Master's Thesis

"I just have to adapt..."
How deaf professionals manage the interpreting process

by

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European Master in Sign Language Interpreting
(EUMASLI, 90 ECTS)

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Abstract in International Sign

https://youtu.be/X-gADnol8fY

Abstract in English

Deaf professionals work frequently and closely with sign language interpreters and therefore need to regularly assess the quality of interpreting, especially from signed to spoken language. This is necessary to make sure that it reflects positively on their professional environment as well as themselves. The study at hand aims to investigate how deaf professionals assess quality and how they use interaction to manage the interpreting process if they are not satisfied with the interpretation. To explore this issue, two deaf professionals' lectures in sign language were recorded to document any given interaction. Subsequently, retrospective interviews were conducted to look for detailed insights with the recorded deaf individuals. Furthermore, two additional deaf professionals were interviewed to gain supplementary perceptions. The recordings were analysed using the linguistic programme *ELAN*; the interviews were looked at through an interactional sociolinguistic lens. The data was backed up with key concepts based on the literature from renowned authors in the field and drew upon important reports of deaf professionals to be added to the discussion.

The data suggest that deaf professionals assess quality mostly through eye gaze, monitoring their interpreter's mimics and body language as well as observing the other participant's reactions to their lectured content. In case of insufficient quality, the deaf individuals use manual and non-manual interaction to manage the interpreters, namely by adapting, repeating or signing slower. The results suggest the importance of a close and frequent working relationship between deaf professionals and interpreters built on trust and confidence. Such a relationship leads to empowerment for deaf professionals and interpreters likewise and culminates in a fruitful and promising working relationship.

Abstract in Austrian Sign Language ÖGS

https://youtu.be/uDLWnWi9DgQ

Abstract in German

Diese Studie legt den Hauptfokus auf *deaf professionals*, also taube Menschen mit hohem Bildungsniveau und Vorbildfunktion, wie etwa taube Akademiker:innen oder Lehrer:innen. Diese arbeiten eng und häufig mit Gebärdensprachdolmetscher:innen zusammen und müssen in der Dolmetschsituation die Qualität des Dolmetschens in die Lautsprache überprüfen. Das ist notwendig, um sicherzustellen, dass die Qualität sich positiv auf das Arbeitsumfeld sowie auf die Tauben selbst auswirkt. Die vorliegende Studie untersucht, wie *deaf professionals* die Qualität der Lautsprache kontrollieren und dabei Interaktion als Werkzeug nutzen, um den Dolmetschprozess zu steuern, wenn die Dolmetschqualität für sie nicht zufriedenstellend ist. Um dieses Thema zu untersuchen, wurden zwei Vorträge in Gebärdensprache gefilmt. In beiden Aufnahmen wurde anschließend nach verschiedenen Formen von Interaktion gesucht. Im Anschluss wurden einerseits retrospektive Interviews mit denselben tauben Akademikerinnen geführt, andererseits weitere allgemeine Interviews zu diesem Thema mit zwei weiteren *deaf professionals* durchgeführt, um weitere Einsichten zu gewinnen. Die gefilmten Vorträge wurden mit dem linguistischem Tool *ELAN* dokumentiert und die Interviews mit Forschungsansätzen aus dem Bereich der Soziolinguistik im Kontext der Interaktion analysiert. Zusätzlich wurde das Material mit Literatur namhafter Autoren in Beziehung gesetzt und im Rahmen von Erfahrungsberichten von tauben Akademiker:innen in der Literatur diskutiert.
Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie zeigen klar, dass *deaf professionals* durchaus und regelmäßig mittels Blickkontakt, Beobachten der Mimik und Körpersprache der Dolmetscher:innen sowie anhand der Reaktionen der übrigen Teilnehmer:innen auf den Vortrag, die Qualität der Dolmetschung überprüfen. Für den Fall, dass die Qualität nicht zufriedenstellend ist, greifen die tauben Vortragenden auf manuelle und non-manuelle Interaktion zurück, größtenteils, in dem sie sich an die Dolmetscher:innen anpassen, sich wiederholen oder langsamer gebärden.
Nach Vorlage der Ergebnisse ist erkennbar, wie wichtig eine enge und im Optimalfall regelmäßige Zusammenarbeit zwischen *deaf professionals* und Dolmetscher:innen ist. Diese muss auf Vertrauen und Transparenz fußen, welche sich weiterhin nicht nur auf das Empowerment aller Beteiligten auswirkt, sondern auch weiterhin in einer fruchtenden und vielversprechenden Arbeitsbeziehung gipfelt.

Acknowledgments

To my family, supervisors, professors, teachers, fellow EUMASLIs, colleagues, friends, deaf professionals and all the people around me in support:

to you all – I am ever thankful
without you all – this would not have been possible

Declaration

I declare that the thesis embodies the results of my own work and has been composed by myself. Where appropriate within the thesis I have made full acknowledgement of the work and 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 Regulations of the University and to conform to its discipline and ethical policy.

All content and quotes in German were translated by the author into English. For a better understanding of the non-English references, all titles of books and articles used were translated to English in the references.

The two abstracts additionally are translated to International Sign and Austrian Sign Language and can be accessed via QR-Code or link next to the other abstracts.

Word count: 21.880
[excluding abstracts, declaration, acknowledgements and appendices]

About the author and her positionality

To show the perspective, approach and motivation of the author, transparency is said to be key. Therefore, a short positionality and background of the researcher will be given to paint a bigger picture and put everything into certain frameworks.
The author, Cornelia Rosenkranz, who originally studied comparative literature (BA) and contemporary history (BA and MA), befriended deaf colleagues she met at university in Vienna in 2011. Through deaf associations, networking and frequently meeting deaf signers, she learned sign language socially and informally, until she started taking classes in Austrian sign language in 2013. In 2014, she started an interpreter training program which she graduated from in spring of 2016. She has been working as a sign language interpreter ever since, mostly full-time. In this sense, one could describe her as a *practisearcher*, a combination of the terms practitioner (working as an interpreter) and researcher (Bontempo, 2012).
Sign language interpreting between Austrian Sign Language (ÖGS), German and English, as well as first steps with International Sign, is not just a profession, it is a calling and a great passion for her. Working very closely with many different people in various settings is a challenge and a joy, which is also shown in this study.
Reflecting on these characteristics as well as a Caucasian woman in Europe, views on methodology, data generation and data interpretation might play a role in this research.
All of the deaf participants in this study have been working with the researcher for some years and some are more or less frequently in touch with her.
The researcher also discussed the topic beforehand with one of the participants to make sure it would create an impact and also be of interest to deaf people in general. Being involved in research herself, the deaf professional in question gave important inputs and encouraged the author to proceed with the idea of the chosen topic of this work.

1. Introduction

> "A few years ago, I was working with two interpreters in front of a big audience, holding my lecture in sign language. I did not have the resources to assess my interpreters during my 15 minute lecture but did notice that the atmosphere in the audience was somehow off. After I was finished and no one wanted to ask any questions, some hearing people approached me, telling me that the interpreting was often interrupted and rather of bad quality. I wanted to give feedback to the interpreters but there was no time. After having worked with interpreters for 22 years this experience really shook me. It would have been a situation where I would have wanted the interpreters to interrupt me, so that I could repeat or adapt to them and would make a good impression on the audience and to be - as well as my interpreters - perceived as professionals." [deaf participant Bernadette][1]

Additionally to the quote in the title ("I just have to adapt"), this story tells of a situation many deaf lecturers have experienced in their professional lives - showing that interpreting quality is highly essential (Holcomb & Smith, 2018).

Since a few decades, deaf[2] people have better access to education either in sign language or through sign language interpreters. Therefore, they are increasingly better educated as well as working in higher positions. This development contributed to the emergence of well-educated deaf people, subsumed under the term *deaf professionals* (Hauser et al., 2008). As such, they work with sign language interpreters on a regular basis, namely in work settings, higher educational settings and when they give lectures or workshops in sign language. An issue they frequently face when working with interpreters is how to build trust and ensure quality of

[1] Interview 3 with Bernadette, account of a negative experience with interpreters in a setting where sign language was interpreted to spoken language (see data set 3).

[2] Following leading authors in this field, *deaf* shall be written with a lowercase "d" as opposed to capital "D" (Friedner & Kusters, 2020). This has the aim of including all deaf and hard of hearing people who use sign language and not to define a *community* or create a dichotomy between the two (Kusters et al., 2017).

interpreting (Haug et al., 2017; Smith & Ogden, 2018). This is most essential in the case of deaf professionals being interpreted from signed to spoken language. To manage, control or direct the interpreters, some form of interaction is needed in situ (in the interpreting situation) and during the interpreting process (Hall, 2019). Interaction, namely, is furthermore not only maintained by the interpreter between the hearing and deaf parties (Hammer & van den Bogaerde, 2017) but also between the deaf professionals *and* the interpreter.

As a crucial part of any social interaction, trust therefore constitutes a key factor. Especially in a sign language interpreting context, mistrust had been an issue in the past and still continues to be (Forestal, 2001). In case of no trusting foundation, some form or strategy of control might be necessary. As more and more deaf professionals are lecturing, control has slightly shifted from the hearing lecturer or hearing interpreter to the deaf individual in terms of control, giving them new opportunities and changing the interpreting dynamic (Bahadir, 2017).

For deaf professionals, interpreting adequately is not just about avoiding misunderstandings, it is also about their professional reputation (Hauser et al., 2008; Kluuskeri, 2019) and perceptions of proficiency (Campbell et al., 2008). Therefore, they have to be very aware of the interpreters' output and be sure that the result from working together is satisfactory.

As a problem though, deaf professionals, leaders and academics often cannot at all or not sufficiently monitor and manage their interpreters in situations in which they are being interpreted from sign to spoken language (Holcomb, 2018). While interpreters are part of the hearing and the deaf world (Cokely, 2005; Grbić, 2023) and are additionally being taught several strategies for monitoring the situation, deaf people are hardly ever instructed on how to work with interpreters and are simply left with a trial-and-error approach (Burke & Nicodemus, 2013) on how to best work with interpreters.

As an additional issue, research traditionally has been approached from the interpreters' perspective, although deaf peoples' perceptions and experiences have been taken into account in recent past (Haug et al., 2017; Kluuskeri, 2019). Still, especially deaf peoples' aspects regarding sign language interpreting and views on interpreters "are often overlooked, rarely collected, and infrequently analysed"

(Haug et al., 2017, p.3). To help revert imbalance, this study aims to closely work with deaf professionals and tries to approach this issue from their point of view (see section 3.1 research with – not about deaf people). This is why this research is not *about* deaf people but *with* them. They are not only involved as participants but as consultants during the research process.

To research these issues and to include the story in the beginning of the introduction, the following research questions have been formulated:

- **How do deaf professionals assess the quality of interpreting (in situ) in sign-to-voice settings?**
- **What are ways of managing or regulating the interpreting process through interaction?**
- **What roles play control and trust in sign-to-voice settings for deaf professionals?**

To answer the questions above, a theoretical framework is set up to draw on relevant issues in the existing literature in chapter 2. Important aspects are to be taken from the relevant literature while key terms and central concepts will be discussed. For the literature review, the author will draw on important aspects from several standard works and articles of renowned researchers in this field internationally and from German publications.
Chapter 3 discusses methodology, explaining in detail how two interpreting situations were recorded and subsequently discussed with the deaf participants using retrospective interviews. Additionally, two interviews dealing with general issues were conducted with two other deaf individuals, adding to the recordings and partially compared to each other. Their unique insights into the topic sheds light on interactions and processes from deaf professionals working with interpreters - which will be presented in the findings in chapter 4.
Chapter 5 will be dedicated to setting the findings in context with the relevant literature, drawing parallels, showing similarities and discussing most important concepts.

The aim of the study is to get a better understanding of the deaf professionals' views to make more sign language interpreters aware of the status quo. While most literature refers to conditions in English or in some cases to German speaking countries, many developments regarding deaf people and interpreters may be applied to other countries with similar frameworks as well.
Interpreters in this study will always be understood as sign language interpreters in general, otherwise they will be featured explicitly as interpreters for *Austrian* sign language. Additionally, the interpreting mode investigated will be from sign language to spoken language, also labelled as sign-to-voice interpreting (Wang & Napier, 2015) (see section 2.2.2). Since the author is from Austria and the study was conducted there, the data (lectures and interviews) will be held in Austrian Sign Language (ÖGS) and where necessary, translated to English by the researcher herself.
The interpreting situations referred to in this project are always on-site settings and do not involve any interpreting online.

This work is intended for researchers, interpreters, people working with interpreters and others who are familiar with the issue. Hopefully it might point new ways to the future for all those interested in deaf-centred sign language interpreting, research on deaf professionals and people involved in this or related fields.

2. Literature review

The following chapter gives an overview about the current academic discourse as well as highlights key concepts elaborated by important authors in the field of sign language interpreting. These shall interconnectedly build a foundation for the practical part of this study and familiarise the reader with detailed content and terms used in this field.
Even though many theories and concepts can be spoken of more generally, the empirical part of the study will be conducted in Austria. Therefore, some chapters give additional information about the specific framework in Austria to provide explicit insights for the reader.

2.1 Deaf professionals

Deaf people have been working with sign language interpreters for decades and even centuries (Stone & Woll, 2008). What started out as mostly legal settings spread to other situations later, but sign language interpreting did not become professional before the 1970s (Cokely, 2005). Only decades later, interpreting was essential in other settings before it started to play a role in the workplaces of deaf people as well (Hauser et al., 2008).
This is mainly because historically in Western Europe and the United States, education and professional trainings have been not accessible for most deaf people for greater parts of the 20th century; as sign language was not recognized as a language and therefore not taught in deaf schools or available in other educational settings (Krausneker & Schalber, 2007; Staber, 2005). Hearing parents mostly decided *for* and not *with* their deaf children what they ought to learn and which profession they should exercise. Quite often those included manual professions like streamstresses, carpenters or cobblers (Podbelsek & Fellner-Rzehak, 2002). Even though sign language is still not standard in all domains, increasing legal recognition

of sign language and deaf people have been given the right to have access to interpreters. That has led to more possibilities for deaf people, e.g., to graduate from higher education and work in higher positions (Kushalnagar & Rashid, 2008). The profession most often pursued was – and arguably still is – teaching. For the United States, Kushalnagar & Rashid (2008) state that "societal changes […] have not only encouraged this huge increase in the population of deaf teachers but also caused an expansion in the number of deaf individuals going into other professional fields." (Kushalnagar & Rashid, 2008, p.45). This results in a new era for still a quite small but newly emerging group of deaf people – the deaf professionals, academics and leaders. Padden and Humphries (2005) refer to this group as a (new) middle class of deaf people (Padden & Humphries, 2005).

Several authors give definitions for a *deaf professional- but* in various ways: Hauser & Hauser (2008) state that the term "refers to any deaf or hard of hearing employees, trainees, or interns who require interpreting services to access the level of communication needed for them to learn, perform their job responsibilities, or both." (Hauser & Hauser, 2008, p.4). Napier et al. (2008) define deaf professionals as people "who are completing university studies and working in various professional roles such as educators, lawyers, advocates, and business managers." (Napier et al., 2008, p.23). Wurm (2014) adds that deaf people are no longer merely working in manual settings but rather move on to professional workplaces and have a greater variety of educational degrees. Additionally, deaf professionals take more part "in the discourses of hearing society" (Wurm, 2014, p.2) and therefore gain more acceptance and respect in new (and hearing) fields.

It is noticeable that in the German speaking countries and in the literature, deaf professionals have hardly gotten any specific attention in research as such yet. When talking about this particular group, they are at best referred to as "gehörlose Studierende" [deaf students] (Karar, 2003) or simply "taube Arbeitnehmende" [deaf employees] (Reichert, 2021) without especially referring to their higher educational level or academic involvement. Naturally, researchers and authors have not come to one final definition and the term *deaf* professional is dynamic as much as its boundaries are fluent.

For the purpose of this study, deaf professionals will be defined as individuals who have a high educational level, are working in a field where they have many contacts with a variety of people and have good general knowledge. This includes but is not limited to teachers, employees of the university, researchers, authors and social workers. Though not a condition for the definition of a deaf professional - it does seem noticeable that quite often these are also the same people going into deaf clubs or events as educators or lecturers, disseminating their research results or life experiences.

Since the study is conducted in Austria, the group of deaf professionals in this country shall be specifically mentioned. The number of deaf individuals in question are quite low in Austria due to its educational system. In concrete numbers, this means for instance that in 2006 /2007 only very few deaf people passed the high school exit exam (Krausneker & Schalber, 2007) and only about a dozen out of approximately 10.000 (Podbelsek & Fellner-Rzehak, 2002) deaf people in Austria were studying at university (Rathner & Jesacher, 2006). Numbers increased after Austria ratified the UN-Convention for the Rights of People with Disabilities in 2007 (Sozialministerium, 2010) and more fundings for sign language interpreters became available. By 2014, numbers showed 50 deaf individuals graduated high school and about 30 were studying at university (Kwapil, 2014). These numbers can be considered as an estimate given that the amount increased again in the past decade and continues to increase even further when including other forms of education or categories mentioned above.
In their place of work, deaf professionals and their hearing colleagues are closely working with sign language interpreters. The following section looks into how the profession developed and how it relates to interpreters when talking about deaf professionals.

2.2 Interpreting between spoken and signed languages

Sign language interpreters have been working professionally for and with deaf people for several decades (Napier & Goswell, 2012). The profession though did not start out as *professional* but was at first rather staffed by people with deaf family, social workers or teachers (Grbic, 1995). The initial and typical interpreting settings therefore were such as in hospitals and courtrooms all which are usually subsumed under the term *community interpreting.* This history of hearing people showing – what they deemed - *good will* on one hand but at the same time exercising hierarchical unbalance on the other - has shaped the relationships between deaf people and interpreters to this day and is still depicted in the many role metaphors ascribed to interpreters (Dean & Pollard, 2018). These roles as well as the interdependency with the professionalisation of sign language interpreting and deaf professionals will be the topic of section 2.3.

Sign language interpreting still happens mainly in "social institutions or situations" (Grbić, 2002, p.10) and is therefore still largely occurring as community interpreting (Bontempo, 2012). In contrast to community interpreting stands *conference* interpreting or interpreting in higher educational contexts which is often considered more prestigious than the first type (Biagini et al., 2017). But because community interpreting is deemed a *practice profession* (Dean & Pollard, 2018), it arguably requires more social skills (or "social acting" (Grbić, 1997) and a different form of interaction than in a conference setting, for instance.

This development of the profession is also documented in Austria where people had been working as sign language interpreters for many years without any training or qualification (Grbić, 2023). After some years of discussion about professionalism, fees and interpreter education, the Austrian Association for Sign Language Interpreters and Translators (Österreichischer Gebärdensprachdolmetscher:innen und Übersetzer:innenverband, ÖGSDV), was founded in 1998 by the students of the first official sign language interpreting education funded by the EU (Keckeis et al., 1998). This rapidly led to more awareness, more training and education

opportunities and an increase of sign language interpreters in Austria. No matter which of the (since then established) various training programs an interpreter goes through, every interpreter has to take the exam provided by the ÖGSDV to become a certified member of the association. Therefore, the institutions as well as deaf and hearing clients, have the assurance that every interpreter with the ÖGSDV certificate is qualified to fulfil all the standards set by the association (Grbić, 2023).

The concepts of this project are focusing on the process of interpreting from a signed to a spoken language in a higher education/lecture-like setting. The two subsequent sections therefore provide the reader with detailed information about the interpreting process as well as modality which later can be connected to the generated data outlined in chapters 4 and 5.

2.2.1 The interpreting process

Every interpreting situation and every translatory work is based on the interpreting process. It is closely linked to interaction and will be directed and influenced by the deaf individuals, the interpreters and all the other people present.
Various models of the interpreting process have been drawn, trying to capture the complex issue of what exactly happens during interpreting. Ingram (1974) gave the following plain definition:

> "When the hearing person speaks […], the interpreter must decode the message from its spoken symbols to determine the thought embodied in those symbols and then encode the message once more into the visual symbols of the language of signs. The deaf person must then decode these visual symbols to arrive at the meaning of the communicated message." (Ingram, 1974, p.3)

The task of the sign language interpreter is therefore to listen, process the content and reformulate in sign language. Even though written decades ago, the quote captures the essence of the interpreting process though mentioning said process

only from spoken language *into* sign language and not vice versa. In the case of a deaf professionals' lecture the modalities are reversed - interpreters watch what is signed, process it cognitively and produce an output in spoken language. Naturally, there are many more components to the process such as maintaining or structuring the message (Roy, 1999), for instance.

One way to look at the interpreting process is as *interaction* (Wadensjö, 1998) (see following section) - but especially interaction might arguably also be separated from the mere process. It is a fine line between interpreting process and interaction; it is arguably a spectrum and not always clearly identifiable. Therefore, as a tool of reconstructing what is happening in interpreters' minds during the interpreting process, many studies use the tools of Think Aloud Protocols (TAP), where interpreters will (re)watch their interpretation, commenting on what they thought at that exact moment (Russell & Winston, 2014; A. Smith, 2014; Vik-Tuovinen, 2000). Hence, part of this method will also be used in the study at hand. In many cases though, the perspective on the process of interpreting of the deaf professionals is mainly documented in interviews and rather rarely with TAPs.

Additionally, the interpreting process is mostly managed by the interpreters but all other participants are also active and take part, even if unaware at that moment. In case of working with deaf professionals, those deaf individuals can arguably take even more active influence on the interpreting process, not just in their way of signing, content or pace but especially through interaction. Interpreters are taught how to manage this interaction, e.g., with the demand control schema (Dean, 2015). Deaf people on the other hand usually are rarely instructed on how to successfully interact with their interpreters, which makes every interpreting an individually different endeavour. Hall (2019) goes as far as stating that it is crucial to understand interaction "as the primary context for all interpreting processes" (Hall, 2019, p.238). Interaction as a foundation also for the study at hand therefore will be explored in more detail in section 2.4.

2.2.2 Sign-to-voice settings

Contrary to spoken language interpreters, sign language interpreters most often work from their L1 (native-language) into their L2 (non-native language) and usually prefer this direction or find it less difficult (Haug et al., 2017; Kluuskeri, 2019; Krüger, 2011; McIlroy & Storbeck, 2011; Nicodemus & Emmorey, 2015). This preference might be influenced by the fact that while sign languages are visual-gestural, spoken languages are oral-auditive and therefore have different modalities (Graf, 2015). Sign language interpreters might also prefer working into sign language because their training did not focus (enough) on interpreting to spoken language (Campbell et al., 2008). Another issue is the lack of practice after they are certified since speech needs to be interpreted to sign language a lot more frequently than signed monologues which only occur rarely (Krüger, 2011).

With deaf professionals in contrast, interpreting to spoken language has become more frequent and necessary on a daily basis. An interpreter, who is not comfortable working in this direction might decline working as a designated interpreter – since additionally, they will need to be familiar with the specific vocabulary and register of the workplace (Graf, 2015; Krüger, 2011; Smith & Ogden, 2018).

Because this research at hand is about deaf professionals and their control strategies during their signed lecture, the direction of a signed- to a spoken language is in focus. This is also due to deaf individuals arguably having more control or more influence on the interaction, their way of working and the relationship with their interpreters.

Furthermore, it is noticeable that the power balance between deaf person and interpreter shifts towards the deaf professional. Interpreters might be more insecure about working with spoken language while deaf individuals additionally have to be concerned with their reputation and integrity in their professional lives (Holcomb, 2018). Bad interpreting quality into spoken language might lead colleagues or students to respect deaf professionals less or not value their opinions and competences.

Although there is an increasing number of personal reports by deaf professionals about their experiences with interpreters in sign-to-voice settings as well as their

means of control, trust and assessment of quality (ibid.) – studies looking at recordings or direct data to answer the research questions at hand have not been conducted yet.

2.3 Deaf professionals and sign language interpreters – *collectively* from community to professionalism

After many years of community interpreting, the field slowly transformed to interpreters working more with deaf professionals, deaf academics and deaf leaders around the year 2000 (Kushalnagar & Rashid, 2008). In times of community interpreting, interpreters more often had control over the situation rather than the deaf people. With deaf professionals, the control shifts more towards the deaf individual(s) (ibid.) In more recent decades, deaf people got increased access to education and higher job positions, changing the interpreter - deaf person *dynamic,* as for example deaf people rightly demand *more* of their interpreters. Additionally, it also has led to the phenomenon of designated interpreters in the recent past (see section 2.3.3 on designated interpreters). This development increased demands on the interpreters and also stressed the importance of trust in interpreters as a key factor of a successful interpretation. Even more so as the quality of the interpretation will reflect immensely on how the deaf individual is perceived in their professional life since bad quality might make the deaf person look less professional or ill informed (Biagini et al., 2017; Smith & Ogden, 2018).

Parallel and interdependently to the possibility for higher education for deaf people, the education for sign language interpreters also professionalised and became more institutionalized and regulated in many countries (Grbić, 1998; Napier & Goswell, 2012). This was necessary in any case, given that the interpreters had to keep up with more formal and professional settings to interpret (Napier & Goswell, 2012). De Meulder and Haualand (2019) even argue that “SLIS [sign language interpreters] have been among the critical factors leading to a significant rise in the number of deaf professionals [...]” (De Meulder & Haualand, 2019, p.4), which shows that one

condition partially required the other, even if interpreters are not responsible for the achievements of the deaf advocates.

Early interpreters, coming from a social background without proper education, were ascribed certain roles to define their position and attitude. They were deemed as helpers (Dean & Pollard, 2018) or advocates, also speaking *for* the deaf person, advising them or stating even their own opinions (Grbić, 2023). Later on, they were expected to be either conduits simply conveying language, wishing to be neutral (Metzger, 1995) or at the very least being not directly involved content wise (Dean & Pollard, 2022). Years after that, they were more often seen as allies and members of a team (Dean & Pollard, 2018). It seems that these role metaphors arguably are often linked to the field where sign language interpreting was taking place – the more professional a setting, the more distance would be expected from interpreters to participants and content.

While community interpreting is provided for deaf professionals as well, interpreting for this group of deaf people happens mostly at their workplace, at university or any place of education. These settings depict situations which are neither community- nor conference interpreting but rather various categories (Bontempo, 2012). Even though interpreting from signed to spoken language is also necessary in smaller scales for example in community interpreting, work meetings or in educational settings, naturally the main focus on interaction initiated by the deaf professional is more pronounced during a signed lecture or workshop.

With deaf professionals in Austria constantly increasing, sign language interpreters had to adapt their skills, knowledge and level of professionality accordingly. While deaf professionals in Austria are also involved in interpreter training as teachers and experts, their students become certified interpreters who in turn interpret for (the same) deaf individuals years later. Additionally, several projects were created in cooperation, for example to develop a lexicon for certain fields of study and (TU Wien, 2023). Most deaf professionals in Austria work with a steady pool of interpreters (if available) who become familiarised with the deaf person, their area of work and the technical vocabulary to ensure highest interpreting quality.

2.3.1 Interpreters' quality vs. quality of interpreting

Quality in terms of skills and abilities is closely linked to interpreting as a *profession* and especially to *professional* sign language interpreting. Since sign language interpreting became more professionalised, certain skills and qualities are expected of people working in this field.

Defining precise qualities in the context of the profession might prove difficult due to different ideas of the terms *professional* and *qualities*. Guidance on roles and qualities of sign language interpreters might be found in certain *ethical codes* or *codes of professional conduct*, originally drafted as an orientation for interpreters and people using interpreter services. This includes codes by national interpreter associations like the ÖGSDV (ÖGSDV, 2023), the Registry for Interpreters for the Deaf (RID, 2023) or the British Association of Sign Language Interpreters (ASLI, 2023). The content of the listed qualities and skills will find only little consideration here though, as these rules are laid down by hearing interpreters. For the purpose of the study at hand, the focus will lie on the perspective deaf clients as well as the view especially deaf professionals have on sign language interpreting quality (see subchapter 2.3.2).

Quality therefore has become a crucial part of (sign language) interpreting in the past decades. As De Wit and Sluis (2014) state: "The discussions [on sign language interpreters] revolve around what defines and who determines the quality of the interpreter." (De Wit & Sluis, 2014, p.63). Overall, among good qualities for an interpreter count the ability to teamwork (Brück, 2011), being able to interpret both language directions (Nicodemus & Emmorey, 2013), self-awareness and a fitting ethical norm (Biagini et al., 2017). But since there is no one-size-fits-all solution for all deaf individuals (De Wit & Sluis, 2014) every deaf person might value different qualities in an interpreter. Macnamara et al. (2011) conducted a study to look into which cognitive abilities might be of an advantage to sign language interpreters and found mental flexibility and cognitive processing most important.

For the purpose of this study, a distinction will be made between which qualities interpreters need to possess in contrast to the quality of their interpreting (output). Both types are clearly connected and interrelated and are therefore not easy to

consider independently. Nevertheless, the focus at hand is on interpreting in situ and not about the interpreter's general qualifications for the job. One might be very skilled at interpreting from a signed- to a spoken language or have higher interpreting quality into signed language. Others might have little quality in their output but excellent social skills and a great connection with certain deaf people (Smith & Ogden, 2018). Some interpreters might be certified and experienced, some might work efficiently with many deaf people and then again there are interpreters "who practice with little to no formal training but are beloved by the [deaf] community" (Taylor et al., 2018, p.35). For this research, the focus is only on the quality of the interpreted content in that situation, especially from the perspective of deaf professionals, which is the focus of the following section.

2.3.2 Interpreter qualities through deaf eyes - relationships and gatekeeping

It is noteworthy that for deaf people the perspective on interpreters has changed through times, parallel to the shift that also happened in the interpreting field and the higher education of deaf people (Kushalnagar & Rashid, 2008). Naturally, the views are individual and can vary greatly amongst deaf people, where each might value one quality over another.

The definition of interpreter qualities in the eyes of deaf professionals is often linked to their relationship to interpreters. The relationship between interpreters and deaf people has existed for centuries but has not always been an easy one (Bontempo, 2012). Due to the cultural aspect of deaf people and sign languages, Cokely (2009) argues "that [because] sign language interpreters/transliterators are positioned between sign language and spoken language worlds, there are critical aspects of their social and cultural positionality […]." (Cokely, 2009, p.4). Moreover, because *professional* sign language interpreters were not always professionals in a modern sense but developed over many decades - mostly out of social connections to deaf people (Ball, 2019) - the relationship had many additional (mostly social and societal) barriers to overcome.

In the early stages of sign language interpreting, deaf people were the natural *gatekeepers* of who could work as an interpreter (Bontempo, 2012). Those were hearing individuals frequently in contact with deaf people, "[…] who had learned the language of the Deaf directly from the Deaf people […]" [authors' spelling] (Taylor et al., 2018, p.33). Nowadays, the gatekeeping process has transitioned and interpreter training as well as institutions are often in charge of assigning an interpreter to a deaf person, rather than them being able to choose (ibid). This happens even though studies have been conducted, indicating that the comprehension rate is higher if deaf people are able to choose their own interpreters. Furthermore, they are more likely to choose an interpreter they have already worked with (Napier & Rohan, 2007), as familiarity with an interpreter also proves as a benefit. In the case of deaf professionals - though it might not be like the gatekeeping process in the past - they are still often able to choose the interpreters they want to work with – if certain or enough interpreters are available. This will give them arguably more power ahead of the interpreting situation - compared to a deaf person, who is more in the position of a solicitor (patient, accused or some form of applicant) and will have to accept any interpreter assigned instead. This can be considered an interesting development, given that the power to decide who is *allowed* to interpret lies more with the deaf person in the given case.

A volume that has proved to be an essential addition to perspectives from deaf professionals in the past five years is *Deaf eyes on Interpreting* (Holcomb & Smith, 2018). It contains a collection of narratives, told by deaf people about their everyday life experiences with sign language interpreters in different settings. Even though written in (and therefore closely linked to) the United States and their legal or educational framework, many comparisons can be drawn to other countries as well. Among other topics, many deaf authors elaborate on what they expect of interpreters and which qualities they deem essential. Often, these qualities are again linked to the metaphors and roles ascribed to interpreters: many consider the *conduit* model outdated (Sheneman, 2018) but still find the term *ally* or *allyship* quite valid and preferable to others (Smith & Ogden, 2018) - even though this attitude has become less popular amongst interpreters. Commenting on the bond

between deaf individual and interpreters, Smith and Ogden (2018) write: "*TRUST* AND *ALLYSHIP* […] are the key words in any bond between a Deaf professional and interpreters" [authors' emphasis and spelling] (Smith & Ogden, 2018, p.133).
Some define the most valued qualities in interpreters as having an academic background in sign language interpreting, a close connection to many deaf people and being guided and introduced to interpreting for deaf professionals by *experts in the field* (Kovacs-Houlihan, 2018). Interpreters should work deaf centred (Hall, 2019), know about the background of the deaf professional's field of work (Smith & Ogden, 2018) and have skills for self-analysis (Kurz & Hill, 2018). Taylor et al. (2018) see "the missing link" (Taylor et al., 2018, p.39) in guaranteeing quality by interpreters in being accountable and working with as much transparency as possible.
Quite often, these notions are linked to interpreters the deaf professionals work closely with. The various relationships regarding frequency and closeness between the deaf individuals and interpreters will be looked into in the following subchapter.

2.3.3 Designated, preferred or simply occasional interpreters?

One term often used with deaf professionals is *designated interpreter*. They are referred to as extremely skilled and educated, working very closely and on a regular basis (De Meulder et al., 2018). These interpreters work with one or several deaf individuals and know their work and field well (Hauser et al., 2008). Regarded as quite a new phenomenon, designated interpreters are not always or everywhere available due to the small number of interpreters in some countries and because of high costs and budget cuts (De Meulder et al., 2018).
Instead, many deaf people - not just professionals – rather work instead with *preferred* interpreters (Smith & Ogden, 2018). Those work well with certain deaf individuals and are frequently booked – if available. In this case, Smith and Ogden (2018) argue that "it is about the right fit, not just qualifications." (Smith & Ogden, 2018, p.141).

It will be mentioned though that De Meulder et al. (2018) question the concept of a designated interpreter overall while Kluuskeri (2019) uses the terms *designated* and *preferred* interpreters as synonyms.
Furthermore, the term *favourite* interpreter is used as well, which is conceptually similar to the *preferred* interpreter (Kovacs-Houlihan, 2018). Yet another expression, mentioned in the literature, the *consistent* interpreter. It refers to professionals working along the already mentioned expressions but with emphasis on frequency, for instance "having the same interpreters for each class, or each semester/year" (Holmes, 2018, p. 126).

In this research, the attention is less on the above categories because the interaction between a deaf professional and an interpreter they frequently work with arguably looks quite different than the one with an unfamiliar interpreter. As a deaf person, working with the same interpreter every week or even every day will make a well-rehearsed team.
This does not imply that the quality of interpreting is worse or cooperation is less smooth with an unfamiliar interpreter than with a designated one, though more likely (Holcomb & Aguilar, 2018). This unequivocally leads to the notions of trust and control which will be in the centre of the next two sections.

2.3.4 The issue of trust, confidence and satisfaction

The issue of trust and control is especially essential where people closely work together and interpreters are present. For people cooperating in a workplace "trust determines if participants are willing to participate in cooperative behaviors [sic]" (Bekkering, 2004, p.46). Especially in a setting with interpreters, cooperative behaviour is necessary to ensure a smooth process. But not only does trust establish cooperation but it has its own dynamic as well. It can be seen as a process and structures an interaction (Napier et al., 2017). In the context of sign language interpreting, von Pingel (2019) argues that "a Deaf consumer that trusts the

interpreter will be more confident in asking for clarification, repetition and feel empowered to express themselves openly" (von Pingel, 2019, p.5). Aiming for this arguably would be an ideal outcome for both parties and lead to less misunderstandings.

Holcomb (2018) connects trust with a great variety of qualities, such as "interdependence and shared goals […] openness, authenticity, reliability, responsiveness, competence, vulnerability, benevolence, and honesty." (Holcomb, 2018, p.163). According to him, trust is not easily achieved in interpreting situations and deaf people have to rely on other hearing people to assure them of high-quality interpreting (ibid.). Trust might be easier built with people who are more involved with deaf people privately and/or on a regular basis, respectively involving deaf interpreters as well (Adam et al., 2011) though this is not the case for all deaf individuals.

There is also the issue of the group of interpreters, who are children of deaf adults (also known as *CODAs*) or who are privately involved with deaf people on a daily basis. This can be a reason why these interpreters might be not or less trusted by other deaf individuals, for dreading sensitive issues might be shared with the interpreters' deaf family or friends (Williamson, 2012). At the same time, it also might be a motive why other deaf people actually prefer these interpreters, them having frequent access to sign language and good knowledge about deaf people in general.

As many deaf people nowadays exchange thoughts and express their concerns about interpreters, non-academic discussions can be found on the internet, for example, as well. An online blog, written by a deaf author who calls themself "Bug" posted his thoughts titled "Should we Trust Interpreters?" (Bug, 2007) some years ago. In the comment section, a long discussion and narratives of deaf people experiences with interpreters were posted, including one deaf person writing that they find "having to trust an interpreter is pretty degrading" (ibid). This might have several reasons, such as bad experiences or negative stories shared by deaf friends or family. It suggests that depending on a third person for important appointments proves quite difficult in many cases. Previous experiences as well as the frequency of working with interpreters will have great influence if a deaf person is more or less likely to trust a

(new) interpreter. Forestal (2005) even states that “the first interpreting situation does not carry the trust and confidentiality issues that the second situation does [and] may vary by the interpreting situation […]” (Forestal, 2005, p.87).
But especially if working with them on a regular basis, some form of trust or foundation will be necessary to build a good working relationship. Sepah (2018) even speaks of “blind faith” (Sepah, 2018, p. 200) which is necessary to have in interpreters.

In the event of not having a foundation of trust between the interpreter and the deaf professional, it is possible to either build trust eventually or the deaf individual has to find a solution of staying in control during the interpreting situation. As a dissatisfying alternative, the deaf professional can simply accept that a situation is out of hand due to mistrust or mismanagement, stop the interpreting and choose not to book this particular interpreter again.
When opting for the first scenario there are several ways on how to build trust and a relationship. Von Pingels’ (2019) findings suggest small talk as a way of getting to know each other and gaining trust. Trust might also be more likely to be established if the interpreter and the deaf person know the same (deaf) people (ibid.) or the interpreter was being referred to the deaf individual by someone else – either for exactly this setting or because they knew that it would be a good fit.
As a way of building trust and strengthening the relationship, it also might be necessary for the interpreters to sacrifice personal time if required and to inform the deaf professional of discussions or conversations amongst colleagues overheard in the absence of the deaf individual (Miner, 2017). Additionally, Sepah (2018) develops trust by acknowledging that interpreters and deaf professionals are both experts to each other, respecting integrity and giving feedback as well as serving as allies.

Seen from the interpreters’ perspective, they continually need to be reflecting on their performance, asking colleagues and deaf people for feedback or going over recordings if available. As an interpreter, it is crucial to rely on the deaf professional to “lead the way” and believe in their judgement (Campbell et al., 2008). Undoubtedly, trust has to be the foundation for this kind of (frequent) cooperation.

In German, there is a widely known saying: “Vertrauen ist gut, Kontrolle ist besser”, which can be translated as “trust is fine but control is best”. Along those lines, Holcomb (2018) claims that “trust cannot be fully established without some form of access to the interpreted work.” (Holcomb, 2018, p.166). In the case of trust lacking, some form of controlling strategies might be necessary on the deaf professionals’ part to monitor the interpreting outcome. In traditional community settings, either the interpreter - most often a member of the dominant (hearing) culture (Baker-Shenk, 2014) - or the hearing professional is controlling the interpreting process (Grbić, 2023). The case might be different during a deaf professionals’ lecture though. In this situation, the deaf lecturer can choose how to give a presentation, set the pace and decide on the content. Nonetheless, they have to rely on the interpreter – but might find ways of staying ahead and managing the situation.

In the past decade, several studies have been conducted to research the degree of satisfaction of deaf people with their interpreters (De Wit & Sluis, 2014; Forestal, 2001; Haug et al., 2017; Kushalnagar & Rashid, 2008; Oppong et al., 2016). Deaf professionals will be more satisfied when they are sure of good interpreting service and high quality. As a foundation for these factors serves a good relationship with the interpreter based on trust. Then the deaf individuals arguably will scrutinise the output less and feel more comfortable. Beaton and Hauser (2008) see teamwork as crucial for the satisfaction of the deaf professional and the reason why good teamworking should be what all parties aim for. They argue for an ”ongoing communication between the two individuals with respect to the deaf professional’s needs and preferences” and rightly see the approach “critical to the satisfaction and success of the deaf professional within his or her field” (Beaton & Hauser, 2008, p.223).

As these authors so amply put it, it is therefore important for the interpreters to adapt to the deaf professionals’ needs to create a satisfactory interpreting setting. Twenty years ago, satisfaction rates of deaf people in the United States were quite low, although there have been endeavours to address that issue (Forestal, 2001). To

solve those matters, some institutions and interpreter associations worked towards growing professionalism in the interpreting field, to increase quality and satisfaction for deaf people but also interpreters (Grbić, 2023).
Deaf individuals who are not satisfied with the quality of interpreting develop certain strategies to manage the interpreting process and take control, which will be dealt with in the following subchapter.

2.3.5 Control, management and adaption

Reflecting on the issue that complete trust can only be achieved if some form of control is possible, Urdal (2012) states in their presentation: “Trust and knowledge are important for both parties when it comes to the feeling of control in a given situation.” (Urdal, 2012, p.1). This control can be achieved through different tactics. Some deaf professionals try to control the interpreter by rephrasing or repeating the last sentence (Holcomb, 2018), others try to *lipread* from interpreters while lecturing (Smith & Ogden, 2018) – a difficult endeavour as for instance in German, only about 30% of spoken words are actually visible on the lips (Zimmermann, 2011). Holcomb (2018) employs extra people for his lectures, transliterating (putting speech into text) the interpreters who interpreted signing into spoken English to simultaneously read what has been interpreted from his signing. He especially is seeking more control over the interpreted situations, seeking for feedback from hearing colleagues or observing the interaction between the two interpreters (Holcomb, 2018). Karar (2003) suggests a consecutive approach to the interpreting process: the (in this case) deaf student will sign what they want to express to the interpreter, the interpreter repeats the message again back to the student and if they are satisfied the interpreter can voice the content to the whole class. Arguably, this will take up more time but gives full proof to the deaf individual that the message has been understood by the interpreter.
Adapting might also be a form of managing the interpreters. The deaf professional thereby customises their own sign language output to fit the understanding or

competencies of their interpreters. Even if studies suggest that everybody adapts their style of communication to who they are communicating with (Napier et al., 2008), adapting is usually expected from the interpreters (Hauser & Hauser, 2008). Still, also the deaf professionals will be expected to adapt to the interpreters and show flexibility in some cases (Campbell et al., 2008; Kushalnagar & Rashid, 2008). Amongst deaf people, adapting the signing style or vocabulary as well as pace, is not uncommon. Especially across borders or amongst multilingual deaf people, *calibrating* is mutual and shows an "ideal of openness and adaptation to difference" But even if calibrating comes more naturally to signers, the case should be different in an interpreting situation. Arguably, the deaf individual should be allowed to sign in their natural way and not feel the need to adapt (too much) to the needs of the interpreter - just like the other (hearing) people in the workplace. Rather, it is the interpreters' responsibility to adapt to the professional setting and the deaf team colleagues which will also be the reason why interpreters capable of adapting might be preferred over others (Campbell et al., 2008; Hauser & Hauser, 2008).
For some deaf professionals, these strategies are satisfactory while others struggle with what they perceive as lack of (sufficient) control. These strategies to assess quality or direct an interpreting situation look different with various interpreters but are mainly led by interaction. What forms of interaction exist and what they look like will therefore be the focus of the subsequent two sections.

2.4 Interaction in the context of interpreting

The Cambridge dictionary defines interaction as "an occasion when two or more people or things communicate with or react to each other." (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023). For a long time though, interpreting was only seen as communication between two or more parties *through* an interpreter and not as an interaction itself; it was merely considered as an "act of translation" (Hall, 2019, p.228). For sign language interpreters, role metaphors were and are still used, which can decide how much interpreting is seen as interaction (see section 2.3). Even

though it was early understood that interpreters are a natural part of the interaction (Roy, 1993), it was only in the rather recent years that this view was much more researched and emphasised (Wadensjö, 1998, 2004).

What has been studied in earlier years of sign language interpreting research has been the *role* of the interpreter in the interaction, e.g., the interpreter being invisible or a mere conduit – and not a part of the communication (Venuti, 2008; Wadensjö, 1998, 2002). Realising that the interpreters were more involved than previously assumed, their different roles would be explored on a deeper level (Bontempo, 2012; Dean & Pollard, 2022; Grbić, 2002) and with a sociolinguistic framework (Roy & Metzger, 2014). Against this background, the view on interaction in sign language interpreting changed considerably.

Furthermore, not only did the interpreters become more legitimately visible, the interaction between deaf leaders and interpreters became more pronounced as well as was put into a wider context. With more deaf professionals emerging and their perceptions and experiences weighing in more importantly, the interaction between the interpreter and the leading deaf individual has been more often the focus of research for the past fifteen years (Biagini et al., 2017; Haug et al., 2017; Kluuskeri, 2019; Napier et al., 2008).

Interaction is a crucial part of interpreting with the participants constructing a dialogue as well as a discourse through communication. The ways deaf people can interact with their interpreters in situ has been described by various authors, as deaf professionals documented their experiences and wrote recommendations. This interaction can take many forms. In Holcomb (2018), several deaf professionals report that interaction can include looking at the interpreters, communicating with them through facial expressions and watching their mouth pattern (Kurz & Hill, 2018; Smith & Ogden, 2018). In a broader study, conducted by Haug et al. (2017), deaf people also report about looking at the interpreters frequently, checking as often as every 20 seconds if the interpreters have understood the signed content. Adapting to the interpreters could be seen as interaction as well, given that the deaf individuals *react* to the interpreters and will accordingly sign more slowly or repeat the last part (Haug et al., 2017).

Napier et al (2008) conducted a similar study to research interaction in which they are analysing direct data, ethnographically working with recordings of a lecture in Australian Sign Language (Auslan) interpreted to spoken English (Napier et al., 2008). The authors were looking into the recording for three interaction markers: pauses, nods and eye contact.

There is only very little to be found in the literature about working with direct and natural data, such as recording of signed lectures (like Napier et al., 2008) and a subsequent analysis of interaction between deaf professionals and interpreters. Worth mentioning as well is the interaction between the interpreters (in case there are at least two, creating a team of interpreters) and how they use it as a tool or as problem-solving. The form of (subtle) communication might also give information to the deaf professional about interpreting quality and whether everything is working well or how much support they need from each other (Holcomb, 2018).

2.4.1 Manual and non-manual interaction

While linguists speak of verbal and non-verbal communication in spoken languages, the equivalent in signed languages would be manual and non-manual communication. While verbal is regarding spoken and written utterances/words, non-verbal communication concerns body language, mimics and hand gestures (Geipel, 2021). While manual communication is about the signing and the parameters (handshape, movement, orientation and location (Baker, 2016), non-manual markers will be similar to non-verbal ones. They include a wide range of signals - mimics and facial features like movement of the eyebrows, gaze, mouth pattern and tongue (Sze, 2022). Important are also head and body movements which can occur all together simultaneously with manual signs (Oomen & Pfau, 2017).

The interaction mentioned in the literature by other authors in the section above has so far mainly been non-manually, concerning eye contact between - or head movements towards the deaf professional and the interpreter.

Eye gaze as part of the communication between interpreter and deaf individual has been more researched in recent years. Next to pausing and nodding, it can be seen as a paralinguistic cue for communication to establish cooperation (Napier, 2007) and a discourse feature amongst many others (Napier et al., 2008). Nevertheless, studies so far mostly focused on studying eye gaze from interpreters *at* their clients (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Wang & Napier, 2015) or the deaf professionals directed *to* the audience (Napier et al., 2008) but less on deaf professionals gazing *at* their interpreters. In any interpreting situation though, the interpreter as well as the deaf expert need eye contact for *visual feedback* (Napier, 2007). This form of cooperation and adjusting to each other is crucial to a fruitful and successful interpreting relationship.

Researching eye gaze, for example, can be either done manually, or with computer assisted technology, namely eye-tracking. This method can be more precise to where the deaf professional is looking exactly and yield better results than its manual alternative (Klammer & Pöchhacker, 2021). In the recent past, eye-tracking has been used to research linguistic issues (Krebs, 2017; Krebs et al., 2019) but might prove valuable when applied to interactional research in the future as well.

Manual interaction so far has not been mentioned in the literature because the deaf professional would have to interrupt their presentation to communicate manually with the interpreter which arguably could be widely noticed by the audience. From the interpreters' perspective though, to manually (and unobtrusively) ask for clarification can be done without drawing attention from the deaf individual, depending on where they are positioned.

3. Methodology

The following chapter contains information about how the study was conducted, briefly informs about research *with* deaf people as well as notifying the reader of a pilot study, which was set up prior to the research project at hand. The section aims to set up a theoretical methodological framework for the research tools used and explains how the theories were implemented and applied to the real situation represented in the data.

To visualise which data was collected and worked with, Figure 1: Illustration of data sets in the beginning of subchapter 3.2. gives an overview and shows how the data is interconnected.

3.1 Research *with* – not *about* deaf people

"Nothing about Us, Without Us" (*United Nations,* 2023) – is a statement made by minority groups within a normed society who demand participation in issues which will affect and concern them. In this sense, deaf people should also be included and participate wherever deaf people and issues concerning them are being researched. Singelton et al. (2015) argue in this context that greater impact is achieved if deaf people are actively included which is nowadays seen as ethical research. Therefore, it is essential not only to do research *about* deaf people but including them as different forms of participants, co-authors, advisors, mentors or, at the very least, as people being involved in providing feedback. Furthermore, it is crucial to work against any mistrust of deaf people raised against hearing researchers, which is rooted in the shared history (Kusters et al., 2017).
Wurm and Napier (2017) also argue for participating research, not just involving deaf people as participants but also include them in the "research design, data collection [sic] and determination of project outcomes." (Wurm & Napier, 2017, p.110). A good relationship between researcher and the researched therefore has to be in focus,

especially if it is not an equal one (Hale & Napier, 2013) which might be the case for many hearing researchers and deaf people working together.

Working in academics and conducting research entails some kind of authority and it is crucial to be conscious of this position as a hearing interpreter (Casado, 2019). Interpreters who are working as researchers have to be aware of this hierarchy, making sure that the deaf participants are not intimidated by the status an interpreter might have. This might be a slightly different case with deaf professionals since they are in a more informed position and possibly more empowered than a deaf person with a lower level of education (Holcomb & Aguilar, 2018).

In the study at hand, looking into deaf professionals' views, expectations and experiences on an academic level has influenced the research process. It led the author trying to protect people's integrity and being aware of ethical implications. Deaf people were included as participants but also as advisors, being asked for council or suggestions at the start of the research process. Amongst other people, the researcher was frequently in exchange with deaf professionals, discussing issues like which topics might have a positive impact on deaf individuals. As the data and the information collected comes from deaf people, results and conclusions will also be disseminated amongst deaf persons as well (Orfanidou, 2015) which shall happen in deaf clubs or at events with deaf people present after the research is concluded.

3.1.1 Pilot study

Prior to the study at hand, a pilot study was directed in two parts. The data for this pilot was originally collected with the aim to research a similar topic, which in the process was then slightly changed. Originally asking about deaf professionals working with interpreters and why interpreters had to ask the signer for clarifications, four short interviews were conducted, two with deaf professionals and two with sign language interpreters.

The second part of the pilot consists of a recorded lecture in Austrian Sign Language (ÖGS), interpreted to spoken German by two interpreters which will not be used for this study due to its online modality.

Even though the topic and research questions were altered slightly in the aftermath of this pilot study, there are many overlaps in the two interviews with the deaf professionals which are therefore used for this study to collect all valid points and conclusions. They will be referred to as interview 4 with Susan and interview 2 with Laura (not their actual names) visually depicted in the figure in the following section. The interview questions for the pilot differ from the one for the project at hand, which can be found in the appendices, I to III.

3.2 Methods and implementation

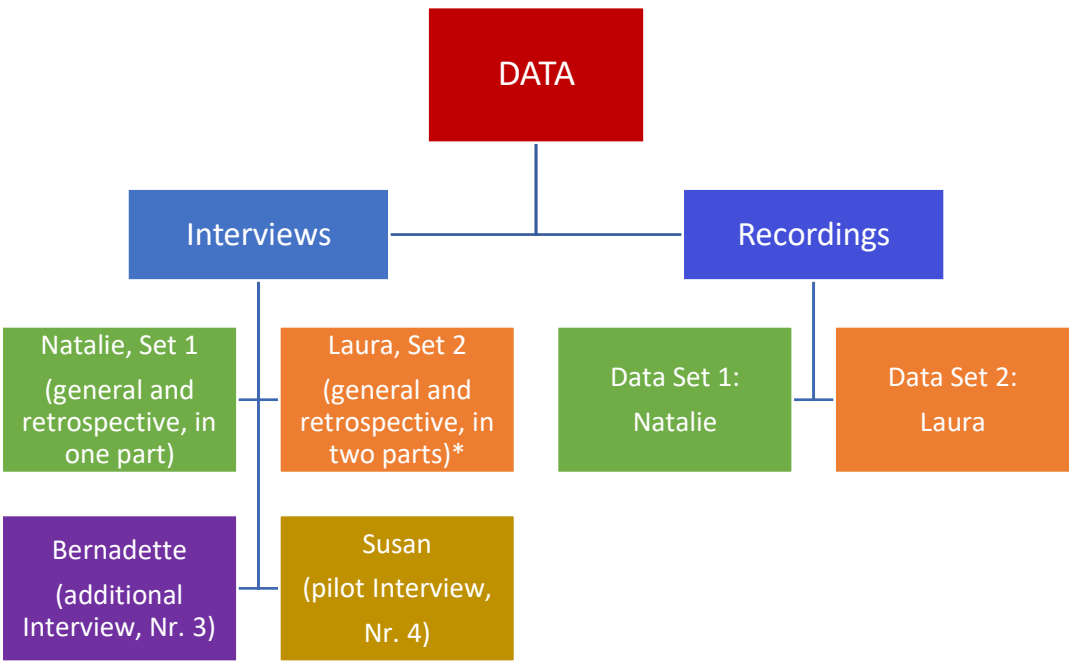

Figure 1: Illustration of data sets.

* As Laura took part in the pilot study, the interview for the data set 2 was mainly retrospective about the recording, with only a very small part focussing on more general questions.

Often found in sign language interpreting studies is the documentation of *natural* data such as in Napier et al. (2008) as opposed to data collected from a simulated event. For the purpose of authenticity, a natural setting was chosen for the project at hand. A simulation would not have been suitable for this purpose even though the presence of the researcher as well as the videotaping (Kusters et al., 2022) by themselves might already alter or influence the interpreting situation.
The methodology chosen for this project is following the case study by Napier et al. (2008). As these authors were researching the interaction based on a relationship between deaf professional and interpreter through discourse and a sociolinguistic lens, their theoretical framework fits the research at hand as well. Sociolinguistics is known as „the study of the sociological aspects of language" (Britannica, 2023) and was coined by Gumperz and Tannen several decades ago (Roy, 1999). Seeing interpreting as a discourse process, an interactional sociolinguistic lens proved fit as a tool in this case as well.

To look into how deaf professionals assess interpreting quality during an interpreting situation, two full data sets were generated. The settings chosen were two lectures to make sure that the deaf individual is in greater focus and the data might not be influenced by a larger number of people taking part in a more complex social interaction. The interpreters did not have to handle turn-takings and could fully concentrate on interpreting the signed content to spoken language.
In the first part, these data sets (1 and 2) consist of a recording of a lecture in Austrian Sign Language interpreted to spoken German by a certified interpreter. This data set was analysed from an interactional sociolinguistic approach and annotated with the linguistic programme *ELAN* (see following sections).
The second part of data set 1 and 2 consists of an interview with the deaf professionals shortly after, to gain information on how they viewed the recent interpreting process. In addition, two more interviews with deaf professionals conducted for the pilot project (Interview 2, part one with Laura and interview 4 with Susan) contribute to the data as well as one further interview was set up with yet another deaf professional (Interview 3 with Bernadette). All interviews draw not

just on the recorded session but also on important aspects of their experience with sign language interpreting in general.

According to Hale and Napier (2013), there are two categories of interviews: interviews as a research instrument and interviews as a social practice. In the study at hand, all interviews are part of the first category although some features of social practices can be found as well. So, while they are a "resource for collecting information […], give voice to the interviewees" and "report attitudes and beliefs", they also are "process-oriented and focus on the *what* and *how* […]" (Hale & Napier, 2013, p.97). Furthermore, they are organised as semi-structured interviews which allows the researcher to retain an overview and some form of control but enough flexibility to dive deeper into an interesting aspect that might turn up spontaneously.

The interviews with the two participants in the main data sets consisted of two parts: a more general part (which coincides with the interviews for the other deaf professionals) and a second part, where the filmed lecture was put under scrutiny. In this second part, the approach draws on features from the Think Aloud Protocol (TAP) as well as on retrospective interviews (Nicodemus et al., 2017). TAP was not used with an actual retrieval cue (Shamy & De Pedro Ricoy, 2017). This is partly because it would go beyond the scope of this project and also due to the lack of markers for interaction in both data sets. The findings turned out to be slightly different than expected and no key instances occurred where TAP would have been of an advantage. Instead, the participants were asked to reflect on the situation in a retrospective manner.

This double approach, recordings and interviews, was chosen as a method to not only have deaf professionals tell their accounts on what they believe happened but actually record the interpreting situation and compare it to their statements about this event. The more general interview questions additionally give general information about deaf professionals' experience and can be compared to the accounts from other deaf individuals in the literature.

The interviews were conducted with the researcher directly in ÖGS. For the purpose of analysing and quoting though, the interviews were translated (rather than simply *transcribed* (Casado, 2019) to written English, which was done by the researcher herself. To directly translate ÖGS to English without taking a detour via German, means to have only one translational process and a chance to lessen the unintended influence on the content.

The outlines for the interviews can be found in the appendix, showing how the questions were altered for the three different interview situations, namely the pilot, the two interviews with data sets and the one interview without (Appendix I through III). These were simply providing the researcher with support for the train of thought as well as informing the participants ahead of time what would be asked of them. Finally, some questions were spontaneously asked differently in the interview situation or simply omitted, mainly because the interviewee had already included the answer while responding to another question.

3.2.1 Participants

The *active* participants for the data for this research project are four deaf professionals, who were directly asked by the researcher if they would participate. Due to the very small numbers of deaf professionals in Austria, the researcher has worked with and for them or been in contact with them at deaf clubs or events. *Passively* participating are the interpreters who were interpreting in the recorded sessions; one interpreter in data set 1 and two interpreters in data set 2. They were chosen by or appointed to interpret for the deaf professionals who wanted to participate in the research and consented to participate. The interpreters though have not been interviewed after and have therefore in a rather passive participant role. They were briefed about the research and asked for participation on the phone beforehand. During this phone call they shortly talked about their relationship with the deaf person they would be working with and how long they have been working

as interpreters. This information - which the researcher partially was already aware of - adds important aspects to the data and will be mentioned briefly.
Both lecturers had not prepared with the interpreters beforehand but had sent the PowerPoint as a form of preparation material to them. Detailed prepping might not have been necessary due to the more general topic of the lectures of which the deaf professionals expected the interpreters mostly to be familiar with.
In the case of the two data sets, the deaf professionals were familiar with the interpreters but had not often worked with them before. All three interpreters had up to five years of experience and different educational backgrounds. They all went through interpreter training on different levels and all three are certified by the Austrian Sign Language Interpreter and Translator Association (ÖGSDV).
More details – neither about interpreters nor deaf professionals – cannot be given here, to protect the participants' identity. All markers or circumstances which could identify them or other people mentioned will also be redacted in the findings and appendices.

All participants (for the pilot, interviews and recordings) were – according to the ethics regulation[3] – informed about the topic and what the researcher was interested in. To avoid any subconscious influence on the data, the participants were informed in more detail only after the data generation at the end of the retrospective interviews. This method was explicitly chosen not to draw the participants' attention on what they were doing within the interpreting process but to let the situation play out as naturally as possible.

It shall be noted that all participants are (coincidently) female, refer to themselves as she/her, are Caucasian and born in Austria. A reason for this circumstance might be that their area of work, namely interpreting, lecturing, teaching, linguistic research etc., is more dominated by women (Valentin, 2019). Additionally, the researcher

[3] The reader will be informed that in advance of this research, an ethics application was sent to Heriot-Watt University (in September 2022 for the pilot, see chapter 3.1.1, and in January 2023 for the project here) and subsequently approved.

tried to find a diverse set of people to participate in the research and emailed as many deaf professionals as possible but the majority of the people contacted did not have scheduled a lecture or workshop in sign language within the set timeframe. But as many deaf professionals are Caucasian and many are female, the participants may still be counted as valid samples for Austria, representing many colleagues within the group of deaf professionals.

3.3 Data and data analysis

The data serves as a source to answer the research questions, as well as a reference to what is being found in the relevant literature. Additionally, it may answer the question whether the subjective perceptions of the deaf professionals from the interviews coincide with the findings in the recordings.

Both participants were filmed during their lectures for about 40 Minutes each, of which about half were analysed using the linguistic annotation program *ELAN*. For the recording, three cameras were set up from different angles: one was pointed at the deaf professional, one at the interpreter and one at all of them from the opposite of the room. As explained and demonstrated in other articles, ELAN allows the user to create as many tiers as necessary, to generate annotations and to clearly show any overlaps - as well as the numbers of markers (Klammer & Pöchhacker, 2021). These are tied to the exact millisecond in the video timeline and allows for working with multiple videos.

Because of interactions with hearing participants present at the lecture, parts in the middle were cut out, to only observe the parts of the lecture where the deaf professional is continuously signing. To that end, about 20 Minutes of each lecture were analysed in ELAN.

For the examination of the data, any interaction was taken into consideration namely eye gaze, head nods or other markers which would not specifically be part of the interpreting process. Therefore, tiers were created in ELAN for eye gaze, deaf professional-initiated interaction and interpreter-initiated interaction as well as one

for nods and other non-manual markers (see Appendix IV). The researcher also looked out for manual interaction e.g., the deaf person asking questions in sign language directed at the interpreter.

All interviews were translated and transcribed by the author. They were partially compared and many sections colour coded to highlight certain points (see Appendix V). The general parts were included in the four interviews (including the pilot) to be able to draw on parallels and similarities of deaf professional's contributions and to merge their perspectives.
Additionally, the interviews were compared with the data, to see whether the subjective perception of the deaf professionals about their interaction did coincide with the interaction on record.
The findings in the recorded data then were compared to what other researchers have found as markers of interaction, to draw conclusions that might not just be valid for these samples but could possibly be applied to other situations as well.

4. Findings

All findings in the data shall be presented for further analysis and discussion. In 4.1, the results of the recorded lectures are introduced and set in relation with parts of the retrospective interviews in subchapter 4.2. In section 4.3, topics and matters which were addressed during the general parts of the interviews are drawn upon and presented, linking them to important literature and recounts of deaf professionals. Main issues are singled out and further highlighted in the findings to discuss and summarise them in the last two chapters.

4.1 Analysis of the recorded lectures

After several turns of watching the recordings, respective tiers were created in ELAN (see appendix IV) to annotate these following markers: eye gaze at the interpreter, head nods, deaf professional-initiated interaction and interpreter-initiated interaction. The recordings were only partly analysed as for instance rounds of introductions with the hearing participants were excluded as not relevant for the deaf individual's lecture.

In data set 1 therefore, 24 out of 45 minutes were analysed. The deaf professional (Natalie) was looking at the interpreter 123 times, of which 17 times the eye gaze was necessary due to the interpreter interpreting to sign language. One additional time Natalie looked at the interpreter apparently in thought. In total, this adds up to 106 times, looking at the interpreter about every 11 seconds. Head nods occurred three times, the deaf lecturer nodding one time to signal to the interpreter the train of thought was finished and two times to confirm the message. Other than that, no interaction was initiated by Natalie and the interpreter herself only initiated once, asking information about the setting.

In the recorded lecture of data set 2, analysing 19 out of 40 minutes, Laura as the deaf professional was looking at - or in the direction of the interpreters 37 times,

including three times because the interpreter was signing. In her case this sums up to 34 times in total, looking at the interpreters about every 30 seconds. Head nods toward the interpreters were counted five times, while waiting for them to finish speaking. The two interpreters initiated interaction four times, asking Laura to repeat the last part or sign.

Several times, short pauses while lecturing were noticeable, waiting for the interpreters to finish speaking and signalling with a head nod that the deaf professionals could continue. This feedback loop was more perceptible in Natalie's lecture but also present a few times in Laura's presentation.

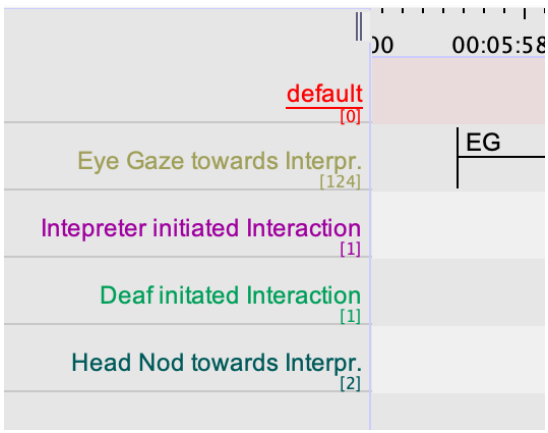

Figure 2: Screenshot of finished data set 1.

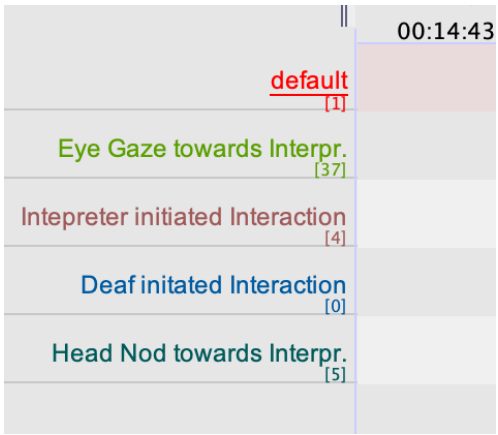

Figure 3: Screenshot of finished data set 2.

In both data sets, no manual interaction initiated by the deaf professional was found, while non-manual interaction was only found in the eye gaze and the occasional head nod toward the interpreters. The manual interaction initiated by the interpreters was answered by the deaf professionals by repeating the last phrase or sign. This was only visible because of the camera pointing towards the interpreters, not by watching the deaf lecturer and therefore almost not recognizable as interaction by the audience.

The fact that Natalie gazed at the interpreters almost three times more often than Laura, might be explained by two factors. Firstly, the positioning of the interpreters and the audience present (see following section and figures 4 and 5) was different and had an influence on where the two deaf professionals mainly looked. The second factor is Laura's and Natalie's way of working with interpreters. While Natalie

is in more direct contact and cooperation with her interpreter, Laura stays in constant exchange in a more subtle way and looks at everybody in the room in turns constantly.
Cooperation with the interpreters went very smoothly, so no more interactions were found in the recordings. Both deaf professionals naturally looked at the interpreters more intently after they had asked for clarification or repetition but other patterns were not visible. The interpreters continuously looked at the deaf professional who changed their focus from the screen and the hearing participants to – more or less frequently – the interpreters. Detailed information was given in the retrospective interviews in which both professionals commented on the recordings.

4.2 Analysis of the retrospective interviews in regard to the recordings

In the second part of the interviews, Laura and Natalie were asked to reflect on the filmed lecture shortly and talk about their experience retrospectively. The findings will be presented here, closely connecting them to the recordings and comparing them to the findings in the chapter above.
Both deaf professionals felt that the interpreting situations went very well and that they could trust their interpreters - at least after the "warm up phase". Laura was a little tense at first, not having experienced those two interpreters in a sign-to-voice setting but felt more comfortable after her assessment of the interpreting quality had reassured her.
When asking Natalie for the reason why she had been looking at her interpreter very frequently, she claims that she was merely looking at her to anticipate for her to finish interpreting.

> "I was simply waiting for her to be done and then also process my own thoughts while I wait [sic]. It is also easier for the interpreter […] it's nice for her too if I just wait with continuing." – Natalie, p.4.

Laura on the other hand, who looked less directly at her interpreters stated that it is enough for her to have them in the corner of her eye:

> "Because when I just have the interpreters in the corner of my eye, I can already see if their mimic is off… then I know they need something. So, I do think I tend to look more like in their direction […] but maybe not directly at them [sic]." – Laura II, p.1+2

Since the interpreters in Laura's case were positioned within/in front of the hearing participants, it could not always be completely distinguished whether Laura was looking in the direction of the interpreters or behind them at the participants. For Laura, it was therefore a lot easier to look at them more subtly, because they were more in her field of vision than for Natalie. In contrast, her gazes at her interpreter were much more distinguishable, with the interpreter sitting beside the participants and not in front of them (see figure 5). Of course, Laura having two interpreters instead of one like Natalie, could also have had an impact on eye contact and way of working.

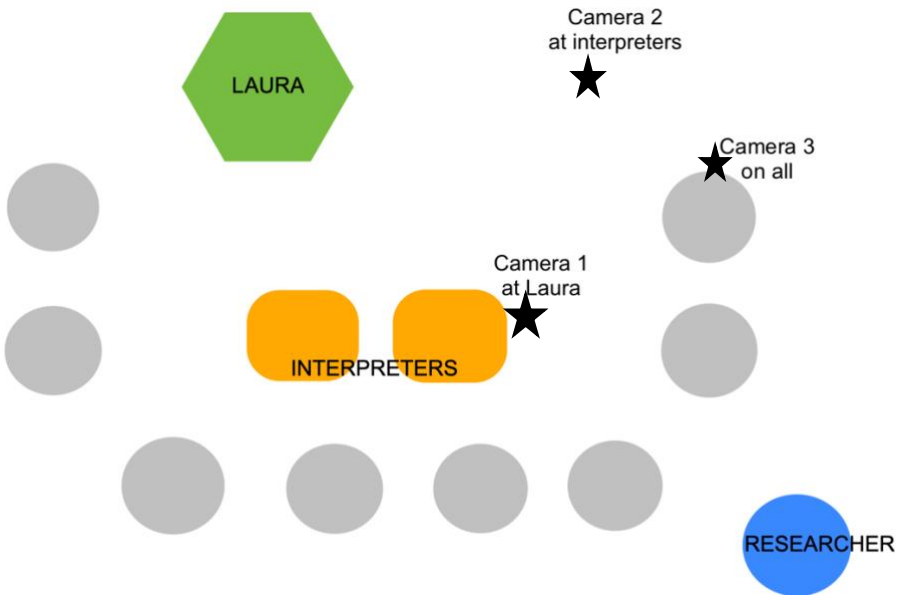

Figure 4: Positioning of hearing audience, Laura and interpreters, data set 2.

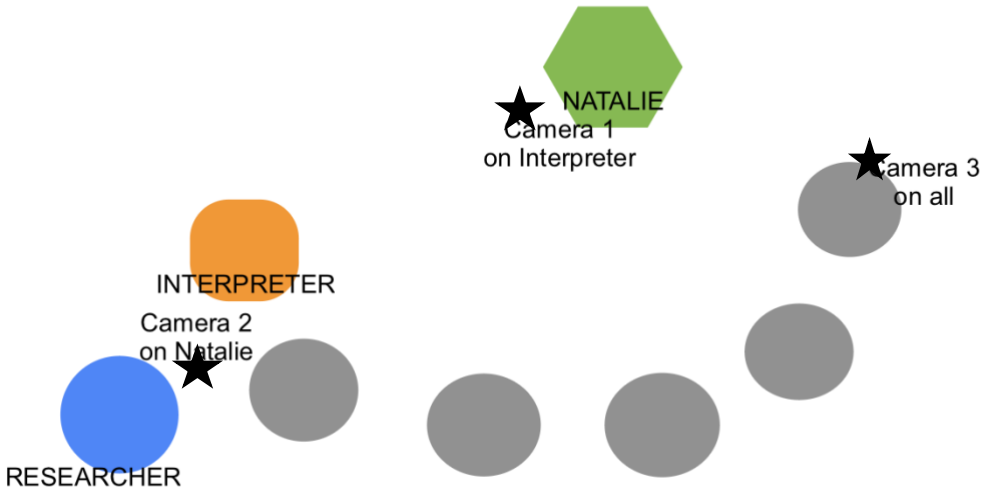

Figure 5: Positioning of hearing audience, Laura and interpreters, data set 1.

When Laura was looking at them directly and assessed that the interpreters were struggling, she used a sign language grammatically closer to spoken language (SSE, see footnote 4 at the end of this page).

> "My strategies are rather to use LBG[4] because I want it formulated a certain way. And back in the day, I really used to look at the mouth pattern but… that is just so hard for me. So, I don't do that anymore… I didn't yesterday [in the recording]. Rather I just have to adapt to the interpreters and do more LBG." Laura II, p.1.

When assessing quality, instead of looking at mouth patterns or *lip-reading*, which is not easy or even impossible for some people (Smith & Ogden, 2018), Laura would rather adapt her own level of sign language to make sure the spoken language quality suffices.

She also adds that in the case of the filmed situation, she did look at the interpreters one time in particular (after the recording was stopped) very directly and asked by means on facial expression (non-manually) whether everything had been clear and

[4]LBG stands for lautsprachbegleitende Gebärden (for German), equal to SSE – Sign supported English in the English-speaking countries and international literature.

understandable. During the break, she also asked them if everything was working well or if she needed to change something for the next part of the lecture.
When the two deaf professionals were satisfied with the quality of interpreting, they would go on with their lecture, signing freely but still checking regularly if everything was still going well. Laura especially mentions that when she was not so happy with the output, assessing this from the interpreter's looks or the amount of support, she would adapt her signing even more to them:

> "… but later when it was more academical, more … technical terms which went more in depth... Then it's different to before and in that situation with many technical terms, I had to dial down again. And I really had to work with the interpreters more closely […] I repeated a lot and they also had to support each other much more than before… more often [sic]" Laura II, p.2.

Laura also explained that she likes to observe the hearing participant's reaction or mimics to assess the interpreters' output as a form of control which she also did (partially) this time. Natalie claims that she didn't assess the quality of interpreting at all in the recorded lecture because she knew the interpreter and the content of the lecture was known to the interpreter. In other situations with more complex lectures, she would monitor the interpreters more closely, making sure that they could follow her. Arguably though, the frequent eye gaze at the interpreter can also be considered as assessment, even if only to check when the interpreter had finished speaking.

4.3 Thematic analysis of the four interviews (including the pilot)

An example for how the interviews were put into writing and subsequently colour coded by hand can be found in appendix V. The colours give a greater overview over the issues discussed and where parallels can be found.
The first few questions serve the purpose of categorising the *type* of participant, to give information about age, linguistic background and experience with interpreters

overall. In as much detail as can be revealed here, the participants, Natalie, Laura, Susan and Bernadette, refer to themselves as females and are between 30 and 45 years old. Two interviewees regard themselves as native signers, the other two as late signers. The first two have been working with interpreters for most of their lives, while one has been cooperating with interpreters for about half her lifetime and the other for about five years.

Parts of the pilot interviews may be included in this data because even though the questions slightly differ from the exact wording for the project at hand, the answers often included similar notions. The answers to the questions more specific to the pilot will not be considered for analysis.

The following subchapters show the issues discussed in the literature review in chapter 2, linked to what was found to be the main topics of the interviews, excluding the specific parts regarding the recorded lectures. In total, eight different notions were highlighted in different colours, which are discussed in the following subchapters. These include interaction, eye gaze, the issue of adapting, empowerment through experience, trust and building trust, control and gut feeling.

4.3.1 Trust and building trust

The notion of trust and how to build it was mentioned over thirty times altogether, being an important matter for the deaf professionals.

On how to build trust, they had several approaches; some mentioned small talk, social and professional exchange or making sure that the interpreters are certified. Especially Natalie and Laura found small talk before and also after the interpreting situation essential to building trust and getting familiar with each other, as was mentioned in the literature as well (Major & Napier, 2019). They also stated that it was important to have known the interpreters for some years and that it was crucial that the situations ran smoothly or that they needed positive feedback from hearing people (several times), reporting back that the interpreters had done a good job.

Once trust had been established, the deaf professionals experienced the interpreting situation as comfortable and fluent. These positive statements support this:

> "I have met the interpreter before she even started interpreting and she is certified, so I automatically trust her" – Natalie, p.2.
> "There are some interpreters … I know we just click and we just manage to work with each other really well and I have enough trust and I don't need to control them." – Natalie, p.5.

> "For me, it is just obvious after having worked with them [the interpreters] for that many years." – Bernadette, p.4.

> "And the interpreters I am often in contact with… They know me and they are just connecting with me and it is easy to work with them. I like to book them always, these interpreters." – Laura I, p.2.

> "If I have a lot of positive experience with one interpreter […] I can really trust them […] – Susan, p.1.

These reports coincide with recommendations from other authors, agreeing that it is more fruitful to frequently work with the same interpreters and to meet the interpreters beforehand to discuss important matters or issues (Kovacs-Houlihan, 2018; Napier et al., 2008). Haug et al. (2017) state that trust and confidence in each other definitely is the way to success which is definitely confirmed by the interviewees.

In the case of lack of trust, there might have been confidence in the interpreter in the beginning but due to certain circumstances, it was lost. Susan related to one such situation:

> "I remember one situation where I was holding a lecture. And I had two interpreters, one was really, really prepared, she was asking a lot of questions before the lecture, everything important […] And the other interpreter was more like 'I'm fine, thanks, I

> read some of the prep material'. And I started signing and the interpreter who has prepped so well, I knew… I just got the feeling that… From the look at her and her mimics, something wasn't fluent, even though she was so prepared, my trust in her just sank, it was just off […]" – Susan, p. 1.

Laura experienced something similar, telling how she felt when she was looking at her two interpreters:

> "The first one was supporting the second one a lot. I even lost my train of thought for a minute because that threw me off […] if the interpreter needs that much support… a few times is fine but all the time… that just doesn't work for me!" - Laura, p.5.

This also coincides with experiences from deaf professionals documented in the literature. Smith and Ogden (2018) describe a similar scenario which caused the two deaf professionals to mistrust their interpreters and how to develop a positive relationship with them and other interpreters in the future.
Natalie also reported that she is very picky with her interpreters for appointments in her private life, rather than her professionals one, arguing that because it is private,

> "then I have trust issues, it is more important. So, if it's for my studies I don't really care that much". (– Natalie, p.2.)

This directly relates to other studies as well. Some authors report that the effects of misunderstandings in an interpreted situation have more dire consequences if experienced in their private- rather than in their professional life (Forestal, 2005). Bernadette states that after having gotten bad comments on interpreting from hearing colleagues with sign language competences, she stopped trusting the interpreter because they had not done a good job and did not book them again (Bernadette, p.3).

4.3.2 Control and management

In case of no existing relationship based on trust between deaf professional and interpreter, control will become more essential for the deaf individual to keep an upper hand.
When asking how the deaf participants exactly control their interpreters or assess their quality while lecturing, the answers varied individually, depending on the person and their (lack of) trust in the interpreter.
Laura and Natalie both explained how they felt that they had to control the interpreters, especially at a time in their lives when they lacked experience of *how* to work with them. Both still tend to be more observing and controlling if they are unfamiliar with an interpreter and are checking on them frequently. Natalie put it as follows:

> "When I started working with interpreters […] I did check on them a lot, control them, focussing on them to observe..."
> "[But] control is really hard. I rarely do that now but it is hard to say exactly. It is more […] about trust. I can also see how the interpreter is behaving if they are comfortable … if we just click and if we can work smoothly with each other… but it is also about how they approach me".
> "I conceive from the interpreters' behaviour [if they did a good job]. If they leave really fast, I'm a little suspicious." – Natalie, p. 3 and 5.

So even if she used to check on the interpreters a lot, she does so not anymore or at least not with the interpreters she has trust in. In general, she does so less *within* but rather *after* the situation and therefore reads how a situation went in the aftermath from the intrapersonal exchange and the behaviour of the interpreters.
As Laura explained, it has been her personal style of working with interpreters, especially in the past but also still today if necessary:

> "[I do trust them] but I also direct and control them a lot and keep observing them closely. That is just my way of doing it. […] I am directing them and then maybe omit

> an argument if it might be too much for the interpreters. That is just my strategy." – Laura I, p. 2 and 3.

> "It's a lot about the body language of the interpreter… […] when their eyebrows are furrowing or they are leaning backwards with their upper body, then I know that something is wrong. […] I can also sometimes tell it from their tension or adapt my input to support them to do a better job." – Laura II, p.3.

This shows that the situation is also heavily influenced by the deaf professional and their style of working with interpreters. Bernadette on the other hand, did mention trust but not the issue of control since her nature allows her to be more trusting and she controls her interpreters less.
How the interviewees control or direct their interpreters and assess whether the output agrees with their expectations happens through interaction - either manually or non-manually, which will be covered in the following subchapters.

4.3.3 Manual interaction mentioned in the general interviews

In the interviews, the deaf professionals explained that they rarely use manual interaction. It would require for the deaf lecturers to stop or interrupt their signing and openly interact with the interpreters. Laura for example mentioned that she sometimes asks questions to the audience on purpose and to check if the answers fit her lectured content to do an assessment of quality (Laura II, p.3).

> "Then I have a few strategies like asking the audience on purpose 'Have I been clear?' or 'Did everybody understand me?' – So that is also some kind of control for me. - Laura II, p.3.

But rather than in the interpreting situation, she will ask the interpreters during the break and have a little check-in with them, if they are okay or if she needs to adapt her lecture more (Laura, p.4).

Manual interaction was furthermore not mentioned by other interviewees which matches the findings in the recorded lectures where no instance of manual exchange was initiated by the deaf lecturer.

4.3.4 Non-manual interaction mentioned in the general interviews

All participants reported on interaction with interpreters and if they control or direct them - as well as how they achieve that. Many non-manual interactions are about eye gaze and deaf professionals observing their interpreters. In the case of the interviews, all participants talked about eye contact *with* or looking *at* the interpreters regularly. The deaf lecturers were checking on their interpreters' mimics and facial expression, as well as on their mouth to see if they would produce fluently. Susan reported about her experience:

> "Well, yes, I did observe them and their mouth […] You know, I looked at their mouth. I always do that automatically […] but if I trust the interpreter] I don't watch their mouth anymore. I rather keep eye contact with the audience […]" – Susan, p. 1.

It is also dependent on the positioning on site and if there was the possibility to even have eye contact with the interpreters. Bernadette confirmed that especially with a big audience it is much harder to look at the interpreters because she has to concentrate on the audience and flow of her lecture (Bernadette, p. 2+4).
As established above, Laura prefers to control and direct interpreters more than Bernadette. In this context she also mentioned controlling her interpreters by the output of about speech-to-text interpreters:

> "[once] speech-to-text interpreters were present, so I actually had control and the proof afterwards. I had noticed that the interpreter had voiced [interpreted to spoken language] something I had not signed […] I think that it would be nice to have speech-to-text interpreters frequently to actually control what is being voiced." – Laura I, p. 6.

This coincides with aspects the literature as well where two deaf individuals report that they always use speech-to-text interpreters not just to check after the lecture what the interpreters had produced after - but even during the interpreting process (Haug et al., 2017; Holcomb, 2018). The University of Vienna for example provides speech-to-text interpreters (GESTU, 2023) for deaf students (not parallel to sign language interpreters) - this is not the case for most other settings in which deaf professionals would requisite them.
In terms of assessing, two of the interviewed participants do so less frequently than the others but still stay in constant exchange with the interpreters via eye contact. This also enables them to control the situation, similar to the results of Napier, et. al. (2008) and makes them ready to interact in the moment interaction becomes necessary. Amongst other features, the deaf professionals are depending on the interpreters' facial expression to see whether the interpreting goes smoothly or not.

4.3.5 Other important remarks

When deaf professionals realised that the interpreter is not doing a good job or feel like they are struggling, they explained ways of repairing the situation. The main strategy to adapt to the interpreters, which was mentioned by Laura and Bernadette.

> "I'm signing... And then the interpreter is voicing for me and there is a question in the audience. And the question doesn't really fit with my input… so… Then I think, I have to sign more slowly, I have to lower my signing level, to [language] level B2 for example. So, a more basic form of signing and thereby I adapt more to the interpreter […]" - Bernadette, p.2.

> "It also depends which language [register] I am using, so I am going to adapt more or less to the interpreters. [When I see them struggling] I just adapt and change my register and see if it works better." – Laura II, p.3.

Natalie's answer to the question if she adapts to her interpreters is the only one to reveal that she does not adapt at all. She states that:

> "It is not my job to adapt to the interpreters. They have to have strategies if they don't understand me […]". – Natalie, p.3.

Another notion mentioned by all three of the interviewees individually was the one of *gut feelings*. Bernadette, Natalie and Susan mentioned gut feelings as important to rely on and assess if they can trust an interpreter and that they are often right about their pre-assessment.

> "It is about my feelings, my gut feelings… if there is a good atmosphere. When I know the interpreters […] I am usually happy with the results." Bernadette, p.3.

Interestingly enough, even though independently stated by the three participants, "gut feelings" were not reported by other interviews with deaf professionals in the literature.

Another topic mentioned was deaf empowerment. Laura and Natalie both talked about their past experiences, mentioning that after having worked with interpreters for many years, they felt more empowered to pick the interpreters they want to work with (Natalie, p. 1+2, Laura I, p. 1+2)

> "I don't take interpreters that I don't like [anymore]. I have five or six interpreters working for me and the others I don't accept […] I am standing up for myself!". Laura I, p.2.

Hauser et al. (2008) additionally state in this regard that a good working relationship based on trust between interpreter and deaf professional will empower and emancipate deaf people and their cause.

Yet another issue raised by Natalie was about misapprehensions. She simply states:

> "If there is a misunderstanding … That is not so bad for me because that happens amongst deaf people all the time. It's in our culture, so… I think that's just something that happens all the time." – Natalie, p.3.

It is highly interesting that she does not think errors reflect badly on herself or her performance while many other deaf professionals do see this as an issue (Kurz & Hill, 2018; Sepah, 2018). Instead, she sees misunderstandings as something which happens in daily life, arguably also without interpreters present and especially amongst deaf people. Campbell et al (2008) in agreement suggest that even if mistakes happen, the deaf professional might not be affected immediately if the social situation within the professional environment is tended to by the interpreter.

4.4 Summary of the findings

In summary, deaf professionals do assess the quality of interpreting regularly, especially when working with unfamiliar interpreters. In the recordings, no manual interaction initiated by the deaf individual was found and only a few instances were initiated by the interpreter. The main strategies used in the recordings were eye gaze and head nods which are used by the deaf professional for communicating non-manually and mostly go unrecognized during the interpreting situation. This minute but still essential ongoing communication is the foundation for a fruitful relationship which closely relates to the literature as well. In the interviews, the notions of trust and control were often mentioned, showing that the deaf professional has to manage the setting more if the relationship to the interpreter is not based on trust – which subsequently leads to a greater effort on the deaf individual's part. How this is reflected in the literature and in a broader context will be discussed in the following chapter.

5. Discussion

By analysing the recorded lectures and the interviews with four deaf professionals, this research aims to answer the following questions:

> How do deaf professionals assess the quality of interpreting (in situ) in sign-to-voice settings?
> What are ways of managing or regulating the interpreting process through interaction?
> What roles play control and trust in sign-to-voice settings for deaf professionals?

Along these research questions, the remaining sections will discuss the results of the data against the theoretical frame set up in the literature review. In chapter 6.1, possible limitations of the study are commented on, reflecting on what would need to be in- or excluded in any similar following project.

5.1 Assessing quality

In the interviews, the deaf participants report eye gaze at or observing the interpreters being the most frequent way of assessing the quality of interpreting which is supported by Haug et. al (2017). Due to the modality of sign language and the lecturers being deaf, this is arguably also part of a natural behaviour, though in this case primarily used as an instrument for checking on or with the interpreters. Another way of assessing quality in the recordings was observing the reaction of the audience present. While this has proven useful to some deaf professionals, others find it hard to keep up this additional effort, while having to focus on their lecture as well - which Holcomb (2018) is also reporting. Arguably it is also not always possible to monitor the other participants, depending on the number of people in the

audience, the location/positioning and lighting. In a setting with a stage for instance, the audience might not even be visible from the position of the deaf professional.

Natalie reasoned that she was looking at the interpreter frequently simply to check whether she had finished interpreting her sentence into spoken language and to manage her (Natalie's) lecturing speed. Even if she did not (according to her) assess the interpreting quality per se, she did exercise some form of control – checking on the interpreter after every section of her lecture. This can either simply be her form of cooperation but also her way of making sure that everything went smoothly and that the interpreter would not need anything from her at that moment.
How often the participants interacted did not necessarily inform about the quality of the interpreting output. Rather, only the deaf individual can give information about how they perceived the interpreting quality subjectively. In both recorded lectures, the deaf professionals explained in the retrospectives interviews that they were satisfied with the quality of the interpretation. Therefore, the occurrences of eye gaze towards the interpreter simply documents how deaf professionals prefer to work with their interpreters rather than indicate their satisfaction levels.

5.2 Interaction in situ

While each deaf individual prefers a different way of working, every interpreting situation is unique as well. While in some professional contexts the interpreting quality arguably must be very high, deaf signers might be more lenient in other areas if an utterance in spoken language is not completely perfect. In the two recorded settings, the deaf professionals did not face a big audience on a stage, for example, but rather held their lecture in front of about half a dozen hearing participants. Construing the data from this point of view, Natalie and Laura therefore may not have initiated interaction with the interpreters because there was less at stake in that moment. This might have been different if they had been lecturing many people in an auditorium, as Bernadette mentioned in her interview. At the same time it can be argued that - with a big audience present - interaction becomes more difficult –

even though the stakes are higher for the deaf professionals' reputation or status as a professional (Holcomb & Aguilar, 2018). Interaction and assessing quality therefore might become especially more difficult in case of a large audience or a setting needing high maintenance, particularly if these cooperation markers are to be less visible to the audience.

The lack of manual interaction in the recordings might also be explained by the circumstances of the setting. Even if Laura was not yet all familiar with her interpreters, the setting was quite small which can more easily create a comfortable atmosphere. The same can be said to be the case for Natalie and her interpreter - not knowing each other too well but having worked with each other before. Due to these rather informal conditions, manual interaction might not have been necessary - interpreters noticed the non-manual interaction right away. Furthermore, manual interaction might also be more part of interpreting situations with more turn-taking between all participants, including the deaf professional. In that case, it is less noticeable if the deaf individuals ask for e.g., clarification - while at the same time it might be necessary more often - due to notions being missed in a fast discussion. As seen in the recordings as well as the literature (Napier et al., 2008), interpreters might initiate manual interaction more often to reassure, guide or manage the interpreting process on their side. This might be the case because interpreters want to make sure that the quality of the spoken output is adequate for a hearing audience and therefore arguably occurs more often in settings interpreted from sign to spoken language.

Due to the modality of sign language, interpreters might also be more likely to understand non-manual interaction or certain cues so it won't even be necessary for the deaf professional to *resort* to manual interaction. The deaf individuals rather approach a correction of the situation in a more subtle way and only switch to manual interaction if non-manual attempts are unseen.

Communication and frequency of interaction between the interpreters are essential as well. As mentioned in Holcomb (2018), Laura also observes how often or intensely the interpreters need to support each other to assess the quality of the interpreter's productions. But parallelly observing the reaction of the audience and monitoring the interpreters is only possible if the positioning and the lighting are favourable.

5.3 Managing the interpreting process

If the quality of interpreting was not to the professionals' satisfaction, they use different strategies to control or manage the interpreting process. Due to the possibly close relationship and/or the open intrapersonal connection between a deaf professional and interpreter, interaction is often highly sensitive. The interaction in front of viewers therefore has to be subtle, even indiscernible at times (Campbell et al., 2008) and might not be noticed, as was also clear to the researcher in the recorded lectures. While some deaf professionals clearly state that they adapt (e.g. Laura and Bernadette) to their interpreters as a form of correcting the interpreting output, others (e.g. Natalie) rather leave it to the interpreters to ask for clarification if they need to. Misunderstandings are always possible though and don't always have immediate negative consequences which is reflected in the literature (Holcomb & Smith, 2018) as well as mentioned by Natalie. The deaf professionals in the interviews though clearly state that they want their interpreters to address them if something is unclear and clearly encourage this active interaction which is also the case for other deaf individuals (Holcomb & Aguilar, 2018). Especially Laura experiences adapting in interpreting situations as being *not free*, in contrast to calibrating when conversing with multilingual deaf people. While the latter situation arguably might not be part of everyday life, deaf professionals should be able to lecture freely using their style of sign language without having to adapt, just like most other hearing/speaking lecturers do.

Other strategies to manage the interpreting process mentioned are repeating, signing slower or closer to spoken language, as all interviewees confirm and which is also documented in the literature (De Meulder et al., 2018; Haug et al., 2017). Active management of the interpreters requires the deaf professionals to continuously assess the quality of interpreting which might not always be possible. While some have strategies in situ or in the follow up, others like Smith and Ogden (2018) or Natalie and Bernadette see no option but to trust their interpreters because they find it too hard to assess quality while lecturing. Even if live speech-to-text interpreters are present like Laura mentioned and Holcomb (2018) employs and uses

for assessing the interpretation, not all individuals have the resources to focus on their lecture and at the same time read the live subtitling. This often leaves trust to be the only possibility for deaf professionals to give their lecture without being preoccupied with other tasks as well.

5.4 Trust and control

One other possibility if both trust and control during the interpreting process are not possible, is assessing the situation after the event. The data shows that it is most crucial to build trust and develop a respectful relationship between interpreter and deaf professional. This can be obtained through regular feedback loops but also by comments from the audience or the deaf professionals accessing the transcript if there is one. As to quality control on the interpreter's side it might prove useful to a) actively approach the deaf individual as requested by Natalie, b) reflect on their performance and c) acknowledge that the output might not have been sufficient enough – whether in signed or spoken language (Haug et al., 2017). To take this even further, it arguably might also help interpreters to build trust with the deaf professional to admit that they had noticed in the backchanneling that the situation did not work out and that they wished to change this (to improve cooperation in the future).

Deaf individuals have to get acquainted with unfamiliar interpreters, build trust and even find strategies to manage the interpreting process before they are able to work with them confidently. Due to the shared history but also depending on people's characters, this process comes easier to some deaf professionals, while others never fully stop monitoring their interpreters (Holcomb, 2018), a sentiment which was also echoed by Laura.

Because in sign language interpreting arguably the participants have to work closer together than in other areas of interpreting and often know each other, it is not always clear where interpreting ends and interaction starts. The complex interpreting process requires the deaf individual and the interpreter to cooperate as

a team and take all components into account. The deaf professionals in the interviews mention that they were never really introduced to working with interpreters while the latter working as professionals themselves usually have some form of training in how to co-work with their (deaf) clients. It might already be a challenge to become a professional as a deaf person and assert themselves but even more so while also having to figure out how to best cooperate and interact with interpreters in situ.

Contrary to for instance spoken language interpreting – where due to the positioning, speakers and interpreters hardly ever interact, build a relationship or develop trust with their clients – there is arguably always some form of social component involved when a setting includes sign language interpreters. As the interpreters' role represents an essential and also sensitive issue, the social component of an interpreting setting should always be reflected on by the interpreter and in interpreter training. The findings suggest that the lack of trust might also be rooted in the history between interpreters and deaf professionals but also in the training of sign language interpreters – or lack thereof. Deaf individuals don't always trust their interpreters to be competent to interpret their signing because their perception might not be as highly trained as the production of sign language. The data implies that especially deaf experts from deaf families who were raised bilingually with written German and who have a high competence in literacy want for their interpreters to voice their exact choice of words. The responsibility therefore lies also within the interpreters, to reflect on their word choices and be transparent with the deaf professional on this matter. This leaves room for friction, every person being different and having various preferences of how they like to work and bringing a different level of reflective practice to the task. This calls for a careful screening process which all deaf professionals have to undergo with every interpreter they (want to) work with. Ultimately, some form of trust will be needed on the deaf persons' side because some aspects may always be unknown.

Deaf professionals therefore also depend on other people's feedback, mostly hearing individuals with sign language competence who can judge whether interpreting quality was sufficient. It is perhaps only then that the deaf experts are

satisfied and will continue to employ the interpreters in question. Satisfaction in this case is not just important for the deaf individual's comfort but also essential for their professional reputation and confidence.

Even though not specifically asked for, two deaf professionals mentioned the term *empowerment* during their interviews. In the literature, empowerment is considered an important issue when working with sign language interpreters. While some deaf professionals feel proud of taking charge of the interpreting relation (Burke & Nicodemus, 2013), other authors emphasise the importance of deaf people and interpreters working to build empowerment together and consider such a cooperation to be a goal in the future (Forestal, 2001). In the interviews at hand, the deaf individuals do not only mention empowerment in a general sense but also in relation to their interpreters. After having worked with them for years, they feel more confident to manage them, instruct them or ask for changes. As stated by Napier et al. (2008), pausing, nodding and eye contact initiated by the interpreters will empower the deaf professional to be in control of their presentation. Additionally, the authors emphasise that empowerment goes both ways: the deaf professionals empowering the interpreters by prepping with them or agreeing on strategies – which will in turn empower the deaf professionals (Napier et al., 2008). This is backed up in the interviews, as seamless cooperation with interpreters will lead to more empowerment for both parties.

6. Conclusion and Limitations

Deaf people represent a minority within the *standard* society of hearing people as a majority. Because of this and the history between deaf people and sign language interpreters, trust is not easy to come by. As the role of interpreters evolved and changed in the past, deaf people and interpreters as a team have had to constantly adjust to the ceaselessly changing dynamic of the relationship which also reflects in the data. Even if trust is undoubtedly essential for participants in every single interpreting situation, deaf professionals have to deal with it on a different level.

Not all deaf professionals openly assess the quality of interpreting. The deaf individuals who do assessments during the interpreting process use mostly rather subtle forms of observation. They monitor the interpreters' mimics, use of body language and sometimes watch their mouth patterns but also keep an eye on the audience's reactions to their lecture. When not satisfied with the sign-to-voice output, deaf professionals are likely to manage the interpreting process actively, mostly by non-manual – but on occasions also by manual interaction. This includes mainly a change of mimics, repeating themselves or adapting to the interpreters. Control is not always possible though, and trust will remain an important factor for the working relationship. This is especially true for those deaf individuals who find it more difficult to actually assess quality while giving their lecture and focussing on their message. These deaf professionals can either get some feedback from the audience or, if available, transcripts after the interpreting situation. In some cases though, they may have to merely rely on trust because it is their only option. This explains why some deaf individuals rather rely on assessing quality after the interpreting situation, in contrast to doing an evaluation during the process.
From the literature as well as the data it can be concluded that it is especially important to build a relationship based on trust and respect between the deaf professional and the interpreter, to establish a comfortable and reliable working environment for the team.

An established working team composed of regular and trusted interpreters will strengthen the professionality and reputation of both the interpreter and deaf professional which has considerable impact on the professional setting.
Because the study at hand looked into deaf professionals in *Austria,* the results might only be partially applicable to other countries. However, the findings underline the perspective of deaf professionals in this matter and proves that networking and building relationships should be one of the aims in interpreter training and for interpreters which might be valid outside of Austria as well.

Future research may benefit from a broader and possibly quantitative approach and should perhaps include views of interpreters so as to provide complementary insights.
As a recommendation, interpreters as well as deaf professionals should always care for a good working relationship, aiming to build and foster trust. This can be achieved also by trying to reassure their deaf partners or even giving proof (e.g. by using scripts afterwards) of the interpreting quality. This will further empower both parties and help interpreting in the deaf-centred way Holcomb (2018) suggests. Deaf professionals in the near future then might only have to adapt to their interpreters as a last resort and not as a standard solution to improve interpreting quality as many have to do now.

6.1 Limitations of the study

For this study, the positioning of the interpreters was partially limiting. Therefore, occurrences of eye gaze when analysing the data manually (without technical aid) were hard to identify at times. It was therefore hard to distinguish whether the deaf professional was exclusively looking at the interpreters or rather keeping contact with the audience. The choice of method to better identify the target of the eye gaze might have been with the technology of eye-tracking, which should be considered for future studies.

Another limitation is the small sample size. Since only two lectures of deaf professionals from Austria could be recorded, the data can be considered an example but are not fully representative. Any further samples though would have gone beyond the scope of this research. Additionally, different results with different deaf professionals might come up, depending on how the respective deaf individual prefers to work. More instances of interaction may have been found if more lectures or workshops had been recorded or the deaf professional or interpreter had varied. Furthermore, results depend on the interpreters and how long they have been working with the deaf professionals or how well they know each other (e.g. as designated interpreters). As Austria's number of deaf professionals is rather limited, a study conducted transnationally would prove rewarding, similar to the study directed by Haug et. al (2017) on an international level.

It might also give a more extensive picture to include the interpreter's perspective on being assessed and receiving feedback on their quality of interpreting. This study aimed for perspectives and experiences of deaf professionals; but for a holistic view, the interpreters' insights might be essential as well.

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Appendices

I) Interview outline for deaf professionals – Pilot interview

Interviewleitfaden für die tauben Expert:innen

1. Please check an age-box. / Bitte kreuzen Sie eine Box an.

O >20-25 O 25-30 O 30-35 O 35-40 O40-45 O45-50<

2. Do you consider yourself a native signer?
   Würden Sie sich als Native Signer beschreiben?

3. How long have you been using (Austrian) Sign Language? From which age on?
   Wie lange verwenden Sie schon ÖGS? Seit welchem Alter?

4. If you are working with Hearing sign language interpreters, how do you feel about them interpreting you into spoken language? /
   Wenn Sie mit Dolmetscher:innen für Gebärdensprache und Deutsch zusammenarbeiten, wie geht es Ihnen damit, wenn sie Sie in Lautsprache dolmetschen?

5. What happens if you get the feeling, they don't do an appropriate job? /
   Was passiert, wenn Sie das Gefühlt haben, die Dolmetscher:innen machen ihre Arbeit nicht zu Ihrer Zufriedenheit?

6. Do you sometimes notice that they do not fully understand you and therefore interpret you into spoken language not correctly? /
   Fällt Ihnen manchmal auf, dass die Dolmetscher:innen Sie nicht gänzlich verstehen und Sie deswegen nicht korrekt in Lautsprache dolmetschen?

7. If yes, what are your strategies? / Haben Sie Strategien in diesem Fall?

8. Do you appreciate if interpreters ask for clarification?
   / Finden Sie es gut, wenn Dolmetscher:innen nachfragen?

9. Can you think why interpreters have to ask for clarification? /
   Können Sie sich vorstellen, warum Dolmetscher:innen nachfragen müssen?

10. Can you think of a situation, where this happened and describe it? /
    Können Sie sich an so eine Situation erinnern und beschreiben, was passiert ist?

II) Interview outline for deaf professionals without recorded data
Interviewleitfaden für die tauben Expert:innen ohne Filmmaterial

1. Please check an age-box. / Bitte kreuzen Sie eine Box an.

O >20-25 O 25-30 O 30-35 O 35-40 O40-45. O45-50<

2. Are you okay with she/her? Do you prefer differently? Do you want to choose a placeholder name for the project? / Welches Pronomen bevorzugen Sie? Möchten Sie sich einen Ersatznamen für das Projekt aussuchen?

3. Why can you be considered a deaf professional? / Warum können Sie als deaf professional gelten?

4. Do you consider yourself a native signer?
Würden Sie sich als Native Signer beschreiben?

5. How long have you been using (Austrian) Sign Language? From which age on? How long have you been working with interpreters? /
Wie lange verwenden Sie schon ÖGS? Seit welchem Alter? Seit wann arbeiten Sie mit Dolmetscher:innen?

6. If you are working with Hearing sign language interpreters, how do you feel about them interpreting you into spoken language? /
Wenn Sie mit Dolmetscher:innen für Gebärdensprache und Deutsch zusammenarbeiten, wie geht es Ihnen damit, wenn sie Sie in Lautsprache dolmetschen?

7. Do you find it easy to trust interpreters who you are not familiar with? /
Finden Sie es leicht, Dolmetscher:innen zu vertrauen, die Sie nicht kennen?

8. How important is interaction or backchanneling for you? / Wie wichtig ist für Sie Interaktion bzw. Kommunikation in situ in der Dolmetschsituation?

9. What happens if you get the feeling they don't do an appropriate job? /
Was passiert, wenn Sie das Gefühlt haben, die Dolmetscher:innen machen ihre Arbeit nicht zu Ihrer Zufriedenheit?

10. Do you sometimes notice that they do not fully understand you and therefore interpret you into spoken language not correctly? /
Fällt Ihnen manchmal auf, dass die Dolmetscher:innen Sie nicht gänzlich verstehen und Sie deswegen nicht korrekt in Lautsprache dolmetschen?

11. Do you have strategies to assess the interpreting quality? Haben Sie Strategien, um die Qualität der Dolmetschleistung zu messen?

12. Does that happen more often if you work with an interpreter you don't know well? / Passiert das öfter, wenn Sie die/den Dolmetscher:in nicht gut kennen?

13. Do you appreciate if interpreters ask for clarification? / Finden Sie es gut, wenn Dolmetscher:innen nachfragen?

14. Do you sometimes ask interpreters after the event/lecture how it went? / Fragen Sie manchmal nach der Dolmetschsituation, wie es gelaufen ist?

15. Can you think of a situation, where this happened and describe it? / Können Sie sich an so eine Situation erinnern und beschreiben, was passiert ist?

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16. Anything you would like to add? / Möchten Sie noch etwas hinzufügen?

III) Interview outlines for deaf professionals – with recorded material
Interviewleitfaden für die tauben Expert:innen mit Filmmaterial

1. Are you okay with she/her? Do you prefer differently? Do you want to choose a placeholder name for the project? / Welches Pronomen bevorzugen Sie? Möchten Sie sich einen Ersatznamen für das Projekt aussuchen?

2. Why can you be considered a deaf professional? / Warum können Sie als deaf professional gelten?

3. Do you consider yourself a native signer?
   Würden Sie sich als Native Signer beschreiben?

4. How long have you been using (Austrian) Sign Language? From which age on? How long have you been working with interpreters? /
   Wie lange verwenden Sie schon ÖGS? Seit welchem Alter? Seit wann arbeiten Sie mit Dolmetscher:innen?

5. If you are working with Hearing sign language interpreters, how do you feel about them interpreting you into spoken language? /
   Wenn Sie mit Dolmetscher:innen für Gebärdensprache und Deutsch zusammenarbeiten, wie geht es Ihnen damit, wenn sie Sie in Lautsprache dolmetschen?

6. Do you find it easy to trust interpreters who you are not familiar with? /
   Finden Sie es leicht, Dolmetscher:innen zu vertrauen, die Sie nicht kennen?

7. How important is interaction or backchanneling for you? / Wie wichtig ist für Sie Interaktion bzw. Kommunikation in situ in der Dolmetschsituation?

8. What happens if you get the feeling they don't do an appropriate job? /
   Was passiert, wenn Sie das Gefühlt haben, die Dolmetscher:innen machen ihre Arbeit nicht zu Ihrer Zufriedenheit?

9. Do you sometimes notice that they do not fully understand you and therefore interpret you into spoken language not correctly? /
   Fällt Ihnen manchmal auf, dass die Dolmetscher:innen Sie nicht gänzlich verstehen und Sie deswegen nicht korrekt in Lautsprache dolmetschen?

10. Do you have strategies to assess the interpreting quality? Haben Sie Strategien um die Qualität der Dolmetschleistung zu messen?

11. Does that happen more often if you work with an interpreter you don't know well? / Passiert das öfter, wenn Sie die/den Dolmetscher:in nicht gut kennen?

12. Do you appreciate if interpreters ask for clarification? / Finden Sie es gut, wenn Dolmetscher:innen nachfragen?

13. Do you sometimes ask interpreters after the event/lecture how it went? / Fragen Sie manchmal nach der Dolmetschsituation, wie es gelaufen ist?

14. Can you think of a situation, where this happened and describe it? / Können Sie sich an so eine Situation erinnern und beschreiben, was passiert

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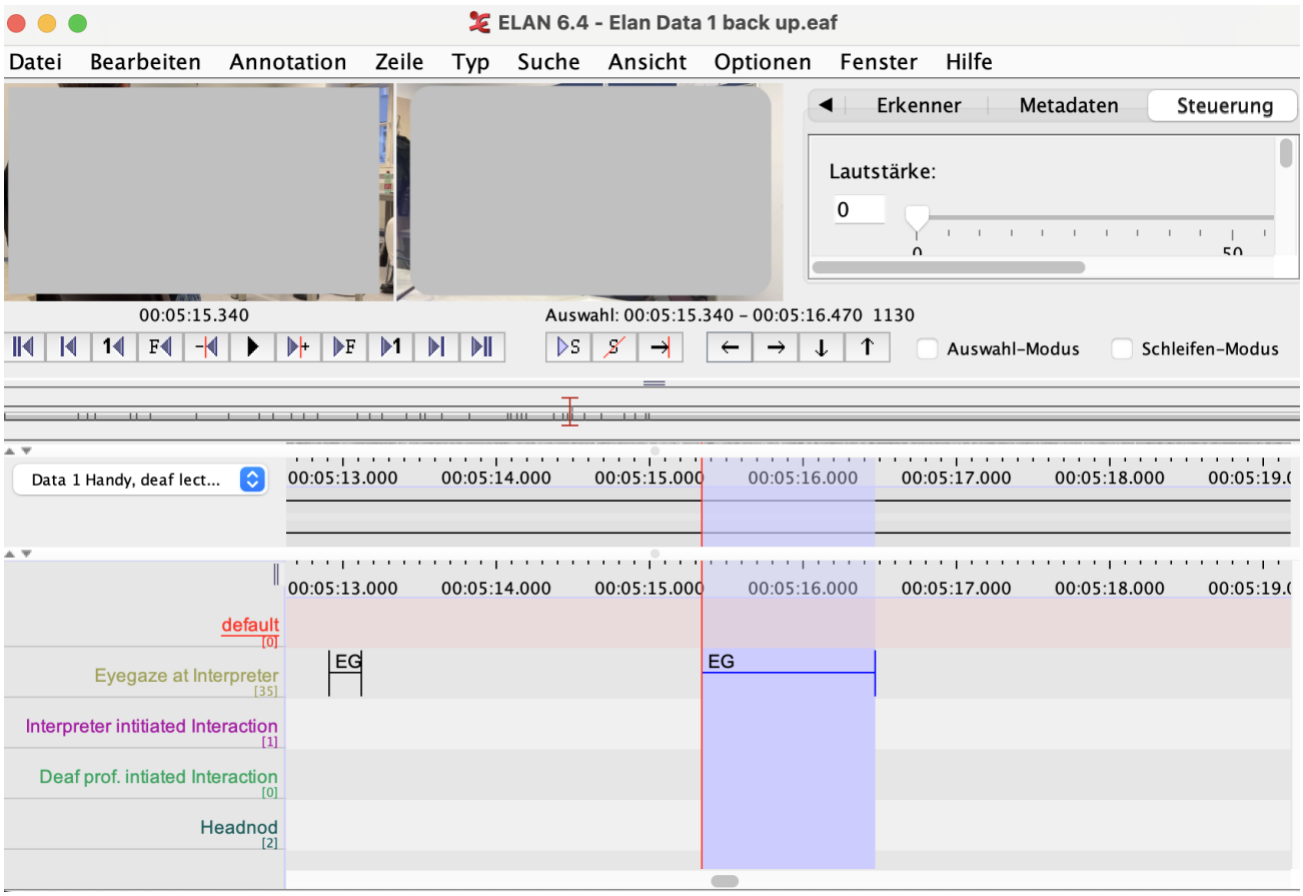
15. About the recorded event: Please reflect:
    How was it for you? Could you trust the interpreter? Did you feel it was deaf-centered? / Wie war es für Sie? Hatten Sie eine Vertrauensbasis mit der Dolmetscherin? Hatten Sie das Gefühl es war deaf-friendly?

16. I have noticed that you looked at the interpreter frequently. Why? / Mir ist aufgefallen, dass Sie die Dolmetscherin immer wieder anschauen. Warum?

17. Was smalltalk before important for a basis of trust and for the relationship? / War der Smalltalk vor dem Event wichtig für das gegenseitige Vertrauen und die Beziehung?

18. Anything you would like to add? / Möchten Sie noch etwas hinzufügen?

IV) ELAN Screenshot showing data set 1 with tiers



V) Interview example, Data Set 1, general part, Natalie:

Natalie

N: Well, if I don't know them when I meet them for the first time, we need to build trust. Right, because the situation is like that, I need to trust them within the situation and then it depends if I'm going to ask them to interpret for me again or not.

I: OK, that means how can you trust them? How? Let's say after the situation is finished, how do you know you clicked? That everything was on the same eye level, that you were on the same level? Or Do you ask for feedback or how do you build trust with an interpreter?

N: Good question. Well, for me it depends on the situation. I guess in the interpreting setting, for example if it's private at the doctors or its or if it's for my studies. So those are for me two different things. So, if it's privately for me, I don't have many interpreters who are going to interpret for me because it's a trust issue, but for university I don't really care. I'm going to take any interpreter I can get. So, I mean I will try to see content wise if something seems weird to me or I didn't really get it or I didn't understand if working together doesn't work then I will not book them again. So, I do pick my interpreters and I do pick them according to if I can understand them fully or not.

I: Okay. That means, I'm sorry, let me... Just take a look. That means, I'm sorry, I've just lost my train of thought. Um. So, if I understand ...

N: the content,

I: yes, yes, yeah, building trust. That means for example... Or I'm going to do there question later. Oh sorry, I'm all over the place at my my thoughts are spending. I'm very sorry! okay for example yesterday the situation yesterday. Before the before you started working you had with interpreter working there, (this is her sign name) You were doing some small talk. So, would that be important to you to build trust or to establish the relationship or what would you say?

N: Yes. Well, it depends. For example, with her, I have worked for several years now. She has been interpreting for me. I have met her before interpreting so and I know she's certified. So of course, I have more trust in her automatically. But in general, I prefer to meet the interpreters before we start working together, just like a kind of warm up.

I: Okay, okay. It's another important question when you think of the working situation. So, I'm talking about you signing and the people voicing for you. What is important to you? Looking at each other or interaction is that would you say that it's important or what you say you don't care about that much?

N: What do you mean by interaction?

I: Well, for example, looking at each other or interpreters asking, "oh, I didn't understand that. Can you repeat or something "that is not related to interpreted contact but everything that happens?

N: Well, yes, I would say for example yesterday. If the people sit like that, the clients, I'm going to look at the hearing people because those are the important people. So, from time to time in my studies, for example, I was only looking at the interpreter. So, it always depends on the situation where I can, or where I have to look. So sometimes the clients are more important and sometimes I'm only looking at the interpreter, which doesn't mean that I'm fully ignoring the interpreter, Of course I'm looking at her, looking at her mimics. Did you

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