Signposting: Neutral Channel Communications in Deaf-Hearing Interpreting Teams

by

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SIGNPOSTING: NEUTRAL CHANNEL COMMUNICATIONS IN DEAF-HEARING INTERPRETING TEAMS

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents the results of my own work and has been has been written individually. No sources or tools have been used other than those cited in the bibliography. Where appropriate, I have fully acknowledged the ideas of others or have made reference to work carried out in collaboration with other persons. I understand that as an examination candidate I am required to abide by the examination regulations and to conform to my university's regulations and I declare that I have done so to the best of my ability.

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Student Signature

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Date

Dedication

To Lou Fant, who taught me that some of the most profound teaching occurs in the quietest moments.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the many people who helped make this thesis a reality. First, I would like to thank my parents, Jeff and Janet Smith, who gave me the motivation to always improve upon my circumstances. To my husband, Robert Lambert, who supported me in my studies and in the raising of our children. My sister, Amber Smith, who helped care for my children while I was abroad studying. My best friend, Christina Lee, who has also helped with childcare and served so often as a reminder that there is life after grad school. To Mindy Lanie, who has been a professional ally for two decades, a companion in this Masters journey, and my personal cone of silence. To Anne Leahy, my mentor in many things (professionalism, writing, and life). To Gena Meroth, the ever talented librarian, and her inexhaustible efforts in research. To my study participants who gave me their time and wisdom. To the Deaf community who has allowed me to create a life I never imagined.

"If I have seen further it is by standing on the shoulders of Giants."
– Sir Isaac Newton

Abstract

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Although Deaf interpreters have been working in a lay capacity for centuries and professionally for decades, their work often remains misunderstood, marginalized and underutilized. Analyzing the work of Deaf interpreters becomes problematic when the source language they are using—that provided by a Hearing interpreter—is inconsistent. There is a dearth of team training opportunities for Hearing interpreters working alongside Deaf interpreters, and this severely limits the co-creation of effective translations for a range of clients in diverse settings. This study examines communication concurrent to active interpretation within Deaf-Hearing teams and reveals a critical component in generating successfully interpreted interactions, now known as "signposting". I seek herein to refine our understanding of signposting and to reveal the wider range of neutral channel communications occurring within the Deaf and Hearing team.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose and Significance of the Study

The field of signed language interpreting has changed a great deal over time. In America, sign language interpreters were historically helpers: friends, family or neighbors, lending their hands and voices for people in their communities. With the continued advocacy of the National Association of the Deaf, recognition of American Sign Language as a language equal to spoken languages in grammatical structure and syntactical complexity (Stokoe, 1978) and the incorporation of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, interpreting has become increasingly professionalized and regulated. Interpreting evolved in stages from the original community volunteer model (Mindess, 2006), first to a machine or conduit model coinciding with the advent of professionalization (Quigley & Youngs, 1965; Metzger, 1999), then to a communication facilitator model (Roy, 1989), an ally model (Baker-Shenk, 1985) and finally a "designated interpreter" model (Hauser & Hauser, 2008). The most recent evolution, as yet unnamed, seeks to include interpreters who are themselves Deaf as members of the interpreting team. Systemic change often causes a certain amount of turmoil as interpreters struggle to transition from one model to another, often choosing an approach based on exigency (Baker-Shenk, 1985).

Although the idea of Deaf interpreters (DIs) is not a new one and has been sparingly established as such in the literature, most researchers continue to disregard the historical evidence extending at least as far back as 1880 (Boudreault, 2005; Leahy, 2015) as well as the formal certification of Deaf interpreters since 1972 (Bienvenu & Colonomos, 1992; RID, 2015b), and persist in treating the field as an entirely new one. Despite Bienvenu & Colonomos' (1992) challenge over the authenticity of certification for DIs in the early period of issuance of

the Reverse Skills Certificate, the professional status of DIs is certainly of a similar vintage to that of HIs, if not as well matured. Perhaps because of this, research examining the work and role of the DI is still in its infancy and most often focuses entirely upon the actions of the DI. Analyzing and critiquing the work of DIs, however, relies on the erroneous assumption that DIs enjoy the luxury of working from a consistent source product (Hearing interpreters, or HIs) within the framework of established pedagogy and interpreter process modeling. A lack of training and clarity of purpose for HIs in turn prevents clarification of the DI's purpose and what the best practices should be. Thus many of the assumptions made in the current research corpus may be called into question. Until HIs can be relied upon to offer a consistent, quality product to the DI, DIs will continue to spend the bulk of their preparation time with a new interpreter simply orienting them to the unique experience of working with a DI.

This orientation and training would be more consistent and effective were it to occur within interpreter preparation programs, but there are no clear guidelines providing actionable HI strategies. In fact the literature does not yet acknowledge that there *is* a difference in the teaming process of a DI-HI team and an HI-HI team. This study will examine themes of team collaboration that hint at the next possible evolution in interpreting practice.

1.1.1 A New Buzzword.

At the Institute on Legal Interpreting Conference in 2014 in Denver, Colorado, a buzzword representing a new concept began to circulate: signposting. A new semantic was needed for the phenomenon of communication interpreters were experiencing in their work with DIs. During the conference signposting was defined as what interpreters did to indicate particular challenges in messages relevant or pertinent to the interpretation, much in the same way that

signs on the freeway warn travelers of exits or diversions. The English and American Sign Language use of "signposting" as accepted terminology appears to have originated with Stephanie Clark, a DI based in the New England area. She describes coining the term:

> Well, you know that book about cross-culture? [Mindess, "Reading Between the Signs"] In that, they discuss how interpreters working with Deaf consumers negotiate meaning and use the concept of signposting. They didn't specifically use the term "signposting" but rather described a particular function of language, and how we use language when signing. Reading that made a lot of sense. In discussions with my Hearing interpreter colleagues, I realized that they often have the sense that they've become *my* interpreter—and that's not my approach. I look at it as a collaboration and I want them to communicate with me while we work, but I needed to figure out a way to talk about this thing that we're doing to talk to each other during the work. When I came across signposting in that book, that term seemed to fit what we experience. This helped to describe this particular function of internal team communication that's occurring between the Deaf and Hearing team. (Clark, personal communication, July 31, 2015)

A thorough review of Mindess' book does not reveal any specific mentions about signposting or even discuss ideas in this vein using different vocabulary. The origins of the term may then remain a mystery, born of an entirely organic thought process. The University of Cumbria offers this wisdom on their website:

> It's the way you signal the path you have taken though an assignment. In other words, it's the information you give about what topics are going to be covered, the order in which

> they come and the angle or focus of the discussion or argument. (What is signposting?, 2015)

While this is intended to apply to clear writing skills, the parallel to Clark's analysis and to the examples offered by the respondents in this study, is clear.

Clark also coined the sign used to describe this phenomenon. Her sign choice is interesting in that it visually describes the passage of directional signs on the highway, but the most telling feature of the sign is the location where it is produced. Properly done, the sign is performed lower and to the side of the normal signing space. This location becomes home to all manner of neutral channel communications in the DI-HI team, as will be shown in this study.

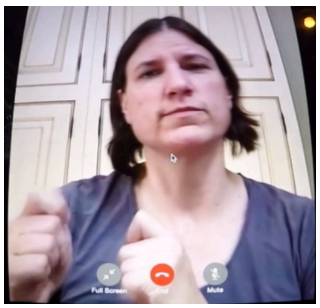

Figure 1: Stephanie Clark demonstrates her sign for "Signposting"

The results of this study may be used in interpreting pedagogy to better prepare HIs and to a certain extent DIs, in working within a DI-HI team. The themes developed by the interview subjects add to the body of established research on teaming while further identifying and defining the in situ communications between interpreting team members. This study determined that although signposting is a hallmark of successful DI-HI teams, it is in fact only one of many communication categorizations that occur in the neutral channel between team members.

1.2 Problem Statement

This study seeks to produce a working definition of "signposting" and to further categorize and evaluate the communication occurring during the interpreting process between DI-HI teams. This examination will focus primarily on the HI role. Using the framework of teaming theory (Hoza, 2010; Brück, 2011; Russell, 2011), defining and categorizing signposting

communication will offer practical itemizations of actionable suggestions to support the development and maintenance of rapport, as well as concurrent negotiations within the team.

As most of the extant literature is concerned with examining and characterizing the role and work of the DI, this study is unique in examining the HI's process. Any data recovered that strays into an evaluation of the DI's role and work will not be included and is beyond the scope of this examination. Clearly defining the job tasks of Deaf interpreters may aid in reducing the resistance of Hearing interpreters in requesting and working with DIs, and a skills inventory certainly would be useful in developing educational and training curricula to advance the burgeoning DI population. However, language and social politics makes these avenues of investigation difficult for Hearing researchers and are likely better served by Deaf interpreters, who hold the insider's perspective into their interpreting process. DIs are now attending interpreter preparation programs and funding efforts have led to the development of curriculum designed specifically towards the Deaf interpreter's work. As these individuals continue to acquire academic training, in addition to field experience, the numbers of DIs producing research in interpreting will continue to rise.

As it stands, the growing narrative in the literature subsumes the identity of the HIs who are most directly responsible for the majority of signed language interpreting. A history of oppression against the Deaf community makes HIs, who are trained to remain impartial, loathe to insert their voices into a narrative often overlooked by the wider hearing world. The narrow focus of this study on the interaction between DIs and HIs and an emphasis on training protocols to improve the HIs work is a conscious decision by me to highlight the voice of the HI while

simultaneously contributing to the body of research in support of a DI-HI interpreting team paradigm.

Consulting the available literature in sign language interpreting studies yields no research that has sought to analyze, quantify, categorize or even label the unique actions and techniques employed in a DI-HI team. Literature covering writing, examinations of the Deaf interpreter, traditional HI-HI team interpreting, and other domains combine to create the theoretical framework to address the main research questions:

- In examining the communications that occur in situ concurrent with the interpreting process between the Deaf and Hearing interpreters, what definition of "signposting" may be distilled?
- Is signposting the only communication occurring between Deaf and Hearing interpreters during the process?
- How important is signposting to the perceived success of a Deaf and Hearing interpreting team?

1.3 Definitions and Assumptions

As with any text dealing with signed language communities, this paper will use the well-established deaf/Deaf (Padden & Humphries, 1988) and hearing/Hearing conventions to maintain working definitions. Capitalized "D" will refer to the sociological identity and lowercase "d" will refer to the pathological condition of deafness. "Hearing" will indicate the sociological identity of membership with the majority of the world while "hearing" will refer to the audiological status of the individual.

Sign language interpreters will be referred to as "SLI" when being discussed as a collective group.[1] Distinctions between Deaf interpreters and Hearing interpreters will be noted with the use of the convention of "DI" and "HI". In the interviews, interpreters sometimes refer to "CDIs", a common acronym used in the United States to mean "Certified Deaf Interpreter". However, this acronym does not always refer to certification status and may include DIs with and without certification.

"Effective interpretation" has been defined as "apprehension of the language and comprehension of the message through a process of analysis and exegesis; immediate and deliberate discarding of the wording and retention of the mental representation of the message (concepts, ideas, etc.); [and] production of a new utterance in the target language which must meet a dual requirement: it must express the original message in its entirety, and it must be geared to the recipient." (Seleskovitch, 1978:9). Interpreters are continuously making decisions about the meaning of the source message, how to abandon the source form and convey the message in the target language structure, and conveyance of the intent and communication goals of the interlocutors. This is the working definition of this term whenever discussion appears in this paper about the efficacy of the work.

Shaw (1994) offers a definition of team interpreting as "two or more interpreters, who contract for a common interpreting assignment and work together as one unit (a team), in which they are both responsible for the entire interpretation" (p. 246).

In keeping with modern perspectives on teaming, the roles of the interpreters in the HI-HI team will be referred to as the "lead" and "monitor" (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Hoza, 2010).

[1] As the majority of SLIs are female, I will use feminine pronouns when referring generally to interpreters. When referring to my interview subjects, I will use gender appropriate pronouns.

Additionally, some DI-HI teams feature multiple interpreters. “Lead” will also refer to the DI and HI actively conducting the work. “Monitor” will refer to the role of any additional interpreters present in the team.

The work being done by the DI will follow the taxonomy established in Boudreault’s (2005) analysis on the job functions of a DI. “Mirroring” may be done by DIs involved in (typically) platform settings where they may replicate the grammatical features of the presenter, audience members or of the HI. A DI “facilitator” replaces the terms “relay” or “intermediary” and refers to the same task of communicating with a Deaf consumer who has educational, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds that make them difficult for non-native signers to understand and may also refer to working with International Sign, as this is not a natural, signed language and will involve many of the same strategies as other facilitation takes require. Working with Deaf-Blind people requires a shift in modality to tactile sign language and will be noted as “tactile” processing. In keeping with the views in the field of interpreting and translation studies, “interpreting” will only used with a DI when referring to interactions where the DI is working from one national signed language to another national signed language.

All activities conducted by the monitor interpreter to aid the lead interpreter in continuing with the interpretation task fall under the heading of “support.” This support can manifest in offering sign vocabulary choices, spoken words or phrases, or clarifications to the content.

The term “process” may be used to refer to either the interpreting tasks being conducted in situ or to describe the preparation of an assignment, offering of feedback, and use of strategies by the team interpreters working together. The distinction will be made clear in context.

"Processing time" will be used to refer to the lag that occurs between the interpreter's perception of a message and the rendering of that message into the target language.

"Signposting" will be defined in the course of this paper to refer to a specific type of communication that occurs between DI-HI teams. Signposts are information about the content of the interpreted message that are meant to guide or redirect the interpreter producing the end product interpretation to creating a better, more effective interpretation. Other communications shared by the team that don't directly relate to the interpreted content may also be present. These communications share the characteristic of using the "neutral channel" that signposting uses. Neutral channel refers to the phenomena of the interpreter leaning out and down from their narrative signing space in order to convey a message intended solely for the other interpreter.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This review will provide background and context to the overall structure and function of the DI-HI teaming process. A critical analysis is offered of the available research and training materials in place for DIs, and a brief discussion ensues of those few points of HI competencies relevant to this study identified in the literature. The section is completed by an extensive review of teaming pedagogy, setting the stage for themes developed from the collection of interview responses.

2.2 The Creation Myth

The literature on DIs remains nascent and sparse. This dearth of analysis often leads researchers into perpetuating certain creation myths surrounding the field of sign language interpreting. In addition, a meme on the concept of Deaf interpreters is that "interpreters who are Deaf as opposed to interpreters for the Deaf, are relatively new in the interpreting profession" (Bentley-Sassaman, 2010: 1), indicating that she may not be discussing the origins of the *lay* DI, which we know to be a matter of record in common law courts extending historically at least to 1880 and perhaps further (Leahy, 2015). DIs were granted professional status in 1972 when the U.S. based Registry of Interpreter for the Deaf (RID) began offering the Reverse Skills Certificate (RSC). This was less than a decade after the inception of the organization in 1964 and concurrent with the incorporation of RID and the offering of the hearing interpreter certification, the Comprehensive Skills Certificate (CSC). The historical evidence therefore belies the prevalent assumptions that the Deaf interpreter is a new phenomenon.

Additional assumptions are held about the skills and abilities that DIs have, often mentioned in the literature but not supported with empirical evidence. Boudreault boldly theorizes that "teaming the hearing interpreter with a DI increases the quality of interpretation for everyone" (Boudreault, 2005: 326). Even though he acknowledges that this idea doesn't necessarily mean that HIs are incompetent, his disclaimer seems to be largely overlooked in other studies that seek to quote him. In declaring that HIs are generally second language users of ASL, Bentley-Sassaman (2010) claims that, "Deaf interpreters will have grown up using the language and have been immersed in Deaf culture." (p. 2) No demographic statistics exist concerning DIs working in a lay capacity or applying for certification that might verify whether they were truly raised using sign language. Indeed, as the Deaf community has dealt with oppression and prohibitions against the use of sign language since the 1880 conference in Milan (Leahy, 2015), there are vanishingly few Deaf people outside of exiguous generationally Deaf families who acquire sign language at a young enough age to be considered native signers. While native fluency of the language may theoretically be a desired skill and a shared cultural life a pre-requisite for a working DI, in practical application neither of these are required to stand for the Certified Deaf Interpreter (CDI) examination (RID, 2015). Without this requirement, the border to professionalization is porous and may allow any person with a suitable audiogram to stand for the exam.

Mathers (2005) suggests a broadening of the employment of DIs based on criteria that call for DIs in legal settings.. Her proposal comes from an analysis of data that identified half of working hearing interpreters specializing in legal having worked with deaf interpreters 75% of the time. The assumption that the experiences of these interpreters should be extended to

generalist practice is a non sequitur that fails to take into account the sociological, linguistic and ethnic identities of the consumers most commonly found in the American legal system. In 2009, African-Americans make up 45% of felony defendants (Reaves, 2013), but just 12.6% of the general population (Humes, Jones & Ramirez, 2011). Hispanics/Latinos are 24% of felony defendants and only 12.5% of the general population. However, Caucasians make up 72.4% of the general population and only 30% of felony defendants. Mental health problems are found in 56% of State prisoners (James & Glaze, 2006). In 2000, 82% of defendants in felony cases met the income guidelines to warrant court appointed representation (Wolf Harlow, 2000). SLIs in the U.S are 87.9% Caucasian, 4.8% African American, and 4.4% Hispanic (RID, 2015). No reports are available to give us an industry-wide accounting of mental illness among SLIs, but the median annual wage was $45,430 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012), four times the poverty threshold of $11,770 for an individual (ASPE, 2015). Clearly, SLIs are not representative of the populations standing before the court. Considering the disparity between likely defendants and the available corps of professional qualified SLIs and that race, mental health, and poverty are some of the positive indicators dictating the employment of a DI-HI team, it does not follow to say that the skills of a DI working in legal settings can be or should be applied in generalist contexts. In addition, the evaluative arguments made before the court rest in the strong protections offered in the Constitution that guarantees access and participation to the legal proceedings, legal counsel, and confronting and questioning witnesses. The protections outside of legal settings, the reasonable accommodation provisions offered by the Americans with Disabilities Act, do not offer the same strength of force in convincing hiring entities to pay for double the interpreting personnel. More work remains to be done to identify the positive factors

indicating a need to employ DIs specific to generalist settings as the legal context does not provide a sufficient template.

2.3 DI Competencies

2.3.1 Compensating for a lack.

A great deal of the controversy surrounding DIs and the reluctance to call upon their services is rooted in the framing of the rhetoric surrounding their specialization. The meme persists in the literature that a DI is a suitable solution to compensate for a lack of skill on the part of the HI (Bentley-Sassaman 2011, Bentley-Sassaman & Dawson 2012, Mathers 2009; Moody 2007). This framing carries over from these academic offerings to influence public opinion. ASLized released a video in 2014 titled "The Benefits of Deaf Interpreters" meant as an advocacy-training tool to get Deaf people to understand why a DI may be suitable for more than just those people who are developmentally delayed. Unfortunately, most of the personal accounts frame the experience as needing a DI because the HI was unable to achieve an outcome comparable to a DI. Their statements imply that all HIs would be similarly incapable and that all DIs would invariably be capable of redressing the situation. There is no research to support such a contention, and the perpetuation of this notion damages the growth of the DI profession by alienating HIs—who should be the DIs' closest allies—and by narrowing perceptions on the purpose and uses of DIs' expertise. Indeed, the small body of research tangentially related to this area suggests the opposite of such assumptions, as 96% of Deaf consumers report that "always, often, or sometimes" they are able to establish a comfort level and can understand and communicate fully with the hearing interpreter (Cokely & Winston, 2008). Such a high success rate does not track with rhetoric inferring HIs to be generally incompetent. Ressler also notes that

"there is no evidence verifying the assumption that messages produced in ASL by Deaf relay interpreters are, in fact, more linguistically accurate and culturally appropriate than those produced by their hearing counterparts." (1999: 73). Sixteen years later, this void of research has not been redressed.

2.3.2 Developing pedagogy.

Cokely points out that "there is much about the work of our Deaf colleagues that we do not yet understand and that they may not be able to fully articulate" and lacking this understanding may mean that "to assess and certify competence in the absence of such fundamental research" is not possible (2004: 20). As DIs continue to mature into their professional roles and more researchers are drawn to examining the work of DIs, a critical mass of experience and scholarship is beginning to develop to propel DIs forward. Organizations such as the National Consortium of Interpreter Education Centers have begun to produce training products targeted for DIs to be used in interpreter education programs.

Unfortunately there are still gaps in the materials being produced by NCIEC. The NCIEC Deaf Interpreter working group defines the DI as "a specialist who provides interpretation and transliteration services, most commonly between signed language and other visual and tactual communication forms used by individuals who are Deaf, Hard-of-Hearing, and Deaf-Blind; translation between a signed language and written texts; and interpretation between two signed languages" (Beldon, et al 2010: 1). There is no mention that Deaf interpreters are intended to fill a competency gap for HIs. Furthermore, gaps in the guidelines suggested by the working group exist in their inventory of skills. All six of the core competencies identified by the NCIEC for DIs involve pre-conferencing to establish alignment of philosophies and logistics, but none of

these identify how to achieve goals such as "manag[ing] information flow with the team, and effect[ing] a mutual monitoring process in the co-construction of complete and accurate interpretation" (Beldon, et al 2010: 6-7). This denies the reality of communicative constraint that exists once the interlocutors are present and pre-conferencing has concluded. Interestingly, the report cites a quote that is not directly handled in the text, but offers a neat summary of sentiments expressed by participants in this study:

> When I work with a hearing team partner, I feel it is important to maintain an ongoing dialogue starting from pre-assignment and ending with post- assignment. This dialogue process helps us create a true partnership in our efforts to provide optimal interpretation. – Deaf Interpreter (Beldon, et al 2010:8).

Curriculum development that is supported by a strong foundation of research to identify the specific job tasks, functions, and roles of the Deaf interpreter is repeatedly called for in the literature (Mathers, 2005; Forestal, 2005; Cokeley, 2005; Boudreault, 2005). Unfortunately, saying a thing often does not make it true and a full decade after these giants in the field began issuing the call still sees a world with little training available, no specialized interpreting degrees for DIs, and only marginal inclusion of Deaf people in interpreter training programs.

2.3.3 Working with HIs.

It is interesting to note that the CDI knowledge exam eligibility requirements specifically require only 8 hours of training on the "Process of Interpretation" with suggested topics that include "Deaf/Hearing Team Interpreting" and "Deaf/Deaf Team Interpreting" (RID, 2015a). Given that DIs will work with an HI almost 100% of the time, this lack of team training is an unfortunate downplaying of the importance of developing collaborative processing skills.

Ressler's (1999) study intended to examine observable differences between "direct interpretation" and "intermediary interpretation" and is the only study found in the course of this literature review to examine variances in HI performance while operating in a DI-HI team construct. Relevant to this study, she noted that a manner of communicating existed between the DI and the HI that resulted in three specific occurrences. These occurrences can be mapped as corrections, request for repetitions, and situational explanations (e.g. explaining why the audience is responding to an auditory stimulus not visually obvious to the DI). Ressler does not examine this unique intra-team communication and does not offer any analysis or opinion on the importance of this communication. However, her study was limited to a single DI-HI team and the identification of intra-team communication as a necessary component to successful team translation was unlikely to be apparent with the limited data set. A further limitation of Ressler's study is that she was only examining the work of a DI-HI team working in a "platform" setting where the DI's function was entirely to offer an ASL translation free of hearing accent and prosodic markers. She does not study the interactions of a DI-HI team when the DI is engaged in interpreting into a signed language other than ASL; working into tactile ASL; or working with juveniles, developmentally disabled, foreign born, or mentally ill Deaf people who present with idiosyncratic language or with language dysfluency. Not only would a change in the parameters of Ressler's study likely yield significantly different results, but presumably additional teaming strategies would be found within case sets requiring the DI to work in these different ways.

2.4 HI COMPETENCIES

2.4.1 A lack of description.

Ressler's 1999 study was the first and only study to note that no research "has been conducted determining what, if anything, the hearing interpreter must do differently" (1999: 71) while in a DI-HI team as compared with working in the more commonly found HI-HI teams. The research focus on the roles and functions of DIs neglects to describe what the HI can actually do in a practical sense to bring the paradigm of fostering a collaborative interpreting process to fruition. While Napier, McKee, and Goswell (2006) have said that the HI has to be extremely skilled and competent at what he or she does to get it all right and offer guidance as to what an HI may do when working with a Deaf person who is presenting, they remain silent about strategies HIs may employ when working with a DI.

Ressler (1999) is one of the few scholars to acknowledge the additional cognitive burdens placed upon the HI as a member of a DI-HI team, above and beyond the loads experienced in a standard interpreting transaction. When working in a DI-HI team, the HI must also control the flow of information to the DI; monitor the DI's comprehension; and handle clarifications between the interlocutors, the DI and the HI, or the DI and the hearing interlocutor. This complicated process is not well met by a novice HI who may still be struggling with the cognitive demands of the basic interpreting process.

RID is surprisingly silent on topic areas that hopeful candidates for the National Interpreter Certification should become versed in to stand for the exams. Presumably, the assumption is that candidates will have touched on teaming in their interpreter preparation programs, but a degree in interpreting is still not required of candidates by RID. Candidates must only be 18 years of age or older to submit for the written knowledge exam. The performance

exam only requires passing the knowledge exam and either a "bachelor's degree or higher in any field" or completion of the Educational Equivalency Application (RID, 2015b). Without a perquisite for certification, training in team interpreting is by no means guaranteed for HIs working in the field.

Bentley-Sassaman quotes Ressler and underplays both the role of the HI and the role of the Deaf consumer. There is an emphasis here on the Deaf interpreter doing the active work while the hearing interpreter assumes a subservient, conduit role:

> In these Deaf-hearing teams, the hearing interpreter acts as an intermediary, relaying messages from the hearing client to the Deaf interpreter. When the hearing client speaks, the hearing interpreter signs the message to the Deaf interpreter. The Deaf interpreter takes the message from the hearing interpreter and reformulates it into the language of the Deaf client (Bentley-Sassaman, 2010: 1, quoting Ressler, 1999).

This implies that the HI merely "signs" while the DI does the more active task of reformulating the message. Failing to mention that the HI may take on the active role when she processes the Deaf consumer's elocution into spoken English further marginalizes the HI's role. This "intermediary" or "relay" perspective on the process erodes the cohesiveness between the DI and the HI in co-creating the product via the process. Such descriptions suggest that the interpreters work independently and wait until the proverbial baton is handed to them before engaging in their portion of the task, when in reality they are actively involved for the duration.

2.4.2 An unflattering assumption.

Bentley-Sassaman's (2010) largest disservice to HIs is her persistent framing of HIs lacking in fluency as being the primary consideration for the hiring of a DI. As she states:

> Due to the amount of time it takes a hearing interpreter to master ASL, and taking into consideration the fact that some hearing interpreters never master ASL, the need for Deaf-hearing interpreter teams becomes clear. (page 38)

There is a logical fallacy in assuming that the solution to the inadequate skills of hearing interpreters is to fill the gap with Deaf interpreters (Bentley-Sassaman, 2010; Ressler, 1999; Mathers, 2009). Stauffer (2006) conducted a comparative study between sign language and spoken language interpreters and found that SLI in interpreting programs have studied sign language for far few years than spoken language interpreters have studied their respective languages. This suggests that the gap in consumer needs' would better be addressed by requiring a longer period of formal language study before undertaking training in interpreting. This framing of the need for DIs as arising from some lack of skill or training on the part of HIs results in a unintended potential consequence. Should those deficits be redressed, DIs would find the need for their work evaporating as HIs increasingly hedged them out. This paradigm can only exist because it heedlessly limits the role of the DI to cleaning up sloppy work done by the HI originally and does not acknowledge the additional strategies, techniques, and linguistic variances employed by DIs that are not available to HIs due to a lack of shared life experiences or the demands of power and privilege politics. Boudreault's (2005) initial inventory of potential applications for the talents of DIs offers a more affirmative analysis of the work that is not based around a presumption of failure by the HI.

Bentley-Sassaman often notes that training for DI-HI teams is non-existent, but this is no longer true and wasn't true at the time of her 2009 writing. For the past twenty years, nearly every RID conference on the national, regional, and local levels has included some training

aimed towards improving teamwork and collaboration within interpreting teams and has specifically included the DI-HI paradigm since at least the 2007 RID National Convention. Bentley-Sassaman's analysis of the teaming work done with a DI-HI configuration remains at the theoretical level with suggestions for practical application of those theories. She identifies a few training resources available to Deaf interpreters (most notably the Deaf Interpreter Institute, which has gathered a wide collection of literature and a limited collection of training videos), but fails to identify training that is geared for HIs to learn to be competent partners in a DI-HI team.

2.4.3 Vague suggestions.

Unfortunately, suggestions for training in Bentley-Sassaman's thesis are difficult to make actionable, directing students to reflect on their work and consider what they could do "better", without a clear explanation of what that might look like in practical application. She correctly notes later in her work that there is little in the way of instructive material on the teaming process and what little there is does not focus on the needs and mechanisms of the a DI-HI team. My study examines a specific component of that teaming construct, intra-team communication, and asserts that a quantifiable component of effective teaming is the establishment of an open neutral channel of communication to be used in situ.

HIs are most accustomed to working with Deaf people as their clients and not as colleagues who are knowledgeable in the art of interpreting. This new dynamic can be difficult to navigate for HIs, as they have become accustomed to the power balance associated with "The deaf person in those situations is not the expert; rather, he or she is relying on the expertise of others." (Napier, Carmichael & Wiltshire, 2008: 22). Napier, Carmichael, & Wiltshire were speaking of Deaf professionals who remain, ultimately, the consumers of the interpreting

services—but the same truth exists for the DI. They are professionals with expertise to offer, occupying a different professional position than the Deaf end users of the interpreting services. HIs must become aware of these differing power dynamics and be prepared with strategies to meet the needs of their professional colleagues.

2.5 Teaming

2.5.1 Developing paradigms.

There is a small but growing body of work in the literature that discusses team interpreting. What little exists largely refers to teamwork in the context of two HIs working together and the support strategies used between them (Birr, 2008; Brück, 2011; Cokely and Hawkins, 2003; Davies, 1986; Fischer, 1993; Hoza, 2010; Russell, 2011; Shaw, 1995). The sole academic treatment of DI-HI teams is still relatively recent (Bentley-Sassaman & Dawson, 2012) and has been discussed extensively above. The literature has evolved incrementally to note that teaming is an essential function of interpreting and that skills need to be identified, quantified, and included in training curriculum. Unfortunately, some of the taxonomy surrounding teaming in these academic pieces demonstrates a perspective on teaming that may be considered outdated. For example, Bentley-Sassaman and Dawson (2012) describes the traditional roles of the HI-HI team as an "off interpreter" and an "on interpreter". This reinforces the notion that the second interpreter is not an active participant in the translation process. Hoza's (2010) framing of the interpreter roles as "lead" and "monitoring" better represent the function of the team members, but still neglects to consider the DI-HI paradigm where each interpreter is actively engaged in both the interpretation and monitoring process throughout the interaction.

In 1999 RID published an article by Fischer in which she noted, "Sign Language interpreters perceive the concept of team interpreting to mean sharing or splitting an assignment." (p.11) Fischer advocated for a change in the standard practice of interpreters who physically leave the room or mentally disengage from the process, by introducing the idea of the "feeder" interpreter, who was responsible for monitoring and supporting the active interpreter. This marked a departure from the established precedent and is evidence of the maturation of a profession now protected by the legal requirement in the United States to provide interpreting services in accordance with the Americans with Disabilities Act 1990.

The most thorough treatment of team interpreting is found in Hoza (2010). According to Hoza (2010: 4-10), interpreters have three different views on team interpreting. Some interpreters see the process as an "independent" task in which they rotate at predetermined intervals and offer no monitoring or support to the lead interpreter. Another view allows for the monitoring and support of the lead interpreter as needed. The most involved perspective is the "collaborating/interdependent" process in which the interpreters go beyond simple monitoring and support and instead collaborate in producing a team product. DI-HI teams have very little choice about which approach they will use, since the nature of the DI-HI process demands a collaborative/interdependent effort. However, interpreters who do not hold to this methodology in their HI-HI work are unlikely to smoothly transition to this type of practice when part of a DI-HI team. DIs will continue to struggle with HI teams who are rooted in a paradigm that has not yet evolved to meet the changing demands of the field.

2.5.2 A brief inventory of teaming competencies.

Effective teaming can best be developed via effective dialogue. Senge (1990) suggests three ground rules to invite participation: a suspension of assumption (being willing to examine assumptions instead of reflexively defending them), eliminating a hierarchy (regarding each other as colleagues), and engaging with a spirit of inquiry. This last is especially important to consider since "just as physicians make the most intractable patients, interpreters can be the least mindful communicators." (Leahy, 2015:1). Birr (2008) suggests, "when interpreters treat each other with respect and dignity in the midst of constructive criticism, they open the door for collegial support and real growth" (p. 8).

Hoza (2010) conducted a survey that asked interpreters to share their thoughts on what features make an effective team, but specifies that this question had been framed in the context of two hearing interpreters. Four primary topics emerged in response to the question. First and foremost, respondents identified pre- and post-assignment discussions as necessary to developing effective teaming. This was followed, in descending order of importance, by good team communication, attentiveness to the interpretation, and awareness of team members' strengths and weaknesses. A similar inventory can be found in Shaw (1994): "A successful working team requires several qualities: sound communication abilities; trust and rapport; a shared frame of reference; the desire to improve; an ability to analyze the work; and, complementary skills and interests." (p. 265). Specific support functions are rarely identified in the literature, but Snyder & Snyder (2011) enumerated a short list. Interpreters may offer cultural or linguistic adjustments, offer clarification on transitions to new topics, share predictions, acknowledge the certainty of the interpretation, and signpost the speaker's points to improve organization and flow.

2.5.3 Let's talk.

Birr (2008) places emphasis on team communication in an effort to achieve greater accuracy of the message. Davies (1986) offers an elaborate explanation on the value of teaming and claims that teaming is a valuable factor in mentoring novice interpreters. He recommends that interpreters "take notes relative to TL production, semantic accuracy, lag time, and the like." (p. 113), but these suggestions are not likely to port over to the DI-HI teaming dynamic as linguistic fluency and command of processing time may be assumed (Napier, McKee, and Goswell, 2006). Festinger (1999) examined a study conducted on airline pilots that sought to determine what the pilots with the lowest error rates were doing that set their work apart from others. The most successful pilots invested their time in developing a rapport with the crew. Even a simple introduction and a reminder of the shared goal of passenger safety had a decisive impact on the team's performance. This is a useful reminder for interpreters seeking practical advice on developing team communication.

A common oversight in preparation conversations is how the team can communicate while actively engaged in the interpreting process. For experienced HIs new to the HI-DI team process, the sudden realization of the logistical conundrum facing them is often an uncomfortable moment. DIs often expect the HI to have a solution ready, but are often unable to articulate what that solution should be.

2.5.4 Note taking.

Shaw (1994) conducted a study done of notes she had faithfully kept over the course of an extended assignment. She analyzed and classified these notes into categories to yield information about the content of the communication shared within her HI-HI team. My study is a

counterpoint to Shaw's findings in that the nature of the communication in the HI-HI team is markedly different from that found in a DI-HI team. Of course, a DI-HI team cannot use written notes unless the interpreting process is being done consecutively and even then the nature of those notes is likely to be entirely focused on prompts to allow the interpreters to recall the source content while rendering the interpretation. Using notes to communicate within the team is not practical when both parties are actively using sign language for the duration. An exception may be when seen when the DI-HI team configuration involves more than two individuals (i.e. two HIs and two DIs as a constellation of interpreters in a given teaming configuration), but these configurations are still quite rare and the effective teaming methodologies are, as yet, still uncharted in the literature. Shaw's study found that HIs primarily used notes to communicate questions about the language, sign choices, and the interpreting situation. They also used statements to note behaviors of the interlocutors or to offer explanations for their own performance. Some of these questions and statements came in the form of dialogue between the interpreters, which may relate directly to the interpreted message (e.g. sharing cultural knowledge) or may be superfluous (e.g. offering to share food). Quotes of the source language were often used to request clarification or correction, to highlight an effective interpretation, or to mark issues for later discussion. This sort of bookmarking in particular is not available to DI-HI teams who must largely rely upon memory to discuss challenges and brainstorm solutions for future implementation. However, communication within the team is clearly important and must be accomplished in some way. As Shaw recognizes:

> "The large number of comments of an interpersonal nature implies that keeping the team intact is of great importance. These interpreters depended heavily on one another, and a

> good rapport and trust not only were essential to the workings of this pair, but were continually reinforced, thereby reducing stress and providing more ability to focus on the accuracy of the interpretation by working together. These patterns imply that the interpreters share a frame of reference (i.e., a shared theoretical approach to the task of interpreting). Understanding and viewing the task of interpretation in a similar way is important. Without a common understanding and goal, the feedback exchanges may not prove as beneficial. These patterns also imply that certain characteristics are required: a desire to improve; an ability and desire to discuss and analyze the work; an ability to communicate clearly and without judgment; an ability to retain examples to be used for discussion; and an ability to negotiate language and expectations." (Shaw, 1994: 267)

2.5.5 Cueing.

Establishing cues and signals when working with a Deaf professional (DP) is analogous to the types of strategies used in DI-HI teams. Similar constraints of modality exist in that written notes are not an option and timing factors may be a concern. Napier, Carmichael, and Wiltshire's (2008) study on the strategies used by an HI team with a DP showed several techniques to manage the interpreted interaction in a way that maximized the DP's communication goals. The DP, who was set to give a presentation, and the interpreters undertook an extensive preparation meeting to establish strategies that would keep the DP informed of the pace of the interpreting process and to cue him that the interpretation had completed and the interpreters were now ready for an additional chunk of information. The "look-pause-nod" technique was established as a gate-keeping mechanism for the flow of information from the DP presenting and additional signals ranging from nods or gestures (thumbs up) to specific signs

(GOOD or YES) and were used to alert the DP about the quality and progress of the interpretation. Similar techniques are used with DI-HI teams.

However, corrections made to the interpretation in this study would have been done between the two HIs and would likely have occurred out of sight of the DP. Corrections in a DI-HI team must be done in an overt manner, visible to the interlocutors. Until now, no other studies discuss cueing, signaling, signposting, or any other sort of neutral channel of communications that may be used by DI-HI teams.

3. Research Methodology

A phenomenological study was conducted to examine the working experiences of DI-HI teams. Qualitative data was collected via personal interviews, conducted with a limited question set (see Appendix A). Pöchhacker (2011) observed, "data typically encountered in interpreting research are of the non-numerical kind" (p. 14), and "interpreting studies could therefore be characterized as an empirical-interpretive discipline" (p. 15). My study reflects the precedence established in the field towards qualitative data collection, rather than quantitative. This method was chosen since this study seeks to analyze the phenomenon of signposting, descriptive data is best suited for categorization. Quantitative data may be collected and analyzed in the future using the taxonomy developed herein, but would be impossible to collect this time without first developing a comprehensive taxonomy in order to categorize findings and lead to a quantitative analysis.

The goals of the study were to uncover knowledge of the concept of signposting and to examine the effect of the presence or lack thereof of signposting to the perceived efficacy of the interpreted interaction. The interpreters were asked to reflect on their experiences when working in a DI-HI team. Specifically, they were asked questions intended to elicit spontaneous mentions of signposting or phenomena similar in nature. This was achieved in every case and led to a rich data set for examination.

3.1 Participant Selection

Participants were selected with the sole criteria that they had experience working with DI-HI teams. This limited selection criteria was intended to net as broad a range of experience as possible. No minimums of working experience were established as a screening criterion.

National certification was not required to participate in this study, as the goal was to identify what is actually happening in the field. Requests for participation were made through social media (Facebook), personal connections, and a listserv commonly used by legal interpreters in the United States, where a high concentration of interpreters experienced in DI-HI work were likely to see the request. The response rate was surprisingly high, so I chose to accept 20 interviews with an eye towards demographic, experiential, and deaf/hearing balance.

Participants were asked to sign a release form and fill in basic demographic data on a survey released through esurv.org. Interviews later discarded (see below for an explanation) were eliminated from the data set. The remaining fifteen interview subjects' demographic data are reported below.

3.1.1 Participant Characteristics

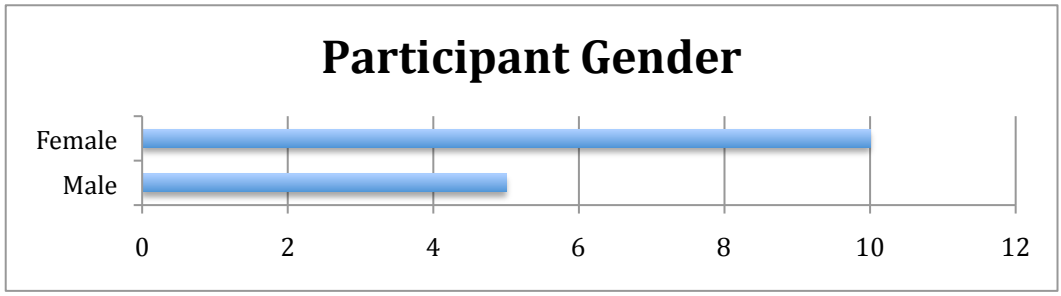

Figure 1 Participant Gender

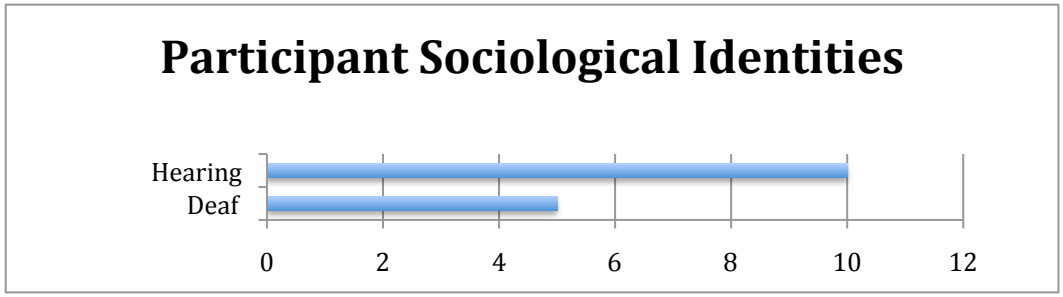

Figure 2 Participant Sociological Identities

Five of the participants are male and ten are female. Five of the interpreters identified as Deaf and ten identified as Hearing. Fourteen interpreters hold professional certification. Only one does not hold a professional certification. The fifteen interview participants have between 0 to 30 years of experience with the most (5) having 11 to 15 years of professional field experience.

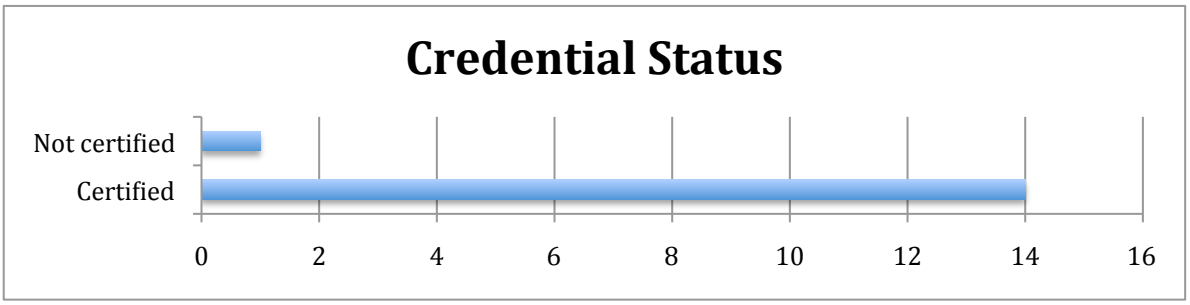

Figure 3 Credential Statuses

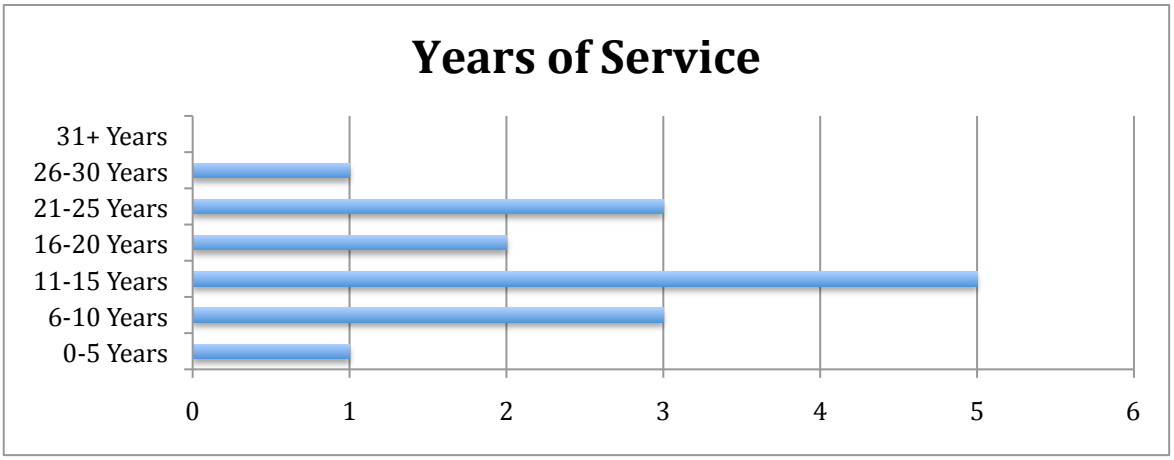

Figure 4 Years of Service

The participants hold a range of certifications, including eight CI/CT (Certificate of Transliteration and Certificate of Interpretation) holders, four CDI (Certified Deaf Interpreters),

and three SC:Ls (Specialist Certificate: Legal). The remaining certifications were four National Interpreter Certifications (one at Master level), three CLIP-Rs (Conditional Legal Interpreting Permit – Relay, an older certification for Deaf interpreters working in court), one IC/TC (Interpretation Certificate/Transliteration Certificate, offered by RID between 1972 and 1988), and a single state certification (Oklahoma Quality Assurance Level 5/5).

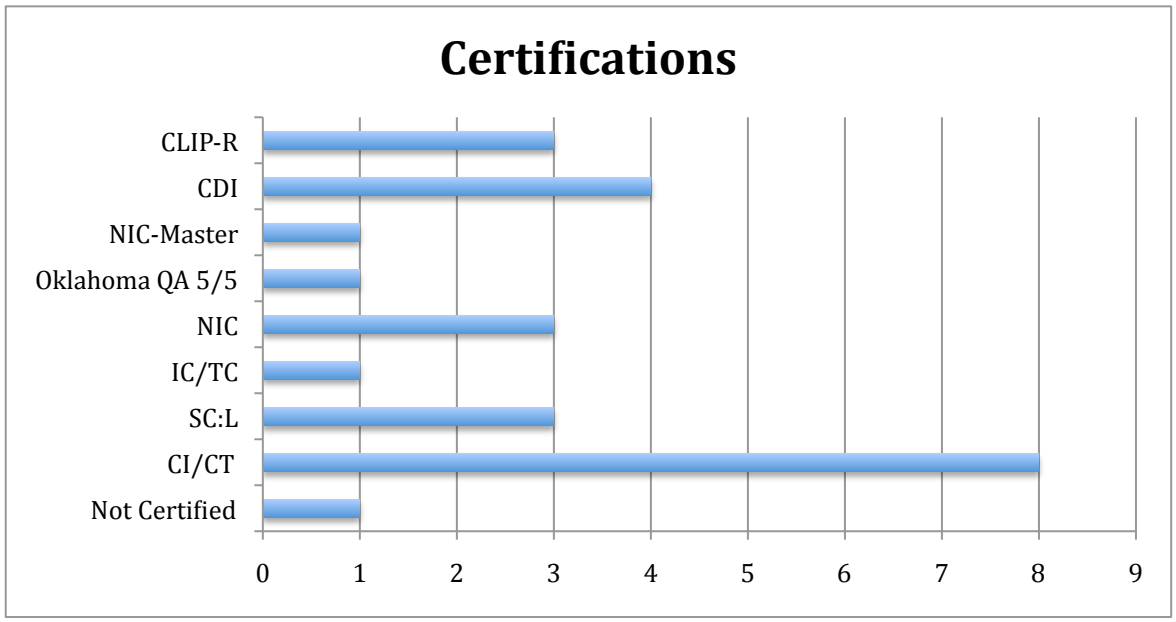

Figure 5 Certifications Reported

The interpreters were asked how often they work as part of a DI-HI team. Their experience ranged between four reporting "more than once a week" and two reporting working in DI-HI teams only "a few times". Most responded that they "average once a month" in DI-HI teams. What is not obvious in this report is that the four respondents who claim "more than once a week" are all DIs, which means that the frequency of DI-HI teaming is still uncommon in the overall working profile of an HI.

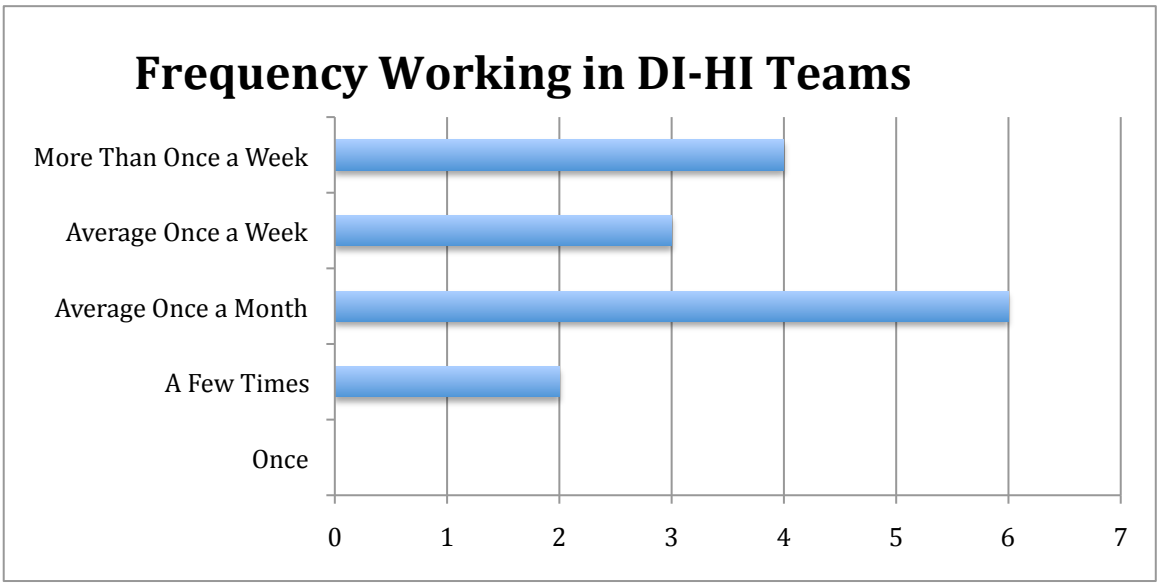

Figure 6 Frequency of Working in DI-HI Teams

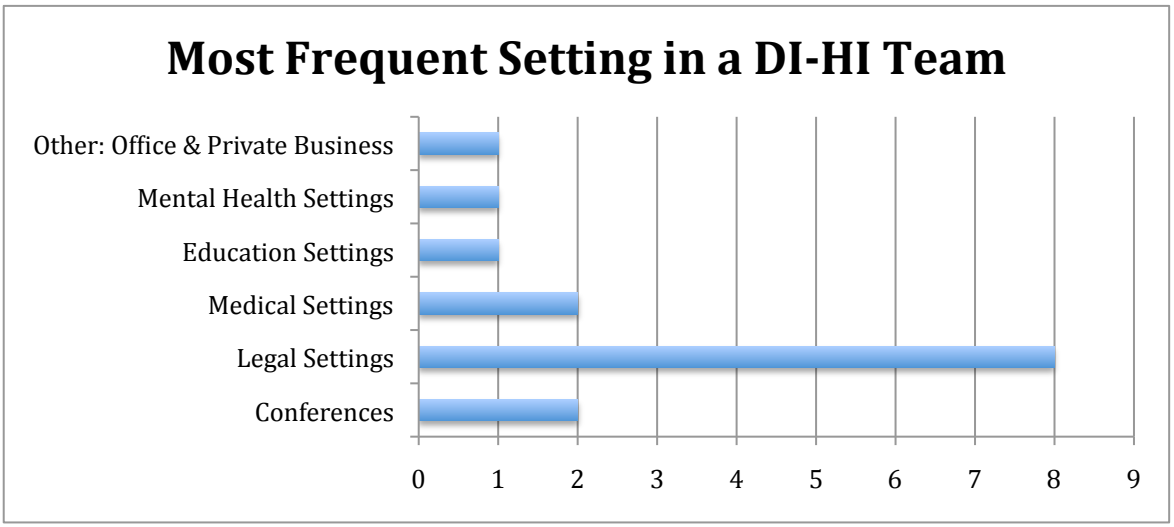

Figure 7 Most Frequent Setting in a DI-HI Team

Unsurprisingly, most (8) interpreters reported that their most common DI-HI experiences take place in court. Participants were asked to choose only their most common work experience; so many of them may have experienced working in a DI-HI team in multiple settings. One

interpreter wrote in that her most frequent work setting for DI-HI teaming was in "Office and Private Business".

3.3 Interviews

I conducted all interviews, ten of which are originally in spoken English and five of which are originally in American Sign Language. While not a heritage user of American Sign Language, I have been using American Sign Language for 18 years on a daily basis and have been a certified interpreter for thirteen years and practices more than 40 hours a week professionally. As the intention of the study was to keep a very narrow scope, failing to understand any ASL in the interviews was neither expected nor encountered. A Deaf interviewer was not retained for the study as the questions were not intended to be sensitive and no reluctance to respond based on the researcher's hearing status was predicted or encountered.

3.4 Data Exclusion

Several anomalies occurred during the interviews that led to the exclusion of five of the interviews recorded. Therefore, three HI interviews and two DI interviews were not transcribed, coded, or analyzed. Four interviews were excluded due to errors in the filming process. Three videos failed to render properly and were found to only be about five minutes in length and did not contain the entire interview. One interview was not properly framed with the recording device, so the interviewer was not visible. This interview was conducted in ASL and could not be sufficiently interpreted and transcribe to remain consistent with the rest of the data set. The fifth video was excluded because the interview subject shared more information about interpreted interactions than the interviewer requested, which led to a question of ethical

implications. As the responses were not relevant to the scope of this study, the interview has been excluded in order to protect the confidentiality of the original parties to the interpretation.

3.5 Data Processing

The remaining fifteen interviews ranged in length between just under eighteen minutes to over 43 minutes in length. All of the HIs in the data set used spoken English, which was transcribed by a professional CART writer. The DIs used American Sign Language, which was interpreted into spoken English by the researcher. A professional CART writer also transcribed the spoken English audio interpretation of the ASL videos. The transcripts and original ASL videos were sent to a professional certified interpreter of over twenty years experience who checked the content to ensure that nothing was missing or misinterpreted. The final transcripts were updated with the refinements offered by the second interpreter. As language translation was not the primary focus of this study, the second interpreter was not asked to offer a critical analysis of the interpretation, but simply to ensure no additions or deletions of relevant points.

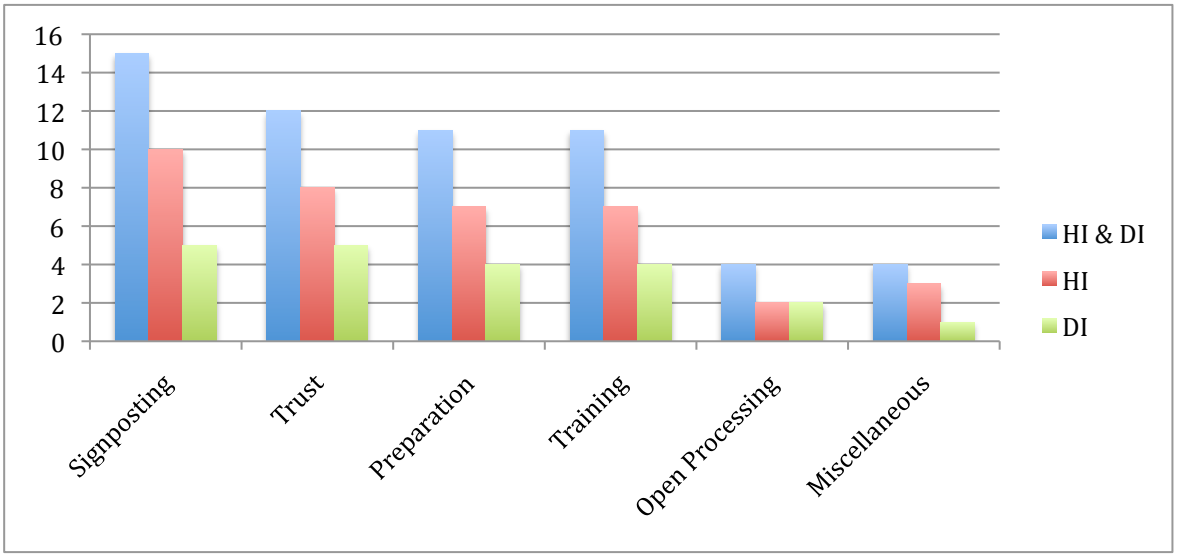

Figure 8 Categorization of Themes Mentioned by Study Participants

The final transcripts were analyzed and coded for recurring themes. While the questions were intended to elicit specific mentions of signposting, several other themes appeared in multiple interviews. In addition to signposting, themes of trust, preparation, training, and open processing appeared. These themes were developed with an eye to identifying actionable outcomes that may be used for future curriculum development and reflect developments in current interpreter training. A few other valuable contributions were recounted while sharing anecdotes about negative and positive DI-HI teaming experiences. These anecdotes will also be discussed as they highlight the value of signposting inasmuch that signposting is a critical element in the positive experiences and is notably absent in the negative experiences.

Developing themes was difficult, as many comments would hit upon multiple thematic points in the space of a single sentence. Some comments are shared in ways that highlight the key point in that thematic section, but would also be suitable to include in other sections. This overlapping is why summary numbers will not feature in every section. Narrative flow will occasionally dictate a mention of how many interpreters in the study commented on a specific

item, but even comments made by a single interpreter may be discussed as this is a phenomenological study and one of the goals is to highlight any phenomena that occur in the dataset.

3.6 Critique of the methodology.

As with all qualitative data, there may be a difference in reported perceptions and what occurs in real life. Qualitative analysis may only reveal what people think they are doing and not what they are actually doing. Attempts to minimize researcher bias were made by requesting a second interpreter review the interpretation of the ASL interviews and transcripts, but this may have been problematic for the simple fact that my use of certain terms in the interpretations were not critiqued by the reviewing interpreter for accuracy, but merely to check for omission or addition. While I was careful not to see the participants with the language of "signposting," a neutral third party did not critically analyze my lines of questioning to ensure that no logical leaps were made or inappropriate conclusions drawn.

4. Findings and Interpretations

4.1 Theme – Signposting

The questions in this study were designed to elicit spontaneous mentions of signposting or a discussion of actions that could be categorized as signposting. With very little prompting, every respondent mentioned something to do with signposting. Often, the HIs would search for how they communicated with their teams and would immediately drop their dominant shoulder out and down, away from the narrative interpretation space. This space will be referred to as the neutral channel.

4.1.1 Categories of cues.

Signposting signals manifest in a variety of ways. Participants noted several categories of signaling to indicate that the interpreters wanted to share information with each other. Both DIs and HIs used similar signals.

4.1.1.1 Lean Out & Down.

The most distinctive signal was what is most clearly considered signposting. Every interpreter spontaneously produced a "lean out and down" feature that they indicated using for neutral channel communications. Some of the interpreters had previously learned about the concept, as they used the word "signposting" specifically. DI5 used the ASL sign coined by Stephanie Clark and thinks

> It's an old process but a new term. I've seen some signs going around. But it's basically like the interpreter communication so that the interpreter who's on duty knows that there's

> some information coming to them and, you know, like they lean out and down, and the information that's happening there is a signpost. – DI5

HI7 also used the English term "signposting" and revealed that he had learned that term directly from Stephanie Clark either at the Institute on Legal Interpreting conference or at a state conference in Oklahoma. He describes the action:

> Well, it's basically as opposed to "I'm interpreting to—", it's a body shift to—I've heard it semi—I've heard it referred to as, like, signposting, where it's a different body shift where you "This is me, not the person talking," and kind of down over to one side saying, "Hey." For example, if I'm interpreting questioning or something like that, and the point of it is to—the point of the question is to aggravate the witness or is to trick the witness or something like that, if we're in a process where the witness or the respondent cannot see me, I will—[demonstrating] "Hey, it's—this is meant to goad them on. This is meant to be vague." So adding that in underneath and making it very obvious, as opposed to just leaving it in the—just leaving the interpretation to stand for itself and there to be misunderstandings in those kinds of ways. – HI7

HI6 describes the signing space for neutral channel as "very low" and DI1 noted that interpreter stuck with the English portion of the message may communicate their struggles, but that communication "tends to exist lower in the space." Use of this low space is a tactic to keep the communication out of view of the Deaf consumer in some cases (HI10) or an avenue to offer "sound effect information" and clarifications (DI3). HI8 claims that dropping the communication into a low space is an attempt to key into the DI's peripheral vision and draw their attention more

directly to what is being conveyed. HI2, HI3, HI4, and HI7 all refer to this change of space as a "role shift".

A few of the interpreters needed a little more prompting, as they struggled to describe what they were experiencing. They used terms like "body language," (HI7, HI8, HI4) which can be frustratingly vague. But when asked to demonstrate this body language, they unfailing leaned out and down (HI8, HI7, HI3, and HI10). HI1 uses the neutral channel to signpost previously established concepts and thus can be referenced as a shortcut to creating shared understanding with the DI and expediting the interpretation.

Generally, the HIs use the neutral channel to signpost information to the DI. These signposts come in the form of additions to the message, corrections to faulty interpretation by either the HI or the DI, realignment to the intention of the speaker, or warnings about particularly complicated words or concepts (e.g. words in a foreign language, exceptionally long words, concepts that are difficult to render visually, et cetera). HI5 describes the realignments as a function of making the implied information explicit by overtly telling the DI that "the point of this is this" as an aside.

Other neutral channel communications may not be specifically related to the message, such as notifications of switching teams or stage directions to get the DI to move into better lighting. The DIs appear to signpost in requesting information more often than in giving it:

> Well, there are a few different possibilities. There's what I sort of do, which is kind of leaning to the side and offering like a fingerspelling or something. Or, like, when I'm looking for information on a list of things, I'll be able to indicate that I've missed the third of four items, and so the other interpreter is cued to know what I need to be repeated. It

> could be something that we've worked out to talk about, like some kind of delay of the interpretation or some way of feeding the information in smoothly. If I do that lean out, down, then that generally means that I'm looking for some kind of information. So sometimes it's leaning out of my frame and asking for something.
>
> – D14

4.1.1.2 Gaze.

Eye contact came up in the interviews in several places and suggests that the DI-HI teams have an intense level of connection occurring through gaze. Direct eye contact is often taken as a cue to the other interpreter that there is a question about the content (HI7, HI9, HI4). Even a glance is sufficient to alert the team that something more is required for the process to continue (HI10). HI8 finds gaze a useful tool:

> The other thing that I appreciate with pretty much any CDI and that particular DI that I work with, compared to another non-certified Deaf interpreter that I did work with and had a very off-putting experience, I'll say, are things like eye contact. With some of these Certified Deaf Interpreters, they give me very clear messages of when they're ready. They will—you know, they'll be looking at whatever Deaf person they're getting a source language from. And then they'll stop that person when they're full, right, when they've got a good chunk, and they will do a full body shift, eye gaze, complete connection with me, and then I know. Time to voice. And then we go. And then when that chunk's over, that same thing happens back to the source language, right? There's this full body shift, eye contact is completely broken, but I know they can see me out of their peripheral because I'll monitor, and I can tell if I've given them too big of a chunk and maybe they've

> forgotten a detail or whatever—forgotten something or missed something, I'll throw it out there and they'll catch it out of their peripheral and then incorporate that into their interpretation and go on. And then the shift, that person will answer whatever's happening, and then they'll shift right back to me. – HI8

HI4 uses gaze to ensure that the DI is fully engaged and then, "I kind of raise my hand, and I wait for them to make overt eye contact with me, and then I fingerspell the word clearly and slowly."

4.1.1.3 Expression and eyebrows.

In searching for words to describe what was occurring in the team communication, many of the participants mention facial expressions or particular use of the eyebrows. Witnessing another DI-HI team working, HI10 remarks, "These particular interpreters, especially the two Deaf interpreters, had often worked together. So they apparently, not even that I was aware of, but they apparently had just facial expressions or some type of— they just had this rapport with each other." HI1 considers the use of facial expression to express a need for repetition or a slowing of message as a crucial strategy to keep the process moving. Conveying to the HI that the DI is going to take more liberty with her part of the process may also be done simply with facial expressions (HI2).

Raising eyebrows to show an impending request for clarification or furrowing the brows to show that all understanding has been lost is a cue used by HI1. HI4 has noticed the DI she works with using a scrunching of the eyebrows to indicate understanding, but stresses, "it was super subtle. I mean if we hadn't been constantly looking at each other having that, it wouldn't have happened."

4.1.1.4 Finger/Wave.

Less often used are manual signals to indicate signposting. This is probably due to these being more difficult to distinguish from the message than some of the other cues. DI1 and HI1 both use a small wave as an attention getting mechanism to ensure the other interpreter is fully engaging. DI2 cautions that leaning out and down may not always work if the "interpreter has a physical impairment and can't actually do that. But using that hand signal to indicate that something is just between" the interpreters is common. HI1 will use a low placed thumbs-up to give the DI encouraging feedback as to the quality of the product without interfering with their process.

HI2, HI6, and HI8 all mentioned signaling with a finger to call a halt to the process in order to seek a clarification or to indicate that they had received the most information they were capable of processing in that moment. HI8 cheekily suggests "sometimes it's a foot wave, too." HI1 discusses establish these manual signals in pre-conference:

> When I'm getting to my critical mass point, when I've got as much as I can hold in my head, I will, you know, put up the finger to, you know, give me one second. I've got to get this out. You know, if I am asking to slow down a little bit so that I can catch up but I don't actually need them to fully stop, I might put up, you know, like kind of a B shape hand, almost like you're applying your foot to the brake. So I will go over those types of signals and I will ask them if they have any things that naturally happen when they're asking me to slow down or when they're reaching critical mass. So we talk about those types of signals. – HI1

4.1.1.5 Nod.

A simple nod of the head may convey a great deal. DI5 and HI4 use a nod to indicate understanding, while HI1 goes one step further and nods to request that the DI may continue. She also nods as a form of back-channeling to support the DI's output with validation of quality.

4.1.2 Mistakes and Misfires

Interestingly, signposting seems to happen spontaneously very often, but is not always successful in practice. A common mistake is the DI taking the comment and routing it to the Deaf consumer without realizing that the message was meant for them directly (HI6, DI4, DI5, HI1, HI5). As DI5 describes:

> Yeah. I have had that happen where, you know, I started doing that and I put it out there. It fortunately wasn't that big a deal, but, I mean, it does happen from time to time. A lot of it comes from the interpreter not being clear; they don't really get into that signposting space, and so that makes it a little more difficult, and that's something that always comes up in the post-conference debriefing session to make sure that they know about that. And I —you know, sometimes I do make the assumption that they do know about it, and they don't, and so then I have to make sure that they know about that technique. So it's something that I've kind of taken away as I've learned to make sure that signposting is something that we set up before we do things. – DI5

DI5 suggests that leaning out and down be used rather than some of the other signaling options because "that's really clear." Some may need that leaning to be made excruciatingly obvious, lest the team miss the more subtle cues (DI4) and HI1 agrees that the placement of the HI in the

audience and the DI on a stage can make signposting problematic if the interpreter is confined to a chair with limits on her mobility.

Of course, self-reporting is less reliable than field data and HI3 suggests, “Well, I can tell you what I tried to do, and then like I said, if you want to know what I really did, we'd have to videotape it.”

4.1.3 Organic vs. Engineered

The participants are unclear as to whether signposting occurs spontaneously or solely as a function of pre-conferencing. When asked about leaning out and down and whether that neutral channel had been established beforehand, HI10 claims that “it happens spontaneously”, HI9 says “it just happened”, and DI3 has “had it happen both ways” with varying degrees of success. HI5 has also had a mix of results and notes, “I definitely know that it's happened where I haven't had that conversation and we both just knew that this was between us and then there's been times where it's happened where we talked about it beforehand.” DI4 considers signposting a “communication technique” not worthy of discussion in a pre-conference, while HI3 relies on familiarity and a long working relationship such that pre-conferencing on signposting is superfluous. HI4 comically replies to the inquiry on how the DI knows that the neutral channel communication is intended for them if there was no prior discussion on what that would like by saying, “They must know somehow, but it's not something I've told them about. But it's seemed effective, because when I do that, they change—you know, they alter it. Like, if it's a joke, they'll tell it as a joke. So they must be getting it somehow. It's magic.” HI9 was asked the same question, but suddenly realized:

Huh. That's a very good question. I'm trying to see. I think it was—I know I didn't

> do—or we didn't do anything like, you know, "I'm just talking to you" [demonstrating] kind of thing. We didn't do that. But what did we do to cue—oh, my god. That's a really good question. You know, I really don't know the answer to that. I really don't. – HI9

Only DI5 mentions specifically pre-conferencing about signposting, "so that we know how we're going to communicate with each other. I don't often use the term "signposting" itself, but I do clarify what I'm going to do."

4.2 Theme - Trust

Trust was the second most powerful theme of the interviews. Every single interpreter mentioned trust as a key component of the DI-HI teaming success. The descriptions of trust varied from a feeling of co-ownership of the process to "being in sync" or "on the same page" with teammates. DI2 even noted the importance of humor in building trust "because sometimes these are really intense situations and it's nice to be able to have support, but also keep it light." Even sharing language use is integral to developing trust since, as HI3 points out; the HIs are the ones that will be giving the DIs information. However, DI5 presents the counterpoint of how difficult building trust can be if the HI doesn't understand the language he is producing and he is forced to alter his natural signing style to accommodate an HI with weaker skills. Clearly, ensuring mutually intelligible use of the language is the first stepping-stone to creating trust.

4.2.1 A united front.

Trust often appears to have manifested as a "united front" (DI2, DI4, H10, & HI7). While others may have used slightly different language, the notion of developing a strong bond within the team that is resilient to external intrusion seems to be the primary feature of developing trust.

As DI1 says, “all four of us were really owning the process together. There was no feeling of a separation of duties or ownership or territorialism.” HI8 shared a story about creating trust with her DI by carefully sharing critical remarks of the DI’s work made by a Hearing signer involved in the interpreted interaction.

> So I was interpreting those comments, and I was telling the Deaf interpreter everything this person was saying, because it's not like—she wasn't trying to be quiet or private about it. And then the Deaf interpreter totally, you know, just totally addressed it in the middle of the meeting. I was just facilitating this. And that was kind of early on when I worked with this Deaf interpreter, and I think that instance in itself may have helped develop some trust and working rapport between us. – HI8

A similar story of building trust within a team was shared by H10. She was in the unique position to observe how a four-person DI-HI team closed ranks in a legal proceeding:

> …the magistrate comes out and says, "We're not doing this with four interpreters. I'm sorry. I'm not going to have that many people in my courtroom. The two hearing interpreters can come in." The one hearing interpreter says, "I'm not going in without my Deaf team," says to the other interpreter, "You can do whatever you want." The other interpreter says, "I'm not going in without my Deaf team." The magistrate says, "Okay, fine. Let's just go get this over with.” – HI0

The hearing interpreters’ refusal to proceed without the DIs contributed to a successful interpreting interaction as the magistrate later concluded the proceedings by telling the interpreting team that the experience was the best she’d ever had.

Several interpreters noted the importance of feeling like a team. HI6 defined this as being able to discuss specifics about the work. HI7 enjoyed his experience working with one DI for the "team-type atmosphere" she generated. He lamented "going into a teaming situation where you feel that there's an unequal power dynamic where one interpreter takes the lead and it's very obvious, as opposed to two interpreters who are going in on equal footing." Developing a rapport may be difficult to achieve, but both HI4 and HI3 mentioned a willingness to go out for a coffee or sit down over a meal with a team. Of course, a solid working history may be key to trust development. Familiarity and working consistently with a regular DI can create trust (HI8). Rapport may take the form of having a "cadence" to the team dynamic (HI1), but other than breaking bread together HI7 has this to offer in developing rapport:

> The rapport is developed basically through—I want to say maybe a trust in that we are both professionals; we both know how you to do our job, and we can talk about the work and it not be necessarily—I'm trying figure out how to say it. But I mean, to basically go in both as professionals and know that we have each other's backs and, yes, we have, in some ways, different processes, but our processes are working together and in tandem; and having that understanding, I think, is what I think the rapport is. It's not, again, a power dynamic. That understanding that my job's not more important than your job; your job's not more important than my job; our job's actually the same; we're just working together to get it. – HI8

Both HI3 and HI6 touched on a sensitive subject that comes up for HIs. A common explanation for the use of a DI is because HIs lack some competency that a DI is filling in. HI6

would rather have "someone who sees our work as a team instead of them being there because I'm lacking something and them being open to feedback." Rather than filling in for something missing, HI3 clarifies that he would like to work with "someone whose work I've seen before and I respect, and I think that means that it looks different than what my work is." Starting with the presumption of ineptitude is not a good way to engage in the teaming process and can lead to ineffective and unpleasant professional encounters:

> I've had the experience where sometimes the Deaf interpreter didn't look at me as a team but merely as an accommodation for them to be the interpreter. So I prefer a team philosophy instead of a—they take over and I'm just there as their accommodation. – HI3

4.2.2 Violations of trust.

Three interpreters shared stories that recounted specific violations of trust. These were cases where a rapport had already been established with the team interpreter, but somehow went awry during the course of the interpretation. These vignettes serve to illustrate as a cautionary tale in the development and maintenance of team dynamics.

HI9 found herself working in a space with Deaf interpreters who were working with a Deaf-Blind consumer while she and her team were interpreting to a wider Deaf audience. Despite pre-conferencing with the DI team, she found herself feeling isolated from the other team for lack of trust in their process and how she was supposed to work with them. Upon returning to the environment, she engaged the DI team proactively and sought to establish a "a real team and not as these separate entities trying to exist in the same space."

An unfortunate experience for DI2 led to a break down in trust within the team owing to an HI who became defensive about DI2's questions regarding the translation process. DI2 found

herself unable to request a break in the interpreting process and was forced to make choices in the translation process on her own. When attempting to debrief with the HI, DI2 recalls:

> And I was just sort of looking for the right language to try and convince her that, you know, we're doing this collaboratively as a team and that there wasn't an error or a fault that was at issue. But she definitely was responding as though I was in attack mode, and that was difficult. – D12

DI4 found herself in the highest stakes position in which to lose trust with her HI colleague; a correctional facility. While working in a prison rehabilitation class, her HI abandoned their predetermined teaming agreement and began interpreting directly to the Deaf client, who was using common inmate manipulation tactics to avoid completing requirements of the course. The DI was left to sit in the room with no clear purpose, no way to become a part of the interpreting solution, and no means of gracefully departing from the situation. She pointed out that trust, in this case, is not just about what happens between the interpreting team:

> We have to rely on trusting the system and trusting what's going on between the people in the situation, and, you know, we can't increase or decrease the level of strictness or management that we're using if it contradicts what's going on in the prison setting. And we have to always present that united front, especially under a condition like that. – DI4

4.2.3 Attitude.

Every DI in this study mentioned attitude as one of the factors leading to trust development within the team. As DI4 stated, “I'm going to ask them right out of the gate whether or not they've worked with Deaf interpreters, and I'm going to want to know how they feel about

it." They also noted an appreciation for "somebody that can just get into the work and work without having a lot of background noise in their own head" (DI5). DI3 thinks "a lot of it's about vibes" while DI2 doesn't want "somebody that comes to the table with a lot of judgment." DI4 admirably elucidates the relationship between attitude and trust:

> Because I'm looking to see what their attitude is in terms of working with Deaf interpreters, whether they're comfortable with it or open to the idea of it or if they have some reticence about the idea of working with Deaf interpreters. You know, or if, like, they're afraid of court or things like that, like maybe they don't trust the process. But if they're open in the process, then I think that that's really the most important thing. Trust, I think, is the key part of the effective relationship. If they don't trust me, then I think that it could make it so that we have situations where things are not going smoothly. – DI4

On the other side of the interpreting table, four HIs (HI1, HI2, HI3, & HI4) all noted a preference for working with DIs with whom they'd had a prior relationship. HI4 works with a DI who was formerly his mentor, a relationship that allows HI4 to work seamlessly in the team. "I knew exactly the information that she wanted chunked, and I gave it to her in a way that she could convey that she was with me and following in on the information and was really, really helpful" (HI4). HI3 often responds to conference calls by offering the conference coordinators a ready-made team with a DI she knows and trusts, as they are also good friends. Interestingly, several HIs mentioned trust coming as a result of the DI not having a "thank god I'm here" or "I'm above you in language" (HI2) attitude. HI3 sums up the trust in her team:

> But it was one of the few times that I've ever been part of a team where there was no ego involved. Everybody pulled their weight. We were in it together as a team. I was never, ever made to feel like I was the junior person. I never felt like I was the weakest link. It was a team effort. – HI3

4.3 Theme – Preparation

Most HIs will develop shorthand for discussion during a brief preparation for any given assignment. These habits can become so ingrained that it may not even occur to an HI that processes often differ (and in what ways processes might vary) until they are put on the spot. The interpreters in this study commented on the importance of pre– and post-conferencing for assignments, listed out specific points that should be discussed, and acknowledged that signposting is almost always absent from these valuable briefing sessions.

4.3.1 Pre– & post-conferencing.

The mundane and habitual conversations that working HIs become accustomed to while working in the community may only consist of a perfunctory discussion concerning how long to work before switching. A different tactic is involved when working with DIs. H10 recommends pre- and post-conferencing and DI1 added that additional discussions could be had during the assignment while on breaks. HI6 refers to this as a "powwow" where the team can discuss the language being given to the DI and what cues may be established for in situ communication.

Developing relationships with team members happens through pre-conferencing (HI5), especially since the presence of a DI means that there is something out of the ordinary occurring (HI4) and establishing trust that there will not be unnecessary judgment (HI7). Establishing roles upfront is vital (HI7) and can lead to a rapport or a "go team" feeling (HI2). Sometimes this pre-conferencing is vital because a newer HI to the process may need more time for the DI to help

guide her (HI2). The best production of the work could be had, as HI3 says, “in large part because of the prep time we got to do with them before that.” HI9 similarly praises the pre-conferencing of her team:

> I would say working in that environment was probably the most efficient experience that I had because the four of us took a lot of time sitting down, like talking about the work before we got started in the classroom. And we talked about how we would really work as a team. Like, if you notice—like, we would tell the Deaf interpreters, "If you notice that I'm doing something that I can improve on how I'm producing the language, give it to me. Don't just take what I'm giving you. Let's work together to make, you know, me better, and also to make the whole team better." So—and then after class was over, we would all kind of sit around and talk about it and say what worked, what didn't work, what can we do next time. And then we would come in the room the next time, we would try things again. So it was a very collaborative approach, which I haven't really experienced much before. – HI9

The value of pre-conferencing is not to be underestimated. Even a shorter session is valuable and may mean halting the process midway in order for the team to realign their goals (DI5). HI3 highlights her experience in working with DIs as improving her generalist practice:

> There's a lot of disagreement about the use of and when to use Deaf interpreters. I can say that my experience with it has been positive, predominantly positive. Even those experiences that were bad were still positive. And one of the best things that I've gotten out of it is that I feel like I've done more prep and more post discussion when I'm part of a Deaf-hearing team than I do when I'm part of just a hearing team. I think that as hearing

> colleagues, we often do this so much, it's like "yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, we're done," and then that's it. Whereas when I'm a part of that kind of a team, we've had more of those debrief conversations, and I feel like they've been much more meaningful, which ultimately have benefitted me as an interpreter. – HI3

Of course, not every interpreter uses a collaborative approach to the process and may even be resistant to pre-conferencing. As HI2 says, "sometimes people feel intimidated or they just feel kind of freaked out that the dynamic has changed if they've just sort of figured it all out and there's this Deaf person." These interpreters may even have years in the field, but don't take the time to pre-conference and then are at a loss for why the process doesn't work well (HI3). DI1 outlines the type of scenario where a lack of pre-conferencing can create a great deal of stress in the team and also alludes to the fact that pre-conferencing can occur at any time before an assignment begins:

> Sometimes we don't necessarily have the same philosophies with our work, and some of them feel that they can show up the day of and examine the case file at that moment and do a discussion. If they're booked for a trial and there are six interpreters in the team, then basically everybody has to figure out what role they're going to fill, whether they're going to be a proceedings interpreter or a table interpreter and they want to wait until the day of. I find that very aggravating because I think personally it's a huge challenge that I would rather make sure that we had the preparation in advance. – DI1

While pre-conferencing is undoubtedly important, success is not always guaranteed. HI4 notes that pre-conferencing is not merely sharing information, it is about sharing the necessary information. An example of a pre-conference failure came when he and the DI disagreed about the language he would produce for the DI:

> I tried to get in a preconference with him, and he was like, "Yeah. I just want it in straight English." I'm like, 'Okay. It's been my experience that straight English usually doesn't work. Are you sure that's what you want?' "Absolutely. That's straight English. Just give it to me as close to—like SEE sign if you can, or, you know, PSE if you have to." And I'm like—and he's like, "and I'll read your lips, too, so it'll be, you know, I'll get it that way while you're signing and on the lips." I'm like, "That's not been my experience for a successful team with a Deaf interpreter, but I can give you what you want." And it bombed. – HI4

4.3.2 Where is the signposting?

Signposting was never mentioned specifically as part of the pre-conferencing process. DI2 mentioned discussing cuing and the use of gaze to indicate when she needs the HI to stop producing text for a moment, which is a sort of signposting. HI2, HI6, and DI4 spontaneously mentioned using the neutral channel of communication to convey information to their respective teams. When queried as to whether the use of this particular signal space was established during pre-conference, all three admitted that it was not a part of that discussion.

4.3.3 Sharing needs.

Most of the interpreters had thoughts on what should be discussed during a pre-conferencing session. The logical options of discussing expectations, prior experience with DI-

HI teams, language of the participant interlocutors, and clarification of role were all mentioned multiple times. However, these are all points that would likely be discussed with a HI-HI team as well (HI5). Needs that are specific to the DI-HI dynamic include clarifying the language needs of the DI, sharing particular challenges (e.g. needing numbers or fingerspelling to be done more slowly), and discussing placement in the space of the interpreting team. Having learned a hard lesson previously, HI4 now uses a new tactic in negotiating the language he will offer to the DI:

> I have a very specific ritual I go through working with a Deaf interpreter if I haven't worked with them before, in large part based on that really bad situation I had, that one person. But—and I do it very—I do it differently than a hearing interpreter, and I do it differently than I would with just a Deaf person I'm there to interpret for. And so what I do with the Deaf interpreters I give them samples of my work, like live samples. Like, "Okay. Here's what somebody's saying. Here's how I interpret it this way. Here's—" and I have four different ways where I do it. One is continuous stream, both in more English or ASL. And the other is chunking, either English or ASL. And I give it to them four different ways, and I go, "Which of those messages is easiest for you to understand?" And then based on their response, that's how I know what—how I need to communicate to them when I'm getting information in. – HI4

DI2 notes that the "feeding" process may not always look the same. Buffering time will vary depending on the needs of the HI and the needs of the clients.

4.3.4 Sharing intel.

The first resource most interpreters will look to in discovering data about the client, setting, or agenda will be a fellow interpreter. In particular, gathering specific data points that

may be troublesome to interpret in the moment (dates, names, addresses, name signs, et cetera) from the other interpreter can be the easiest way to access this minutiae (DI4, HI1, HI10). DI4, HI6, and HI1 all mentioned figuring out the communication goals of the participants in order to "align ourselves with those intentions in mind" (HI1). HI8 gave a fairly thorough listing:

> If it's a new CDI I haven't worked with before, I'll definitely address "Where do you physically want me? Do you want to introduce yourself first?" And then, you know, and we kind of work out those introductory details in that way. Other than that, I might ask—often we'll ask each other, "Do you know this person? Have you worked with this person before? Do you know what the meeting's about?" If one of us doesn't have all the info, we might kind of go, "Oh, I do know what this is about," or whatever, kind of like job detail type of stuff. And then if they have worked with that person before, maybe any kind of quirks or pertinent things we might need to know, like if there's a physical disability that I may not know about or that maybe the CDI doesn't know about if they haven't worked with that person before, but I have. – HI8

HI1 recommends discussing "whatever is going on with the Deaf consumer and why it is they've brought in a team of a Hearing and Deaf interpreter", which can help the team establish expectations right up front (HI6).

4.4 Theme – Training

When asked about wish lists for what an HI could bring to the teaming experience, training emerged as a theme. While signposting was never mentioned as a training protocol, there were several other suggestions and techniques worth sharing. Comments that were relevant to larger themes, such as preparation, have been included with those categories. What remains is

a substantial list of desired skills and a startling similar philosophical approach that encompasses the new wave thinking of collaborative interpreting process.

4.4.1 Prior training.

Prior training, of course, was at the top of the list for the DIs and HIs alike. As HI5 puts it, finding "somebody who has actual training" is of paramount importance, a sentiment echoed by DI2. She laments, "We have a lot of other tasks that we're focusing on, and when we're also burdened with working with a hearing interpreter that has never done it, it's exhausting." DI4 concurs and further elaborates:

> I wish that that was something that a lot of them had come to learn beforehand because I think it puts me in a bit of an awkward situation to kind of have to take the lead on educating these interpreters about this process and letting them know about my own skills and ability. – DI4

DI3 further elaborates that a good HI is someone who already works well in multiple settings and with a range of client needs. He notes that "without the hearing interpreter, I can't do my task" and the HI is similarly relying on the DI to do an important role. Getting training on collaboration would help the team achieve the necessary cohesiveness to work effectively. While training of the HI is clearly important, the need for training cuts both ways. HI1 talks about the benefit of DIs getting proper training:

> Because they have actually been through a training program, and so we share the same landscape when we're talking about the work and when we are talking about how to set ourselves up within a room, how to best figure out what the Deaf consumer needs, when

> we discuss our work with the hearing consumer, we are speaking the same language. And so we are on the same page, and that makes it easier to function as a team. – HI1

4.4.2 Logistics.

Of course, this begs the question of what practical training consists of. It can take the form of hard skills, such as hold time, where to stand, and clarifications of role (DI2). HI4 offers that the training can come in the form of the HI going to "find an experienced Deaf interpreter and just sit and talk with them." Logistics are a primary concern and DI5 shares his feeling that the DI-HI team must sort out the logistics early on as they're "just meant to work together to make the translation happen." He clarifies that working together means having a discussion on "flow, whether or not we're going to be working simultaneously, consecutively, or quasi-consecutively, and making sure that they know exactly how to work with the CDI so that we're clear on the process." DI3 also discussed the logistics of teaming and also acknowledges the need to address a shift in dynamics when there are multiple interpreters included in a DI-HI structure, which includes even seemingly mundane features like coordinating a switch of teams when four or more interpreters are involved.

Several HIs commented on the issue of gate-keeping the flow of information being given to the DI. HI4 received a compliment from a DI team, "One of the things she commented on that was really helpful is an ability to retain the information that the hearing person's saying without just dumping it on her all in one mass." A deeper explanation of this process came from HI5:

> Also having enough awareness and confidence telling the hearing people that you need a minute; they need to stop talking for a minute, and "give me a minute; just a second," and then move on and make sure that things are—I mean, as a hearing interpreter when you're

> working with a Deaf interpreter, part of your job is almost to be, like, the turn-taking referee. And—because you're the only one there that knows where the interpretation's at in the process, what the Deaf person who's the client has heard or seen, and then making sure that the hearing person knows that without them being too far involved in the process. – HI5

HI7 stresses the importance of this process in order that the DI has the time they need to mentally process the information. Otherwise the DI will end up simply mirroring the HI for lack of processing time, which is not efficacious and would fail to meet the linguistic needs of the Deaf consumer.

4.4.3 Agreement of language.

One of the challenges is to know how best to offer information to the DI (HI10). DI5 prefers that the HI just keep going with whatever language they can produce. HI9 adds clarity to this thought:

> I think I would say just work, work as you would. Because a lot of interpreters think they have to change everything about their style when they work with Deaf interpreters, but there's a lot of things in our work that's already good. So we don't have to always alter what we do just because there's a Deaf interpreter working with us. – HI9

4.4.4 Taking the lead.

A moment that can catch a team off-guard is when questions are posed to the interpreting team directly. Who responds? If the HI responds, the DI is left in dark. If the DI responds, the HI may not be prepared to interpret for that conversation and may inadvertently damage the team rapport by mistaking the appropriate etiquette in the moment. A specific question that comes up

is why there are two interpreters, HI10 suggests that the DI explain and the HI interpret the answer. DI2 agrees with this philosophy and says that the "hearing interpreter should act more as a mediator, a gatekeeper to the communication." HI8's comment is inconsistent with some of her earlier remarks concerning collaboration and doesn't represent the spirit of and need for equality that the DIs in this study so often stressed in their comments:

> I would say I always defer to the Deaf interpreter. Always. I always defer to them. Somebody's asking the interpreter a question, and often I know they're asking me, the hearing interpreter. I will just turn and give that to the Deaf interpreter, and if they want me to answer, I'll answer it. Most of the time, they can answer it themselves, and they take care of it. So I always defer to their preference, particularly with placement, how they want to work. I just think their job is harder than our job. I really do. – HI8

4.4.5 DIs are human.

While the contributions of DIs are still being developed and researched, the general agreement is that their work is valuable and should be promoted. Unfortunately, the urge to promote the services of DIs can lead to a characterization that they are somehow infallible. DI4 has her own insecurities concerning the work:

> The discussion on how to support each other is a bit of a process for me because, to be honest, I don't entirely know how I can best be supported. So I'm still in sort of that process of getting a better understanding of myself and how I can better collaborate with interpreters. You know, there are no real professional studies on how to do what we're doing, and so a lot of it is just learning on the job. – DI4

Four of the HIs in the study specifically mentioned this perception of DIs as well. HI7 cautions newer interpreters not to view the DI "as either more or less than you are, but viewing them as a peer just like you would attempt to do in a hearing situation." HI4 agrees with DI4 when he says that HIs should realize that DIs, just because they're deaf, wouldn't necessarily know the best communication they need to receive from their HI. A similar sentiment can be found in HI6's comment:

> I think it can be a very effective tool if both interpreters are trained as interpreters. I don't think just because someone's deaf it means that they're going to be a great interpreter. And just because someone went through an ITP doesn't mean they're going to be a great interpreter. – HI6

HI1 speaks to the fallibility of DIs and acknowledges how that can leave a new HI on unsure ground since HIs "don't necessarily go in with the expectation of [having to] clarify for our Deaf interpreter."

4.4.7 Openness to feedback.

Attitude is possibly a more difficult aspect in which to train interpreters, but knowing the desired attitude can give the interpreter a directional goal. There is a path starting with openness to feedback that leads to the trust allowing the DI-HI team to function in a successful way (HI8). Knowing "your own biases and how you may react in certain situations" is also essential to the feedback process (DI4). Positive affirmation comes from HI9:

> And also I would say to be willing to accept information from them, like maybe I may have a concept that I think is just the most brilliant way to sign it, but they may have another way to sign it that's just as brilliant, and it may even make the message a little

> clearer. So being willing to accept what you're given in that moment, and it's okay. It's not that you didn't do a good job or that they don't like the way you sign something. They just may have a better way to do it because they know the language more than I do. I'm a second-language user, so I'm not native. So it's just because of that, being willing to accept what you're given. – HI9

4.4.7 The Advocate/Ally and overcoming fear.

As DIs professional status is still not well established, HIs can serve as "the key in the pathway for to CDIs getting work and to CDIs being in the places that they really need to be" (HI8). There is the danger that HIs may perceive DIs as a threat to their professional status, but HI8 cautions:

> Otherwise, most agencies, they're not aware enough about Deaf interpreters. Most places of employment, courtrooms, whoever it is, they don't know. They don't even know what that means. And you can't be so consumed by your own ego and feelings that you're afraid to say; "This job is not appropriate for me as a hearing interpreter to do." You have to let that go. It's about the communication. And I think remembering that it's about the communication and clarity and people's comfort is really important. And to advocate for the use of a CDI not just when it's "oh my god" necessary, but just when it's necessary. – HI8

This responsibility to advocate for DIs extends not just to getting them hired, but also in how HIs respond in situ. The peer pressure to begin interpreting may be uncomfortable, but "if a situation requires a Deaf interpreter, then no matter what pressures you're feeling to start interpreting if they're not around, then don't do it" (HI5).

The HI's fear is understandable. As mentioned previously, DIs have long been characterized as necessary because of some perceived lack of skill on the part of the HI. However, HI4 suggests:

> Don't be afraid of them. It's like working with Deaf-blind. It's terrifying the first time you do it. Or with a Deaf interpreter, because the Deaf interpreter's there because some type communication is screwed up, or you're not good enough to do it. It's not about that. It's just about this is the best way for the Deaf client on the other end to get the information. It's not about ego. It's not about you being good enough or not good enough. It's just that's the best way for communication to happen, so don't be afraid of it. – HI4

DI5's comments resonate with this theme:

> You know, I've seen a lot of different responses. Like I've seen some people that are really enthusiastic about working with a CDI, and sometimes they're really resistant to the idea. Some of them have a lot of experience. Some of them have absolutely none. And sometimes it's important for them to understand that it's not about whether or not they're good enough or that they're confident or whatever, that the CDIs are there for a different purpose. I'm not there to criticize them. – DI5

Often this fear comes simply from being asked to do something new. Many interpreters don't find themselves in a position to work with a DI until they have had years of experience. However, HI2 feels this can be advantageous, "I also didn't encounter a Deaf interpreter until I'd been in the field for ten years, so I was feeling really secure, and I love having new opportunities with colleagues of all kinds." HIs can take comfort in that the DIs are not unaware of their fears.

DI5 mentions knowing that "it can by scary" and that he tries to "reassure them that there won't be a problem."

4.5 Theme – Open Processing

A few interpreters used the expression "open process" when describing one of the desirable characteristics of a team member. As this was not the primary focus of the study, no follow-up questions were asked when this term was mentioned. What is interesting is that those who mentioned open processing all seemed to have defined the term slightly differently. DI5 simply refers to open process as being the presence of trust and working well together with the HI in his team.

4.5.1 Open process as communication.

DI5 later mentions open processing and says "that we have ways to communicate with each other during the work." Communication is also an important theme for DI1, who mentioned open processing three separate times. She elaborates that the communication of an open process manifests in "process management, knowing when and how to ask for the process to stop so that the interpretation can occur." Primarily, her preference is for someone who is "very flexible". She specifically defined open process in the course of the interview:

> Open process means that we are communicating with each other. We're able to signpost. We're able to help clarify for each other where the interpretation has gone awry and how to get back on track. – DI1

The fact that she mentions signposting and open processing together may indicate that these ideas are intrinsically linked. An open process clearly involves a great deal of team

communication before, during, and after the interpreting process. How else would this be achieved without clear and consistent use of signposting?

4.5.1 Open process as collaborative interpretation.

Collaboration also seemed to be an important feature of developing an open process. HI7 cited a specific working relationship with a Certified Deaf Interpreter where the HI might offer the source content in transliterated English "and then we basically both can kind of work on the interpretation together." He further mentions the use of open process "if they give me what their interpretation is and I see something that maybe I understood differently or that wasn't included in the interpretation that was given to me…." This use of open process being a function of discussing the interpretation only when something appears to be going wrong is contradictory to his early claims of using open process to collaborate on the entire interpretation. His backtracking was amplified when describing the use of a DI with a Deaf person who may have "atypical language". He describes the HI as being outside the field of view of the Deaf client and suggests that this arrangement prevents an open process from occurring and, indeed, is necessary to avoid confusing the client. This seems like an unusually inconsistent application of process that suggests that open processing may still be new to this interpreter, who is not yet fully comfortable with the philosophy. In contrast, DI1 seeks an open processing model while interpreting at trial and looks for a "triangle position" with the interpreters and Deaf witness at all times in order to permit a collaborative, open processing approach to the work.

4.6 Theme – Negative & Positive Experiences that Highlight Signposting

Interestingly enough, very few of the respondents had significant stories to share when queried about their positive experiences working within a DI-HI team. While they all made

comments about positive experiences, almost all of those comments fell under the headings of "trust" or "preparation". Only three other comments were made that do not fall under these categories. DI4 noted that using a DI-HI team alleviated an emotional situation because of the ease of the translation process. HI3 noted that the presenters did a thorough job of prepping the interpreting team prior to the presentation and she credits them for the subsequent success of the DI-HI team. She also noted that her colleagues offered her a great deal of affirmative support that gave her confidence to continue with the work.

Only one interpreter, HI6, made a comment to suggest that signposting was a key part of the positive experience. She said, "But the good experiences—I think of this person, and she will tell me, 'I want it straight English. I will look away when I am ready to chunk it.' I mean, she'll tell me specifically what she wants." No other interpreter noted signposting when asked about his or her positive experiences. This suggests that interpreters are largely unaware that signposting may be a significant contributing factor to the success of the interpreting process, but may resort to using the sorts of descriptions found above under signposting.

However, every interpreter had a story to share about the process breaking down or failing—and the absence of signposting in each of these cases is notable. DI1 recounted a case where she felt the process needed to be suspended to allow for the Deaf consumer to read some paperwork, but the HI refused to acknowledge this request, which led to DI4 having to aggressively intervene in the process and created a loss of trust in the team. DI4 tried to use the neutral channel of communication to negotiate with the HI, but was shut out. DI2's experience was with an HI who drew a solid boundary between them. She says, "But for some reason, that day especially, her approach really seemed to sort of engender this idea that my work was mine

and her work was hers and that we weren't being collaborative. And that's not exactly how I work." DI3 found himself in the middle of a pair of feuding HIs who brought their shared history into the interpreting process, while simultaneously excluding DI3 from full participation in the work. When attempts to use signposting and other neutral channel communications failed, he had to suspend the process and take the HIs into the hallway for a stern lecture.

DI5's bad situation came from an HI who broke eye contact with him and was just throwing an endless stream of language at him. Not being able to offer any cues or signals to the HI resulted in a complete breakdown of the process. Interestingly, HI8 had a similar experience:

> And what was happening was this person was working simultaneously and would not give me eye contact and just started throwing signs at me while they were receiving the source language. And was using third person, so I was voicing in third person, and I'm really struggling to process because it's flying at me like crazy and I have no eye contact from this Deaf interpreter. None. So I'm going and then I'm about ten minutes in and I realize, "Oh, my god. She's giving me third person not because he's talking about a third person." This Deaf interpreter is literally saying, "He says blah, blah, blah," meaning where the source language is coming from. So I have to double process and eliminate that third person pronoun and convert it to first person, and I just—it was a nightmare. It was a nightmare, and it didn't—the chunks weren't clear compared to other CDI work. – HI8

DI4 experienced a particularly interesting situation in which the HI failed to use the neutral channel at all and so DI4 thought that what was being communicated to her was coming from the Hearing interlocutor:

> But then there was a question that came from the hearing person that I felt like I didn't really know how to translate, and the hearing interpreter's affect started to get more and more aggressive and, you know, this idea of needing to rush through and that time was running out and that we needed to hurry. And so I thought that was coming from the hearing person, and so I was, you know, conveying that to the client, like we got to hurry up; we've got to get this done; we've got to get ready to go. And the Deaf-blind person got very angry. You know, they pushed back on that in terms of getting rushed, and at that point the hearing interpreter basically just said, "Okay. I got to go. I'm out of here, and you guys are okay. You can write just back and forth," and she left. And in that moment I realized that it was actually the hearing interpreter that was trying to accelerate the conversation. I thought it was coming from the hearing person, but I realized that the hearing person was actually willing to take all of the time in the world. And that really upset me, the fact that that was not conveyed accurately. And it also put me in a bind because, you know, I wasn't going to be able to stay myself and keep working, and that the interpreter wasn't honest about her own demands on her time. – DI4

The HIs in the study all had similar stories. HI1 wound up with a DI who was so utterly disengaged that all she produced was a straight "copy-sign" of HI1's work, an experience shared by HI9. HI2 was thrown into a situation where she hadn't even been informed that a DI would be present, which led to a lack of pre-conferencing and ended with two DI-HI teams who did not work collaboratively within their teams or with each other. HI3 notes her own failings, which would be easily resolvable with clear signposting:

> One of the things that I need to work on is to make sure when I am the hearing interpreter giving that message to the Deaf interpreter, to make it very clear to do the role shifting [demonstrating shifting] when it's like, "Hey, look. They're telling a story; here's the story," you know, "Hey, look, it was whatever they're being—" to give them that other information. Because what I do when I start to get behind or when I start to get flustered is I just stay in one place and just keep giving it all out there. And then the Deaf interpreter gets confused about "Is that a story? Is that funny?"– HI3

A bad match can also create irreconcilable differences within the team. HI4 was thrown into working with a DI unexpectedly and, while acknowledging that this DI has since produced quality work with other HIs, their personalities and communication styles clashed in this particular situation. His own frustration mounted:

> It was so bad. He wouldn't look at me. He was doing the, like, you know, sometimes when you interpret, you look away. You're like, "I'm listening and I'm interpreting. " And I'm like, "Dude, you can't listen. You're Deaf. You have no idea what they're saying if you don't actually look at what I'm signing." So he missed probably 50 percent of what I said. – HI4

Sometimes the reason for a bad match can be something as simple as facial expression, as HI6 relates. She struggled through an interpreting process with a DI who wouldn't engage and finally confessed, after the fact, that he couldn't understand HI6 because she wasn't expressive enough.

A competency evaluation is a common assignment for DIs since questions surrounding the Deaf consumer's understanding may arise and the responses need to be validated by the sociolinguistic expertise of a DI. Unfortunately, HI5 was paired with a DI on an assignment who

did not seem to understand this goal and was producing interpretations that were clear and direct, discordant with what HI5 was seeing from the consumer. HI5 tried to use the neutral channel to confer with the DI, but wound up having to call a halt to the evaluation and have a side conference to remind the DI of the communication goals and realign their strategy.

A late-arriving DI created an issue for HI10 as she was already in the process of interpreting for an x-ray and inadvertently prevented the DI from entering the room. A lack of preparation and absence of process discussion set them up for immediate failure.

Not all problems arising in the teaming process are internal, however. Even a successful team using signposting and other neutral channel communications may find themselves thrown off their stride irredeemably due to external factors. While working in court, HI7 shares:

> And the Deaf interpreter and I already had a rapport. We worked together before. We knew how we liked to work. And there came a situation where a question was asked by a judge, and like I had always done before, I interpreted the question to my Deaf interpreter. And oftentimes I'll allow her to answer those questions, but I guess the supervisory interpreter didn't like how long it was taking or was unfamiliar with how we did things and interjected and answered the Court. – HI7

This uninvited interjection created a sense of confusion and loss of trust in the original team who limped along discordantly for the remainder of the assignment until an extensive post-conferencing session occurred to rehabilitate the working relationship.

5. Summary and Implications

5.1 Summary and Conclusions

This study examined the experiences of fifteen interpreters working in the field on a daily basis. The interview approach yielded a rich data set that uncovered facets of practice that have not been mentioned in interpreting literature to date. This study challenges some of the preconceptions that have begun to take root in the literature and offered a new perspective in order to drive the research into DI-HI teaming forward. In undertaking this study, I attempted to answer three questions:

- In examining the communications that occur in situ concurrent with the interpreting process between the Deaf and Hearing interpreters, what definition of "signposting" may be distilled?
- Is signposting the only communication occurring between Deaf and Hearing interpreters during the process?
- How important is signposting to the perceived success of a Deaf and Hearing interpreting team?

The first question was successfully answered by a careful combing of the data set that offered a working definition that was initially introduced in the definitions section of this paper. Signposts are physical markers (i.e. leaning out and down, gaze, expressions and eyebrows, finger/wave, or nods) that indicate an interpreter's intent to convey information about the content of the interpreted message that are meant to guide or redirect the active interpreter producing the end product interpretation to creating a better, more effective interpretation. In addition to

signposting, the research defined that the "out and down" space used by the interpreters may be generally referred to as "neutral channel communications." Additional communications may occur that use the physical markers associated with signposting and the neutral channel space to convey information that is not directly related to the interpreted message, but may be used to manage situational logistics, interpersonal concerns, back-channeling, or those comments made in service to developing the rapport between the interpreters.

Given the strength of the anecdotal evidence offered by the interpreters, signposting and the use of the neutral channel is clearly an integral component to successful and effective DI-HI teaming. This body of evidence disproves the null hypothesis that signposting does not exist or, if existing, is not relevant to interpreting team dynamics.

5.2 Implications For Further Research

This phenomenological study only barely begins to scratch the surface on the unique work being produced through DI-HI team interactions. While a working taxonomy has been developed, quantitative studies using video of unscripted interpreting product is needed to verify that interpreters are doing what they've reported in practical application. These videos may be mined to yield occurrence rates for the features identified here and to document incidences of communications not defined or categorized in this study. As strategies develop around the features of signposting and neutral channel use, researchers will find a rich new arena in which to examine success and failure in interpreting work. Most importantly, as the skills in this area mature researchers will be able to turn their attention to the products being offered by DIs and

begin to analyze and expand the practical applications of DI work without habitually attributing any inconsistencies in their data sets to inadequate HI work.

5.3 Implications For Interpreter Educators

The fact that few of the interpreters in this study were able to identify the importance of signposting and neutral channel use, yet all of them consistently related anecdotal evidence emphasizing the importance of both features to successful teaming, suggests that this study may be valuable to interpreter educators. As the philosopher Adam Smith says in *The Money Game*, "The first thing you have to know is yourself. A man who knows himself can step outside himself and watch his own reactions like an observer." Interpreters can now acknowledge the existence and critical nature of signposting and neutral channel use. Having a language in which to describe these phenomena will enable their further development, practical application, and testing. Educators may now point to these specific features of DI-HI teaming and teach aspiring interpreters possible strategies for maximizing the potential of signposting and neutral channel usage.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

- How often do you work in DI/HI teams?
- What setting is that type of work?
- Do you have a specific DI/HI you prefer to work with? What about that partnership works particularly well for you?
- What is your general feeling about DI/HI teams? Why do you feel that way?
- Do you have any specific experiences that stand out in your mind as either exceptionally good or exceptionally bad examples of DI/HI teaming? Why do you think that is? No need to name names!
- What does working with a DI/HI team look like for you? Do you brief and debrief? Are there specific things different than when you're only working with a (Deaf) or (Hearing) team?
- What about during the interpreting? How do you communicate with your colleague in order to co-create your translation? Do you write? Establish signals?
- What sorts of lessons have you learned in the field that you feel would have been beneficial to instruct student interpreters on?