

What do we *actually* do to make calls work? Exploring the role of New Zealand Sign Language video interpreters.

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Abstract

Video interpreting is emerging as a specialised setting, in which signed language interpreters conduct their work online, facilitating interactions between deaf and hearing callers. This study explores the role of five skilled and experienced New Zealand Sign Language video interpreters. Discourse analysis was used to examine naturalistic mock video relay calls in order to understand interpreter decision-making at a detailed level. The study also draws on Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's (2014) role-space theory to explore the different roles interpreters adopted across the dataset, and the ways they transitioned between these. I approached this study as a 'practisearcher'; that is, an experienced video interpreter drawing on my own professional knowledge to inform the study design.

The study reveals what video interpreters actually do to make video relay calls work. Their decisions are often driven by overall call goals, not only by translation choices at a message level. Findings highlight dynamic role shifts that occur particularly during call openings and closings. At times interpreters take a high level of control over the call, actively managing participants' turn-taking to ensure smooth flow of the conversation, or to navigate challenges such as automatic menus or answerphone messages. Interpreters personalise their greetings and engage in social talk with callers. They act as allies with callers, saving face for the deaf caller who may have less awareness of telephone etiquette, and conforming to hearing callers' telephone etiquette expectations.

The findings challenge current expectations of the video interpreting role and demonstrate that the role(s) interpreters are actually performing are far more complex than the conduit-influenced role that is prescribed within the industry.

Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Contents.....	3
List of Figures	6
List of Tables	6
List of Excerpts	6
List of Appendices.....	6
Attestation of Authorship.....	7
Acknowledgements	7
Chapter 1: Introduction and background	10
1.1 Motivation and aims of the study	11
1.2 Significance of the study	12
1.3 Structure of the thesis.....	12
Chapter 2: Literature Review	14
2.1 Introduction.....	14
2.2 Perspectives on interpreter role	14
2.2.1 The helper model	14
2.2.2 Conduit/Machine.....	15
2.2.3 Interpreter as Ally.....	16
2.2.4 Interpreter as participant.....	18
2.2.5 Interpreter role-space	19
2.3 Video interpreting	22
2.3.1 The dynamics of video interpreted interaction	22
2.3.2 Recent video interpreting research	23
2.3.3 VI role and interactional challenges	25
2.3.4 Interpreting using first person.....	28
2.3.5 Presentation of self and participant alignment	29
2.3.6 Contextual knowledge, relational work, and familiarity.....	29
2.3.7 Telephone etiquette.....	31
2.3.8 Turn-taking in the VI call.....	32
2.4 Conclusion	33
Chapter 3: Research Method	34

3.1 Introduction.....	34
3.2 Theoretical framework and approach to the study of interpreting	34
3.3 Study participants.....	35
3.4 Ethical considerations.....	36
3.5 Data collection	37
3.6 Transcription and analysis	41
3.7 Conclusion	42
Chapter 4: Interpreter role in video-interpreted call openings and closings.....	43
4.1 Introduction.....	43
4.2 Overview of the dataset: tasks performed by interpreters	43
4.3 Preliminary analysis of interpreter role-space.....	45
4.4 Social engagement	46
4.5 Interpreter role during call opening	49
4.6 Closings of calls.....	59
4.7 Conclusion	65
Chapter 5: Interaction Management during video interpreted calls.....	67
5.1 Introduction.....	67
5.2 Interaction management across the dataset.....	67
5.3 Overt interaction management in video interpreting	68
5.3.1 Automated Menus.....	68
5.3.2 Answering Machines.....	74
5.4 Covert interaction management and advocacy.....	80
5.5 Conclusion	85
Chapter 6: Discussion/Conclusion	86
6.1 Introduction.....	86
6.2 Summary of the study.....	86
6.2.1 Research question 1: What role(s) do NZVI adopt in facilitating video calls between deaf and hearing NZVIS users?.....	87
6.2.2 Research question 2: How do NZVI manage both deaf and hearing caller expectations and goals?	88
6.2.3 Research question 3: How does this description of NZVI role compare to the prescribed role?	89
6.3 Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.....	89
6.4 Implications for policy and the Code of Ethics.	90

6.5 Implications for interpreter education and professional development..... 91
6.6 Conclusion 92
Reference list..... 93
Appendices.....100

List of Figures

Figure 1: NZVIS interpreter working with a deaf person on screen.	11
Figure 2: Layout of room and interpreting booths.	40
Figure 3: Proportions of time spent on tasks across all calls.	44

List of Tables

Table 1: The three role-space axes.	19
Table 2: Interpreter participants' background information.	36
Table 3: Actor's background information.	36
Table 4: Examples of social engagement in the dataset.	46
Table 5: Phrasing used by interpreters connecting with the hearing caller during opening phase. ..	50
Table 6: Phrasing used by interpreters connecting with the deaf caller during the opening phase. ..	50
Table 7: Ashleigh's role-space in excerpt 1.	54
Table 8: Simon's role-space in excerpt 2.	58
Table 9: Role-space in call closings across the data set.	59
Table 10: Annie's role-space in excerpt 3.	62
Table 11: Barbara's role-space in excerpt 4.	64
Table 12: Negotiating the pre-recorded statement in an automated menu.	69

List of Excerpts

Excerpt 1: "Is there anybody you fancy calling?"	51
Excerpt 2: "Very familiar sounding voice there?"	55
Excerpt 3: "Alright then cheers"	61
Excerpt 4: "I'll be in touch alright, so I'll say bye for now"	63
Excerpt 5, Part 1: "PERSONAL INSURANCE LIST-1, BUSINESS INSURANCE LIST-2"	71
Excerpt 6: "RING WHAT FOR?"	73
Excerpt 7: "STOP YOU-EXPLAIN-TO-ME INFORMATION"	74
Excerpt 8: "HEY CALL WHO? CALL WHO?"	77
Excerpt 10: "I'm having surgery, I'd really need to know what's going on"	80
Excerpt 11: "ah, your saying avocados is it?"	82

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Advertisement to video interpreters asking for participation in the study	101
Appendix B: Participant information sheet	102
Appendix C: Participant consent and release form	104
Appendix D: Demographic questionnaire	105
Appendix E: AUTEK ethics approval	107
Appendix F: Script for mock calls	108
Appendix G: Transcript conventions	110
Appendix H: NZSL translations in English	111

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signature

Friday 3rd Sept 2021
Date

Ethical approval for this study was granted by the AUT Ethics Committee, application 19/192.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and background

The government-funded New Zealand Video Interpreting Service (NZVIS) was established in 2009 in Auckland initially to enable deaf people to participate in telephone calls (Bailey, 2017). The national service is free to use and supports New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL) users to communicate with hearing people who do not use NZSL. Napier, McKee, and Goswell (2018) suggest that video interpreting services have been well received by the deaf^[1] community who enjoy the convenience and comfort of making calls in signed language, complete with facial expressions portraying emotion, tone and meaning. Hearing callers also appreciate natural sounding calls in real time as opposed to typed relay calls which are known to be awkward or stilted at times (Mindess, 2006; Napier et al., 2018).

Today, video interpreting technology provides access to a range of services enabling deaf people to participate in telecommunications and virtual meetings with healthcare services, courts, police, social services, job enquiries, and businesses or personal relations about almost anything with the ease and convenience of the readily available video interpreter (Brunson, 2008; Lang, 2002; Mindess, 2006; Napier et al., 2018a). These modern advances in online interpreting services have gathered huge momentum over the past decade, and a new profession has emerged – ‘Video Remote Interpreting’ (Koller & Pöchhacker, 2018; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014).

Pöchhacker (2004) used the term ‘technologisation of interpreting’ to describe the changing work environment of signed language interpreters, who are increasingly being employed as teleworkers based in call centres. This is a vastly different mode of delivery of signed language interpreting compared to the traditional community-based, face-to-face interpreting. The current Covid-19 pandemic has impacted the face-to-face nature of interpreting, and has seen demand increase for online video interpreting, especially during lockdowns and social distancing restrictions (De Meulder et al., 2021). It is possible that in the future more signed language interpreters will work from home, or call centres, dealing daily with multiple communications, and will no longer have concerns about travel routes, distances, traffic, or parking (Mindess, 2006; Tyer, 2018).

^[1] Following conventions in academic writing, uppercase ‘D’ Deaf is used in connection with the Deaf community, a cultural and linguistic minority that uses a signed language as a preferred language. Lowercase ‘d’ deaf is used to describe deaf people, without making judgement on their linguistic or cultural status.

The New Zealand Video interpreting Service provides three types of calls:

- 1) video remote interpreted sessions used by deaf and hearing people who are together in the same location, communicating via a remote interpreter,
- 2) Online meetings or discussions where all participants can see and hear each other.
- 3) video interpreted calls, where each of the three participants (the deaf person, the hearing person, and the interpreter) is located in an independent physical space. In this type of call, the video interpreter is based in a call centre and uses computer technology, for example Skype, and a separate telephone line to connect all three participants. The interpreter is the only participant in the telephone call interaction who has direct access to all other participants. The other two participants cannot see or hear each other and are able to communicate only via the interpreter (Bailey, 2017). This thesis focuses on the role of the interpreter in the latter type - video interpreted relay calls. The image in Figure 1 illustrates the work of a New Zealand Signed Language video interpreter who is connecting a deaf person (on screen) to a telephone call through the use of a headset.

Figure 1: NZVIS interpreter working with a deaf person on screen



Photo and permission for its use in this thesis was provided by CSDNZLTD management (2020).

1.1 Motivation and aims of the study

The study reported on here set out to address a gap in literature, specifically the unresearched topic of signed language video interpreting in New Zealand, to gain an understanding about the role of interpreters in this emerging video interpreting profession. It was motivated by my own

professional practice. For a decade I had been working as a New Zealand video interpreter, and became increasingly aware of a disconnect between expectations of what we do, and what we actually do to make video calls work. In 2016 I conducted a pilot study in which I examined the role/s I adopted in my video interpreting work, and this identified some differences between industry guidelines and what I was actually doing (see section 2.3.3 below). This prompted me to undertake the current thesis study, in order to explore the role/s of video interpreters based on a larger pool of interpreters working in situ.

The research questions that the thesis aims to answer are:

1. What role(s) do New Zealand video interpreters (NZVI) adopt in facilitating video calls between deaf and hearing NZ Video Interpreting Service (NZVIS) users?
2. How do NZVI manage both deaf and hearing caller expectations and goals?
3. How does this description of role compare to the prescribed role?

1.2 Significance of the study

This study is the first analysis of video interpreting in New Zealand, which means that our current understanding of the video interpreter role is based solely on international research and industry guidelines. I am aware of the value of the knowledge held by those with experience in the field. This study aims to examine what they do, and to analyse their skills. Study findings could assist emerging video interpreters as they enter the profession, and may provide research-based evidence for reshaping video interpreter training and industry guidelines. Therefore, the study will serve as a foundation for further video interpreting research in New Zealand.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the literature and begins with discussion of the evolution of interpreting models, including role-space (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014) upon which the current study draws. This chapter also explores our current understanding of video interpreter role, based on international research. Chapter 3 outlines the research methods used in the study. Chapters 4

and 5 present the data analysis and findings. Chapter 4 focuses on the interpreter role-space during openings and closings of calls, and how this compares to company-prescribed scripts and instructions. The focus of Chapter 5 narrows to interaction management and the overt strategies video interpreters employ to manage automatic menus and answerphones. This chapter also explores covert interaction management strategies and interpreters' engagement in advocacy mid-call. Finally, the overall study findings are summarised in chapter 6, and implications such as professional development and education for employers and video interpreters are discussed.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides context for the thesis, by exploring relevant research literature relating to the field of video interpreting, as well as our understanding of interpreter role. It begins with a discussion of interpreting models and how perspectives on the role of the interpreter have changed over the years. As part of this, the theory of interpreter role-space (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014) is introduced, which is the framework upon which this study is based. The chapter then focuses on a review of video interpreting research, including discussing the unique interactional demands of this interpreting setting, as well as our current understanding of video interpreter role.

2.2 Perspectives on interpreter role

Interpreter role is the set of behaviours adopted by interpreters as they perform the task of facilitating communication between people who speak different languages. There are many different perceptions about the role the signed language interpreter occupies. There is variation of expectations among employers, clients, and interpreters around how interpreters should conduct themselves (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014). This study views interpreters as active and visible participants in interaction, who co-construct dialogue with the primary participants, rather than remaining passive and invisible (see Angelelli, 2004; Henley, 2018; Major, 2019; Metzger, 1999; Napier, 2007; Wadensjö, 1998). In order to understand this definition of interpreter role, it is useful first to outline how perceptions of role have changed over the decades. This can help us to understand why there are still different understandings even now of exactly what it is that interpreters (and specifically video interpreters) do.

2.2.1 The helper model

The earliest signed language interpreters in New Zealand and around the world were not professionally recognised or compensated for their time, nor did they receive formal training. This early model of interpreting was named 'the helper' (see McKee et al., 2009). Helper interpreters were often family members, teachers, neighbours, or close friends known to deaf people, with a focus on helping them overcome communication barriers (Lang, 2002; McKee et al., 2009). The helper model was not empowering for deaf people as it encouraged co-dependency and had a deficit focus of deafness as a disability, reflecting attitudes that deaf individuals were unable to manage their own

affairs (Roy, 1993). The helper model came to be seen as out of date, patronising and unprofessional (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014; McKee et al., 2009; Napier et al., 2018b). 'Deaf empowerment' politics developed from the mid 1980's and growth of formalised services/accomodations that increased deaf and disables people's capacity to access society more independently.

2.2.2 The conduit/machine model

Attempts to professionalise the field of interpreting in the late 1970s and early 1980s, led to interpreters being taught according to the 'conduit' or 'machine model', based on the work of conference interpreters, and drawing on information processing and psycholinguistics theories (Pöchacker, 2015). The conduit model focused on message transmission, emphasising interpreter impartiality, neutrality, objectivity and faithfulness as being essential to interpreter role. Interpreters were expected to interpret everything (including background noise, regardless of its relevance to the task at hand), and not to influence communication in any way. Interpreters were taught to keep a professional distance by conducting themselves in an impersonal manner, to simply relay language, not to initiate communication or respond to questions directed toward them (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014; McIntire & Sanderson, 1993; Napier et al., 2018a; Witter-Merithew, 1986).

The conduit model was the extreme opposite of the helper model, idealistically designed to empower deaf people to have complete control over their interactions. The conduit interpreter attempted to achieve invisibility, going so far as specifying that the deaf participant should introduce the interpreter (Dysart-Gale, 2005; Leeson & Foley-Cave, 2007; Mindess, 2006). Neumann Solow (1981) used the analogy of a telephone to describe the interpreter as a communication link between two people, without contributing any influence on communication, although she recognised that cultural background could assist interpreters in achieving equivalent meaning.

The conduit interpreting role is now considered by many researchers to be problematic and outdated (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014) because it does not recognise the interpreter as a participant in interaction (Metzger, 1999). Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) explain however, that the conduit approach is still pervasive today in the minds of some clients and agencies. The misconception that the machine interpreter is best often leads to strict stipulations in guidelines and contracts by employers of interpreters (Alley, 2012; Bailey, 2017; Brunson, 2011; Springer 2010). Employers of interpreters often have minimal understanding of their role, and struggle to move past the simplicity

of the machine model (Beaton & Hauser, 2008; Kurlander, 2008; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014). It is not surprising that many interpreters still endeavour to adhere to the conduit model of interpreting they were trained to practise in (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014), and encourage clients to imagine they are invisible by using phrases such as “imagine I’m not here” and “just ignore me” (Dickenson & Turner, 2009).

2.2.3 Interpreter as ally

Power imbalances sometimes require an interpreter to act as an ally, by contributing to the conversation or supporting the goals of the deaf community, to achieve an improved balance of power (Pokorn & Južnič, 2020; Witter-Merithew, 1999). The ‘interpreter as ally’ model is based on the theories of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, believing that ignoring oppression perpetuates the status quo, thereby hindering change. Freire encourages the dominant class to collaborate with the disempowered groups in order to strive for a greater balance of power oppressed or exploited, while allowing the change to be self actualised (Marianacci, 2018; Witter-Merithew, 1999).

Baker-Shenk (1985) argued that ally interpreters use their professional and personal networks to assist the deaf community in furthering that community's agenda. Experienced interpreters can develop an awareness of the types of access barriers that deaf people face through repeated exposure, some in the field have applied the ally perspective to explain decision-making in interpreting situations. Sometimes the interpreter is the person with the most expertise in an interaction, holding valuable knowledge, which when contributed can resolve system failures (Pokorn & Južnič, 2020; Witter-Merithew, 1999). In her (1999) work, Witter-Merithew gives several case study examples of interpreters working as allies in mental health, medical, and legal settings. She reports one case where a court interpreter (identifying that the defence lawyer would not know where to find information without assistance), provided details of resources and experts in the field of deaf people and their rights. Brennan (1999) also argues for interpreters to act as advocates in such settings, emphasising the power disparities in court settings. In Roy's (2000) study, the interpreter creates and contributes an original utterance which influences the outcome of the interaction. Roy argues that rather than violating professional codes, the ‘spirit and intent’ of the message was interpreted, and should be the first commandment of any interpreting code (Roy, 2000).

Davidson's (2000) study of Spanish-English interpreters working at an outpatient clinic, described interpreters as practising a daily role that was quite different from the job that they are typically assumed to be doing. Davidson found that interpreter role included establishing 'therapeutic rapport' with patients, collecting and analysing patient data, and acting as gatekeeper to keep medical interviews 'on track', by being selective in what they interpreted, as well as keeping the practitioner on schedule. He therefore found that support and training for the true nature of their work was lacking (Davidson, 2000).

There is also sometimes a need for interpreters to engage in intercultural mediation and advocacy, which the ally model accounts for. Pokorn & Južnič (2020) refer to the California Standards for Healthcare Interpreters: Ethical Principles, Protocols, and Guidance on Roles & Intervention (CHIASOP). These standards for interpreters are unique because they allow interpreters to participate in conflict management, cultural instruction, and advocacy, with a recommendation that advocacy should only be used in exceptional cases by experienced and skilled interpreters when the principle of equal opportunities is violated or the dignity/rights of the weaker party are attacked. However, taking on an advocate role involves risk, as it takes expertise to gauge the extent one should contribute; codes of ethics are required guides for novice interpreters to ensure they exercise good judgement (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014; Mikkelsen, 2008).

A sense of guilt is common when interpreters move beyond the conduit definition of role that they may be more familiar with, even though they feel at the time it is the right thing to do. Moving away from established rules feels scary (Fenton, 2001). In the foreword to Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's (2014) book, "Redefining the Role of the Community Interpreter: The concept of role-space", Roy recalls her experience of interpreters having whispered conversations admitting that their conduct in actual situations violated the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) code of ethics (Roy, 2014). Pokorn and Južnič (2020) report a high degree of ethical confusion among interpreting service providers and service users, which may generate distorted expectations of interpreter performance. Discussing such topics is helpful to the profession; we must acknowledge that interpreters do intervene in communication, and are justified in doing so in some circumstances (Mikkelsen, 2008).

2.2.4 Interpreter as participant

The 'interpreter as participant' understanding of role views the interpreter as a visible participant in interaction. Rather than remaining passive, the interpreter is involved in actively managing discourse, and co-constructing the meaning of the interaction with others (Angelelli, 2003; Bolden, 2000; Henley 2018; Major, 2013; Metzger, 1999; Napier et al., 2018; Roy, 1989; Wadensjö, 1998). Prior to these discourse analysis-based studies, which examined what interpreters *actually* do in interaction, models such as the 'conduit' model were based on what people thought interpreters *should* do. Now we know that interpreters inevitably have an effect on interaction because they choose words and expressions which will be influenced by their own experiences; each person's unique world-view reflects their individual background and belief system (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014; Metzger, 1999). Researchers who see interpreters as participants draw on sociolinguistic theories, highlighting cultural and interpersonal aspects of interpreted communication. This approach recognises the situated nature of interpreting.

Sociolinguistic studies have shown that interpreters are not as neutral or machine-like as previously prescribed and cannot remain completely neutral in any interaction nor in their decision-making (Metzger, 1999). Metzger's study of interpreter influence on naturally occurring interactive discourse proposed the 'myth of neutrality', showing that it is impossible for interpreters to remain invisible, no matter how much they may wish to be. Metzger videotaped and examined two medical interviews: one was a mock interpreted interview, and the other was an authentic interpreted pediatric interview. She found interpreter-generated contributions (that is, taking agency beyond only producing renditions of others' talk) are common, and identified examples such as explanations, responses to questions, clarifications, and repetitions. In addition, she provides examples of an interpreter actively managing turn-taking and altering utterances in order to meet the intent of the interaction (see also Bolden, 2000; Davidson, 2000; Major, 2014).

Roy's (2000) analysis of an authentic university interaction between a professor speaking English and a student using American Sign Language, discusses two examples of an interpreter telling a deaf student to wait, because the interpreter understood from the professor's intonation that she had not finished speaking. Wadensjö (1998) provides an account of interpreter-mediated interaction in community settings such as hospitals and police stations, and examines the distribution of

responsibilities and expectations on both the interpreter and other interaction participants. Wadensjö and Roy’s research firmly demonstrates that interpreters are indeed participating in face-to-face interactions to avoid situations that negatively impact participants, as opposed to simply being channels through which interlocutors communicate (Roy 1989/2000; Wadensjö 1992/1998). Research studies by Metzger (1999), Napier et al. (2018), Roy (1989), and Wadensjö (1998) have helped interpreters to understand that their presence and decisions do impact upon interaction. This understanding informs the theoretical framework of the current study.

2.2.5 Interpreter role-space

“There cannot be one approach or set of behaviours that will be appropriate for all interpreters in all interactions. Just as we are different people, so our approaches to interactions with a range of interlocutors will be different. The important point though, is that our behaviours shouldn’t be so unexpected or intrusive that they distract the interlocutors and have a detrimental effect on the interaction” (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p.140).

Llewellyn-Jones and Lee’s (2014) interpreter role-space theory views interpreter role as dynamic and adaptable, depending on the demands at different points in the interaction. They propose that interpreter behaviour is governed by the role-space they construct and occupy in any situation, and they plot this along three axes: ‘participant alignment’, ‘interaction management’, and ‘presentation of self’ which are described in Table 1.

Table 1: The three role-space axes

Participant alignment	How much the interpreter is aligned (or perceived to be aligned) with either interaction participant
Interaction management	How active the interpreter is in managing the interaction
Presentation of self	How visible the interpreter is in the interaction

Role-space theory is based on the foundations that interpreter role is not static; rather the degree to which interpreters allow interlocutors to know who they are, ranges from low to high on a continuum of the three axes, which can shift from moment-to-moment depending on situational dynamics.

Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) explain that prescriptive codes of ethics actually inhibit or make interactions unnatural by de-skilling the interpreter and not allowing their behaviour to follow expected interaction norms (see also Roy, 1993/2002; Springer, 2010). Codes of ethics are

prescriptive in nature and the current Sign Language Interpreters Association of New Zealand (SLIANZ) Code of Ethics states:

“Accuracy means complete and undistorted transfer of the message... Interpreters are not responsible for what the parties communicate, only for complete and accurate transfer of the message. Interpreters observe impartiality during any interpreted encounter and remain unbiased throughout... Interpreters do not allow bias factors to influence their performance; likewise they do not soften, strengthen or alter messages conveyed” (SLIANZ, 2012 p.4).

A prescriptive code may be “so limiting that interpreters find it difficult to maintain” (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014 p.24). The authors also say that prescriptive codes “merely serve to inhibit or de-normalise interactions either by de-skilling one or other of the interlocutors or by introducing, in effect, a third interlocuter who does not play by the rules” (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014 p.9). Prescriptive codes of ethics are problematic and set unrealistic expectations, which can lead to misconceptions about interpreter role, and hinder smooth communication flowing between interpreters and other parties (Springer, 2010). For example, if an interpreter does not play the expected role, or does not answer questions directed at them, or introduce themselves, these are ‘disruptive events’ in terms of interaction norms. This may lead to “driving a wedge” (Springer, 2010 p.21) between them, causing embarrassment, which could lead to the interpreter being considered rude, or to communication break downs (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014). In their survey study of 103 British Sign Language (BSL) interpreters, Tate and Turner (1997) identified the recurring phrase “step out of role” in the way interpreters talked about adhering to their strict code of ethics. This led Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) to question whether the intent of the code of ethics adequately reflects the work interpreters actually do, and to suggest that “blending in” is more achievable for interpreters than a false ideal of invisibility (see also Napier et al., 2018).

A review of the literature identified several researchers who have been using a role-space lens to examine interpreter role in different settings. Devaux (2018) used a role-space lens to explore the under-researched area of video conference interpreting, how it affects the court interpreters' perception of role, and the specific ethical issues that arise in this setting. In New Zealand, Henley (2018) drew on the role-space model and discourse analysis to examine the interactional

management work done by signed language interpreters and how it impacts the participation of deaf people in meetings. Using video recordings of naturally-occurring interpreted meetings, Henley demonstrates that interpreters do at times “step out of role” to coordinate interaction by holding the floor; engaging in small talk; working in partnership with participants (aligning particularly the deaf participants), and co-constructing meaning in the interaction. She shows how NZSL-English interpreters shift between different points on Llewellyn-Jones and Lee’s (2014) three axes, noting that, at times when the interpreter did not manage the communication, participants struggled with turn-taking and the meeting became difficult for deaf participants to follow.

Major and Napier (2019) used sociolinguistic discourse analysis and the role-space model to examine interpreter role fluidity in Australian healthcare settings. Their detailed micro-analysis of the interpreter’s actions in this study focus on relational work in one naturally-occurring interaction, which was collected as part of Major’s (2013) larger study of medical appointments between an Australian signed language user and an English speaking doctor. The data included evidence of the interpreter, who had built pre-existing rapport with the other participants, engaging in the interaction at a personal level, which relates to the role-space axis of participant alignment (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014). At times the interpreter became visible through interaction management by clarifying and engaging; at other times the interpreter used a low presentation of self to encourage direct communication between other participants. Major and Napier’s (2019) findings suggest that skilled and experienced interpreters know how to move fluidly when required between role-spaces. These findings confirm that interpreter role can never be ‘one-size-fits-all’ and that while ethics are necessary as a guide, interpreters need to make instant decisions about what is appropriate and responsible conduct in the moment (Llewellyn Jones & Lee, 2014; Major & Napier, 2019).

The role-space research described thus far, relates to face-to-face interpreting, or video conference interpreting in court. The area of role-space in video interpreted calls is unexplored which is striking, because video technology potentially causes different dynamics and ethical dilemmas (Devaux, 2018).

2.3 Video interpreting

Thus far this literature review has introduced the role of the interpreter, described the evolution of interpreting through different paradigms, and introduced the framework for this study. This section will introduce the modern era of video interpreting and the role of the video interpreter as we currently understand it. At the time of writing this thesis, the world is experiencing the Covid-19 pandemic, which means that the current study is therefore very timely, as more and more interpreting is occurring in online spaces. De Meulder, Gebrues, and Pouliot (2021) report that many more signed language interpreters have had to adapt to interpreting online instead of face-to-face, some without any video interpreting experience, training, or instruction; even interpreting students have had to adapt to online learning through video technology. It is likely that deaf people will increasingly use online interpreting services, which will continue to drive the interpreting profession online (De Meulder et al., 2021).

2.3.1 The dynamics of video interpreted interaction

Interpreted interactions are obviously triadic as they require three participants, although, in some ways they are also dyadic (Wadensjö, 1998). A dyad is a social group composed of two participants (Miller, 2007). In a triadic interaction each participant acts as an intermediary between the others (Simmil, 1964; Wadensjö, 1998). Roy (2000) points out that a triadic interpreted interaction where participants exchange turns with the interpreter using their own language, is more like two separate interaction dyads. In video interpreting the two separate dyads are more prominent because, as Warnicke (2012) acknowledges, the interpreter is the only interactive participant with a complete overview of the cultural and linguistic dynamics. Therefore, the interpreter is powerful, and must act as the gatekeeper, managing the interaction, governing turns, and undoubtedly influencing calls. The video interpreter must manage two separate dyadic interactions and draw them together, forming a unique triad.

The AVIDICUS research team, which was formed by a consortium of universities, conducted research into the effectiveness and reliability of using video remote interpreting to facilitate spoken language interaction in the justice system. Their findings showed that, compared with face-to-face interpreted interactions, video remote interactions had a higher incidence of turn-taking problems, because

either one of the participants was unable to see all the other participants (Braun & Taylor, 2011) which points directly to the unresearched dyadic nature of video interpreting.

2.3.2 Recent video interpreting research

Researchers have begun to study the new field of video interpreting internationally (Alley 2012; Braun, 2013, 2018; Brunson 2008; Devaux, 2018; Marks, 2018; Moser-Mercer 2003; Napier 2011, 2018; Pöchacker, 2014; Skinner, 2018; Warnicke, 2012; Weisenberg, 2007). An extensive review of the literature, however, has found few studies exploring the role of the video interpreter specifically.

Internationally, researchers have described the unique interactional challenges of interpreting through video, such as issues with turn-taking and overlapping speech (Braun, 2013; Kelly, 2008; Marks, 2018; Warnicke, 2012). Moser-Mercer (2003) and Bower (2015) found that video interpreters experienced heightened levels of stress and fatigue working in this setting. It is physically taxing for the interpreter to work in a booth and focus on a screen for hours (Bower, 2015; Dion, 2005; Fernández-Pérez, 2017; Lee, 2020; Napier et al., 2018). Tyler (2018) explains that video interpreters suffer from professional isolation, and are encouraged to pursue face-to-face work within the deaf community to mitigate this.

Drawing upon existing interpreting studies, Lee (2020) uses role-space to explore video interpreting, and suggests that video technology hinders communication in all three role-space axes. Lee points out that face-to-face interpreting is often favoured over video interpreting, because of the limitations encountered when using a 2D medium to express a 3D language on screen with instability in connection (Lee, 2020). In their earlier work, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) observed and recorded a variety of interpreted interactions in the UK. They noted additions that were made by the video interpreter: in one example the interpreter engaged in cultural mediation by explaining the need to text a deaf person rather than call, and also adding farewell regards to observe telephone protocol (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014).

Video interpreting is unique and requires specific training and protocols, much like telephone interpreting. Kelly (2008) provides a comprehensive conduit style guide to the profession of telephone interpreting: his code of ethics recommend that the telephone interpreter avoids engaging with callers even when they are left alone. Fernández Pérez (2015; as cited in Marks, (2018) suggests

specific training to teach co-ordination skills, and management of characteristics specific to video interpreting, such as turn-taking, interrupting, openings and closings. Video interpreters must use descriptions and fillers to repair problems, fill pauses, manage turn-taking, and hold the floor (Marks, 2018; Warnicke, 2012). Warnicke (2012) is one of the few researchers who has examined naturally-occurring recordings of video relay service calls based in Sweden. She was interested in analysing patterns of turn-taking in interpreted calls within the Swedish relay service. Warnicke's focus on interaction management techniques and strategies occupied by interpreters revealed that video interpreters anticipate upcoming utterances, and sometimes start prior to the speaker, based on their knowledge of conventional telephone interaction, and the nature of the call.

Video service interpreters in the United States are expected to take calls from nationwide callers, without being privy in advance to the topic or context of calls, possible terminology or dialect variations (Peterson, 2011). Lack of contextual knowledge causes challenges for interpreters especially in telephone interpreting (Frishberg, 1986; Napier, 2017). A lack of continuity in video interpreters creates unfamiliarity with callers, causing superficial relationships lacking in rapport between interpreters and callers (Bower, 2015; Dion, 2005; Fernández-Pérez, 2017; Lee, 2020; Napier et al., 2018). Napier et al., (2018) suggests the lack of rapport issue may not be the same in Europe, where interpreters are given the opportunity to engage with callers as required. New Zealand also has an established national video interpreting service, but no studies have yet examined demands and characteristics of the NZSL video interpreter role. New Zealand has a population of 4.8 million people, and the deaf community is a minority group within that. The Office for Disability Issues (2018) estimates that approximately 4,599 deaf people use NZSL as their primary language. The New Zealand Medical Council also reports the signing deaf population to be 4,500 people (Witko et al., 2017). This indicates the number of people potentially requiring the NZ Video interpreting service (NZVIS) to communicate, although there is no database of people using the service.

In New Zealand, Cheng examined the challenges for telephone interpreters. Cheng surveyed and interviewed 21 spoken language telephone interpreters recruited through the New Zealand Society of Translators and Interpreters website. Cheng did not include any data from NZSL video interpreters, although some issues raised in Cheng's research are parallel to NZSL video interpreting issues. For example 90% of respondents reported to face turn-taking difficulties, mostly overcome by the interpreter interrupting the speaker, depending on the situation. All respondents reported needing

to clarify information occasionally, and the majority of participants surveyed preferred speaking in first person while interpreting, while a few said they used third person. 90% of respondents in Cheng's study reported not receiving preparation information concerning call content in advance. Cheng points out that interpreters build knowledge with experience which helps overcome this lack of information. In my video interpreting experience this is true, for example, interpreters become familiar with New Zealand tax terminology through interpreting Inland Revenue Department calls. Although parallels can be drawn from the work of the spoken language interpreters in Cheng's study, the specific gap in literature around NZSL video interpreters must be addressed.

2.3.3 VI role and interactional challenges

Modern day video relay services have inherited role expectations from telecommunication relay services (TRS). The traditional process involves mechanically taking dictation whereby messages are relayed verbatim between written and spoken forms of English (Mindess, 2006; Peterson, 2011). Internationally, call centres employing video interpreters are known to enforce stringent conduit procedures that do not allow interpreters to engage with caller. They are also often encouraged to connect callers immediately, foregoing any traditional warm-up chat to establish rapport and trust (Bower, 2015; Brunson, 2011; Kelly, 2008; Mindess, 2006; Napier, 2017). In his narrative enquiry Peterson (2011) describes his experience as a video interpreter in the United States and having to establish every call with the company brand and his ID number, replacing his name. Peterson was instructed not to enquire about details, such as people's names or the nature of their call, and was discouraged from chatting with callers. The New Zealand Video Interpreting Service (NZVIS) training manual (2016) provides a justification for such a policy, which is that deaf people should not have to explain their calls twice. They may be busy, or they may want to get off the call and back to their business without having to engage with the interpreter. Mindess (2006) suggests a quick conversation prior to the call can establish contextual information and rapport between participants, which can be beneficial to the success and effectiveness of the call.

Section 2.2.5 discussed the SLIANZ code of ethics, and the conduit nature of such prescribed codes. This section will explore the conduit nature of the guidelines for New Zealand video interpreters. The (2016) NZVIS interpreter training manual instructs:

“Do not omit anything from the conversation and do not add anything before, during or after the call. Do not let opinion influence the way in which a call is interpreted. The VI is to match the intent of the speaker, even if the VI disagrees with what is being said. The VI is not a part of this conversation. The call belongs to the deaf caller and the hearing caller” (Video Interpreting Service Training Manual, 2016, para 3).

In combination with the training manual, New Zealand video interpreters are required to sign and adhere to an employment contract (2020) which states:

“Video interpreters shall render relay conversations faithfully, always conveying the content and spirit of the speaker, using the language that is most readily understood by the person(s) and rendering the communication in its exact form and content”. The contract goes on to specify that interpreters “shall not counsel, advise or interject opinions on any relay call at any time” (para 12).

These statements strongly reflect the conduit model of interpreting, which suggests a likely mismatch between prescribed and actual interpreter roles. The findings of researchers such as Roy (2000), Springer (2010), and Wadensjö (1998), who analysed what interpreters actually do in situated interaction, have highlighted how inadequate most codes of conduct and practice have been. Video interpreters attempting to perform in the conduit manner prescribed by employers are flying blind, not knowing language preferences, call intent, relationships between callers, or their situation (Mindess, 2006).

In contrast to the conduit nature of the NZVIS Training manual and employment contract, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) recommend that interpreters need to be truly present and need to normalise their behaviour by acting similarly to other participants, in order to successfully facilitate interaction. As an example, they suggest interpreters introduce themselves and give a brief explanation of their relationship with the deaf person, aligning with expectations of behaviour by doing as any professional would, and therefore blending in. Interpreters need to be well rounded individuals with social skills, sensitivities, awareness, linguistic skills, and the ability to align with interaction

participants and manage interactions occupying role-spaces that are principled, appropriate and respectful (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014).

The role-space axis of 'interaction management' refers to the extent an interpreter manages the communication between participants (Llewellyn-Jones and Lee, 2014). This is very relevant to the video interpreter, who must co-ordinate turns between users who are unable to see or hear one another (Bailey, 2017; Brunson, 2011; Marks, 2018; Warnicke, 2012). Interaction management can vary between 'high interaction' to 'low interaction', depending on the demands of the dialogue. High interaction examples are: interpreters requesting speakers to pause, seeking clarification, paraphrasing, or making repetitions. Low interaction examples are the opposite: not asking for clarification, perhaps to avoid interrupting where it is inappropriate or to remain as unnoticeable as possible (Lee, 2020). Covert strategies are disguised and do not always interrupt the interaction. Covert strategies can go completely unnoticed by other participants, or sometimes they are shared with one participant but not another (Lee, 2020). Lee recognises that interpreter strategies are limited in video interpreting, due to the nature of working across distance through technology, instead of in person. He claims that video interpreters tend to employ overt strategies such as disrupting the flow of communication to request clarification, which leads to lost faith in the quality of the interpretation, because covert strategies such as quickly whispering or signing to one participant are difficult to use in video remote settings (Lee, 2020).

An additional unique aspect of video interpreting is the challenge of navigating answerphones and automated menu systems. Marks (2018) suggests that research on challenges presented by automated menus and answerphones would be beneficial, as it would help us gain a better understanding of the role of video interpreters. Mindess (2006) explains that video interpreting a voice message is difficult if the interpreter has no context to the message they need to interpret, and further, while having to follow telephone conventions, such as getting to the point quickly, in a restricted time, while identifying the caller, the reason they are calling, and their best contact details. Commonly interpreted answerphone messages break down, because the deaf person signs too slowly, gives too much detail, walks away to get a detail, or forgets to give a vital detail (Mindess, 2006). When calling large organisations, calls often begin with a multi-layered automated menu system which can be fast paced and tricky to navigate. Deaf people commonly dislike automated

systems and often request assistance from a “live person” delegating the interpreter to navigate the automatic menu (Mindess, 2006).

Few studies have critically reflected upon the disjunct between the expected and actual role of video interpreters. In 2016 I conducted a pilot study which examined my own video interpreting practice based on video recordings of mock calls. Findings showed that I acted as a call operator, and participated in the call by adding information, managing turns, filling silences, and by influencing the interaction with my frames of reference (Bailey, 2017). Metzger (1999) acknowledges that we all have unconscious bias and frames of references that cause us to distort meaning unintentionally. I had not previously been aware of the extent to which I actively managed the interaction, and this small reflective study showed that a lot of my decision-making was in conflict with my prescribed role. The desire to better understand and address this mismatch led to the project described in this thesis, which explores video interpreter role (and role space) based on a larger group of skilled and experienced video interpreters. The next few sections will look in detail at specific video interpreting challenges to set the context for data analysis.

2.3.4 Interpreting using the first person

Deaf people often expect the interpreter to speak in first person during telephone calls, believing it will empower them to have complete control of the call. However, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) explain that first person can cause confusion for interaction participants who are unfamiliar with using interpreters and are unable to understand who is speaking due to the first person interpretation. Gender differences can be confusing, for example a female interpreter’s voice stating a male name can be misunderstood, even when prefaced with an explanation, as this information can take some time for the caller to process (Napier et al., 2018).

Napier et al. (2018) suggest interpreters should negotiate the most effective approach to avoid miscommunication and meet the intent of the callers. Deaf clients who have experience in using telephones often choose to explain the process themselves. However, when it is left to the interpreter, it is appropriate to speak directly as the interpreter, to introduce the caller and set up the call (Napier et al., 2018). Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) suggest being more fluid between first and third person, depending on the dynamics of the interaction, allowing the role-space to dictate which is most appropriate to use. My review of the literature did not uncover any empirical studies

that specifically look at the how first person or third person is used in video interpreting. This is a gap in current literature as it would help us to better understand interpreter role and the level of visibility required to successfully facilitate interpreted video calls.

2.3.5 Presentation of self and participant alignment

The role-space axis 'presentation of self' relates to the level of the interpreter's involvement in interaction (Llewellyn-Jones and Lee, 2014). In video interpreting the interpreter must occupy a high presentation of self to introduce the call and perform tasks as the call operator. Other examples of high presentation of self are introducing oneself, directly questioning or answering a direct question, or participating in a joke (Llewellyn-Jones and Lee, 2014; Major & Napier, 2019). Interpreters exhibiting a low presentation of self can make other participants feel uncomfortable, with behaviours such as ignoring direct questions, or referring to themselves as 'the interpreter', or generally refusing any involvement in the interaction, which can breach social norms (Lee, 2020).

The axis of 'participant alignment' relates to the interpreters' impact on the interaction when they participate. Rather than pretending to be invisible, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) encourage interpreters to give appropriate responses to participants, and to aim for equality of alignment, by engaging in side talk equally with each participant - 'rotating side talk'(Gile, 1995 p.95). Interpreters can build participant alignment through reacting appropriately to what is being said, and back channelling (Lee, 2020). If video interpreters have an inability to engage with callers, and must therefore generally display a low presentation of self, it would follow that alignment with participants will also be low, and rapport could be hindered, which could be detrimental to call outcomes.

2.3.6 Contextual knowledge, relational work, and familiarity

This section expands on section 2.3.3 to discuss why contextual knowledge and familiarity is crucial in video interpreting. According to Mapson and Major (2021) contextual background knowledge and familiarity can reduce cognitive load on the interpreter and therefore improve decision making and accuracy. Eighinger and Karlin (2003) identified "four P's", which are contextual factors that influence interpreter decisions: participants (who are the participants), place (where are they), purpose (why they are there), and point (what they are wanting to achieve). These contextual factors are highly relevant when thinking about telephone etiquette norms, and what video interpreters might do to achieve intended call outcomes. In my experience, knowing the purpose and point of the call gives

the interpreter the ability to navigate calls effectively. Video interpreters must decipher the intent or purpose of the call, and draw on their knowledge of telephone protocols and etiquette to mold their utterances accordingly.

Mapson and Major (2021) bring together two studies conducted in the United Kingdom and Australia, to illustrate the key role familiarity plays in interpreters engaging in relational work and rapport building. They discuss latent networks (Watts, 2003) and how these are created through shared encounters between people, establishing familiarity and allowing relationships to develop. Evidence suggests that interpreter continuity builds rapport between the interpreter and between other participants, which can improve outcomes (Mapson & Major, 2021). Most interpreters are able to perform better in circumstances where they are familiar with the material, the setting, the people, the type of language being used, and the style of interpreting required (Napier et al., 2018). Brunson (2008) showed that when video interpreters asked who they were calling, it resulted in an explanation about the purpose of the call, which was beneficial to the interpreter gaining contextual information about the call they were placing.

Several recent studies have shown that interpreters sometimes actively engage in relational work (Dickinson, 2017; Henley, 2019; Major, 2013; Mapson & Major, 2021). Relational work is additional to the linguistic and cultural work interpreters perform. Sensitivity, empathy and cultural acuity are vital aspects of interpreter role (Oatman, 2008). Interpreters may engage in relational work to build rapport with clients. Roy (2000) describes an instance where the interpreter indicated to the deaf student that they were expected to say more, based on the interpreter's understanding of the norms of that type of interaction. The interpreter, aware of both cultures and norms, was saving face for the deaf person, acknowledging and resolving a cultural misunderstanding (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014; Roy, 2000). McKee and Awheto (2010) give an example of a trilingual interpreter pursuing goals on behalf of a Māori deaf client. The Māori deaf person had not been able to access the language required to learn and understand Māori Tikanga – customs and values. The interpreter additionally took on the responsibility of guiding Māori deaf participants on cultural protocols in order to save face where there were cultural knowledge gaps.

2.3.7 Telephone etiquette

Understanding how politeness works in calls is important, especially when it is displayed by a more powerful or privileged participant towards someone who is less advantaged (Brown and Crawford, 2009). The system of politeness that governs telephone conversations by cultural rules is telephone etiquette; it compensates for callers being unable to see each other (Mindess, 2006). Telephone etiquette includes appropriate greetings, polite closings, turn-taking mechanisms, permitted length of silence, amount of detail expectations, and avoidance of overlaps and silences (Mindess, 2006). Cues are necessary to portray understanding, agreement and confusion; this can be in the form of verbal interjections, such as 'uh huh', and 'hmm' (Brunson, 2008). Brown and Crawford (2009) explored the pattern of politeness in telephone calls between UK health advisors and patients receiving advice about their medication. In the opening sequences, they found the health advisors used multiple politeness devices such as 'may' and 'just' in phrases such as 'may I just ask you' to elicit mundane information from callers. When matters of an intimate nature or problematic questions were discussed, they noted that rapport-building measures were taken, such as adding preambles to questions, or adding humour or relational work to lessen the intrusiveness of the awkward topics.

The NZVIS manual (2016) notes that silences on the telephone generally indicate lack of understanding, lack of attention, or a connection problem. If either caller is thinking about a reply, or needing time to look at something, it is recommended the video interpreter gives a description to fill the silence, such as 'please hold', 'bear with me' or 'hang on a second, I'm looking at my diary' (NZVIS Training manual, 2016; see also Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014).

Openings and closings of calls contain specific sequences of talk (Sidnell, 2010). Opening formulas negotiate the way interactions will occur, shaped by rules of courtesy, which establish the level of formality, and allow for mutual identification to happen (Schegloff, 1968). Schegloff (1968) suggests that all call openings must contain three elements, beginning with a "summons sequence". The summons is the call ringing, and the appropriate response is to pick it up and offer a greeting. Directly after this the gatekeeper must decide whether or not they will engage in the interaction; an initial greeting does not always guarantee further conversation (Schegloff, 1968). According to Schegloff, the identification process allows for recognition of who is speaking, the conversation style will alter

depending on the relationship between speakers, and finally the speakers must establish what will be discussed. The next sequence is often the “how are you” inquiry followed by the core opening sentence which gets to the reason for the call (Schegloff, 1968). In my professional experience, it cannot be assumed that deaf callers are familiar with opening and closing call sequences.

In order to make a telephone call through an interpreter, the caller must first understand the steps required prior to using the service. They must prepare the contact details of the person(s) they wish to call, connect with the interpreter and give them instructions (Gutiérrez, 2019). Mindess (2006) explains that deaf people who have not been exposed to telephone etiquette are often unaware of telephone protocols and norms. It is common for mishaps to happen which break expectations of formulaic telephone norm and video interpreters need to make split second decisions to culturally mediate such gaps (Mindess, 2006). Brunson (2008) gives anecdotal evidence of interpreters describing visual cues because they understood telephone etiquette and the uneasiness of silences; they had learned from experience that saying nothing was detrimental to the call, and would lead to confusion or a communication breakdown.

2.3.8 Turn-taking in the VI call

Turn-taking can be problematic in interpreted interaction but it is the interpreter’s job to mediate inevitable overlaps that occur (Metzger, 1999; Roy, 1989, 1993). Roy (2000) identified five possible ways an interpreter can deal with overlapping talk, including stopping speakers and managing turns, remembering what was said and interpreting one statement after the other, ignoring one or both overlapping speakers, interpreting part of the overlap and then asking for a repeat of what was missed, or combining the overlap by interrupting the first speaker, inserting the utterance given by the other speaker, and returning to the first speaker. Overlapping talk is unavoidable via telephone and screen and so video interpreters need to manage this delicately: both callers must rely on the video interpreter to know when to speak, because the two callers cannot see each other (Mindess, 2006).

Disruptions to interaction such as overlapping speakers and unnatural pauses can be created by interpreter lag time, which is necessary for interpreters, who can only interpret for one speaker at a time (Roy, 1993). Lag time in telephone interpreting is especially problematic because it causes delays and silences at unnatural times (Bailey, 2017; Brunson, 2008; Mindess, 2006). In telephone

calls, not filling these pauses breaks telephone protocols, making the call awkward. This may lead to breakdowns, and cause the caller on the other end to ask “Hello? Is anybody there?” (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014). Deaf people may not be aware they need to fill the sound gaps meaning that the interpreter may need to keep the conversation flowing (Napier et al., 2018; Marks, 2018; Warnicke, 2012).

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on different interpreting models, and has introduced the role-space model, and the field of video interpreting. It has discussed tensions between current understanding and expectations of interpreter role amongst employers, consumers, and interpreters in the video interpreting industry.

Research into the role-space(s) occupied by video interpreters, across a range of calls including business, personal, medical, automated menus and answerphones, is required to better understand the video interpreter role (Marks, 2018). The current study is builds on my 2016 pilot study (Bailey, 2017) which showed that as a video interpreter, I was more dynamic in my role than the guidelines to which I was bound. The current study will identify and describe the role occupied by a wider range of skilled and experienced NZSL video interpreters, addressing the gaps identified in this literature review.

Chapter 3: Research Method

3.1 Introduction

This study takes a discourse approach to analysing mock video interpreted calls. This chapter introduces the study participants, the recruitment process, the method for data collection and analysis. The direction of analysis was influenced by the data itself (Hale & Napier, 2013), as well as my insight as an experienced video interpreter. The study took a qualitative discourse analysis approach that also drew upon Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's (2014) role-space theory. It sought to address the following research questions:

1. What role(s) do New Zealand video interpreters (NZVI) adopt in facilitating video calls between deaf and hearing NZ Video Interpreting Service (NZVIS) users?
2. How do NZVI manage both deaf and hearing caller expectations and goals?
3. How does this description of practice role compare to the prescribed role?

3.2 Theoretical framework and approach to the study of interpreting

In order to explore the research questions, I took an 'action research' approach to the study (Costello, 2011; Whitehead & McNiff, 2006). This is a process that causes transformation through reflective practice, professional progress, building professional culture and refining or improving practice (Sagor, 2000). Action research is commonly conducted by practice professionals such as teachers and nurses or in this case interpreters. Action research tends to approach research *with*, rather than *on* participants, which is why it was suitable for a study in which I investigate the work of my colleagues.

Interpreting is a situated activity by nature (Major & Napier 2019; Roy, 2000). Therefore this study takes a qualitative, sociolinguistic approach by using discourse analysis techniques. Discourse analysis examines how language is used in context, and acknowledges that interaction dynamics are changeable and context-dependent (Metzger & Bahan, 2001; Roy, 2000).

Discourse analysis allows examination of functions in language to be slowed down and explored in a level of detail greater than an interpreter would normally recall or notice in the moment, capturing and describing subtleties easily missed in observation (Major, 2014; Major & Napier, 2019). It is challenging for interpreters to recall what they interpreted after the interpreting moment has passed because of the cognitive demand they were under whilst interpreting (Dohm, 2015; Major, 2014). This is why it is important to record what interpreters are actually doing in interaction, rather than relying on what they report they do (Major et al., 2012). Discourse analysis of recorded mock calls means events can be analysed on a micro level; that is, examining interpreter decision-making turn-by-turn as the interaction unfolds.

The analysis draws upon Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's (2014) role-space model, which allows us to identify and describe the interpreter's role at any point in the interaction, along three axes as described in section 2.2.5. This approach means it is possible to track how the interpreter's role-space changes through the interaction, and to consider context-based reasons for these shifts. The role-space model was used in conjunction with discourse analysis methods throughout the analysis, but particularly in exploring research question 1 (see 3.1).

3.3 Study participants

Five qualified and experienced NZSL-English interpreters were recruited as the study participants, along with three actors. There is one provider for NZSL video interpreting telecommunications:²Communication Services for the Deaf New Zealand Limited (CSDNZTLD), operating from an Auckland based national call centre. Call centre management permitted the distribution of an advertisement for recruitment of volunteer video interpreters. This was placed around the NZVIS office (see Appendix A).

All five participants had a lot of community interpreting experience. This ranged from between 9 to 35 years, with an average of 21 years. Three interpreters had been working as video interpreters since the service began in 2009, and the average amount of VIS experience was 8 years. Table 2 shows the experience of the interpreters participating in the study.

²The service is no longer run by CSDNZLTD; the current service provider is Concentrix

Table 2: Interpreter participants' background information

Video interpreter	Interpreting experience	Video interpreting experience	Gender
Ashleigh ³	25 years	10 years	Female
Melissa	9 Years	3 years	Female
Barbara	24 years	10 years	Female
Simon	12 Years	8 years	Male
Annie	35 years	10 years	Female

Deaf and hearing actors were also recruited in order to make the mock calls naturalistic. Table 3 below gives the language and gender of the actors.

Table 3: Actors' background information

Name of actor	Language	Gender
Paul	NZSL (deaf)	Male
Stevie	English (hearing)	Female
Bob	English (hearing)	Male

Because I work for NZVIS, and the New Zealand deaf community is small, I personally knew all of the participants. This is something that required careful consideration, to ensure the study was conducted ethically.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Several key issues relating to confidentiality and the potential for coercion, needed to be carefully considered for this study. To begin with, it was decided that it would be inappropriate and unethical to film authentic calls, due to the confidential nature of calls made through NZVIS. The solution was to set up mock calls using deaf and hearing actors in order to replicate natural calls.

I acknowledge that as a member of the video interpreting team, I had privileged access to the workplace utilised in the study. I needed to be careful to ensure colleagues did not feel pressured to participate in the study. It was made very clear to them that participation was completely voluntary, and that participants could reverse their decision to participate at any stage, and request that their data be removed from the study. I took an additional step to avoid any real or perceived coercion by

³ Pseudonyms are used in this thesis (see section 3.4 for more details).

asking potential participants to email their expressions of interest to my supervisor rather than myself. For those who indicated their interest, my supervisor then responded with an invitation and attached participant information (Appendix B), consent and release forms (Appendix C), and a participant demographic questionnaire (Appendix D). Once my supervisor had completed this recruitment stage, she informed me who would be participating in the study, at which point I was able to liaise directly with participants.

All participants have been given pseudonyms to protect their identities and reduce their exposure to any potential criticism. However, the New Zealand video interpreting field is so small that even de-identified descriptions of participants may reveal identities to those in the deaf community, as well as to other colleagues in the video interpreting workplace. All participants were aware of this prior to agreeing to participate in the study.

Another way in which I sought to minimise potential criticism of this small pool of participants is to take an “appreciative inquiry” approach to data collection and analysis (Bushe, 2013). According to Bushe, this is a “collective inquiry into the best of what is, and what could be, followed by collective design of a desired future that is compelling, not requiring incentives, coercion or persuasion for change to occur” (Bushe, 2013 pp.41-44). Essentially this means that I focused on what experienced practitioners do well. Participants were also given the opportunity to view video clips and analysis prior to them being shared in this thesis. One participant requested certain clips not be included, so these were removed from the study as a whole. This approach is vital when analysing the work of participants who are members of a small local community. It also provides an opportunity for the profession and the deaf community to learn from their strengths and experience in a constructive way.

3.5 Data collection

The dataset for this study consisted of video recordings of each of the five interpreters performing the same series of mock VIS calls. Most interpreters completed four mock calls but Annie was asked to place a fifth call in order to overcome a problem with the fourth call (see Excerpt 10, in section 5.4). The data from the problematic fourth call was not analysed. The dataset comprised a total of 21 interpreted calls, arranged by appointment over the period of one month, to suit the actors’ and interpreters’ schedules. One hour and twenty-eight minutes of total data was recorded. Individual

calls ranged from between three to six minutes in length, and on average the total amount of data recorded for each interpreter was 22 minutes. The interpreters participating in the study were asked not to discuss their experiences with each other until after all filming was completed. Due to the scale of this Masters study, interviews were not conducted with participants (that is, evidence for their decision-making comes entirely from the video interpreting data itself).

The calls were designed to be as naturalistic as possible; this included filming them in the NZVIS call centre so that the regular equipment in the regular work environment could be used. Prior to recording the calls, the deaf and hearing actors were briefed and provided with scripts (see appendix F). Actors were instructed to place the series of calls in the same way for each interpreter, so that the data could be more easily compared. The interpreters were not briefed about the content of the calls, in order to replicate the norm of interpreted video calls, which are generally made without contextual knowledge (Peterson, 2011). The interpreters were told that the study would be analysing their role, and to expect an inbound hearing caller first. The mock scenarios consisted of four distinct call types:

1. Tax return: The first call was placed by Bob ((H) hearing actor), to Paul ((D) deaf person). The pre-arranged call was in response to Paul's request for advice about filing an online tax return.
2. Answerphone: The second call was initiated by Paul (D) to a hospital answering service, to request an interpreter for an upcoming appointment.
3. Potential employer: Paul (D) made a follow up enquiry to a prospective employer – Stevie (H) at Eastpak - to check the progress of his job application.
4. Automated menu: The concluding call was placed by Paul (D), with the intention of making an insurance claim, and the call connected to an automated menu system.

Based on my VI experience, these four call types provide a variety of realistic challenges for interpreters, while still being very typical call types. It was expected that a tax discussion might involve some unfamiliar terminology which, without context, would likely require the interpreter to employ strategies that may cause shifts in dynamic role space. Answerphones and automated menu services are challenges that video interpreters regularly face (see section 2.3.3). I was interested in exploring how they were managed. The prospective employer call was designed to be a typical call

with some unusual place names, that would highlight the challenge for the interpreter if they had not been prepared with background information prior to the call.

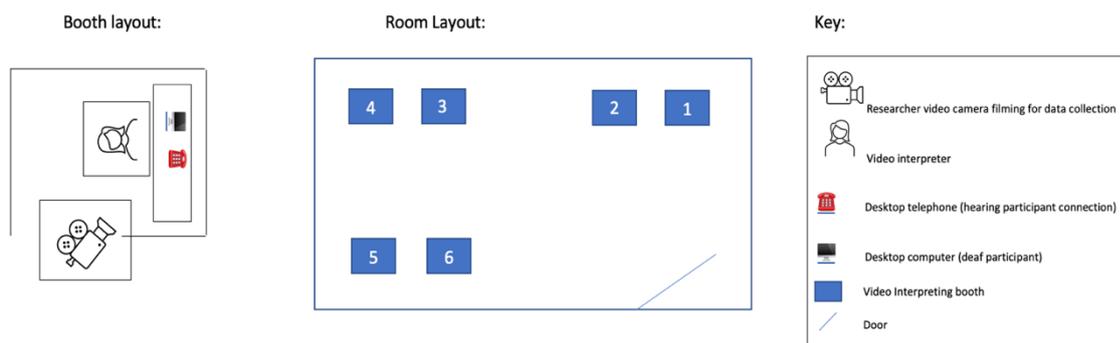
Participants' awareness of the video camera may have had some impact on their behaviour, due to the 'Observer's Paradox' which is the influence the presence of an observer (in this case, a video camera), has on a subject (Labov, 1972). The observer's paradox can never be completely overcome. However, due to the nature of their work, these particular video interpreters are well used to working on camera. Major (2013) suggests interpreters quickly forget that the camera is there once they become engaged in the interpreting task. Nevertheless, to lessen the impact of the observer's paradox, I also left the room while mock calls were taking place. I did quietly check in occasionally, but it is unlikely the interpreters would have heard or noticed.

The interpreters were asked to perform exactly as they usually would, except for one difference: instead of using their headsets to make calls they were asked to use speaker telephone, so that the voices of the hearing participant, and interpreter would also be captured in the recordings. Two interpreters needed prompting, as they habitually reverted to using their headsets. When the interpreters used their headsets, only one side of the interaction was recorded and all utterances made by the hearing participant (connected by telephone) were missed. In order to solve this issue, headsets were removed from the work stations for data collection sessions with the other interpreters.

Data collection filming sessions began once the camera was set up in place, all actors were ready on standby, and the video interpreter participating in the study indicated they were ready. At that point I sent a message to the first participant (Bob), signalling all participants were ready to start. Bob then connected to the video interpreter via voice, by telephoning the call centre, using the service's legitimate telephone number which is regularly used by hearing people to contact deaf people. Once connected, Bob asked the video interpreter to connect him with Paul, and this was done via screen, using Skype. Both the call participants were connected to the interpreter from their respective homes in different locations. Callers were not visible to each other; they were able to communicate only via the interpreter, as would be the case in an authentic VI call. Paul remained the deaf participant for all four call scenarios, but the other connected parties switched between two hearing actors, an

answerphone, and an automated menu. A digital camera was set up on a tripod across the entrance way to the booth to film the interpreted calls, and was situated slightly behind and to the side of the interpreter. Figure 2 below shows the physical set up of the recording space. There are six interpreting booths in the call centre to choose from. Three booths (1, 4, and 5) were selected for use by the five interpreters participating in this study. The booth layout and equipment were the same in all six booths.

Figure 2: Layout of room and interpreting booths.



There were some minor aspects of data collection that did not go to plan. Firstly, the telephone number which I had planned to use to connect to an automatic menu service (call 4), was a legitimate number for an insurance company which is regularly called as part of video interpreting. The number had worked when tested during office hours. When dialed outside hours (in the first data collection session), however, the number instead connected to a recorded message, which stated that the call had been placed outside office hours, with a recommendation to call again during business hours, before disconnecting. This unanticipated mishap caused the deaf actor to contact me by text, which interrupted the naturalistic flow of the scenario. I quickly provided a second automated menu scenario resulting in Annie placing an extra call. My cell-phone was used as a back-up camera for the first recording session but following this, the cell-phone was used for communication only and data collection was filmed with only one camera on a tripod, without a back-up recording. This was sufficient, as there were no technical issues with the main video camera.

A final unexpected aspect of a call occurred when the hearing female actor (Stevie) accidentally picked up a call that was supposed to be received by the answerphone. The answerphone was intentionally set up as a hospital answering service to see what strategies interpreters used in managing this type

of call. However, this mistakenly-answered call turned out to provide some of the most interesting data in the study, as described in detail in chapter 5, Excerpt 10 (see 5.4).

3.6 Transcription and analysis

The transcription and analysis process involved several cyclical steps, becoming more detailed with each cycle. With almost an hour and a half of video recorded data, it was necessary to narrow the focus of analysis to data that was relevant to the research questions. The first step was therefore to conduct a preliminary analysis, which involved creating a broad description of the entire data set, by viewing the footage, and creating five observation sheets (one for each interpreter). I was able to identify and compare how much time each interpreter spent on different tasks by noting each instance and adding up totals across the data set. During this phase I was able to highlight points of interesting role changes, as well as places where interpreter behaviour directly contradicted the role prescribed by the employer. These were transcribed and translated, and discussed with my supervisor, which increased the validity of areas of focus and reduced my potential bias.

From this preliminary description, and in conjunction with the video recordings, I highlighted interpreter role-space across the three axes: interaction management (for example controlling turns), participant alignment (for example rapport work), and presentation of self (for example adding explanations). These were colour coded, which allowed for comparison across the data set and for identification of patterns.

Once these initial patterns and areas of interest had been identified, these parts of the data were revisited, and were transcribed in detail using ELAN software. ELAN is a tier-based system that supports multiple levels of annotation, allowing for slowed, focused analysis at a micro level (Brugman & Russel, 2004). A line-by-line English transcription and NZSL gloss, was entered into ELAN, with a tier representing each speaker and an additional tier describing interpreter role-space. A line-by-line discourse analysis explored strategies the interpreters used. Interesting role-space shifts were identified and draft analysis was discussed with my supervisor. A cyclical process followed of observing, analysing role-space, and comparing videos of the same parts of calls with different interpreters to discover themes and differences across the data-set. These were then able to be

compared to company prescribed scripts and guidelines in the video interpreter training manual, to describe video interpreter adherence to, or deviation from, the employer prescribed role.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has described the theoretical and practical approach to this study, as well as the participants, data collection, analysis, and ethical considerations. The next two chapters will present the analyses of these mock video interpreting calls. Chapter 4 will describe role-space patterns that emerged in the data, while chapter 5 focuses on interaction management specifically.

Chapter 4: Interpreter role in video-interpreted call openings and closings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's (2014) role-space model (section 2.2.5), as well as discourse analysis techniques (section 3.2), to examine the video interpreter's role in the openings and closings of calls, including the nature of social engagement between interpreters and participants in these parts of the calls. Preliminary observation of the data revealed that video interpreters do much more than 'just interpret' in these parts of calls. Rather, they take a lot of control in connecting callers, and prioritising naturally flowing communication as calls begin and end. As a practisearcher I was motivated to examine how this level of control plays out in actual interaction, specifically exploring the role-space occupied by interpreters, and strategies employed to assist the start and end of calls. I also wanted to explore how interpreters' actions relate to set expectations of interpreter role in this setting.

Chapter 4 begins with a broad overview of the dataset as a whole, laying the foundations for both chapter 4 and chapter 5. Section 4.2 below outlines the types of tasks video interpreters engage in, and how transitions are made between tasks. Section 4.3 gives preliminary consideration of role-space patterns, then section 4.4 considers interpreters' social engagement with particularly, the deaf caller. I then compare the employer's prescribed role with what interpreters actually do, and discuss the recommended 'script' interpreters are expected to follow, comparing it in the data with what interpreters actually say. Sections 4.5 and 4.6 both include a fine-grained analysis of data excerpts during the opening and closing phases of calls, exploring interpreters' role-space shifts and changes.

4.2 Overview of the dataset: Tasks performed by interpreters

Preliminary analysis revealed that all calls in the dataset followed a basic pattern, beginning with the interpreter acting as call operator, greeting and connecting call participants and establishing the call, before transitioning into 'interpreter' role for the call. The interpreter is described as the call operator during the period of time prior to or after a call, while greeting callers, gathering call details, and connecting/disconnecting callers. Occasionally the call operator is required mid-call to redefine the interpreting role or manage the call (NZVIS training manual, 2016). 'Interpreter role' refers to an

interpreter who is performing the interpreting task and is conveying the talk of another participant. Once the call was completed, the interpreters transitioned to call operator once more in closing.

Greeting callers is a necessary part of the call operator role, whereby interpreters are expected to follow standard company scripts, which distinguish greetings from social engagement. However, at times interpreters chose not to use the company scripts, blurring social engagement and call operator role. ‘Social engagement’ is the label I have given to instances in which the interpreter engages in discussion of a social nature with a caller and makes a social contribution that is not an interpretation; rather the interpreter is displaying high presentation of self.

Figure 3 below plots the amount of time interpreters spent as call operator, engaging in social chat with callers, and interpreting. Social engagement almost always occurs in call operator mode, but it is highlighted as a separate colour so that it can be clearly identified.

Figure 3: Proportions of time spent on tasks across all calls.

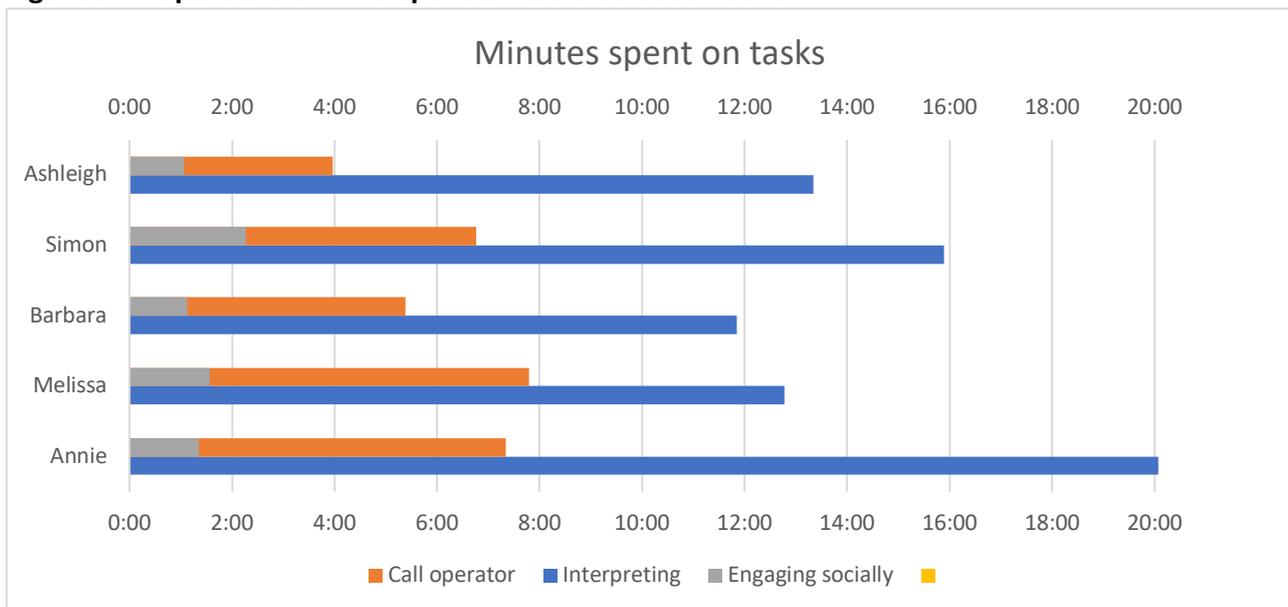


Figure 3 shows that all interpreters spent similar proportions of their time on each task. All interpreters in this study engaged personally in social chat with callers (at least one minute of total call time for each interpreter, displayed in grey in the graph). This indicates that, although social talk is not a main function of video interpreting, it is a frequent and consistent component, worthy of further exploration (section 4.4 below).

The orange bar on the graph represents the amount of time interpreters spent as call operator connecting and disconnecting calls. This category is especially interesting because interpreters spent a considerable amount of time performing this task - an average of 6 minutes per interpreter across all calls, which is roughly a quarter of the total call time. Given that industry expectations are for interpreters to follow scripts when in call operator role, this raises the question of whether current scripts are sufficient to equip interpreters for the wide variety of actual scenarios that may occur.

The interpreting task, represented by the blue bar in Figure 3, occupies the most interpreter time, as would be expected. Annie made a total of five calls (see section 3.5) which is the reason for her total interpreting time being several minutes longer than the others. It was not always easy to identify a clear transition from call operator to interpreter. According to the training manual the transition should be quite clear cut: after introductions have been made, the interpreter is instructed to say “One moment, I will connect your call” (NZVIS Training Manual, 2016). This is designed to facilitate the switch from call operator to interpreter. However, not all interpreters in the dataset used this scripted phrase, and the switch was often subtle and fluid. This is explored in detail in section 4.5.

Now that an overview of interpreter tasks has been outlined, we turn to a preliminary analysis of interpreter role-space, as well as the role of the call operator during call greetings and closings, and the social engagement that consistently occurs within this role.

4.3 Preliminary analysis of interpreter role-space

In consultation with my supervisor, preliminary observations helped narrow the focus to sites worthy of exploring in detail. The transitions between call operator and interpreter during call openings and closings stood out as interesting, because interpreters seemed to be deviating from company scripts, and social engagement was commonly occurring, indicating high interpreter alignment. While it could be argued that the interpreter is not technically interpreting during the opening and closing phases of the call, because the second caller is not yet connected, all interpreters made the transition between call operator and interpreting roles slightly differently, making it difficult to gauge exactly when the switch in roles occurred. For this reason, I wanted to apply the role-space lens to the call operator period, to better understand how and when these fluid changes occur.

Interaction management also warranted further exploration, because it seemed to shift between high (on the role-space axis) during the call operator phase of the call, and mostly low while interpreting, but also with instances of high interaction management for answerphones, automated menus, and linguistic challenges. Interaction management will be the focus of chapter 5. Dynamic role-space in call openings and closings will be the focus of analysis for the rest of this chapter. To begin with, the following section will detail how interpreters engage socially with callers within the call operator role.

4.4 Social engagement

Video interpreters are generally discouraged from engaging with callers, except to verify a telephone number (Brunson, 2011; Peterson, 2011). The NZVIS training manual (2016) specifies that personal greetings from callers may be acknowledged but should be kept to a minimum. Analysis of the dataset for the current study revealed that all five interpreters engaged socially at some stage during their calls (see table 4 below). This occurred mostly with the deaf caller rather than hearing callers. It is likely that the interpreters were already familiar with the local deaf caller, due to the intimate nature of the small deaf community in New Zealand. The degree of engagement varied between interpreters; some readily engaged in humorous exchanges, while others limited their responses. Llewellyn Jones and Lee (2014) explain that instances of the interpreter not contributing, could be perceived as disapproval, or a lack of understanding. It may therefore be appropriate for interpreters to respond to social talk (see 2.3.6).

Social engagement occurred most often while the interpreter was in call operator mode, when only the deaf person and the interpreter were connected. The majority of social chat was initiated by the deaf caller, although on occasion interpreters also initiated chat with both callers. In total, 17 instances of social engagement were identified across the dataset as a whole. Table 4 below outlines these to illustrate the ways, and degree to which, interpreters engaged in social chat and humour.

Table 4: Examples of social engagement in the dataset

Details	Social engagement description	Mode
Annie, call 1, 13:27	Annie briefly chats with Paul before the call; she asks him how he is, and relates to his busy day, saying she has been busy too.	Call operator Opening 1

Annie call 3, 3:02	After the call has ended Annie assures Paul that an interpreter will be booked for his surgery.	Call operator Closing 3
Annie call 4, 1:54	Annie jokes about doing her hand stretches and meditating	Call operator Opening 4
Annie call 4, 3:20	Annie engages with Paul and tells him she needs a beer.	Call operator Closing 4
Melissa, call 2, 8:52	Melissa engages in a friendly chat with Paul about deaf football.	Call operator Opening 2
Melissa, call 3, 19:00	Paul comments on Melissa's energy and she participates in the joke, responding with laughter; "Oh wow yes I'm rolling up my sleeves; I have big pumped up arm muscles here ready to go; when they get tired I'll inject them with more energy!"	Call operator between calls 3 and 4.
Melissa, call 4, 23:00	Melissa shares a joke about putting her arms to sleep, referencing back to the earlier comments about her energy levels. Melissa laughs; "Good night arms; you can sleep; my muscles have been well used and are drained flat, thanks bye"	Call operator Closing 4
Barbara, call 2, 8:40	Paul mentions the cold and Barbara engages about it being warm in the office, but informs him she will be finishing work at 8pm and will see if it is cold outside when she leaves. Paul describes his house being warm with heaters on so he can wear a t- shirt and Barbara laughs with him and tells him he is tough in a light-hearted manner.	Call operator Opening 2
Barbara, call 4, 19:50	Barbara initiates a friendly chat and offers personal information that she is finishing work in 8 minutes and will be going home, and jokes with Paul about going home early and waving goodbye to the camera.	Call operator Closing 4
Simon, call 4, 13:10	Paul thanks Simon for his help; Simon explains that he is not "helping", that he is providing a service and he thanks Paul for using the service. Simon answers Paul's question about his work hours, joking that he works 24 hours but then informing Paul that he will finish at 8pm.	Call operator Closing 4
Simon, call 4, 13:40	Simon initiates a goodbye kiss, Paul responds with laughter and a big kiss.	Call operator Closing 4
Simon, call 1, 1.20	Simon jokes to Bob "very familiar sounding voice there... How are you doing?" Bob responds and with laughter and asks Simon how he is.	Call Operator opening 1
Ashleigh, call 2, 7:23	Paul blows Ashleigh a kiss of gratitude when she agrees to place his calls; she catches his kiss and places it on her heart.	Call operator opening 2
Ashleigh, call 3, 15:15	Paul explains he has left enough information on the answering service recording for the booking clerk to identify him without his NHI ⁴ number. Ashleigh says she hopes it is ok and advises Paul if he doesn't hear back soon maybe call again and check, because the answerphone cut off. "MAYBE IF YOU DON'T HEAR WHILE CALL AGAIN NOT SURE RECORD EVERYTHING, HOPE OK"	Interpreter transition to call operator

⁴ National Health Index (NHI)

Ashleigh, call 4, 19:00	Paul instructs Ashleigh to hang up; he will make the claim online. She hangs up and responds: "SHRUG WE TRIED".	Interpreter transition to call operator
Ashleigh, call 4, 19:28	Ashleigh engages in a joke which is a play on her sign name combined with signing "GOOD NIGHT" and offers an explanation that she is by herself while her husband is away; is looking forward to some "me-time"	Call operator after call

Table 4 shows that all interpreters engaged socially as the call operator, usually with the deaf caller, although there were occasions where the interpreter engaged in social chat with the hearing caller also. Excerpt 2 (in section 4.5 below) is one such example. When interpreters engaged in conversation in this way, they were high on both the axes of presentation of self and participant alignment. This finding supports other studies, which have also shown that interpreters engage in relational work, often to pursue the intentions of the participants toward a successful communication outcome (Bolden, 2000; Dickenson, 2019; Henley, 2019; Llewellyn Jones & Lee, 2014; Major, 2014; Mapson & Major, 2021; McKee & Awheto, 2010).

It is apparent from the social engagement examples in table 4 that Paul is known to the interpreters, as an active member of the local deaf community. It would be understandable if the degree of social engagement may seem shocking to outsiders; examples such as the interpreter catching a kiss, or stating that they need a beer, or discussing her husband being away could be considered serious breaches of the interpreters' code of ethics. The 2016 NZVIS manual specifies that interpreters must not add anything before or after a call, and shall not counsel, advise or interject opinions at any time (para 3, see 2.3.3). However, if experienced interpreters are engaging with callers in this way, is it really unethical? Llewellyn-Jones and Lee suggest that it is codes of ethics that need to be reexamined (2014).

I suggest that this high level of social engagement may build rapport and help make calls flow comfortably. The New Zealand deaf community is small; interpreters and deaf people are often familiar with each other. Not acknowledging a caller nor partaking in social interaction might be considered unnatural, or rude (see 2.3.6). Not contributing can also be perceived as a lack of understanding or disapproval (Llewellyn Jones & Lee, 2014). Major and Mapson (2021) recommend building rapport between the interpreter and other participants, to prevent lack of familiarity

becoming an obstacle to interpreting. Further discussion of how interpreter greetings are informed by their familiarity with callers is in section 4.5.

4.5 Interpreter role during call opening

This section will explore the role-space occupied by video interpreters during call openings. It begins by looking broadly at patterns across call openings, and then uses discourse analysis to examine two excerpts in finer detail. These excerpts were identified as representative of patterns across the whole dataset.

The NZVIS Training Manual (2016) specifies that, when receiving a call, interpreters should smile and use the greeting; “Hello, thank you for calling the New Zealand Video Service, I am interpreter 599, what number would you like to call?...Please hold while I connect your call”(Roles of the VI, para 3). Upon connecting with the second caller, the manual instructs a further greeting; “A deaf/hearing person is calling you through the New Zealand Video Service, I am interpreter 599. Have you received a video call before?” (NZVIS Training Manual, 2016, Roles of the VI, para 4). The training manual (2016) also provides a script for an explanation at this point, if it is necessary, and recommends a transition from operator to interpreter be made at this point, with the use of the phrase “one moment for your call to begin” (NZVIS Training Manual, 2016, Roles of the VI, para 5).

Despite these prescribed greeting scripts, interpreters in this study consistently personalised their greetings. Their greetings appeared to be adapted to suit particular call dynamics, depending on whether the call was inbound from a hearing person to a deaf person or vice versa if the caller was a stranger or familiar to the interpreter, a regular or new user of the service.

The opening of the first call (filing an online tax return) was examined by comparing how each of the five video interpreters received this call and transitioned from operator to interpreter. There is variation in their wording, but all five interpreters followed the same sequence: offering a greeting, and asking how to direct the call. The interpreters commonly used third person as call operator to introduce the call, and then switched to speaking in first person for the interpreting phase of the call. This provides an additional cue that the call operator/interpreter switch had occurred, although some interpreters continued using third person for an extended transition period, continuing into calls.

The following tables illustrate the types of unscripted phrases the interpreters used, firstly with a hearing caller placing a call to a deaf person (table 5), in comparison with how they opened the second call with the deaf caller placing the call to a hearing person. (table 6).

Table 5: Phrasing used by interpreters connecting with the hearing caller during opening phase

Interpreter	Opening phrasing
Annie	good afternoon this is the video interpreting service who would you like to call (..) one moment i'll see if he is online (..) he does appear to be her ah (..) just calling him now (..) who can i say is calling
Melissa	hello (.) new zealand video interpreting service (.) how can I direct your call (..) ah sure wait one moment i'll just see if i can get him online (..) ok i think i have the right one here but i'm just going to give it a test and see if he's there (.) who can i say is calling (.) thanks bob
Barbara	thank you for calling the new zealand video interpreting service who would you like to call (..) paul (.) if you'd just like to hold the line i'll just see if he's online and have you (.) processed (.) have you had a video interpreted phone call before (.) you have lovely ok (.) im just he's showing that he is online (.) i'll just place the call now (..) may I ask who is calling (..) thanks bob
Ashleigh	Hi (.) its the new zealand interpreting service here; is there anybody you fancy calling (see excerpt 1)
Simon	Hello there, thank you for calling the video interpreting service (.) who would you like to call (See excerpt 2)

Table 6: Phrasing used by interpreters connecting with the deaf caller during the opening phase

Interpreter	Opening phrasing (these are translations from NZSL)
Annie	good afternoon again (.) hold (.) ok you want to make a call ok good (..) i'm good thank you; how are you (.) yes i know im the same (.) i've been very busy (.) Um I need to check the number because the screen froze (.) was it 09 2810330 (.) oh good
Melissa	Hi (.) oh fine ok (.) im good thank you (.) yeah good how are you (.) wow ok (.) yes we watched the game (.) it was a shame not to play (.) it was good to watch (laughter) nah its cool (.) yes right (.) shall we make the call now
Barbara	Hello welcome to the video interpreting service (.) i'm good thank you yeah good what number would you like to call (.) are you cold (.) i don't know what the weather is like outside, but in here it is warm soon i will go outside at 8 o'clock and discover what the temperature is like (.) you are fit (.) who would you like to call (.) ok fine i hope you have enough time (checking clock) ok good yes (laughter)
Ashleigh	hello three calls (.) yes ok good (.) ooh i'll catch that kiss and place here in my heart (.) yes 02803 i am ringing now.
Simon	Hello (.) oh right you forgot (.) oh good that is fine for you i am happy to do everything (.) i can make the phone call fine good you have three calls (.) ok what are they (laughter) this is funny (.) fine what are the three phone numbers you want to call (.) 02810230 ok i'm going to show the camera i'm being silly and joking i will call now.

All five interpreters gave more thorough explanations of the service when greeting the hearing stranger (Table 5) than they did to the deaf caller (Table 6), whom they knew was already familiar with the service. All five interpreters deviated from company script and offered personalised

explanations of the service. When addressing hearing callers, they used noticeably polite forms of address, including use of the softening device “just” as well as indirect questions such as “who can I say is calling” and “may I ask who is calling”. Their use of politeness devices in English suggests that telephone etiquette politeness forms are being observed (see section 2.3.7). This suggests interpreters are attempting to align with the hearing participants’ telephone call expectations, a pattern which will be explored further in excerpt 2. Their phrasing is not exactly the same as the company script, but is very similar.

In contrast, greetings to the deaf caller were much more informal in nature. As shown in Table 6, four of the five interpreters completely dropped the standard scripted greeting and began the interaction by engaging socially with the deaf caller, as discussed in section 4.4 above. Participant alignment is clearly very high throughout the call operator phase, again particularly with the deaf caller whom the interpreters were all familiar with. Interpreters generally displayed high presentation of self in this part of the call, as they were speaking as themselves prior to, and while, connecting other participants. A very high degree of interaction management was also required to connect, establish, and facilitate the opening conversations.

The following two excerpts take a fine-grained look at two call opening sequences, comparing the interpreter role-space occupied by Ashleigh and Simon during this phase. Transcript excerpts are presented in a musical score format in order to illustrate overlapped talk, based on systems adapted from Vine, Johnson, O’Brien and Robertson (2002), Major (2013), and Henley (2018). See appendix G for a detailed list of transcription conventions used in this thesis, and appendix H for excerpt versions where all NZSL has been translated to English.

In Excerpt 1 below, the interpreter Ashleigh receives the first call from a hearing person (Bob) who is wanting to call the deaf person (Paul) to provide advice about filing a tax return. Ashleigh uses a colloquial and friendly speaking style; she does not introduce herself as a number or follow the company script as instructed (see section 4.6).

Excerpt 1: "Is there anybody you fancy calling?"

1	<i>Ashleigh is sitting in the interpreting pod waiting when the inbound telephone rings. She reaches forward and presses the button on the telephone to connect the call</i>
A	hi (..) it’s the new zealand interpreting service here (.) is there anybody you=

	B	
2	<i>As Ashleigh is listening, she looks between the telephone and computer screen</i>	
	A =fancy calling?	
	B	yeah can i go through to paul- paul please
3	<i>Ashleigh clicks on the Skype search bar and types Paul McCartney as she talks</i>	
	A paul (.) okay sure i'll just- go online and see if he's there (.) have you=	
	B	
4	<i>She continues to type, with her attention focused on the computer screen</i>	
	A =used a um (.) video relay call before? oh cool (.) okay let me just=	
	B	yep i have
5	<i>During the 6 second pause, Ashleigh is connecting the skype call. It rings, and the screen changes indicating that Paul is connecting. At first it is a blank screen with Paul's photo as a thumbnail, and then Paul appears on video</i>	
	A =see if he's online hang on a sec (6) yeah yep he is (.) er: so who can i say is=	
	B	
6	<i>Ashleigh looks at the screen while signing and then at the telephone while speaking</i>	
	A =speaking? HELLO MAN RING-YOU YES ((nods))RING-YOU ((nods)) who's- ((who's=	
	P HELLO + RING-ME? ER OH-I-SEE++	
	B	i'm sorry what was that?
7	<i>While looking at the telephone, Ashleigh indicates toward Paul with a flat hand to hold the floor, then she starts to interpret</i>	
	A =er who's speaking?)) B – O – B: HE-RING-YOU	
	P OH-I-SEE	
	B	that's bob
8	<i>Paul is signing on screen, Ashleigh sits and focuses on the screen with her hands at rest, nodding to Paul in acknowledgement as she interprets.</i>	
	A bob? (.) oh yeah (.) okay um it's paul here	
	P B.O.B YES ME NAME PAUL	
	B	Yes

(Ashleigh, call 1, 0:56 - 1:45) A = Ashleigh (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), B = Bob (hearing caller)

Excerpt 1 shows that while in call operator mode, Ashleigh's role-space is high across all three axes and then is lowered as she transitions into interpreting the call. In lines 1-2 Ashleigh's role-space is immediately high across all three axes. Firstly, interaction management is high because of the technical requirements at this stage of the call, as call operator. She must manage the equipment, connect with the caller, introduce the service and find out how to direct the call. This means that while she is answering Bob's call she is simultaneously managing both telephone and computer technology to locate and coordinate both the deaf and hearing call participants. At this point Ashleigh's presentation of self is also very high as she is not interpreting for anyone at this point; she is representing herself as the call operator. She deviates from the company script, choosing not to identify by number, and opens with her personal choice of wording "is there anybody you fancy calling?" (lines 1-2). It is likely that Ashleigh's warm greeting is an attempt to align with the hearing

caller, and to encourage more engagement than she would have if she introduced herself with a number and the prescribed script.

In lines 3-4 Ashleigh, remains in call operator role: she responds to Bob while she conducts a contact search using Skype to locate and connect the deaf call participant. She fills time and checks Bob's understanding of the video call procedure: "Have you - used a um, video relay call before?" The established role-space pattern continues, as she actively manages technology, builds rapport with the hearing caller, and assesses the need for further explanation of the service. Here Ashleigh is high on the presentation of self axis because her casual choice of words again deviates from script and is designed to put Bob at ease; "sure, I'll just go and see if he's there". This type of phrase is typical of common telephone etiquette (Brown & Crawford, 2009), and would sound natural to a hearing caller. The high presence Ashleigh occupies across all three role-space axes is most noticeable in lines 5-6, when she connects the second caller. She continues to display a high presentation of self, and align with the hearing caller, in her use of colloquial phrasing such as "hang on a sec". In lines 5-6 Ashleigh uses an indirect question: "who can I say is calling?" This is designed to elicit the name of the caller, which is valuable information for Ashleigh's interpreting; it also informs Bob that Paul is now connected, and sets the expectation of a few seconds of silence while Ashleigh addresses Paul. Ashleigh likely knows from experience that introductions are required when beginning calls, so she takes the lead in managing the interaction.

In line 6 Ashleigh displays a high presentation of self as she participates in two completely separate dyads of interaction. Firstly Paul addresses Ashleigh: "HELLO, RING ME?" [*hello, are you ringing me?*]. Rather than interpreting this to Bob, Ashleigh chooses to respond directly using third person: "YES, MAN RING-YOU YES" [*yes, a man is ringing you*]. In the same line, Ashleigh then responds to Bob, who misheard her previous request asking who is speaking. Ashleigh extracts the information she needs from Bob in lines 6-7 by asking "who's- who's er who's speaking?" As she speaks she simultaneously signs "WHO SPEAK"[*who's speaking*] and then indicates to Paul using a flat hand, because he is also asking who is calling. Ashleigh's indication here implies to Paul that she is conveying his question, although actually she has initiated the question before Paul has asked it. Ashleigh avoids eye contact with Paul and holds her flat hand palm up, which indicates she is holding the floor, allowing time for Bob to reply. Ashleigh is not interpreting at this point; rather, she is managing two completely separate dyads. This is an extremely high level of interaction management: to the callers

it may look as if Ashleigh is interpreting but in fact she is not; she is responding and participating in order to manage two conversations that at this point are separate.

In line 7 Ashleigh continues in third person to tell Paul that “Bob” is calling, until very subtly, in line 8, she transitions from call operator to interpreting in first person, and switches to a more neutral role-space: “um it’s Paul here”. Participant alignment and presentation of self are both reduced, as Ashleigh stops engaging as call operator and the focus becomes aligning the two call participants. Interaction management reduces from high to medium during transition from call operator to interpreter, although some interaction management is still required because of the two callers’ inability to see each other; without this they will not know when to speak.

The table below illustrates the changes in Ashleigh’s role-space during the call opening and transition into interpreting from excerpt 1.

Table 7: Ashleigh's role-space in excerpt 1.

Line	Presentation of self	Participant Alignment	Interaction management
1-2 Answering call from hearing person	High	High > Bob	High
3-5 Explaining video call process, while connecting call	High	High > Bob	High
6-7 Connecting deaf caller	High (covert)	High > Paul	Extremely high (covert)
8 Transition into interpreting	Low	Low	Medium

*The symbol > indicates the direction of the alignment

Table 7 clearly shows the role-space shift, from high across all three role-space axes to low or medium as Ashleigh transitions from call operator to interpreter. This shift is representative of the transitions in this phase of the call that occurred across the dataset.

Excerpt 2 explores the role-space occupied by Simon in the same scenario as Ashleigh above. We can compare how they transition from operator to interpreter, and identify a similar pattern in role-space shift, from high across all three axes as call operator to lower across all three axes as interpreter. Ashleigh and Simon both work hard to establish the calls smoothly, but they use different strategies to do so. Simon is familiar with both callers, which is evident in his high participant alignment and

presentation of self. This familiarity with the hearing caller is an exception in the data, and demonstrates the impact of familiarity on role-space patterns and call dynamics.

Excerpt 2: "Very familiar sounding voice there?"

1		<i>Simon presses the pick up button and then the speaker button on the telephone.</i>
	S	hello there (.) thank you for calling the video interpreting service(.) who=
2		<i>As Simon is listening he shuffles and adjusts his seating position.</i>
	S	=would you like to call?
	B	ah can i go through to paul please?
3		<i>Simon looks at the computer screen and uses the mouse to move the curser to the Skype search bar.</i>
	S	yes i'll see if he's online for you (..) very familiar sounding voice there?= =
4		<i>Simon is focused on the computer screen</i>
	S	=(laugh) ((laughs)) good (.) how are you doing?
	B	((laughs)) how are you simon?
5		<i>Simon types Pauls name into the skype search bar, and looks down at the keyboard while he laughs.</i>
	S	good (4)
	B	yeah not bad
6		<i>Simon is amused looking between the computer screen and the telephone poised with his hand on the mouse.</i>
	S	((laughs)) hey look he's-he's online so i'll just put the call through for you ok?
7		<i>Simon waits for Bob's response and then clicks on the call button to connect Paul, Skype begins ringing.</i>
	S	can you hear me ok?
	B	great thank you yeah yeah fine
8		<i>Paul appears onscreen. Simon immediately waves and Paul responds. Simon signs and speaks simultaneously, but says two different things.</i>
	S	((HELLO GOOD)) ((okay he's just)) popping up here onscreen (.) he's giving= =
	B	HELLO +++ YOU (Simon) HELLO+++ GOOD HOW-ARE-YOU GOOD?
9		<i>Simon looks at the telephone as he signs "person call me", then back to Paul onscreen.</i>
	S	=me a nice big wave as well ((HELLO)) HOLD HAVE PERSON CALL-ME TALK-TO= =
10		<i>Simon points at the telephone, using it as a visual prop. Simon adjusts his seating position and is jovial in his manner with Paul.</i>
	S	=YOU HERE PHONE PERSON YOU ok i'm just letting him know that you're ah= =
	P	ME WHO PERSON ME
11		<i>Simon loosely signs who towards the telephone as he is speaking</i>
	S	=putting the call through he's just asking ah who is that who is that on the= =
12		<i>Simon nods and provides feedback to Paul as he voices to Bob. Simon swivels his chair slightly.</i>
	S	=line there? B.O.B OK THERE aahhh ok right he says oh right= =
	P	AH RIGHT++ B.O.B GOOD HOW-ARE- =
	B	bob
13		<i>Simon and Paul maintain engagement through eye contact on screen as they sign.</i>
	S	=bob i remember you how are you doing? =

	P	= YOU? GOOD YOU-OFF DIRECT HIM
	B	i'm good, i'm good, how was your day paul?
14		<i>Simon continues to nod and engage with Paul while swivelling slightly from side to side.</i>
	S	GOOD HOW YOUR DAY YOU PAUL YOU? yeah no it's really good ah giving=
	P	GOOD GOOD++ ME TEACH++ SIGN LANGUAGE

(Simon, call 1, 1:20 - 2:36) S = Simon (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), B = Bob hearing caller).

Excerpt 2 begins with Simon receiving a call, using his personalised and colloquial sounding variation of the company greeting: “Hello there, thank you for calling the video interpreting service. Who would you like to call?” Simon has also omitted his ID number. Although the hearing caller has not yet spoken, Simon’s manner of speaking is likely to be an attempt to build rapport from the very beginning of the call.

In line 3, participant alignment is high between Simon and Bob, who clearly know each other already. Simon is highly visible in self-presentation as he acknowledges his recognition of Bob: “very familiar sounding voice there?”. In line 4 Bob responds, laughing: “how are you Simon?”, and then Simon continues to engage further: “good, how are you doing?”. It was previously established that the interpreters all engaged socially with the familiar deaf caller (see section 4.4); here the interpreter also engages socially with a familiar hearing caller. A larger dataset would be needed to compare how interpreters interact with deaf and hearing callers in further detail, but this example does support findings in the literature that familiarity impacts dynamics between interaction participants (see Mapson & Major, 2021).

In line 5 Simon moves into a higher interaction management role-space, as he uses the search function on the computer to locate and connect the deaf caller, while also remaining high on the axes of presentation of self and participant alignment as he continues building rapport, by responding to Bob “good”. Simon’s presentation of self remains high in line 6, as he speaks casually, laughing, while speaking in third person, and telling Bob what is happening: “hey look; he’s-he’s online, so I’ll just put the call through for you ok?”. Simon is also managing the technological side of the interaction by connecting the call in lines 5-7. Line 7 is interesting because Simon asks Bob the question “can you hear me ok?”. Bob and Simon had already established that they could hear each other in the first few responses, so it is likely that the question was asked strategically, to fill the silence, while waiting for Paul to connect. Here Simon is likely complying with telephone etiquette norms as silences generally indicate a connection problem or lack of understanding, and telephone etiquette requires silences

to be filled (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014; Napier et al., 2018; Mindess, 2006; NZVIS Training manual, 2016).

Interaction management shifts from medium to high in line 8, when the deaf participant (Paul) connects. At this point Simon is managing two completely separate dyads simultaneously, as we saw in Excerpt 1. Paul initially greets Simon, asking him how he is. Rather than conveying this to Bob, Simon briefly acknowledges Paul's greeting by replying "Hello, I'm good" while simultaneously giving a description to Bob in English: "okay he's just popping up here on screen; he's giving me a nice big wave as well". Simon's use of third person is a contextualisation cue (Anderson & Risør, 2014) that indicates to Bob the transition from call operator role to interpreter is coming, and that the call is about to begin. Responding to the independent requirements of each individual caller establishes and maintains rapport with both.

In lines 9-10 Simon's role-space continues to be high across all three role-space axes. Simon is managing the interaction by asking Paul to "hold", while informing him that there is a person calling to speak to him. Immediately following, Simon explains to Bob again using third person: "ok I'm just letting him know that you're ah putting the call through; he's just asking "ah who is that who is that on the line there?" The words "just", "ah" and "there" are used as hedging politeness devices (Holmes, 1984), indicating Simon's alignment with the hearing caller and likely their call expectations. High presentation of self is evident as Simon gives contextualisation cues to both callers. In line 10, for example, Simon uses the telephone as a prop, pointing to it and signing "who" in the direction of the telephone, indicating to Paul that Simon is not himself speaking; instead somebody is on the telephone.

Simon's presentation of self transitions from high to low in lines 12 – 13 as the call begins, and Simon switches from call operator to interpreter. In line 12 Simon continues to speak in third person while still managing two separate dyadic conversations. In line 13 Paul asks Bob "how are you" following with a specific directive that he is speaking directly to Bob, not the interpreter: "YOU OFF DIRECT HIM" [*I am talking directly to him now not you*]. Immediately the role-space occupied by Simon lowers in presentation of self as he becomes less visible in one utterance "aahhh ok right he says, oh right Bob, I remember you; how are you doing?". Here Simon has switched from third to first person. Simon does not inform Bob of the directive made by Paul; instead he makes an addition "I remember you". Simon's experience would suggest this is not a mistake. It may be a filler, presumably used to

fill the gap of the omitted directive, or to gain processing time, or prevent overlapping speakers. After this, Simon continues to interpret in the first person, which is a clear cue that his role has transitioned from call operator to interpreter. Simon lowers his alignment with both callers; there is no further social engagement. The table below provides an overview of the general role-space shifts and patterns in excerpt 2.

Table 8: Simon's role-space in excerpt 2

Line	Presentation of self	Participant Alignment	Interaction management
1-2 Answering call from hearing person	Low – Medium	Low – Medium >Bob	Low
3-7 Chat with caller 1 while connecting caller 2	High	High > Bob	Low
8-12 Connecting caller 2 managing 2 dyads	High	High > Equal	High
13 Following directive	High covert	High > Paul	High covert
14 Transition to interpreter	Low	Low	Medium

*The symbol > indicates the direction of the alignment

Simon's role-space is high across all three role-space axes in this excerpt. His acknowledgement of his familiarity with the callers makes him visible in his presentation of self and also in his participant alignment, especially with the hearing caller. Interaction management is also high as Simon attends to both participants' interactional needs simultaneously.

In excerpts 1 and 2 both interpreters chose to personalise their greetings, and this reflects a pattern found across the larger dataset. From my experience as a video interpreter, I believe that personalised greetings evolved as a conscious shift intended to engage callers naturally, instead of reading the company scripts which can sound robotic. Sometimes interpreters had previously been mistaken for telemarketers, resulting in some people refusing to take our call. Both interpreters here followed a similar pattern of role-space, again reflecting patterns across the dataset. Both interpreters were highly visible in self-presentation, highly engaged in interaction management, and involved in social engagement and rapport work to align with callers in the call operator stage of the call. Both made clear transitions to a less visible, more neutral, role-space as they moved from call operator to interpreter and these transitions were indicated mainly by the switch from third to first person. Evidence that these cues made sense to callers is the fact that they immediately began their intended conversation with each other. Initially the interpreters worked in a dyad with the hearing caller only, establishing the foundations for the call ahead. Once they introduced the second dyad,

they continued to manage the first dyad separately. Coordinating two such dyads requires a high skill level in interaction management.

4.6 Closings of calls

This section will explore interpreter role-space as calls come to an end. In contrast to the pattern that occurs in the opening of calls, I found the reverse happening in the closing of calls. That is, interpreters initially tended to occupy a role-space low across all three axes during the call and then transitioned to high presentation of self, high participant alignment and high interactional management as they shifted from interpreter to call operator role again. The NZVIS training manual specifies that at the end of the call the interpreter should return to call operator role, smile and ask: “Would you like to make another call?” and state “Thank you for using the New Zealand Video Interpreting Service” (NZVIS Training Manual, 2016). However, as was discovered with call openings, interpreters in this dataset tended to personalise their closing statements and take the lead in managing the closing of the interaction.

Table 9 gives a brief overview of interpreter role-space during the closing phase of calls across the data set. Excerpts 3 and 4 will detail a thorough analysis of two closings that stood out.

Table 9: Role-space in call closings across the data set

Details	Closing call	Interaction management	Participant alignment	Presentation of self
Annie call 1, 1:02	Tone used to indicate the call is closing and responds directly rather than interpreting every turn “alright, hopefully, huh, ok then, thanks for that, see you soon”. After Bob disconnects, Annie and Paul share a separate farewell.	High covert	High>Bob	High Covert shifting to overt after Bob disconnects
Annie call 2, 8:18	Lowers her tone for the words “that’s me” and makes an addition “alright then” responds directly with “cheers”	High covert	High>Stevie	High covert
Melissa call 1, 7:38	Change in tone and inserts the phrase “that’s been fantastic” to indicate the end of the call. When Paul signs “BYE” she makes an addition addressing Bob by name “see ya, bye Bob”.	High covert	High>Bob	High covert

Melissa call 2, 13:43	Tone of voice and additional phrase is inserted to indicate the close of the call "Yeah no that sounds like me, that sounds really good, hey thank you so much". Responds directly and disconnects before Paul has finished his goodbye.	High covert	High>Stevie	High covert
Barbara, call 1, 6:30	Lowers tone and makes additional comment "I'll be in touch alright, so I'll say bye for now". Barbara also responds directly to goodbyes.	High covert	High>Bob	High covert
Barbara call 2, 13:13	Tone used to indicate the call is coming to a close "so I'll do that and I'll put my application through", there is a slight freeze glitch with skype, strategically filled by repeating "I'll put my application in, so thanks very much", simultaneously signing "THANK YOU".	High covert	High>Stevie	High covert
Simon call 1, 7:36	Tone changes to indicate call close, Simon responds directly to Bob without interpreting: Bob "okay, talk to you later Paul." Simon "yep, talk to you later, bye." This wording and exchange successfully ends the call and then Simon informs Paul "TALK BYE BYE HANG UP"	High covert	High >Bob Shifts to >Paul after Bob disconnects	High covert
Simon call 2, 4:00	After interpreting Pauls farewell statement, Simon responds directly and promptly to Stevie's parting "good luck with that". Simon gives an additional "Thanks, bye" in spoken English and NZSL simultaneously, and then disconnects and informs Paul the call has finished.	High covert	High >Stevie shifts to >Paul after the call	High Overt >Paul Covert >Stevie
Ashleigh call 1, 5:28	Ashleigh's tone changes to wrap up the call: "I think that's, sounds pretty good to me..." then she suggests to Paul: "IF NOTHING MORE END" [if there is nothing else, we will end the call]. Ashleigh responds directly to Bob with her own farewell phrases: "thank you kindly, ...	High covert	High >Bob	High covert

	marvelous... thanks for using the service”			
Ashleigh call 2,	Tone changes and additional remark “great thanks, bye bye” is given before disconnecting.	High covert	High >Stevie	High covert

Table 9 shows that interpreters use their voice tone to initiate call closings with the hearing callers. They also make additional closing remarks and responses covertly on behalf of the deaf participant, in order to close the call appropriately according to the expectations of the hearing party and following telephone etiquette. Excerpts 3 and 4 below will detail exactly how two interpreters closed a call, and illustrate how interpreters were at times transparent in meeting caller expectation, and at other times were covert and discreet about their contribution in bringing calls to a close. Hence their actions were unnoticed by the callers.

The call in excerpt 3 below has been placed by the deaf caller, Paul, to a hearing participant, Stevie, to enquire about an employment opportunity. Here the conversation has finished and the call is about to close. The interpreter, Annie, displays high but covert interaction management as she closes the call. Her interaction management is so subtle that other participants are unlikely to be aware of it. In line 3, Annie responds to Stevie’s closing remarks directly, without conveying the remarks to Paul and waiting for him to respond. It is evident the interpreter is leading Paul in closing the call, according to telephone etiquette norms. On the surface this may seem inappropriate, which is why this will be discussed in more detail below.

Excerpt 3: "Alright then cheers"

1	<i>Paul is signing on screen, Annie sits with her hands clasped and lowers her tone to cue the closing of the call.</i>
A	much appreciated (.) so remember if you see=
P	GOOD THANK-YOU ME PAUL
S	you’re welcome
2	<i>Annie continues to give closing cues, in her tone of voice “alright then, cheers”.</i>
A	=the name paul come through that’s me (..) alright then (.) cheers
P	
S	okay thank thank you
3	<i>Annie simultaneously signs “THANK-YOU BYE” to Paul on screen as she also says “thank you, bye” in English to Stevie. Stevie and Annie disconnect while Paul is saying his final goodbye.</i>
A	thank you (.) bye bye bye
P	THANK YOU BYE BYE BYE GOOD
S	thanks bye bye bye
4	<i>Paul is checking that the call has been disconnected.</i>
A	PHONE HUNG-UP CONFIRM YES
P	ENDING END PHONE-HUNG-UP? (.) GREAT THANK-YOU THAT-ALL RELIEF

S	
5	<i>Annie laughs, nods and wipes her whiteboard clean.</i>
A	<i>(laughs in agreement)</i>
P	THANK-YOU

(Annie, call 2, 8:18 - 8:41) A=Annie (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), S = Stevie (hearing caller)

In line 1 Paul gives a cue which translates as “thanks, and my name is Paul”, indicating he is wanting to draw the call to a close and remind the other participant of his name. This begins the closing sequence, as interpreted by Annie in line 2. Annie’s tone lowers for the words “that’s me”, followed by an additional end of call cue: “alright then”, which was not present in Paul’s utterance. Stevie’s response “okay thank you” (line 2) indicates her understanding of Annie’s tone means that the conversation has shifted to a closing sequence. Rather than interpreting Stevie’s response to Paul, Annie directly responds to Stevie with: “cheers”. It is likely that this action serves to meet the hearing caller’s expectations of a quick response without an awkward silence, which would probably happen if waiting for an interpretation. Here Annie displays participant alignment with Stevie: she is meeting Stevie’s telephone etiquette expectations for the purpose of closing the call successfully. She is covertly high on both the axes of interaction management and presentation of self, as neither party is aware of how actively Annie is bringing the call to a close. Stevie is unaware that Philip has only said “bye” once and in fact that Annie initiated the other utterances. Likewise, Paul is unaware that Stevie has made several contributions that have not been interpreted.

There is an overlap in line 3: Paul and Annie both say “thank you, bye” at the same time which demonstrates their shared understanding. Annie produces this utterance in NZSL and English simultaneously before Paul’s utterance; it is most likely that Annie is interpreting Stevie’s previous thank you utterance from line 2, with the addition of “bye”. Mirroring Stevie’s ‘thank you’ utterance meets appropriate closing expectations for Stevie. Stevie and Annie exchange final closing “bye bye” comments in line 3, and then they disconnect as Paul is signing his “BYE”. Paul may be unaware of the closing etiquette that has taken place, as he checks with Annie in line 4 that the call has ended. There is a shift in Annie’s role-space in line 4-5: once Stevie has disconnected, Annie is back in call operator mode, laughing and showing participant alignment towards Paul. The table below provides a simplified visual diagram of the role-space shifts and patterns in excerpt 3.

Table 10: Annie's role-space in excerpt 3

Line	Presentation of self	Participant Alignment	Interaction management
1 Closing cues	Low	Low	Low

2-3 Annie leads close	High (covert)	High (covert)> Stevie	High (covert)
4-5 Transition to call operator	High	High > Paul	High

Some readers may feel that the way Annie leads Paul in closing the call could be disempowering. However, I believe the opposite is true. Paul is the one who first initiates the closing sequence. Then Annie actively closes the call as smoothly and effectively as possible, by conforming to (hearing) telephone etiquette norms; this reflects well on Paul. We need to keep in mind that he is enquiring about an employment opportunity, so an overall goal of the interaction is that Paul is presented in a very competent manner. To this end, Annie completely controls the flow of this closing sequence, as did other interpreters across the dataset. Analysis suggests interpreters may align more toward the hearing caller at this stage of the call, because of the need to meet their call expectations. As hearing people themselves, interpreters have a lived experience and knowledge of how telephone etiquette works; they seem to naturally bridge the gaps for deaf people, who do not share this understanding of a telephone call. Excerpt 4 is another example of this pattern in the closing sequence.

Excerpt 4 explores the role-space moves of another interpreter (Barbara) in a different call closing sequence. This call was placed by the hearing caller Bob, who was calling Paul to give him some tax return advice. As in the previous closing excerpt, the interpreter occupies a role-space high in covert interaction management and covert participant alignment as she leads the deaf caller in closing the call, whilst meeting telephone etiquette expectations.

Excerpt 4: “I’ll be in touch alright, so I’ll say bye for now”

1	BS P B	so thanks for your, thanks for your help there THANK-YOU THANK-YOU HELP-ME PERFECT APPRECIATE THANK-YOU R-O-B
2	BS P B	<i>There is a shift in Barbara’s tone of voice, higher tone for question, and then lower tone for “bye for now”</i> bob, and ah yep i’ll be in touch alright so i’ll say bye for now (..) GOOD, GOOD NIGHT, GOOD.
3	BS P B	<i>Barbara signs “BYE++” to Paul and says “bye bye” to Bob in English before reaching over and disconnecting the call, Paul can be seen responding “GOOD BYE” after Barbara has disconnected.</i> thanks very much BYE BYE + bye bye GOOD BYE okay (..) see ya (.) bye
4	BS P	<i>Barbara is laughing and covering her mouth as she coughs, Paul says goodbye to Barbara and disconnects.</i> BYE BYE, GOOD BYE BYE, GOOD, BYE, GOOD

(Barbara, call 1, 6:30 - 6:48) BS= Barbara (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), B = Bob (hearing caller)

The role-space occupied by Barbara in line 1 is low across the axes of presentation of self and participant alignment, because she is in interpreting role. We can also see active interaction management in Barbara’s subtle control of turn-taking, with a short lag time and the use of the filler “and ah yep” in line 2, which is strategically used to hold the floor for Paul, because he is still signing although Bob cannot see this. Interaction management and presentation of self both increase in line 2, as Barbara adds “I’ll be in touch alright”. That is, although Paul has again initiated the closing sequence, Barbara’s strategic addition of this closing cue makes it explicit and adheres to politeness norms of telephone etiquette. Barbara’s role-space is extremely high in interaction management in line 3, because she is taking complete control of the call. Here she also responds directly to Bob’s closing comments in both English and NZSL and then disconnects the call. This means that Paul’s response (also in line 3) comes just after the call has ended. Barbara’s strategy in closing the call, like Annie’s above, prioritises telephone etiquette and a smooth and natural conversation for both callers. Barbara’s role-space shifts are shown in simplified form in table 11 below.

Table 11: Barbara's role-space in excerpt 4

Line	Presentation of self	Participant Alignment	Interaction management
1 Paul’s closing cue	Low	Low	Medium
2 Barbara’s closing cue	High (covert)	Low	High
3 Shift to call operator role as Bob disconnects	High	High>Bob	Extremely High
4 Call operator farewells Paul	High	High>Paul	High

In both excerpts 3 and 4, video interpreters actively managed the interaction by leading the closing sequence, much as they do in the opening sequences but in the opposite order. Both interpreters showed a high degree of (covert) presentation of self, as they used intonation to give closing cues, and they provided direct and prompt responses to meet telephone etiquette expectations. This is in contrast to Lee’s (2020) suggestion that video interpreters are particularly limited in their ability to engage with clients and generally have a low presentation of self, and low participant alignment, which hinders rapport and overall call outcomes (see section 2.3.2). The current study demonstrates that video interpreters certainly can exhibit high presentation of self, and high participant alignment in video interpreted relay calls.

It is likely that deaf and hearing callers are unaware of the extent to which interpreters manage and disconnect their calls. The role-space that interpreters occupied, appeared to be guided by their understanding of telephone etiquette norms, more than by company interpreting instructions, or professional codes of ethics. While some of their actions may seem, at least on the surface, to breach professional ethical principles of accuracy, impartiality, and clarity of role boundaries (SLIANZ, 2012), I believe the excerpts above illustrate interpreters taking actions required in order to make successful calls for both parties. That is, the conversation flows naturally, and it has no awkward silences. A more 'accurate', or 'close' interpretation, whereby every single original utterance is conveyed by the interpreter, would likely lead to a less smooth, if not downright awkward interaction. Importantly, it would also likely negatively affect the deaf caller, by highlighting a lack of understanding of hearing telephone etiquette norms. In the excerpts shown here, and in patterns identified across the dataset, interpreters consistently employed techniques to empower the deaf caller, and to meet call expectations for all participants. This type of conduct aligns with the ally model which was discussed in section 2.2.3.

4.7 Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter has revealed that video interpreters work at a level beyond just the 'message'. They were seen to prioritise naturally flowing interaction, rather than strict adherence to company instructions, and they were guided by telephone etiquette norms (2.3.7). Interpreters worked to maintain rapport, and they engaged in social chat and humour with call participants, particularly the deaf caller in this study, with whom they were already familiar. Interpreters actively managed and crafted the openings and closings of calls, and appeared to adopt an 'interpreter as ally' approach to ensure the deaf caller was presented as competent and capable, and telephone etiquette norms were upheld according to the hearing caller's expectations.

Role-space was a valuable lens through which to understand the types of task interpreters perform when beginning and ending calls, and particularly their transitions between call operator and interpreter. Interpreters tended to begin calls (in call operator mode) high across axes of participant alignment, presentation of self, and interaction management, and then they transitioned to low across all three axes as they shifted to 'interpreter' role and the call began. Closing sequences were similar but in the opposite direction, from low to high across all three axes. Interaction management

was both overt and covert at different times, because of the extra dimension of managing two completely separate dyads, that cannot see or hear each other.

Chapter 5 will explore interpreter role-space beyond call opening and closing, the focus will narrow detailing how interaction management specifically, is used strategically mid-call to overcome challenges, both overtly and covertly.

Chapter 5: Interaction management during video interpreted calls.

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 builds on the previous chapter's exploration of dynamic role shifts that occurred during call openings and closings. This chapter begins by briefly outlining interaction management patterns in the overall dataset (section 5.2). It then focuses in more detail on overt interaction management that was seen during navigating automated menus and answering machines (section 5.3), and covert interaction management which was seen throughout calls (section 5.4). Both types of interaction management are discussed in detail, and illustrated with discourse analysis of selected excerpts from the data. This allows us to explore the impact of interpreters' interactional management decisions on the unfolding sequence of talk, and to consider some of the reasons for their decision making.

5.2 Interaction management across the dataset

Preliminary data analysis involved transcribing and colour coding areas of interest across the dataset into themes. Interaction management behaviours such as controlling turn-taking was one theme. Participant alignment and rapport work was another. Presentation of self, such as using one's own personalised script, or giving an explanation, was also categorised. The work of all five interpreters was compared across the dataset, which revealed similarities in the ways interpreters strategically managed interaction, and in the ways they overcame challenges created by answerphones and automated menus.

Overall, interpreters were found to use more covert than overt interaction management strategies (see 2.3.3). Covert strategies were especially common during the interpreting phase of the call, whereas overt interaction occurred more frequently during the call operator phase. This finding adds another element to existing literature, in contrast to Lee's (2020) perspective, that video interpreters tend to use overt strategies, due to the dynamics of video remote interpreting making covert interaction management more difficult for the interpreter to employ.

'Overt' refers to interactional management strategies that would have been obvious to all parties, as they often involve interrupting or halting the interaction (Lee, 2020). 'Covert' strategies were hidden, with one or both parties unaware of the interpreter interaction management taking place. An attempt was made to count the number of covert and overt interactions across the dataset, but they

could not always be so easily categorised. Interpreters used complex strategies, often switching fluidly between different techniques. The unique logistics of video interpreting often allowed for interpreter interaction to be overt and transparent to one party, while simultaneously covert to the other party. Thus, section 5.3 focuses more on overt interpreting strategies, and 5.4 more on covert strategies, but they are intertwined and cannot be clearly separated.

5.3 Overt interaction management in video interpreting

Overt interaction management usually occurred during call operator role, between the interpreter and one caller prior to connecting or disconnecting calls. The sections below explore how this was employed by interpreters as a technique to manage automated menus (section 5.3.1) and answerphones (section 5.3.2) during calls.

5.3.1 Automated menus

Deaf people are not commonly experienced in navigating automated systems and answerphones, unlike interpreters, who as hearing people grew up using such systems, and have an inherent understanding of expected protocols (Marks, 2018; Mindess, 2006; Timm, 2000). My video interpreting experience and the work of Marks (2018) and Mindess (2006) informed my expectation that interaction management was likely to occur in a call scenario involving automated menus or answerphones. This is because, unlike a live speaker, an answering machine cannot be asked to slow down or pause, which adds an extra layer of complexity because the interpreter has limited control over the interaction.

In call four, the deaf caller (Paul) instructed each interpreter to place a call to an insurance company. There was no hearing caller involved. The automated menu system provided a series of options with corresponding numbers, instructing the caller to make numerical selections depending on the purpose of their call. This is a typical type of call for video interpreters to navigate. Discourse analysis of call four revealed that both overt and covert interaction management strategies were used, although there was a striking number of overt transparent strategies, and interpreters clearly took a lot of control. All five interpreters took the lead in guiding Paul to negotiate the call. Three main patterns of interaction management were identified:

- 1) Use of transliteration, paraphrasing, and strategic reduction strategies to manage dense pre-recorded information in the automated statement (all interpreters)
- 2) Making menu selections on the deaf person’s behalf (all interpreters)
- 3) Double-checking the number before dialing, and requesting details prior to the call being placed (3 interpreters)

These patterns will be discussed one by one. Firstly, interpreters used transliteration, paraphrasing and strategic reduction strategies to manage pre-recorded information in an automated menu. The recorded statement played quickly, contained dense complex information, and a response was required mid-way through:

“So we can complete your claim, we will need you to understand and agree to the following: as part of your claim, we can give information to, or get information from others about you or your claim. Please answer all our questions honestly; if you are not completely honest then your claim may not be paid and your policy could be effected. Press 1 if you understand and agree, press 2 if you do not understand or you disagree. *(brief pause, phone transfers and rings once)* Our staff are QSE advisors, which means you have access to our approved disputes resolution scheme, the approved financial services ombudsman. For a full disclosure statement just ask.”

The speed of the recording made it impossible to interpret the recorded message accurately in its entirety. The following table provides examples of how each interpreter negotiated the pre-recorded automated menu in call four. Melissa is the exception, and is not included in the table, because she negotiated the automated menu differently, and selected options that took her to another menu, skipping this pre-recorded statement.

Table 12: Negotiating the pre-recorded statement in an automated menu

Interpreter	Strategies used
Annie	Transliterates the first section, and covertly paraphrases the ombudsman recording: ‘MEANS GOVERNMENT TOP SERVICE CAN INVESTIGATE INSURANCE’ [this means the government has a system high up that can investigate insurance issues]. Annie covertly omits the dense information about the approved disputes resolution scheme and full disclosure statement.

Barbara	Barbara overtly explains that the recorded message is fast, that she has not responded in time to the selection and the message has moved on. She paraphrases the main point of the next recorded statement as 'RECORDING EXPLAIN IF YOU WANT MORE DEEP INFORMATION CONTACT IF YOU NOT HAPPY, RECORDING FAST NOD, IF YOU WANT KNOW MORE JUST ASK' [the recording is explaining that if you want to know more information about who to contact if you are not happy just as; the recording is too fast]. Barbara omits the ombudsman and approved disputes resolution scheme details.
Simon	Simon overtly explains to Paul that he has missed the previous segment and did not respond within the allocated time frame. Simon uses strategic omission and paraphrasing to reduce the dense recording to: 'TALK-ABOUT INFORMATION TELL+ ABOUT INSURANCE' [the recording is giving information about insurance].
Ashleigh	Ashleigh transliterates the first section, and checks Paul's understanding and agreement before selecting option 1. Ashleigh covertly paraphrases the dense recorded message and reduces the recorded statement to: 'NOW FOLLOW INSURANCE SERVICE, IF SOMETHING HAPPEN CAN RING-US, FULL EXPLAIN? ASK-THEM' [we adhere to insurance service systems, if something happens you can call us, for a full explanation ask us]. Ashleigh omits the ombudsman and approved disputes resolution scheme details.

The examples in Table 12 above show that strategies employed by interpreters varied between overt and covert. Although interpreters were trying to be transparent, it was impossible to inform the deaf caller of every intricate detail and decision during such a complex and time-pressured interpretation. Interestingly all four interpreters managed to convey the first half of the message accurately. The exact point when the message became challenging was when the automatic menu requested a response, and after a brief pause continued with more information. At this point, interpreters prioritised which information was most important, and then produced reduced renditions, which retained core information; except for Annie who omitted it (see Major & Napier 2012 for discussion of this strategy).

The second interaction management pattern was that when the automated system provided a list of menu options, all five interpreters made numerical selections on Paul's behalf. Paul was sometimes informed of these selections; at other times selections were made without explanation. All five interpreters used overt interaction management techniques to extract information from Paul about the call, and used this to negotiate the menu. Excerpt 5 below is an example of this overtness and is presented in two parts. In part 1, Annie selects option 1 "personal", contrary to Paul's uncertain suggestion to select business which is actually option 2. Readers may find it alarming that the interpreter here has selected the opposite option to what was instructed by the deaf caller. However, it appears that Annie has picked up on Paul's confusion in navigating the automated system; she selects the option that best matches his call intentions.

Excerpt 5, Part 1: “PERSONAL INSURANCE LIST-1, BUSINESS INSURANCE LIST-2”

1	A	<i>As the call rings, Annie clicks on the sound bar and selects mute to block background noise.</i>
	P	CALL PICK-UP, ANSWERPHONE RECORDING (.) THANK= WAVE, PICTURE CLEAR PICTURE YOU
	M	thank you for calling [company name] to speak to someone about personal insurance=
2	A	=YOU RING [COMPANY NAME] (.)WANT TALK PERSONAL INSURANCE LIST-1 (.) LIST-2= NAH
	P	
	M	=press 1 (.) to speak to someone about business or commercial insurance=
3	A	<i>Annie holds listed options on her fingers and repeatedly emphasises that option 2 is business. Annie refers=</i>
	P	=BUSINESS+++++ LIST 2++ BUSINESS INSURANCE 2 (.)LIST-1 PERSONAL= UNSURE (..) INSURANCE, INSURANCE=
	M	=press 2 (...) to speak to someone about personal=
4	A	<i>= back to option 1 listed on her fingers and repeats that option 1 is personal.</i>
	P	=INSURANCE OR LIST-2 BUSINESS++ 1 OR 2? 2 PUSH =INSURANCE++ NO, BUSINESS, BUSINESS THINK ME, PERSONAL, PERSONAL =
	M	= press 1 (.) to speak to someone about business or commercial=
5	A	<i>Annie selects option 1 on the keypad</i>
	P	INSURANCE
	M	=insurance press 2

(Annie, call 5, 1:20) A= Annie (interpreter), P= Paul (deaf caller), M= Automated Menu System

In line 1 Annie provides important contextual information by declaring that the call has connected to a machine recording, before interpreting the message in lines 1-3. Paul clearly disagrees with the option offered in line 2 - to talk to someone about personal insurance - replying “NAH”. Annie responds by repeating the sign ‘BUSINESS’ (line 3), emphasising the point that option 2 is for business insurance. Here Annie is not just conveying the message; she is taking agency by indicating to Paul that perhaps “business” is not a suitable selection. In line 3 Paul is visibly unsure and rather than selecting a number option, he states he wants to talk about insurance. Annie appears not to accept this answer, as she does not make a selection. In line 3 she responds to Paul’s uncertainty by holding the two listed options on her fingers, indicating that she wants Paul to select either one or two. The automated message repeats, because Annie has not selected an option.

Annie repeats the options, emphasising 2 is business and 1 is personal. In line 4 Paul responds that he thinks business is the correct selection; however, likely influenced by Annie’s reiteration, he switches his decision to personal: ‘BUSINESS, BUSINESS THINK ME, PERSONAL, PERSONAL INSURANCE [*business, I think, business is the right selection. No choose personal, it’s about personal insurance*]. As Paul is asking to select option 2 for business, Annie holds off making a selection; eventually she agrees to ‘PUSH 2’ just as Paul signs ‘PERSONAL’ in line 5. In this moment Annie selects

‘personal’ pressing number 1 on the telephone. Paul is unaware of Annie’s last minute change in selection. Her actions here indicate that she was explicitly guiding Paul to the correct selection overtly; although her decision to switch to selection option 1 was covert, and differed from the selection that had been agreed upon.

Part 2 of the excerpt comes two minutes later, after the call has ended, when Paul raises his uncertainty about this selection again. Here, Annie is back in ‘call operator’ role, and is able to explain the difference between ‘personal’ and ‘business’ options, guiding Paul’s understanding of this system more overtly.

Excerpt 5, Part 2: “PERSONAL INSURANCE LIST-1, BUSINESS INSURANCE LIST-2”

1	A	<i>Annie reaches across the desk to press the disconnect button on the phone and disconnects the call. Paul leans back and with an uncertain expression.</i>
	P	WAVE, RIGHT PERSONAL+++ MYSELF (.)CLAIM CAR CRASH ME UNSURE=
2	A	<i>Annie nods in affirmation</i>
	P	PERSONAL YES PERSONAL, PERSONAL+++ OR YOUR BUSINESS++ =PERSONAL? NOT-BUSINESS-NO, PERSONAL-YES RIGHT PERSONAL+++?
3	A	IF YOUR BUSINESS++ LIST-2-OPTIONS PERSONAL++ OR BUSINESS++
	P	NO, NOT WORK, NOT-THAT, GOOD (...)NO, NO, NO, NO++ YES, THAT'S RIGHT
4	A	OPTION 1
	P	THAT

(Annie, call 5, 4:10) A= Annie (interpreter), P= Paul (deaf caller)

Line 1 shows that after Annie ends the call, Paul regains her attention, to ask specifically if ‘PERSONAL’ had been the correct selection. Paul expresses his uncertainty about the previous selection: ‘RIGHT PERSONAL+++ MYSELF CLAIM CAR CRASH ME UNSURE PERSONAL?’ [*was ‘personal’ the correct selection? In regard to making a claim about my car crash? I’m unsure if the correct selection was personal?*]. In line 2-3 Annie affirms that yes “PERSONAL” had been the correct selection, and she provides an explanation of both options again. Paul responds in lines 2-4 that his enquiry is not business related, and agrees that option 1 was the correct selection.

Here we see Annie taking clear responsibility for negotiating and guiding Paul’s navigation of the automated menu. This relates to previous research (see 2.3.6) that has shown interpreters guiding deaf people through unfamiliar processes in pursuit of a successful interaction, and to save face for participants where there are knowledge gaps (McKee & Awheto, 2010; Major, 2014). If Annie had

selected option 2 as Paul initially instructed, the likely result would be a complicated and unnecessary transfer to the business department, followed by a redirection to the appropriate department. This is evidence that interpreters are adopting the ally model in their work (see 2.2.3).

The third interaction management pattern identified in calls was interpreters double-checking the numbers before dialing them. Three of the five interpreters double checked numbers, and three interpreters also requested call details prior to placing calls. In excerpt 6 below, Barbara provides a clear example of both strategies.

Excerpt 6: “RING WHAT FOR?”

1	<i>Barbara is nodding in acknowledgement as she is noting the number on her white board</i>
B	
P	CALL 0800 XXX 242
2	<i>Barbara uncertainly mouths the word “ok” with lip pattern without using signs.</i>
B	OK (..) 0800 XXX 24 (..) 42 GOOD
P	AGAIN WANT AGAIN (..) 242 END (..) GOOD PERFECT (..)
3	<i>Barbara begins to dial the number but stops midway</i>
B	RING WHAT-FOR
P	OK (..) RING UM INSURANCE [company name] INSURANCE (..)
4	<i>Barbara finishes dialing the number and connects the call.</i>
B	THANK-YOU FOR CALLING [company name], IF WANT PERSONAL =
P	UM CLAIM
M	thank you for calling [company name] to speak to someone about personal insurance=

B= Barbara (interpreter), P= Paul (deaf caller), M= Automated Menu System.

The call begins with Paul’s instruction to dial 0800 XXX 242. In line 2 Barbara expresses uncertainty in her facial expression as she mouths the word “okay” and double checks the last digit of the number. In line 3 she begins dialing the number which Paul has provided. Barbara hesitates before pushing the final number, effectively halting the call connection, to ask Paul ‘RING WHAT FOR’ [*what are you calling for?*]. Once Paul responds that he is calling an insurance company to make a claim, Barbara appears satisfied with this information, and commences the call connection in line 4, by entering the final number.

This interaction management example is partly overt, in that Barbara displays high presentation of self as she makes this request to Paul. However, the action of halting the call is not transparent, and is therefore covert. This example shows how layered and complex the strategies skilled interpreters utilise can be. Here Barbara is simultaneously connecting the call, extracting necessary call information and meeting Paul’s call expectations. Despite industry instructions recommending not

to ask for any call detail (Brunson, 2008; Frishberg, 1986; Mindess, 2006), interpreters in this study did ask for this contextual information. I suggest that it is beneficial for interpreters to understand the goals of the call they are making, which in turn helps them to negotiate calls smoothly and make decisions quickly in time-pressured calls that involve answerphones or automated menus.

5.3.2 Answering machines

Video interpreting experience has given me an appreciation of the challenging task frequently faced by video interpreters of interpreting answering machine messages. Mindess (2006) suggests interpreting answering machines to be one of the most difficult challenges that video interpreters encounter in their work (see 2.3.3). The challenges presented by answerphone messages often require some cultural mediation and interaction management from the interpreter.

Call three in the study was designed to explore how the video interpreters tackled the challenge of an answering machine message. Three interpreters attempted to interpret the answering machine message verbatim, without any contextual information, adhering with company policy. All three experienced similar problems; Paul walked away from the screen to get paperwork with his details, and the interpreters were forced to use phrases to fill time, and were ultimately cut off by the answerphone.

The other two interpreters (Melissa and Simon), both asserted control by disconnecting the call so that they could seek background information prior to making the call. This overt interaction management strategy meant they could extract the information they needed from Paul and leave succinct, accurate and informative messages. Excerpts 7 and 8 demonstrate the overt interaction management strategies used by Simon and Melissa. Paul was making the call to a hospital (answerphone), wanting to request an interpreter for his upcoming appointment.

Excerpt 7: “STOP YOU-EXPLAIN-TO-ME INFORMATION”

1	<i>Simon has dialed the number and the telephone is ringing</i>
S	WHO? (.) RING (.) THERE (.) [name of hospital] RADIOLOGY
P	
H	you have reached the [name of hospital] radiology confirmation=
2	
S	ANSWERPHONE, ANSWERPHONE=
P	THAT (..) IX RADIOLOGY RIGHT GOOD IX=
H	line after the beep, please leave the patient’s date of birth, full name, type=

3	S =TAPE RECORD+++ THERE P = THAT YES (.) ME BOOK 15TH SEPTEMBER+++ H =of examination, and date and time of the examination (.) please start your=
4	<i>Simon is actively listening and nodding while taking notes on his whiteboard</i> S P (..) TIME 10 O'CLOCK NEED THEM= H message with the date of birth of the patient
5	<i>Simon disconnects the call</i> S P RADIOLOGY ORGANISE INTERPRETER BOOK (.) SIGN TALK-AT-ME DON'T- UNDERSTAND H
6	S STOP, YOU-EXPLAIN-TO-ME INFORMATION TELL, CALL AGAIN P
7	S ANSWER-PHONE START, GO BACK BACKGROUND INFORMATION OK? P
8	<i>Simon smiles, and Paul responds jokingly with a smirk.</i> S CLEVER, CLEVER MAN YOU SAID 15/9? P OH GOOD FINE GOOD CLEVER OK
9	<i>Simon is nodding to acknowledge Paul and is taking notes.</i> S P 15TH SEPTEMBER, TIME 10 O'CLOCK, NEED THEM IX RADIOLOGY
10	<i>Simon is nodding to acknowledge Paul and is taking notes.</i> S P HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT IX BOOK INTERPRETER THEM, WHY? MEET TALK-=
11	<i>Simon is nodding to acknowledge Paul and is taking notes.</i> S NOD AGREE (..)WANT? OH WANT= P =TO-ME OVER-MY-HEAD, INTERPRETER CALL WANT ME
12	S WAVE PHONE PHONE CONFIRM TIME PLEASE BOOK INTERPRETER BOOK+ P THAT-ALL (.) CONFIRM (.) FINISH FINISH YES NEED THEM=
13	S GOOD (..) GOOD HAPPY (..). THEM ORGANISE= P =INTERPRETER BOOK NEED THEM NOT-ME ORGANISE THEM ARRANGE=
14	<i>Simon redials the hospital; the phone rings and then connects</i> S = THEM, ME HAPPY RING AGAIN? RING AGAIN GOOD HAPPY? GOOD P =INTERPRETER THEM (.) YES YOU YES PLEASE YES PLEASE

(Simon clip 2, 5:15-7:47) S= Simon (interpreter) P= Paul (deaf caller), H= Hospital answering service.

In line 1 Simon begins the call by requesting contextual detail, by signing “WHO?” as he is dialling. The call connects before Simon receives an answer from Paul. Upon realising the call has connected to the hospital radiology department, Simon advises Paul of this fact, stating repeatedly in lines 2-3 that this is an answerphone recording. Simon does not interpret the list of required details being specified on the answerphone; he instead signs: “ANSWERPHONE, ANSWERPHONE, TAPE RECORD+++ THERE.” [This is an answerphone, an answerphone with a pre-recorded message].

There is an overlap between the answerphone message (lines 2-4), instructing the caller to provide several personal details, and Paul's response with his reason for calling. Simon is unable to interpret more than one message at a time. In lines 2, 3, and 4 he does not interpret the information on the machine, instead he takes notes on his whiteboard. In line 5 Simon disconnects the call to the hospital, without Paul's instruction or knowledge of this action. Simon then focuses solely on recording Paul's message on the whiteboard. Up to this point, Simon's interaction management has been covert. It is likely difficult for Paul to distinguish Simon's interpretation from Simon's presentation of self, because no source attribution is given; nor is there a clear switch between operator and interpreter.

Interaction management becomes overt in lines 6-7, as Simon clearly instructs Paul: "STOP, YOU-EXPLAIN-TO-ME, INFORMATION TELL-ME, CALL AGAIN, ANSWER-PHONE START, GO BACK, BACKGROUND INFORMATION OK?" [*Stop there, can you explain the information to me, then I will call again; the answerphone started, so we need to redo the call. You tell me the background information first, ok?*]. In line 9 Simon softens his approach by aligning with Paul, using humour as he checks the appointment date: 'CLEVER, CLEVER MAN, YOU SAID 15/9?' [*this is a clever way, clever man, did you say it was 15/9?*]. In lines 8 –11 it is apparent that Paul agrees to follow Simon's suggested strategy, because he provides all the requested details while Simon nods in acknowledgment, and takes notes on his whiteboard.

In lines 12 -13 Simon clarifies the intention of the call. Paul is very specific in his instruction that he expects the hospital to book an interpreter, and that he does not want to arrange an interpreter himself. In line 14 Simon indicates that he is ready to place the call again, by reiterating his understanding of Paul's requirement. Simon asks Paul: 'ME HAPPY RING AGAIN? RING AGAIN GOOD HAPPY?' [*Are you happy for me to ring again? Shall I ring again, are you happy with this?*]. Paul gives his approval, and Simon redials and is able to leave a clear detailed message.

The interaction management displayed by Simon in this excerpt was both covert and overt: Simon made decisions and actions covertly to begin with, but then became overt by sharing his explanation of his strategy to Paul. Simon's decision to end the call and seek background information before redialling shows his complete control over the call. Excerpt 8 illustrates how Melissa managed the same situation.

Excerpt 8: “HEY CALL WHO? CALL WHO?”

1	<i>Melissa nods in acknowledgement as she records the number on her whiteboard</i>
M	OK
P	RING 03 XXX 6277 GOOD
2	<i>Melissa breaks eye contact with Paul and reaches dials the number into the phone. Once finished she waves her hand directly at the camera to get Pauls attention and eye contact again.</i>
M	HEY CALL WHO? CALL WHO (..) THAT [NAME OF HOSPITAL] RADIOLOGY=
P	THINK UM [NAME OF HOSPITAL] AGREEMENT=
H	hello(.)you have reached the [name of hospital] radiology confirmation=
3	<i>Melissa gives a nod of acknowledgment as Paul provides detail and agrees he is calling the hospital</i>
M	=AGREE CONFIRM LINE LEAVE MESSAGE PERSON NAME BORN DAY NAME=
P	= NOT RADIOLOGY THAT AGREE YES
H	= after the beep, please leave the patient’s date of birth, full name, type of=
4	
M	= APPOINTMENT TIME START WITH BIRTHDAY PLEASE WHAT (..)RECORDING=
P	
H	= examination, and date and time of the examination (..) please start=
5	<i>Melissa disconnects the phone call</i>
M	= YOU WANT LEAVE MESSAGE WANT YOU? PHONE
P	YES, YES++
H	= your message with the date of birth of the patient
6	<i>Paul is indicating that he is ready to leave the message now.</i>
M	MAYBE ME WRITE-DOWN INFORMATION THEN HOLD THAT=
P	YES, ME, YOU READY? READY NOW?
7	
M	=HUNG-UP, WILL RING-BACK BUT FIRST INFORMATION WRITE-DOWN=
P	
8	<i>Melissa finishes signing and pulls the lid off her marker and begins taking notes on the white board.</i>
M	= THEN CALL RECORD MESSAGE O.K?
P	OH RIGHT (..) ME WANT BOOK 15 SEPTEMBER (..) WITH WANT=
10	<i>Melissa writes notes on the white board and nods to acknowledge Paul’s comments.</i>
M	
P	=THAT REQUEST THEY BOOK INTERPRETER COME COMMUNICATION=
11	<i>Melissa writes notes on the white board and nods to acknowledge Paul’s comments.</i>
M	
P	=MISUNDERSTAND DONT-WANT SIGN LANGUAGE SMOOTH
12	<i>Paul breaks eye contact. Melissa drops the pen and waves to capture Paul’s attention.</i>
M	WAVE YOU BOOK INTERPRETER OR YOU ASK THEM BOOK INTERPRETER=
P	
13	<i>Eye contact is broken again. Melissa waves to indicate she wants to ask another question.</i>
M	= WHICH THEM YES OK. (..) WAVE 15, WAVE, BORN DAY 15 SEP 19... WHAT=
P	THEM +++
14	
M	= NUMBER-FOLLOWS... BIRTHDAY 15 SEP 19...? WHAT NEXT?
P	ME BORN 25=
15	<i>There is a glitch in skype and Paul freezes on screen, some of the digits are missing in his year of birth.</i>
M	25 OH 25 AUGUST GOOD,...SORRY, HEY, SORRY AGAIN=
P	AUGUST...197 GOOD (..) BORN (..) UM (..) WHAT?
16	
M	=25 AUGUST WHAT? 19.... THANK YOU++ OK FULL NAME WHAT=
P	78 SURE

17	<i>Melissa nods to acknowledge that she is following and mouths Paul's names to indicate her understanding followed by a wink and an agreement nod.</i>
M	=TELL-ME
P	UM... PAUL SIGN-NAME (<i>fingerspells his full name</i>)

(Melissa, 15:21- 17:05) M= Melissa (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), H = Hospital answering service

Excerpt 8 begins similarly to excerpt 7 with Paul instructing a number to call. In lines 1-2 Melissa notes and dials the number, while asking Paul who he is wanting to call: 'HEY CALL WHO? CALL WHO' [*Hey, who are we calling?*] At the same time as Paul explains who he wants to call (line 2), the call connects with the answering machine message, creating an overlap. In lines 2-3 Melissa manages the overlap by interpreting the recorded answerphone message, while also acknowledging Paul's comment with a smile and a nod of recognition. This simple nod is presentation of self with a purpose; it acknowledges Paul's comment, and confirms that the call has connected to the correct department as they both signed "CHRISTCHURCH HOSPITAL" at the same time.

Melissa attempts to interpret the list of message requirements, but makes an omission (the type of examination) and confuses the order of details in lines 3-4. 'PERSON NAME, BORN DAY, NAME, APPOINTMENT TIME, START WITH BIRTHDAY, PLEASE WHAT?' [*Persons name, date of birth, name, appointment time, please start with your birthday*]. In line 5 Melissa stops interpreting the message and checks whether Paul wants to leave a message: 'YOU WANT LEAVE MESSAGE WANT YOU?' [*Do you want to leave a message?*]. Paul confirms that he is ready to leave a message now, and at the same time, Melissa disconnects the call. Paul's comment: 'YES, YES+++ ME, YOU READY? READY NOW' [*Yes, yes I am ready, are you ready? I am ready now*] shows that Paul is unaware that Melissa has decided to disconnect the call covertly. Melissa took this action independently without instruction, as did Simon in excerpt 7.

During lines 6-8 Melissa overtly instructs Paul that she wishes to prepare for the call by taking down the required information first. Melissa explains that she has disconnected the call, but intends to call again once she has all the details: 'MAYBE ME WRITE-DOWN INFORMATION THEN HOLD THAT HUNG-UP, WILL RING-BACK BUT FIRST INFORMATION WRITE-DOWN' [*maybe I should write down the information first, I need to hold the call, I have disconnected, I will ring back once I have all the information written down*]. In line 8 Paul agrees: 'OH RIGHT', and in lines 8-11 provides the details required for Melissa to leave a clear message. In line 12 Paul breaks eye contact and takes time to think; Melissa waves to get his attention back. Melissa clarifies a further detail: 'WAVE, YOU BOOK

INTERPRETER OR YOU ASK THEM BOOK INTERPRETER' [*I need your attention, will you book the interpreter or are you asking them to book the interpreter?*]

In lines 13-16 Melissa checks that she has recorded Paul's date of birth correctly. Unfortunately the internet quality drops and Paul freezes momentarily on screen; it takes 4 lines of dialogue for Melissa to successfully retrieve Paul's correct year of birth. We can see that Melissa is determined to extract the information she needs before beginning the call. Melissa is apologetic and tactful in her approach as she repeatedly asks the question, using politeness devices such as 'sorry' and 'thank you': "SORRY, HEY, SORRY AGAIN 25 AUGUST WHAT? 19.... THANK YOU++" [*I'm sorry, hey, sorry I need to ask again, was that the 25th August what year? 19....? Thank you very much!*]. Melissa's wink, and nod of agreement in line 17, accompanied with the statement 'OK FULL TELL-ME' [*okay you have told me all the information required*] indicates that she is satisfied that she has all the information she needs to make the call. This supports Brown and Crawford's (2009) findings that politeness devices are used to elicit mundane information from callers, and rapport building measures are employed to lessen the intrusiveness of awkward or problematic topics (see also section 2.3.7).

Both excerpts 7 and 8 begin with the interpreters asking for contextual information about the call they are placing, as they did with the automated menu section (5.3.1). Knowing the purpose and point of the call assists the interpreter in navigating the call effectively (see section 2.3.6). However here, Simon and Melissa went further by disconnecting the initial call and instructing Paul to give details prior to redialling a second time. This action contradicts the prescribed video interpreter role (see 2.3.3) because they both took control over the way Paul made his call. Many deaf callers would expect that they should completely control the call themselves, and may be surprised to see this. Yet, at the same time, this action resulted in much more successful call outcomes than the three interpreters who took less control. That is, in these calls, Paul's goal of leaving a clear and coherent answerphone message has been achieved. This ultimately reflects well on Paul, and provides further evidence of interpreter decision-making being driven by the overall goals of the call.

The strategies described so far have been mostly overt; now the focus will switch to some of the more covert strategies employed by interpreters during calls.

5.4 Covert interaction management and advocacy

Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) describe covert behaviour as minimising one’s presence or ‘footprint’; such behaviours in interpreting are conducted without others being aware of them happening. There is much potential for covert interactional management in the unique setting of video interpreting because the interpreter manages two completely separate dyads who cannot see each other (see section 2.3.1). Covert strategies identified in the current dataset included deliberately slowed speech, use of fillers, paraphrasing, private asides, cultural mediation, relational work, controlled turn-taking, volume adjustments, technical management, key point emphasis, and overlap management, such as holding information and inserting it after a speaker has finished. Excerpts 9 and 10 below both illustrate complex layered covert interaction management by skilled and experienced video interpreters.

Excerpt 9 is from the same call, involving the hospital answerphone as was previously analysed in excerpts 7 and 8. A mistake occurred, in that the call was picked up by the hearing actor Stevie, who had forgotten that she was supposed to let the second call ring until it went to answerphone. The excerpt is fascinating because it provides the opportunity to compare how Annie managed the interaction with a live hospital receptionist, compared with how the answerphone had been managed by the other interpreters. Annie interpreted this call without any background information. It begins with Paul requesting an interpreter for his appointment.

Excerpt 9: “I’m having surgery, I’d really need to know what’s going on”

1	<i>Annie and Paul overlap, both signing simultaneously, Annie nods to acknowledge what Paul is signing, clasps her hands and waits for a pause in Stevie’s speech before interjecting.</i>
A	NHI W, LIST-3-NOD, SAY CONFIRM CONFIRM (.) ok so i just=
P	LIST INTERPRETER THIRD-THING-LIST INTERPRETER NEED INTERPRETER=
H	=i can confirm that um we can go ahead with that appointment
2	<i>Annie keeps her hands clasped shut, and flexes her fingers while voicing Paul’s utterance.</i>
A	=do need to confirm as well that a new zealand sign language interpreter has=
P	= DEAF INTERPRETER THEM-IX WITH-ME NOT-WANT MISS-INFORMATION=
H	
3	<i>Annie keeps her hands clasped shut and shuffles between different holds while voicing Paul’s utterance.</i>
A	=been booked you know it’s very important that this is booked for this in this=
P	= WHAT ME UNSURE INFORMATION BAM+
H	
4	<i>Annie keeps hands clasped and breaks free to sign MUST and then returns to clasped position as she speaks.</i>
A	=instance MUST you know im having surgery id really need to know whats going=
P	
H	yes

5	<i>Paul points at Annie indicating he is watching her interpretation, Annie returns a silent smile and nod.</i>		
A	=on		NOD FINE WRITE-DOWN NOD
P	LONG-TIME-VOICE BAM (.) MOUTH-MOVE-LONG		
H		um (..) fine ive made a note of that	
6	<i>Paul rubs his hands together, Annie clasps her hands shut. Annie signs BYE as she speaks the word "bye bye and reaches to disconnect the call while informing Paul "HUNG UP".</i>		
A	oh lovely thank you	LET-YOU-KNOW	thanks bye bye BYE
P		WRITE DOWN THEM NOD	
H		and we'll get back to you (.) thank you (.) bye	

(Annie, call 3, 2:27 - 2:51) A = Annie (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), H = Hospital reception

In comparison to the overt strategies used by Melissa and Simon to manage the answerphone in excerpts 7 and 8, here Annie employs a greater number of covert interaction management strategies. This excerpt begins with overlapped talk between Annie and Paul. In lines 1-2, Annie is still interpreting the previous utterance about an NHI number, when Paul simultaneously makes his request for an interpreter. Annie stops mid-sentence: "N.H.I W..." [*N.H.I number W...*], to acknowledge Paul's comment that he has a third request: "LIST-3-NOD" [*you have a third item, yes?*]. Annie then completes her previous sentence, informing Paul that his appointment details are confirmed: "SAY CONFIRM" [*they say it is confirmed*]. Interestingly Annie adds "SAY" [*they say*] in third person to distinguish between the interpretation, and her own question to Paul. Annie manages the overlap by waiting for a pause in the hearing speaker's talk or a 'turn relevance place' (see Sacks et al., 1974), to insert Paul's request for an interpreter, rather than interrupting the hearing speaker.

Annie hedges Paul's request by pre-empting it with "ok so I just do need to", which shows she is observing telephone politeness etiquette on Paul's behalf. Her interpretation in line 2 is more specific than Paul's original request. Where Paul had simply stated that he will need an interpreter because he is deaf, Annie specifies that a 'New Zealand Sign Language interpreter' is required. It is likely Annie knows from experience that not all people are aware that some deaf people use NZSL interpreters. She is also likely aware that hospitals cater to many language needs, and her experience tells her it is best to specify which language Paul requires an interpreter for. This is an element of advocacy, and another example of interpreters in this study making decisions based on the overall goals of the deaf caller.

Another example of (covert) advocacy occurs in lines 3-4 where Paul simply states that he does not want to miss important information 'DEAF INTERPRETER THEM-IX WITH-ME NOT-WANT MISS-INFORMATION WHAT ME UNSURE INFORMATION BAM+' [*Sign language interpreter with me, I don't*

want to miss information and be unsure about important information]. Annie’s interpretation extends this, by reiterating Paul’s point from the beginning of the call that he is having surgery, thereby emphasising the importance of an interpreter. It is likely Annie’s advocacy is influenced by her frames of reference (see 2.3.3): as a very experienced interpreter, she would be aware that it is common for deaf people to miss out on access to vital medical information because interpreters are not provided (Witko et al., 2017; Major et al., 2017).

Annie’s strategic addition was so large that in line 5 Paul noticed, and commented on the extended length of Annie’s spoken interpretation ‘LONG-TIME-VOICE BAM, MOUTH-MOVE-LONG’ [*your voice over is taking a long time, wow your lips are still moving*]. Annie acknowledges this very subtly to Paul, with a smile and assuring nod, but she does not explain the addition, nor inform the hearing participant of her participation in the interaction. In line 6 we see Annie covertly initiate responses directly with the hearing caller, to align with their politeness expectations. In line 6 she says, “oh lovely thank you” as well as “thank you, bye-bye”, neither of which Paul had said originally (see Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014 and section 2.3.7). As seen in section 4.5, this is another example of a video interpreter aligning with the hearing caller, and taking a high level of responsibility making sure the call closing is smooth and natural, avoiding awkward silences.

Excerpt 10 below illustrates Barbara also working toward the goal of achieving a successful call outcome for Paul, and this requires a lot of multi-tasking on her part. This excerpt is from a call between Paul to a potential employer, following up on a job application. Barbara’s work here involves a high degree of covert interaction management, which is unlikely to have been noticed by either caller.

Excerpt 10: “ah, your saying avocados is it?”

1	<i>Barbara waves her hand directly at the camera to indicate Stevie is taking a turn.</i>
B	WAVE KIWIFRUIT PACKING SEASON REALLY ENDING SOON, MAYBE=
P	
S	the kiwifruit packing session ah season is coming to an end now, that’s probably=
2	<i>Paul nods and points as Barbara signs to acknowledge that he is following and wants to respond</i>
B	=THAT-WHY NOTHING HEAR, MAYBE TRY OTHER WAY A.V.O.C.A.D.O BUSY=
P	OH RIGHT
S	=why you haven't heard um you may be able to pick up some avocado packing=
3	<i>Barbara provides a name sign for Katikati (CUT-CUT) and then also fingerspells the place name</i>

	B =KATIKATI K.A.T.I.K.A.T.I ANOTHER SECOND (LIST) OPTION OPOTIKI O.P.O.T.I.K.I= P S =that is getting busy now, i know katikati and opotiki have positions available for=
4	B =BOTH HAVE ADVERTISE WELCOME STAFF P S =packers at the moment
5	B oh ok sorry so is that ah your saying= P OH RIGHT, WHAT THAT A WORD, A.V.A...? S
6	B =avocados is it? YES GREEN SPLIT OPEN A.V.O.C.A.D.O NOW (NOD= P AVOCADO AVOCADO S yes, yes, it's the avocado season, and um, katikati and opotiki=
7	<i>Paul nods to show his understanding.</i> B =ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR SIGN) AVOCADO YOU, SO NOW PICK PICK++ BUSY= P AVOCADO++SIGN LIKE THIS, AH YES UNDERSTAND S =have positions at the moment and they're getting busy
8	B =COMING oh yeah no i am, i'm interested in that P INTEREST ME YES, INTEREST +++ WORK THERE S

(Barbara, call 2, 11:43 – 12:26) B= Barbara (interpreter), P = Paul (deaf caller), S = Stevie (hearing caller)

At the beginning of Excerpt 10 Barbara waves her hand in front of the camera to gain Paul's attention. This indicates to Paul that Stevie is taking a turn, and prevents an overlap of speakers. Paul points at Barbara as she fingerspells the word 'avocado' in line 2, signaling that he has a comment, but he does not interrupt. Instead he waits while Barbara delivers more information in lines 3-4. In line 5 Paul seeks clarity over the word that Barbara had fingerspelt previously: 'WHAT THAT WORD A.V.A...?' [*What was that word you spelt beginning with A.V.A?*]. Barbara's corresponding interpretation in lines 5-6 is not the same as Paul's question. That is, instead of conveying his question about what the word means, her rendition gives the impression that it simply needs to be repeated: 'oh ok, sorry so, is that ah your saying avocados is it?' If we are examining this at only a message level; this interpretation is not accurate; it has been altered.

Barbara then responds to Paul in lines 6-7: 'YES GREEN SPLIT OPEN A.V.O.C.A.D.O NOW (NOD) AVOCADO YOU, SO NOW PICK PICK++ BUSY COMING [*Yes, it is green and can be halved, it is called*

an a.v.o.c.a.d.o, now; yes I acknowledge your sign for avocado, so now the avocado picking season is becoming busy]. This is a very high presentation of self as she has responded directly to Paul's request for clarification. Her response is also evidence that she knew exactly what Paul had asked (that is, her interpretation to Stevie was not a mistake). Potentially this was a deliberate strategy to gain herself time to respond to Paul's clarification covertly, without informing Stevie. Barbara also omits Stevie's response to her question 'yes, it's the avocado season, and um, Katikati and Opotiki', prioritising her own response to Paul's language clarification instead.

Barbara is likely aware that Paul's clarification is a vocabulary issue specific to NZSL, in which there are several possible variants for the sign AVOCADO, not a lack of understanding about the concept of an avocado. If Barbara were to interpret verbatim "oh right what was that word A.V.A, is it avocado?" it may reflect poorly on Paul because his potential employer might think he does not understand what an avocado is. Barbara's strategic covert management of this situation saves face for Paul and helps him achieve the overall interaction goal. The interpreter inherently knows that how their interpretation portrays the deaf person, could affect the deaf persons employability either successfully or detrimentally (Young et al., 2019).

Excerpts 9 and 10 are both examples of covert interaction management, and covert presentation of self. None of the callers would have been aware of the extent to which the interpreters controlled and managed the calls. Both interpreters drew on their personal frames of reference (see 2.3.3), cultural knowledge, and experience to make decisions far beyond utterance level. They acted as allies (see 2.2.3) to help avoid power imbalances, to save face, and to achieve the deaf caller's intended call outcomes.

This study is evidence that skilled interpreters embody the values of their code of ethics (Major, 2019). Interpreters here have aligned with the expectations of others (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014), and pursued the "spirit and intent" of the message (Roy, 1998). This supports Brunson's (2011) recommendation that interpreters should be able to exercise their judgement according to situation dynamics. Ultimately, the analysis has shown that interpreters are driven by the overall goals of the interaction, and they make strategic decisions in order to achieve successful call outcomes.

Study participants breached the prescribed video interpreter role, which is evidence of the limitations of our current code of ethics role descriptions, just as Llewellyn Jones and Lee (2014) suggest current role proscriptions do not allow enough freedom. It is necessary to update role descriptions so that they more clearly align with what video interpreters actually do.

5.5 Conclusion

Chapter 5 has explored both overt and covert interactional management strategies used by the interpreters in this study. Despite previous research suggesting video interpreters use predominantly overt strategies (Lee, 2020), the analysis in the current study revealed covert strategies are regularly at play also. Overt interaction management was found more during the 'call operator' role, whereas covert interaction management usually tended to occur during the 'interpreter' role. A clear exception to this was navigation of automated menus and answerphones in which interpreters' management strategies were clear and overt. This included extracting information for the purpose of leaving answerphone messages successfully and making decisions and numerical selections on behalf of the deaf caller, while negotiating the automated menu. Some covert strategies, such as the use of transliteration, paraphrasing and strategic reduction strategies also aided interpreters to manage pre-recorded automated information.

Interpreter decisions were driven by caller intentions and telephone etiquette expectations. Interpreters covertly advocated for deaf callers by saving face (see 2.3.6) and presenting them in a competent and natural way. It is interesting to note that in the context of phone calls nearly all the politeness management work falls on the side of maintaining hearing norms. This is likely because 'phone call' is not a discourse genre that exists in sign language. Callers are unlikely to be aware of the extent to which interpreters manage the interaction in calls in order to meet caller expectations and achieve call intentions. This chapter has thus shown that the actual video interpreting role that is being performed is quite different from the one that is prescribed by the employer; it also diverges somewhat from role expectations set out in the Code of Ethics (SLIANZ, 2012) . It is unlikely that these skilled interpreters are making mistakes; rather they are consciously making complex strategic decisions, as seen through the excerpts.

Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This final chapter gives a brief summary of the study, and addresses existing gaps in literature relating to our understanding of video interpreter role. Having worked as a video interpreter for many years, I knew that interpreters do a lot of linguistic and logistical work in this context. Approaching this study as a practisearcher drove me to identify what it is interpreters *actually* do to connect callers successfully, and differences between their actions and the prescribed role. I wanted to examine how this level of control plays out in actual interaction: specifically, the role-space(s) occupied by interpreters in calls, and the interactional management strategies they employed. This chapter also provides recommendations for interpreter training and professional development, and discusses implications for video interpreting ethics, guidelines and practice.

6.2 Summary of the study

This study set out to explore the role of New Zealand Sign Language video interpreters. I began with the following three research questions:

- 1) What role(s) do New Zealand video interpreters adopt in facilitating video calls between deaf and hearing NZ video Interpreting Service users?
- 2) How do New Zealand video interpreters manage both deaf and hearing caller expectations and goals?
- 3) How does this description of role compare to the prescribed role?

Five skilled and experienced video interpreters were filmed working across a range of interpreted mock calls. Preliminary analysis identified some interesting patterns, and discourse analysis was used to examine interpreter role at a very detailed level. In chapter 4, the role-space model (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014) was used to explore the dynamic nature of interpreter role, particularly in the openings and closings of calls, and in the ways interpreters engaged in social talk. Chapter 5 explored interpreters' use of interaction management strategies, which were found to be both overt and covert. Interpreters in the study made decisions beyond the level of the message, and used interactional management strategies for cultural mediation and advocacy, to conform to telephone etiquette, and to pursue participants' call goals.

Sections 6.2.1-6.2.2 below discuss these findings in further detail, in relation to each of the research questions.

6.2.1 Research question 1: What role(s) do NZVI adopt in facilitating video calls between deaf and hearing NZVIS users?

Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's (2014) role-space theory provided an ideal lens through which to map dynamic shifts in interpreter role in the data. Video interpreting incorporates two different tasks: 'call operator' and 'interpreter'. As 'call operator', an interpreter is responsible for connecting, disconnecting, introducing and closing calls. The 'interpreter' role is used to facilitate the interaction between call participants and requires less interpreter visibility. The role-space model (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014) was used to explore these transitions during call openings and closings. Findings revealed that interpreters were high across the role-space axes of participant alignment, interaction management, and presentation of self during the opening and closing phases of calls and transitioned to low during the interpreting phase of calls. I found that video interpreters shifted fluidly between these two roles as calls began and ended, using a range of cues to guide the call participants, including changes in voice tone and switches between first and third person.

All video interpreters in this study were high on the presentation of self axis as they engaged socially, particularly with the deaf caller with whom they were all familiar. This participant alignment occurred while in call operator role, during openings and closings of calls. Video interpreters were found to adapt company scripts and create their own personalised greetings, and they also provided descriptions or explanations when required to assist caller understanding. Interpreters addressed callers in a friendly manner, identifying themselves by first name rather than number. In my experience it feels unnatural to introduce myself by number to deaf people who can identify me and already know my name. In fact, when interpreters refuse to provide their name, it can cause suspicion. This supports other findings in the literature that have shown interpreters to actively facilitate and engage in relational work (Dickenson, 2019; Henley, 2019; Mapson & Major, 2021).

The video interpreter manages a unique double dyadic interaction, with all parties being completely reliant on the interpreter as their only point of connection to each other. As the only participants with a complete overview of the cultural and linguistic dynamics, Warnicke (2012) observes that interpreters act as gatekeepers, managing the interaction, governing turns, and undoubtedly influencing calls. This was certainly seen in the current study: video interpreters occupied a role-

space high in interaction management during challenging parts of calls, such as answerphones, automated menus, clarifications, and call openings and closings. This interaction management occurred both overtly and covertly. Overt interaction management was found to be more commonly employed while the interpreter was in the call operator role, whereas covert interaction management usually tended to occur during the interpreter role phase of the call. Due to the time pressure for responses in telephone calls, it is not always possible for the interpreter to be overt about split second decisions they make. Interpreters used complex strategies, including making menu selection decisions on behalf of the deaf caller, or adopting an ally approach with the deaf caller to guide them to leave detailed answerphone messages (sections 5.3.1, & 5.3.2). Another strategy to advocate for the desired outcome of the caller was seen in Excerpt 9 (section 5.4), with the request for an interpreter for surgery. Interpreters quickly switch between different techniques as required to maintain the flow of the call. Interaction management was sometimes overt to one caller while covert to the other caller.

6.2.2 Research question 2: How do NZVI manage both deaf and hearing caller expectations and goals?

The data shows interpreters' decision-making is often driven by overall call goals of participants, not solely by message-level translation choices. Interpreters in this study took a striking amount of control in closing sequences, in order to conform to (hearing) telephone etiquette norms and also to bridge potential cultural gaps in the deaf caller's understanding of these norms. This level of control included responding directly to callers' closing words, to avoid awkward silences, and thus meeting the hearing callers expectations. As Young et al. (2019) note, the interpreter's approach to a call, including their ability to adhere to telephone etiquette norms, can either enhance communication or have a detrimental effect on high stakes outcomes. Another example of this was the deaf caller's clarification of 'avocado' in Excerpt 10 (section 5.4). The interpreter answered his clarification request directly, knowing it was related to the sign rather than the concept of an avocado. This meant the deaf caller was not portrayed in a detrimental light to a potential employer. This also illustrates how interpreters, who are aware of both cultures and norms, are able to save face for the deaf person, by acknowledging and resolving potential cultural mismatches (see Roy, 2000; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014). Video interpreters' focus on overall expectations and goals of the callers shows them taking on an 'ally' role (Section 2.2.3) to achieve successful outcomes.

6.2.3 Research question 3: How does this description of NZVI role compare to the prescribed role?

This study found that the actual video interpreter role being practised is quite different from the one that is prescribed by the employer. Company guidelines follow the general principles of the SLIANZ Code of Ethics under the expectation that the same ethics apply to video interpreting and to face-to-face interpreting. Employers and service users expect the interpreter to be a neutral facilitator of communication, conforming to defined role boundaries, focusing on message transfer, and not functioning as an advocate, or giving guidance or advice (SLIANZ, 2012). Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 have already outlined ways that interpreters took a very active lead in managing interaction and aligning with participants' call expectation and goals. Interpreters across the dataset skillfully made decisions that empowered the deaf caller, and met call expectations for all participants.

Analysis revealed that, although company scripts are loosely followed as guidelines, video interpreters personalise and adapt their greetings to suit situational dynamics. They take action to avoid awkward silences during calls, and they work to ensure that the deaf caller is not disadvantaged by a lack of understanding of hearing telephone etiquette norms (section 6.2.2). Some of these actions may seem surprising to readers, precisely because the prescribed role of video interpreters is outdated and does not represent what interpreters actually do to make calls work. This highlights the need for more such studies of actual interpreted interaction, as it is only this way that we can uncover what experienced and skilled interpreters do to facilitate smooth and successful calls. The study thus challenges our previous understanding of video interpreter role as very neutral facilitators of video calls: what interpreters *actually* do is a lot more active and dynamic.

6.3 Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research

This study was not without limitations. To begin with, it was based on mock rather than naturally-occurring calls, due to strict privacy policies. The data was still naturalistic, but it must be acknowledged that it has an artificial element. The study was also small in size, due to the scope of a Master's thesis. A larger study could examine interpreter behaviour with a wider range of callers, including less familiar deaf people, to understand how these dynamics affect interpreter role-space.

Another limitation of this study was that it focussed on the video interpreted call aspect of the video interpreter's role. A larger study could include the video remote interpreting (VRI) aspect of the job, including how and when covert and overt management strategies are employed. The dynamics of VRI are triadic and quite different because, rather than being connected by a call, the deaf person and hearing person are together in the same location, but use the assistance of the online interpreter to communicate with each other.

It was not possible to interview participants in the current study, but it would be ideal to include this in a larger study. If interpreters could watch specific examples from the data and be interviewed about their perspectives, we could better understand the reasoning for their decisions. Interviews with callers and employers about their expectations of interpreter role would also be valuable in gaining in depth understanding of expectations of video interpreters, and key mismatches between expectations and actual role.

6.4 Implications for policy and the Code of Ethics

Role expectations need to be reconceptualised to align with the actual practice of skilled and experienced video interpreters. This study echoes Brunson's (2011) claims that policies inhibiting interpreters' engagement with callers are actually counter-productive; interpreters should be able to exercise their judgement according to situational dynamics. Throughout the study data, video interpreters "breached" the prescribed video interpreter role because, as Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) suggest, current role prescriptions do not allow necessary freedom to mediate communication in a way that takes into account the pragmatic and cultural demands of a phone call conducted across two languages and modalities. Davidson (2000) also points out the difference between official expectations of interpreters and what they actually do in daily practice. The gap continues to remain unnoticed and unmonitored. Research like the current study is crucial in bringing these practices to light.

It is time to modernise our thinking, and update both video interpreting guidelines and the Code of Ethics (SLIANZ, 2012) to accept that interpreter discretion can be used to take actions that empower callers. The profession should consider the application of the 'ally' model of interpreting (2.2.3), which this study shows experienced interpreters are already adopting where it is appropriate.

At the same time, we need to recognise and discuss the fact that interpreters hold a powerful and potentially dangerous position (Brunson, 2011;Warnicke, 2018), considering that callers may be unaware of how much covert interaction management interpreters engage in to achieve call goals. Realistically, it is interpreter discretion that determines what happens in the moment during a call. As Llewellyn-Jones & Lee (2014, p.48) stated, skilled interpreters have a “responsibility to make sure that the role-spaces they occupy are principled, appropriate and respectful to all of the parties involved”. It is vital that callers are informed about the active nature of the video interpreter role, and in fact it is time we had this fruitful discussion with the eaf community, so that they can trust interpreters to make appropriate decisions depending on the call dynamics. The challenge ahead is how we create new guidelines based on research evidence, without opening up a complete freedom of role that has no guidelines. The values of our Code of Ethics need to remain central to any guidelines (Major & Napier, 2019) and working out how to do this is the next challenge we face as an industry.

6.5 Implications for interpreter education and professional development

Video interpreting has not been examined before in New Zealand. The findings of this study have revealed that the role-space interpreters occupy in this setting is far more complex and variable than previously understood. This role is unique, and requires skill and experience to master. We need to educate employers and service users to align their expectations with the actual role video interpreters need to employ to make calls work. New video interpreters must be monitored and supported into the role, including through observation and supervised practice. Student interpreters should be exposed to video interpreting settings as part of their training as it is becoming ever more relevant as the industry grows.

Deaf people prefer interpreters to have a good attitude (Napier, 2011b). In my experience this means that rather than narrowly defined and strict role boundaries, the preference is for interpreters to conduct themselves in a culturally appropriate manner, and exercise their discretion with good judgement. Oatman (2008) recognises the relational work interpreters are required to do, and lists extra-linguistic and extra-cultural social skills, such as empathy, sensitivity and cultural awareness as important aspects of the interpreter role. I would also recommend that these are prerequisites for video interpreters.

I strongly recommend that interpreters should ask for details about the call prior to making it, this recommendation aligns with Warnicke (2012) who made the same point despite industry recommendations against this practice (Brunson, 2008; Frishberg, 1986; Mindess, 2006). The findings of this study have revealed that interpreters make decisions based on overall call goals, so it is therefore beneficial for them to understand what participants hope to achieve from the call they are making. This will assist the interpreter to act as an ally/advocate when appropriate, thus producing the best outcome for the deaf caller. This will help them to negotiate calls smoothly and make decisions quickly under time pressure, especially in calls that involve answerphones or automated menus. The strategies employed and described in this study could serve as model examples, to be given as a guide to making effective calls in the training of video interpreters.

6.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has shown what video interpreters actually do to make calls work. At times we take control of the call, and we manage the interaction to navigate automatic menus effectively, or to leave a succinct detailed message. We act as ally to save face for the deaf person, or to advocate to achieve their call outcomes. We use additional phrasing and politeness to meet telephone etiquette, and we engage with our callers to meet social expectations, especially with our deaf callers. The role we are actually performing is far more complex than the conduit-influenced role that is prescribed to us.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Advertisement to NZ Video Interpreters asking for participation in the study

Advertisement to NZ Video Interpreters asking for participation in the study

Hi team,

You know me as I am your colleague. I am enrolled with AUT and will be completing a thesis as part of the Master of Language and Culture in 2019/2020. The research involved is a more in-depth version of the small 2016 pilot study on video interpreting (what we actually do). I am hoping to analyse data from a larger sample of interpreters rather than just my own work, exploring if there are themes in the way we work.

I am asking the team for volunteers who would be willing to participate as interpreters in the study. I will be needing to set up mock calls and film them being interpreted as I did last time. You will be identifiable because of the nature of the data being video recorded. Future presentations may require clips of footage, but only if you give me permission for that – it is entirely your choice.

I hope that being involved in the study will be beneficial as professional development giving opportunity for reflection on your work. I hope that the insights and findings from the research will be fruitful for our profession.

Please express your interest to George (details below) if you are willing to be filmed interpreting a mock call, volunteering 30 mins of your time in total. I'll be looking specifically at what role/s you use and for themes and validation of what we do. I have checked with our centre manager Andrea Cooke and have the green light from CSD to proceed.

Thanks team,
Donna.

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

If you would like to express your interest to participate or have any concerns regarding this research please contact the research supervisor Dr George Major.

george.major@aut.ac.nz

(09) 921 9999 extn 6463.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 4th July 2018. AUTEK Reference number 19/192.

Appendix B: Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Please note there is a separate video consent form.

Date Information Sheet Produced:

Monday 17th June 2019

Project Title:

Project Title: What does a video interpreter actually do?

Project Supervisor: Dr George Major

Researcher: Donna Bailey

An invitation

Donna Bailey is a post graduate student studying towards a Master of Language and Culture degree at AUT. This year she will be conducting research for her thesis. You are invited to participate in the study which seeks to explore the role of the video interpreter (VI) and how it differs from the role prescribed by employers. This invitation is extended to all VIs currently working for CSDNZLTD. Whether you choose to participate or not is entirely your choice, you are under no obligation and will not be penalised either way.

What is the purpose of this research?

In 2016 Donna conducted a pilot study reflecting on her own practice and uncovered new insights about the VI role identifying elements of calls that caused her role to become dynamic in contrast with the role prescribed by the employer. This study will explore whether the strategies described in the pilot study extend to the wider work force. Action research is not done on participants; rather it is done with participants, in a sense participants will be co-collaborators in this study.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

All video interpreters who currently work at the New Zealand Video Interpreting Service are invited to participate, and the first six to respond will be selected.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you agree to participate in the study please fill out the attached consent form and return to George before Monday July 1st. Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging

Appendix C: Participant consent form



Appendix B: Participant Consent form

Consent and Release Form

Project title: What does a video interpreter actually do?

Project Supervisor: George Major

Researcher: Donna Bailey

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 17th June 2019.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- I permit the researcher to use identifiable data from the videos that are part of this project and any other reproductions or adaptations from them, either complete or in part, alone or in conjunction with any wording solely and exclusively for (a) the researcher’s thesis; and (b) presentations or publications for the profession.
- I understand that the videos will not be published in any form outside of this project without my written permission.
- I understand that any copyright material created by the filmed sessions is deemed to be owned by the researcher and that I do not own copyright of any of the videos I agree to take part in this research.
- I wish to receive a copy of the completed thesis (please tick one): Yes No
- I **do / do not** (please circle one) give permission for excerpts from the videos collected in this study to be shown in future presentations or publications. I understand that I will be identifiable in the video footage.

Participant’s signature:

Participant’s name:

Participant’s Contact Details:

.....
.....
.....
.....

Date:

Appendix D: Demographic questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire

1. Gender (please circle) Female Male

2. What age group are you in? (please circle)

18 – 29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60+

3. How many hours per week do you work as a video interpreter?

4. How many years have you been employed as a video interpreter?

5. What interpreting qualifications do you have?

6. Do you supplement your work at NZVIS with other work? If so what other types of work and how many hours per week?

Appendix E: AUTECH ethics approval

4 July 2019

George Major
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear George

Re Ethics Application: **19/192 What does a video interpreter actually do**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTECH).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 4 July 2022.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the [Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research](#) and as approved by AUTECH in this application.
2. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>.
3. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>.
4. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTECH prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form: <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>.
5. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTECH Secretariat as a matter of priority.
6. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTECH Secretariat as a matter of priority.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

AUTECH grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval for access for your research from another institution or organisation, then you are responsible for obtaining it. You are reminded that it is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

For any enquiries, please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz

Yours sincerely,



Kate O'Connor
Executive Manager
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: donnabaynes@hotmail.com

Appendix F: Script for mock video interpreted calls

Script for NZVIS MOCK calls

(Do not give background info to interpreters unless they ask for it)

Call 1: Bob will call NZVIS 0800 XXXX 877 and ask to be connected to Paul McCartney.

Re advice about tax refund.

-Interpreter will introduce the call

P-I have paid accountants \$300 in the past to do my tax return, I want to learn how to file the return myself can you talk me through it?

P-What is the process, I go to the IRD website and click on tax return fill out the form?

P-How do the expenses work on rental houses, what can I claim?

P-Can I claim on ALL expenses? Can you explain what types of things I can claim as expenses and what I can claim on?

P-How do I depreciate houses? How do I make a loss on paper so that I get a tax refund?

P-Thank you and good bye. End call.

Call 2: Paul will call NZVIS and call 09 28XX330.

Re following up a job application at "East Pack"

Stevie -Hello, thank you for calling "East pack"

-Interpreter will introduce the call

Paul -I am calling about the "kiwi fruit packing position" I haven't heard back.

S -Did you complete your application through the website?

P-Yes I submitted the online form back in June.

S- Which branch did you apply for a position?

P- Te puke, Washer Rd, but I'd be happy to work in any of the branches, I don't mind the drive.

S- The kiwi fruit packing season is coming to an end now, that's probably why you haven't heard back. You may be able to pick up some avocado packing, that is getting busy now, I know Katikati and Opotiki have positions available for packers at the moment.

P- Ok yes I'd be keen to pack Avocados, what are the hours?

S- There are part time or full time options, the day shifts are 7:30am – 5pm. The night shifts are 6pm – 3:30am. Go to our website and you will see the positions advertised. Click on the link, fill out the form and submit your CV.

P- Thank you very much, look out for my application – PAUL McCARTNEY!

Call 3: Call 03 XXX 6277

Answer phone (leave a message)

"You have reached the Christchurch radiology confirmation line, if you wish to confirm your appointment please leave a message clearly stating your name, NHI number, and the time and date of your appointment."

Paul starts to leave a message, says his name, date of appointment is 15th September please can I request a NZ sign language interpreter for my appointment? Doesn't have his NHI number, walk away from screen, go to find NHI number.

Call 4: Navigating an automatic menu.

Call 0800 XXX 242 - (Insurance)

Follow the menu prompts:

1 -Personal insurance

1 -Claims

3 -Other claims

2 -New claims

1 -Car claim

1 -Agree to the recorded message about agreeing to sharing information and answering honestly. Don't actually place the call, the purpose is to see how the interpreter works with you to navigate the menu. Once the recording telling you that calls will be recorded is finished you are on hold waiting for a customer service person then say you need to go, change mind will make the claim online. Thank you, bye.

6 x Interpreters: Annie, Simon, Barbara, Melissa, Freddy, Ashleigh.

Annie - Sun 4th Aug 3pm

Barbara - Mon 12th Aug 7pm

Melissa – Mon 12th Aug 7:30pm

Freddy – Wed 14th Aug 7pm Cancelled

Simon – Mon 19th Aug 7pm

Ashleigh – Wed 4th Sept 4:15pm

Appendix G: Transcript Conventions - Based on G. Major's PhD thesis, which was adopted from Wellington Archive of New Zealand English transcribers manual.

English only - lower case text

NZSL only

UPPER CASE TEXT

HYPHENATED-WORDS	Represents one Sign in NZSL
OKAY+	A sign that is repeated once
OKAY++	A sign that is repeated twice
((LIST))	The non dominant hand indicates the number in the list
F.I.N.G.E.R.S.P.E.L.L	Finger spelt word

Both English and NZSL

<u>((laughs)), ((Obscured))</u>	Non linguistic feature; transcribers comment
((laughs)) okay	Non linguistic feature that carries on over talk
((okay)) RIGHT	Simultaneous speaking and signing

Okay	Word/sign that is held
Oka-	Word/sign is not completed
(.)	One second pause
(..)	Two second pause
(okay)	Best guess at an unclear utterance
()	Unclear utterance which cannot be transcribed
A: [Okay]	
B: [Right]	Overlapping talk

Appendix H: NZSL translations in English

Excerpt 1: “Is there anybody you fancy calling?” (Ashleigh, call 1, 0:56 - 1:45)

A = Ashleigh (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), B = Bob (hearing caller)

1		<i>Ashleigh is sitting in the interpreting pod waiting when the inbound telephone rings. She reaches forward and presses the button on the telephone to connect the call</i>	
	A	hi (..) it's the new zealand interpreting service here (.) is there anybody you=	
	B		
2		<i>As Ashleigh is listening, she looks between the telephone and computer screen</i>	
	A	=fancy calling?	
	B	yeah can i go through to paul- paul please	
3		<i>Ashleigh clicks on the Skype search bar and types Paul McCartney as she talks</i>	
	A	paul (.) okay sure i'll just- go online and see if he's there (.) have you=	
	B		
4		<i>She continues to type, with her attention focused on the computer screen</i>	
	A	=used a um (.) video relay call before? oh cool (.) okay let me just=	
	B	yep i have	
5		<i>During the 6 second pause, Ashleigh is connecting the skype call. It rings, and the screen changes indicating that Paul is connecting. At first it is a blank screen with Paul's photo as a thumbnail, and then Paul appears on video</i>	
	A	=see if he's online hang on a sec (6) yeah yep he is (.) er: so who can i say is=	
	B		
6		<i>Ashleigh looks at the screen while signing and then at the telephone while speaking</i>	
	A	=speaking? HELLO MAN RING-YOU YES ((nods))RING-YOU ((nods)) who's- ((who's=	
English		hello there is a man calling you yes he is calling you	
	P	HELLO + RING-ME?	ER OH-I-SEE++
English		hello did you ring me	er oh I see
	B	i'm sorry what was that?	
7		<i>While looking at the telephone, Ashleigh indicates toward Paul with a flat hand to hold the floor, then she starts to interpret</i>	
	A	=er who's speaking?))	B – O – B: HE-RING-YOU
English			bob is calling you
	P		OH-I-SEE
English			oh i see
	B	that's bob	
8		<i>Paul is signing on screen, Ashleigh sits and focuses on the screen with her hands at rest, nodding to Paul in acknowledgement as she interprets.</i>	
	A	bob? (.) oh yeah (.) okay	um it's paul here
	P	B.O.B YES	ME NAME PAUL
English		bob yes	my name is paul
	B	Yes	

Excerpt 2: “Very familiar sounding voice there?” (Simon, call 1, 1:20 - 2:36)

S = Simon (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), B = Bob hearing caller)

1		<i>Simon presses the pick up button and then the speaker button on the telephone.</i>	
	S	hello there (.) thank you for calling the video interpreting service(.) who=	
2		<i>As Simon is listening he shuffles and adjusts his seating position.</i>	
	S	=would you like to call?	
	B	ah can i go through to paul please?	
3		<i>Simon looks at the computer screen and uses the mouse to move the curser to the Skype search bar.</i>	

	S	yes i'll see if he's online for you (..) very familiar sounding voice there?= 4	<i>Simon is focused on the computer screen</i>
	S	=(laugh)	((laughs)) good (.) how are you doing?
	B	((laughs)) how are you simon?	
	S	good (4)	<i>Simon types Pauls name into the skype search bar, and looks down at the keyboard while he laughs.</i>
	B	yeah not bad	
	S	((laughs)) hey look he's-he's online so i'll just put the call through for you ok?	<i>Simon is amused looking between the computer screen and the telephone poised with his hand on the mouse.</i>
	S	can you hear me ok?	
	B	great thank you	<i>Simon waits for Bob's response and then clicks on the call button to connect Paul, Skype begins ringing.</i>
	B	yeah yeah fine	
	S	((HELLO GOOD)) ((okay he's just)) popping up here onscreen (.) he's giving= English hello good	<i>Paul appears onscreen. Simon immediately waves and Paul responds. Simon signs and speaks simultaneously, but says two different things.</i>
	B	HELLO +++ YOU (Simon) HELLO+++ GOOD HOW-ARE-YOU GOOD? English warm greetings to you simon, hello, hello, good to see you, how are you good	
	S	=me a nice big wave as well ((HELLO)) HOLD HAVE PERSON CALL-ME TALK-TO= English hello please hold I have a person calling to talk=	<i>Simon looks at the telephone as he signs "person call me", then back to Paul onscreen.</i>
	S	=YOU HERE PHONE PERSON YOU ok i'm just letting him know that you're ah= English =to you the person is on the phone now for you	<i>Simon points at the telephone, using it as a visual prop. Simon adjusts his seating position and is jovial in his manner with Paul.</i>
	P	ME WHO PERSON ME English who is the person that wants to speak with me	
	S	=putting the call through he's just asking ah who is that who is that on the= P B	<i>Simon loosely signs who towards the telephone as he is speaking</i>
	S	=line there? B.O.B OK THERE aahhh ok right he says oh right= English bob is there ok	<i>Simon nods and provides feedback to Paul as he voices to Bob. Simon swivels his chair slightly.</i>
	P	AH RIGHT++ B.O.B GOOD HOW-ARE- YOU? English ah right yes I know bob good how are you	
	B	bob	
	S	=bob i remember you how are you doing? P = GOOD YOU-OFF DIRECT HIM English i am speaking directly to him not you	<i>Simon and Paul maintain engagement through eye contact on screen as they sign.</i>
	B	i'm good, i'm good, how was your day paul?	
	S	GOOD HOW YOUR DAY YOU PAUL YOU? yeah no it's really good ah giving= English good how was your day paul	<i>Simon continues to nod and engage with Paul while swivelling slightly from side to side.</i>
	P	GOOD GOOD++ ME TEACH++ SIGN LANGUAGE English good very good I was teaching sign language	
	B		

Excerpt 3: “Alright then cheers” (Annie, call 2, 8:18 - 8:41) A=Annie (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), S = Stevie (hearing caller)

1		<i>Paul is signing on screen, Annie sits with her hands clasped and lowers her tone to cue the closing of the call.</i>
	A	much appreciated (.) so remember if you see=
English	P	GOOD THANK-YOU ME PAUL good thank you my name is paul
	S	you're welcome
2		<i>Annie continues to give closing cues, in her tone of voice “alright then, cheers”.</i>
	A	=the name paul come through that's me (..) alright then (.) cheers
	P	
	S	okay thank thank you
3		<i>Annie simultaneously signs “THANK-YOU BYE” to Paul on screen as she also says “thank you, bye” in English to Stevie. Stevie and Annie disconnect while Paul is saying his final goodbye.</i>
	A	thank you (.) bye bye bye
English	P	THANK YOU BYE BYE BYE GOOD thank you bye bye bye good
	S	thanks bye bye bye
4		<i>Paul is checking that the call has been disconnected.</i>
English	A	PHONE HUNG-UP CONFIRM YES I have disconnected the call yes
English	P	ENDING END PHONE-HUNG-UP? (.) GREAT THANK-YOU THAT-ALL RELIEF has the call finished have you disconnected (.) great thank you that is all i am relieved
	S	
5		<i>Annie laughs, nods and wipes her whiteboard clean.</i>
	A	(laughs in agreement)
English	P	THANK-YOU thank you

Excerpt 4: “I’ll be in touch alright, so I’ll say bye for now” (Barbara, call 1, 6:30 - 6:48)

BS= Barbara (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), B = Bob (hearing caller)

1		
	BS	so thanks for your, thanks for your help there
English	P	THANK-YOU THANK-YOU HELP-ME PERFECT APPRECIATE THANK-YOU R-O-B thank you very much your help has been perfect and i appreciate it thank you rob
	B	
2		<i>There is a shift in Barbara’s tone of voice, higher tone for question, and then lower tone for “bye for now”</i>
	BS	bob, and ah yep i'll be in touch alright so i'll say bye for now (..)
English	P	GOOD, GOOD NIGHT, GOOD. good good night good
	B	
3		<i>Barbara signs “BYE++” to Paul and says “bye bye” to Bob in English before reaching over and disconnecting the call, Paul can be seen responding “GOOD BYE” after Barbara has disconnected.</i>
English	BS	thanks very much BYE BYE + bye bye bye bye
English	P	GOOD BYE good bye
	B	okay (..) see ya (..) bye
4		<i>Barbara is laughing and covering her mouth as she coughs, Paul says goodbye to Barbara and disconnects.</i>
English	BS	BYE BYE, GOOD bye bye good
	P	BYE BYE, GOOD, BYE, GOOD

English bye bye goodbye good

Excerpt 5, Part 1: “PERSONAL INSURANCE LIST-1, BUSINESS INSURANCE LIST-2” (Annie, call 5, 1:20)

A= Annie (interpreter), P= Paul (deaf caller), M= Automated Menu System

1		<i>As the call rings, Annie clicks on the sound bar and selects mute to block background noise.</i>
English	A	CALL PICK-UP, ANSWERPHONE RECORDING (.) THANK= the call is connected it is an answerphone recorded message (.) thank=
English	P	=WAVE, PICTURE CLEAR PICTURE YOU= =hello can you see me clearly
	M	thank you for calling [company name] to speak to someone about personal insurance=
2		
English	A	=YOU RING [COMPANY NAME] (.)WANT TALK PERSONAL INSURANCE LIST-1 (.) LIST-2= =you have called [company name] if you want to talk about personal insurance option 1 option 2=
English	P	NAH nah not that
	M	=press 1 (.) to speak to someone about business or commercial insurance=
3		<i>Annie holds listed options on her fingers and repeatedly emphasises that option 2 is business. Annie refers=</i>
English	A	=BUSINESS++++ LIST 2++ BUSINESS INSURANCE 2 (.)LIST-1 PERSONAL= =is business business is option 2 business insurance is option 2 (.) option 1 is personal=
English	P	UNSURE (..) INSURANCE, INSURANCE= i'm not sure (..) insurance select insurance
	M	=press 2 (...) to speak to someone about personal=
4		<i>= back to option 1 listed on her fingers and repeats that option 1 is personal.</i>
English	A	=INSURANCE OR LIST-2 BUSINESS++ 1 OR 2? 2 PUSH =insurance or option 2 is business do you want to select 1 or 2 shall I push 2
English	P	=INSURANCE++ NO, BUSINESS, BUSINESS THINK ME, PERSONAL, PERSONAL= =insurance no not business i don't think business is me, select personal yes personal=
	M	= press 1 (.) to speak to someone about business or commercial=
5		<i>Annie selects option 1 on the keypad</i>
English	A	
English	P	=INSURANCE =insurance
	M	=insurance press 2

Excerpt 5, Part 2: “PERSONAL INSURANCE LIST-1, BUSINESS INSURANCE LIST-2”

(Annie, call 5, 4:10) A= Annie (interpreter), P= Paul (deaf caller)

1		<i>Annie reaches across the desk to press the disconnect button on the phone and disconnects the call. Paul leans back and with an uncertain expression.</i>
English	A	
English	P	WAVE, RIGHT PERSONAL+++ MYSELF (.)CLAIM CAR CRASH ME UNSURE= excuse me was personal means myself the right option to select for my car crash claim i'm unsure=
2		<i>Annie nods in affirmation</i>
English	A	PERSONAL YES PERSONAL, PERSONAL+++ OR YOUR BUSINESS++ personal yes the option was personal or your business
English	P	=PERSONAL? NOT-BUSINESS-NO, PERSONAL-YES RIGHT PERSONAL+++? =if personal is correct business is not right no so personal must be right yes personal
3		
English	A	IF YOUR BUSINESS++ LIST-2-OPTIONS PERSONAL++ OR BUSINESS++ If you are calling about your business choose option 2 the options are personal or business

English	P	NO, NOT WORK, NOT-THAT, GOOD (...)NO, NO, NO, NO++ YES, THAT'S RIGHT no its not related to work its not that option good (...) no definitely not yes that is right
4		
English	A	OPTION 1 option 1
English	P	THAT yes that one

Excerpt 6: "RING WHAT FOR?" B= Barbara (interpreter), P= Paul (deaf caller), M= Automated Menu System.

1		Barbara is nodding in acknowledgement as she is noting the number on her white board
	B	
English	P	CALL 0800 XXX 242 call 0800 XXX 242
2		Barbara uncertainly mouths the word "ok" with lip pattern without using signs.
English	B	Ok (..) 0800 XXX 24 (..) 42 GOOD ok (..) 0800 XXX 24 what is next 42 good
English	P	AGAIN WANT AGAIN (..) 242 END (..) GOOD PERFECT (..) would you like me to give you the number again (..)it ends with 242 (..) good perfect
3		Barbara begins to dial the number but stops midway
English	B	RING WHAT-FOR what are you calling about
English	P	OK (..) RING UM INSURANCE [company name] INSURANCE (..) ok (..) i'm calling um insurance [company name] about insurance
4		Barbara finishes dialing the number and connects the call.
English	B	THANK-YOU FOR CALLING [company name] IF WANT PERSONAL = Thank you for calling [company name] if you want personal=
English	P	UM CLAIM um claim
	M	thank you for calling [company name] to speak to someone about personal insurance=

Excerpt 7: "STOP YOU-EXPLAIN-TO-ME INFORMATION" (Simon, clip 2, 5:15 – 7:47)

S= Simon (interpreter) P= Paul (deaf caller), H= Hospital answering service

1		Simon has dialed the number and the telephone is ringing
English	S	WHO? (.) RING (.) THERE (.) [name of hospital] RADIOLOGY Who are we calling (.) this is [name of hospital] radiology
	P	
	H	you have reached the [name of hospital] radiology confirmation=
2		
English	S	ANSWERPHONE, ANSWERPHONE= This is an answerphone=
English	P	THAT (..) IX RADIOLOGY RIGHT GOOD IX= that is right i want to call radiology good
	H	line after the beep, please leave the patient's date of birth, full name, type=
3		
English	S	=TAPE RECORD+++ THERE =it is a tape recording
English	P	= THAT YES (.) ME BOOK 15TH SEPTEMBER+++= =yes that's right. (.) about my booking for the 15 th September
	H	=of examination, and date and time of the examination (.) please start your=
4		Simon is actively listening and nodding while taking notes on his whiteboard
	S	

English	P	=(..) =(..)	TIME 10 O'CLOCK NEED THEM= the booking time is 10am i need them=
	H	message with the date of birth of the patient	
5		<i>Simon disconnects the call</i>	
English	S		
	P	RADIOLOGY ORGANISE INTERPRETER BOOK (.) SIGN TALK-AT-ME DONT- UNDERSTAND =radiology to book an interpreter for my booking (.) i use sign language I don't understand when they speak english to me	
	H		
6			
English	S	STOP, YOU-EXPLAIN-TO-ME INFORMATION TELL, CALL AGAIN stop there can you explain the information to me then i will call again	
	P		
7			
English	S	ANSWER-PHONE START, GO BACK BACKGROUND INFORMATION OK? the answerphone started you tell me the background information first ok	
	P		
8		<i>Simon smiles, and Paul responds jokingly with a smirk.</i>	
English	S	CLEVER, CLEVER MAN YOU SAID 15/9? clever clever man did you say 15/9	
English	P	OH GOOD FINE GOOD CLEVER OK oh good idea fine good clever yes ok	
9		<i>Simon is nodding to acknowledge Paul and is taking notes.</i>	
	S		
English	P	15TH SEPTEMBER, TIME 10 O'CLOCK, NEED THEM IX RADIOLOGY 15 th September the appointment time is 10 o'clock i need them radiology	
10		<i>Simon is nodding to acknowledge Paul and is taking notes.</i>	
	S		
English	P	HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT IX BOOK INTERPRETER THEM, WHY? MEET TALK-= at the hospital to book an interpreter because i will need to have a discussion	
11		<i>Simon is nodding to acknowledge Paul and is taking notes.</i>	
English	S		NOD AGREE (..)WANT? OH WANT=
English	P	=TO-ME OVER-MY-HEAD, INTERPRETER CALL WANT ME =it will go straight over my head, I want an interpreter to be booked	
12			
English	S	WAVE PHONE PHONE CONFIRM TIME PLEASE BOOK INTERPRETER BOOK+ Ok so you want to phone and confirm the time and request that they please book an interpreter	
English	P	THAT-ALL (.) CONFIRM (.) FINISH FINISH YES NEED THEM= Yes that's all yes confirm and yes I need them=	
13			
English	S	GOOD (..) GOOD HAPPY (..). THEM ORGANISE= good (..) ok good i'm happy (..) its for them to organise=	
English	P	=INTERPRETER BOOK NEED THEM NOT-ME ORGANISE THEM ARRANGE INTERPRETER THEM =to arrange to book an interpreter, they should organise it not me	
14		<i>Simon redials the hospital; the phone rings and then connects</i>	
English	S	= THEM, ME HAPPY RING AGAIN? RING AGAIN GOOD HAPPY? GOOD =yes them ok i'm happy to ring again shall we ring again are you ready good	
English	P	(.) YES YOU YES PLEASE YES PLEASE Yes you go ahead please call yes please	

Excerpt 8: “HEY CALL WHO? CALL WHO?” (Melissa, 15:21- 17:05)

M= Melissa (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), H = Hospital answering service

1		<i>Melissa nods in acknowledgement as she records the number on her whiteboard</i>
English	M	OK ok
English	P	RING 03 XXX 6277 GOOD call 03 XXX 6277 good
2		<i>Melissa breaks eye contact with Paul and reaches dials the number into the phone. Once finished she waves her hand directly at the camera to get Pauls attention and eye contact again.</i>
English	M	HEY CALL WHO? CALL WHO (..) THAT [NAME OF HOSPITAL] RADIOLOGY= Hey who are we calling (..) its [name of hospital] radiology
English	P	THINK UM [NAME OF HOSPITAL] AGREEMENT= I think um its [name of hospital] yes that is it=
	H	hello(.)you have reached the [name of hospital] radiology confirmation=
3		<i>Melissa gives a nod of acknowledgment as Paul provides detail and agrees he is calling the hospital</i>
English	M	=AGREE CONFIRM LINE LEAVE MESSAGE PERSON NAME BORN DAY NAME= =to agree to confirm your booking leave a message with persons name birthday name=
English	P	= NOT RADIOLOGY THAT AGREE YES =not radiology but yes that hospital.
	H	= after the beep, please leave the patient’s date of birth, full name, type of=
4		
English	M	= APPOINTMENT TIME START WITH BIRTHDAY PLEASE WHAT (.)RECORDING= = appointment time starting with your birthday please what is it (.) it is a recording=
	P	
	H	= examination, and date and time of the examination (..) please start=
5		<i>Melissa disconnects the phone call</i>
English	M	= YOU WANT LEAVE MESSAGE WANT YOU? PHONE =do you want to leave a message
English	P	YES, YES++ Yes yes i do
	H	= your message with the date of birth of the patient
6		<i>Paul is indicating that he is ready to leave the message now.</i>
English	M	MAYBE ME WRITE-DOWN INFORMATION THEN HOLD THAT= Maybe I’ll write down the information first and then leave the message=
English	P	YES, ME, YOU READY? READY NOW? yes im ready are you ready now
7		
English	M	=HUNG-UP, WILL RING-BACK BUT FIRST INFORMATION WRITE-DOWN= =i disconnected the call I will call back but first I need to write down your information=
	P	
8		<i>Melissa finishes signing and pulls the lid off her marker and begins taking notes on the white board.</i>
English	M	= THEN CALL RECORD MESSAGE O.K? =then ill call and leave a recorded message ok
English	P	OH RIGHT (.) ME WANT BOOK 15 SEPTEMBER (.) WITH WANT= oh right (.) I want to book the 15 th September (.) and I want=
10		<i>Melissa writes notes on the white board and nods to acknowledge Paul’s comments.</i>
English	M	
English	P	=THAT REQUEST THEY BOOK INTERPRETER COME COMMUNICATION= =to request that they book an interpreter to come and assist with communication=
11		<i>Melissa writes notes on the white board and nods to acknowledge Paul’s comments.</i>

	M			
	P	=MISUNDERSTAND DONT-WANT SIGN LANGUAGE SMOOTH		
English		=to prevent any misunderstanding, id like to communicate fluently in sign language		
12		<i>Paul breaks eye contact. Melissa drops the pen and waves to capture Paul's attention.</i>		
	M	WAVE YOU BOOK INTERPRETER OR YOU ASK THEM BOOK INTERPRETER WHICH=		
English		Do you mean you will book the interpreter or are you asking them to book the interpreter=		
	P			
13		<i>Eye contact is broken again. Melissa waves to indicate she wants to ask another question.</i>		
	M	= THEM YES OK (.) WAVE 15, WAVE, BORN DAY 15 SEP 19... WHAT=		
English		= them yes ok (.) and 15 th what was your birthday 15 th September 19.... what =		
	P	THEM +++		
English		them definitely them		
14				
	M	= NUMBER-FOLLOWS... BIRTHDAY 15 SEP 19....? WHAT NEXT?		
English		= number comes next ...your birthday is 15 th September 19 what comes next		
	P	ME BORN 25=		
English		i was born on the 25th		
15		<i>There is a glitch in skype and Paul freezes on screen, some of the digits are missing in his year of birth.</i>		
	M	25 OH 25 AUGUST	GOOD,...SORRY, HEY, SORRY AGAIN=	
English		25 th oh the 25 th August	good I am sorry hey sorry to ask again=	
	P	AUGUST...197	GOOD (.) BORN (.) UM (.) WHAT?	
English		of august 197	good (.) born (.) um (.) what is your question	
16				
	M	=25 AUGUST WHAT? 19....	THANK-YOU++ OK FULL NAME WHAT TELL ME	
English		=25 th of August what 19....	Thank you thank you ok and what is your full name	
	P	78	SURE	
English		78	sure	
17		<i>Melissa nods to acknowledge that she is following and mouths Paul's names to indicate her understanding followed by a wink and an agreement nod.</i>		
	M			
English				
	P	UM... PAUL SIGN-NAME (fingerspells his full name)		
English		um ... this is my sign name (fingerspells his name in full)		

Excerpt 9: "I'm having surgery, I'd really need to know what's going on" (Annie, call 3, 2:27 - 2:51)

A = Annie (interpreter) P = Paul (deaf caller), H = Hospital reception

1		<i>Annie and Paul overlap, both signing simultaneously, Annie nods to acknowledge what Paul is signing, clasps her hands and waits for a pause in Stevie's speech before interjecting.</i>		
	A	NHI W, LIST-3-NOD, SAY CONFIRM CONFIRM	(.)	ok so i just=
English		is your NHI your third thing yes they say confirm	(.)	
	P	LIST INTERPRETER THIRD-THING-LIST INTERPRETER NEED INTERPRETER=		
English		the interpreter is the third thing i will need an interpreter=		
	H	=i can confirm that um we can go ahead with that appointment		
2		<i>Annie keeps her hands clasped shut, and flexes her fingers while voicing Paul's utterance.</i>		
	A	=do need to confirm as well that a new zealand sign language interpreter has=		
	P	= DEAF INTERPRETER THEM-IX WITH-ME NOT-WANT MISS-INFORMATION=		
English		=because im deaf, they need to arrange the interpreter I do not want to miss information		
	H			
3		<i>Annie keeps her hands clasped shut and shuffles between different holds while voicing Paul's utterance.</i>		
	A	=been booked you know it's very important that this is booked for this in this=		
	P	= WHAT ME UNSURE INFORMATION BAM+		

English	H	=or be unsure about the information wow wow long time
4	A	<i>Annie keeps hands clasped and breaks free to sign MUST and then returns to clasped position as she speaks.</i> =instance MUST you know im having surgery id really need to know whats going= must
English	P	
	H	yes
5	A	<i>Paul points at Annie indicating he is watching her interpretation, Annie returns a silent smile and nod.</i> =on NOD FINE WRITE-DOWN NOD Yes fine they are making a note yes
English	P	LONG-TIME-VOICE BAM (.) MOUTH-MOVE-LONG
English	H	the interpreter talking is a lot her mouth is chattering for a long time um (..) fine ive made a note of that
6	A	<i>Paul rubs his hands together, Annie clasps her hands shut. Annie signs BYE as she speaks the word "bye bye and reaches to disconnect the call while informing Paul "HUNG UP".</i> oh lovely thank you LET-YOU-KNOW thanks bye bye BYE they will let you know bye
English	P	WRITE DOWN THEM NOD
English	H	they have written it down yes and we'll get back to you (.) thank you (.) bye

Excerpt 10: "ah, your saying avocados is it?" (Barbara, call 2, 11:43 – 12:26)

B= Barbara (interpreter), P = Paul (deaf caller), S = Stevie (hearing caller)

1	B	<i>Barbara waves her hand directly at the camera to indicate Stevie is taking a turn.</i> WAVE KIWIFRUIT PACKING SEASON REALLY ENDING SOON, MAYBE= look the kiwifruit packing season is really ending soon maybe=
English	P	
	S	the kiwifruit packing session ah season is coming to an end now, that's probably=
2	B	<i>Paul nods and points as Barbara signs to acknowledge that he is following and wants to respond</i> =THAT-WHY NOTHING HEAR, MAYBE TRY OTHER WAY A.V.O.C.A.D.O BUSY= =that is why you haven't heard maybe try something else like avocados(fingerspelt) they are busy
English	P	OH RIGHT
English	H	oh right
	S	=why you haven't heard um you may be able to pick up some avocado packing=
3	B	<i>Barbara provides a name sign for Katikati (CUT-CUT) and then also fingerspells the place name</i> =KATIKATI K.A.T.I.K.A.T.I ANOTHER SECOND (LIST) OPTION OPOTIKI O.P.O.T.I.K.I.= =in katikati [fingerspells]or another option is opotiki [fingerspells]=
English	P	
	S	=that is getting busy now, i know katikati and opotiki have positions available for=
4	B	=BOTH HAVE ADVERTISE WELCOME STAFF =both places have advertised for staff
English	P	
	S	=packers at the moment
5	B	oh ok sorry so is that ah your saying=
	P	OH RIGHT, WHAT THAT A WORD, A.V.A...?

English	S	oh right what was the word you spelt starting with a.v.a
6	B	=avocados is it? YES GREEN SPLIT OPEN A.V.O.C.A.D.O NOW (NOD=
English	P	yes they are green you split them open a.v.o.c.a.d.o (fingerspelt) now in season=
English	S	AVOCADO AVOCADO a use this sign avocado avocado
	S	yes, yes, it's the avocado season, and um, katikati and opotiki=
7		<i>Paul nods to show his understanding.</i>
	B	=ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR SIGN) AVOCADO YOU, SO NOW PICK PICK++ BUSY=
English	P	=i acknowledge your sign for avocado so now they are in season and ready to be picked the busy=
English	S	AVOCADO++SIGN LIKE THIS, AH YES UNDERSTAND sign avocado like this yes i understand
	S	=have positions at the moment and they're getting busy
8	B	=COMING oh yeah no i am, i'm interested in that
English	P	=time is coming
English	S	INTEREST ME YES, INTEREST +++ WORK THERE yes i am very interested in working there