

# Interpreters as laminated speakers: Gaze and gesture as interpersonal deixis in consecutive dialogue interpreting

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## Abstract

When dialogue interpreters render an utterance from one language to the other, this can be viewed as a form of quoting. This is reflected, among others, in the principle of direct translation, according to which the rendered utterance should maximally reflect the original, including the use of the first person perspective of the primary participants. Empirical research has shown, however, that interpreters struggle with this principle and at times resort to specific strategies for stepping out of the normative first person pronoun. In the present study, we expand the focus by showing that apart from verbal resources such as quotatives, interpreters also resort to other semiotic resources such as gesture, head movements and eye gaze to mark the principal of the utterance they are rendering. Based on a corpus of video-recorded interpreter-mediated encounters, we zoom in on the use of (combinations of) different semiotic resources for the purpose of discourse structuring, disambiguation or stance-taking. The analysis reveals strategies of both multimodal layering, where verbal quotative '(s)he said' is combined with a pointing gesture or gaze shift towards the principal of the utterance, and nonverbal layering, where embodied resources are mobilized as markers of layering without an accompanying verbal quotative.

**Keywords:** Gaze, Interpreting in dialogue settings, Multimodality, Social Interaction, Deixis, Participation

## 1. Introduction

Dialogue interpreting is defined as "interpreter-mediated communication in spontaneous face-to-face interaction" (Mason 1999: 147), involving at least two primary participants, who do not understand each other's language, and an interpreter, who renders the messages of the participants utterance by utterance. This communicative setting requires a specific form of collaboration between all the parties involved, in part because of the particular role of the interpreter: although in consecutive interpreting, the interpreter takes part in the turn-taking process, (s)he has a different interactional status than the primary participants. The interpreter is expected to provide a close rendition of everything that is said by the primary speakers, rather than actively contributing to the interaction on an equal footing. For that reason, interpreter-mediated dialogue has been described as situated in between a dialogue and a triologue (see e.g. Bot 2005).

The interpreter's status can be described more specifically using Goffman's (1981) model of participation (see Wadensjö 1998, Pöchhacker 2012, see section 2). Although the interpreter takes on an active role in the interaction, managing the flow of the interaction and contributing to the meaning making process (Angelelli 2000, Davidson 2002, Baraldi & Gavioli 2012, Authors 2018, Authors 2019), she typically does not speak as the 'principal' of the utterance, i.e. the party that is committed to the expressed stance and beliefs. That role –at least in principle– is reserved for the primary participants.<sup>1</sup> The interpreter's status can rather be characterized in Goffman's terms as that of an *animator* (producing the utterance) or *author* (selecting the words and sentiments that are expressed). In this sense, interpreting can be seen as a form of quoting (Wadensjö 1998: 93), in which the interpreter actively engages with the utterances by the primary participants, but the latter retain epistemic primacy or authority over the content of the utterance (Bolden 2013).

The idea of interpreting as quoting can be observed in the professional interpreters' efforts to formulate the utterances they are rendering in a specific manner, aiming to maximally reflect the original. This is apparent, for instance, in the use of the first person pronoun (*I*) rather than the more distancing third person use (*he, she*) (see Van Vaerenbergh 2020). This leads to a form of 'direct translation' (Bot 2005: 260) or 'zero quotative' (Mathis & Yule 1994), which means that the rendered utterance maximally reflects the original, including the first person perspective of the primary participants. By systematically adhering to this principle of direct translation, the interpreters are thought to avoid any form of stance-taking (epistemic or emotional) that may result from changing the perspective. In this sense, such practices may be rooted in the conduit model of interpreting, according to which the interpreter is supposed to act like a translation machine without personal or other involvement in the ongoing interaction between the primary participants.

Empirical research has shown, however, that interpreters do not always follow the principle of maximal adherence to the original (Berk-Seligson 1990, Wadensjö 2001, Bot 2005, Angermeyer 2009, De Keyser 2009, Van de Mieroop 2012, Krystallidou 2016, a.o.). The reasons for this are manifold, ranging from translation difficulties, over sequence and topic organization to the preservation of face in interaction (Brown & Levinson 1987). One resource that has been described as a means of stepping out of the normative first person pronoun during renderings, is the quotative '(s)he said'. Van de Mieroop (2012) has shown that interpreters in interpreter-

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<sup>1</sup> However, as Wadensjö rightly points out, "[t]he individual's participation status is partly a question of her own choice, partly a matter of how co-present people relate to her and to others present" (1998:93).

mediated medical encounters resort to the use of quotatives when rendering (especially doctors') utterances for purposes of distancing, disambiguation and discourse organization. In doing so, the interpreter manages to mark "a distinction between the speaking self and the meaning other" (Wadensjö 1998: 172) at particular points in the ongoing interaction where such a distinction is deemed relevant or necessary. As an illustration, take the example in (1), discussed by Van de Mieroop (2012: 105-106). In this sequence, the doctor is dealing with a patient's stomach complaints, potentially due to an ulcer. The patient argues that this is caused by the fact that she was not given any medicine to cure the ulcer, for which she was treated by another doctor (lines 1-5). In lines 6-8, the doctor concludes that the patient's claim that she has a stomach ulcer must be wrong, because this is always treated with a specific medicine, which in this case wasn't prescribed by the doctor the patient previously visited. This is a potentially face-threatening situation as the doctor explicitly refutes the patient's claim that she has a stomach ulcer. Van de Mieroop (ibid.) argues that in line 9, the interpreter renders the doctor's conclusion in a direct way (without the hedged formulation in line 7 ("dus ik veronderstel" - *so I suppose*) but with a quotative 'he says'.<sup>2</sup> This quotative seems to have a distancing function in this particular case, making explicit who is the principal of this assertion.

(1)

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<sup>2</sup> An anonymous reviewer rightly pointed out that, in fact, the interpreter does not provide a rendition of the doctor's conclusion, but rather presents an even stronger refutation of the patient's claim (viz. that the patient never visited doctor X).

1. Pat: нет у меня нечего не не дарить для язвы нечего не дарил  
*no they have not given me anything for the ulcer he has not given me anything*
2. I: niks werd gegeven tegen de maagzweer  
*nothing was given for the ulcer*
3. Dr: hoe zegdu?  
*what do you say?*
4. I: dat werd geen medicament gegeven tegen [de maagzweer  
*that was no medication given against [the stomach ulcer*
5. Dr: [tegen de maagzweer  
[against the stomach ulcer
6. en ge zijt bij dokter [X] juist geweest  
*and you have just been at doctor [X]'s*
7. dus ik veronderstel da ge geen maagzweer hebt  
*so I suppose that you don't have a stomach ulcer*
8. want anders [( ) medicatie ( )  
*because otherwise [ ( ) medication ( )*
9. I:→ [тогда может нет вы были у доктора [X] говорит  
*[it is not possible then you were with doctor [X] he says*

In the present paper, we aim to show that apart from verbal resources such as quotatives, interpreters also resort to other semiotic resources such as gesture, head movements and eye gaze to mark the principal of the utterance they are rendering. In other words, we explore the multimodal repertory that interpreters have at their disposal when they “feel a need to be explicit about the fact that what they say stems not from themselves, but from someone else” (Wadensjö 1998: 271). More specifically, we will look into cases of multimodal layering, where verbal (in this case the verbal quotative) and embodied resources (gesture, gaze) are combined in marking a shift in perspective, but also forms of nonverbal layering, where the same function seems to be realized without resorting to verbal means at all, but rather by using only gaze or gesture (see section 3 below for some notes on multimodality in interaction). By including multiple semiotic resources as part of the analysis, we hope to arrive at a more fine-grained picture of the various ways the interpreter may distinguish between the speaking and meaning self.

The paper is structured as follows. In section 2, we discuss in more detail the particular role of the interpreter in dialogue interpreting, using insights from ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, and how this role may shift as the interaction unfolds. In section 3, we relate this particular role to the dynamics of multimodal interaction and more specifically the use of deictic

resources in face-to-face interaction. In section 4, we present the data for this study, on the basis of which we present patterns of multimodal layering and nonverbal layering in section 5. We conclude the paper with a general discussion and some thoughts on future research.

## 2. The interpreter as laminated speaker

In the introductory section, we briefly mentioned Goffman's (1981) participation framework as an approach to the various interactional roles that participants may take up in the course of an ongoing exchange. More specifically, Goffman distinguishes between the roles of *principal*, *author*, *animator*, and *figure*. The *principal* is the party who is considered socially responsible for what is said. The *author* is described as the one responsible for constructing the words and sentences at issue, without necessarily taking the full responsibility for the content of the utterance. The *animator*, as mentioned above, is the sounding box who actually produces the utterance, independent of the question whether this speaker is also the author and/or principal of the utterance. And finally, a *figure* is a character in the animator's talk.

Although these roles seem to be clearly defined, sometimes (subtle) differences may appear in the roles that speakers take up or participant types that may be implicated in a single act of communication (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). Needless to say, in many cases a speaker is simultaneously the principal, author and animator of the utterance, but these roles can shift dynamically (e.g. when a speaker, in telling an anecdote, switches between quoting and commenting in recounting a past experience) or can be determined in part by institutional factors. In the introduction, we already pointed at the institutionally determined role of the interpreter as animator or author of utterances that were originally produced by the primary participants in the interaction. In this sense, interpreters can be described as a prime example of *laminated speakers*, whose activities can be decomposed into different layers. On the one hand, they are indeed the animator or sounding box for the primary participants' talk. On the other hand, the interpreter is also the one rendering the original message by participant A in the language of participant B, and in doing so is responsible for construing that message in the target language of the translation. This makes the interpreter, at least partially, also the author of the rendered message. And finally, as the above-mentioned case study on the use of quotatives in interpreter-mediated talk Van de Mierop (2012) has shown, interpreters at times feel the need to make the distinction between the different speaker roles more explicit.

To better understand the notion of a laminated speaker, let us have a look at an example of a quotative in same-language interaction, discussed in Goodwin & Goodwin (2004: 224). In this example, presented in the transcript in (2), one of the participants in the conversation (Chopper) is telling a story involving another participant present in the conversation (Tony). In the story, Tony is portrayed as being a coward because he ran away from a group of youngsters on the street.

(2) Chopper: Lemme tell ya, an h(h)e sai(h)d,  
I ain't got no(h) mo(h)ney

In quoting the talk of Tony in (2), Chopper acts as the sounding box or animator of the original utterance. He is the one who is physically talking and in doing so, presents Tony as a protagonist, and thus a figure, in the narrative. The latter, however, is at the same time also the author and principal of the utterance “I ain't got no money”. The use of the quotative “he said” serves to embed the figure and his speech in the current utterance (= Chopper's talk). Important to note here is that in cases like these a shift in footing takes place: In contrast to the *me* in *Lemme tell ya*, the *I* in line 2 obviously does not refer to the actual speaker (Chopper) but rather to the figure Tony. In other words, the reported speech represents “not the reporter's speech, but remains the reported speaker's speech whose role is played by the reporter” (Coulmas 1986: 2).

The laminated structure that emerges also allows speakers to efficiently position themselves vis-à-vis the utterance being quoted. In (2), for instance, Chopper not only quotes Tony's utterance but at the same time adds laughter (the *h* in parenthesis marks laughter in “no(h) mo(h)ney”) that cannot be attributed to principal, but rather functions as an evaluative commentary by Chopper on the talk being quoted. As Goodwin & Goodwin (2004: 224) put it, “by virtue of the laminated structure that emerges through such embedding, speakers can display complicated stances toward the talk they are producing”. Empirical work in conversation analysis and interactional linguistics has described the different techniques that speakers have at their disposal to position themselves in relation to the utterances they are animating, including prosodic devices (Günthner 1999, Couper-Kuhlen 1998 on ‘vocal deictic shifts’), codeswitching (Günthner 2002), gestures and other visible bodily movement (Ehmer 2011, Stukenbrock 2017), and eye gaze (Sweetser & Stec 2016, Sidnell 2006).

In interpreter-mediated talk, the use of quotatives “draws the attention to the animator/reporter role of the interpreter” (Van de Mierop 2012: 108) and thus marks the link with the immediately prior turn. As mentioned above, the use of quotatives may serve several functions in this particular setting, including a switch in the participation framework, segmenting longer discourse units, disambiguating and distancing (as in (1) and (2) above). As mentioned in the introduction to this paper, we will zoom in on the multimodal realization of these functions, taking into account the physical co-presence of the interpreter and the principal of the utterance in the prototypical setting of consecutively interpreted dialogue, making a visual marking of the change in footing possible.

### **3. Multimodality in co-present interaction**

Addressing the question how interpreters manage to separate their own and others' voices using multiple semiotic resources requires an analytical approach that maximally embraces a holistic view on communicative interaction, treating verbal and embodied phenomena on a par as essential features of the meaning making process. A rapidly growing body of literature on multimodal interaction analysis, rooted in different subfields in linguistics (including Conversation Analysis, Interactional Linguistics, Cognitive and Functional Linguistics, etc.), has produced insights into the way in which participants mobilize different resources in communicative exchanges, including speech, facial expressions, gestures, head and torso movement, gaze, manipulations of objects, touch, etc. (Goodwin 2017, Mondada 2019, Deppermann & Streeck 2018, Shaw 2019, Müller et al. 2013, Neville 2015, a.o.). Multimodality thus refers to this diversity of resources (verbal and visual) that participants employ to organize social interaction (Mondada 2019).

Among the key challenges for any multimodal account is the question how the above-mentioned resources relate to each other, both functionally and temporally. At the functional level, fine-grained analyses may uncover the contribution of each resource in the construction of “ensembles” (Streeck et al. 2011), i.e. (recurrent) patterns of verbal and various (inter)corporeal resources (see e.g. Sidnell (2006) and Mondada (2014, 2016) for theoretical discussions on this issue). At the temporal level, a significant analytical challenge involves the multiple and different temporalities that govern the various resources that build the above-mentioned multimodal ensembles (Goodwin 2017, Deppermann & Günthner 2015, Deppermann & Streeck 2018, Mondada 2019). Certain (non)verbal actions tend to occur simultaneously whereas other actions tend to occur prior to others, thus projecting and somehow constraining the appearance of a

following action (Schegloff 2007). This issue of temporality will be of particular relevance for the multimodal study of quotatives in interpreter-mediated interaction as well, seeing how interpreters recruit and temporally/sequentially position different semiotic resources to mark the principal of an utterance being interpreted.

Of particular relevance to any multimodal account of naturally occurring interaction is the way in which the participants organize deictic referential practices, i.e. establishing and maintaining a joint focus of attention on particular entities (be it objects, persons or events) in the immediate context of the ongoing interaction (Stukenbrock 2009, 2015, 2018; Mondada 2012; Kendon 2004; a.o.). As Stukenbrock (2018: 267) mentions, “deixis in its primordial use in face-to-face interaction is an embodied practice that involves gestural pointing and visual perception. Speech [...], gesture and eye gaze combine in a very specific way”, creating the type of multimodal ensembles mentioned above. The tight interaction between the different resources involved is apparent in the relation between gesture and gaze in deictic gestures, as described by Enfield (2003: 13), who points out that gaze “projects its own attention-directing vector which may (a) reinforce a deictic hand gesture by providing a second vector oriented towards the same referent, and (b) assist in the management of attention direction”. In the present study, we will zoom in on cases where gaze and gesture are coordinated in an interpreter’s effort to realize a change in footing (cf. *supra*), effectively realizing a form of multimodal layering.

#### **4. Research Questions**

Building on recent work on multimodal interaction analysis and existing insights into the use of quotatives in (interpreter-mediated) dialogue, the present study addresses the question how interpreters manage the layering of voices in this particular setting, making use of the full array of semiotic resources at their disposal. In other words, the main question is whether interpreters exploit other resources than the above-mentioned verbal quotatives to mark the principal of the message they are rendering. And if so, do these resources combine in particular ways with other embodied resources or with verbal quotatives to build recurrent multimodal layering patterns? In addition, the latter question also raises the issue -briefly discussed in section 3 above- on how the different modalities involved in multimodal layering are coordinated, both temporally and functionally.

## 5. Data & Method

The data for this study consist of 12 encounters (approximately four hours of data) between a Russian-speaking foreign student, a Dutch-speaking university counsellor and an interpreter at the University of Leuven and Ghent University. Six students, six counsellors and six interpreters participated in the study. The students were contacted to come to consultations with the counsellor regarding their study program, their stay in Belgium, integration into the local university and other issues, questions or concerns they had. The students and counsellors had very limited to no knowledge of each other's language and were previously unacquainted (see also Authors 2018a for a detailed description of one part of the data set). Each conversation was interpreted consecutively by one of the six qualified (i.e. certified) and experienced<sup>3</sup> interpreters who took part in the study. All interpreters were originally from Russia and spoke Russian as their mother tongue. The participants gave their written informed consent prior to the conversations, in which it was stated what the study was about and how the data were going to be used.

During the sessions, the participants were always seated in a triangular formation in line with the code of conduct for community interpreters in Belgium, with the interpreter in the middle and on a more or less equal distance from the primary speakers, who were seated opposite to each other. Such seating arrangement maximizes mutual eye contact between interlocutors and the opportunity to monitor each other's actions, thus creating a "genuine opportunity for a triadic communicative event" (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee 2014: 44). All conversations were recorded with a video camera, and all except for three conversations were recorded with mobile eye-tracking glasses (Arrington Gig-E60 and Tobii), which track the eye-movements of the participants. Eye-tracking was used in order to gain precise and objective gaze data from all participants at the same time. This approach also determined the setting we have chosen and the way we selected participants. For instance, since some types of eye trackers we used were not compatible with regular glasses, we informed the participants beforehand about this and asked them to wear contact lenses. Also, the sessions had to be scheduled in that way, so that the researchers had enough time to set up the eye-trackers for each interlocutor and let them get used to them. Finally, the setting was chosen in order to make sure that primary participants' and interpreter's gaze was free to be used for addressee selection and turn management, and not e.g. for handling objects.

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<sup>3</sup> The interpreters had obtained their certification from the certification commission for community interpreters in Belgium *COC - Centrale Ondersteuningscel voor Sociaal Tolken en Vertalen* (central support service for community interpreters and translators). They all had at least two years of interpreting experience in community-based settings.

The videos were then transcribed in ELAN (Wittenburg et al., 2006). First, we identified all instances when the interpreter steps out of the normative first person pronoun (by using a quotative) while rendering the previous speaker's utterance and focused on those cases that were accompanied by a deictic gesture or gaze shift to the principal. Next, we looked at those cases where the interpreter produced a deictic gesture or a gaze shift towards the principal without an accompanying quotative, to signal a shift in participation framework, disambiguation or distancing (see Van De Mieroop 2012). All instances that correspond to this pattern were annotated in ELAN, where the data were also coded for gaze direction of all participants. All examples found were then described in detail within their sequential context.

## **6. Analysis**

### **6.1. Multimodal Layering**

The communicative events selected for analysis in this paper involve instances of talk where the interpreter multimodally marks a distinction between the speaking self and the meaning other by combining the quotative 's/he said' with some form of pointing, such as gaze or a pointing gesture<sup>4</sup> (see Kendon 2004, Kita 2003, Mondada 2007, Stukenbrock 2015, Sidnell & Enfield 2017). As mentioned above, co-speech gestures are a constituent part of speaking in interaction and are understood in the context of the speech that they are produced with as an "ensemble" (Streeck et al. 2011). We will show how the interpreter multimodally draws attention to his animator role through combined use of the quotative and visual resources (pointing gesture and gaze).

In the example below, the student (STU) is explaining why she decided to become a vegetarian, which is rendered by the interpreter in first person pronoun (cf. supra on 'direct translation') to the counsellor. In line 7, the falling intonation contour of the interpreter's utterance ('what you get in') appears to signal turn closure. The counsellor maintains her gaze at the interpreter (figure 1) and after a slight gap, the interpreter adds the quotative "says Natasha". Van De Mieroop (2012) has shown how a quotative in turn-final position can serve a disambiguating function if the interpreter wants to make clear that her utterance is a literal translation and not her own contribution (e.g. when saying 'I don't know'). In the present case, the quotative signals turn closure and draws attention to the interpreter's reporter role by indicating a change in footing. This is supported by the interpreter's gaze shift from the current addressee (counsellor) to the student (Figure 2). Thus,

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<sup>4</sup> Following Kita (2003: 1), Enfield (2013: 700) and Sidnell & Enfield (2017: 209) pointing gestures are defined here as deictic gestures. Such gestures create an invisible vector "that indicates a certain direction, location or object" (Kita 2003: 1).


both verbally and visually, the interpreter draws attention to her animator role and marks a switch from the interpreter-counsellor participation framework, from which the student was temporarily excluded, to a triadic participation framework. f. Bot (2005: 139) noted a similar behavior in her recordings of interpreter-mediated psychotherapeutic encounters, stating that such “continuous movement of [the] head (...) seems a means to emphasize it is the patient’s words that he is rendering, at the same time preserving the contact between the three participants.”

Previous studies have shown that gaze is a powerful director of attention in interactional settings (Frischen et al. 2007, Rossano 2012, Stukenbrock 2018). By localising and pointing out the principal, the interpreter subtly directs the counsellor’s attention to the student and includes the student in the current participation framework. The counsellor aligns with this move by shifting her attention to the student (see the frame grab from the counsellor’s eye-tracker next to figure 3) and taking the turn. This example demonstrates how interpreter’s gaze conduct can contribute to a shift in participation framework and, concurrently, draw the addressee’s attention to the interpreter’s different speaking roles in the encounter.


Extract 1

1	INT	e:n sinds dat ik eigenlijk zelf vegetariër ben geworden, <i>and ever since I in fact became vegetarian,</i>
2		ben [ik daar ook veel- <i>I've also started to</i>
3	CNS	[ah ja
4	INT	(0.4) eu:m over beginnen nadenken [en] ben ik daar ook veel meer van bewust <i>uhm think about it a lot and I'm also more conscious about it</i>
5	CNS	[ja]
6	INT	wat eten wij eigenlijk, welke- (0.2) eu:h effect heeft het op ons lichaam <i>what we eat actually, which (0.2) uh effect it can have on our body</i>
7		[dus ja] (.) wat je allemaal binnen dan krijgt. [(.) <u>Zegt Natasha.</u> <i>so yeah (.) what you get in. Says Natasha.</i>
		# 1 # 2 #3
	int	gaze at CNS-----STU-----CNS----->
8	CNS	[mh hm] [ja
9	CNS	(0.3) .h en merk je zelf al heel veel positieve effecten (...) <i>.h and have you already noticed many positive effects (...)</i>




#figure 1



# figure 2



# figure 3

In the following example, the interpreter uses hand gesture, instead of gaze, together with the quotative to point out the principal. The counsellor (CNS) is explaining to the student what the label 'fair trade' means, since the Russian student had stated that she is unfamiliar with this concept. Again, the interpreter renders the counsellor's turn in first person pronoun while gazing at the student. A negotiation of meaning takes place during the interpreter's rendition; the student disrupts the interpreter's speech flow and initiates a repair (line 5) by offering a candidate understanding of what fair trade means ("healthy"). This is immediately corrected by the

interpreter in line 6 (“not that healthy”). This short exchange deviates from the ‘regular’ turn-taking pattern (S1 – interpreter – S2 – interpreter – S1 etc.), since the interpreter reacts to the ‘trouble source’ directly, without rendering what the student has said to the counsellor first. The counsellor has no understanding of Russian and is therefore not able to monitor the repair-sequence between the student and the interpreter. By offering a repair solution, the interpreter actively engages in the meaning making process and assumes the role of ‘principal’ for a moment (see also Merlini & Favaron 2005). The interpreter and the student reach mutual understanding, which is marked by the student’s change-of-state token (“ah”) (see Heritage 1984) in line 9 and acknowledgment (“I understand I understand”) in line 11.

After the interpreter finishes her turn (line 14) the student responds with the lexically empty token ‘mm hm’ (line 15), which merely signals “passive reciprocity” and expectation of the current speaker to continue (see Mazeland 1990). The interpreter then decides to take the floor to render the student’s candidate understanding from line 5 to the counsellor (“Fair trade is also healthier probably”). She closes off her turn with the quotative “says Natasha”, while pointing with both hands in the direction of the student (Figure 6) and maintaining primary orientation at the counsellor who is expected to take the turn.

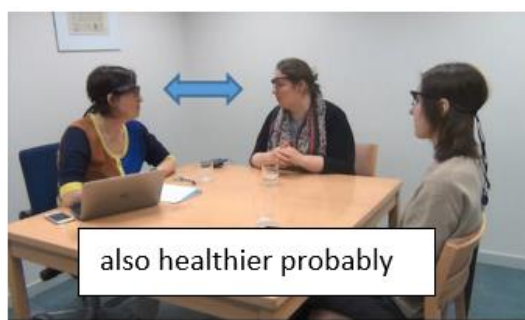
The interpreter’s deictic gesture is nicely synchronized with the quotative (“says Natasha”) and is closely connected to the utterance both temporally and semantically. In this context, the quotative appears to have a *disambiguating* function, serving to “cover up the interpreter’s involvement in the construction of meaning” (Van de Mierop 2012: 107) and make clear that the interpreter is referring to the student’s contribution just before their monolingual exchange in lines 6 to 11. Notice the shape of the gesture: the palm is upward, fingers pointing to the student and slightly curling. This gesture can be regarded as a fusion of a deictic gesture, which points out the principal (“Natasha”), and a ‘metaphoric’ gesture (see Bavelas et al. 1992), which represents words as an object that is transmitted between interlocutors. Through the simple act of pointing, the student is in a way marked as a figure in the interpreter’s talk. Unlike in the previous example, in which gaze shift contributes to a switch in participation framework, the interpreter’s pointing gesture here also appears to perform a ‘linking’ function to the student’s preceding utterance.

Extract 2

1 INT но Fair Trade то есть лaбел кaтoрoй пoтвeрждaeт чтo этo вce  
*well Fair Trade is a label that confirms that everything is*  
2 чeснaя e:m пyтeм дa кaк-тo вoт пpoизвoдитcя пpoдaeтcя.  
*produced and sold in a fair way*  
3 ((several lines omitted))  
4 тaк cкaзaть вoт [вы пoнимaeтe дa]  
*so to speak you understand yes*  
5 STU [пoлeзнaя ]  
*healthy*  
6 INT н:н:н:и нe тo чтo и пoлeзнaя # 4  
*not that healthy*  
7 нy в oснoвнoм этo имeннo ycлoвиa в кoтoрoх пpoизвoдитcя дa пpoдyкты  
*but the conditions in which the products are made*  
8 кa[к этo] вce пpoдaeтcя  
*how they are sold*  
9 STU [ah ]  
10 INT чe[стнaя тaргoвлa вcя тo ж]e cамoe  
*fair trade that's the same*  
11 STU [Я пoнимaю пoнимaю. ]  
*I understand I understand*  
12 INT и в пpинципe кoнeчнo этo нy  
*and in fact it is*  
13 нe кaкoй-тo гигaнтcкий гигaнтcкий пoдвиг c нaшeй cтoрoны  
*not a huge huge act on our part*  
14 нo дaжe нe бoльшoй вклaд этo кaкoйтo вклaд.  
*but even a not such a big effort is an effort.*  
15 STU (0.3) mh hm  
16 INT→ Fair Trade ook gezonder waarschijn\*ijk \*zegt\* [N\*atasha.  
*Fair Trade is also healthier probably says Natasha*  
# 5 # 6 #7  
int \*...\*points\*,,,\*  
17 [Ja (.) ja (0.3) volgens mij  
*Yeah yeah according to me*



#figure 4



#figure 5



#figure 6



#figure 7

## 6.2. Nonverbal Layering

The data presented above have shown how interpreters layer their utterances through the use of both speech ('s/he says') and embodied resources (pointing gesture and gaze). However, interpreters in our data were also found to occasionally separate their own from the principal's voice without the quotative and thus solely through bodily behavior.

### 6.2.2. *Marking a quotation through gesture*

In the first example of this type of layering, the interpreter only uses a pointing gesture to mark a shift in deictic center. The excerpt starts with the student's question which is rendered by the interpreter (lines 4-10) in the first person pronoun. Interestingly, the interpreter inserts a transition relevance place (Sacks et al. 1974) at the end of line 2, giving the counsellor the opportunity to confirm the assumption that the counsellor 'works predominantly with exchange students'. After a 1 second pause, which seems to indicate some problem with this statement, the counsellor responds that she does not work primarily with exchange students, but that it is a part of her work (lines 7-8). The interpreter reacts with slight hesitation to this statement, which is evidenced through the pause (in line 9), the hesitation marker "euh" (line 10) and code-switching<sup>5</sup> from Russian to Dutch ("и:: (0.3) ен"). While uttering the prolonged connective markers "и:: (0.3) ен", she points with both index fingers at the student while gazing in front of her (Figure 9). It has been argued that gaze aversion in interaction functions as a turn-holding device, indicating that the current speaker is not yet ready to yield the floor (see Authors 2017, Goodwin 1981, Weiß & Auer 2016). This is reinforced by the holding of the pointing gesture (Figure 9) that seems to indicate the not-yet-finished status of the interpreter's preceding utterance. Previous research has shown

<sup>5</sup> This could be also due to the fact that, according to the 'regular' turn-taking pattern, the interpreter would be expected to take the turn in Russian after the counsellor's utterance.

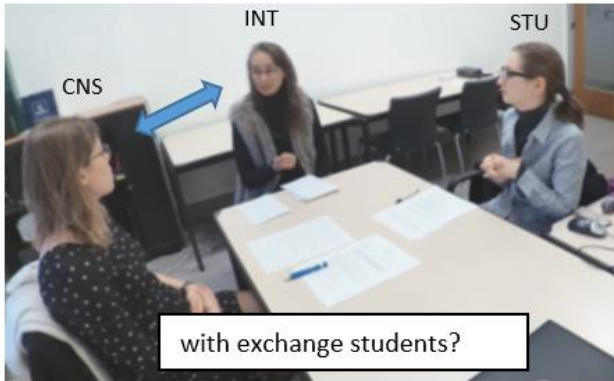
that such ‘holds’ can serve to indicate the unresolved status of sequences, such as maintaining gaze at the addressee while asking questions (Rossano 2012, 2013) or maintaining a manual holding position while dealing with problems in understanding (Floyd et al. 2016). In the present case, the interpreter’s deictic gesture does not serve to direct the counsellor’s attention to the student (referential function), but rather seems to mark connectedness with the student’s immediately preceding turn<sup>6</sup>. Similar to excerpt 2, this gesture connects the interpreter’s turn to the student’s and marks the student as the source or ‘principal’ of what the interpreter is saying. This gesture thus performs both a *citing* function, serving as a gestural equivalent of “as she said” (see Bavelas et al. 1992: 475), and a *turn-holding* function, signaling turn continuation and projecting more to come. In other words, the temporality of the gesture (frozen, post-stroke hold, see Kendon 1980, McNeill 1992, Streeck 2018) does the holding, while the shape and directionality of the gesture do the linking to the prior speaker’s turn<sup>7</sup>. This example is illustrative of the trade-off between speech and gesture, showing that gesture may even replace speech in certain contexts.

### Extract 3

1	STU	я ещё думала э: вы работаете получается с=э: со студентами в основном <i>I was also thinking uh it seems that you work with uh with students mainly</i>
2		э: студентами по обмену, с какими (0.3) вопросами чаще всего приходят <i>uh with exchange students what questions do they most often come to you with</i>
3		(0.4) с какими проблемами. <i>what kind of problems</i>
4	INT	wat mij ook (.)zeer interesseert, eu:h, dus <i>what I also find very interesting, u:h, so</i>
5		u werkt grotendeels met uitwisselingsstudenten? #8 <i>you work predominantly with exchange students?</i>
6	CNS	(1.0)
7		mh hm? (0.3) niet grotendeels. <i>mh hm? not predominantly.</i>
8		Maar het is een onderdeelje van mijn werk ja <i>But it is a part of my work yeah</i>
9		(0.8)
10	INT→	*eu*:h и:: (0.3) en* (0.6) met welke vragen komen ze meestal bij u terecht? <i>u:h a::d (Russian) and what questions do they usually come to you with?</i>
		#9 #10
	int	*...*points-----*, , ,

<sup>6</sup> This gesture can be treated as analogous to a discourse deictic reference (see Levinson 1983: 85).

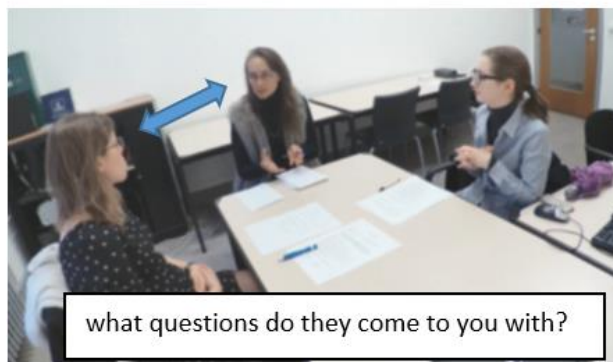
<sup>7</sup> We would like to thank the reviewer for pointing this out to us.



#figure 8



#figure 9



#figure 10

In the following example (Extract 4), the interpreter again uses a 'citing gesture' to separate her own from the primary speaker's voice and link her utterance to the primary speaker's turn. The student had asked what is organisation "Gate 31" as he was receiving a lot of mails from them. After a slight pause (line 3) the counsellor responds hesitantly and with rising intonation contour that there is an organisation called Gate 15 while looking at the interpreter. After another pause (line 4), the interpreter decides to initiate a repair (in line 6) in overlap with the counsellor's turn-extension. She shifts her head towards the student and asks whether he meant Gate thirty-one or fifteen (Figure 12). The interpreter is thus acting as a principal here and is actively engaged in the negotiation of meaning. She then immediately continues by rendering what the counsellor had said in line 3, but is interrupted by overlapping talk by both student and counsellor (lines 7-9). She swiftly looks at the counsellor and then repeats the rendition ("Gate fifteen is what we have"), this time in combination with the deictic gesture towards the counsellor (Figure 14). Similarly to excerpt 3, the interpreter's deictic gesture serves to point out the principal of the utterance and link the interpreter's turn to the counsellor's utterance in line 3. By gesturing towards the 'principal',

the interpreter marks her animator role within the conversation and reveals the laminated structure of her talk.

Extract 4

1	INT	Ik krijg ook regelmatig euh emails, van een organisatie, Gate 31. <i>I also get a lot of e-mails, uh, from an organization, Gate 31.</i>
2		Weet u toevallig wat het is? <i>Do you by any chance know what it is?</i>
3	CNS	(0.5) eu:hm Gate 15 hebben we in Antwerpen? <i>uh we have Gate 15 in Antwerp?</i> #11
4		(0.6)
5		eu:hm dus [dat zal vergelijkbaar zijn. <i>uhm so that will be similar.</i>
6	INT	[Тридцать один? или пятнадцать. <i>thirty-one or fifteen</i> #12
7		(0.1) [у нас есть [Gate fift-] <i>we have Gate fift-</i> #13
8	STU	[((laughs)) ( ) ]
9	CNS	[ik weet het niet <i>I don't know</i>
10	INT→	Gate *[пят*наццать* есть у нас! <i>Gate fifteen is what we have</i> #14 #15 <i>int *...*points---* , , *</i>
11	STU	[может быть. может бы[ть. <i>maybe maybe</i>
12	INT	[Misschien. <i>Maybe</i>



#figure 11



#figure 12



#figure 13



#figure 14



#figure 15

### 6.2.3. *Distancing through gaze*

The interpreters in our data were also found to use gaze shifts as a distinguishing device between their own and the primary speaker's voice. Extract 5 illustrates one such use of gaze. The counsellor is talking about the types of activities that are organised for incoming exchange students at the university. In line 4 she starts explaining that they also offer a language course and then she turns her gaze to the interpreter to admit that she is not sure whether this course is compulsory or not (line 5: "is it compulsory or not?"). Counsellor's gaze together with rising intonation contour seem to signal that she is open for some response from the interpreter (see also Duncan 1972, Stivers & Rossano 2010). However, the interpreter responds to this with a facial expression of doubt and a shrug (Figure 17) through which she thus expresses her own stance on the subject and acts as a responder (Wadensjö 1998). The counsellor then continues with her turn by shifting her gaze back to the student.

In line 11 the interpreter takes the floor to start with the rendition of the counsellor's turn. In line 19, while saying that she cannot tell for sure whether those courses are compulsory or not, she shifts her gaze to the counsellor while adding "I am not sure" (see Figure 19). Since the interpreter

had displayed her uncertainty about this with a shrug (see line 7), which was also visible to the student, it would be difficult for the student to know whether the interpreter is acting here as a principal or animator of these words. The gaze shift towards the counselor at this point of her rendition seems to be used by the interpreter to point out the 'principal' and to anchor the deictic reference "I" of this utterance in the interactional space. As such, it subtly marks the interpreter's role as the reporter of the counsellor's words, the counsellor having epistemic authority over what is being said.

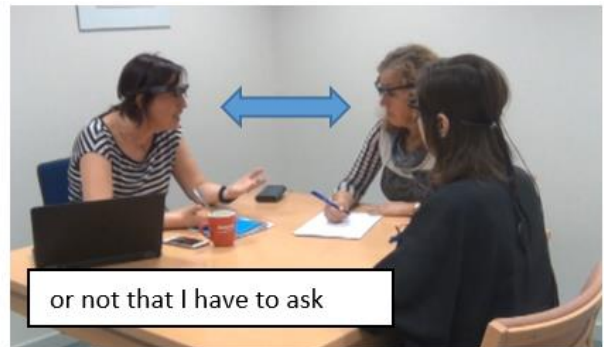
#### Extract 5

1	<b>CNS</b>	en wij voorzien eigenlijk vanuit onze campus hier, <i>and we also provide actually from our campus here</i>
2		een soort van onthaal voor al onze Erasmusstudenten, <i>a kind of welcome for our Erasmus students</i>
3		(0.4)
4		waarbij we die eerste weken ook die cursus Nederlands (0.3) aanbieden – <i>where we also offer in those first few weeks courses of Dutch</i>
5		en (0.2) nu moet ik het kwijt, is het verplicht of niet, <i>and now I have to say, is it compulsory or not #16</i>
6		dat moet ik [eens] navragen, (0.2) ten zeerste aanbevolen in ieder geval, <i>that I have to ask highly recommended in any case</i>
7	<b>INT</b>	[M:m.] <i>((facial expression of doubt &amp; shrug))</i> #17
8	<b>CNS</b>	(0.4) en daarnaast zorgen we ook voor een aantal onthaalactiviteiten. <i>and in addition we also take care of a number of support activities</i>
9	→	Maar ik zal misschien eerst [de tolk] uhm (.) aan het woord laten. <i>but perhaps I will let the interpreter uhm speak first</i>
10	<b>INT</b>	[mm hm ]

11	INT	.h э:м всё зависит но чаще всего студенты из других стран приезжают е:е uh it all depends but mostly the students from other countries come eu:h
12		(0.3) на три четыре на один семестр. (.) Три четыре [месяца]. for three-four months for one semester. Three-four months
13	STU	[Mh hm
14	INT	Например там в Испании отличается э:м день начала академического года. For example there in Spain uhm the first day of the academic year is different.
15		(0.2) Учебн- е: имею ввиду пораньше или попозже ну плюсь минус Schooly- u:h I mean earlier or later well about more or less
16		три месяца. (0.3) э:ем мы предлагаем им в начале их пребывания, three months. uhm we propose to them at the start of their stay
17		курсы нидерландского. ускоренные курсы нидерландского, Dutch courses. Crash courses of Dutch,
18		(.) Но вот я не могу сказать But I cannot tell it like that
19	→	э:м обязательно или нет. Это я не уверена. h:m whether it is obligatory or not. Of that I am not sure.
		#18 #19
	int	gaze at stu -----gaze at cns-gaze away->
20		(0.3) э: и:и на ряду с этими ускоренными курсами также ряд мероприятий. u:h a:nd in line with those crash courses also a series of activities
		#20



#figure 16



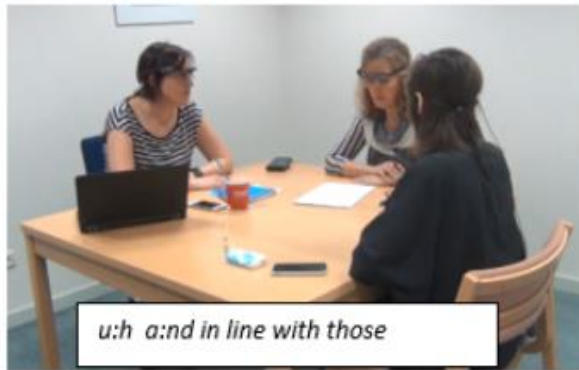
#figure 17



#figure 18



#figure 19



#figure 20

The following extract (Extract 6) provides another example of the interpreter's gaze shift as a means of distancing and marking her role as 'animator' of the counsellor's words. In contrast to the previous extract, epistemic stance is not marked with a verbal expression ('I don't know'), but through visual means and intonation.

Preceding the extract, the student had asked whether universities in Belgium are free of charge for Flemish students. The counsellor replies that it is not free, but that tuition costs are not that high. This is rendered by the interpreter in lines 1-2. Immediately after the interpreter's rendition, the counsellor takes the floor again to add that tuition costs in some European countries are "even cheaper" (line 3). He mentions Germany as an example, however, he does not seem to be quite certain about this and appears to seek support from the interpreter, as he ends his utterance with rising intonation while holding his gaze at the interpreter and pausing for 0.6 seconds (line 5) (see Stivers & Rossano 2010 on response mobilization in interaction). The interpreter responds to this with a facial expression that expresses disbelief or surprise (raised eyebrows and lower lip pushed up, see Ekman 2003: 104-105) towards this statement (Figure 22). By expressing her stance towards the principal's words, the interpreter acts as a 'real' addressee for a moment.

The interpreter takes the turn in line 8 while gazing away in front of her. Gaze aversion at turn-beginning has been shown to function as a turn-taking cue by the incipient speaker (see also Kendon 1967, Goodwin 1981, Rossano 2012, Authors 2017). While uttering "in Germany", the interpreter swiftly gazes back at the counsellor (Figure 25). By doing this, the interpreter seems to mark a distinction between herself and "the meaning other", presenting herself as reporting the counsellor's words. This gaze shift towards the principal of the utterance reveals the layered structure of the interpreter's utterance that not only includes the voice of the counsellor but also her own voice as a reporter. After uttering the word "Germany" the interpreter turns her gaze to the student, possibly to check the student's reaction. Previous studies have stressed the

importance of speaker gaze in monitoring the recipient's behavior and reactions in face-to-face interaction (e.g. Kendon 1967, Rossano 2012).

Extract 6

1	INT	сейчас=э: за год (0.2) обучение в университете стоит около 900 евро, <i>Now uh per year university tuition costs about 900 euros</i>
2		примерно 870 евро. (0.6) за год. <i>about 870 euros per year.</i>
3	CNS	.h maar (.) enfin er zijn ook landen waar het nog goedkoper is. <i>.h but well there are also countries where it is even cheaper.</i> #21
4		Ik denk dat Duitsland ook gratis is, <i>I think that Germany it is also free,</i>
5		(0.6) #22
6		Duitsland, Zweden zeker, (0.2) eu:h Zweden en Finland, <i>Germany, Sweden for sure, uh Sweden and Finland</i> #23
7		Skandinavische landen, is het gratis. <i>Scandinavian countries, it is free.</i>
8	INT	Я [знаю, ч]то: (.) например в Германии, <i>I know that for example in Germany,</i> #24 #25
	int	gaze away-----gaze at CNS--
9	CNS	[m: ]
10	INT	еще дешевле, (0.4) обучение, а (.) в скандинавских странах – <i>it is even cheaper the education, and in Scandinavian countries</i> #26
11		как в Швеции, например, вообще бесплатно. <i>such as in Sweden, for example, it's generally free.</i>
12		(0.4)
13	CNS	M[aar in] Duitsland zijn er ook landen <i>But in Germany there are also countries</i>
14	STU	[mm hm ]



#figure 21



#figure 22



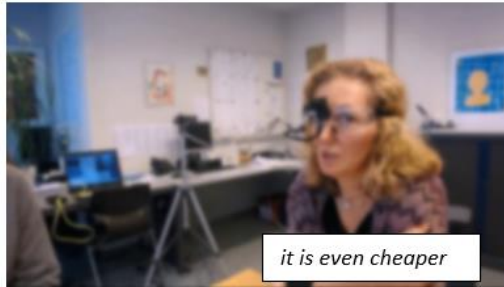
#figure 23



#figure 24



#figure 25



#figure 26

In this section, we have demonstrated some of the ways in which interpreters mobilise their gaze and gestures to display themselves as laminated speakers while rendering the primary speaker's turn. In the following section, we summarise the key points raised in this study.

## 7. Discussion

The present study sought to investigate the interpreter's use of visual means, such as gaze, head orientation and gesture, to mark a distinction between their own voice and the voice of the primary speaker whose utterances they are rendering. In contrast to research on monolingual interactions, where phenomena such as multimodal layering, blending of voices and deictic shifts have been subject to considerable body of research, this issue has not been addressed systematically in the context of dialogue interpreting. Since dialogue interpreters are highly visible participants in the exchange, who not only take up interactional space (by interpreting consecutively in every second turn) but also physical space through their presence, our question was how interpreters come to terms with the imposed 'direct translation' and their own visibility during the interaction. In the first part of the paper, we discussed cases in which the interpreter draws attention to her reporter role through combined use of the quotative 's/he says' and a pointing gesture or gaze movement. At first sight, the function of gaze and gesture seems to be quite similar, since they both mark a shift in deictic center in the interpreter's rendition. As such they perform a social role within the complex

participation framework of an interpreter-mediated encounter. Similar to Van De Mieroop's discussion on the use of quotatives, gaze and deictic gesture mark a distinction between the different voices in the interpreter's words: that of the interpreter as 'animator' and that of the primary speaker as 'principal'. However, through close inspection of the data, differences in the use and/or function of the deictic gesture and gaze can be discerned:

1. the interpreter's gaze orientation can contribute to a shift in the participation framework (as seen in extract 1) and thus include the 'principal' in the interactional space. As such, the interpreter's gaze movement towards the 'principal' signals inclusion of the currently non-addressed speaker and maintains a tree-party interaction pattern.
2. The interpreter's gaze shift to the principal can also perform a subtle distancing function from the expressed epistemic stance (as illustrated in Extract 5) or from some aspect of the information that is being rendered (illustrated in Extract 6).
3. Interpreter's deictic gestures towards the 'principal', on the other hand, seem to perform a disambiguating or a discourse-related function, linking the interpreter's utterance to that of the previous speaker. This was typically observed in cases following an interruption of the 'regular' turn-taking pattern through an inserted sequence between the interpreter and the 'principal' in the context of meaning negotiation/repair (for instance in Extract 2 and Extract 4). Moreover, holding a deictic gesture (as illustrated in Extract 3) can be used by the interpreter to structure her turn and perform her coordinating role in the conversation.

We also briefly touched upon the question how different modalities (see also Stukenbrock 2015) relate to each other functionally and temporally. The presented cases of multimodal layering illustrate the interaction and tight temporal relationship between speech (the quotative 's/he said') and embodied resources (deictic gesture and gaze). However, we have also shown how the quotative is not always necessary to draw attention to the interpreter's reporter role; there can be a trade-off between speech and embodied resources, resulting in deictic gestures performing a similar function as the quotative. The present analysis thus goes beyond previous research on quotatives, such as Van De Mieroop's (2012) systematic study, by opening it up to the interpreter's visual behavior and painting a multimodal picture of the phenomenon.

It is clear that interpreters have a choice in the way they format their renditions within the complex interactional framework of interpreter-mediated talk. Our analysis reveals that interpreters have a repertoire of multimodal resources at their disposal to layer their utterances and draw attention to the principal while rendering the talk. We also need to point out the limitations of our corpus that consists of twelve recordings of conversations in one specific context, characterized by an

amicable atmosphere between primary interlocutors. A larger corpus of interpreter-mediated interactions in more face-threatening or adversarial communicative encounters will be needed to investigate in more depth the effect of context on the interpreter’s multimodal layering of her renditions. Nevertheless, given the fact that these patterns are found even in controlled settings such as those presented in this paper, we think that the observed patterns can be expected to be valid – and even more pronounced – in contexts of more adversarial nature. This remains to be further explored in future research.

### Transcription conventions

Conventions for the multimodal transcription are inspired by the conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada: [https://franzoesistik.philhist.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user\\_upload/franzoesistik/mondada\\_multimodal\\_conventions.pdf](https://franzoesistik.philhist.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/franzoesistik/mondada_multimodal_conventions.pdf)

[ ]	simultaneous speech
(.)	micropause (shorter than 0.2 seconds)
.h	audible in-breath,
:	lengthening or prolongation of a sound (sound stretch)
.	a period indicated a falling intonation contour
,	a comma indicates rising intonation contour
?	a question mark indicates a rise stronger than the comma
<u>word</u>	stress
((comment ))	information in double parentheses provides details about the nonverbal behavior of the participants.
fig.	the exact point where a screen shot (figures) has been taken is indicated
#	with a specific sign showing its position within turns-at-talk
→	analyst’s signal of a significant line
* *	Gestures are delimited between two identical symbols and are synchronized with correspondent stretches of talk
.....	Action’s preparation.
-----	Action’s apex is reached and maintained.
’,’,’,’	Action’s retraction.

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