a starting point of his interpreting in the next turn (shown in Figure 4.6.2). For the subsequent content, *I* copied *E*’s pointing gesture while delivering his interpreting to the target audience.

b. Summary

This *index finger (palm down) pointing gesture* generated by *E* in this occasion has also individuated a piece of information, which is corresponding to the name of the city ‘Shanghai’ that was uttered almost simultaneously. The difference between Example 4.5 and Example 4.6 is that *E*’s pointing gesture did not sustain her gesture before the interpreter started interpreting. This is because in this case, for both *I* and *C*, they both can understand the verbal meaning of ‘Shanghai’ and locate the place following the pointing gesture. Therefore, *E* did not have to wait for the interpreter to start interpreting before withdrawing her gesture. However, when interpreting, *I* still copied *E*’s *index finger (palm down) pointing gesture* as a starting point of his interpreting in order to delivery extra verbal information. In other words, from a multimodal perspective, a pointing gesture can remain an effective tool for the interpreter to control the timing of putting in relevant interpreting content.

It also seems interesting that in both case study 2 and case study 4, participants were self-motivated to bring their own objects to the recordings without the researcher mentioning anything about it beforehand. Although further research may be required to confirm this, this seems to indicate that people tend to choose to have concrete objects (such as a bottle or a map in my case studies) at hand to facilitate their communication. From above two examples, it seems that objects that were brought into a communicative environment can become a useful tool to facilitate communication. Because objects are visually accessible, they are advantageous in interpreter-mediated interaction where two primary participants do not share verbal languages. Therefore, simply pointing at an object can clearly indicate the association between the gestural meaning and its co-occurring speech. By copying participants' pointing gestures, the interpreter has obviously recognised the relations among these pieces of multimodal information, using them to direct attention, to pinpoint specific pieces of information, as well as to establish common understanding. The above examples have shown how participants utilise pointing gestures to point at objects on site, but the following examples will show that participants can also point at things that are not present on site but exist in their mind.

B. Index finger (palm vertical) pointing gesture

In the previous examples, the interlocutors were using pointing gestures to point at objects presented onsite, but the below Example 4.7 shows that interlocutors can also point at things that are not presented on the site but exist in a space described by the speaker. Example 4.7 is extracted from case study 6 where two travellers were taking about camping in the United States. In this context, the English speaker (*E*) was talking about the different camping experiences in America and relevant safety issues that travellers need to be aware of. The interpreter (*I*) then translated this content into Chinese for the Chinese traveller (*C*). An *index finger (palm vertical) pointing gesture* was used by the American speaker and was then copied by the interpreter in her turn.

Example 4.7:

Note: BT is the back translation from any content in Chinese. The drawing of the pointing gesture indicates E's gesture at a moment, which is not captured by the

screenshot, when the movement went outside of the screen. The grey shadowed areas indicate the gesture movements concerned.

1 E: ...the entire time that I have been camping I have seen **two** bears uh...



Figure 4.7.1

2 and it was never close like just be safe like taking **everything** that has a scent



Figure 4.7.2

3 and **put it out of your tent** and **hide it on the tree** like a hundred yards away



Figure 4.7.3



Figure 4.7.4

4 and it's really okay

5 I: 其实也没有那么可怕啦 就是我在这么多次出去玩 只见过**两次熊** 而且不是特别近的 但是呢 有一些措施呢你要做 就是把那种有气味的东西 就把它拿出来 然后把食物**挂在树上**

6 (BT: in fact it's not that scary for the many times I have been out camping I have only seen bears **twice** and not very close but there are some steps you have to



Figure 4.7.5

7 take that is to take out food that has a scent and then **hang them on the tree**)



Figure 4.7.6

a. Data analysis

In this example, *E* has a series of gesture movements accompanying a storytelling of his camping experience in America. *E*'s first gesture (shown in Figure 4.7.1) is a universally recognized gesture to indicate the number of 'two', which was later copied by the interpreter in her interpreting turn. As *E* continued telling his camping experience, other gesture movements (shown in Figures 4.7.2, 4.7.3 and 4.7.4) have accompanied his descriptive speech. When speaking of 'taking everything that has a scent', *E* was rolling both hands (shown in Figure 4.7.2) to gesture a movement of wrapping up everything together in a bundle (i.e. an iconic gesture, similar to what was mentioned in Example 4.7.3). Then, when uttering 'put it out of your tent', *E* engaged in a gesture movement that he pushed his right hand away from the left hand, creating a distance between the two hands as if putting aside a bundle of things, which is corresponding with what he was narrating. Finally, an *index finger (palm vertical) pointing gesture* was pointing at a direction up into the sky (shown in Figure 4.7.4) at the time when *E* uttered the word 'tree', as if there is an imaginary tree and the imaginary wrapped up bundle can be hung upon it. In Kendon's account, 'it is common for a speaker to employ a gesture when uttering a verb or verbal phrase where the form of the action of the gesture is interpretable as a movement pattern' and 'in such cases the gesture ... is an enactment which displays a specific form of action and ... adds referential information for it makes the utterance have a much more specific meaning' (Kendon 2004:185). In the same way, *E*'s gesture movements in this example have made a much more precise account of his action.

b. Summary

In Example 4.7, although *E* generated a series of gesture movements (as shown in Figures 4.7.1, 4.7.2, 4.7.3 and 4.7.4), *I* only copied two gestures from *E* (as shown in Figure 4.7.5 and 4.7.6). This indicates that the interpreter experienced a selection process as to which gesture movements are more important in terms of relaying the key information. Obviously, the two significant gestures chosen by *I* in her turn are a gesture showing the number 'two' (in Figure 4.7.5) and the *index finger (palm vertical) pointing gesture* (in Figure 4.7.6).

To begin with, there might be a couple of reasons that *I* copied the gesture of ‘two’ from *E*. Firstly, this universally recognisable gesture of ‘two’ used by *E* can be noticeable to the Chinese party (*C*), although *C* did not immediately know the meaning attached to that gesture without interpreting. Therefore, *I* made this gesture in her interpreting in order to show *C* the context and connections that were associated with the gesture of ‘two’, so that *C* can be clear about the referential meaning of that gesture. Secondly, in *E*’s utterance, he said that ‘the entire time’ he was camping, he only saw ‘two bears’. From the previous context (which is not shown in this transcription), *E* mentioned that he went camping nearly every weekend when he was in America. This indicates that seeing ‘two bears’ is a rare occasion from his relatively frequent camping experience. Obviously, this implied meaning has reflected clearly in *I*’s interpreting, as she added, ‘in fact it [seeing the bears] is not scary’. As *I* further added ‘for the MANY TIMES I have been out camping I have ONLY seen bears twice’, both ‘for many times’ and ‘only’ are extra wordings added by the interpreter in order to make it clear in her interpreting the implied meaning from the original speaker. By doing this, the interpreter has actively added her own understanding of the original English utterance.

In contrast, as well as adding extra information, the interpreter can also reduce or compact information. For *E*’s detailed gestural description (Figure 4.7.2 and Figure 4.7.3), the interpreter did not relay every detailed gestural movement but summarized this process into one word – ‘food’ in her interpreting. By doing so, the interpreting was made very concise, but the vivid descriptive features from the original speech and gesture movements were weakened or got lost in the interpreting version. This omission of certain gesture movements indicates that the interpreter has made active decisions as to which parts of the detailed gestural descriptions should be removed and which parts should remain.

Another gesture copied by the interpreter was the last gesture shown in this short transcript, the *index finger (palm vertical) pointing gesture* (shown in Figure 4.7.6). Again, this gesture can direct participants’ attention. However, more importantly, this *index finger (palm vertical) pointing gesture* was pointing at an imaginary object, which only exists in the storytelling. This pointing gesture is crucial here because its referential meaning is not in the current space so it has to be explained verbally in the interpreting. From a multimodal analysis, it can be seen that the interpreter not only

summarises the linguistic content, but also selects or represents the referential meanings that are conveyed through non-linguistic means such as gesture movements. The above two examples have shown how the index finger pointing gestures are used in interpreter-mediated interaction and the following examples will show the use of *Open-hand pointing gesture*.

C. Open hand pointing gesture

The above examples regarding pointing gesture use indicated that a pointing gesture can be used to create joint attention and that this joint attention can be sustained while the interpreting content is fitted in at the appropriate time. Previous examples showed that participants were utilizing resources at hand (such as objects) to associate the referential meanings expressed both linguistically and non-linguistically (such as by using gestures). However, although an object can be directly pointed at, the pointing gesture can refer to a different thing, which has to be explained in the context (as shown in Example 4.7). Example 4.8 provides another instance where the pointing gesture does not refer to the object being pointed at, rather the things or meanings that are relevant to the object.

In Example 4.8, the interlocutors were talking about the packaging appearance of the Chinese wine bottle. In the prior context shown in Example 4.5, The Chinese drinks distributor (*C*) has presented a top quality level drink from his company to show the English sales manager (*E*). Based on this, *C* also mentioned that there are two other different quality levels of drinks in the same series as the one presented. Therefore, *E* inquired about whether or not the other two levels of drinks are presented in a similar way. To get their own meanings across regarding this question, all participants have made use of the *open-hand pointing gesture*.

Example 4.8:

1 *E*: Are they all presented in this kind of way are they in this kind of way



Figure 4.8.1

- 2 I: 他们是不是长得都一样啊 就是那个瓶子的外包装都是一样的吗?
 3 (BT: Do they all look the same? the packaging of the bottles
 /are they the same?)



I's Open-hand gesture (with left hand)

Figure 4.8.2

- 4 C: 外包装有一点 (.) 区别: [a slight difference]
 5 I: [a slight difference]
 6 C: [当然是这个外包装最漂亮啦]
 7 (BT: Of course, this packaging is the most beautiful one.)

*C's Open-hand gesture →
 (with both hands)*



Figure 4.8.3

a. Data analysis

In this example, *E* used an open-hand gesture (shown in Figure 4.8.1), which is a gesture type called *open hand neutral (palm vertical)*¹², to make an inquiry – ‘are they all presented in this kind of way’. *E*’s open hand pointing gesture had the effect of directing both *C* and *I*’s attention towards the wine bottle presented in front of them as if he was referring to the bottle itself, but ‘the object being indicated is not itself the primary focus or topic of the discourse but is something that is linked to the topic’ (Kendon 2004: 208). This is also reflected in *E*’s speech in Line 1 that the referential meaning of his gesture is not the appearance of the currently presented bottle, but the appearance of two other bottles of drinks in the same series, which were not presented.

¹² Kendon has mentioned seven hand positions that can be counted as specialized pointing gestures (Kendon 2004:205).

In other words, the bottle presented was only an object of reference. Therefore, it is very important for the interpreter to copy *E*'s open hand pointing gesture (shown in Figure 4.8.2) while explaining clearly the actual referential meaning of this gesture. After explaining that there is a slight difference in the packaging of the drinks, *C* showed another open hand pointing gesture (shown in Figure 4.8.3) emphasised with both hands gesturing. Note that in this third pointing gesture, *C* was referring to the appearance of the current bottle, as he intended to shift *E*'s attention back to this currently presented bottle.

b. Summary

In this example, the referential meanings of the similar open hand pointing gesture are shifting, making the verbal interpreting more important. The use of pronouns such as 'they' and 'this' in the speech is interlined with the deictic function of the open-hand pointing gestures. On the one hand, those deictic pronouns cannot be clearly referred to a specific object without a visual gesture to point it out. On the other hand, without detailed interpreting, an open-hand pointing gesture can be ambiguous as the gesture could be referring to the object itself or to its features or to things that are relevant to the object. Therefore, a correct understanding of the referential meanings of the gestures depends on a speech-gesture synchrony. In order to maintain this synchrony, *I* adopted the similar open-hand pointing gesture while interpreting *E*'s original speech. This indicates that the interpreter not only translated the verbal meaning of the speech, but also retained and presented the inseparable gesture-speech synchrony. By imitating pointing gestures, the interpreter was actively re-synchronising gestures with their relevant meanings and placing them in correct timing with her interpreting. A multimodal analysis has enabled us to see clearly how different referential meanings can shift around with the same open-hand pointing gesture. The next example, however, is going to show that an open-hand pointing gesture can also be used to locate exact places.

Example 4.9 is extracted from Case study 2, when an English patient (*E*) was having a medical consultation with a Chinese medical doctor (*C*). In this example, the patient was describing her back pain to the doctor while using an open-hand pointing gesture to locate the spread of the pain. The interpreter (*I*) then imitated the patient's pointing

gesture movement while interpreting her words. Both the patient's original gesture movements and the interpreter's imitated movements have been captured in the following figures along with their speech.

Example 4.9:

1 E: Sometimes (.) my pain goes right down my leg

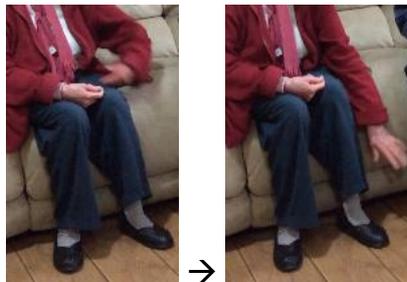


Figure 4.9.1

2 I: 有时候这个疼在背上一直延迟到我到脚

3 (BT: Sometimes this pain on the back extends all the way to my leg)



Figure 4.9.2

a. Data analysis

As indicated in the above transcriptions, *E*'s gesture movements run at the same time as she verbally describes the pain. When she was uttering 'my pain...', her left hand started pointing at her back and stayed there; when she started uttering '...goes right down my leg', she then moved her hand gesture pointing down along her left leg. In interpreting, *I* imitated *E*'s pointing gesture movements while translating the verbal meanings of her description of the pain.

b. Summary

E's pointing gesture is a typical example of what Kendon described as a '*narrow gloss*' gesture, a type of gesture that is 'used in parallel with those words or phrases that are often said to be equivalent to them. In such cases it is as if the speaker is simultaneously uttering in gesture the very same thing that is being uttered in words' (Kendon 2004:176). In this example, *E* not only verbally described the pain, but also visually located her pain using an open-hand pointing gesture that starts from her back and extends towards her leg. With the gesture movements, she can not only pinpoint the exact location of the pain, but also track the direction of the spreading of the pain. In other words, the gesture movements, being descriptive and deictic, have elaborated what cannot be described in speech. This kind of elaborated gestural description of the original speaker can sometimes be simplified or omitted by the interpreter (such as in Example 4.7). However, in this case, the interpreter did not omit this vivid description from *E*, but copied this whole gestural movement. This is probably due to the fact that this was a patient's description of her symptom and it should be presented to the doctor in as detailed a way as possible. Therefore, in interpreting, *I* imitated *E*'s pointing gesture movements while translating the verbal meanings of her description of the pain. This also indicates that the interpreter re-synchronised the original speaker *E*'s speech-gesture synchrony in a new ensemble and passed this multimodal information onto the Chinese doctor, the hearer. Later in the conversation, when the doctor was suggesting a possible diagnosis, he also repeated the same gesture movement when referring to the patient's symptom. Through multimodal analysis, gesture is one type of multimodal information that is used by participants and interpreters as main point of references to align with one another, as an indicator to confirm a cognitive common ground.

4.4 Conclusion

All the examples extracted from the six cases have shown that gesture use has made a major contribution in the meaning-making process in interpreter-mediated interaction. Based on McNeil's (2006) speech-gesture synchrony, it has been found that those gestures being imitated among participants are synchronised with key information in the speech. Participants who do not speak each other's language were able to confirm their

cognitive understanding with one another through imitating gestures, thus establishing a communicative relationship through non-verbal means. On the surface, it seems as if the interpreters simply imitated the primary participants' gesture movements. In fact, the interpreters selected specific gesture movements that carried the key content information and managed to translate through gestures to refit the non-linguistic gestural meanings into the overall meaning-making context; that is, they resynchronised all the multimodal information with its relevant linguistic information for the target audience. In addition, the interpreters also made full use of gestures to resolve difficult linguistic misunderstandings. Therefore, the interpreters were actively using gesture movements to facilitate the cross-cultural communication process.

Firstly, when copying gesture movements that were used to describe an abstract concept (such as in Example 4.1 and Example 4.2), the gesture movements were used to confirm linguistic cognitive understanding between the primary participants who do not use the same language. It is prominent that the interpreters only self-selected those gesture movements that carried key linguistic information and fitted them into their interpreting. Secondly, when copying gesture movements that were used to describe a concrete object (such as in Example 4.3), the gestures appeared when there was a difficulty in understanding between the interpreters and the primary participants. Gesture movements became an effective tool to help eliminate difficulties in understanding in a more specific and vivid manner. An imagistic context unfolds with the gesture movements that can enhance the process of mutual understanding that cannot be fully achieved through a linguistic context alone. Thirdly, when describing a process (such as in Example 4.4), the partially copied key gestures corresponded to the partial changes made in the interpreting content. The changes made in interpreting to a target language were reflected in the changes made in the interpreters' gesture movements. Lastly, the deictic functions of gestures are varied. On the one hand, pointing gestures correspond to deictic expressions or specific objects or locations. On the other hand, pointing gestures can overcome the limit of space. The speaker can refer to anything that is related to the one thing that has been pointed at. The diversity of deictic gesture uses has enabled the interpreters a greater ability to make referential meanings clear in cross-cultural communication.

The above examples indicated that the interpreter and the participants were imitating each other's gesture movements while uttering their speech at certain points. But why did the interpreter copy these specific gestures? This might be explained in the following ways. Firstly, according to McNeil's (1992) gestures classification, the copied gesture strokes are *imagistic gestures* and *non-imagistic gestures* (see more details regarding McNeil's classification of gesture use in Chapter 2), and these gesture strokes may carry significant meanings. Secondly, since all the gesture strokes have fallen on the key words of the interlocutors' speech, these gestures 'are used in parallel with those words or phrases that are often said to be equivalent to them' (Kendon 2004:176). In short, gesture movements match with speech. In example 4.1, for instance, the gesture strokes described a specific feature of the speech content¹³, which is the categorical pattern of 'high', 'medium' and 'low'. The reason that the interpreter copied these gestures from the original speaker is because the interlocutors who do not speak each other's language can now use these 'see-able' gestural meanings to achieve cognitive understanding with one other. Consequently, these 'see-able' means even allow 'direct' communication between participants who do not share a language, especially when an eye contact is formed between them. Detailed analysis regarding eye contact between participants in these case studies will be discussed in the next chapter.

To conclude, by focusing on gesture use, this chapter has shown the insights that can be produced by applying multimodal analysis to interpreter-mediated interaction. Multimodal analysis has provided a different angle for the researcher to examine the interpreters' active involvement in a subtle and 'non-verbal' way. The following chapter will further analyse the interpreters' interaction from the perspective of the use of gaze.

¹³ Among Kendon's six different kinds of gesture contributions, 'gesture may be used to make more specific the meaning of something that is being said in words' (Kendon 2004:176).

Chapter 5 Multimodal analysis: gaze and body orientation

5.1 Introduction

As explained in the previous chapters, this study addresses the research question “How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?”. This main research question is divided into three sub-questions. The previous chapter addressed the first sub-question about how gesture use reflects the interpreter’s involvement in communication. It examined the different functions of gesture movements used by all participants in the case studies used in this research project and discussed how gesture use contributes to the meaning-making process, thus explaining how the interpreter is actively drawn into interaction through a multimodal perspective. This chapter is focused on addressing the second of the three sub-questions: “How does the interpreter coordinate communication through gaze and body orientation?”, thereby continuing the examination of the interpreter’s involvement in communication.

The data for analysis in this chapter is selected from the same six video-recorded cases used in the previous chapter. The analysis will be carried out case by case. Each case includes two primary participants and one interpreter. In order to investigate gaze and body orientation, this chapter is going to be structured in the following way. It will firstly explain how relevant instances are selected from the data and the specific approach to analysis. Detailed analysis of each chosen instance will then follow. In each instance, all participants’ gaze use along with co-occurring body orientation will be analysed and discussed in relation to the communication process, from which findings are drawn. The following section will start by introducing the approach to data analysis regarding gaze and body orientation.

5.2 Approach to data analysis

This section first explains why gaze and body orientation are important indicators of participants’ engagement in communication; it then explains how to investigate the

multimodal aspects of gaze and body orientation. The instances of eye contact will be selected and how eye contact (EC) was formed and/or disrupted among participants will be investigated. Within each instance, gaze use that contributes to the establishment of EC will then be discussed. This will be analysed from two perspectives. One is whether or not the interpreter(s) contributed to the establishment of EC and how they managed to do that; the other is if the establishment of EC was only due to the primary participants' own efforts, then what did they do to achieve that and what was achieved through the EC.

This chapter will examine the use of gaze and body orientation among the primary participants and their interpreters in the interpreting cases because the engagement of participation can be shown by participants' availability to engage (shown by body orientation) in communication and the display of participants' attention (shown by their gaze). As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, when an individual's body is oriented towards an audience or object, the audience or object has then been included in this individual's spatial frame (Robinson 1998). To a certain extent, body orientation shows the potential or availability of forming an interaction between the two individuals.

In this study, as defined in Chapter 2, the *body* refers to the upper-body, that is, from waist upwards. There are two main reasons why this study is only concerned with upper-body movements. Firstly, previous studies found that one's lower-body has its own natural stability while the upper-body shows more mobility (Robinson 1998:99). Secondly, in this study, all participants in the six cases were arranged in a seating position when the interaction and video recording were carried out. In other words, the lower-body movements were controlled in this study, so the body orientation will be shown mainly from the upper-body movements. However, body orientation does not necessarily guarantee such an interaction; a full engagement needs to be decided through gaze, which indicates one's attention.

In this study, *gaze* refers to individuals looking at another person in the eyes during a conversation or other social interactions. *Eye contact* (EC) is a mutual gaze established between two individuals when they are looking at each other simultaneously (Argyle 1994:28). In monolingual communication, we know that, if individual A is aware of individual B's gaze, A has become the object of B's attention and B shows a

willingness to get involved. If there forms a mutual gaze between A and B, then it indicates, 'each [individual] is attending to and receptive to the other' (Argyle 1994:31) and it 'represents the most perfect reciprocity in the entire field of human relationship' (Simmel 1921, cited from Argyle 1994:31).

As well as forming a communicative relationship, gaze can also be related to the order of speech exchange, as Kendon (1967) pointed out, 'Glances [here referred to as gaze] are synchronised with speech in a special way' and that 'long glances were made starting just before the end of an utterance while the other person started to look away at this point' (Kendon 1967, cited in Argyle 1994:50). In other words, in monolingual conversation, eye contact (EC) happens briefly at the end of person A's utterance, which is also at the beginning of person B's turn. If this is the case, then EC is corresponding with each turn-taking point. According to Argyle (1994:50), there are two main reasons for A and B to establish EC at each turn-taking point. The first reason is that A is looking for feedback from B and that B is expected to give feedback. A's gaze used at the ends of utterances is termed as 'terminal gaze' for the purpose of ending his/her turn and collecting feedback from B. The second reason is that B who is listening can show that s/he is attending to speaker A. Relatedly, EC signals a relinquishing of the floor and turn handover.

Based on the understanding of eye contact in the two-person monolingual conversation discussed above, there could be two types of EC situation happening in the three-party interpreter-mediated bilingual communication. Take when person A is the speaker as an example. The first possible situation is, if speaker A gave a terminal gaze to the interpreter at the end of his/her utterance as a turn-taking cue, then A would be able to establish eye contact with the interpreter rather than with the intended recipient B. Consequently, speaker A would receive feedback from the interpreter rather than from B. Another situation is, if speaker A gave a terminal gaze to the intended recipient B regardless of the language barrier, then speaker A would be able to establish eye contact with B instead of having eye contact with the interpreter. Equally, A would get feedback directly from B. The eye contact established in this situation seems very close to the eye contact established between the two participants in a monolingual conversation. The language barrier in interpreter-mediated interaction, however, can change the functions of eye contact and make the establishment of eye contact between

the primary participants more difficult to achieve than in the monolingual communication. Because of the significance of eye contact in terms of establishing a communicative relationship and of corresponding with turn-taking order, this chapter is going to select instances of eye contact from the case studies. It will analyse how different gaze functions are at work to manage turn-taking order in three-party interpreter-mediated interactions and how instances of eye contact facilitate the establishment of an interpersonal communicative relationship, even with the presence of a language barrier. Among all of the multimodal modes, this chapter is going to take gaze as one example to show how a multimodal analysis reveals the use of gaze in interpreter-mediated interaction and its effect on the outcome of cross-cultural communication.

In order to identify how the interpreter in each case actively engage with their two primary participants in communication by utilising gazes, the following sections are going to analyse in detail when eye contact occurred in the three-party interpreting cases. The instances of eye contact will be selected from the six-recorded cases. In each instance of eye contact, participants' use of different gaze functions to engage with each other in interaction will be analysed.

As summarised in Chapter 2 (see 2.4.3 *a*), the three main gaze functions - participation function, regulatory function and action formation function - will be used as a basis for analysing gaze use in interpreter-mediated interaction. In Chapter 2, gaze functions in multi-party conversations were summarised and divided into the two tables. Table 2.1 showed the situation when the speaker gazes at the listener and Table 2.2 showed the situation when the speaker withdraws gazes from the listener. Based on these two tables detailed in Chapter 2, relevant information for the analysis of gaze functions in interpreter-mediated multi-party conversations can be summarised in the following two tables, Table 5.1 and Table 5.2.

Table 5.1: the speaker gazes at the listener(s) in interpreting settings

Participants Functions	Multi-party conversation
Participation function	1) Getting attention from the audience; 2) (Dis) engaging the listener (s) into the interaction (C. Goodwin 1981).
Regulatory function	3) Selecting addressee (s) (C. Goodwin 1979); 4) Soliciting response or securing mutual gaze (Goodwin 1986, Bavelas et al. 2002, Rossano 2010); 5) Mobilizing response (Rossano & Stivers 2010, Rossano 2012).
Action formation	6) Implementing social action (Kidwell 2009); 7) Taking stance (Haddington 2006).

Table 5.2: the speaker withdraws gaze from the listener(s) in interpreting settings

Participants Functions	Multi-party conversation
Participation function	1) Sequential completion (Rossano 2012); 2) Engaging with completing an action (C. Goodwin 1984)
Regulatory function	3) Reducing engagement (Goodwin 1981, 1984); diminished participation (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin 1987); 4) Making a bid for closure (Rossano 2005a, 2012); 5) Displaying a specific understanding of the on-going development of the course of action (Rossano 2013).
Action formation	6) An act of resistance (Kidnell 2006); 7) In the process of re-enactment (Sidnell 2006)

The instances of eye contact were transcribed by software ELAN, so that different aspects of gaze and body orientation of all participants could be seen clearly. Three aspects of gaze were explored during the data analysis process: the direction of gaze, gaze duration and the timing of gaze. Argyle (1994) argued that these three aspects of

gaze are important. Firstly, a person's gaze direction indicates the direction of their attention; secondly, gaze direction and its duration jointly reflect participants' engagement in interaction. Finally, gaze is a main channel for receiving feedback from the audience, so the timing of gaze in relation to its occurring speech is also considered important (Argyle 1994:28). The following sections include detailed data analysis from the six recorded cases in an attempt to address the research question.

5.3 Analysis of case study data – gaze and body orientation

The analysis of case study data regarding gaze and body orientation in this chapter will cover eye contact instances occurring during greeting, eye contact instances where joint attention occurred among participants, sustained eye contact instances and lastly, instances when eye contact between participants have been interrupted. This section will start by analysing the first instance of eye contact occurring when participants greet each other at the beginning of communication.

5.3.1 Eye contact when greeting

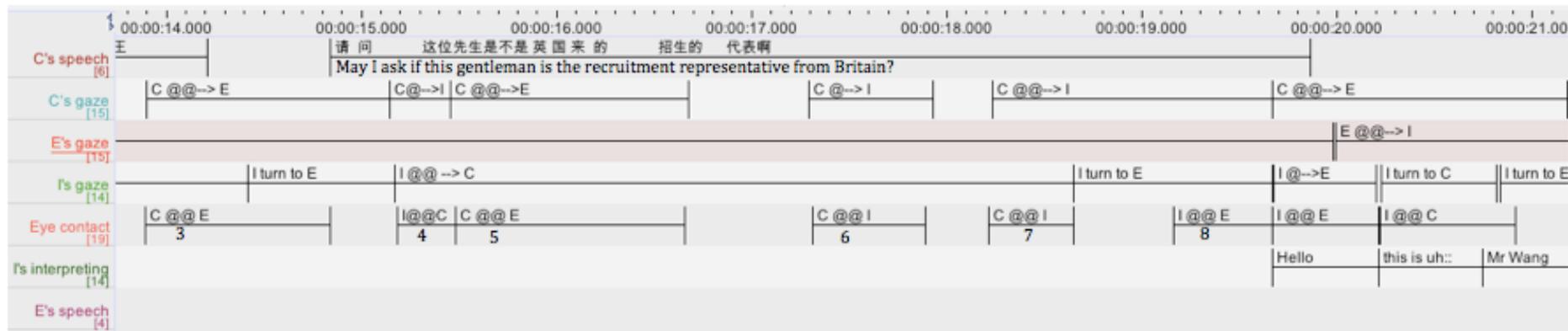
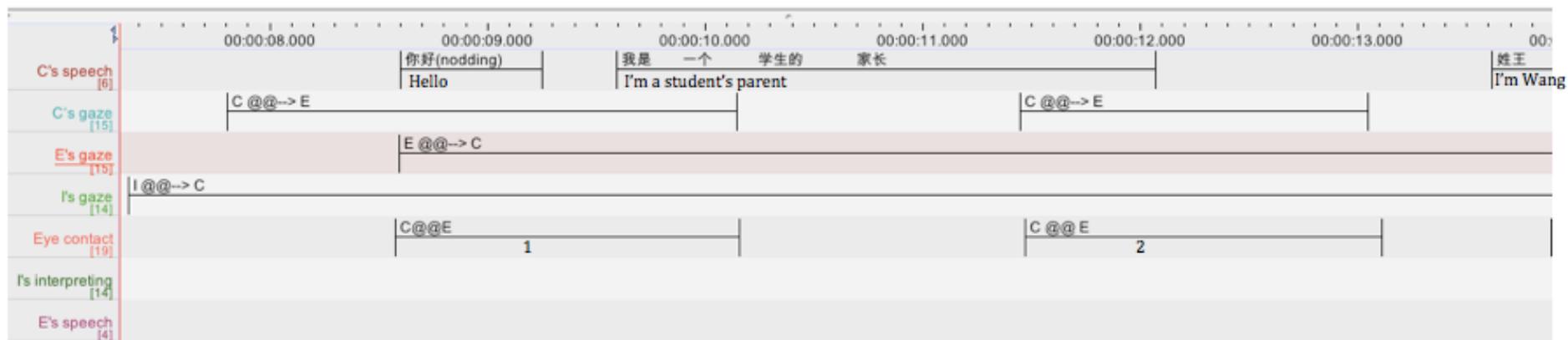
This section will introduce the first significant instances of eye contact identified from the interpreting cases. The first instance of eye contact in a social interaction normally happens at the very beginning when interactants greet each other, as Kendon and Ferber (1973) stated, 'person A waves, smiles, looks and says something like 'Hi'. B probably responds, and there is a brief mutual gaze' (Argyle 1994:53). Thus, instances of eye contact when participants greet each other are taken as a starting point to look at how participants have established initial contact with one another through gaze, body orientation and other multimodal means.

Below are the transcriptions from case study 1 when a Chinese parent was greeting an English University representative, showing gaze, body and other multimodal aspects of all three participants when completing the interaction of greeting each other. The turn-taking process can be divided into (1) when the Chinese speaker started his turn and the interpreter translated the greeting information to the English party, showing as $C \rightarrow I \rightarrow$

E and (2) when the English speaker took a turn and the interpreter translated his greeting back to the Chinese party, showing as $E \rightarrow I \rightarrow C$.

a. Data analysis

Transcript 1.1 is transcribed from the first 20 seconds of case study 1. It shows what happened when the Chinese parent (*C*) initiated a greeting to the English representative (*E*), at the turn of $C \rightarrow I$. This transcript includes five tiers shown on the left hand side: *C's speech*, *C's gaze*, *E's gaze*, *I's gaze* and *eye contact* among participants. In accordance with the timeline on the top, it shows clearly each participant's gaze direction and duration in relation to *C's* speech. Note that there is no particular meaning regarding the faint red shading on the line of *E's* gaze, as it was simply because of the screenshot of the transcript 1.1 was made when the mouse cursor was staying on that line.



Transcript 1.1

Note: “@@@->” shows a sustained long gaze with a direction shown by the arrow; “@->” shows a brief gaze with a direction; “@@@” in between refers to a mutual gaze or eye contact. In the first line of C's speech, it includes C's speech in Chinese and its back-translation in English.

In this short turn initiated by *C*, 8 eye contact (EC) instances are identified and labelled in numbers and each EC is discussed in detail as follows.

EC	Gaze functions	Discussion
1	Greeting; Getting and securing attention; Getting feedback	The first EC occurred when <i>C</i> looked at <i>E</i> , nodded his head and said 'Hello' in Chinese. <i>C</i> immediately received response from <i>E</i> , as he nodded his head and gazed back at <i>C</i> . This EC happened at the beginning of <i>C</i> 's self-introduction. <i>C</i> 's gaze at <i>E</i> started with the greeting and was sustained until he started this self-introduction. However, when <i>C</i> noticed that <i>E</i> was looking at him, which confirms that <i>E</i> was attending to <i>C</i> , <i>C</i> then quickly withdrew his gaze, indicating that this EC was a terminal gaze for getting feedback from <i>E</i> .
2	Getting feedback;	Both EC 2 and EC 3 occurred at the end of <i>C</i> 's utterances, which can also be seen as 'terminal gaze(s)' to get feedback or give away the turn, similar to what happens in a two-person interaction. The evidence of this is <i>I</i> 's body orientation, in which <i>I</i> turned to <i>E</i> right after EC 4, indicating that <i>I</i> detected this terminal gaze in relation to <i>C</i> 's speech, so <i>I</i> was about to take the interpreting turn.
3	Turn-taking cue	
4	Regulate participation	<i>C</i> switched gaze to <i>I</i> while saying 'May I ask...'. This gaze immediately stopped <i>I</i> 's intention to start interpreting, as <i>C</i> 's gaze has included <i>I</i> into the interaction as his addressee from this point and prepared <i>I</i> for taking the turn after this utterance.
5	Making reference	<i>C</i> gazed at <i>E</i> briefly when he referred to <i>E</i> as 'this gentleman'. This gaze functions the same way as a pointing gesture and <i>E</i> was only a point of reference.
6	Turn-taking cues	Both EC 6 and EC 7 between <i>C</i> and <i>I</i> happened during <i>C</i> 's question. These ECs were cues for <i>I</i> to prepare to take the floor. This can be manifested by the fact that <i>I</i> turned to <i>E</i> immediately after EC 7.
7		
8	Regulatory; Securing attention	After EC 7, <i>I</i> turned and gazed to <i>E</i> . This body orientation marked the end of <i>C</i> 's speaking turn and the beginning of <i>I</i> 's interpreting. EC 8 further indicated that <i>I</i> secured <i>E</i> 's attention.

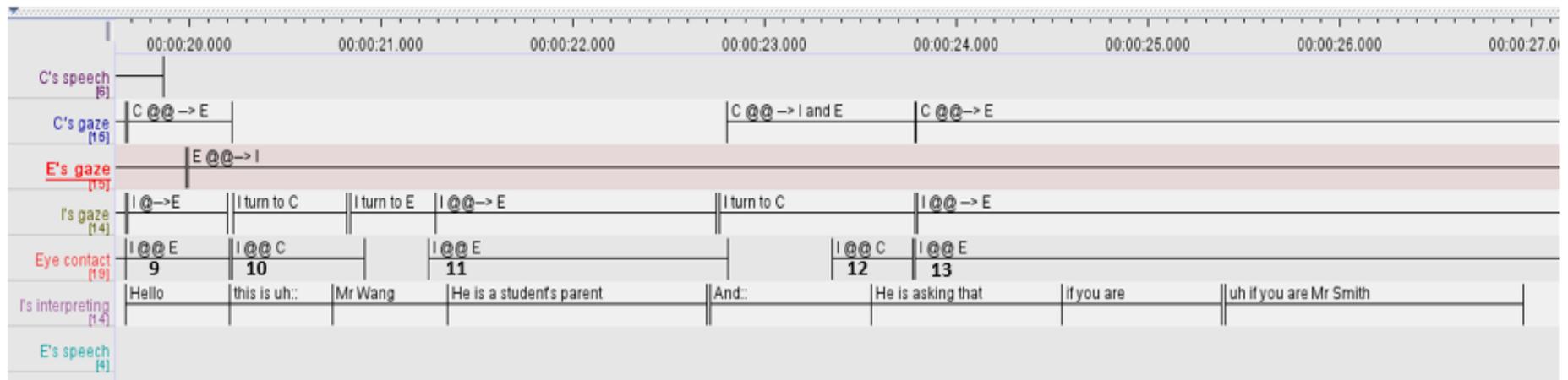
In an interpreting interaction, a speaker would gaze at their intended recipient as speaker(s) in monolingual interaction would do. However, unlike in a monolingual interaction when both interactants understand each other's language, in the above case, speaker *C* was aware of the fact that his intended listener *E* would not understand his utterances. Therefore, although *C* was looking at *E* when he started speaking, the turn-taking cues exhibited by *C* such as 'terminal gaze' (Argyle 1994:50) were intended for the interpreter, rather than for *E*.

For instance, in this $C \rightarrow I$ turn, gaze direction is shown to whom the speaker was addressing. As shown from transcript 1.1, EC1 to EC4 shows that, even though the two primary participants *C* and *E* cannot speak each other's language, speaker *C* started with addressing *E* with direct eye contact. At EC3, *C* displayed a 'terminal gaze' as a signal as if for *E* to take over the turn. If this was in a normal monolingual interaction, *E* would have responded to *C* at this point. However, in this case the interpreter was the one who responded to this 'terminal gaze' by shifting her body orientation from *C* to *E*.

This shift of body orientation instantly created a 'spatial frame' (Robinson 1998), which included *E*, but not *C*, as when one orients his/her body towards another, this body movement includes the other person into the spatial frame. In other words, the interpreter interrupted the connections established between *C* and *E* from EC1 to EC4 and reconnected herself with *E* through a spatial frame created by a single shift of body orientation. This use of body orientation showed that the interpreter was attentively observing the interaction and recognized the intention of speaker *C*'s terminal gaze in relation to his co-occurring utterance. She was also aware of the fact that this terminal gaze would not be recognized by *E* due to the language difference, so she immediately took *C*'s terminal gaze as a cue to take over the turn and was ready to start her interpreting turn. Interestingly, the interpreter's move was interrupted by *C* before EC5, as he continued, 'May I ask...'. While speaking this sentence, *C* was looking at the interpreter this time, which further indicates that *C* was expecting the interpreter to take over the turn.

This instance, therefore, clearly shows the regulatory function of gaze and body orientation in managing turn-taking order in the interpreter-mediated interaction. The speaker gave out turn-changing cues and anticipated responses similarly to the way they would in a monolingual conversation, except that this information was meant for the interpreter to detect. In other words, the interpreter is expected to monitor and detect the speaker's intentions at all time, even if the speaker is not directly looking at the interpreter. At the same time, the interpreter actively uses gaze and body orientation to chip in the middle of a conversation and fulfill their interpreting duties. These aspects of engagement in the interpreter-mediated interaction cannot be seen from a textual-based analysis, as everyone's intentions are silently embedded in their words and subtle changes of gaze and body orientation and can only be shown through a multimodal analysis.

The next transcript shows what happened in the following 10 seconds during the turn $I \rightarrow E$, when the interpreter (I) was interpreting the Chinese speaker C 's previous speech.



Transcript 1.2

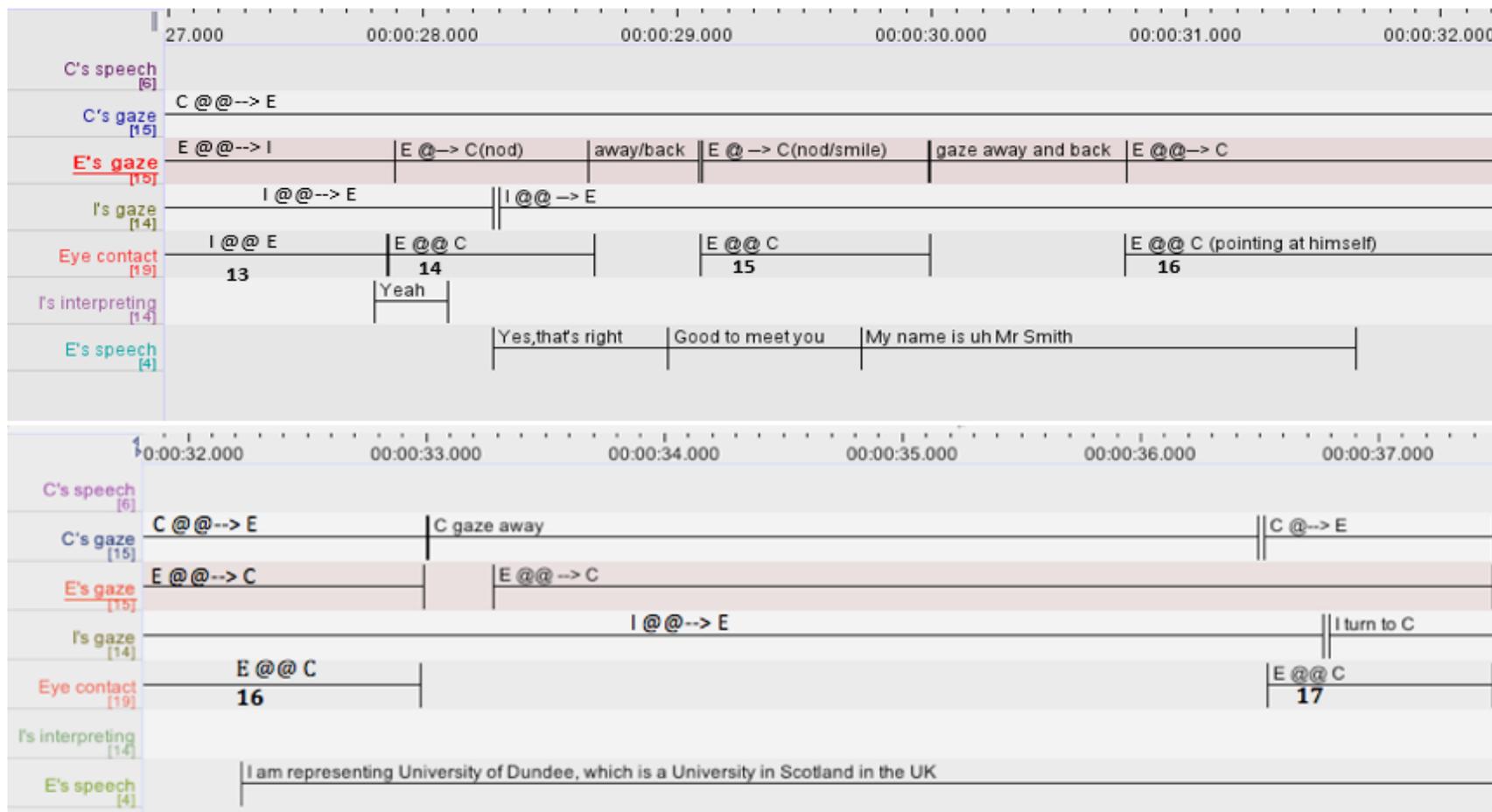
Note: “@@-->” shows a sustained long gaze with a direction shown by the arrow; “@-->” shows a brief gaze with a direction; “@@” in between refers to a mutual gaze or eye contact.

When the interpreter (*I*) was the speaker, doing the interpreting, she managed to establish five instances of eye contact with both *E* and *C*. These 5 ECs are labelled in numbers and their functions are discussed below.

EC	Gaze functions	Discussion
9	Getting attention	<i>I</i> secured <i>E</i> 's attention by using body orientation from <i>C</i> to <i>E</i> , then a verbal greeting 'Hello' and gaze at <i>E</i> .
10	Making reference Engaging listener	<i>I</i> used this gaze to refer to <i>C</i> . In this case, <i>C</i> was treated as a point of reference. She used the deictic words 'this' and then later 'he' to refer to <i>C</i> . A quick look at <i>C</i> can potentially be a way to engage the listener <i>C</i> , even though he does not understand English. This gaze seemed indicate to <i>C</i> that he was mentioned in the interpreting.
11	Securing attention	<i>I</i> secured <i>E</i> 's attention by using gaze, body orientation from <i>C</i> to <i>E</i> , while interpreting the verbal content.
12	Making reference Re-engaging listener	Again, <i>C</i> was a point of reference and <i>I</i> also used 'he' to refer to <i>C</i> . It was also a means of re-engaging <i>C</i> , as he looked away before this moment. After <i>I</i> 's body orientation (turned to <i>C</i>) and brief glance at <i>C</i> , <i>C</i> looked back at the interaction between <i>I</i> and <i>E</i> .
13	Securing attention	<i>I</i> secured <i>E</i> 's attention by using gaze, body orientation, while continuing interpreting the verbal content.

In short, *I* was translating for *E* in this turn. *I*'s two instances of eye contact with *C* (EC 10 and EC 12) exhibited deictic functions, treating *C* as a point of reference while interpreting for *E*. The two short glances at *C* also indicate to *C* that he was mentioned in the interpreting. It showed that the interpreter was not only translating for the participants, but also using gaze to introduce them to one another.

After seeing the turn from $C \rightarrow I \rightarrow E$, the next sequence will be the turn of $E \rightarrow I \rightarrow C$, when the English speaker took the turn to greet the Chinese party. Transcript 1.3 shows interaction during $E \rightarrow I$.



Transcript 1.3

The above turn shows that by utilising gaze and pointing gesture, *E* was trying to introduce himself to his Chinese addressee directly without the help of the interpreter. When *E* took the floor and started greeting at *C*, he established four instances of eye contact with *C*. These four ECs are also labelled in numbers and their functions are discussed below.

EC	Gaze functions	Discussion
14	Getting attention; Preparing the interpreter	This EC was established by <i>E</i> 's gaze and nod at <i>C</i> . These non-verbal signals got <i>C</i> 's attention and thus formed a mutual gaze between <i>E</i> and <i>C</i> ; they also prepared <i>I</i> to be ready to listen to what <i>E</i> was about to say. After realising these two purposes, <i>E</i> gazed away.
15	Securing attention; Engaging participant	After a brief look away, <i>E</i> gazed (and smiled) back at <i>C</i> and formed the second EC. This gaze was to engage <i>C</i> and to ensure that <i>C</i> 's still attending, as <i>E</i> knew that <i>C</i> could not understand English. Once <i>E</i> secured <i>C</i> 's attention, he gazed away.
16	Getting direct attention; Securing attention	<i>E</i> gazed back to <i>C</i> and pointed at himself when he uttered his name 'Smith'. By utilising these non-verbal signals, <i>E</i> was trying to establish a direct connection with <i>C</i> . However, when <i>E</i> uttered more details towards the end of EC 16, non-verbal information was not sufficient enough to explain itself. Then, even though <i>E</i> was still gazing at <i>C</i> , <i>C</i> gazed away.
17	Regulatory	<i>C</i> gazed back at <i>E</i> when he anticipated that <i>E</i> reached the end of his turn. This eye contact between them was sustained until <i>I</i> turned her body towards <i>C</i> to get his attention.

Finally, the following transcript 1.4 shows interaction during $I \rightarrow C$.

	00:00:38.000	00:00:39.000	00:00:40.000	00:00:41.000	00:00:42.000	00:00:43.000	00:00:44.000	00:00:45.000	00:00:46.000
C's speech [6]								哦好 Oh okay	向你也问好 Hello to you
C's gaze [15]	C @@--> I								C @-> E(nod)
E's gaze [15]	E gazes away from C	E @ --> I & E	E gazes away				E @->C	E gazes away	E @ @-> C(smile)
I's gaze [14]	I @ @ --> C								I @-> C
Eye contact [19]	C @ @ I								C @ @ E
I's interpreting [14]	他是史密斯先生。 He is Mr Smith	然后，他是来自于苏格兰 uh he is from a Scottish	的一个大学，叫邓迪大学 University University of Dundee	然后，他是那边的代表 Uh he is a representative	跟你问好 he says hello to you				
E's speech [4]									

Transcript 1.4

This transcript shows when *I* took the final turn to interpret the English speaker's greeting back to the Chinese party. There are only two ECs in this turn.

EC	Gaze functions	Discussion
18	Getting and securing attention; Turn-taking cue	The EC18 between <i>C</i> and <i>I</i> was initiated by <i>I</i> when she turned around and faced towards <i>C</i> and was ready to interpret <i>E</i> 's greeting and self-introduction.
19	Getting attention; Engage participant	<i>C</i> initiated the second EC and he used head nodding and smile to get response from <i>E</i> and created a mutual gaze.

The above transcripts and tables have presented detailed descriptions of eye contact that occurred in the instance of greeting from the data cases of this study. The section below discusses and summarises the main findings from this data analysis.

a. Discussion

The above analysis of instances of eye contact when greeting has shown how all participants including the interpreter coordinate their bilingual communication through the use of gaze (including gaze direction, duration and the timing of mutual gaze) and body orientation.

In general, the two primary participants were making efforts (using participation and regulatory gaze functions) to make direct eye contact with each other, even though they did not understand each other's verbal language. The number of instances of eye contact established between them has the function of creating a communicative interpersonal relationship and of encouraging engagement. On the one hand, when facing the interpreter, the primary participants used their gazes to regulate the interpreter's engagement whenever a verbal interpreting was required. They did not look at the interpreter for a lengthy period of time, but only at certain turn-taking points. Hence, the gazes from the participants towards the interpreter were mainly for 'giving' her the interpreting turn, the function of which is rather regulatory than participation. On the other hand, the sustained gaze of the interpreter towards both participants indicates that she was consciously maintaining her attention to the

interaction and was self-motivated to monitor the communication, waiting for the turn-taking cues to take an interpreting turn. In this case, participants did not seem to use their gazes to maintain the interpreter's attention. All participants in an interpreter-mediated communication seemed to recognise that the interpreter was supposed to be attentive to both participants.

In contrast, the interpreter's use of gaze and/or body orientation was to secure attention from her intended listener(s) and to engage participation. When interpreting, the interpreter moved her gaze and shifted her body orientation in between the two primary participants. The interpreter was not only trying to secure the targeted hearer's attention, but also was not wanting to disengage the other participant, which might be caused by the presence of a language barrier. Therefore, it has been observed that the interpreter frequently changed her gazes and body orientation between the two participants, using these non-verbal signals to monitor participants' attention and to encourage/initiate their engagements with the ongoing interaction.

Finally, a comparison of gaze duration among each participant shows three interesting points. First of all, when comparing the two primary participants, the interpreter had the longest gaze duration, no matter whether speaking or listening, which indicates that the interpreter was paying the most attention in interaction. This is determined by the nature of interpreting work, so the interpreter was self-motivated to monitor any turn-taking cues and anticipating her interpreting turns. Secondly, when comparing the gaze behaviours between the two primary participants, it is found that there might be some cultural or individual differences. When the Chinese participant was greeting his addressee and was introducing himself, his gaze at his English counterpart was intermittent while the English party's gaze back was continuous; when the English party was greeting and introducing himself, his gaze at the Chinese party was continuous and the Chinese participant's gaze at the English participant was still intermittent. In short, whether speaking or listening, the Chinese participant's gaze tends to be intermittent while the English participant's gaze is relatively more continuous. Although this is not the case across all extracts, the observations in this particular case coincide with findings from early intercultural communication research, which distinguishes Asian cultures as 'non-contact cultures' and Western cultures as 'contact cultures'; more specifically, 'people coming from Asian cultural

backgrounds normally gaze less than people coming from western cultures' (Watson 1970, cited in Li 2004). Finally, in this case, the mutual gaze between the Chinese participant and the interpreter shows that the Chinese speaker gave turn-taking cues both verbally (such as posing a question) and non-verbally (e.g. gaze) to the interpreter. The lack of mutual gaze between the English participant and the interpreter suggests that the English participant mostly just gave verbal turn-taking cues (such as reducing pitch at the end of the sentence) to the interpreter. However, this observation cannot be over-generalised to other instances or situations, as it only happens at the instance of greeting in our data case.

5.3.2 Eye contact when joint attention forms

The previous section discussed and analysed how participants utilised gaze and body orientation to facilitate communication at the instances of eye contact when participants were greeting one another. This section is going to discuss other instances of eye contact occurring when joint attention is formed among participants. These instances are important, as Bruner stated, 'joint attention is not just joint attention, but joint participation in a common culture' (Bruner 1995:11). This means that joint attention is based on the establishment of a shared understanding among the participants.

In this study, *joint attention* is understood as a 'triadic attentional engagement', which means that 'understanding the attention of another person is believed to begin with the achievement of the (conscious) joining of two people's attention upon a *third* element or target' (Reddy 2005: 85). In joint attention, 'not only are we each aware of the other's perception of the object, but we are each aware of the other's awareness of our own perception of the object' and there is 'the recognition by each of us that our own perception of the object is open to view to the other' (Eilan 2005:25). At a very sophisticated level, joint attention is 'a meeting of minds' and 'it depends not only on a shared or joint focus, but on shared context and shared presuppositions' (Bruner 1995, cited from Moore & Dunham 1995:6). The following instances show eye contact among participants formed when they were engaged in a joint attention and it

will also discuss how they managed to use this joint focus on an object to facilitate their mutual understanding in communication.

a. Data analysis

This instance is an interaction taken from Case 4 when the Chinese drink salesman (*C*) was showing his English counterpart (*E*) a bottle of Chinese wine and the following transcripts show the interaction that happened between 00:01:06 to 00:01:37. In this instance, participants managed to establish eye contact a few times while handling the bottle onsite. The following transcript 2.1 vertically shows the detailed relations between participants' speech and other non-linguistic information such as gaze, gesture and body orientation. The transcripts have seven vertical lines on the left hand side, which are *C's speech*, *E's speech*, *I's interpreting*, *C's gaze and gesture*, *E's gaze and movement*, *I's gaze and gesture* as well as *Eye contact* from the top line to the bottom line.

Line	00:01:06.000	00:01:07.000	00:01:08.000	00:01:09.000	00:01:10.000	00:01:11.000	00:01:12.000	00:01:13.000
1	C's speech [17]	我们这个酒呢 Our wines	是国内呢 是 in China look	是这种样子的 look like this		看一看 take a look		
2	E's speech [18]				Ah::			
3	I's interpreting [24]						This kind of wine is from China	
4	C's gaze&gesture [50]	C@@--> wine bottle; lean forward/right hand extends to reach the bottle	C@@--> bottle; C's moving around the bottle, and then holding it up to show E	C@@-->bottle; putti				
5	E's gaze&movem [55]	E@@-->C; E's gaze follows C's movements towards the bottle		E@@-->bottle; leans forward		E@->I, then bottle		
6	I's gaze&gesture [34]	I@@-->C	I@@-->bottle			Pointing at the bottle	I@@-->E	
7	Eye contact [10]						I@@E	

Transcript 2.1

Line	00:01:13.000	00:01:14.000	00:01:15.000	00:01:16.000	00:01:17.000	00:01:18.000	00:01:19.000	00:01:20.000
1	C's speech [17]			一个系列 一个系列 a series a series		这是我们公司 This is our company's		高等级的 top-level
2	E's speech [18]	Ah it's beautiful, fantastic!						
3	I's interpreting [24]	is from China	这个很漂亮 This is so beautiful					
4	C's gaze&gesture [50]	C@@-->bottle; putting down the bottle	C@@-->E; gesturing	C@bottle;gesture	C@E	C@@-->bottle; pointing at the bottle	C@-->E	C@@-->E;thumb-up
5	E's gaze&movem [55]	E@->I, then bottle	E points at bottle	E@@-->bottle	E@-->C	E@@-->bottle	E@-->C	E@-->I
6	I's gaze&gesture [34]	I@@-->E	I@@-->bottle	I@-->E	I@@-->bottle		I@-->C's thumb	I@@-->C's p
7	Eye contact [10]	I@@E	EC 1				C@@E	EC 2

Transcript 2.2

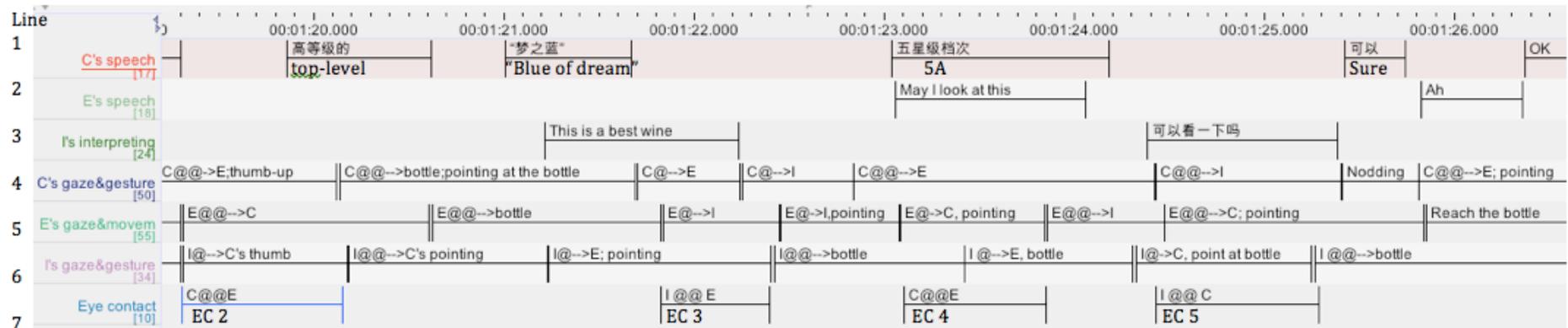
During the Chinese participant's (*C*) turn, he started introducing a bottle of Chinese wine by taking out a real sample to show the English party (*E*). Line 1 and Line 2 of the transcript 2.1 show the two primary participants' speech. When *C* was showing his English counterpart a bottle of Chinese wine, he was introducing the wine in Chinese but got an immediate response directly from *E* even before the interpreting started in Line 3. From the transcript, there is no interpreting before *E*'s responsive 'Ah' sound, so it appears as if the English participant has understood the Chinese utterance. The English participant does not speak any Chinese at all, so what could have initiated *E*'s response? It could not be because of the linguistic cues, as *E* does not understand Chinese, so this immediate reaction could potentially be attributed to non-linguistic cues.

When analysing the non-linguistic information conveyed before *E*'s audible response 'Ah' in Line 2, it has been observed that *C* and *E*'s gaze, gesture movements and body orientation (shown in Line 4 and Line 5) were engaged in a short period of non-verbal interaction. Line 4 shows that when *C* started his talking, he was gazing at the wine bottle and then leaned forward. He firstly extended his right hand to point at the bottle and then moved forward to reach the bottle. In the meantime, Line 5 shows that *E*'s gaze had been closely following *C*'s body movements as well as his pointing gesture, as *E*'s gaze was led to the bottle and his body leant forward towards the bottle. At that moment, although there was no eye contact, all participants (including the interpreter) were jointly gazing at the bottle, forming a joint attention on the same object.

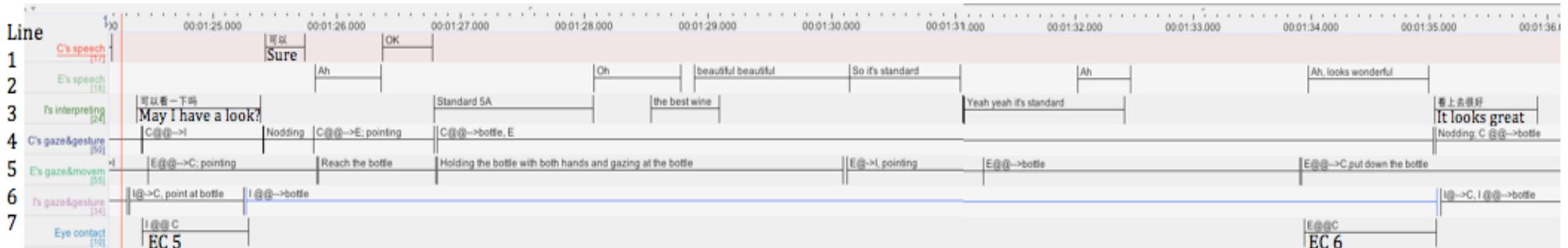
Once *C* got hold of the bottle, he presented the bottle in front of *E* and moved the bottle around slightly producing a rubbing sound against the table. Then, at this very moment, *E* responded with an audible 'Ah' sound and that he accordingly leant forward his body towards the bottle. Then both primary participants were facing each other, showing availability in body orientation and thus creating a pre-condition for them to engage in an interaction. As discussed in Chapter 2, the availability to engage shown by participants' body orientations does not necessarily guarantee an actual engagement of participants in interaction, which has to be reflected from other indicators, such as gaze (Robinson 1998). Although there was no immediate eye contact between *C* and *E* to evidence their actual engagement, availability to engage

shown by body orientation and joint attention has indicated a potential to engage in interaction, so at this moment the interpreter (*I*) intervened. She firstly copied *C*'s pointing gesture and started interpreting *C*'s words (detailed analysis of participants' use of pointing gestures can be found in Chapter 4), which immediately gained *E*'s attention, so that *E* formed an eye contact with *I*. After this eye contact between *I* and *E*, transcript 2.2 shows the following interaction.

After the eye contact EC1 between the English participant (*E*) and the interpreter (*I*) in transcript 2.2, *E* also used a pointing gesture towards the bottle and started his turn. Until then, each participant took their turn by repeating the same pointing gesture used in the previous speaker's turn, as this pointing gesture has given them the same point of reference to start their speeches. Immediately afterwards, a series of attempts to interact with each other were displayed between *C* and *E*. At the time when *C* was gazing at *E*, *E* was gazing at the bottle; when *E* raised his head to look at *C*, *C* was gazing at the bottle. They both seemed to be seeking eye contact with one another. It has been observed that in the middle of this eye contact-seeking attempt, *E* had briefly glanced at the interpreter looking for interpreting, but the interpreter did not intervene. The interpreter was not able to provide her interpreting at the time simply because the Chinese speaker had not yet given enough information and she was waiting for him to complete that meaning segment. With a failure to obtain an immediate interpreting, the English participant was left with a bewildered non-verbal posture, as he was holding his chin while looking at the bottle in puzzlement. Several rounds of attempts to seek eye contact between *E* and *C* failed, until *C* used a universally recognised gesture – a 'thumb-up' gesture while pointing at the bottle. This gesture apparently succeeded in establishing eye contact EC2 between *C* and *E*, as *E* clearly understood the meaning and its reference.



Transcript 2.3



Transcript 2.4

In Transcript 2.3, after *C* and *E*'s eye contact EC2 and before the two primary participants' next eye contact (marked as EC4 in Transcript 2.3), there was an instance of eye contact between *I* and *E* (marked as EC3). This is another moment when the interpreter intervened by jumping straight into the interaction with some interpreting from *C*'s previous turn. In fact, the interpreter interrupted *C*'s turn (shown in line 3), as there is an overlap between *I*'s interpreting and *C*'s talk (shown in line 1 and line 3). Even though *C* had not yet finished his turn, the interpreter still intervened, which indicates that the interpreter felt the need to give some interpreting at this moment. This is probably due to the fact that *E* previously requested a translation while *I* had not yet got enough information to do so (In transcript 2.2, during 00:01:17:025 and 00:01:17:07, *E* was gazing at *I*, requesting for a translation). After EC3, it has been observed that *C*'s gaze was shifting between *E* and *I*, indicating that *C* was monitoring his listeners' responses and then carried on his previous turn. Again, *C*'s talk was interrupted, but this time by *E*'s request. When *C* continued talking about the standard of the wine as '5A', *E* requested to look at the bottle at the same time, so *C*'s talk was overlapped by *E*'s speech. *C* realised that *E*'s speech was actually a response to the interpreter, so he immediately stopped his talk. At that moment, *E* and *C* established eye contact at EC4.

Then, the interpreter translated *E*'s request for him and established eye contact with *C* (EC5). *C*'s immediate reaction after hearing the interpreted request was interesting. *C* nodded his head while pointing at the bottle, and said, 'ok' in English. These series of actions got him a direct response from *E*, as *E* verbalised 'Ah' and took the bottle by his hands. When *C* and *E* manage to communicate by using various non-linguistic or limited linguistic means, the interpreter did not interrupt. When *E* was examining the bottle, *I* started fitting in bits of information, which was conveyed in *C*'s previous turn. This way of fitting in interpreting information does not seem to interrupt the direct communicative relationship between the two primary participants, as they completed their turns by a mutual gaze, shown in EC6. The following table summarises the gaze functions and relevant discussions regarding each instance of eye contact (EC) formed among participants and the interpreter.

EC	Gaze functions	Discussion
1	Getting attention; Securing a mutual gaze; Display a specific understanding of the on-going development of the course of action	It seems that this eye contact would have been formed between the primary participants at this point if it were in a monolingual communication. <i>I</i> appeared to have anticipated the necessity to intervene at this very moment. By using a pointing gesture, she successfully connected with <i>C</i> and <i>E</i> 's previous non-linguistic interaction and relayed the missing linguistic information regarding the point of reference, which prevented the primary participants from forming eye contact at the previous turn and was needed for <i>E</i> to have sufficient information to interact with <i>C</i> .
2	Engaging the listener with the interaction; Getting attention; Soliciting response/securing mutual gaze;	<i>C</i> used a pointing gesture and a thumb-up gesture to convey his meaning while gazing at his listener to get attention and secure a mutual gaze. After several attempts to establish eye contact, the two participants finally managed to understand each other by non-linguistic means.
3	Getting attention; Selecting addressee	The use of shifting between the two languages became an addressee-selecting tool for <i>I</i> . Apart from that, <i>I</i> also used gaze and body orientation to get her listener's attention, for instance, as she prevented <i>C</i> from providing too much information so that <i>I</i> could feed some information to <i>E</i> .
4	Reducing engagement; Soliciting response	Through this instance of eye contact, <i>C</i> got enough feedback to stop continuing his talk and <i>E</i> was seeking responses for his request, so he was shifting his gaze between <i>I</i> and <i>C</i> with a gesture pointing at the bottle.
5	Getting attention; Selecting addressee	<i>I</i> was translating for <i>C</i> , so she was speaking in Chinese while gazing at <i>C</i> and pointing at the bottle to indicate <i>E</i> 's intention to have a look at the bottle.

6	Getting attention; Engaging with completing an action	As <i>C</i> was gazing at <i>E</i> before they had a mutual gaze, <i>C</i> 's gaze was waiting for a response from <i>E</i> . <i>E</i> 's gaze back at <i>C</i> gave him this response to show that he finished examining the bottle, indicating a completion of his turn.
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b. Analysis

In the case of joint attention, both primary participants were actively seeking direct communication with one another using both linguistic and non-linguistic means, rather than solely relying on the interpreter. Both participants used non-linguistic means such as seeking mutual gaze, handling an object (i.e. the wine bottle) and gesturing the same point of reference, as well as showing availability to engage through body orientation. They even used limited words that they can say in their counterpart's language or conventionalised signs (such as thumbs-up).

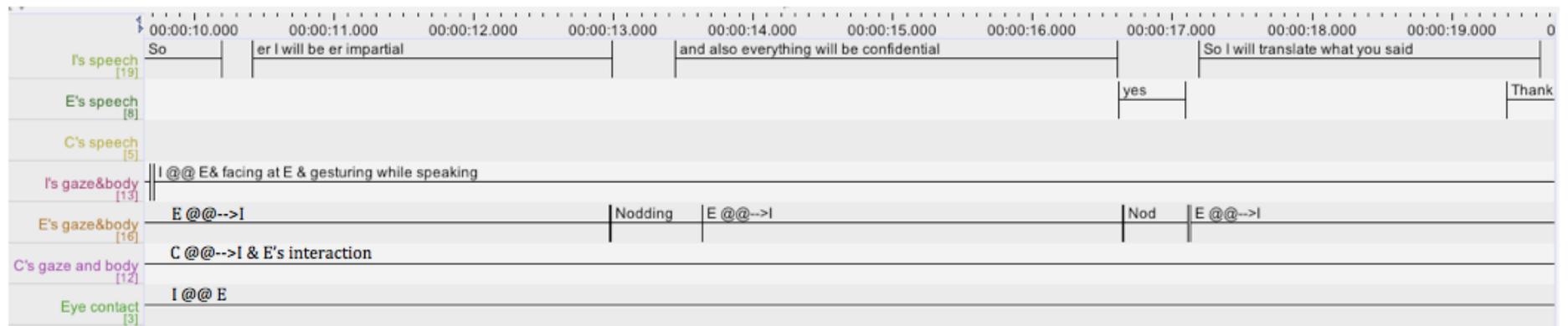
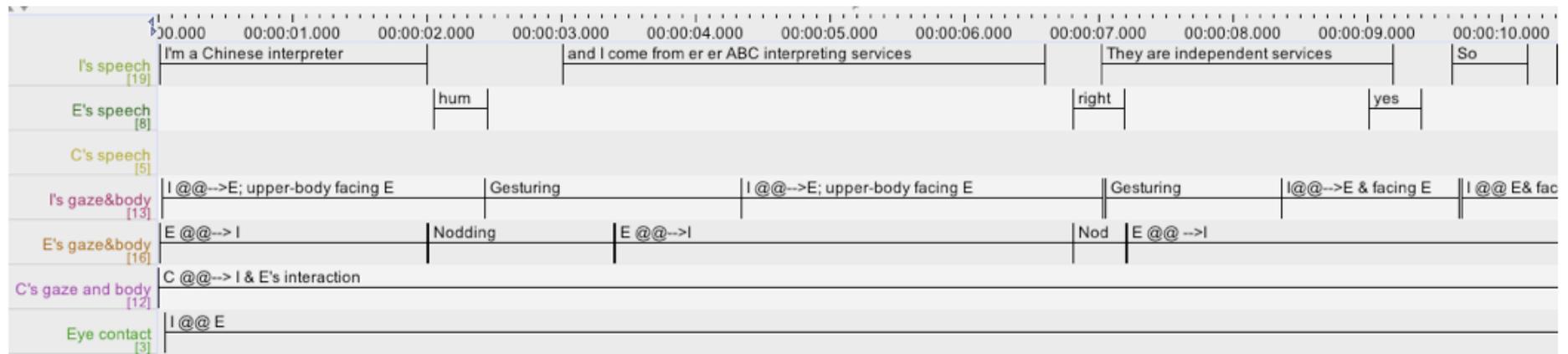
From the analysis of the instances of eye contact, the main gaze functions are participation and regulatory. In particular, at the time when interpreting was absent, or when the interpreter was not yet ready to give a complete translation, participants had already started seeking eye contact with their intended recipients by using available resources to make connections with each other. For example, by repeatedly using the same pointing gesture to maintain the same point of reference, the primary participants themselves managed to establish a communicative relationship when the interpreter was absent, although there was evidence such as brief gazes at the interpreter indicating that they were expecting the interpreter's help. The analysis of the interpreter's mutual gaze with both participants shows that the interpreter was closely monitoring the interaction between the primary participants and that she only participated when necessary. When intervening, the interpreter kept her interruption to a minimum level and fitted her interpreting around the ever-evolving context and interaction, instead of translating exactly sentence by sentence.

From the above instance of joint attention in interpreter-mediated interaction, we witness that participants understand each other's acts and/or utterances within an existing context. In order to have a shared understanding, one must probe the existing

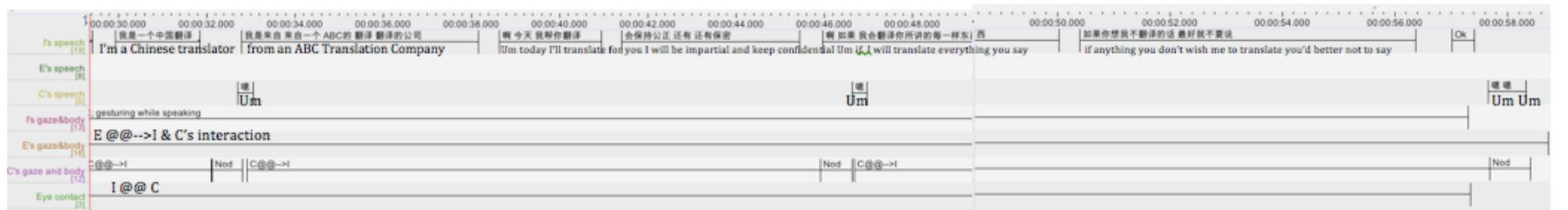
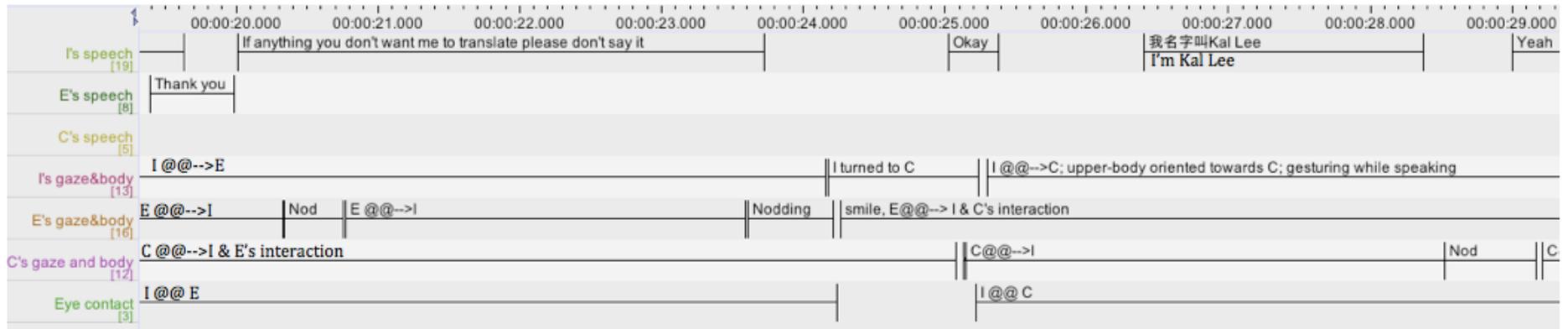
context to understand one another's acts/utterances and also to make one's own acts/utterances relevant to the context to have themselves understood by others presented in interaction (Bruner 1995, cited from Moore & Dunham 1995:10). In this case, the object, as a point of reference, and the pointing gesture pointed at it created a shared focus, thus a shared context among interactants. Within this shared context, meanings and shared understandings were negotiated through other acts such as eye contact, body orientation and utterances.

5.3.3 Sustained eye contact

Among all the case studies, there is one case (Case 2) where the primary participants exhibited sustained mutual gaze. In interpreter-mediated interaction, it is difficult to form meaningful eye contact between the primary participants, let alone sustained eye contact. Therefore, instances of sustained eye contact are particularly interesting. This section analyses what factors contributed to this sustained eye contact between primary participants and how they mobilised their relationship with the interpreter. To begin with, this is the only case that started by the interpreter's introducing himself, explaining to the primary participants at the very beginning what he can do and what he cannot do. The following ELAN transcripts are the detailed transcripts of the interpreter self-initiated introduction, enabling us to discuss more details regarding interpreter's use of gazes and body orientations that seem to have influenced the order of turn taking.



Transcript 3.1



Transcript 3.2

a. Data analysis

In the above transcripts, transcript 3.1 shows when the interpreter (*I*) was informing the English patient (*E*) and transcript 3.2 shows when *I* was informing the Chinese doctor (*C*). The first three lines in the transcripts show the linguistic information and the following four lines show the non-linguistic information in the interaction, including gaze, body orientation, gesture, and eye contact among all participants.

The first three lines of linguistic information indicate that the content of this self-introduction includes the impartiality and confidentiality regarding the interpreter's professional Codes of Conduct. It helps establish the interpreter's professional role in front of the participants. By asking the participants not to say anything that they do not wish to be translated, the interpreter has established his own role as only giving translation rather than being personally involved. This helps the participants to prepare what they want to say in interaction and also to remind themselves of their own roles in interaction.

When combining the following four lines of non-linguistic information into the analysis, we can see that the interpreter is not only establishing his position by telling the participants what he does, but also setting up an order of turn taking by utilising multimodal means. From the transcripts, the interpreter mobilised his gaze direction and oriented his upper-body position to select his intended recipient(s) and to maintain their attention. The confirmation responses from the participants, either verbal (i.e. an audible confirming sound) or non-verbal (such as nodding and mutual gaze), indicate the interpreter succeeded in setting up certain rhythm of talk with his participants. More specifically, at 00:00:24.000, the interpreter (*I*) started gazing at his intended listener after the previous listener has confirmed understanding via nodding. *I* then turned around his upper-body and at the same time shifted his gaze direction from one participant to another. This series of non-linguistic actions was the turning point, as *I* also used these actions to shift turns. It has been observed that once *I* shifted his turn to the *C*, *I* immediately secured a mutual gaze with *C* and at the same time *E*'s gaze also shifted from gazing at *I* to observing at *I* and *C*'s interaction. In this short interaction, the interpreter used shifting between different languages, body orientations and gaze directions to indicate to which participant he was speaking. This

selecting process somehow became a default turn-taking order that the participants started to follow. Since this turn-taking order was clearly established, it seemed that there was no need for the participants to divert attention, wondering to whom they are talking, which might have explained why in this case the participants in their subsequent interaction can sustain long eye contact with each other rather than splitting attention to look at the interpreter, as they already understood the rhythm of interpreting at this point. In other words, the interpreter has started to set up a collaborating method with the participants both linguistically and non-linguistically.

b. Discussion

In summary, the interpreter's self-introduction at the very beginning has potential influence on both linguistic and non-linguistic levels. The interpreter utilized linguistic means such as switching between languages and non-linguistic mean such as shifting gaze direction and body orientation to select his recipient. With regards to the linguistic level, the interpreter's stance was reflected from the fact that he was constantly adding "s/he says..." when starting many interpreting turns, reiterating that he was only rendering what has been said. Regarding the non-linguistic level, the interpreter's self-introduction seemed also to have had influence on establishing the order of the speech exchange in this data case, as he used gaze and body orientation to clearly indication his intention to establish an order and rhythm of turn-exchange. This process of selecting the recipient has formed a turn-taking order, in which each participant understood how much information the interpreter could process in each turn and they followed this order throughout their following interaction. This allows and ensures that the participants could have long and sustained mutual gaze when speaking to each other.

5.3.4 Interruption of eye contact

The above sections discussed instances when eye contact was formed successfully. This section is going to focus on discussing an instance when the originally established eye contact (EC) was interrupted. The causes of the shifting of EC will be

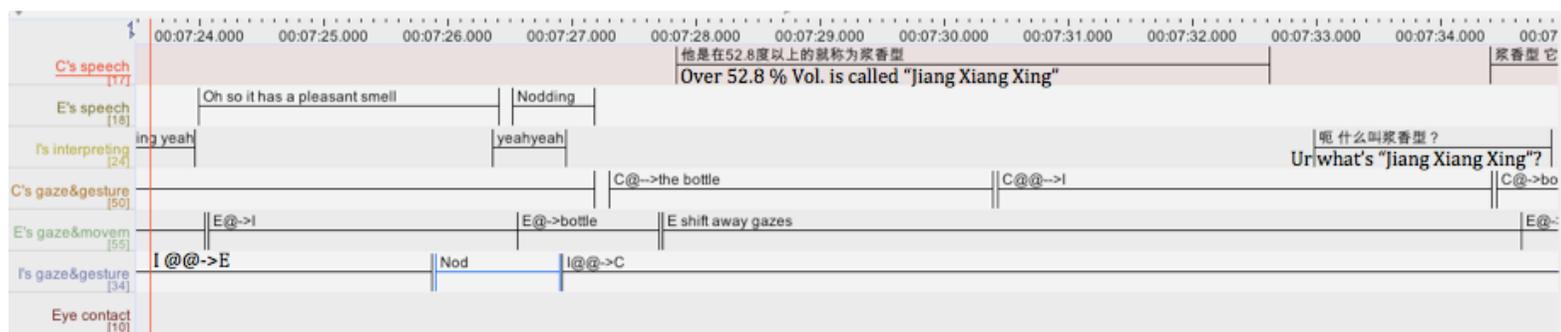
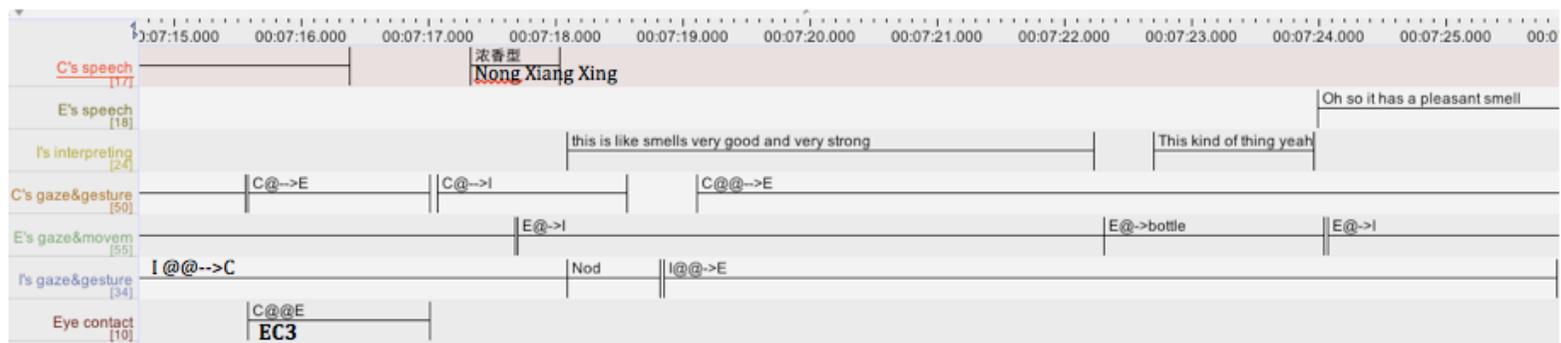
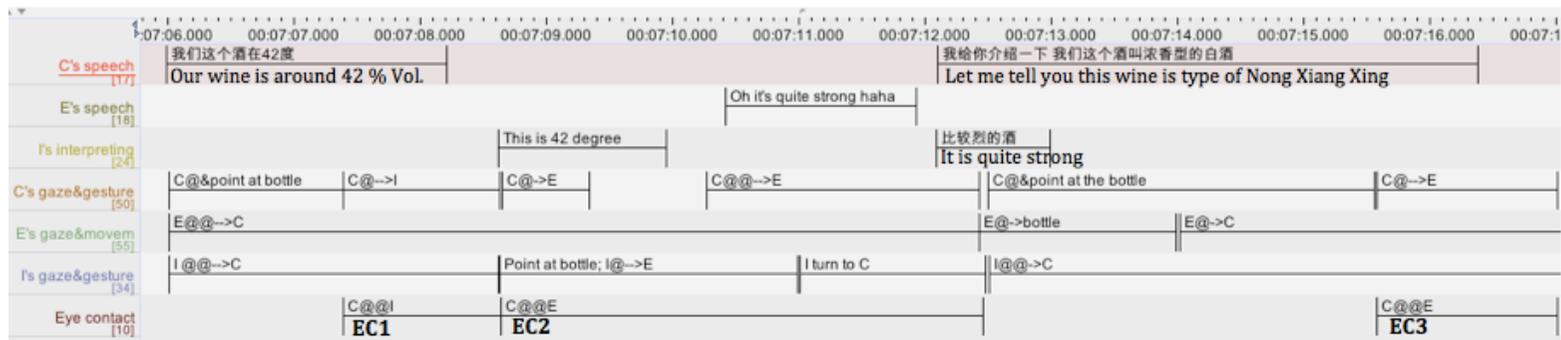
examined and what the interpreters can do to encourage more EC between the primary participants will also be suggested.

The following instance shows the primary participants' eye contact was interrupted when the interpreter had to clarify a difficulty of understanding an industry-specific term. This example is chosen from case study 2 and its transcripts cover from 00:07:10 to 00:09:10 of the video recording.

a. Data analysis

At 00:07:33, the interpreter (*I*) asked the Chinese speaker (*C*) a question, which resulted in a lengthy explanation from *C*, continued for nearly 1 minute. It has been observed that, after *I* started her question, the eye contact between the primary participants was interrupted until the point when the English participant (*E*) changed the topic at 00:09:04. The following will analyse the various factors that potentially caused the loss of engagement between the primary participants *C* and *E*. To identify the potential causes of this disengagement, it comes down to three main questions: Was it necessary for the interpreter to pose this question that started interrupting the orderly engagement between the primary participants? Was the Chinese speaker's lengthy explanation necessary? Or did the interpreter omit too much information in her interpreting turn?

Firstly, in order to investigate whether the interpreter should ask the question that started interrupting the primary participants' eye contact in the first place, it is necessary to look at what happened before this question was raised. Transcript 4.1 has provided the transcription from 00:07:10 to 00:07:35, which shows the interaction happened before the interpreter posed her question at 00:07:33.



Transcript 4.1

Before the question was posed, the speech exchanges among the three participants went in an orderly manner from $C \rightarrow I \rightarrow E$ and three examples of eye contact occurred, one between C and I and the other two between the two primary participants C and E . These three instances of eye contact (EC) were labelled with numbers in transcript 4.1 and the specific gaze functions and formation of each EC are discussed in details in the following table.

EC	Gaze functions	Discussion
1	Getting attention; Turn-taking cue	The first EC between C and I happened at the end of C 's utterance, functioning as a "terminal gaze" that C finished his sentence and that it is to signal I to start interpreting.
2	Getting feedback;	These two ECs occurred between the primary participants C and E were imitated by participants' imitating one another's pointing gestures, detailed analysis of which can be found in previous discussions in Chapter 4. By using the same pointing gesture, participants were able to refer to the same point of reference – a Chinese wine bottle, which in turn created a joint attention in interaction. Under this joint attention, shared understanding was formed, as were eye contacts.
3	Securing attention and mutual gazes.	

However, these orderly speech exchanges and frequent eye contact were interrupted when I posed a question: 'What is Jiang Xiang Xing?'. 'Jiang Xiang Xing' is a technical term, referring to the type of fragrance of the Chinese wine. In the interpreting process, it is a normal practice for the interpreter to ask for clarification when there is a problem of understanding. In this particular case, it is also necessary for the interpreter to ask the meaning of this term for two main reasons. One is that I clearly did not know the meaning of this specific term used in the Chinese wine industry. The other is that, there was a term 'Nong Xiang Xing', another type of fragrant Chinese wine that was mentioned in previous turns. These two different terms confused the interpreter and a distinction between the two types had to be made clear. In order to interpret correctly, I had to gain understanding of it, so it was justifiable for the interpreter to interrupt with her question in this case.

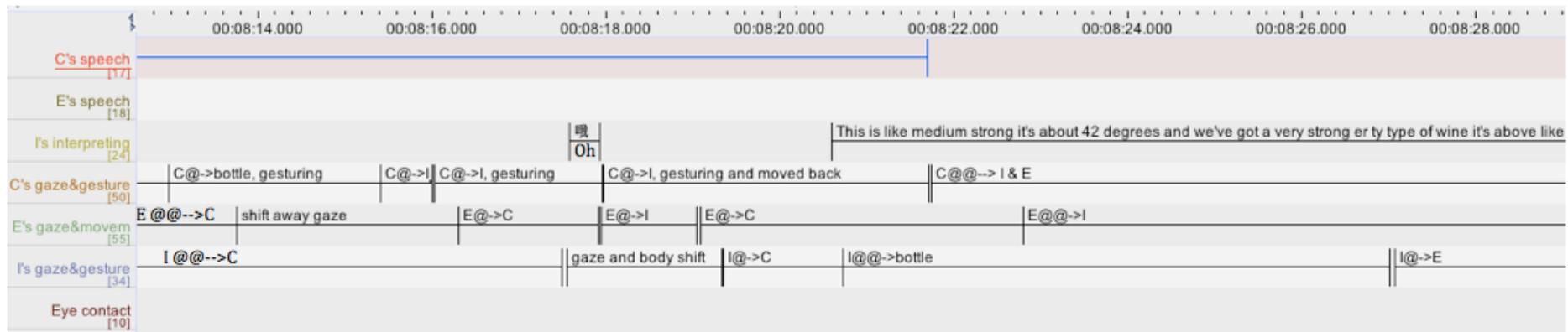
Secondly, if the interpreter's question was necessary, then was the Chinese participant's explanation too lengthy to prevent the other party from engaging? The following transcript 4.2 covers the interaction from 00:07:34 to 00:08:22 during C's answer towards I's question.

Note: For the back translation of C's speech, please refer to transcript 4.3, Line 2.



Transcript 4.2 continue to next page

Transcript 4.2 continues from the previous page



When answering *I*'s question regarding the term 'Jiang Xiang Xing', *C* provided a detailed explanation, including a distinction between the two types, specific regional examples, ways to classify the three types of alcohol and particular percentage of each alcohol to distinguish the different strength of the two types of wine. This explanation lasted nearly one minute with intensive information. When constructing his explanation, *C*'s gaze directions were moving back and forth only between the bottle and the interpreter, treating the bottle as a point of reference in company of his speech and treating the interpreter as his intended recipient for this specific turn. *C*'s explanations were accompanied with constant gesturing, which suggested his thinking process while speaking. As this answer was constructed in a short period of time, the information was not constructed well and involves repetition and redundancy, which posed a potential challenge for interpreting.

At 00:08:17, *I* initiated an interruption composed by uttering an audible sound 'Oh' and preparing to change body orientation, moving her upper-body and gaze away from *C* and getting ready to turn to *E*. However, regardless of *I*'s non-verbal signal, *C* sped up to continue his speech, so *I*'s first attempt to pause *C*'s speech failed. Again, at 00:08:20 *I* initiated her second attempt to stop *C*'s speech; she nodded and terminated her gaze with *C*, and stretched her right arm and hand to form a pointing gesture towards the bottle. This time, *I* started her interpreting rather forcefully, which was shown by *C*'s continuous speech overlapped with *I*'s interpreting from 00:08:20 to 00:08:22. The interpreter's two attempts to pause the Chinese speaker's utterance indicates that *C*'s turn was rather lengthy in comparison with his previous turns, resulting in a short-term memory burden for the interpreter. She sensed that the intensive information contained in *C*'s speech was about to surpass the short-term memory capacity for her to remember everything being said.

Another side effect of *C*'s lengthy speech is that it created a difficulty for *E* to engage with the on-going interaction. It has been observed that, during *C*'s explanation turn, *E* was gazing at *C* intermittently, intending to participate or to stay engaged with the interaction. However, due to the language barrier and without interpreting in a lengthy period of time, *E*'s gazes towards *C* were impossible to sustain and were shifted away in intervals. If the interpreter's question was not the factor to cause the disengagement at the first place, then the Chinese party's lengthy explanation had started disengaging

the English party. This can also explain that the interpreter interrupted *C*'s speech not only because she had reached her own short-term memory limit, but also because she had considered giving some interpreting content in order to re-engage the other primary participant.

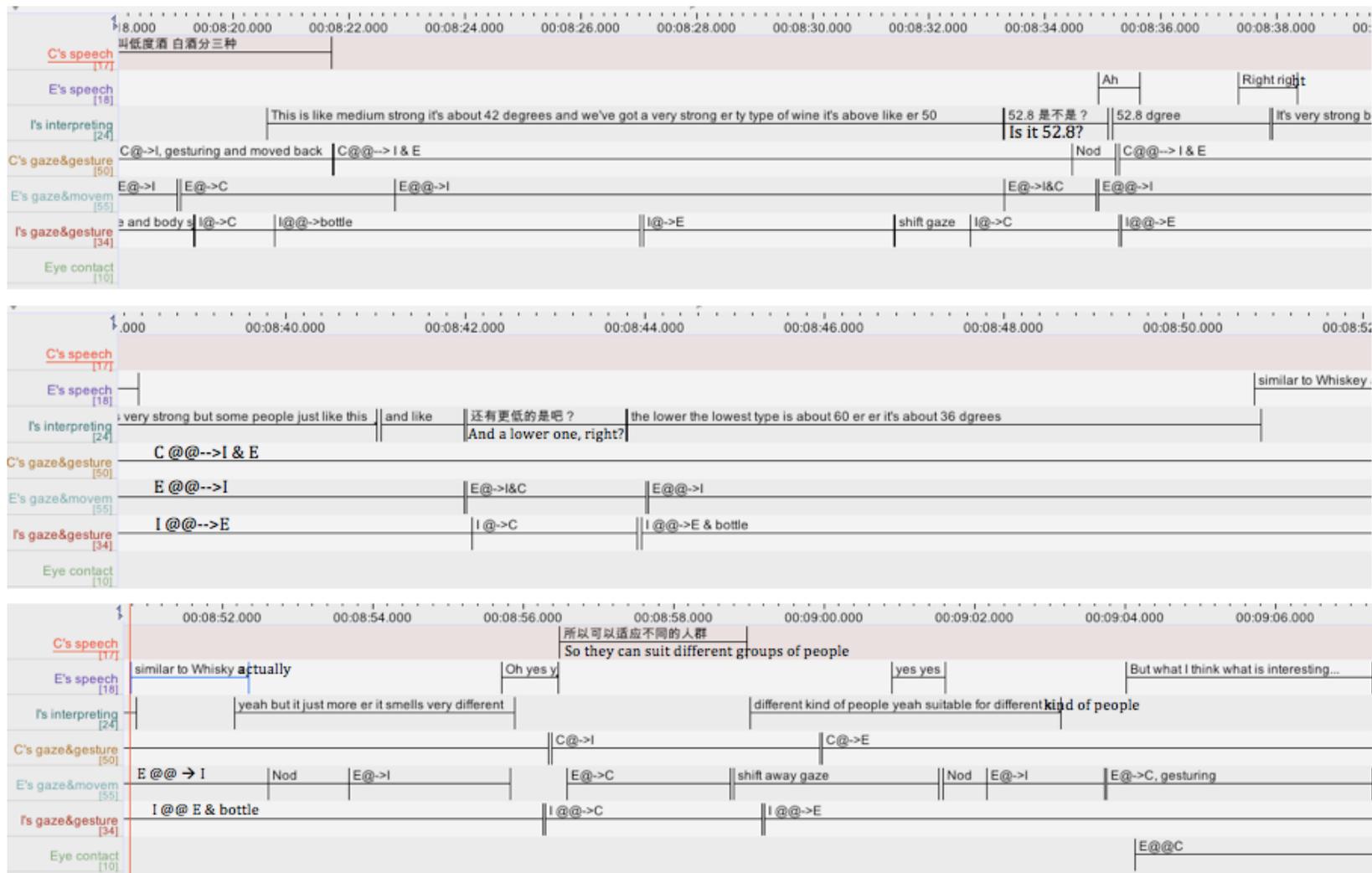
Thirdly, it has been found that there were a number of omissions in the interpreting, so the last question remains as to whether the large amount of omission in interpreting has caused the disengagement of the other participant. The following is a transcript of a back translation of *C*'s original speech and its corresponding interpreting provided by *I*.

Transcript 4.3

Note: I refers to the interpreter. C the Chinese speaker; BT means back translation of an original Chinese version.

- 1 *I (BT):* What is 'Jiang Xiang Xing'?
- 2 *C (BT):* Jiang Xiang Xing has a different fragrance to this bottle. For instance, the Chinese Mao Tai wine is a type of 'Jiang Xiang Xing'. It belongs to high strength alcohol. Some people have adapted to drink it. Take China's geological location as an example. Divided into south and north. Like people in the northeast, or people in Mongolia, they all enjoy drinking high strength alcohol. Their regions are cold. And the prairie region is rather cold. Drink this type of alcohol is to keep warm. That's it. So in our region, people drink the ones with alcohol strength below 52.8%. Then, above 52% alcohol strength is regarded as high strength, and this one around 40% alcohol strength as medium, and then even lower one below 38% as low strength. Divided into these three types.
- 3 *I:* This is like medium strong it's about 42 degrees and we've got a very strong er ty type of wine it's above like er 50 52.8 是不是? (*BT: was it 52.8? 52.8 degrees It's very strong but some people just like this kind of wine and like 还有更低的是吧? (BT: Also lower strength ones, right?) the lower oh the lowest type is about 60 er er it's about 36 degrees*

In this transcript, Line 1 is the interpreter's question regarding the clarification of a term. Line 2 is the Chinese speaker's explanation and Line 3 is the interpreting. When comparing the content of Line 2 and Line 3, the interpreter omitted *C*'s background explanation of the term 'Jiang Xiang Xing' and only included the different alcohol strength classification in her interpreting. Two possible reasons could explain why the interpreter omitted so much. On the one hand, the interpreter has taken the first half of *C*'s explanation as the answer to her self-initiated question regarding the term. As far as the interpreter is concerned, this part of the background information is to give a context for her to understand the term and has nothing to do with the other participant, so she decided that this part of the information should be excluded in her interpreting to the English party. On the other hand, it can also simply because that the interpreter could not recall all the information covered in *C*'s speech. *C*'s explanation featured intensive information spoken during a relatively lengthy period of time. Previous analysis indicates that the interpreter had reached her short-term memory capacity limit, showing from her two continuous attempts to pause *C*'s turn. In other words, she was struggling to memorize all the details covered in *C*'s speech. This can be further justified by the fact that the interpreter only interpreted the second half of *C*'s utterance and experienced difficulties in recalling the exact numbers that *C* mentioned. Therefore, in Line 3, the interpreting sentences are rather broken and mixed with some Chinese words, as the interpreter was at the same time checking with the Chinese speaker about the exact percentage of alcohol volumes he mentioned. The following transcript 4.4 shows the multimodal interaction among participants during this interpreting.



Transcript4.4

From this transcript 4.4, the interpreting was mixed with English and Chinese. The interpreter's gaze directions and upper-body movements show that she was clarifying and sending information between the primary participants. One participant's gaze closely followed the interpreter's movements and interaction with another participant, which indicates that both participants were actively monitoring the interaction and that they were anticipating chances to engage. However, there was no eye contact formed between the primary participants until after the completion of this interpreting and until the point that the English party changed to a new topic. This suggests that the English party was disengaged from the interaction at the instance of the interpreter's clarifying a problem of understanding with the Chinese party. The omission of the first part of *C*'s speech resulted in the interpreting giving very little information for *E* to engage with *C*'s previous turn. If the interpreter had interpreted *C*'s complete speech, then there could have been some points of interests regarding the different drinking preferences in China being picked up by *E* in his following turn.

b. Discussion

In this instance, when the interpreter was asking for clarification from one party, eye contact between the primary participants was disrupted. The above analysis shows that it was necessary for the interpreter to pose such a question for clarification, which could influence the understanding of the core content. However, a lengthy explanation from one participant not only caused the other participant to disengage from the interaction, but also burdened the interpreter's short-term memory capacity, resulting in a large omission in the interpreting content. This omission in interpreting in turn caused the other participant's disengagement. The multimodal analysis shows that, at the time when the primary participants were having difficulties establishing eye contact, participants were actively seeking for opportunities to participate, although this failed in our case. Moreover, the interpreter was actively interpreting the cause of this disengagement, the lengthy turn from one party, which potentially prevented the other party from engagement and jeopardised the interpreting quality.

A few points of suggestion with regards to improve the instance of the disengagement of one of the participants could be made. The interpreter should avoid asking questions which are not absolutely necessary for an accurate understanding. If the

speaker is required to clarify a question posed by the interpreter, the answer to the question should be made in a concise way and leave sufficient intervals for interpreting. If the speaker's answer is rather lengthy and could not easily be paused, as in the case discussed here, then the interpreter could probably take notes and interpret as much information as possible to make the other participant aware of the on-going interaction.

In other words, both linguistically translated content and non-linguistic communicated information could open the possibilities for the primary participants to engage in interaction. Multimodal analysis shows that the interpreter detected the cause of disengagement and she was shifting her gaze and body orientation to indicate this eye contact or communication breakdown between the participants. The participants, when adopting the role of speaker, should not just simply speak what was in their minds, but cooperate with the interpreter's work by noticing their non-linguistic signals. Participants should also be aware that their intended addressee does not speak the same language and that each segment of speeches needs to be translated accordingly, so that both sides of the participants are informed of what is going on. Furthermore, both participants should look for opportunities to make eye contact with their intended audience after their words have been translated, in order to avoid a situation where their audience becomes disengaged.

5.4 Conclusion

As indicated in the introduction, this chapter has investigated the second sub-research question: "How does the interpreter coordinate communication through gaze and body orientation?". This has involved identifying various gaze functions in different instances, ranging from instances of eye contact at greeting, eye contact when joint attention is formed, sustained eye contact and disrupted eye contact. Findings of the analysis of these different instances of eye contact have shown that gaze and body orientation used by all participants in interaction contribute to the overall communication.

On the one hand, even though direct communication seems impossible when there is a language barrier, it has been found that, through the analysis of the use of gaze and body orientation, the two primary participants were actively seeking direct eye contact with each other, with or without the assistance of the interpreter. In the case of the absence of interpreting, participants do not seem to solely depend on the interpreter; they are self-motivated to utilise various resources including object, gestures, gaze and body, etc. to communicate with each other. From a multimodal perspective, the linguistic communication provided by the interpreter is only one of the multimodal communicative means. Non-linguistic communication among all participants (including the interpreter) is also crucial to establish a communicative relationship in interaction. This chapter has shown that the establishment of eye contact is used as a way to participate or engage in interaction, and even more, to create a direct communicative interpersonal relationship.

On the other hand, the gaze function between the primary participants and the interpreter is mainly regulatory. Participants used their gaze and body orientation to indicate/invite the interpreter entering into interaction in order to provide interpreting. In the meantime, the interpreter also used his/her gaze to regulate when to start and end an interpreting turn. For instance, the interpreter can use gaze and body orientation to pause the speaker or to attract a listener's attention while starting the interpreting turn. In general, through non-linguistic interaction made through gaze and body, participants and the interpreter have collaboratively adjusted the positions of interpreting turns, when and whether an interpreting is needed at a certain time. When this joint collaboration process is in order, eye contact between the primary participants in the interaction can be regular and continuous. In the event that this process is interrupted, for example, when the interpreter requested an explanation, the eye contacts between the primary participants can be disrupted.

To sum up, it can be proposed that the main reason for the realization of all main gaze functions lies in the active use and constant monitoring of non-linguistic information among participants themselves. This is a finding which can only be revealed through the use of a multimodal perspective. The interpreter's active engagement can be seen in the fact that they were not only actively monitoring and/or regulating gazes, but were also keeping their interventions in a minimum level. For instance, when the

primary participants could independently establish some communicative relationship, such as in the instance when joint attention was formed, then the interpreter would keep quiet and wait until their assistances were needed. When necessary, the interpreter also actively interrupted the interaction, by asking for clarification, for instance, to make sure that she understood the participant's meaning correctly. On other occasions, however, such an interruption may also cause disruption to the exchange. In other words, the interpreters have to make their own judgements in terms of when it is or is not appropriate to interrupt. The interpreter, the person who can engage both primary participants, not only used linguistic means in their interpreting to make sense of the context for the participants, but also constantly utilized non-linguistic resources to engage them into interaction.

Chapter 6 Multimodal analysis - balancing knowledge asymmetry to realise a shared understanding

6.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the research question of this study: “How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?” is to be answered through three sub-questions. The previous chapters addressed the first two sub-research questions regarding how the use of gesture, gaze and body orientation reflect the interpreter’s active engagement in communication through a multimodal analysis. It has been found that participants were using non-verbal modalities not only to convey meanings, but also to establish interpersonal relations. This chapter will continue the investigation from a multimodal perspective to explore how participants (including the interpreter) in interpreter-mediated interaction negotiate to reach a shared understanding by addressing the third and final sub-question of this study: “How does knowledge asymmetry influence the role of the interpreter?”.

In order to answer the above question, this chapter will look at why knowledge asymmetry is important, how it works in monolingual communication and how this can be adapted into examining interpreter-mediated bilingual communications within the case data of this study. The structure of this chapter is as follows. It will firstly explain the relevant mechanism of ‘knowledge asymmetry’ and its application in analysing monolingual dialogue communication. Then, the concept of knowledge territories and the analysis of sequence organisation will be discussed in terms of how these can be used to assess instances of knowledge asymmetry in interpreter-mediated bilingual communications. As knowledge asymmetry in conversation often entails a lack of information or confusion about a particular use of language which might require clarification or repair, the analysis of this study’s cases thus consists of the following two parts. One part is when the interpreter identifies instances of knowledge asymmetry between the two participants and then makes efforts to channel the flow of information; the other part is when one of the participants identify instances of knowledge asymmetry and respond to the situations without or ahead of

the interpreter. Although some of the examples used in this chapter are the same as those used in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the focuses of analysis are different. Examples in Chapter 6 are more about how clarifying and repairing a point of understanding functions as an action of balancing a state of knowledge asymmetry whereas those in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 are dealing with interpreting more generally. In other words, Chapters 4 and 5 explored only on the surface level about the contributions made by multimodal communicative means to the interpreting process; Chapter 6, however, goes further to explore on a deeper level about how multimodal means contribute to the overall flow of information in interpreter-mediated interaction. The following section will start by explaining knowledge asymmetry, the key concept of this chapter.

6.2 Knowledge asymmetry

This section is going to explain why knowledge asymmetry matters in achieving a shared understanding through communication. First of all, what is knowledge asymmetry? As explained in Chapter 3, ‘knowledge asymmetry’ refers to a state of information imbalance, which originated from findings of Conversational Analysis (CA) (Goodwin 1979, Heritage 1984, Terasaki 2004). When accessing an epistemic domain, there are two relatively different epistemic statuses depending regarding whether ‘persons recognise one another to be more or less knowledgeable concerning some domain of knowledge as a more or less settled matter of fact’ (Heritage 2012:32). In his research, Heritage studied how epistemic status is revealed in monolingual communication, and this study is going to adapt his framework to investigate the display of knowledge asymmetry existing among participants during the course of interpreter-mediated communication.

Knowledge asymmetry is important in communication because the flow of information is driven by a knowledge gap, like water flows from upstream to downstream. This study looks at knowledge asymmetrical instances in interpreter-mediated bilingual communication and how participants in this particular type of communication have maintained the flow of information. In this special type of communication, the primary participants cannot directly communicate with one another using the same language, thus the flow of information has to be channelled through a bilingual interpreter. This chapter is going to analyse some instances in

detail to find out how knowledge asymmetry is balanced in interpreter-mediated communication by the primary participants and the interpreter.

Thirdly, in order to find out how participants achieve a shared understanding in interpreter-mediated bilingual communication, it is important to understand how knowledge asymmetry is balanced in monolingual communication first. When participants are engaged in communication, their epistemic status does not stay static, whether more knowledgeable [K⁺] or less knowledgeable [K⁻]. Different epistemic stances are taken by participants in interaction. Note that ‘epistemic stance’ is a different notion to epistemic status, as Heritage (2012:33) explains; “epistemic stance concerns how speakers position themselves in terms of [their] epistemic status in and through the design of turns at talk”. By choosing to take different epistemic stances, participants drive forward a dynamic process of balancing the state of knowledge asymmetry. When speaking, participants can position themselves in either an unknowing [K⁻] position or a knowing [K⁺] position relative to others with regards to the subject matters communicated. If in a [K⁻] position, a speaker can directly invite responses or request information from a [K⁺] recipient; if in a [K⁺] position, a speaker can firstly launch a topic themselves and then initiate comments or responses on the same topic or beyond from their [K⁻] recipient¹⁴. In order to analyse the detailed flow of information from [K⁺] to [K⁻], it is necessary to look at the information flow on a turn-by-turn basis sequential level.

6.3 The mechanism of balancing knowledge asymmetry

The previous section has confirmed that knowledge asymmetry exists in communication and that communication is driven forward by constant efforts to balance the knowledge differences among participants. Interpreter-mediated communication is a type of communication, so the mechanism of balancing knowledge asymmetry should also apply to the interpreter-mediated communication, which involves two primary participants who do not speak the same language and do not share the same cultural background. This study investigates the ways in which the

¹⁴ For detailed examples and analysis, see Heritage (2012:33-48).

interpreter, as a middle person, identifies and balances the knowledge asymmetry between the two participants.

Before analysing interpreter-mediated communication, it is necessary to understand how to analyse the process of balancing knowledge asymmetry in monolingual communication, which was explained earlier in Chapter 3. This process involves using such concepts as adjacency pair (Schegloff 2007) and change of state index (Heritage 1984) to understand the mechanism of balancing knowledge asymmetry in a multimodal context.

In monolingual communication, if the turn exchanges between two parties A and B continues, then the next knowledge asymmetry instance will emerge and the same process of balancing it repeats itself. In the instances of balancing knowledge asymmetry, an adjacency pair will be the basic unit for analysis. An *adjacency pair* is ‘a sequence of two utterances which are adjacent, produced by different speakers, ordered as a first part and second part and typed, so that a first part requires a particular second, or range of second parts’ (Heritage 1984:246).

A *First Pair Part*

B *Second Pair Part*

Structure of basic adjacency pair (Schegloff 2007:14)

Although adjacency pair is used as the basic unit for analysis and there are different types of adjacency pair, this study only focuses on analysing the type that can display the state of knowledge asymmetry, for example, a question-answer pair. So, in the subsequence exchanges, it is possible that A continues the topic and maintains her [K+] position or that B changes to a different topic and takes over [K+] position. In this way, both participating parties can constantly change the direction of the flow of information between them by adopting different knowledge stances. Exchange sequences are drawn to an end when there is no new information to exchange between the two parties, that is, the existing information gap is closed, often marked by a change of state index such as the change of state token ‘Oh’-particle (Heritage 1984).

As well as understanding the mechanism of balancing knowledge asymmetry in a monolingual communication, it is important to recognise that the overall context within which the sequences form is a multimodal one (Goodwin 1979). Therefore, this study will consider a multimodal context when adopting the concepts of adjacency pair and change of state token to analyse the process of balancing knowledge asymmetry in a bilingual interpreter-mediated communication. The following sections will demonstrate how a multimodal context is organised or referenced in turns at talk as well as how shared understanding is negotiated at talk.

6.4 Data analysis

Since the purpose of interpreter-mediated communication is to bridge the information gap caused by a language barrier, the turn-taking order in interpreting is driven by the knowledge asymmetry inherent to this type of communication. Knowledge asymmetry is constantly identified by the interpreter, who then passes on information from one participant to another in order to balance the knowledge between the two parties.

The flow of information in this particular type of communication could happen either between the interpreter and one of the participants or between the two primary participants directly. Firstly, balancing the knowledge asymmetry could be carried out between the interpreter and one of the participants, when there is a problem of understanding between them, for example, the interpreter does not understand the participant's talk or the participant does not understand the interpreting. Secondly, balancing the knowledge asymmetry could also be carried out between the two participants, when a problem of understanding occurs between them after hearing the interpreting. The following analysis will discuss the above-mentioned situations with detailed examples from the data sets used in this study.

6.4.1 Balancing knowledge asymmetry between interpreter and one of the participants

This section will discuss how knowledge asymmetry is balanced between interpreter and one of the primary participants, in other words, how information is passed on by

the interpreter. There were two ways in which a problem of understanding could be resolved, depending on the direction of the information flow. Firstly, when one of the participants was having a problem understanding the interpreting, the problem was resolved by employing the use of different pronouns and repairs; secondly, when the interpreter was having a problem of understanding, the participants stepped in to help with achieving a shared understanding. The following sections will present detailed discussions, starting with resolving a problem of understanding from one of the participants.

A. Resolving a participant's problem of understanding the interpreting

In this specific case, the sequences are initiated when one of the primary participants did not understand the interpreting. This example is chosen from case 1 of this study, the background of which is a Chinese parent having a conversation with a British university recruitment representative. In this transcript, the interpreter was translating a question asked by the Chinese parent to the British representative. However, the interpreter failed to make the question clear, so she had to go through several rounds of sequences with the English recipient to identify and resolve the problem of understanding.

- 1 C: 他（们）是不是像我们中国一样按学分制的啊？
 BT: *Do they use an academic credit system like we do in China?*
 (C and I are looking at each other.)
- 2 I: Ah::: em::: did you take scores? in universities? like China?
 (I turned away from C and is gazing to E.)
- 3 E: °I'm sorry I am not quite sure what's the question.°
 (E's upper body is leaning slightly towards I.)
- 4 I: Yeah yeah er just er er the SCORE SYSTEM.
 (moving around her body; raising left hand)
- 5 E: (0.1) BEFORE you go to university:
 (raising eye brows; both hands moving from one side to another)
- 6 I: NO! No no! Just IN university=
 (headshakes; pointing inwardly)

- =did you take SCORES=LIKE take ex[[ams and
(moving both hands) (raising left hand)
- 7 E: [[Oh scores = ex[cuse me]
- 8 I: [Er yeah]
(nodding)
- 9 E: .hhh OH:::YES Yes, WHAt happen is er:::you take=
(raising both hands)
- 10 = do you mean, before you enter or:::
(moving both hands from one side to another)
- 11 I: Er after you enter=after you enter
(headshakes; moving one hand)
- 12 E: RIGHT=Oh, so the GRADING system.
(nodding) (chopping gesture)
- 13 I: YEAH, yeah, yeah, the grading [system = annual exams
(nodding) (gesturing)
- 14 E: [Oh:::right, yes]
 Yes, yes, we do.
(nodding)

In order to identify the causes of this problem of understanding, the following transcript shows what happened at the first turn when the interpreter (*I*) was asked to translate the Chinese parent's (*C*) question and compare the original question in Chinese with the interpreting in English.

- 1 C: 他（们）是不是像我们中国一样按学分制的啊？
 BT: *Do they use an academic credit system like we do in China?*
(C and I are looking at each other.)
- 2 I: Ah::: em::: did you take scores? in universities? like China?
(I turned away from C and is gazing to E.)

In Line 1, *C* started by using a third-person pronoun 'they' to indicate his British counterpart and then by using a first-person pronoun 'we' to align himself with the interpreter, who is also of Chinese origin. In general, *C*'s use of pronoun 'they' and

‘we’, along with his gaze towards *I* indicate that *C* was directly addressing *I* in this first turn and was asking her to pass on this question on his behalf. In Line 2, *I* withdrew her gaze from *C*, indicating that she understood *C*’s request and was ready to translate his utterance. So *I* turned to *E*, directly addressing him with the question by using a second-person pronoun ‘you’.

In this short turn exchange, the use of different pronouns and of non-verbal signals (i.e. gaze directions and body orientations) are synchronised to help the speakers indicate their relative relationships or alignments with the recipients. From Line 1 to Line 2, the Chinese party was the speaker and the interpreter the recipient; from Line 3 to the next turn, the interpreter was the speaker and the English party the recipient. The reason for this switch of speaker-recipient might be explained by Hanks’s study (2009). He argued in his study that, ‘the basis of deixis is not the spatial continuity of the referent but rather the access (perceptual, cognitive, social) that participants have to the referent’ (Hanks 2009:10). Relating to the above case in this study, the language barrier has changed participants’ access to their intended recipients. The Chinese speaker did not have the same language access as the interpreter did to the English recipient, so the information has to go through the interpreter first and then be passed on to the intended recipient. This explains that the use of different pronouns is to enable access to information. This can also be evidenced by participants’ non-verbal behaviours: the language barrier prevented *C* from gazing directly at *E* when posing his question, but being able to understand both languages enabled *I* to establish eye contact with both participants. However, when information is passed on through another person, whether in the same language or in a different one, there is a potential of distorting the original information. What is meant by distorting is that a person might convey their own understanding of the original information.

Comparing the key contents between the interpreting in Line 2 and the original utterance in Line 1, the interpreter’s non-verbal behaviours seemed to show that she understood what the Chinese speaker was asking for, but the meaning of her interpreting was not very clear and caused confusion for *E*. Being a Chinese person herself, the interpreter immediately understood what the Chinese speaker meant based on a shared cultural context. The academic credit system in China is normally done in the university level and is used to measure students’ academic achievements at

universities rather than at schools. However, this is not a shared context between the Chinese speaker and the English recipient. The interpreter failed to identify this and did not give more contextual details to explain this issue, so it eventually caused referential ambiguity¹⁵ to the English party. As Hall (1959:5-6) once pointed out, it is often hard for people to realise immediately that they are subject to a different cultural form of communication. In this case, even the interpreter was not consciously aware of that before the problem of understanding occurred. Therefore, in the English speaker's next turn, he posed an open class question in Line 3.

- 2 *I:* Ah::: em::: did you take scores? in universities? like China?
 (*I turned away from C and is gazing to E.*)
- 3 *E:* °I'm sorry I am not quite sure what's the question.°
 (*E's upper body is leaning slightly towards I.*)

On the one hand, the English participant (*E*) directly pointed out the problem of understanding in Line 3 by saying 'I am not quite sure what's the question'. In doing so, *E* has raised an *open-class repair initiator*, meaning that 'a recipient has detected some trouble in the previous turn and does not locate any particular repairable component within that turn' (Sidnell 2010:117). In this case, *E* simply stated that he did not understand the interpreter's question. On the other hand, this open-class question is potentially face threatening to the recipient, as it implies either that the interpreting content was not sufficient or that the recipient failed to understand/hear. This can be evidenced by the embodied actions of the interpreter at the beginning of Line 4: she moved around her upper-body, showing a slight uneasiness, perhaps embarrassed when being questioned directly. However, *E* posed this question in an obviously much lower volume, as if to soften the directness created by this open-class question. In addition, *E* leant his upper-body slightly forward towards the interpreter, intentionally creating a rather private frame between himself and the interpreter regarding this trouble of understanding. Therefore, a multimodal analysis reveals that, although this open-class question was posed in a very direct manner and was potentially face threatening (shown by the interpreter's non-verbal behaviour), the English speaker's embodied actions have in fact eased off the effect that could cause

¹⁵ According to Drew (1997), one of the conditions for the speaker to select an 'open' repair is referential ambiguity; see Drew (1997:69-101).

further embarrassment in this occasion. In other words, it seems that a tension was generated through verbal direct questioning, but was relieved through participants' non-verbal interaction.

From the first three lines, it has been observed that the three participants have three different knowledge territories. The two primary participants speak and understand the interaction based on their own cultural contexts while the interpreter has a shared context overlapping with those of the two primary participants. Being able to access both languages and cultures has enabled the interpreter the ability to facilitate cross-cultural communication. However, for the same reason, the interpreter could fail to identify that one of participants may not have certain shared knowledge to understand certain references, as in our case, causing referential ambiguity. By translating 'credit system' into 'scores' to a university representative in charge of recruiting new students, the interpreting was ambiguous in that it was not clear whether this referred to scores taken before or after entering universities. Therefore, the following is a series of sequences initiated between the interpreter and the English participant to repair this problem of understanding. Each adjacency pair will be discussed in turn for the purposes of analysis. After the *E*'s open question, *I*'s first pair part (FPP) was identifying the specific problem and *E*'s second pair part (SPP) was testing whether *I* had clarified the ambiguity.

4 *I*: Yeah, yeah er just er er the SCORE SYSTEM
 (*moving around her body; raising right hand*)

5 *E*: BEFORE you go to university?
 (*both hands moving from one side to another*)

Class-specific questions were asked in order to pinpoint the problem of understanding for repair. In FPP, *I* started by checking whether the key word 'score system' was the specific problem. In SPP, *E* started by saying 'before', meaning *E* confirmed that the problem lies in the understanding of 'score system', but his confusion was more to do with the event's timeline, as he was not sure whether *I* meant the scores taken before or after entering universities. Apart from the linguistic-level negotiation, the same also happened on the non-linguistic level. Firstly, note that both 'score system' and 'before' were capitalised in the transcription, showing the speakers raised their vocal

volume when uttering these words. Secondly, their gesture movements also synchronised with their vocal changes, showing an organizing feature of concurrent assessments¹⁶. Speakers' non-linguistic behaviours seem to have heightened their co-occurring linguistic understanding. In other words, a multimodal analysis enables us to see how the participants' interactive activities are carried out both linguistically and non-linguistically in an integrated interactive way. This is also evidenced in the subsequent sequences, which also show the same feature of concurrent linguistic and non-linguistic interaction.

- 6 *I:* NO::*no!* Just IN universities. Did you take SCORES? Like take exams
 (*handshakes; pointing inwardly*) (*Holding both hands*)
- 7 → *E:* [Oh scores, excuse me.
- 8 *I:* [Er, yeah
 (*nodding*)

The interpreter's turn in Line 6 features concurrent linguistic and non-linguistic elements. The linguistic utterances 'NO', 'IN' and 'SCORES' are capitalised, meaning the speaker increased vocal volume when uttering these words. As well as this, there are synchronised gesture movements to match with the linguistic meanings of these words. 'NO' was matched with handshakes, 'IN' with inward pointing gesture and 'SCORES' was emphasised by a holding-hands gesture.

In Line 7, the English party seemed to have understood the interpreter's explanations, as he started his turn by an 'Oh'-prefaced response¹⁷, which indicates that the speaker has experienced a "change of state, primarily either attention or knowledge" (Heritage 1984:291). When stating "Oh scores, excuse me", the English speaker showed that, at this very point he understood what the interpreter meant by 'scores' and the 'Oh'-prefacing marked his change of state from [K-] to [K+], knowing the intended meaning. With an 'Oh'-prefacing, *E* apparently recollected a previous knowledge, which does not depend on his current experience. In this case, *E*'s 'Oh'-prefacing has

¹⁶ For analysis of differential access as an organizing feature of concurrent assessments, see Goodwin and Goodwin (1987:26-33).

¹⁷ For detailed analysis of "Oh"-prefacing, see Heritage (1998:291-334).

indicating a short period of thinking time. By a concurrent confirmation with ‘right’ and head nodding, *E* finally realised that the translation of ‘score’ was the problematic term that triggered this ambiguity, so he immediately suggested a repair – ‘Oh, so the GRADING system’ - while using a chopping gesture movement to highlight the meaning of this abstract concept (see details of gesture use in Chapter 4). Here again, another ‘Oh’-prefacing indicates a recall of *E*’s previous experience, combined with an increased vocal volume and some gesture movements. Right after, *I* repeated *E*’s phrase “the grading system” in Line 13, which coincides with Schegloff’s concept of ‘*confirming allusions*’¹⁹. Therefore, the interpreter’s final reply signals the completion of this repair process and also confirms the alignment of their knowledge with the referent, which was an interactive negotiating activity. This activity consisted of both linguistic and non-linguistic interactions, which often co-occur, forming a multimodal context. From this analysis of the repair sequences, it has been found that multimodal communicative modes were used to facilitate the achievement of balancing knowledge asymmetry between the interpreter and the participants. Non-linguistic aspects were synchronised with linguistic sequences in a dynamic way that they could either heighten or weaken the overall communicative effects.

B. Resolving interpreter’s problem of understanding

The following example shows the situation when the interpreter encounters trouble understanding the current speaker and has to request a repair. It also shows a unique situation observed in interpreter-mediated interaction, that is, one repair being embedded in another repair. This example was used under 4.3, but in Chapter 4, the focus of the discussion was only on gesture movements. The analysis of this example here, however, will be focused on how the state of knowledge asymmetry emerged and was negotiated. In the following example 6.2, the first repair starts when the Chinese participant was trying to compare Scotch whisky with Chinese rice wine (in the transcript, the interpreter used a literal translation “white wine” while the Chinese speaker meant “Chinese rice wine”), asking if whisky is the equivalent of Chinese rice wine. The second repair starts after the interpreter has passed on the Chinese

¹⁹ It refers to ‘the practice of agreeing with another by repeating what they have just said is shown to constitute the action of confirming an allusion – that is, confirming both its ‘content’ and its prior inexplicit conveyanc’ (Schegloff 1996:161).

participant's question and while hearing the English speaker's explanation, she encountered two unfamiliar terms, which initiated repair sequences from Line 6 to Line 12. To give a complete context, the following transcription starts from the Chinese participant's question and ends when the question has been answered. The analysis of the current section is only relevant to the content from Line 6 to Line 12 and the rest of the transcription will be used for the analysis in the next section.

Example 6.2

- 1 C: 威士忌不算白酒啊? (1.0)
- 2 BT: Isn't whisky same as white wine?
(*waving hand*)
- 3 I: Er:: whisky is not a kind of white er white wine?
(*I@@-->E*) (*moving hand*)
- 4 E: NO NO whisky is not a wine (.) whisky is made from
(*waving hand; E@@->C*) (*E@@-->I*)
- 5 malt and barley (.) so it's made from er::[[
(*hand movements*)
- 6 → I: [[WhWhat's malt and barley?
(*hand movements*)
- 7 E: =Like a kind of (.) similar to a kind of grass with with corns on it
(*hands mimicking the shape of grass and corns*)
- 8 I: Ah:::
(*nodding*)
- 9 E: [[So it's a
- 10 I: [[it's er a plant?
(*hand movement*)
- 11 E: Yes yes[[
- 12 → I: [[it's a plant, okay
(*nodding*)
- 13 E: yes but it's made from a very very different process
(*hand movement*)
- 14 I: Em
(*nodding*)

- 15 E: Er SO it's er::: (.) somewhat more like brandy or something like that.
(frowning) (hands movements)
- 16 I: Ah:::
(I turned around C.)
- 17 I: =它其实不是白酒，它是一种就是比较特殊的长得有点像草
但它上面那有一颗一颗籽的一种植物提炼做出来的。
- 18 BT: =it is not white wine It's made from a plant looking a bit like grass
But there are lots of seeds on the top it's made from that plant
(hand movements when describing the "plant")
- 19 C: 哦:::
- 20 BT: Oh:::
- 21 I: 它的那个口感可能会更像白兰地多一点
- 22 BT: It tastes maybe a bit more like brandy
(hand movement)
- 23 C: 像白兰地 哦 白兰地=我知道
- 24 BT: Like brandy OH brandy=I see
(nodding)

In this example, the interpreter (*I*) interrupted the current speaker *E* in Line 6, for she encountered a difficulty in understanding two unfamiliar terms, so she asked 'what's malt and barley?' This indicates that a knowledge asymmetry occurred between the interpreter and the speaker, so the interpreter's question also initiated sequences of adjacency pairs between the two.

The interpreter's first pair part (FPP) in Line 6 is a *class-specific question*²⁰, which clearly pointed out that the problem of understanding lies in the terms 'malt' and 'barley', so they became the referents for the subsequent turn. Line 7 is *E*'s second pair part (SPP), and he employed both linguistic and non-linguistic means to describe the referents. He verbally described the two terms as 'a kind of grass with corns on it' and simultaneously used hand gesture movements to depict the shape of referents (see details of gesture use in Chapter 4). Even though the speaker's gesture movements

²⁰ "Question words such as 'who', 'where' and 'when' are more specific in that they indicate what part of the speech is repairable" (Sidnell 2010:117).

synchronising with linguistic meanings were discussed in Chapter 4, in terms of sequential interaction, *E*'s gesture movements are also concurrent visible description that synchronise with his linguistic response. In other words, the sequences were presented both linguistically and non-linguistically in that the visible gestural descriptions are integrated with their concurrent linguistic sequences to negotiate the current knowledge asymmetry relating to the two terms. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 4, *E*'s gesture movements were copied by the interpreter while she was translating for the Chinese participant. From the point of view of a multimodal context, the analysis shows that those visible gestural movements also produced useful and meaningful means for negotiating the knowledge asymmetry, which was created by lack of understanding of the two terms.

Without waiting for *E* to complete his turn, in Line 8 *I* produced an 'Ah:::' sound accompanied with a head nodding to confirm her understanding. Overlapped with *E*'s unfinished turn, *I* performed her part as an interactive activity (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992:162-66), monitoring and evaluating *E*'s ongoing utterance. Immediately afterwards, Line 9 and Line 10 show simultaneous utterances between *E* and *I*. The overlapped utterances evidenced that the interpreter was interactively engaging her understanding and was eager to confirm it. After getting a positive confirmation, the interpreter repeated her own previous utterance 'it's a plant' while nodding her head, which indicates that this allusion had finally been confirmed²⁰ and marked the completion of resolving the interpreter's trouble of understanding. Although the interpreter had not yet located the specific vocabulary in Chinese for translating this 'plant', the fact that both parties concluded the repair at this point indicates that an understanding of the general term 'plant' might be sufficient for understanding the subsequent content.

This example analysed sequences between Line 6 and Line 12, which was a situation when the interpreter encountered a problem of understanding that was resolved between the interpreter and one of the participants. It has been observed that both the interpreter and the participant have integrated multimodal communicative means in their sequential interactions. The non-linguistic means such as gesture and head movements were performed in a structured interactive manner to enhance the concurrent linguistic utterances, visually indicating how the interactive process was

carried out between the two parties and how the knowledge asymmetry was equalised. The following analysis in the next section will focus on the sequences from Line 1 to Line 5 before the interpreter had the problem of understanding and from Line 13 to Line 22 when the Chinese participant's question was answered.

6.4.2 Forming shared understanding between the primary participants

The above sections discussed a series of sequences between the interpreter and one of the participants. This section analyses another example of sequences between the primary participants when a joint attention forms among them, mainly through manipulation of an object. A *joint attention* appears when all participants' attentions are jointly focused on one object, which is used as one of the communicative resources. The following examples show how participants utilise a joint attention to assess or join in the interaction.

As well as the previous analysis, example 6.2 also features instances of sequences occurring between the two primary participants, which will be analysed in this section. The following sequences are from Line 1 to Line 6 of example 6.2 showing some short sequences between the primary participants.

- 1 C: 威士忌不算白酒啊? (1.0)
 2 → BT: Isn't whisky same as white wine? (1.0)
 (*waving hand*)
 3 I: Er::: whisky is not a kind of white er white wine?
 (*I@@-->E*) (*moving hand*)
 4 → E: NO NO whisky is not a wine (.) whisky is made from
 (*waving hand; E@@->C*) (*E@@-->I*)
 5 malt and barley (.) so it's made from er::: [[
 (*hand movements*)

Line 2 is a back translation of the Chinese speaker's (C) Chinese utterance in Line 1. In this first pair part (FPP), C demonstrated that, in his knowledge, whisky is a kind of drink similar to Chinese rice wine.

C's question was translated by *I* in Line 3. Note that the negative polarity of 'not a kind of white wine' might suggest that the interpreter suspects *C*'s assumption may be incorrect. In this occasion, the interpreter decided not to express her own opinion by questioning the original speaker directly, but she chose to pass on this assumption and let the recipient pose any objections. *E* immediately responded in Line 4 with a strong disagreement component 'No'²¹ and he even repeated it to emphasise.

Interestingly, without waiting for the interpreter to translate, *E* expressed his disagreement to *C*'s FPP directly with the help of multimodal communicative means. What *E* did was to gaze directly to *C* when he uttered 'No', waving his hand simultaneously in Line 4. *E*'s gaze indicated that *C* was his intended recipient and it also functioned to get *C*'s attention (see details of gaze function in Chapter 5). These non-linguistic means combined with the linguistic emphasis 'No' enabled *E* to feedback his second pair part (SPP) immediately and directly to *C* before the interpreting was available. By doing so, the adjacency pair was directly connected between the primary participants - *C* and *E*. Immediately afterwards, *E* turned his gaze back to the interpreter, as he explained the reason of his disagreement in words, which requires translation. It is quite obvious that each multimodal move of the current speaker has its own dedicated intention, which seemed to have been understood by all participating parties.

The short sequences between the primary participants is interesting, as it showed that by using multimodal communicative means (e.g. gaze and gesture), the primary participants managed to bypass the interpreter and directly communicating with each other, exactly the same as people do in a normal monolingual conversation. In other words, multimodal communicative means provide participants who do not speak the same language with the opportunity to establish a direct communicative relationship with one another. In particular, non-linguistic means are combined with linguistic means, helping bridging the language gap between the primary participants.

²¹ One of the disagreement types is a strong disagreement with a disagreement component 'No' (Pomerantz 1984:63).

brandy' was said while looking at *I*, indicating that *C* was digesting and checking with the interpreter his understanding of the interpreting content; 'Oh, brandy! I see' was said while looking at *E*, signalling that *C* confirmed his understanding of *E*'s original explanation. The meanings of these two different gazes to the two different addressees were clear to all participants onsite, because of the combined use of multimodal means. Finally, Line 24 showed another direct communication between the primary participants bypassing the interpreter. More specifically, it has an 'Oh'-prefaced sequence indicating a change of state and then with a structure of [partial repeat + agreement token (head nodding)]²³ indicating a 'previously-held position'. This implies that *C* is familiar with brandy and that he started to align his understanding with his previously-held knowledge of brandy. These sequences of negotiating understanding were communicated successfully through eye contact and a simultaneous head nodding between the two primary participants.

From the analysis of this example, sequences in talk are carried out not only between the interpreter and one of the participants, but also directly between the primary participants, even with the presence of a language barrier. From the examples of cases in this study, it was found that multimodal sequences carried out among the interpreter and the participants are used not only for resolving problems of understanding, but also for confirming understanding of one another. Multimodal analysis reveals that multimodal communicative means have enabled the primary participants who do not speak the same language in some occasions to bypass the interpreter and to make direct interactions on one another's utterances.

Example 6.3 shows that the Chinese participant demonstrated a bottle of Chinese wine to the British participant and this bottle of wine has immediately attracted all participants' attention, therefore, creating a joint attention among them. In the below example 6.3, a special aspect called '*joint attention*' (Goodwin 2007) is presented.

Example 6.3

Note: the Chinese participant's (C) utterances are back translated into English for the convenience of data analysis.

1 *C:* This is type of Chinese wine produced here in China.

over the bottle and putting it within the shared frame among participants and eventually pointing at it; *E*'s attention was attracted by the bottle. In other words, with a language barrier, the mutual understanding was achieved through non-linguistic signalling of each other's intentions.

The following example also shows that one participant was able to get involved in the interaction by observing non-linguistic interaction of the other participant and the interpreter. In example 6.4, the English speaker was asking for a suggestion of a place in China for her student to go to study. She was a bit concerned about the air pollution in some major cities in China, so she was asking her neighbour, the Chinese speaker, for some advice.

Example 6.4

- 1 *E:* But I wondered if there's any place that is nicer to go=
 I have heard there's a lot of pollution in some cities in China
 Is there=are there cities where there is not so much pollution?
- 2 *I:* Ok (*nodding*) 她也想知道 白一点就关于去中国哪一个地方比较好=
 比较没有那么多的污染 她也听说过中国很多大城市 这个污染-
 (*BT:* She wants to know about which place in China is better in terms
 of not having so much pollution she heard that many big cities in
 China the pollution-)
- 3 *C:* 嗯嗯 (*BT:* um-um)
- 4 *I:* 空气的污染很厉害的 就哪一个比较少 比较好
 你可以介绍一下吗?
 (*BT:* air pollution is serious so which city is nicer can you tell her?)
- 5 *C:* 要讲好的学校像- (*BT:* if talking about best universities like-)
- 6 *I:* 不是 这个空气这个污染城市很多 好像北京-

(BT: NO the air pollution in cities like Beijing-)

7 C: 一般江南比较好

(BT: normally Jiangnan is nicer)

8 I: 在哪儿?

(BT: where?)

9 C: 江南

(BT: Jiangnan)

10 I: Ok There is one place called Jiangnan

which is [quite:::which is a reasonable place]

11 E: Oh (.) [I wonder where that is]

(*Fetching a map of China*)

12 I: 你可不可以告诉这是在哪一个地方 这个中国地图里面

(BT: Could you please show her where that place is in this China map)

(*taking the map and looking at it*)

13 C: 上海 浙江 浙大 (*taking off glasses and moving towards the map*)

(BT: Shanghai Zhejiang Zhejiang University)

14 → E: Shanghai is somewhere here isn't? (*Pointing at the map*)



Figure 6.1 Pointing gesture

15 I: [Shanghai is here]

16 C: [看浙江 这是上海] (BT: look for Zhejiang Here is Shanghai)

17 *I*: yeah Shanghai

This example shows participants were monitoring each other's interaction and were communicating through multimodal means. In Line 11, one of the participants introduced an object – a map of China – into the interaction (bringing in an object was not required by the researcher, but it was introduced by the participants of their own accord). The effect of bringing in an object is that it forms a joint attention on the object. Once the English speaker (*E*) fetched the map and passed it on to the interpreter (*I*), all participants were jointly looking at the map, even when they were speaking. This map potentially formed a jointly shared context, as all interaction was then evolving around it. In particular, Line 14 shows that *E* joined in the conversation directly after *C*, before the interpreting. In Line 13, *C* was searching for some cities in Jiangsu region and then *E* immediately took over the turn by pointing at the location of Shanghai on the map, saying 'Shanghai is somewhere here, isn't?'. This simple action is interesting because it shows that the English participant directly interacted with the Chinese party before a translation came in.

More specifically, *E*'s direct response at this particular moment was influenced by *C*'s multimodal interaction in Line 13 - he was taking off his glasses and leaning forward towards the map, uttering a few names of the cities such as Shanghai and Zhejiang. This multimodal context tells that *C* was researching for the location of Shanghai on the map and because of his old age, it caused a bit of an effort for him to do so (reflected from his movements). *C*'s non-linguistic movements were as if posing a question: where is Shanghai? *E* picked up the word 'Shanghai' from the Chinese and also understood from others' non-linguistic actions that they were looking for that place on the map. Therefore, she used a pointing gesture towards the map to provide a helpful answer. This indicates that *E* was actively monitoring the interaction by observing other participants' linguistic and non-linguistic interaction. Lines 13 and 14 form an adjacency pair with *C*'s multimodal interaction in Line 13 as the first pair part (FPP) and *E*'s response in Line 14 as the second pair part (SPP), showing as follows:

FPP: 13 C: 上海 浙江 浙大 (BT: Shanghai Zhejiang Zhejiang University)

(taking off glasses and moving towards the map)

SPP: 14 → E: Shanghai is somewhere here isn't?

(Pointing at the map)

In this sequential pair, *C* adopted a [K-] position and his intention was observed by other participants, which initiated a response from *E* who took a [K+] position. However, *E* used a tag question 'isn't it', which indexed a low epistemic modality, inviting a further confirmation from other participants about the location of Shanghai. *E*'s slight doubt about the location was reconfirmed by *I* in Line 15 'Shanghai is here' and almost simultaneously, by *C* in Line 16 'here is Shanghai', the two utterances overlapping with one another. These confirmations indicate that *E*'s SPP was successful and that she understood *C*'s intention even without a translation and managed to join in the interaction directly, creating a very natural way of communicating similar to what happens in monolingual communication.

Through the previous two examples regarding the primary participants communicating directly with each other before or without a translation, it has been observed that, under a joint attention, instances of knowledge asymmetry are actively monitored and identified by not only the interpreter, but also the primary participants. Also, a joint attention created a shared multimodal context where participants were able to find a shortcut of communicating directly with their intended recipients, bypassing the middleperson – the interpreter. It also shows that participants attempted to make the kind of interpreter-mediated bilingual communication more efficient. In the previous two examples, the focus of a joint attention among the participants was an object, but the following example shows when the joint attention was focused on the interpreter, as he encountered a difficulty in translating a word. In this situation, both participants seemed to have started a process of helping the interpreter in search of a correct translation.

This example is from case 4 when two neighbours were having a conversation. The English participant is an English teacher and she was making some inquiries to her Chinese neighbour about the accommodation in Chinese universities, as one of her students was planning to study in China.

Example 6.5

- 1 *E:* Once I went to visit in Guangzhou and I saw student dormitory
 =there were sixteen students in one dormitory=
- 2 *I:* Oh:::
- 3 *E:* =that was a long time ago (.) is that still the same?
- 4 *I:* 她她以前也去过这个广州 (*BT:* She went to Guangzhou before)
- 5 *C:* 嗯::: (*BT:* um:::)
- 6 *I:* 看到这个学生住的[地方
 (*BT:* She saw the students' [living places)
- 7 *C:* [广州不好 (*BT:* [Guangzhou is no good)
 (*headshakes*)
- 8 *I:* [人很多]还有十来多个人住在一个房间里面这个这个情况=
 (*BT:* [So many people] and more than ten students living in one room
 this this situation=)
- 9 *C:* [广州大啊] (*BT:* Guangzhou is big)
- 10 *I:* =她说这个是很久的事情啦 (*BT:* She said this was long time ago)
- 11 *C:* 嗯::: (*BT:* um:::)
 (*nodding*)
- 12 *I:* 不过现在有没有改变好啦 有没有改好了

(BT: Has the situation changed by now Is it better now)

13 C: 现在要真正是入到学校以后啊 嗯 那情况都比过去要好得多了

(BT: Now if you enter the university, the accommodation situation is much better than it was in the past)

14 I: Ok The situation has changed a lot now=it changed better now

15 E: right (nodding) Oh good

16 I: Yeah (nodding)

17 E: So not all students sleep in dormitories

18 → I: Ok 这个没有 没有学生住 dormitory 是什么意思呢 额:::

(BT: no no students living in what does dormitory mean Eh:::)

dormitory=how do you (gesturing)

19: → E: just one room with (.) bunks



Figure 6.1

one student one student one student one student one student one student



Figures 6.2 – 6.7

20 I: [like-

21 → C: [哦::: 上下床

(BT: Oh::: bunkbed)



Figures 6.8-6.9

22 I: 啊! 上下床 (BT: Ah! bunkbed)

(I @ @-->C, nodding)

.
.
.

30 C: 现在不像那样啦 (BT: now is not like in the past)

31 I: Ok

There are two main observations from this example. In this first half of the sequences (from Line 1 to Line 15), all three participants (including the interpreter) in this example show that they were actively interacting with one another both linguistically and non-linguistically as recipients showing their alignments with the speakers. In the second half of the sequences, when the interpreter had a problem with translating a word, the two primary participants actively stepped in using both linguistic and non-linguistic descriptions to reach a shared understanding of the word.

Firstly, three participants were constantly monitoring each other's utterances. From Line 1 to Line 3, when *E* was the speaker, *I* was actively listening by producing an 'Oh:::' sound in the middle of *E*'s utterance, which shows his attentiveness towards the speaker and his confirmation of understanding the incoming information. Not only was the interpreter attentive to the primary participants, the participants were also very attentive to the interpreting contents. From Line 4 to Line 12, when *I* was translating, *C* kept responding to the ongoing interpreting information with both linguistic comments, non-linguistic audible sounds such as 'um' with head nodding. His comments such as 'Guangzhou is no good' and 'Guangzhou is big' indicate that he was anticipating the original English speaker's intentions and was expressing his

agreement so as to align with his own experience regarding the referent Guangzhou. Again, from Line 14 to Line 15, when *I* was translating for *E*, she was confirming the receipt of information accompanied by her head nodding and verbal confirmation ‘yeah’. These recipients’ responses overlapping with the speakers’ utterances confirms with Goodwin’s (1979) statement that participants are performing a structured interactive activity.

Secondly, when the interpreter encountered difficulty in translating the word ‘dormitory’ in Line 18, both *E* and *C* were actively promoting a shared understanding of this meaning. After the problem emerged, *E* started re-stating her utterance by offering a linguistic explanation as well as a series of non-linguistic descriptive gesture movements (shown by the images in Line 19). Her gesture movements were simultaneously produced with her linguistic utterances, depicting a typical layout of beds in the Chinese students’ dormitory. Interestingly, the following sequences from Line 20 and Line 21 indicate that the Chinese participant understood the English speaker’s meaning even ahead of the interpreter. Utterances in Lines 20 and 21 are overlapped. Line 20 shows that the interpreter was still searching for a word while, in Line 21, *C* already shouted out ‘Oh, bunkbed’ (in Chinese) as well as repeating the same gesture movements as *E* just made. On the one hand, this ‘Oh’-particle signifies a change of state, confirming that *C*’s understanding has aligned with the speaker. As Heritage points out that, “‘Oh’-particles mark the receipt of the informing delivered in the preceding turn or turns. Also, they occur in response to complete chunks of information and are produced at points at which the informing is completed” (Heritage 1984:301). On the other hand, although *C* could not understand any English words, he was attentive to *E*’s turn. The fact that *C* responded correctly and earlier than the interpreter suggests the effectiveness of non-linguistic communication in bridging not only an information gap but also a language barrier. Finally, *C* repeated *E*’s gesture movements, which further confirms that imitating gesture movements is a way to align common understanding and a means to facilitate a direct communicative interaction between two primary participants who do not speak the same language.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the third sub-research question of this study: how does knowledge asymmetry influence the role of the interpreter? In order to answer this question, using the data cases of this study, this chapter investigated how knowledge asymmetry during the course of interaction was dealt with between the interpreter and the participant(s) as well as between the primary participants, in particular, under the situation when a joint attention was formed. The analytical framework was based on the concept of knowledge asymmetry originating from conversational analysis research findings (Goodwin 1979; Schegloff 2007; Heritage 1984, 2012). By adopting a multimodal perspective, it has been found that all participants (the two primary participants and the interpreter) were addressing each other's knowledge asymmetry by furnishing the other participants with information/understanding.

Firstly, when addressing a problem of understanding occurring between the interpreter and one of the participants, multimodal communicative means were used to balance the knowledge asymmetry so as to achieve shared understanding. Linguistic means were used to clear up referential ambiguity, but non-linguistic means were integrated in a structured interactive manner to either enhance or weaken the effects created by linguistic means (This was found from examples 6.1 and 6.2).

Secondly, when there was an object in hand that can be used as a resource to create a joint attention, participants would naturally choose to use it. This is because a joint attention has enabled the possibility of forming a shared multimodal context, in which participants can get direct access to one another through using multimodal means such as head nodding, gaze, gestures and handling of object, etc. By employing multimodal resources, participants who do not understand the same language can directly communicate with, make alignment (example 6.2, Line 24) to each other as well as actively participate into and contribute to the development of the course of interaction (example 6.4).

To sum up, both the interpreters and the primary participants in interpreter-mediated interaction utilised multimodal resources in interaction. As the main focus of this chapter, knowledge asymmetry drives forward the flow of communication. Interpreters were constantly monitoring and identifying the state of knowledge asymmetry between the primary participants in order to better channel the flow of

information. In cases when the interpreters were in danger of not maintaining the flow of information, the primary participants stepped in and worked with the interpreter to reconnect the channel of information. In particular, when sharing a joint attention in interaction, participants employed resources in a multimodal context to achieve the purpose of communicating. Both linguistic and non-linguistic means contributed to the process of balancing the knowledge asymmetry occurring during the course of interaction, enabling participants who do not speak the same language to anticipate each other's intentions and to establish a communicative relationship, as if they were in a monolingual communication.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the main research question, ‘How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?’. This thesis has shown that interpreters have active involvement in interaction with their primary participants both linguistically and non-linguistically. Through analytically investigating detailed examples, this research has demonstrated that non-linguistic communicative elements make clear contributions to interpreter-mediated interaction. In addition, the contribution made by multimodal communicative resources to the flow of information in interpreting contexts has been explored; in particular, this has involved looking at how multimodal resources work together to balance knowledge asymmetry in order to drive forward communication.

This conclusion aims to bring together all the major findings of this study and highlight their original contributions to the existing body of literature, which will include an overview of the key findings of the three empirical chapters. After this, the limitations of the study will be discussed, along with an indication of potential areas for future research. Therefore, this final chapter will be structured in the following way. Firstly, the key findings of this research will be summarised; secondly, the main objectives and contributions of this research to the literature will be presented; and finally, the limitations of this study and the potential for future research will also be discussed.

1. Overview of key findings of this research

The multimodal analysis of the six simulated cases used in this study has systematically shown the significance of the non-linguistic aspects in interpreter-mediated communications. Findings from the analysis have demonstrated how participating parties (the primary participants and their interpreters) repeatedly employed multimodal resources to facilitate their communication. The key findings from the three empirical chapters are summarised below. These chapters addressed the three sub-research questions investigated in this study: (1) ‘How does gesture use reflect the interpreter’s involvement in communication?’ (2) ‘How does the

interpreter coordinate communication through gaze and body orientation?’ (3) ‘How does knowledge asymmetry influence the role of the interpreter?’. The findings of the three sub-research questions will then be drawn together to address the main research question, ‘How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?’.

(a) Findings of gesture use

The first empirical chapter was used to address the first sub-research question regarding how gesture use indicates the interpreter’s involvement in communication. The findings of this research on gesture use indicate that 1) participating parties in interpreter-mediated interaction imitate each other’s gestures as a means to confirm cognitive understanding; 2) different types of gestures are employed to convey key information; 3) gesture is used in the interpreting process to clarify meanings and misunderstandings. These findings are summarised in greater detail below.

First of all, it has been found that gesture plays an important part in interpreter-mediated interaction, for a consistent pattern showed that participants were imitating each other’s gestures as a way to confirm their own cognitive understanding with one another. Based on McNeil’s (1992) theory of speech-gesture synchrony, this study not only found that speech and gesture were synchronised in interpreting context, but also observed that participating parties were copying each other’s specific types of gesture movements, which were synchronised with the key linguistic information in their speeches. This means that the type of gestures being copied were intentionally selected and utilised, as they carried key information for communication. In other words, because all participants were aware of the differences in their languages, they resorted to certain gestures that contained universally similar meanings, which they could use as a non-linguistic means to confirm whether they have achieved a shared cognitive understanding.

Secondly, this study used McNeil’s (2005) classifications of gesture use and found that the types of gestures selected by participating parties to convey key linguistic information included gestures used to describe a concept, a process, an object or to point out a reference. In particular, pointing gestures consistently appeared in my

cases. Not only is a pointing gesture a direct way to mention a reference, but it also helps to overcome the limitations of space and location, in the sense that speakers may refer to objects that are not physically present with them. Speakers can use items available onsite, such as by simply pointing at a nearby object; they can also gesticulate to refer to something elsewhere outside the current location. Pointing gestures also provide certain flexibility for cross-cultural communication, as they avoid any ambiguities that might be caused by different linguistic descriptions for the same reference.

Thirdly, gestures were used when the participating parties were trying to express their meanings more clearly or to clarify misunderstandings. Regarding the interpreters, they firstly selected key information from the source language. The results of this selection process were then reflected in their gesture movements during the interpreting stage, as key information was identified from particular types of gestures. As the interpreting process went on, gestures started reflecting changes made by the interpreters. On the one hand, interpreters re-organised key information to re-fit it into the target audience-oriented interpreting structure, in order to clearly convey the information for the context of the target audience. On the other hand, the changes made by the interpreters were also for clarifying misunderstandings that came up from time to time during communication. As for the primary participants, who could not communicate through linguistic means, gestures provided them with an informative, visual channel to exchange information in a more direct manner. This direct communication between the primary participants has been further demonstrated through the analysis of eye contact and body orientation, as explained below.

(b) Findings of gaze and body orientation

In order to investigate the direct contact among the participating parties in my cases, Chapter 5 further explored how the interpreters coordinate their communication through gaze and body orientation. Gaze and body orientation were chosen for analysis because body orientation provides preconditions for direct communication (Robinson 1998) while mutual gaze (i.e. eye contact) among participants further confirms the formation of a direct contact.

Findings from the analysis of different instances of eye contact include 1) participating parties used gaze and body orientation as means to regulate or establish turn-taking order during the course of communication; 2) primary participants were actively seeking direct eye contact with their intended addressees, regardless of whether interpreting had been given or not. The following paragraphs will explain these findings in greater detail.

Firstly, the main function of eye contact made between the interpreter and their two primary participants is regulatory. On the one hand, the interpreter used gaze towards their target audience as a means of arranging a turn-taking order in this interpreter-mediated communication that involves two different languages. When this type of eye contact is formed, it often indicates a start of or an end of an interpreting turn, so that participants using different languages know where to enter their turns. On the other hand, the primary participants also actively summon linguistic assistances from the interpreters via a single gaze. The advantage of using eye contact to achieve an agreed arrangement regarding turn-taking order is that this non-linguistic communicative means will not interrupt the flow of linguistic communication; at the same time, it still can establish a shared understanding among participants of their turn-taking order. By gazing at each other, participants are looking for opportunities to take their turns. In monolingual communication, participants can also rely on linguistic means to judge where their turns come. However, in interpreter-mediated bilingual communication, participants are seemingly more conscious about observing each other's intentions through non-linguistic means such as getting confirmation through eye contact. It is a way to compensate for the difficulties of having two different languages used in interaction by the primary participants.

Secondly, another interesting finding from the analysis is that the primary participants who do not speak the same language were in fact actively seeking eye contact between each other, even in cases when linguistic information to be provided from interpreting was not yet available. When the interpreting was absent or not yet available, participants often resorted to using a variety of non-linguistic resources such as eye contact, nodding, gesturing, gazing or pointing at an object, leaning towards each other and so on, to maintain or continue their communication. This not only indicated the participants' eagerness to communicate and understand each other,

but also highlights that they do not rely solely on linguistic means to communicate. In other words, gaze and body orientation were used not only by the interpreters to coordinate their interpreting work, but also by the primary participants who were motivated to establish communicative relationships with their counterparts. Findings from Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 indicate that the primary participants speaking two different languages can still establish direct contact through some non-linguistic visual channels such as gesture, gaze and body orientation. However, in order to understand how the flow of information is sustained in interpreter-mediated interaction, Chapter 6 continued to investigate at a deeper level how interpreters facilitate the process of balancing knowledge asymmetry, an ever-changing state of information imbalance between the primary participants during the course of their communication.

(c) Findings of balancing the knowledge asymmetry

In communication, the flow of information is driven by a knowledge gap created by information imbalance, which is the state of knowledge asymmetry. This is particularly relevant to interpreting, as the interpreter has to constantly identify instances of knowledge asymmetry between the two primary participants in order to help them channel the flow of information and to achieve a shared understanding. As participants take turns to speak, the direction of the flow of information keeps changing, therefore so does the state of knowledge asymmetry. Chapter 6 addresses two types of instances of knowledge asymmetry: one is when problems of understanding occur among the participants and the interpreters; the other is when participants utilise resources at hand, such as an object, to create a joint attention. The main findings of this analysis were that 1) all participating parties actively provided multimodal resources, which were integrated in the process of balancing knowledge asymmetry; and 2) when a shared context is created, for example, through the formation of a joint attention on an object, the flow of information between primary participants can simply be driven forward by non-linguistic means, even when interpreting contents were absent. Details of these findings are discussed below.

Firstly, the process of balancing knowledge asymmetry involved the employment of multimodal resources by both the interpreters and the primary participants. Two

instances of knowledge asymmetry were analysed: one was when one of the participants were having trouble comprehending the interpreting content; the other was when the interpreter was having trouble understanding one of the primary participants. In the first instance, a referential ambiguity was the cause of the state of knowledge asymmetry. The resolving of this difficulty of understanding showed that multimodal resources were integrated in the process. On the one hand, the interpreter was linguistically explaining while physically gesturing at the same time: her use of different personal pronouns enabled access of information; her non-linguistic movements (such as synchronised gesture movements, increased vocal volume on key words) also heightened her linguistic descriptions. On the other hand, by responding with repair initiators and change of state tokens (such as the 'Oh'-prefacing), the participant was actively engaged in this problem-solving process with the interpreter. This active engagement could also be seen from their upper body orientation towards each other. In the second instance, the interpreter was having trouble understanding two unfamiliar English terms. Linguistically, the interpreter was using repair indicators to pinpoint her understanding level; non-linguistically, she was imitating the English speaker's gesture movements, showing a process of digesting the information. In other words, the negotiation of the knowledge asymmetry regarding the two terms was achieved by multimodal means, especially with the visible gesture movements suggesting meaningful intentions. To sum up, these two instances have shown that a shared understanding among the participants and the interpreter was achieved through the employment of multimodal means.

Secondly, as well as gesture, gaze and body, objects on site were utilised as a communication resource to create joint attention among the participants and the interpreters. When people concentrated their attention on one single point (in this study, it was an object), it was easier to align themselves to the same context in which they could communicate directly using multimodal means. Findings from this study show that when there was a joint attention, participants used non-linguistic means such as gaze and gesture to pass on information, as if they were in a monolingual communication. For participants who mostly rely on an interpreter to communicate with each other, this finding is crucial as a joint attention provides the potential for them to build a direct communicative relationship by using multimodal means.

The above summarised findings from the three empirical chapters come together to answer the main research question of this study: ‘How does a multimodal analysis contribute to the understanding of the role of the interpreter?’. The three sub-questions have addressed the main research question by providing evidence of interpreters’ active involvement in communication from three different angles. Firstly, interpreters selected and utilised different types of gestures to convey key information, to confirm shared understanding, as well as to clarify misunderstandings. Secondly, interpreters also used gaze and body orientation to ‘communicate’ with their primary participants in order to regulate or arrange the turn-taking order in an efficient way. Finally, interpreters employed multimodal resources to actively balance knowledge asymmetry as their means to drive forward communication. The main research question will be addressed further in the next section, which sets out the contributions of this study to existing literature and to the practical role of interpreters.

2. The value of this study and its original contributions

The original contributions of this research will be discussed in two parts as follows: firstly, academic contributions to literature, and secondly, practical implications for professional interpreters.

a. Original contributions to literature

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the active role of interpreters in cross-cultural communication, as an increasing number of studies have favoured the argument that the interpreter plays an *active* role in practice rather than a *prescribed* role stipulated in professional codes of conduct. Most existing literature in Interpreting Studies has focused on linguistic analysis rather than incorporating non-linguistic aspects to study the role of interpreters; the literature therefore lacked a sufficiently comprehensive understanding of the interpreter’s role. Only a few scholars (Pasquandrea 2011; Davitti 2013) have previously explored some aspects of the non-verbal elements of interpreter-mediated communication. This study, however, aimed to explore this under-researched area by putting its main focus on exploring non-linguistic communicative means utilised in interpreting contexts and their

implications for the role of interpreters and our understanding of interpreter-mediated interaction.

This research offered a number of original contributions to the existing literature. Firstly, this study adopted a new way to apply multimodal approaches to Interpreting Studies, in particular, to investigate the role of interpreters. This study combined analytical approaches and transcription methods from both conversational analysis and multimodal analysis to investigate interpreter-mediated interaction. This enabled data analysis to be carried out on both linguistic and non-linguistic levels. Inspired by the diverse transcription methods used in multimodal research, this study adapted different transcription formats to vertically present all relevant co-occurring multimodalities, which facilitate the analysis of participating parties' deployment of multimodal resources. The use of different transcription formats provides a flexible way of analysing interpreting data, so that data can be best demonstrated in support of its relevant analysis and argument. This contributes to the broader field of multimodal analysis, especially in interpreting contexts.

Secondly, this study presented an original research design using face-to-face interpreting simulations to replace naturally-occurring data as an alternative data resource for empirical research. This provides a solution to the increasing demand for the use of empirical data in Interpreting Studies (Mu & Wang 2009) and the difficulties in obtaining naturally-occurring data for research purposes. Although existing studies that have already used simulations in Interpreting Studies (according to Hale and Napier 2013), this study has further developed the design of interpreting simulations. The existing studies using interpreting simulations mostly used actors to read through rehearsed transcripts to create a working environment for the interpreters. However, in the simulations used in this study, the topics and scenarios were deliberately designed to match with primary participants' real social and professional roles, so that their conversations were not rehearsed but improvised during the video-recording. This designed created interpreting environments that were very similar to naturally-occurring ones, helping to ensure that interpreters could conduct their work in the same manner as they would normally do.

Finally, the investigation of multimodal communicative means did not simply look at how they contributed to the overall meaning-making process in interpreting contexts, but went further to explore at a deeper level their contributions to the flow of information. This was analysed through the process of balancing the state of knowledge asymmetry among participating parties. As one of the multimodal communicative means, language plays an important role in communication, so when language was a barrier in interpreter-mediated communication, the use of other non-linguistic communicative means became apparent. From the findings shown above, evidence of interpreter's active involvement in interaction has emerged at both linguistic and non-linguistic levels. In short, only a multimodal analysis can reveal the significant role that non-linguistic means have played in establishing communicative relationships among participants in interpreter-mediated communication.

b. How the findings relate to the role of the interpreter in practice

This study has shown that people communicate and establish mutual understanding within a multimodal context, regardless of whether they are in a monolingual situation or in a bilingual one. Therefore, any type of communication, including interpreter-mediated communication, should be investigated through a multimodal perspective to avoid an incomplete interpretation of the original meanings. The multimodal resources that participants utilise to communicate with each other are numerous; this study has selected some of the key multimodal communication means to analyse, which include language, gesture, gaze, body and use of objects. The findings of this study show that, as the person in the middle to bridge the language barrier, the interpreter not only utilises both linguistic and non-linguistic means, but also collaborates with the primary participants in their active involvements. In terms of what this means for professional interpreters and interpreting trainers, they should be more aware that linguistic information is important, but that it is not the only resource that they can use, and that non-linguistic information also provides meaningful clues about the context and speaker's intentions, as the use of non-linguistic elements can 'quietly' and 'subtly' change the overall interaction.

More specifically, the findings of this study can inform interpreting training in the following ways. Firstly, interpreter-mediated communication is in fact a collaborative

interaction between the interpreters and their participants. The interpreters should pay attention to observe their participants' actions and non-linguistic cues (such as maintaining sufficient eye contact with their participants) in order to anticipate their intentions and upcoming utterances. Similarly, participants should also be aware of the non-linguistic signals (such as gaze shift and body orientation to indicate the change of turn-taking order) sent out by their interpreters, in order to maintain a smooth change between participants' speaking turns and the interpreters' translating turns. In this regard, professionals who are or will be working with interpreters should also be trained or instructed about how to collaborate with their interpreters. A smooth collaboration between the participants and their interpreters is the key to successful cross-cultural communication. Secondly, when deciding whether or when to interrupt the participants' ongoing utterances (for instance, if the interpreter is trying to get a clarification), the interpreters should consider the potential risk/consequence of disengaging other participants who do not speak the same language. Therefore, interpreters should avoid asking unnecessary questions and only focus on asking key information that could potentially mislead themselves and/or the audiences. Finally, apart from reducing unnecessary interruptions, the interpreters should be encouraged to use multimodal communicative means or resources (such as repeating gestures, eye contact, body orientation, objects, etc.) to increase the efficiency of communication. For example, a concrete object is one of the multimodal resources that can be utilised. When such an object is introduced, the interpreters should fit their linguistic interpretations into the context/situation, taking account of the ever-evolving interactive dynamics. All in all, the main purpose of interpreters deciding how to select and use different communication means/resources is to optimise the outcome of bilingual interpreter-mediated communication.

3. Limitations of this study and future research

The limitations of this study can be summarised in terms of three aspects, which could be built upon by future research: 1) the use of more case studies with empirical data, 2) investigation of other communication resources, and 3) examining other aspects of the interpreter's role.

Firstly, due to the timeframe of a PhD project, this research only selected and recorded six cases as raw data for analysis. It would be interesting for future research to collect data from participants in interpreter-mediated communication interacting in different settings that this study did not cover. With different dynamics involved, participants and the interpreter might choose other sets of multimodal communication means to optimise their communication results.

Secondly, there are numerous multimodal resources that people can use in communication, and this study has touched upon some of the most important ones. This study only looked at gaze, gesture, upper body movements and use of objects, but has not examined elements such as facial expressions, standing or moving positions and other linguistic features including intonations and tones. For example, this study discussed the multimodal resources that people used when they were in a sitting position. It would be interesting to see analysis about situations when people are talking with each other in a standing position or moving around, as they might use objects that they pass by, or may use the space around them differently.

Finally, there are other aspects of the interpreter's role that have not yet been discussed in this study. For example, in one of the case studies, the interpreter put forward his own opinions at some point and later decided not to pursue his disagreement with the participants. In Line 22 of example 6.4, the interpreter (*I*) interrupted and expressed his disagreements with the Chinese speaker's (*C*) opinion regarding Beijing's air pollution situation.

Example 6.4 (following extract)

22 → I: 北京污染很多吧? (*frowning*)

(*BT*: Doesn't Beijing have so much pollution?)

23 C: 北京 额 他治理得还可以

(Beijing uh they have put in place some environmental control)

24 → I: 还可以? (*curled his lips*)

(*BT*: So it is fine?)

25 C: 哎

(BT: Yeah)

Linguistically, he used a negative interrogative ‘doesn’t’ and an interrogative question ‘so it is fine?’; non-linguistically, his frowning eyebrows and curled lips further indicated his opinion in opposition to that of C. However, when translating, *I* still truthfully repeated C’s original utterance without adding his personal disagreeing opinion. The interpreter’s disagreement with the Chinese speaker stays in the two brief turns between them without being translated. This shows that the interpreter does regard himself as an active participant in interaction to make his voices heard sometimes, but the interpreter is also clearly aware of the boundary, knowing that his position is to reflect the primary participants’ original meanings truthfully rather than participating in the discussions. There is potential for further research into the interpreter’s role in situations such as this.

In summary, this study has opened up great potential for future research to continue exploring interpreter-mediated communication through a multimodal perspective. For multimodal research, interpreter-mediated interaction is a very useful communicative form for investigating how multiple communicative means coordinate together in the meaning-making process. As interpreting adds an extra layer of complexity to general monolingual communication, the utilisation of multimodal resources should equally be more complicated. In other words, successful interpreting interaction might be able to demonstrate a highly-efficient coordination of multiple modes to facilitate communication in such contexts. For interpreting research, multimodal analysis not only enables a fuller understanding of interpreting interaction by highlighting the previously neglected non-linguistic aspects, but also provides flexibility and creativity in producing diverse transcription methods and formats to enhance the data analysis process. As multimodal analysis has shed new lights on the interpreter’s non-linguistic ‘active’ involvement in interaction, other multimodal elements that have not been explored in here could potentially generate either similar insights to reinforce findings of this study, or new insights that are not covered by this study.

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Appendix I -- Ethics Approval from the University of Stirling

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES, DIVISION OF Languages

RESEARCH ETHICS CHECKLIST

This form should be completed for every student research project as soon as the topic has been finalised. It is not necessary for staff to complete this form for their own research, but we hope some might find it useful. It is used to identify whether a full application for ethical approval needs to be submitted to the School of Arts and Humanities Research Ethics Committee.

The principal investigator or supervisor (where the principal investigator is a student) is responsible for exercising appropriate professional judgement in this review. This checklist must be completed before potential participants are approached to take part in any research.

Research Checklist to be completed:

Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate box:	YES	NO
1. Does the research involve living participants?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Does the research involve reproducing copyrighted work in published form (other than brief citation)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
3. Does the research involve data not in the public domain eg. private/unpublished?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Are you applying for external funding?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent e.g. people under 18, people with learning disabilities, your own students? (If the research involves people under 18, you may have to apply for a Disclosure Scotland Certificate.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
6. Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for access to participants? (e.g. teacher, local authority)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
7. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation of people)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
8. Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
9. Are there issues of safety for the investigators or subjects?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
10. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life for the investigators or subjects?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
11. Will inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Are there any ethical issues raised by your proposed research?

If you have answered 'no' to all of the questions you need take no further action before starting your research.

If you have answered 'yes' to any of the questions, you must complete the attached research ethics declaration form and submit the declaration form, along with this form, to your divisional administrator. These forms will be then submitted to the School of Arts and Humanities Research Ethics Committee for consideration before you begin the research.

STUDENT'S NAME: [in capitals] JIE BAO

STUDENT'S SIGNATURE: Jie Bao

SUPERVISOR'S SIGNATURE: [Signature] 26/11/2013

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES
DIVISION OFLanguages.....
RESEARCH ETHICS DECLARATION FORM
FOR STUDENTS

This form should be completed in consultation with your supervisor

Name of Student:Jie...Bao.....
Student registration number:2231135.....
Programme:Languages, Cultures and Religions.....
Supervisor for dissertation/project:Dr Saihong Li.....
Title of dissertation/project: ...Chinese/English Interpreter's role in intercultural communication.....
Proposed start date:1 Jan...2014.....
Proposed end date:31 August...2014.....

Outline the main ethical issues pertinent to your research project here, and the actions planned to deal with these issues:

The research is to find out how professional interpreter helps with international business communication at work. Main participants will be interpreters and businessmen (or business women). For the interpreters, they may be worried about if their interpreting performance will be judged by the researcher; for the business interlocutors, they may be concerned about private business talks being disclosed or made in public. Therefore, an informed consent from all participants must be obtained before the fieldwork. In the informed consent form, the researcher will explain the topic and purpose of the research, especially addressing that the interpreting performance will not be judged and that being part of the research will have no bearing in their future work-related evaluation. The researcher will also explain how the participants have been chosen and that the nature of this research is voluntary, so that participants can choose freely whether or not to take part in this research. They can also choose to withdraw from the research at any stage if they wish. The whole procedures of the research will be explained to the participants so that they know what to be expected in the process.

Participants may be asked to do an interview and (or) to have a video-recorded interpreting session, depending on their own will. During the interview, the participants may refuse to response to certain questions if they find uncomfortable to talk about. During the video-recording session, the participants may avoid to talk about private personal or business issues if they wish. All data collected through interviews and recordings will be stored safely and securely. Data analysis will be done anonymously and confidentially. Participants can request a copy of their own interviews and (or) recordings. If they are interested about the findings of the research, they can also get a copy of the final report of the research (Please see more details in the attached Informed Consent Form Sample).

Supervisor's recommendation to School of Arts and Humanities Research Ethics Committee

Approve	Not Approved
✓	

Supervisor's signature: *[Signature]* 06/11/2013

Note of issues/concerns:

COMMITTEE DECISION

Approve	Approve subject to amendment (noted below)	Not Approved
✓		

Committee chair's signature: *Bethan Benwell*

Date: 16/12/13

NOTE:

Completed and signed checklist forms should be retained on file in the divisional office. ALL research ethics declaration forms should be returned to the divisional office. The divisional administrator is then responsible for sending to the school administrator a copy of all the completed applications. All the forms (approved and not approved) will then be reviewed by the School of Arts and Humanities Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix II – Transcriptions used in the analysis of this study

Example 4.1

1 C: 根据我所了解地在我们中国# 大学是分等级地 是吧

2 就是有 # / 一线品牌大学# 二线的 /

3 不知道英国是不是也这样区分

4 (BT: Based on my understanding universities in China# have *different levels*

5 that is # / top-tier universities# second-tier /

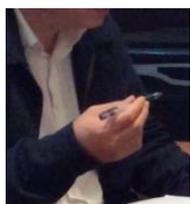


Figure 4.1.1

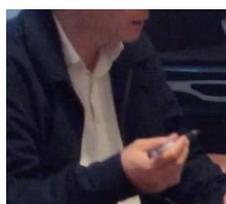


Figure 4.1.2

6 I don't know if it is the same situation in British universities)

7 I: En° so in China we have different *standard of** uh *standards of universities*

8 we have *high standard* and like *medium standard* and *lower standard*

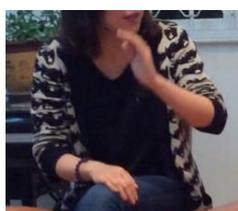


Figure 4.1.3



Figure 4.1.4



Figure 4.1.5

9 so he is asking that if *it is the same situation in England*

10 E: °°Yes *it is the same situation essentially* Now within the UK

11 we place a little bit less of a *strict hierarchy in the universities*

12 *there is a league table overall which tells you*

13 *the best universities overall medium and lower ones*



Figure 4.1.6



Figure 4.1.7



Figure 4.1.8

Figure 4.1.1 to Figure 4.1.8 Screenshots of gesture movements in Example 4.1

Example 4.2

- 1 E: ... if you do a Masters degree so you begin your course and it's divided
2 into three possible categories a pass a high pass or a merit and a distinction



Figure 4.2.1 Figure 4.2.2 Figure 4.2.3

- 3 if you do a PhD PhD is simply pass or fail

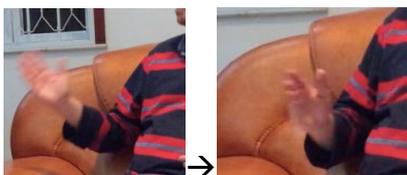


Figure 4.2.4 Figure 4.2.5

- 4 I:继续往下读 然后之后的话 会分成三个等级
5 就是什么高分制 然后中等 以及通过这样子的
6 如果是你去读那个就是博士的话 他只有简单的两个 就是过和不过
7 (BT: ...then (students) can be divided into three levels
8 that is with high scores medium scores or pass if you do a PhD



Figure 4.2.6 Figure 4.2.7 Figure 4.2.8

- 9 for a PhD they simply have two categories pass or fail)

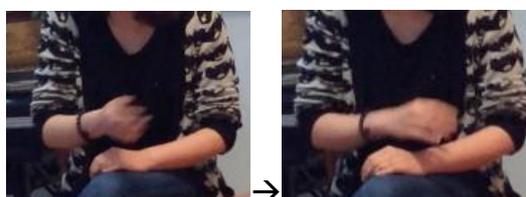


Figure 4.2.9 Figure 4.2.10

Figure 4.2.1 to Figure 4.2.10 Screenshots of gesture movements in Example 4.2

Example 4.3

- 1 E: ...whisky is made from malt and barley
2 so it's made from...er [
3 I: [Wha what's malt and barley?
4 E: Like a kind of ... Similar to a kind of grass with with corns inside

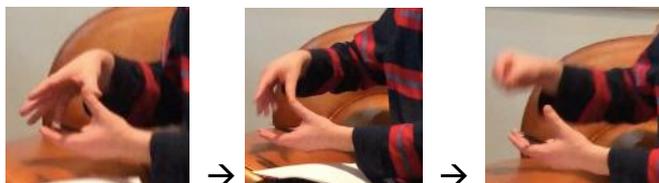


Figure 4.3.1

Figure 4.3.2

Figure 4.3.3

- 5 Do you know [
6 I: [Aaah::it's er a plant? [it's a plant °okay
7 E: [yes yes but it's made from a very very
different process...
8 I: [°°Em
9 E: [Er so it's er somewhat more like brandy or something like that
10 I: Ah (I turned around to translate)
11 I: 它其实不是白酒 它是一种就是比较特殊的长得有点像草但它上面那有
一颗一颗籽的一种植物提炼做出来的.....
12 (BT: It is in fact not a white wine it's a * it's made from
13 one special type of plant * looks like grass but with seeds on the top...)



Figure 4.3.4

Figure 4.3.5

Figure 4.3.6

Example 4.4

1 E: ...and all needles are applied at one time (.) or in turn?



Figure 4.4.1

Figure 4.4.2

2 I: 每一针是不是同一个时间插进去(.)还是(.)不同的时间?

3 (BT: Is each needle applied at the same time (.) or (.) at a different time?)



Figure 4.4.3

Figure 4.4.4

Example 4.5:

Note: E is the English sales manager; I is the interpreter; C is the Chinese drinks distributor.

C I E

C's index finger (palm down) pointing gesture



Figure 4.5.1

C I E

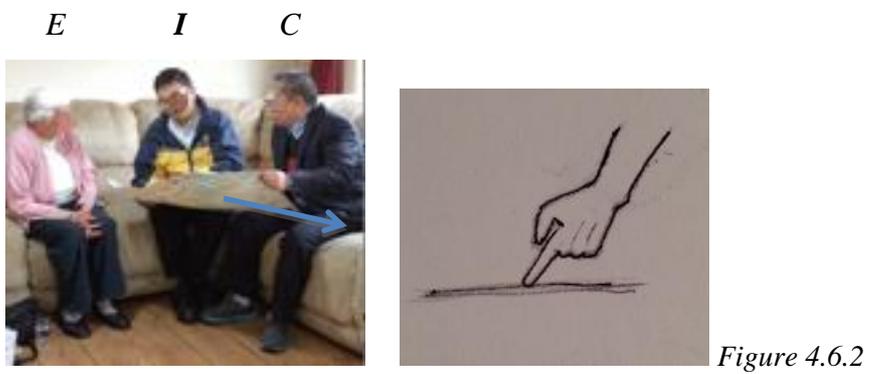
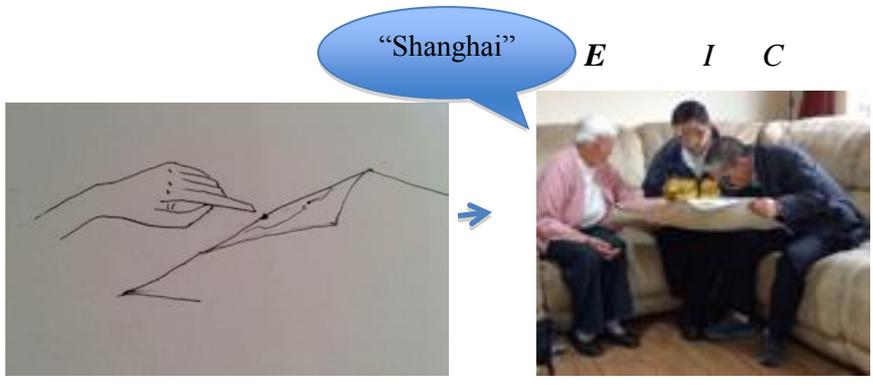


I copied the exact index finger (palm down) pointing gesture.

Figure 4.5.2

Example 4.6:

Note: *E* is the English neighbour; *I* is the interpreter; *C* is the Chinese neighbour. The drawing of the pointing gesture indicates *E*'s gesture at that moment, which is partly hidden in the screenshot.



Example 4.7:

Note: BT is the back translation from any content in Chinese. The drawing of the pointing gesture indicates E's gesture at a moment, which is not captured by the screenshot, when the movement went outside of the screen. The grey shadowed areas indicate the gesture movements concerned.

1 E: ...the entire time that I have been camping I have seen **two** bears uh...



Figure 4.7.1

2 and it was never close like just be safe like taking **everything** that has a scent



Figure 4.7.2

3 and **put it out of your tent** and **hide it on the tree** like a hundred yards away



Figure 4.7.3

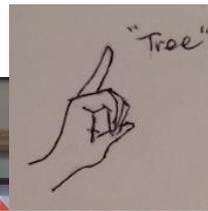


Figure 4.7.4

4 and it's really okay

5 I: 其实也没有那么可怕啦 就是我在这么多次出去玩 只见过**两次**熊 而且不是特别近的 但是呢 有一些措施呢你要做 就是把那种有气味的东西 就把它拿出来 然后把食物**挂在树上**

6 (BT: in fact it's not that scary for the many times I have been out camping I have only seen bears **twice** and not very close but there are some steps you have to



Figure 4.7.5

7 take that is to take out food that has a scent and then **hang them on the tree**)



Figure 4.7.6

Example 4.8:

1 E: Are they all presented in this kind of way are they in this kind of way



Figure 4.8.1

2 I: 他们是不是长得都一样啊 就是那个瓶子的外包装都是一样的吗?

3 (BT: Do they all look the same? the packaging of the bottles
/are they the same?)



I's Open-hand gesture (with left hand)

Figure 4.8.2

4 C: 外包装有一点 (.) 区别: [

5 I: [a slight difference]

6 C: [当然是这个外包装最漂亮啦]

7 (BT: Of course, this packaging is the most beautiful one.)

C's Open-hand gesture →
(with both hands)



Figure 4.8.3

Example 4.9:

1 E: Sometimes (.) my pain goes right down my leg

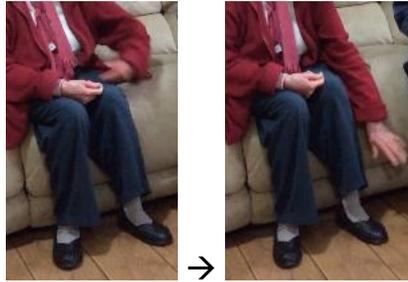


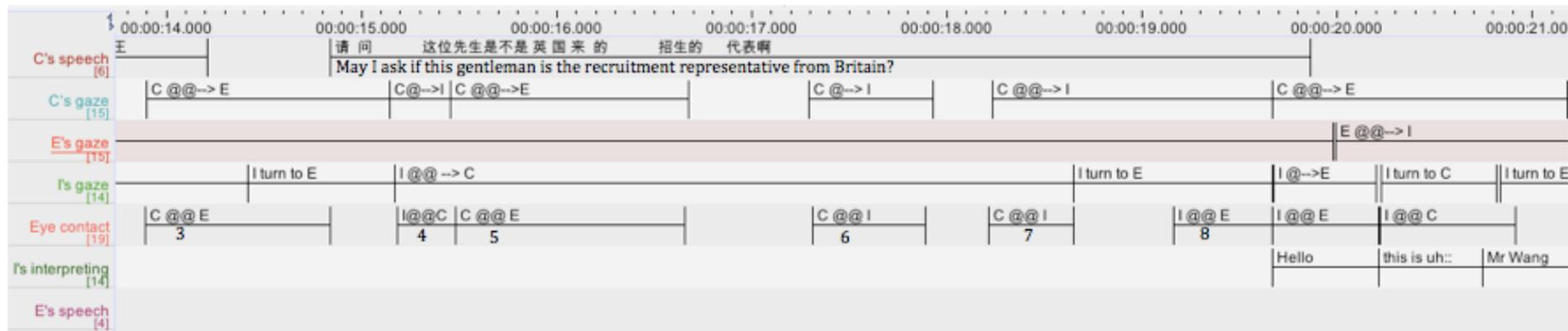
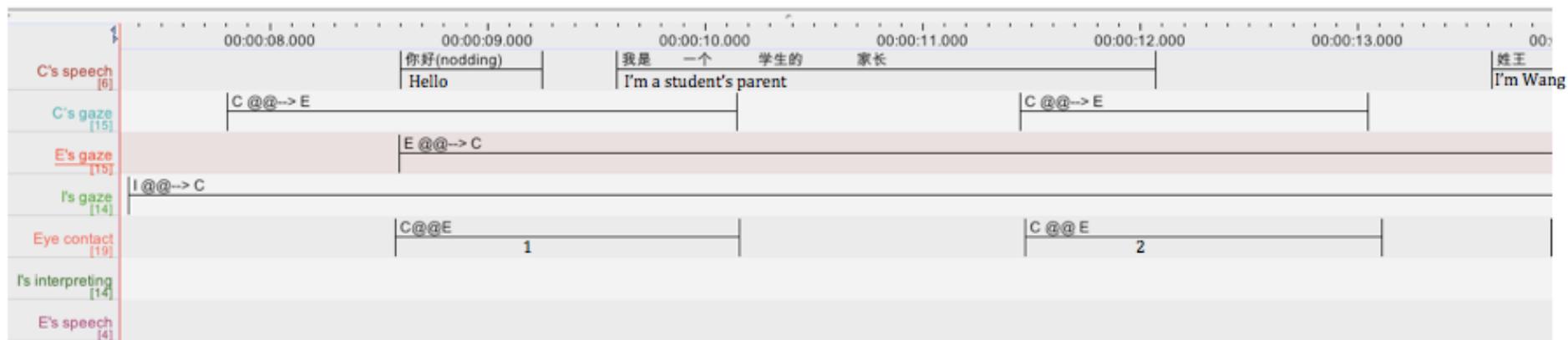
Figure 4.9.1

2 I: 有时候这个疼在背上 一路延迟到我到脚

3 (BT: Sometimes this pain on the back extends all the way to my leg)

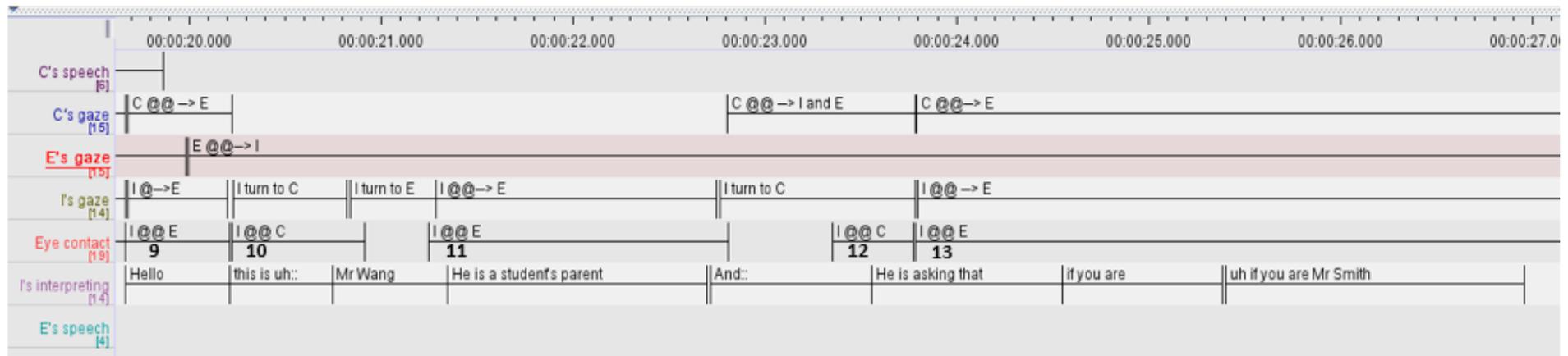


Figure 4.9.2



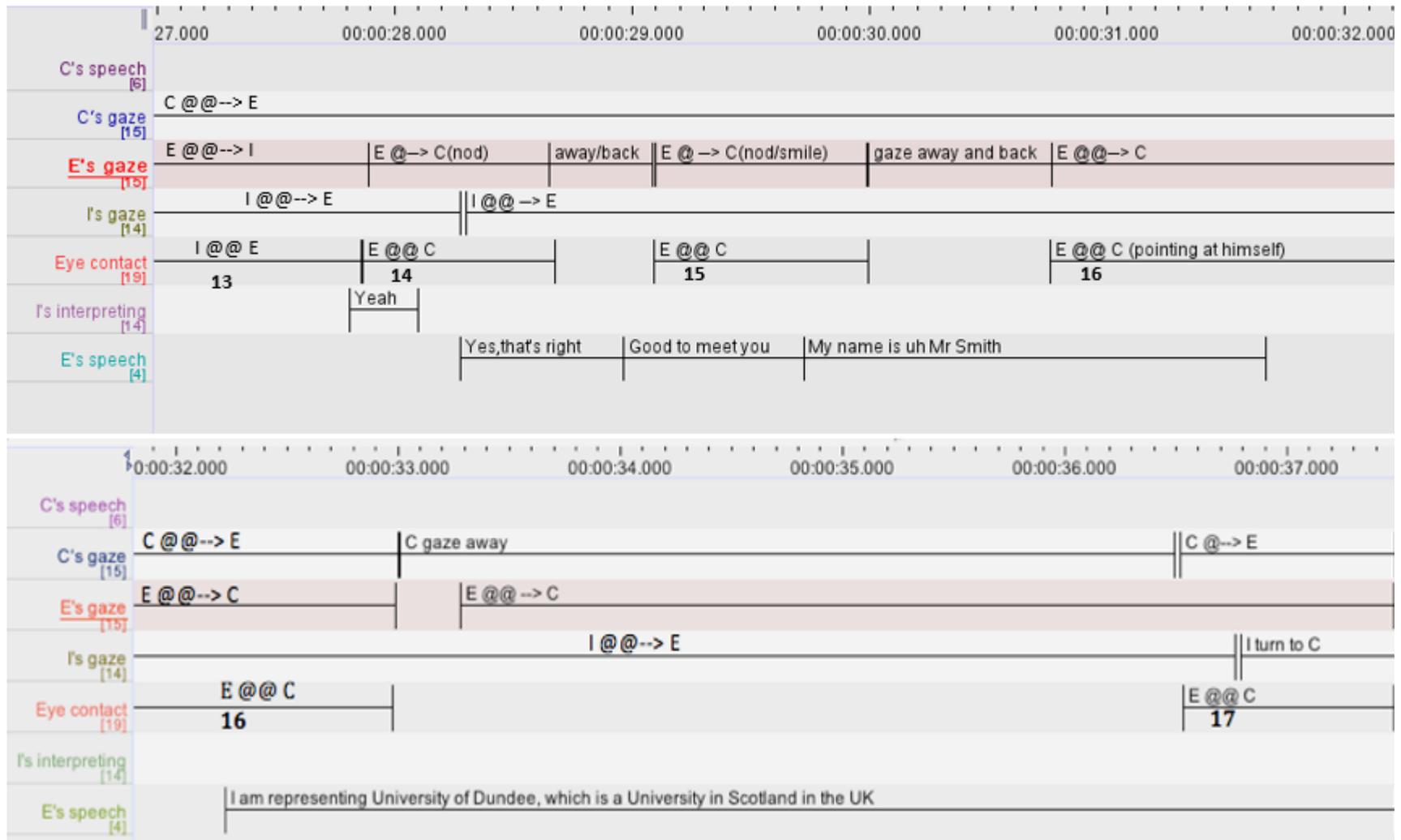
Transcript 1.1

Note: “@@@->” shows a sustained long gaze with a direction shown by the arrow; “@->” shows a brief gaze with a direction; “@@@” in between refers to a mutual gaze or eye contact. In the first line of C's speech, it includes C's speech in Chinese and its back-translation in English.

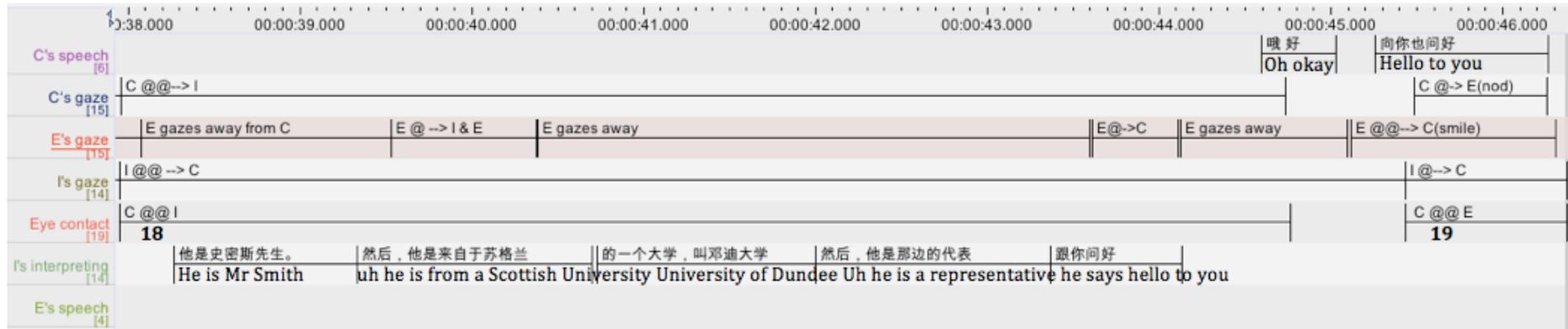


Transcript 1.2

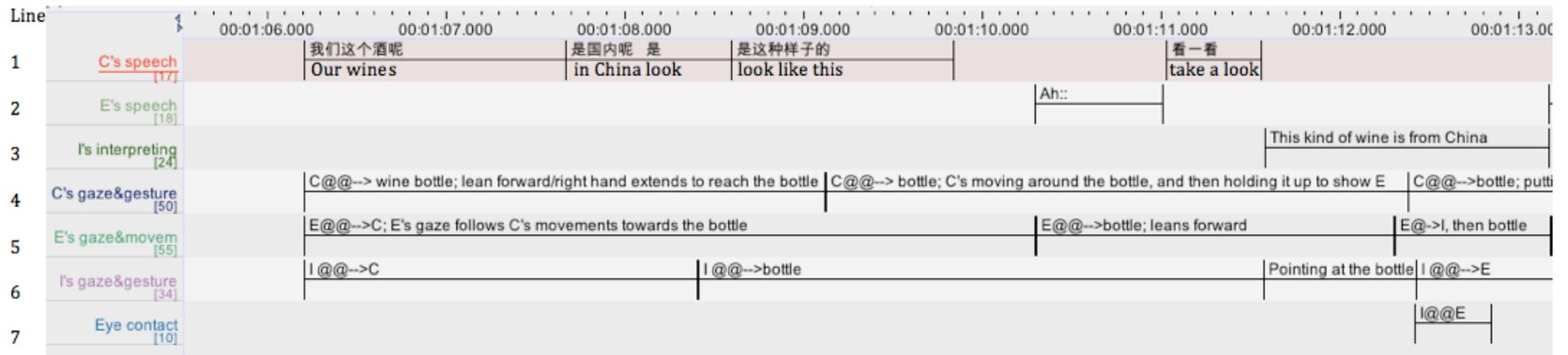
Note: “@@->” shows a sustained long gaze with a direction shown by the arrow; “@->” shows a brief gaze with a direction; “@@” in between refers to a mutual gaze or eye contact.



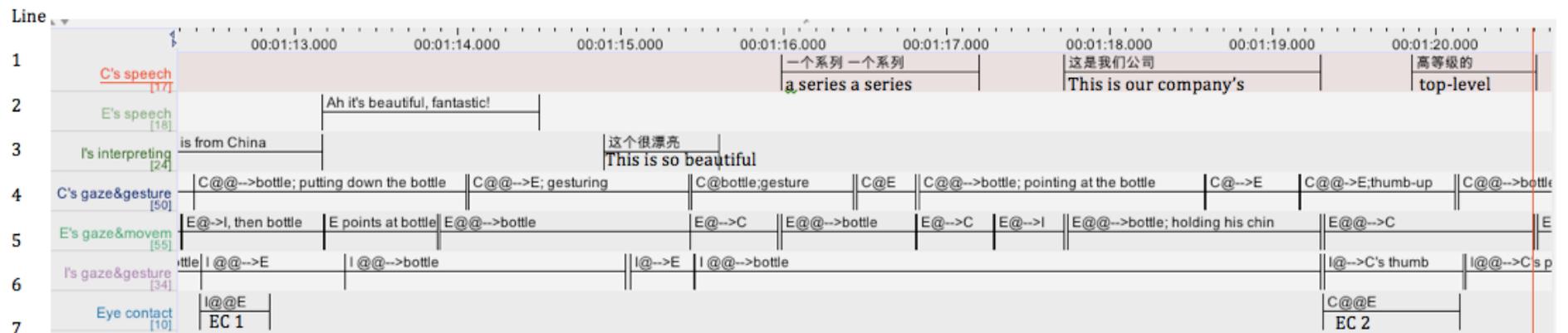
Transcript 1.3



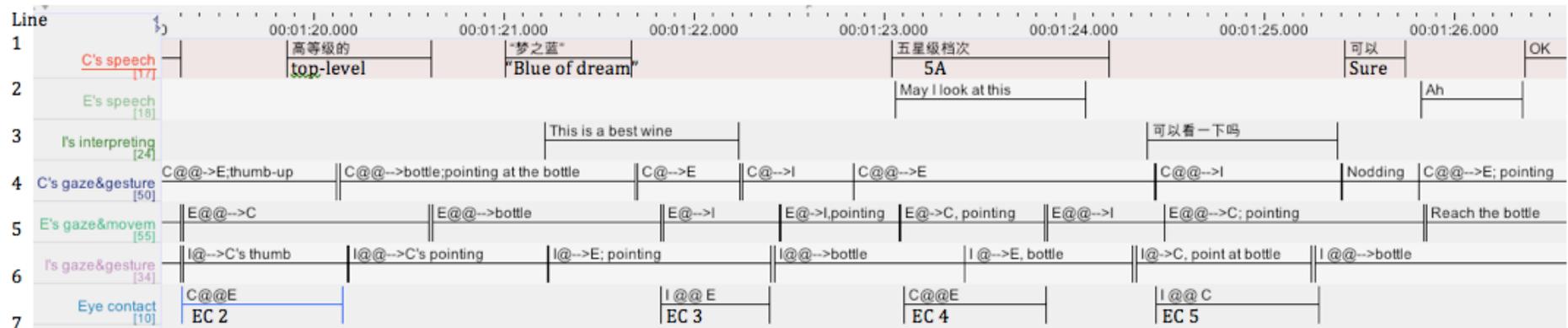
Transcript 1.4



Transcript 2.1



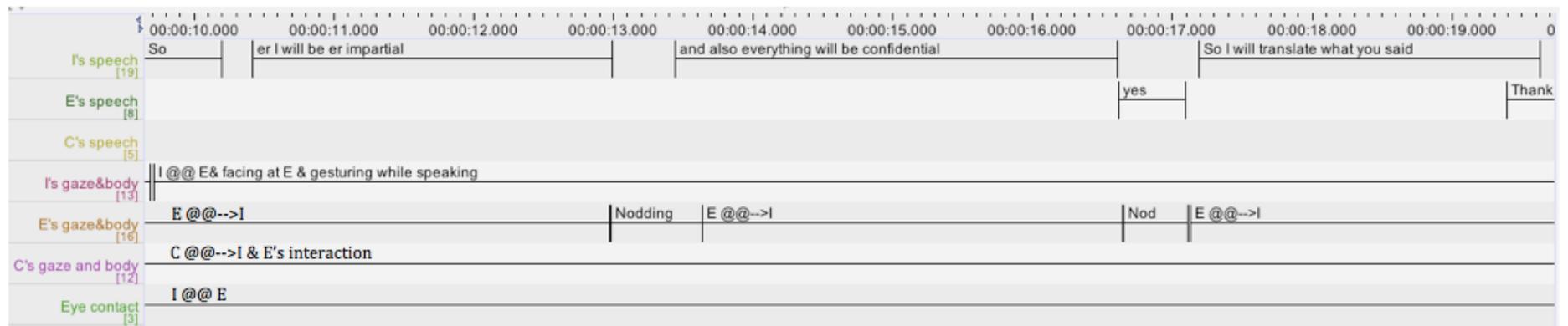
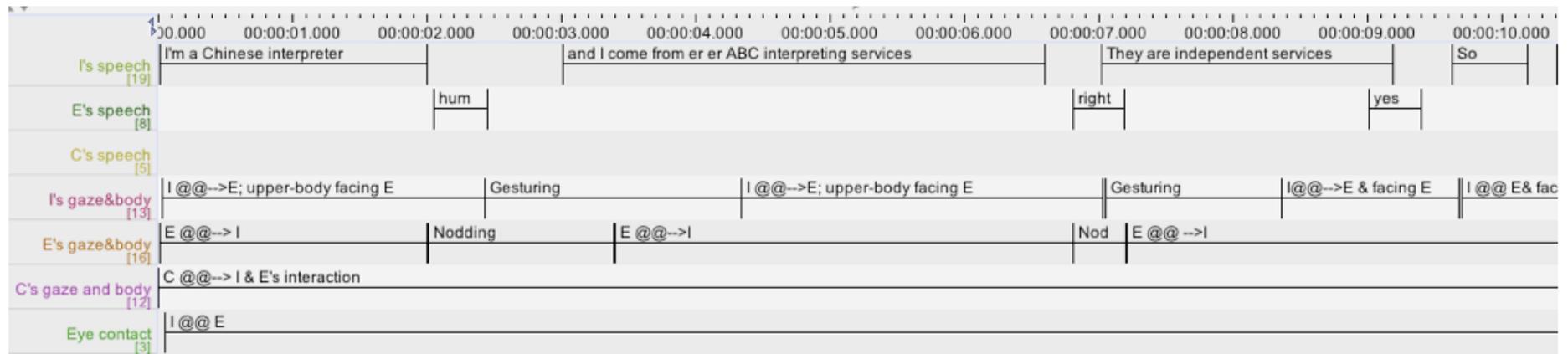
Transcript 2.2



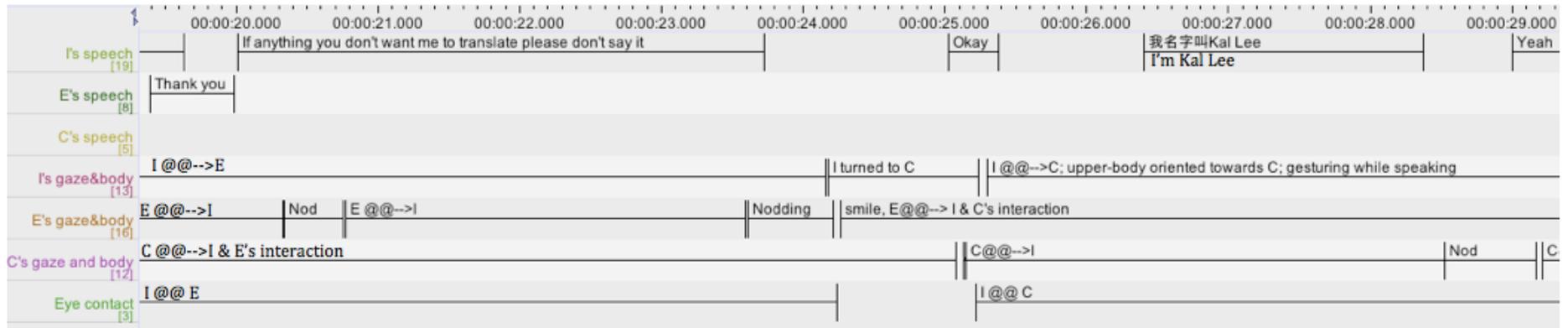
Transcript 2.3



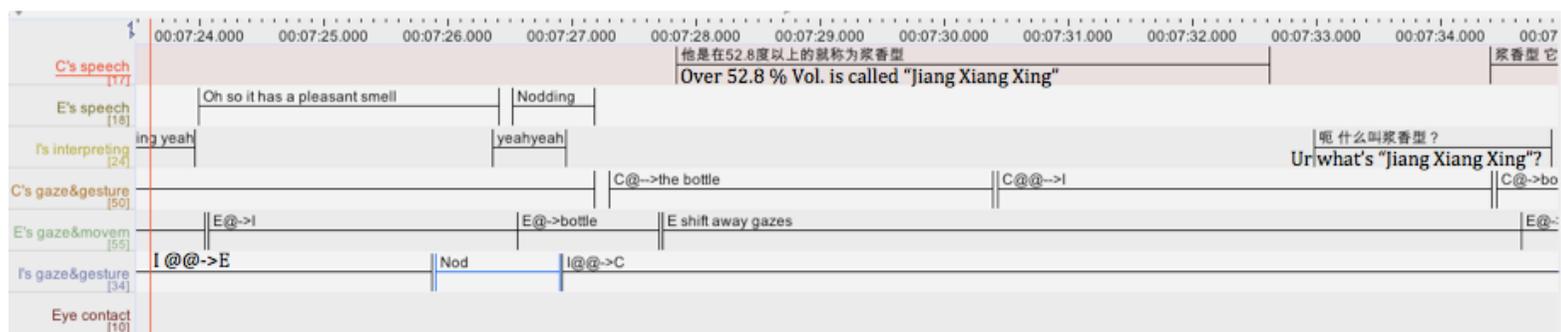
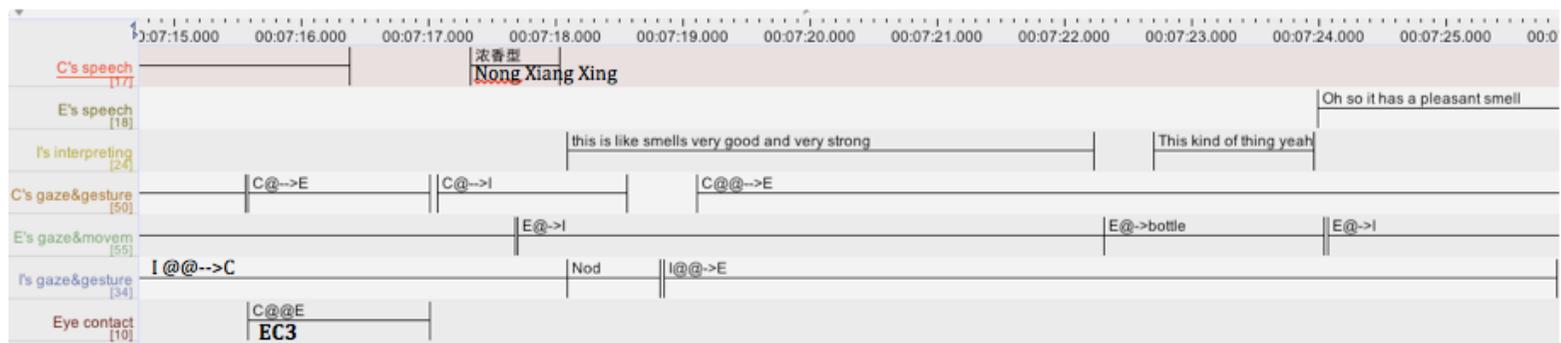
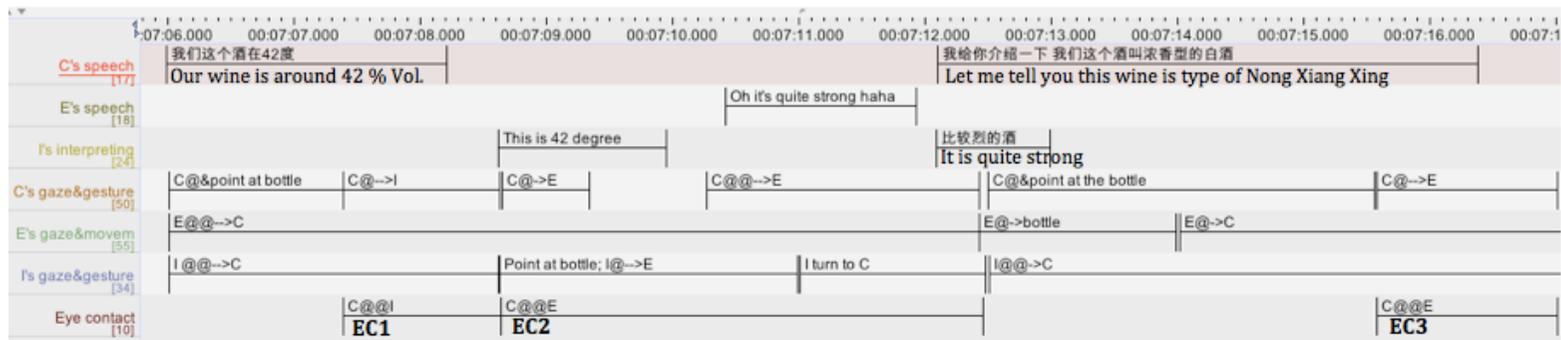
Transcript 2.4



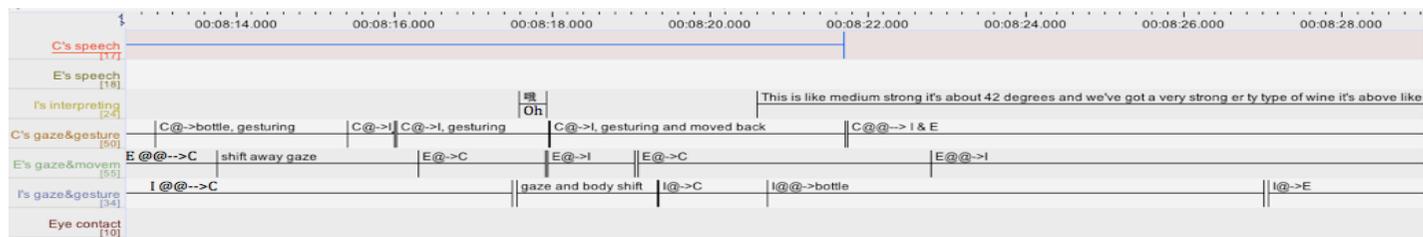
Transcript 3.1



Transcript 3.2



Transcript 4.1



Transcript 4.2

Transcript 4.3

Note: I refers to the interpreter. C the Chinese speaker; BT means back translation of an original Chinese version.

- 1 *I (BT):* What is 'Jiang Xiang Xing'?
- 2 *C (BT):* Jiang Xiang Xing has a different fragrance to this bottle. For instance, the Chinese Mao Tai wine is a type of 'Jiang Xiang Xing'. It belongs to high strength alcohol. Some people have adapted to drink it. Take China's geological location as an example. Divided into south and north. Like people in the northeast, or people in Mongolia, they all enjoy drinking high strength alcohol. Their regions are cold. And the prairie region is rather cold. Drink this type of alcohol is to keep warm. That's it. So in our region, people drink the ones with alcohol strength below 52.8%. Then, above 52% alcohol strength is regarded as high strength, and this one around 40% alcohol strength as medium, and then even lower one below 38% as low strength. Divided into these three types.
- 3 *I:* This is like medium strong it's about 42 degrees and we've got a very strong er ty type of wine it's above like er 50 52.8 是不是? (*BT: was it 52.8?*) 52.8 degrees It's very strong but some people just like this kind of wine and like 还有更低的是吧? (*BT: Also lower strength ones, right?*) the lower oh the lowest type is about 60 er er it's about 36 degrees



Transcript 4.4

Example 6.1

- 1 C: 他（们）是不是像我们中国一样按学分制的啊？
BT: *Do they use an academic credit system like we do in China?*
(C and I are looking at each other.)
- 2 I: Ah::: em::: did you take scores? in universities? like China?
(I turned away from C and is gazing to E.)
- 3 E: °I'm sorry I am not quite sure what's the question.°
(E's upper body is leaning slightly towards I.)
- 4 I: Yeah yeah er just er er the SCORE SYSTEM.
(moving around her body; raising left hand)
- 5 E: (0.1) BEFORE you go to university:
(raising eye brows; both hands moving from one side to another)
- 6 I: NO! No no! Just IN university=
(headshakes; pointing inwardly)
=did you take SCORES=LIKE take ex[[ams and
(moving both hands) (raising left hand)
- 7 E: [[Oh scores = ex[cuse me]
- 8 I: [Er yeah]
(nodding)
- 9 E: .hhh OH:::YES Yes, WHAt happen is er:::you take=
(raising both hands)
- 10 = do you mean, before you enter or:::
(moving both hands from one side to another)
- 11 I: Er after you enter=after you enter
(headshakes; moving one hand)
- 12 E: RIGHT=Oh, so the GRADING system.
(nodding) (chopping gesture)
- 13 I: YEAH, yeah, yeah, the grading [system = annual exams
(nodding) (gesturing)



Figure 6.0 Chopping gesture

14 E: [Oh:::right, yes]
 Yes, yes, we do.
 (nodding)

Example 6.2

1 C: 威士忌不算白酒啊? (1.0)
 2 BT: Isn't whisky same as white wine?
 (waving hand)
 3 I: Er::: whisky is not a kind of white er white wine?
 (I@@-->E) (moving hand)
 4 E: NO NO whisky is not a wine (.) whisky is made from
 (waving hand; E@@->C) (E@@-->I)
 5 malt and barley (.) so it's made from er::: [[
 (hand movements)
 6 → I: [[WhWhat's malt and barley?
 (hand movements)
 7 E: =Like a kind of (.) similar to a kind of grass with with corns on it
 (hands mimicking the shape of grass and corns)
 8 I: Ah:::
 (nodding)
 9 E: [[So it's a
 10 I: [[it's er a plant?
 (hand movement)
 11 E: Yes yes [[
 12 → I: [[it's a plant, okay
 (nodding)
 13 E: yes but it's made from a very very different process
 (hand movement)
 14 I: Em
 (nodding)
 15 E: Er SO it's er::: (.) somewhat more like brandy or something like that.
 (frowning) (hands movements)

- 16 I: Ah::
(*I turned around C.*)
- 17 I: =它其实不是白酒，它是一种就是比较特殊的长得有点像草
但它上面那有一颗一颗籽的一种植物提炼做出来的。
- 18 BT: =it is not white wine It's made from a plant looking a bit like grass
But there are lots of seeds on the top it's made from that plant
(*hand movements when describing the "plant"*)
- 19 C: 哦::
20 BT: Oh::
21 I: 它的那个口感可能会更像白兰地多一点
22 BT: It tastes maybe a bit more like brandy
(*hand movement*)
- 23 C: 像白兰地 哦 白兰地=我知道
24 BT: Like brandy OH brandy=I see
(*nodding*)

Example 6.3

Note: the Chinese participant's (C) utterances are back translated into English for the convenience of data analysis.

- 1 C: This is type of Chinese wine produced here in China.
(*move around the bottle*)
- 2 E: [Ah::
(*E was looking at the bottle*)
- 3 C: Please take a look.
(*Joint attention on the bottle*)



Figure 6.1 Pointing gesture

- 15 I: [Shanghai is here]
- 16 C: [看浙江 这是上海] (*BT: look for Zhejiang Here is Shanghai*)
- 17 I: yeah Shanghai
- .
- .
- .
- 22 → I: 北京污染很多吧? (*frowning*)
(*BT: Doesn't Beijing have so much pollution?*)
- 23 C: 北京 额 他治理得还可以
(*Beijing uh they have put in place some environmental control*)
- 24 → I: 还可以? (*curled his lips*)
(*BT: So it is fine?*)
- 25 C: 哎
(*BT: Yeah*)

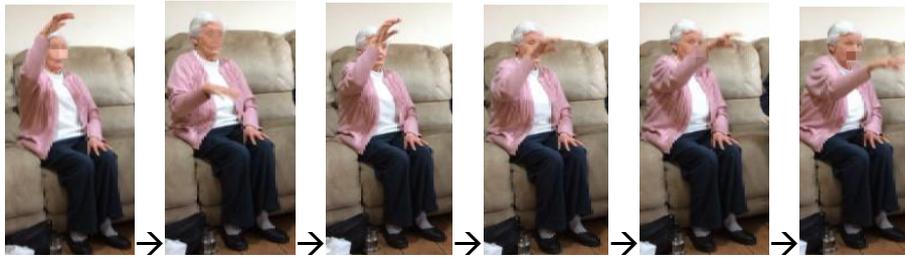
Example 6.5

- 1 E: Once I went to visit in Guangzhou and I saw student dormitory
=there were sixteen students in one dormitory=
- 2 I: Oh:::
- 3 E: =that was a long time ago (.) is that still the same?
- 4 I: 她她以前也去过这个广州 (BT: She went to Guangzhou before)
- 5 C: 嗯::: (BT: um:::)
- 6 I: 看到这个学生住的[地方
(BT: She saw the students' [living places)
- 7 C: [广州不好 (BT: [Guangzhou is no good)
(headshakes)
- 8 I: [人很多]还有十来多个人住在一个房间里面这个这个情况=
(BT: [So many people] and more than ten students living in one room
this this situation=)
- 9 C: [广州大啊] (BT: Guangzhou is big)
- 10 I: =她说这个是很久的事情啦 (BT: She said this was long time ago)
- 11 C: 嗯::: (BT: um:::)
(nodding)
- 12 I: 不过现在有没有改变好啦 有没有改好了
(BT: Has the situation changed by now Is it better now)
- 13 C: 现在要真正是入到学校以后啊 嗯 那情况都比过去要好得多了
(BT: Now if you enter the university, the accommodation situation is
much better than it was in the past)
- 14 I: Ok The situation has changed a lot now=it changed better now
- 15 E: right (nodding) Oh good
- 16 I: Yeah (nodding)
- 17 E: So not all students sleep in dormitories
- 18 → I: Ok 这个没有 没有学生住 dormitory 是什么意思呢 额:::
(BT: no no students living in what does dormitory mean Eh:::)
dormitory=how do you (gesturing)
- 19: → E: just one room with (.) bunks



Figure 6.1

one student one student one student one student one student one student



Figures 6.2 – 6.7

20 I: [like-

21 → C: [哦:: 上下床

(BT: Oh:: bunkbed)



Figures 6.8-6.9

22 I: 啊! 上下床 (BT: Ah! bunkbed)

(I @ @-->C, nodding)

.
.
.

30 C: 现在不像那样啦 (BT: now is not like in the past)

31 I: Ok