Master's Thesis

Exploring team interpreting in multi-party interaction

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Abstract

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This study explores team interpreting in multidirectional multi-party interaction, applying Conversation Analytic methods drawing from data recorded in two workplace meetings that were interpreted between Finnish and Finnish Sign Language by two different teams of two interpreters. The study focuses on interpreters' in situ coordination of their work, and it reflects the implications of interpreters' actions for the participants' interaction and for the interpreters' work. Additionally, the study explores interpreters' actions from the lens of multiactivity.

Interpreters' work-division, i.e. the way(s) interpreters divide up the discourse, and alternate interpreting turns, directs their work in situ. In the data studied for this paper, interpreters worked according to participants' turn-taking (with/without having a dedicated speaker's interpreter for the presenter). This work-division enabled interpreters to modify their working practices depending on the number of participants interacting at the same time. Thus, interpreters could render dialogic interaction without problems if both of them were rendering interpreters and render a turn while ensuring 'accuracy' and smooth turn-taking during the single-participant talk if one of them was a rendering and the other a non-rendering interpreter. In this study, "problematically" overlapping participants' talk that required overlap-resolutions as described by (Roy, 1992/2015) occurred when more than two participants overlapped in their talk. In such situations, that were scant in the data, only one of the interpreters was responsible for resolving it.

The findings of the study indicate that the interpreters' work-division studied in this paper enables rendering most of the participants' interaction unproblematically. It does not, however, come without trade-offs. If interpreters focus on ensuring accuracy, they may be unable to render all participants' turns, and if they focus on rendering all participants' turns, they compromise in the ability to support each other, both of which may hinder the access to information for participants relying on renditions. Thus, in interpreted multidirectional multi-party interaction, it is crucial that interpreters and participants work with each other in ensuring equal access to information for everybody and discuss what aspects, each of which limit the interaction in one way or another, should be foregrounded in team interpreting. Additionally, the findings of the study indicate that interpreters may be engaged in multiactivity during the problematically overlapping talk, in situ turn management, and support sequences.

Acknowledgements

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.

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1 Introduction

Team interpreting, i.e., the use of two or more interpreters, is a standard practice in demanding, prolonged, sensitive, complex or dense assignments in the field of signed language interpreting (Demers, 2005; Hoza, 2010; Selin-Grönlund, 2007). It was first introduced in the turn of the 1980s in the U.S. and Finland a decade later (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Hoza, 2010; Selin, 2002). Currently, the regular practice in the field of signed language interpreting is to have a team of two interpreters ('*tulkkipari*', an 'interpreter pair' in Finnish) booked to an assignment, although in conference settings, for example, more than two interpreters ('*tulkkitiimi*', 'interpreter team' in Finnish) may be booked (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003).

Hoza (2010) has stated that team interpreting consists of 1/3 of the interpreter bookings in the U.S. For Finland, however, official statistics about team interpreting are missing. The Social Insurance Institution of Finland, that manages approximately 90% of signed language interpreter bookings in Finland (Huusko, 2017), states that generally two (or more) interpreters may be booked for prolonged or otherwise demanding assignments based on the assessment of the Centre for Interpreting Services for the Disabled (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland, 2017). Paradoxically, the service providers decide on behalf of the people involved in the situation, whether it is demanding or not. Additionally, Hynynen, Pyörre, and Roslöf (2010) note that team interpreting has become a more standard practice especially in situations that last over two hours and have several deaf participants present during the beginning of the 21st century, which indicates that its use has increased during the years.

When it comes to more recent remarks of the frequency of team interpreting in Finland, some information about the numbers of signed language team interpreting is available from instances that have their internal booking offices. In the University of Jyväskylä in which the Centre of Finnish Sign Language studies and research in Finland is located at, team interpreting is used in majority of the signed language interpreter bookings (Jyväskylän yliopisto, 2017). Additionally, out of the bookings made in the Finnish Association of the Deaf[1] in 2018, 65% had two interpreters and 4% more than

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[1] The Finnish Association of the Deaf is an organisation that advocates and promotes for the realisation of equal opportunities for deaf people of all ages (Finnish Association of the Deaf, 2019).

two interpreters (Kuronen, 2019). Thus, at least in some instances in Finland team interpreting is the standard for providing interpreting services.

Team interpreting is an understudied phenomenon in signed but also spoken language interpreting. Currently, the body of team interpreting literature consists of guidelines (e.g. Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, 2007), description of (best) practices in general (e.g. Russell, 2011), from the organisational perspective (Supalla, Clark, Neumann Solow, & Muller de Quadros, 2010), in relation to practitioners' work (e.g. Gajewski Mickelson & Gordon, 2015; Peters & Scholl, 2018; Selin, 2002; Selin-Grönlund, 2007) and regarding practitioners' and deaf participants' cooperation (De Meulder, Napier, & Stone, 2018; Napier et al., 2008). Additionally, critique on the current practices (Holcomb, 2018; Mitchell, 2002), perceptions on team interpreting in general (Brück, 2011), and surveys focusing on the cooperation strategies (Chmiel, 2008; Hoza, 2010) exist alongside anecdotal remarks on team interpreting (e.g. Hynynen et al., 2010; Napier et al., 2010). Until now, exploring team interpreting and their actions using natural data has gained relatively little interest. There are, however, some mock studies that focus on cooperation (Hoza, 2010) and support (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Sforza, 2014). Additionally, there are a few team interpreting studies that draw from natural data. These studies focus on interpreters' cooperation with the deaf participant (De Meulder et al., 2018; Napier et al., 2008), on the cooperation within a team of deaf and non-deaf interpreters (Stone & Russell, 2014), and on turn-taking mechanisms in team interpreted meetings (Van Herreweghe, 2002, 2005). Apart from Van Herreweghe (2002, 2005), however, all of the studies drew from data recorded in the primarily monologic (or unidirectional) discourse, which means that little is known on team interpreting in the multidirectional discourse attestable in meetings, for example.

Generally, workplace meetings constitute a significant part of organisational interaction in situations that involve more than two persons (Svennevig, 2012). Especially in white collar jobs and for leaders, meetings form a major part of work life (ibid.). This leads to assuming that meetings as a form of multi-party interaction are not rare as an interpreting domain for interpreters either at least for interpreters who work with 'deaf professionals' (Hauser & Hauser, 2008). From the interpreters' perspective workplace meetings entail a complex discourse that, as the outcome interactional dynamics

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characterised by frequently overlapping talk, is demanding in terms of rendering and coordinating the interaction (Dickinson, 2017; Dickinson & Turner, 2009; Van Herreweghe, 2002). Consequently, albeit the practice is not to book team interpreters in all workplace meetings (see, e.g. Dickinson, 2017), they quite likely qualify for demanding assignments that require booking an interpreter team.

In this study, face-to-face interpreted interaction in workplace meetings will be in focus. This study draws from two informal and predominantly signed workplace meetings with 11 and 9 participants. The meetings were simultaneously interpreted between Finnish and Finnish Sign Language (henceforth: FinSL) by two distinct interpreter teams of two interpreters that matched the profile of a typical, yet experienced, sign language interpreter in Finland. The interpreters were recruited using convenience sampling (Hale & Napier, 2013).

In this study, the focus is on how the team interpreters coordinate their work intrapersonally and interpersonally during simultaneously interpreted face-to-face interaction and what implications do the team interpreters' actions have for the participants' interaction; a matter that has not gained interest in the field of signed language interpreting from a micro-analytical perspective before. For a reason that team interpreted multidirectional multi-party interaction is complex in nature, answers to these matters are sought by limiting the scope of the study, firstly, to describing team interpreters' actions within the team during situations in which one, two or more participants engage more or less simultaneously in interaction and, secondly, to situations in which team interpreters must manage their rendering turns on site.

By drawing attention to team interpreters' in situ actions regarding coordinating their rendering turns and looking at the actions applying Conversational Analytic (henceforth: CA) approach, this study is, according my knowledge, the first to focus on signed language team interpreters' 'work-division' (Kuronen, 2018), i.e. to the ways how team interpreters divide up the work (Napier et al., 2010), and its realisation through interpreters' rendering and non-rendering turns on a moment-by-moment level. Thus, this study contributes to increasing knowledge on team interpreters' work-division, which is a matter that excluding Duflou's (2014) ethnomethodological study on spoken language team interpreters' turn management and my pilot study (Kuronen, 2018), has been addressed only anecdotally and in narratives (e.g. Cokely & Hawkins,

2003; De Meulder et al., 2018; Gajewski Mickelson & Gordon, 2015; Hoza, 2010; Napier et al., 2008; Napier et al., 2010; Selin, 2002).

Additionally, focusing on the interpreters' work-division in relation to participants turn-taking as it unfolds allows reflecting the notion of participants and interpreters working 'with' (Turner, 2007) each other and what implications does the interpreters' work-division have for the participants' interaction and for the interpreters' work. In practice, reflecting these matters enables also answering whether team interpreting may contribute to participation in general, as Holcomb (2018) suggests. If that is true, team interpreting should not solely be seen as a practice in service for enhancing 'accuracy' in the renditions, the interpreters' endurance and well-being as is typically described in the literature (e.g. Bontempo, 2015; Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Hoza, 2010; Hynynen et al., 2010; Lee, 2015; Napier et al., 2010; Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, 2007; Selin, 2002).

Lastly, looking at the team interpreters' involvements on the intrapersonal and interpersonal level during team interpreted interaction allows studying team interpreters' actions from yet another angle as the micro-analytical perspective enables analysing whether interpreters during engage in 'multiactivity', i.e. "the concurrent engagement of participants in more than one course of action[2] at the same time" (Mondada, 2014c, p. 69), during their work. In doing so, this paper takes the first step in looking at team interpreted interaction as a possible domain for multiactivity for the interpreters and, thus, contributes in bridging signed language interpreting and multiactivity studies together.

When it comes to the impetus for this study, my interest in studying team interpreting in workplace meetings as a form of interpreted multidirectional multi-party interaction, and the interest in studying work-division and its outcomes is not solely based on the fact that all of these matters are understudied in the field of signed language interpreting. Additionally, my interests as a practitioner who regularly team interprets multidirectional workplace interaction, and my willingness to increase knowledge on practices and their implications for the participants' interaction and interpreters' work motivate this study. On a more general level, I am convinced that a thorough

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[2] An example of an action is a request or an offer. Generally, an action is the 'main job' that the turn in interaction is doing (Levinson, 2013).

understanding of team interpreters' working practices and the alternatives available enables practitioners to fine-tune their practices of providing clients' interests foregrounding 'expository interpreting' (Turner & Best, 2017), because knowing the alternatives and their implications enables tailoring interpreting services to meet the needs of the participant(s) instead of providing 'uniform' team interpreting.

This paper is organised as follows. Chapter 2 describes the organisation of social interaction and addresses the notion of multiactivity. Chapter 3 focuses on signed language interpreting and team interpreting describing team interpreters' schema for work-division and turn changes, responsibilities within the interpreter team, and the team interpreters' in situ turn management practices and, lastly, addresses overlapping talk in interpreted interaction. Chapter 4 describes the data and research methodology. Chapter 5 brings the focus to the findings of the study, which are further discussed in chapter 6. Lastly, there is a conclusion.

2 Social interaction

Social interaction is ordered, embodied, multimodal and situated in time and place (Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada, & Nevile, 2014; Jewitt, 2017a, 2017b; Kendon, 1990; Kusters, Spotti, Swanwick, & Tapio, 2017; Kääntä & Haddington, 2011; Norris, 2004; Streeck, Goodwin, & LeBaron, 2011). Generally, the premise of social interaction is a shared encounter, that happens a particular place and at a specific time, in which the participants have sensory access to each other (Peräkylä & Stevanovic, 2016).

The multimodality of interaction implies that in social interaction several resources or means of communication (also termed as modalities, modes or semiotic fields depending on the researcher's theoretical background) are used, whereas embodiment, on the other hand, refers to how social interaction is produced in practice (Heath & Luff, 2013; Kusters et al., 2017). Generally, interlocutors draw from a range of embodied and physical resources, that may be deployed alone or in combination with other resources. The resources include, for example, objects, gesture, gaze, facial expressions, body postures, body movements, and also prosody, lexis and grammar (Haddington et al., 2014; Mondada, 2014b; 2016, p. 338; in press). In practice, all resources are equally able to contribute to interaction, that is, there is not a priori hierarchy between the resources; instead, a resource can be primary in one moment and subordinate in another (Kusters et al., 2017; Mondada, 2014b, in press). Thus, 'language', be it signed or spoken, does not either hold a superior position; instead, it is a resource as powerful as others (Jewitt, 2017b; Mondada, in press).

2.1 Turn-taking

Social interaction is organized around turn-taking: The turn-organization governs how people talk in turns, how speakers change, and how the transformation between speakers is accomplished (Ruusuvuori, 2016). Turns, on the other hand, form sequences, i.e.

"courses of action that are implemented through talk[3]" through which activities[4] are accomplished (Raevaara, 2016; Schegloff, 2007, pp. 9-10). One characteristic feature of social interaction is that it is progressive and projectable. Thus, turns-at-talk do not appear without any relationship to other turns; instead, they are built based on what was said before, and on the other hand, they also shape the upcoming interaction (Drew, 2013).

A turn is assembled by one or, as is more common, more turn-construal units (henceforth TCUs), which are built using various multimodal resources (Drew, 2013; Schegloff, 2007; Stevanovic, 2016). TCUs may vary in their composition, and they may consist of sentences, clauses, phrases or individual words (Clayman, 2013). In interaction, the completion of a TCU establishes a transition-relevant place (henceforth TRP), that is a moment in which a change of speaker/signer becomes a possible. In practice, the completion of a TCU it may be projected, for example, by gaze, syntactic, prosodic or pragmatic cues. For the possible next speaker, these features enable anticipating the completion of a TCU, which allows preparing for the upcoming turn already during the previous speaker's turn-at-talk (Figure 1). As the outcome of these practices, a minimum of silence and as little overlapping speech as possible can be accomplished. (Clayman, 2013; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007.)
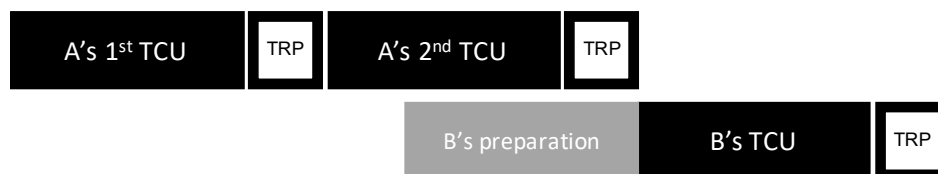
Figure 1. Transition-relevant places (TRPs) (Clayman, 2013, p. 151)

According to Sacks et al. (1974) in conversational interaction turn-transition may be achieved in several ways: It is possible that the current speaker[5] selects the next

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[3] In this paper, I understand 'talk' similarly as Schegloff (2018); including signed and spoken languages, and all forms of communication that share the basic characteristics of vocalized talking.
[4] According to Robinson (2013, p. 259), 'activities' are achieved across more than one sequence of action, i.e. they consist of more than one adjacency-pair up to entire, single episodes of interaction. In practice, 'activities' may be 'fuzzy in their temporal boundaries, social definition and implications' and they 'are often implemented rather than verbalized' (Haddington et al., 2014, p. 11).
[5] In this paper, the term 'speaker' is not a modality-dependant term, i.e., it is a hypernym that refers to both 'speakers' and 'signers.'

speaker, however, if this does not happen a speaker may also self-select. Alternatively, if neither one of these options are utilised, the current speaker may continue talking until the next TRP when, if the conversation does not end, one of the first-mentioned options may again be deployed.

In practice, however, the number of participants affects how turns are allocated to the next speaker. Whereas in dyadic conversations it is clear who gets to speak next and, thus, turns do not specifically need to be allocated, in multi-party interaction, turn-allocation is essential. Generally, in spoken multi-party interaction, gaze holds a central position in turn-allocation, however, inter alia an address term (that are used especially in institutional interaction), pointing and/or nodding at the person may also be used (Hayashi, 2013; Kääntä, 2011; Mondada, 2013b; Ruusuvuori, 2016). In signed multi-party interaction, address terms are not used in turn-allocation, instead, gazing, indexing or gesturing at the addressed participant, turn-final holds, raising the last sign or returning hands to the rest position (as keeping hands in the air indicates willingness to talk) are used (Baker, 1977; Girard-Groeber, 2015; McIlvenny, 1995; Van Herreweghe, 2002). In signed interaction, the manual practices cannot, however, be fully realized without a mutual gaze between the current and the next speaker (Baker, 1977; Van Herreweghe, 2002). Thus, in signed interaction, as well as in spoken interaction if gaze is used in addressing the next speaker, successful turn-allocation is a multi-party accomplishment of the current and the next speaker (Baker, 1977; Hayashi, 2013; Lerner, 2003; Van Herreweghe, 2002).

When it comes to the practices for self-selecting, in spoken interaction, a speaker may indicate their willingness to self-select in vocal and non-vocal practices (Hayashi, 2013). These include gaze redirection, in-breath, head movements, facial gestures, and pointing gestures (Mondada, 2007). Generally, in spoken interaction, the onset of self-selection is audible to the other participants if the vocal practices are used (McIlvenny, 1995). In signed interaction, however, the situation differs as only those contributions that fall to one's visual field can be recognized and listened to. Thus, albeit in signed interaction, a person may self-select, if the person falls beyond a person's visual range, the conversational contribution is not noticed. This leads to the fundamental difference in between signed and spoken interaction: Contrary to spoken interaction in which self-selection using vocal practices without establishing mutual gaze with the other

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participants opens up the possibility to gain the floor, in signed interaction 'pure' self-selection is not possible because the current speaker has the power to allocate the turn (Van Herreweghe, 2002). Thus, turn-taking in signed interaction is always a mutual accomplishment (Baker, 1977; Coates & Sutton-Spence, 2001; McIlvenny, 1995; Van Herreweghe, 2002). Likely for this reason, summoning is central in indicating a willingness to talk in signed interaction. It may happen for example, by waving a hand, lightly touching another person, tapping the table, gesturing, indexing or repeating the first signs of a turn until the current speaker has established mutual gaze (Baker, 1977; McIlvenny, 1995; Van Herreweghe, 2002).

The context of interaction may also shape turn-taking, albeit the basic premises remain the same across interactional contexts. In meetings, that will be the context of interaction in this study, for example, turn-taking is often administered by the chairperson, which typically leads to turn-taking appearing in meetings more restricted when compared to an ordinary conversation in which participants are relatively free to self-select their turns (Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009). In practice, however, depending on the formality and the chair's involvement in turn-allocation, patterns for turn-taking may vary from strictly administered turn-taking, that requires explicit signalling for indicating the willingness to talk from the participants and the turn-allocation by the chair in formal meetings to relatively ordinary conversation-like turn-taking in informal meetings with participants rely more on self-selecting and current speaker allocating turns to the next speaker (Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009; Svennevig, 2012).

2.2 Multiactivity

One characteristic feature of social interaction is that people are able to pursue several courses of action more or less at the same time. In everyday language, this type of action is typically referred to as 'multitasking'. However, because 'multitasking' is linked to a broader, individual and cognitive perspective in ethnomethodologically informed CA (EMCA) studies that highlight how multiple activities are managed cooperatively in social interaction as a real-life real-time phenomenon that occurs on the moment-by-

moment level, the term 'multiactivity' has been adopted (see Haddington et al., 2014 for a discussion on the conceptual differences).

As stated earlier, according to Mondada (2014c, p. 69), "multiactivity refers to the concurrent engagement of participants in more than one course of action[6] at a time." On the intrapersonal level, this requires simultaneous coordinating of the courses of actions/activities and, also, the allocation of one's embodied/multimodal resources into each of these activities taking also into account the temporal and sequential organisation of these activities (Deppermann, 2014; Mondada, 2012). In practice, however, this does not happen isolated from other co-participants' actions. Thus, when a person is involved in multiactivity, she/he/they must also consider co-participants' activities and their temporalities, spatial restrictions, resource-related possibilities and restrictions (Deppermann, 2014). Thus, on the intrapersonal level multiactivity, alike social interaction in general, operates under the constraints of interpersonal actions (ibid.). Generally, multiactivity is locally managed in various ways depending on how the activities interfere each other and on how the participants are involved in coordinating the activities. It might be that only one person is uniquely involved in multiactivity while the other co-participants only adjust to it, however, it is also possible that several people are involved in multiactivity, i.e., multiactivity can be organised as a collective or as an individual activity (Deppermann, 2014; Mondada, 2012).

When it comes to the temporal orders of multiactivity, activities, such as talking and driving, may run smoothly in parallel without any interference to each other in an autonomous way or they might need to be coordinated together as they are intertwined to each other (Mondada, 2012, 2014c). In the first-mentioned situation activities run in parallel order and they do not require mutual adjustments between the activities. However, engagement with intertwined activities implies that the activities appear embedded with another, and, thus, the organisation of the activities requires mutual adjustment

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[6] According to (Haddington et al., 2014, p. 19), raising a hand, for example, is a multimodal practice in service of an action, such as for getting the floor for asking a question in a meeting (which, is the activity). This practice communicates the participant's readiness to ask a question, and can initiate a course of actions, i.e., the allocation of a turn and then posing the question. This does, not, however, constitute multiactivity. Only if, for example, a phone rings, which initiates another course of actions, talking about multiactivity becomes possible because, likely, the person involved in both situations would do something to coordinate these activities with each other. (ibid.)

between the activities. Some activities, however, cannot be managed with other activities, which means that they are managed in the exclusive order. (ibid.)

In the parallel order, no adjustments are needed regarding coordinating one's participation in both of the activities. For example, if strong generalisations without looking at the phenomenon on a moment-by-moment level are allowed, it might be possible to knit a sock and talk to a friend at the same time. However, having a conversation while driving might lead to alternating between the simultaneously relevant activities within a turn or a sequence and, thus, foregrounding either one of them for the reason that momentarily, either one of the activities requires full concentration (Mondada, 2012, 2014c). Driving, for example, may need to be momentarily foregrounded over talking when approaching a juncture (Mondada, 2012). Sometimes, however, the coordination of concurrent involvements requires suspending one activity in order to progress with another. This happens, for example, when a conversation with a friend is abrupted by ringing telephone. In such situation, it might well be that the conversation is momentarily put on hold, i.e. suspended, in order to answer the phone – and then again resumed after the phone call is finished (see Helisten, 2018; Keisanen, Rauniomaa, & Haddington, 2014; Sutinen, 2014). In some situations, however, balancing with multiactivity becomes problematic and adjustments cannot be made, which leads to abandoning one or the other course of action in order to continue with the other only (Mondada, 2014c).

On the intrapersonal level, engagement with concurrent courses of actions/activities results into participant constantly enacting or displaying their current (rapidly changing) hierarchy of the activities she/he/they is involved at, i.e., which activity a person considers as prevailing, or the main activity, and which activity is considered as the side activity (Deppermann, 2014; Mondada, 2014c, in press). A postural indicator displaying the hierarchy between main and side activities and, thus, of person's interactional involvements in multiple ongoing or emerging courses of action/activities is the 'body torque', which is a type of postural configuration in which its bearer's body is torqued with the body sectors above the neck and below the waist facing divergent orientations (Schegloff, 1998). According to Schegloff (1998), in body torque, the lower and upper body indicate involvement in divergent activities: the lower body, i.e. the section below the waistline, indicates 'greater' interactional involvement into one,

the 'main,' activity and the section above the neck, indicates 'lesser' interactional involvement into another, the 'side', activity which, as an embedded activity, must be managed within framework of the main activity. Generally, whereas the body in the "straight ahead" orientation, i.e. on the orientation of the main activity, is relatively stable, body torque is relatively instable. (ibid.)

When it comes to the multimodal resources in organizing multiactivity in general, coordinating involvement in several courses of action requires allocating the multimodal resources into different activities. In practice, activities might mobilise complementary resources, such as gaze and hearing, which implies that the activities might be facilitated simultaneously (Mondada, 2014c). However, if the activities require similar multimodal resources, such as gaze, they cannot be managed simultaneously but, instead, they need to be managed successively if the engagement with multiple courses of action is maintained (ibid.).

According to Mondada (in press), whose remarks derive from spoken interaction, in most situations, one of the activities is organized verbally while the other is organized in embodied/manual way. Deppermann (2014), however, specifies this account by defining three different forms of intrapersonal coordination with simultaneous engagement in concurrent courses of action. According to him, multiactivity may be coordinated a) by allocating talk and hearing to one activity and manual action monitored by gaze to the other activity; b) by allocating talk and hearing to one activity and gaze (and pointing) to the other activity; or c) by allocating manual action to one activity and gaze (and talk and hearing) to the other activity (Deppermann, 2014, p. 264). Thus, vocal-auditive, visual and manual/embodied resources may be deployed in several combinations.

Until now, however, no studies have looked at signed language interpreting from the lens of multiactivity. Thus, little is known on multiactivity in bimodal interaction and, especially, how sign language interpreters, whose actions will be in focus in the upcoming chapters, encounter multiactivity in their work.

3 Signed language interpreting

Generally, in interpreted interaction, the interpreter's/interpreters' task is perceived as to ensure that people who do not have access to each other's languages come to understand the same 'message' (Napier, 2015; Napier & Goswell, 2013). In practice, however, making people understand each other is not solely on the interpreter's/interpreters' hands – on the contrary. Similarly to interaction in general in which participants orient to and cooperate in creating shared 'understanding', also in interpreted interaction interpreter's/interpreters' task is to work with the primary participants in creating 'understanding' and achieving effectively mediated interaction (Kurhila & Laakso, 2016; Turner, 2007). Thus, in interpreted situations interpreters are active participants who, as the outcome of their unique middle-position that gives them access to 'everything' that is being said in the situation, actively bring everybody in the process of meaning-making in order to achieve their interactional goals (Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000; Turner, 2007; Wadensjö, 1998).

Signed language interpreting is the facilitation of communication between parties who do not share the same language and whereby the interpretation happens between different signed languages or between signed and spoken language(s) (Bontempo, 2015). In this paper, the focus will be on the latter, more specifically on bimodal (Napier, 2011, 2015), also called intermodal (Laine, 2016; Tiittula & Hirvonen, 2015), signed language interpreting that happens between an auditory-oral spoken language, such as Finnish, and a visual-gestural signed language, such as FinSL (Jantunen, 2003; Malm & Östman, 2000; Meier, 2002). Characteristic to this type of interpreting is that the simultaneous technique is favoured in all contexts over the consecutive technique, which in practice implies that interpreter's renditions appear most of the time in parallel with the original utterances and not in alternation with the original utterances or 'passages' of interaction as in consecutive interpreting (Napier, 2015; Russell, 2005). In this paper, as well, simultaneous interpreting will be in focus.

In interpreted interaction, the interpreter is involved in two simultaneously present and inseparable aspects of interpreting: coordinating, i.e. managing the timing of turns and interaction between the primary participants, and relaying, i.e. producing 'renditions' of the participants' original utterances (Napier et al., 2010; Wadensjö, 1998).

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In interpreted interaction, interpreter coordinates the interaction implicitly through her/his/their renditions that take place every now and then and explicitly through the interpreter's 'non-renditions', i.e. through utterances that aim to coordinate participants' turn-taking, alleviate or explain the process of interpreting (Wadensjö, 1998). Renditions, on the other hand, are interpreter's translations of the participants' talk that appear in many relationships to the preceding participant's 'original' utterance (ibid.). In practice, both aspects are realized multimodally (see, e.g. Berge, 2018; Kinnunen, 2018; Krystallidou, 2016; Roy, 1992/2015, 1996; Russell, 2005).

In simultaneously interpreted interaction, interpreter's renditions that appear alongside, yet a bit after due to the interpreter's processing time, the participant's original utterances result into two somewhat separated conversations (or interactional spaces) (Kinnunen, 2018). In practice, however, if the participants' interaction breaks into smaller interactions, it might result into having even more conversations (or interactional spaces). Consequently, albeit persons' access to these conversations concerning the verbalized content may vary, interpreted interaction creates the possibility for everybody involved to align themselves, or to shape their participation framework (see, e.g. Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004), according to either one of the interactions, i.e. according to the original or the rendered interaction.

In practice, the presence of the interpreter(s) changes the interaction dynamics from an ordinary conversation in which participants may address each other directly. Whereas in an ordinary conversation, participants exchange turns directly with each other, in 'triadic' interpreted interaction with two participants and one interpreter, participants exchange turns with the interpreter in order to interact with each other (Metzger, 1999; Roy, 1992/2015, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998). Thus, if anything that would affect the order occurs, a participant's turn is followed by an interpreter's turn. According to Roy (1996, 2000), a participant's turn that is followed by interpreter's rendering turn, which leads to a transition of a speaker smoothly without any transitional problems is called a 'regular turn'.

In interpreted multi-party interaction, however, the communication dynamics differ from triadic interaction because participants are also able to engage in same-language interaction without the interpreter (Napier et al., 2010). Thus, in this type of interpreted interaction, only some participants at a time rely on the interpreter's renditions

while others have direct access to the original utterances (see Dickinson, 2017; Takimoto, 2009; Vargas-Urpi, 2015). Understandably, as the participants engaging same-language talk do not rely on the interpreter's coordination in regard to their turn-taking, in multidirectional multi-party interaction during a same-language talk, the interpreter holds a less central position in coordinating the interaction (Napier et al., 2010; Takimoto, 2009; Van Herreweghe, 2002).

In the ability to engage into the conversation without depending on the interpreter, lies also the danger of interpreted multi-party interaction: If the participants engaging in the same-language interaction keep conversing without attending to the interpreter's actions and whether she/he/they can "keep up" with the discussion, the rapid exchange of turns, that is characteristic to multi-party interaction, might lead to severe compromises in the interpreter's ability to render 'everything', which, consequently, might result into the access to information and the ability to engage in the interaction being hindered for the participants relying on the renditions (see e.g. Dickinson, 2017; Kinnunen, 2018; Napier et al., 2010; Takimoto, 2009; Van Herreweghe, 2002; Vargas-Urpi, 2015). Thus, in order to guarantee all participants equal opportunities to participate, in interpreted multi-party interaction it is crucial that all participants and interpreter(s) orient to working with each other especially during sequences of same-language interaction (Turner, 2007), and foreground the frame of interpreted interaction over frames that allow direct interaction with same-language speaking participants (see Metzger, 1999 for frames in interpreted interaction; Takimoto & Koshiba, 2009).

3.1 Team interpreting

Team interpreting, i.e. the use two or more interpreters in the same assignment, can take several forms depending on the characteristics of the interpreted interaction and on the interpreters' competencies. In this paper, bimodal signed language team interpreting of a team of two interpreters that works with the same language combination between a spoken and a signed language will be in focus.

Since team interpreting emerged as a practice in the field of signed language interpreting, the conceptualizations of team interpreting have evolved from perceiving

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team interpreting as a practice in which two 'solo' interpreters alternate interpreting turns to a somewhat hierarchical 'monitoring view,' in which one of the interpreters was responsible for rendering while the other monitored her/his/their output to ensure 'accuracy' in the interpretation, to a cooperative view in which team members work jointly responsible throughout the assignment (Hoza, 2010; Selin, 2002). Currently, there is an agreement between scholars and practitioners that competent and conscientious signed language team interpreting is grounded on shared responsibility and cooperativeness (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Napier et al., 2008; Selin, 2002; Selin-Grönlund, 2007). In practice this implies that the interpreters are jointly responsible for the assignment, share the responsibility of the interpreting process, pay attention to the output and enhance each other's renditions through support if required (Gajewski Mickelson & Gordon, 2015; Hoza, 2010; Russell, 2011; Selin, 2002).

Team interpreting is, however, not solely interpreters' process as, similarly to 'solo' interpreted encounters,' it also requires interpreters and participants working with each other, for example, in order to retain the order on turn-taking to guarantee all participants equal ground for participating (Mitchell, 2002; Van Herreweghe, 2002), to negotiate the meaning (Selin-Grönlund, 2007), or, as De Meulder et al. (2018) and Napier et al. (2008) describe, to achieve successful communication and representation of the 'deaf professional' (Hauser & Hauser, 2008). In practice, interpreters' and participants' cooperation may limit to cooperation on site, however, if the team interpreters practices clients' interests foregrounding 'expository interpreting' (Turner & Best, 2017), the participant(s), if only they are willing to (Kuronen, 2018), should be included into the discussions about the team's work also before and after the assignment in order to be able to provide interpreting that meets the needs of the participant(s) (see Holcomb, 2018).

When it comes to the pre-assignment discussions in relation to team interpreting, they may include content-related discussions as well as agreeing on the "work-division", support, prompts/cues with the interpreters and/or the participants, interpreter positioning and other practical matters (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Duflou, 2014; Napier et al., 2008; Napier et al., 2010). In this paper, however, apart from work-division that will be described next, the focus will be solely on the team interpreters' in situ actions.

3.1.1 The schema for work-division and turn changes

In 'solo' interpreting the assigned interpreter is alone responsible for rendering 'every-thing' and coordinating the interaction with the participants. In team interpreted inter-action, the situation differs as two (or more) interpreters are jointly responsible for the assignment. To avoid situations with only one interpreter responsible for interpreting 'everything' and to avoid overlapping work, such as rendering same participant's utter-ances by two (or more) interpreters at the same time, that would break the norm of having only one interpreter rendering one participant's turn at a time, the interpreter team must coordinate their work. This requires practices for negotiating, allocating and performing rendering turns (Duflou, 2014; Hoza, 2010; Napier et al., 2010), that is, the 'schema for work-division and turn changes,' that guides team interpreters' work dur-ing the course of interpreted interaction, must be agreed on.

In my previous study (Kuronen, 2018), I have conceptualized interpreters' ways of dividing the discourse and alternating rendering turns under the 'schema for work-division and turn changes.' Depending on the interpreters' stance (see Turner & Best, 2017), it may be agreed with or without participants. Generally, it guides team inter-preters' work by defining the responsibilities and the rotation of rendering turns within the team according to certain parts of the discourse. Consequently, it also defines the parts of the discourse interpreters are not in rendering responsibility. In practice, the schema for work-division and turn changes allows building a shared view on the work-ing practices, which alleviates predicting colleague's actions on site, thus, it liberates energy for other aspects of interpreting. In practice, the schema for work-division and turn changes is active alongside other frames, schemas and scripts during team inter-preting (see Metzger, 1999).

I would argue that in all team interpreted situations, some schema for work-divi-sion and turn changes is active; otherwise, interpreters' actions would be unorganized and random. However, with a familiar team in a familiar context the work-division might not at all times be explicitly agreed on, because there is an assumption of a shared framework (Duflou, 2014). Instead, interpreters might agree to work "like always" trusting that they share the same schema and they are able to adjust it on site if required. For novice interpreters, however, such ambiguous reference might pose difficulties if

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team interpreting practices are not yet learned and internalized as, generally, team interpreting is a skill that needs to be learned on practice (Duflou, 2014; Selin, 2002).

Albeit a comprehensive discussion is missing, based on anecdotal remarks in the literature, interpreters can, e.g., divide up their work according to the language direction so that one interpreter translates from one language to the other, and the other vice versa; by participants' roles, e.g., having one interpreter is responsible for rendering the lecturer and the other the audience; by speakers, so that some/each speaker gets a 'dedicated interpreter' who interprets all turns of that person; participants' turn-taking, so that interpreters alternate interpreting turns after each intervention regardless of the speaker; interpreter's linguistic competence; by gender to allocate a fitting "voice" to participant(s), or by interpreting 'everything', i.e. similarly to as in interpreting in solo interpreted situations with one interpreter at a time responsible for rendering all turns. Alternative means of changing turns that foreground either interpreters' or participants' needs, on the other hand, are, e.g., splitting the task in half, utilizing time-intervals as the means for turn changes, alternating turns based on interpreter's endurance, changing turn after each speaker's intervention or not changing turns at all. (Chmiel, 2008; Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Duflou, 2014; Holcomb, 2018; Hoza, 2010; Kuronen, 2018; Mitchell, 2002; Napier et al., 2008; Napier et al., 2010; Selin, 2002; Selin-Grönlund, 2007; Stone & Russell, 2014.)

Based on the literature, it seems that the work-division schemas may be deployed alone or in combination with other schemas (Duflou, 2014; Kuronen, 2018). If the latter practice is deployed, for example, by adopting a dedicated speaker's interpreter for the chair in addition to working according to participant's turn-taking for other participants in meetings, it implies turn changes between the interpreters happening also in two ways: no turn changes between the interpreters for the chair's turns and alternating after each participant's turn for all other participants. Thus, the schemas for turn changes may also appear in combination with other schemas.

In my pilot study (Kuronen, 2018), I have argued that it is crucial to consider the discourse and interpreters' competencies in relation to the discourse, i.e. the 'demands' (the matters that rise over significance in the situation) and 'controls' (the resources interpreters have at their disposal) (Dean & Pollard, 2013), before adopting a specific schema for work-division and turn changes. In practice, this requires analysis of the

discourse, i.e. whether it is monologic, dialogic or multidirectional, and interpreters' strengths, knowledge and familiarity with the matter or people. As the outcome of such an analysis, the team can share the workload fairly and allocate specific subtasks to the relevant specialist (Duflou, 2014). Most importantly, this practice enables providing versatile and needs-meeting team interpreting for the participants. For the interpreters, however, approaching work-division by foregrounding the discourse and interpreters' competencies over aiming for equally long rendering turns might imply that in interpreters might not be able to achieve interpreter-centric equality, if it is measured by the 'active' rendering time, in every assignment. In my view, the schema for work-division and turn changes is based firstly on consideration of the discourse and interpreters' competencies in relation to it, which only secondly leads to agreement on the turn changes (Figure 2). Thus, my work-division conceptualization differs from the 'traditional' (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Napier et al., 2010), yet criticised (Holcomb, 2018), way of agreeing on sharing the workload solely based on discussions of the length of the turn-interval without considering the discourse or the interpreters' competencies.
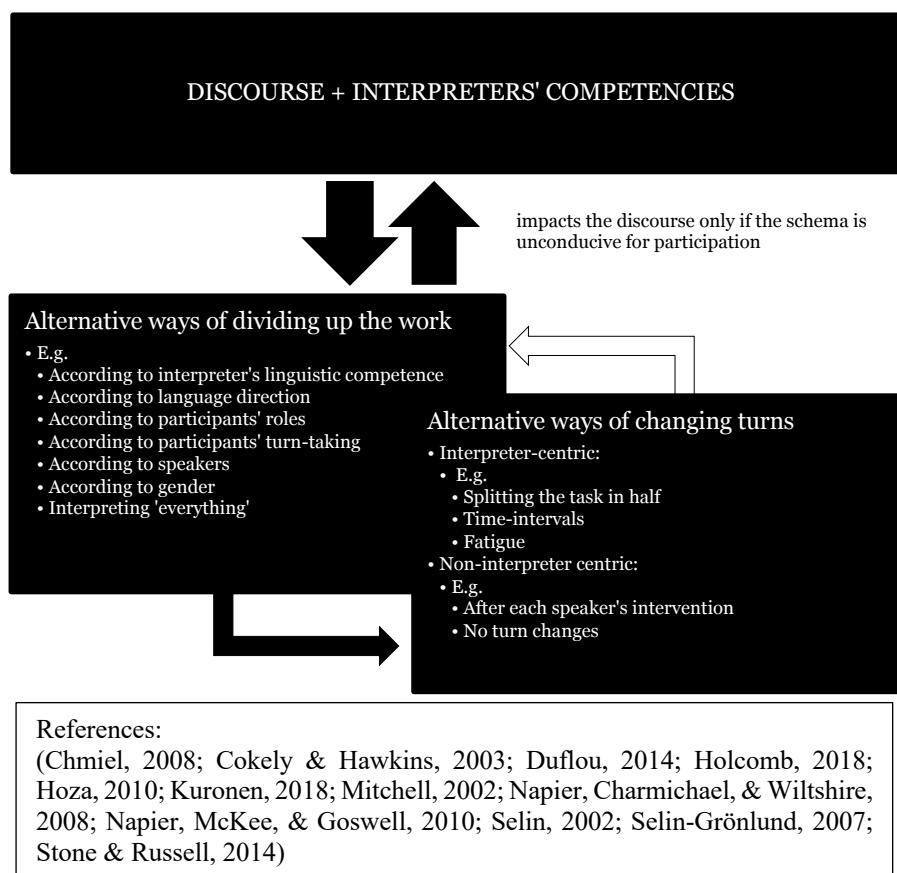

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impacts the discourse only if the schema is unconducive for participation

Alternative ways of dividing up the work
• E.g.
  • According to interpreter's linguistic competence
  • According to language direction
  • According to participants' roles
  • According to participants' turn-taking
  • According to speakers
  • According to gender
• Interpreting 'everything'

Alternative ways of changing turns
• Interpreter-centric:
  • E.g.
    • Splitting the task in half
    • Time-intervals
    • Fatigue
• Non-interpreter centric:
  • E.g.
    • After each speaker's intervention
    • No turn changes

References:
(Chmiel, 2008; Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Duflou, 2014; Holcomb, 2018; Hoza, 2010; Kuronen, 2018; Mitchell, 2002; Napier, Charmichael, & Wiltshire, 2008; Napier, McKee, & Goswell, 2010; Selin, 2002; Selin-Grönlund, 2007; Stone & Russell, 2014)

Figure 2. Work-division and turn change schemas

The schema for work-division and turn changes may and should be adjusted in situ if it proves unfunctional. In literature, a typical adjustment of the schema is shortening interpreters' rendering turns if the discourse unfolds itself complex and demanding (Duflou, 2014; Napier et al., 2010). Additionally, albeit the impact of discourse-directionality is seldom explicitly mentioned in the literature as a catalyst for adjustments of the work-division, in the literature there are indications that team interpreters adjust their working practices also according to the discourse by working differently in monologic, dialogic, and multidirectional discourse (see e.g. De Meulder et al., 2018; Duflou, 2014; Gajewski Mickelson & Gordon, 2015; Holcomb, 2018; Hoza, 2010; Kuronen, 2018). In practice, this may happen by the team changing their 'constellation' of having one rendering[7] and one non-rendering interpreter in monologic discourse, which better enables ensuring 'accuracy' in the renditions as one of the interpreters may concentrate on monitoring the rendering interpreter's output or having two rendering interpreters in dialogic/multidirectional interaction, which better allows rendering participants' discussions and their overlapping contributions.

For the team interpreters, adjusting work-division to meet the demands of discourse may reduce the strain of interpreting, however, its impact on the participants' interaction should not be neglected either. For example, if interpreters deploy a work-division, which allows having more than one rendering interpreters for different participants at the same time, in dialogic talk, participants are able to see/hear different participants' "voices" via the different interpreters' renditions, which makes the interpreting less "monotonic" compared to having only one interpreter responsible for rendering 'everything.' Additionally, such working practice may contribute positively to participants' turn-taking, because if one interpreter is already involved with rendering one participant's turn, the other interpreter may render the turn-bidding of another

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[7] In this paper, I have adopted Sforza's (2014) terminology, namely 'rendering' and 'non-rendering' interpreter, to refer to the interpreters' involvements during team interpreting. In my perception, these terms are not interconnected, which implies that both interpreters may be (non-)rendering interpreters or they may form a pair of rendering and non-rendering interpreter. I have opted for these terms because I find other terms, such as active/lead/primary/on/feed and support/monitor/second(ary)/passive/off (Bontempo, 2015; Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Duflou, 2014; Gajewski Mickelson & Gordon, 2015; Holcomb, 2018; Hoza, 2010; Napier et al., 2010; Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, 2007; Selin, 2002), valuing one interpreter over the other and, as will be seen in the subsequent chapters, insufficient in covering interpreters' in situ actions.

participant and, thus, the participant is not entirely reliant solely on the rendering interpreter's actions (Holcomb, 2018; Mitchell, 2002).

3.1.2 One team, various responsibilities

In practice, there are two roles, namely rendering and non-rendering interpreter, in which an interpreter may work during team interpreting. Depending on the work-division and the discourse, a team of two interpreters may work in different constellations within the team, i.e. they may both be (non-)rendering interpreters or they may form a pair of a rendering and a non-rendering interpreter.

In the team interpreting literature, the rendering interpreter's primary, and almost solely, responsibility seems to be rendering participant's utterances (Holcomb, 2018; Napier et al., 2010; Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, 2007; Selin, 2002). Additionally, in order to ensure 'accuracy' in the output, the rendering interpreter can, however, request support from the non-rendering interpreter (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Duflou, 2014; Selin, 2002). In practice, talk and/or embodied resources, such as gaze, face expression, silence, prosodic features, and also 'leaning' towards the non-rendering interpreter (if the interpreters sit next to each other) are used to indicate need for support (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; De Meulder et al., 2018; Selin, 2002; Selin-Grönlund, 2007). To assure that all interaction is rendered, the rendering interpreter may also prompt the non-rendering interpreter to start rendering if the non-rendering interpreter is unalert and would otherwise miss her/his/their turn (Selin-Grönlund, 2007), which implies that the rendering interpreter is also alert for transforming into a non-rendering interpreter (Selin, 2002).

The non-rendering interpreter is responsible for monitoring participants' requests to take the floor and, depending on the interpreters' work-division, is alert for becoming a rendering interpreter (Selin, 2002; Selin-Grönlund, 2007). Additionally, she/he/they monitors the 'accuracy' of colleague's renditions and supports (with/without request) the rendering interpreter using various multimodal resources, for example, by prompting unclear or missed information thus aiming for completing, expanding or correcting the output (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Holcomb, 2018; Napier et al., 2010; Registry of

Interpreters for the Deaf, 2007; Selin, 2002). During colleague's rendering turn, the non-rendering interpreter also assures the rendering interpreter, and other participants that interpreting is going well and the translation solutions are correct (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; De Meulder et al., 2018; Napier et al., 2008; Selin, 2002; Stone & Russell, 2014). Additionally, the non-rendering interpreter might be responsible for other matters, such as holding the materials, making notes, and paying attention to linguistic choices in order to prepare for the upcoming rendering turn (Napier et al., 2010; Selin, 2002; Selin-Grönlund, 2007). Thus, apart from a short break in the beginning of the turn that is required in order to recover from the rendering turn, contrary to practices attested in spoken language team interpreting (see Chmiel, 2008; Duflou, 2014), in signed language team interpreting, the non-rendering interpreter is actively involved in the interaction throughout her/his/their turn (Selin-Grönlund, 2007).

When it comes to the coordinating aspect of interpreters' work in team interpreted interaction, interestingly, the matter has not been addressed in detail in the literature. For the reason that implicit coordination is an intrinsic part of rendering, it may, however, be assumed that it happens also in team interpreting through the rendering interpreter's renditions. Regarding explicit coordination, however, it seems that the rendering and the non-rendering interpreter may both be involved in turn-organisation with the participants. De Meulder et al. (2018) and Napier et al. (2008), for example, document that the rendering and the non-rendering interpreter at different times participate in coordinating the interaction, by nodding to the to the deaf presenter who has established a mutual eye contact with the interpreter(s) to cue that it is possible for the presenter to continue or by prompting that the more time is needed in order to deliver the rendition.

3.2.3 Turn management in situ

When it comes to performing the turn changes on site, anecdotal remarks point out that it happens in signed language interpreting with little observable behaviour using verbal and manual/embodied interaction. In practice, the non-rendering interpreter seems to be most commonly responsible for assuring timely transitions and initiating the turn

change, for example, by walking close to the lead interpreter in platform settings or lifting up the pile of papers to indicate a moment of turnaround (Napier et al., 2010; Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, 2007; Selin, 2002). Additionally, Gajewski Mickelson and Gordon (2015), note that in situ turn management may be performed using phrases like "I take it" or handing over/taking the microphone. The latter, however, might also be seen as a support request, as well.

In unidirectional spoken language conference interpreting, turn management has, however, been studied more thoroughly. According to Duflou (2014), in booth actions, such as negotiating, agreeing or performing turn changes, initiate a 'side activity' alongside the 'main activity' (or dominant activity) of rendering the multilingual interaction in the meeting room, which implies that an additional interaction is initiated for negotiating on the turns on site. In practice, in the interpreting booth turn changes are performed primarily in embodied means in order to reserve talk for rendering during participants' interaction. In her study, no visible behaviour was attested between team interpreters in "clear" turn changes, i.e., when only one interpreter was able to render the turn from a specific language. In situations where explicit turn management was required, however, the rendering interpreter suggested a turn change to the monitor interpreter or alternatively, as was more common, the non-rendering interpreter offered a turn change, which the rendering interpreter accepted (or momentarily rejected). In practice, after establishing mutual gaze with the non-rendering interpreter who had directed her/his/their gaze towards the rendering around the agreed turnaround time, the rendering interpreter gave consent to the turn change by nodding or rejected it by shaking the head, pouting lips, or by raising a hand. (ibid.)

3.2 Overlapping talk in interpreted interaction

Albeit one fundamental feature of social interaction is that in single conversations people take turns and talk one at a time in a remarkably orderly way, in signed and spoken interaction participants still frequently overlap in their talk (Girard-Groeber, 2015; Kurtic, Brown, & Wells, 2013; Schegloff, 2000). Generally, in ordinary conversations invariant to the number of participants present, when more than one person is talking

at a time, two persons are talking as it seems that talk by more than two is reduced to two (or to one) talking even more effectively than two participants' talk is reduced to one (Schegloff, 2000). One generic feature of overlapping talk is that although some overlaps last a longer time, most overlaps are over very quickly after the moment when participants recognize that their talk overlaps and a person withdraw from speaking. In practice, overlapping talk may occur when several participants overlap in their talk, i.e. in 'choral' overlaps, which may be attested, for example, in greetings, leave-takings or congratulations (Schegloff, 2000). Additionally, it may occur in 'terminal overlaps', i.e. in transitions between turns (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2000). Overlapping talk may also appear in 'continuers', i.e. in minimal feedback of others or it may happen, for example, in word-searches or when the participants collaboratively construct an utterance, i.e. in 'conditional access to the turn' (Schegloff, 2000, 2001).

When it comes to the modality-specific issues related to overlapping talk, albeit the generic features of overlapping talk are modality-free, signed and spoken interaction differ from each other; in spoken interaction overlapping talk constitutes noise, which is not the case for signed interaction (Coates & Sutton-Spence, 2001; Girard-Groeber, 2015). Thus, the resources related to listening place limitations into what can be seen/heard as contrary to spoken contributions, which can be heard from 'anywhere', signed interaction is only limited to a person's visual field (Coates & Sutton-Spence, 2001; McIlvenny, 1995). This implies that a co-participant's overlapping talk might not be recognized by others, typically for the listeners of the current turn (Coates & Sutton-Spence, 2001), at all, if a contribution falls beyond their visual field.

When it comes to overlapping talk in simultaneously interpreted interaction, there are two types of overlapping, or simultaneous, talk: the overlapping/simultaneous talk, that in simultaneously interpreted interaction is the outcome of the participant's turn's and the interpreter's rendering turn's parallel existence, and the participants' overlapping talk. In this paper, the focus will be on the latter.

Generally, participants' overlapping talk in interpreted interaction poses a challenge for the interpreter as she/he/they is only able to render one participant's turn at a time (Mitchell, 2002; Napier et al., 2010; Roy, 1992/2015, 1996, 2000; Takimoto, 2009; Van Herreweghe, 2002, 2005). In practice, this results from the interpreter's ability to render only one participant's turn at a time and from the fact that it is impossible to

listen to two (or more than two) participants while rendering, i.e. talking, yourself (Roy, 2000). Thus, with several simultaneously occurring turns, the interpreter has to decide how to proceed with the overlapping talk. If participants overlap in their talk, according to Roy (1992/2015, p. 308), interpreters have four ways of resolving the situation:

a) The interpreter can stop one or both speakers and, in that way, halt the turn of one speaker, allowing the other speaker to continue. If the interpreter stops both speakers, it is possible that one of the primary speakers will decide who talks next, not the interpreter.

b) The interpreter can momentarily ignore one speaker's overlapping talk, hold the segment of talk from that speaker, continue interpreting the other speaker, and then produce the "held" talk immediately following the end of the other speaker's turn. Decisions about holding talk in one's memory lie within the interpreter's ability to do so and the interpreter's judgment regarding the importance or impact of the talk that was held.

c) The interpreter can ignore the overlapping talk completely.

d) The interpreter can momentarily ignore the overlapping talk, and upon finishing the interpretation of one speaker offer a turn to the other primary speaker or indicate in some way that a turn was attempted.

These options demonstrate that interpreters have several ways of resolving participants' overlapping talk. Albeit the interpreter generally solves the situations with overlapping talk in the favour of the participants and the progression of the interaction (Roy, 1992/2015, 1996, 2000), these resolutions do not, however, treat participants or their turns equally as the decision of "who gets to talk" lies very much in the hands of the interpreter as only in the option a, if the interpreter decides to stop both speakers, the participants may resolve the overlapping talk themselves. In all other overlap-resolutions it is the interpreter who decides when and who, if any, gets to talk. This demonstrates that during participants' overlapping talk interpreters hold significant power.

Team interpreting may, however, alleviate solving participants' overlapping talk in situations where the number of participants overlapping in their talk matches with the number of interpreters in the team. Mitchell (2002), points out that having two

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interpreters rendering different participants' turns enables a more equal participation in multidirectional interaction, because during participants' overlapping talk instead of having only one interpreter rendering 'everything', and thus resolving the overlapping talk alone while the other focuses on monitoring or resting, in situations with two team interpreters and two participants talking, the interpreters may render different participants' contributions. Thus, interpreters' work-division may also play a role in resolving participants' overlapping talk and in practice, if there are two rendering interpreters for rendering two participants' dialogic interaction it may result into interpreters not confronting overlapping talk in such sequences. Consequently, in interpreted interaction, with a work-division that allows having several rendering interpreters "problematically" overlapping participants talk occurs only when the participants outnumber the rendering interpreters (as is true for 'solo' interpreted interaction as well).

In bimodal signed language interpreting, the modalities of the language also play a role in what gets interpreted. In triadic interpreted interaction, it is relatively easy to recognise overlapping talk, especially, if they occur in different modalities for the reason that the interpreter is able to attend to all participants relatively easily (Roy, 2000). In multi-party interaction, however, the situation might differ because in bimodal interpreting the interpreter might not be aware of all overlapping talk as, contrary to speech, which can be heard without directing ears to the speaker, signing can only be seen if a signer is in the person's visual field, as was elaborated earlier (Coates & Sutton-Spence, 2001). Thus, in bimodal interpreted interaction, it may be that the interpreter is aware of overlapping spoken contributions but not of the signed contributions that are not in the interpreter's sight. Consequently, if the signing participants do not pay specific attention in the form of establishing mutual gaze with the interpreter, that is the requirement for being listened in signed interaction (Baker, 1977), or check that the interpreter is available for rendering, or the interpreter does not make the challenges of rendering overlapping interaction clear to the participants in general (Van Herreweghe, 2002, 2005), their turns may not be translated because the interpreter's/interpreters' attention is elsewhere.

Lastly, what constitutes overlapping talk for the interpreter, however, differs slightly from its general definition. Albeit in interpreted interaction overlapping talk may occur in its traditional sense within a single conversation, as is the situation

reported in Roy (1992/2015, 1996, 2000), for example, in interpreted multi-party inter-action simultaneously occurring talk may also result from multi-party interaction break-ing into different interactions as conversations over four participants are prone to break into smaller conversations (Schegloff, 2000). Thus, in multi-party interaction, the in-terpreter may face a situation of dealing with simultaneous talk that, in the eyes of the interpreter, is problematically overlapping participants' talk although it originates from different conversations.

4 Data & Research Methodology

Workplace meetings form a context of interaction that has received growing interest from CA scholars (Svennevig, 2012); however, in the field of sign language interpreting (workplace) meetings are seldom studied from a micro-analytical perspective. Until now, only Van Herreweghe (2002, 2005) has studied team interpreted meetings, i.e. multidirectional multi-party interaction, micro-analytically focusing on turn-taking and turn-allocation mechanisms. However, as her study focused on the interaction between the interpreter(s) and the participants, and all other remarks on team interpreters' work-division and its realisation in situ in the field of signed language interpreting are anecdotal and derive from practitioners' narratives on team interpreted interaction (e.g. De Meulder et al., 2018; Gajewski Mickelson & Gordon, 2015; Hoza, 2010; Napier et al., 2008; Napier et al., 2010; Selin, 2002; Stone & Russell, 2014), little is known how team interpreters coordinate their work within the team in multidirectional multi-party interaction in situ and, additionally, what implications do the interpreters' actions have on the participants' interaction. To elucidate the matter, this study focuses on finding answers to the following research questions:

1) *How do team interpreters coordinate their work intrapersonally and interpersonally in team interpreted multidirectional multi-party interaction?*
2) *What implications do the team interpreters' actions have for the participants' interaction and the interpreters' work?*

In order to find answers to the above-mentioned questions, I video recorded two team interpreted workplace meetings of the same (extended) working group in a multilingual organization in which Finnish and FinSL belong to the repertoire of working languages and applied CA methods to the data analysis. The meetings were naturally occurring, which implied that they would have taken place even without research interests and, thus, were suitable CA data collection (Mondada, 2013a; ten Have, 2007). CA was selected as the approach for data analysis because as an inductive and data-driven approach interested in the endogenic organization of social interaction it provided a way of revealing team interpreters' in situ practices as they occur on a moment-by-

moment level (ten Have, 2007; Vatanen, 2016). Thus, it was a suitable approach for answering how interpreters intrapersonally and interpersonally coordinate their in situ actions.

Additionally, albeit it is atypical for CA studies to ask participants to explain their interaction because much of it happens unconsciously (Sidnell, 2013; Vatanen, 2016), to alleviate analysis of the interpreters' work-division and its realization in situ and in order to know whether the interpreters had an explicitly agreed work-division schema, the data set was substantiated with interpreters' written post-assignment notes about their pre-assignment discussions regarding their work-division. Interpreters were requested to describe their pre-assignment discussions in their preferred medium (e.g. SMS or e-mail). Out of the four interpreters, three, i.e. Interpreters B, C and D, answered. For the reason that this additional set of data served to explain interaction and the participants' practices, the applied methodology was not 'pure', but rather 'applied' CA (Mondada, 2013a; ten Have, 2007). However, in order to understand interpreters' actions and the schema(s) guiding their work, this departure was necessary.

Subsequent chapters focus on describing the data and the research methodology on a more detailed level. Chapter 4.1. describes the process of booking interpreters, 4.2. the meetings, 4.3. the data selection and, lastly, 4.4. describes the process of analysis.

4.1 Booking interpreters

To ensure that the interpreters were familiar with each other and willing to participate the study, after receiving consent from the organization and the participants (see Appendix 2 and 3), it was agreed that I would organize the required two interpreter teams to the meetings as there were no interpreters booked in either of the meetings. The interpreters were recruited using convenience sampling (Hale & Napier, 2013) and I used personal knowledge in finding experienced interpreters who were familiar with each other, the topic, participants and the organization. Interpreters' familiarity with each other as team interpreters was paramount to limit miscommunication and 'unconducive' team interpreting practices that might result from team members' unfamiliarity with each other (see Mitchell, 2002). Additionally, the criteria aimed for providing

participants high-standard team interpreting so they would not have to adjust their interaction due to the interpreters' lack of proficiency or knowledge regarding the participants, organization and the topic.

Based on my knowledge, I listed suitable interpreters, contacted four of them and asked for their consent to participate in the study. Of these interpreters, two were available and willing to participate in the study; however, they were available at different dates. To recruit colleagues with whom they would feel comfortable working, I requested both interpreters to name some preferred colleagues, which added a probabilistic aspect to the interpreter selection process. After receiving information from both interpreters, I approached two of the proposed interpreters and asked their willingness and availability to participate in the study. Since both interpreters gave their consent, two teams of two interpreters were recruited. The four recruited interpreters, whose working experience ranged from almost 10 to over 20 years, matched the profile of a typical, yet experienced, sign language interpreter in Finland; they are native Finnish speakers and non-native FinSL signing females (Hynynen et al., 2010; Selin-Grönlund, 2007).

The interpreters agreed to interpret pro bono; however, it was agreed that I would present the results of this study at their agencies later. After completion of the process, the information of the interpreter teams was passed on to the participants via a contact person who was delighted of having competent interpreters for their meetings (participant, personal communication, March 18, 2019). This spontaneous comment could be seen as a validation that the recruited interpreters were suitable for the situation.

4.2 The meetings

The meetings took place in a rectangular meeting room with U-shaped tables facing the whiteboard. The presenter's table with a computer connected to the video projector was in front of the screen. The participants sat behind the U-shaped tables with the chair sitting or the primary presenter standing via the presenter's table. The interpreters positioned themselves close to the other end of the U-shaped tables via the whiteboard.

Meeting A (Figure 3, set up describes the positioning during the selected data) was interpreted by Interpreters A and B. It lasted 1,5 hours and consisted of face-to-face interaction among peers. There was an almost equal distribution between people speaking Finnish (3 participants), signing FinSL (5 participants), and participants who switched between these two languages (3 participants). Meeting A was relatively informal with a mixture of allocated turns and speakers' self-selection (Svennevig, 2012). It was chaired by a Finnish speaking person who was primarily responsible for opening and closing topics, writing minutes, and relatively uninvolved with turn-allocation. During the selected sequence of interaction analysed for this paper, however, an invited FinSL signer participant 1 (henceforth: P1) took responsibility for turn-allocation regarding the topic under discussion.
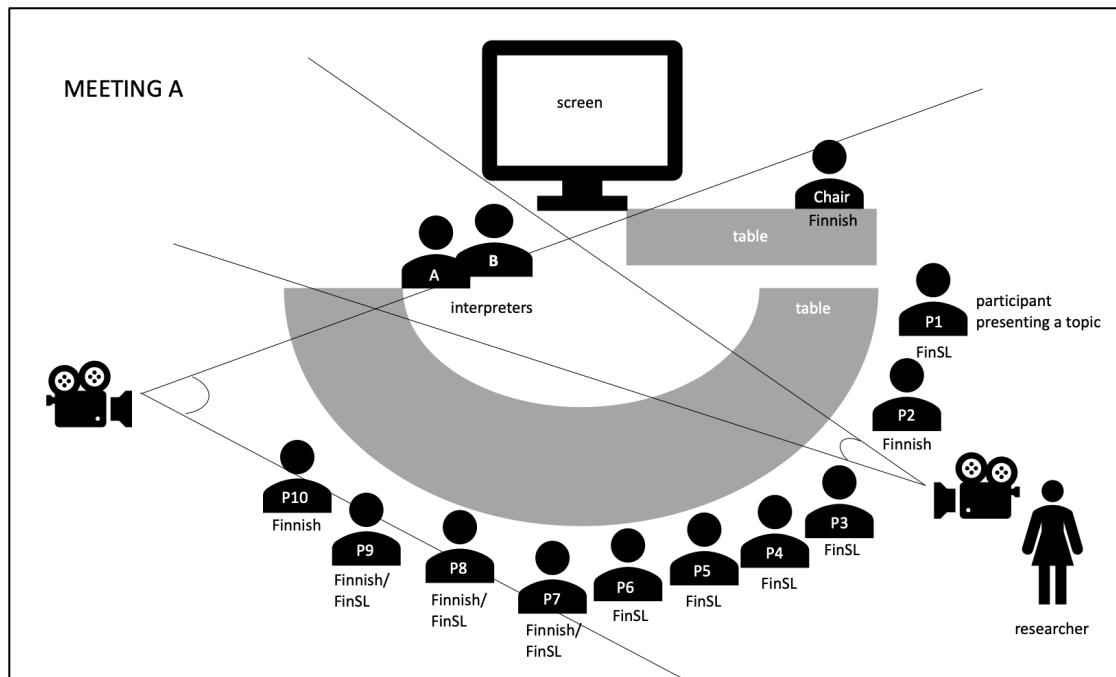
Figure 3. Meeting A

Meeting B (Figure 4, p. 32, set up describes the positioning during the selected data) lasted 1,5 hours and consisted of face-to-face interaction among peers and a topic that was discussed via Skype with a manager. It was interpreted by Interpreters C and D. It was also chaired by a Finnish speaking person involved mostly in opening and closing topics and in writing minutes. Apart from the first pre-allocated turn at the beginning of a new topic, however, the chair took no responsibility for turn-allocation. As

the outcome, the interaction approximated conversational interaction even more than in Meeting A with extensive self-selection and current speaker/signer allocating the next turn (Svennevig, 2012). In this meeting, participants used predominantly FinSL (6 participants). One participant used Finnish, and two participants alternated between FinSL and Finnish.
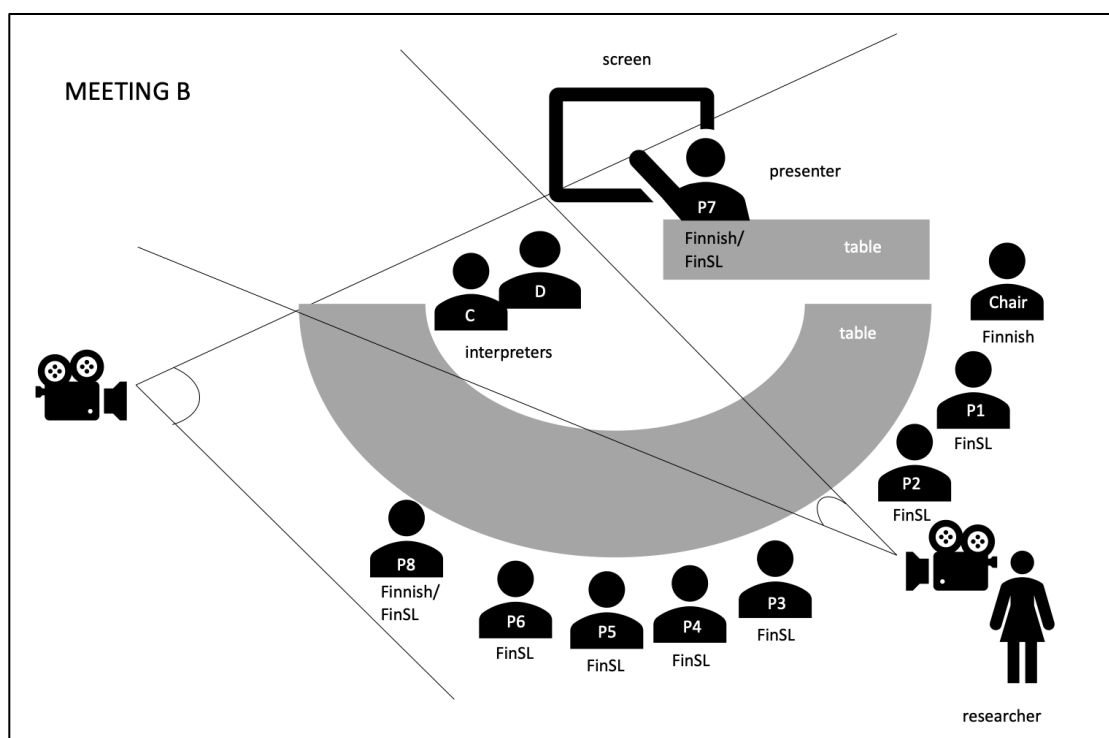
Figure 4. Meeting B

I video recorded both meetings with a similar setup. Canon EOS 700D with a Canon EFS 18-135mm f/3.5-5.6 IS STM objective and an external Røde VideoMic Rycote microphone on a tripod filmed the interpreters and a Canon EOS M50 camera with a 167° Sigma 10mm f/2.8 EX DC Diagonal Fisheye HSM objective on a tripod filmed (most) participants in Meeting A, however, to better allow analysis of all participants' and interpreters' actions as they occur in relation to each other, in Meeting B the camera angle was adjusted to film all participants and interpreters.

When it comes to the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972) present in situations aiming to record 'natural' data in non-natural settings, it seems that my or the cameras' presence did not affect the interaction in general. Apart from a short interaction with P3 asking whether everything is ok and whether I had remembered to press the

recording button at the beginning of Meeting A, participants or interpreters did not pay attention to my presence after the meeting had begun. In Meeting B, after entering the room, noticing cameras and myself as the researcher, participants or interpreters did not pay attention to the recording. After the meeting, for example, Interpreters C and D stated that they had forgotten being filmed the moment the meeting began.

After the meetings, participants' and interpreters' consent regarding the recorded data was requested to ensure that the participants knew the content of the filmed inter-action they gave their consent to (see Appendix 3). Additionally, this practice enabled participants (and interpreters) to retrospectively point out delicate moments they would like to exclude from the analysis (see Mondada, 2014a). In practice, some participants indicated parts of the discussion they wanted to exclude from the data.

4.3 Data selection

After excluding the data that was labelled delicate by some participants, the data selection was directed by technical matters and the interactional structure of the meetings. Only 12:47 minutes from the beginning of Meeting A was recorded without distractions and by both cameras. It can be assumed that the participants and interpreters needed some time to get accustomed to the being recorded. Thus, the first topicalized stretch of talk (4 minutes) from the beginning of the meeting was excluded and 08:47 min. of talk that was linked to one topic was chosen for analysis.

Meeting B was recorded in full length apart from the short moments related to replacing the SD card in the camera filming all interaction. However, not all of the data was suitable for the analysis due to the interactional structure; the meeting contained approximately one hour of video-mediated and approximately 30 minutes face-to-face interpreted interaction, which meant that only the last 30 minutes of the data were ap-propriate for this study that focuses on face-to-face interpreted interaction. Of this data, 09:31 min. of discussion that approximated the length of the data from Meeting A and contained one topic-related stretch of talk was selected for analysis.

4.4 Analysis

As CA generally is a data-driven and inductive method, the data analysis developed gradually during the process, as is common for qualitative studies in general (Kiviniemi, 2018; Vatanen, 2016). The data was approached with CA methods, and the results of the study were derived through the phases of observation, identifying and collecting phenomenon and describing practices (Sidnell, 2013). The data selected for this study were analysed using ELAN, which allows multimodal analysis and creating time coded annotations into video-recorded data.

Firstly, as it is advisable in transcripts to change the identifying details (ten Have, 2007), participants and interpreters were given code names based on their positioning in the meeting room (see Figures 3 and 4). The interpreters in Meeting A were identified as Interpreters A and B, and on Meeting B, Interpreters C and D. Participants were identified using numbers, such as P1, P2, etc.

To contextualise team interpreters' actions and to gain an understanding of the organization of the participants' talk that was being interpreted, participants' turn-bidding, turn-allocating and verbalized turns were annotated for their duration. Additionally, to enable an analysis of interpreters' actions during the overlapping talk, turns (or parts of a turn) that were not rendered, i.e. 'zero renditions' (Wadensjö, 1998), were annotated for their duration. These actions enabled also building an understanding of the overall structure of the meetings; of Meeting A's 48 total turns, 28% (9) were manually/verbally allocated and 22% (11) bid, in Meeting B, of the 92 turns, only 5% (5) were manually/verbally allocated and 17% (16) bid. In addition, in Meeting A there were 9 complete turns that were not rendered and in Meeting B 21 zero renditions (10 complete and 11 partial), which resulted from interpreters' involvements in rendering/monitoring other participants' turn and other participants' turns falling outside their visual field. Alternatively, some turns were not rendered because they were simultaneously signed and spoken, inaudible or because they involved "backstage activity," such as sign corrections.

The interpreters' actions were analysed and annotated in detail. However, in the analysis the 'accuracy' of their renditions was not in focus. Firstly, the interpreters' involvement in rendering, i.e. in producing renditions either in Finnish or in FinSL, or

non-rendering was annotated to enable an analysis of how the interpreters' cooperation was organized. This led to having, 93 rendering and 93 non-rendering turns for analysis (Table 1). One rendering turn of an interpreter can contain several turns by the same participant when a participant gave minimal feedback and continued to comment after a short or it can contain several participants' turns if an interpreter rendered several participants' turns in a row.

Table 1. (Non)-rendering turns in Meetings A and B

Meeting	A, 8 min 47 s		B, 9 min 31 s		18 min 18 s
Interpreter	A	B	C	D	total
rendering	18	18	28	29	93
non-rendering	18	19	27	29	93

To enable an analysis of the interpreters' involvements in different activities as a rendering or non-rendering interpreter, speech and embodied resources, i.e. gaze, hands, head and torso movements were annotated in detail for their actions. Additionally, non-discernible auditory resources were annotated based on whether someone was speaking (see Figure 5, which illustrates tiers and annotations for Chair and Interpreter A).
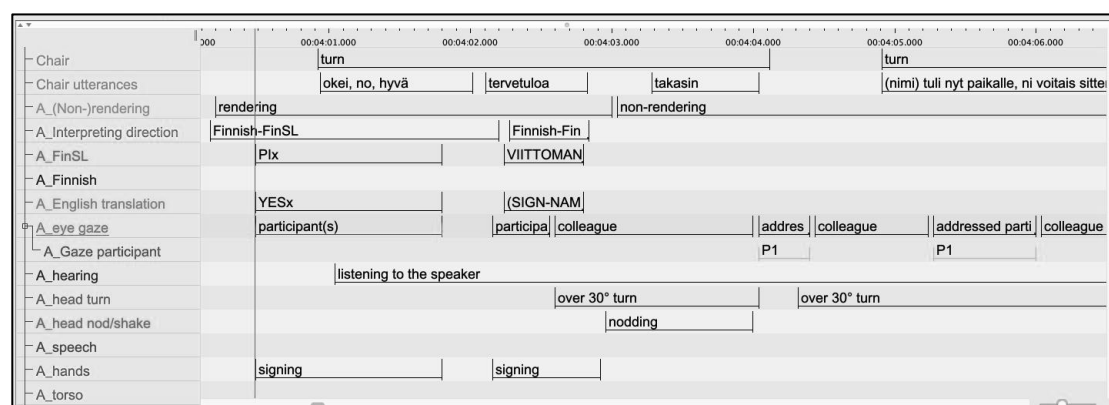
Figure 5. ELAN tiers[8]

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[8] Due to the complexity of the interaction studied in this paper, only relevant information is shown in the excerpts (see also Appendix 1 Transcription conventions).

The analysis of these resources enabled building understanding of the interpreter's actions. After raw analysis, the scope of the study was limited to looking at interpreters' actions within the team, i.e. how interpreters' rendering (and non-rendering) turns (and other interpreters' actions) take place when one, two, or more participants engaged in interaction, which allowed formulating the final research questions.

After this, representative cases during one or several participants talk, and situations in which additional turn management was required, were selected to illustrate interpreters' actions. For these excerpts, the verbalized content that was undescribed in the previous phases was added and interpreters' renditions and participants' interaction were transcribed verbatim for the Finnish utterances and glossed[9] in Finnish for the FinSL utterances. Additionally, English translation and English glosses were added to the interpreters' renditions, respectively. For the reason that the study focused primarily on interpreters' actions, and that in CA *what* is being said is not central to the analysis (Lilja, 2018), and in order to retain the readability in the excerpts that consisted of several tiers of verbalized interaction and interpreters' embodied conduct, participants' utterances were left without translations and glossing into English.

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[9] Glosses are short translations of a sign to a spoken language and they do not contain information about the form of the sign (Crasborn, 2015). They are used because there is no established writing system for signed interaction.

5 Findings

In the data studied for this paper, teams differed in their work-division. In Meeting A interpreters had explicitly agreed to work "as always", which implied working according to participants' turn-taking and, thus, changing rendering turns after each participants' turn (Interpreter B, personal communication, April 2, 2019). In Meeting B, interpreters did not have an a priori agreed work-division, instead, they worked "as they were used to", which resulted in having a dedicated speaker's interpreter for P7 and working according to participants' turn-taking when other participants' turns were concerned (Interpreter D, personal communication, April 9, 2019; Interpreter C, personal communication May 7, 2019). This implied that interpreters allocated a "voice" for the presenter (P7) and did not change rendering turns when P7's turns were concerned but they alternated rendering turns after each other participant's turn. Apart from nine rendering turns that consisted of rendering several participants' turns in a row, out of which two resulted from Interpreter C rendering one participant's turn and proceeding as the dedicated speaker's interpreter to render the presenter's turn, in addition to two turns in which an interpreter was about to render two participants' turns in a row but abandoned rendering in the beginning of the turn both interpreter teams followed their work-division (for abandoned rendering turns, see chapter 5.3). Out of these 11 turns, four occurred in Meeting A and seven in Meeting B. Generally, all interpreters were involved in such incidences.

The next chapters will take a more thorough look at how interpreters coordinated their work in situ in the multidirectional multi-party interaction. In the upcoming chapters, the focus will be on the basic principles of the interpreters' working practices during various types of interaction. Firstly, the focus will be on the basic mechanics of the interpreters' work-division during single-participant talk and two-participant dialogues. Secondly, the focus will be turned to situations in which "problematically" overlapping participants' talk occurs. After this, team interpreters' turn management on site will be studied. At this point, however, it should be stated that what will follow is a small aspect of what the data could reveal as in practice analysing multidirectional multi-party interaction as interpreted interaction with two interpreters results into numerous layers of activities and coordination each of which should be given justice on its own.

5.1 Team interpreting in multidirectional multi-party interaction

In practice, the multidirectional interaction in combination with the interpreters' work-division schema(s) resulted into rapid alternation of interpreters' rendering and non-rendering turns. During situations in which one participant was talking and no support or additional interaction was required, one of the interpreters, i.e. the rendering interpreter, was responsible for rendering the current turn while the non-rendering interpreter alternated between monitoring the 'rendered' and the 'original' interaction (i.e. the conversation between participants) and its progression. The non-rendering interpreter focused typically on monitoring the current participant's turn and/or its rendition in the beginning of the turn and switched to monitoring the likely next contributor(s) when the turn was approaching/at its TRP. In multi-TCU turns this resulted into a successive alternation between different forms of monitoring (see Figure 1, p. 38). In practice, the non-rendering interpreters, who differed in their monitoring patterns to some extent, seemed to demonstrate sensitivity to the progression of the interaction during monitoring the audience for the upcoming contributions as they focused on monitoring persons likely to contribute to the interaction, i.e. they paid attention to the addressed, previous, turn-bidding, and/or the presenter/turn-allocating participant(s). For example, Interpreter C focused on monitoring the current signer, the previous signer, and the turn-bidding participant during her non-rendering turn when Interpreter D was rendering from FinSL to Finnish:
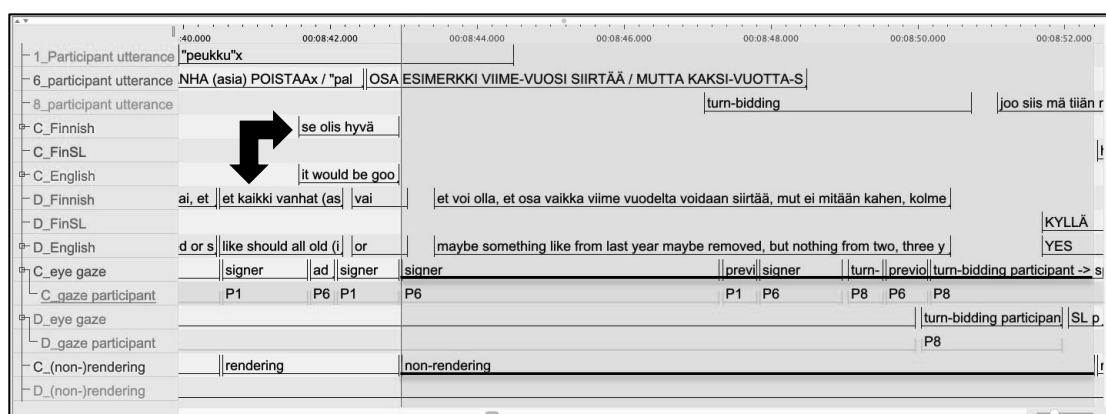
Figure 6. Monitoring during FinSL-Finnish rendering turn (Meeting B, 00:08:40)

Alternatively, during a Finnish-FinSL rendering turn, the non-rendering interpreter A alternated between monitoring colleague's output and the audience:
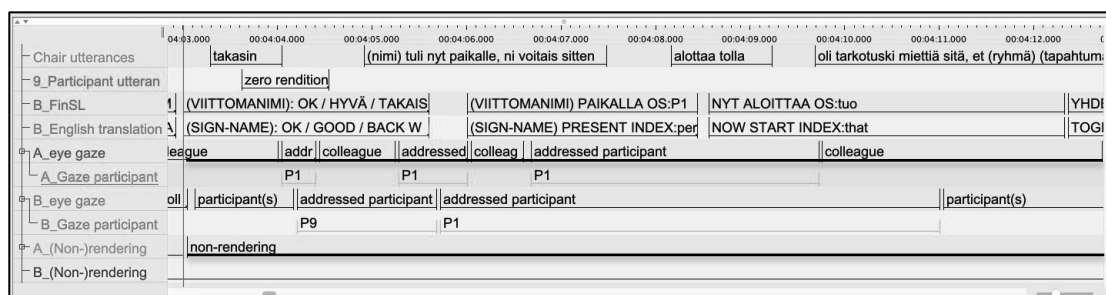
Figure 7. Monitoring during Finnish-FinSL rendering turn (Meeting A, 00:04:03)

The non-rendering interpreter's focus on monitoring the likely subsequent contributors demonstrates sensitivity towards the progression of the interaction in the team interpreted interaction. This practice likely resulted from the interpreters' work-division(s) that typically led the subsequent participant's turn fall into the non-rendering interpreter's responsibility. In practice, interpreters' work-division enabled beginning rendering the subsequent turn without waiting completion of the previous rendering turn, which implied that interpreters were able to overlap in their renditions and, thus, it also enabled rendering two participants' overlapping talk (see the double-ended arrow on Figure 6, p. 38). Thus, unlike in solo interpreted interaction and in team interpreting with a work-division in which one interpreter is responsible for rendering 'everything' that results into linearly rendered turns and renditions without any overlaps, this working practice resulted into a more 'ordinary' conversation like turn-taking in the rendered interaction. Due to the clarity in the interpreters' work-division that led to the interpreters knowing whose turn it is next in most situations, in typical turn changes, no attestable negotiation on the rendering turn between the interpreters occurred.

When it comes to other types of coordinating practices attested in the data, interestingly, in same-language renditions, such as in the following dialogue (Figure 8, p. 40), one of the interpreters coordinated her renditions to occur at the TRPs of the colleague's renditions by alternating the processing time. In doing so, she demonstrated sensitivity to the places in which it is appropriate to speak in interaction.

Figure 8. Coordinated delivery of a rendition (Meeting A, 00:09:04)

In Meeting A, interpreters rendered a sequence in which P7 had posed a question to P1 both of whom use FinSL. Interpreter A rendered P1's answer and Interpreter B rendered P7's comments. Interestingly, Interpreter B, did not deliver her renditions immediately when she could, but instead, she coordinated renditions of P7's comments to occur at the TRPs of Interpreter A's renditions by alternating the processing time. Regarding the latter comment, Interpreter B began talking at the TRP of Interpreter A's rendition by saying "well", however, as Interpreter A continued rendering, Interpreter B halted her rendition a moment longer until Interpreter A arrived to the final TRP in her rendition and delivered her rendition only at that point. In doing so she seemed to be sensitive to the timepoints when it is appropriate to speak in conversation without sounding competitive or obtrusive and, additionally, she retained the original interactional structure in which speakers changed aligned at the TRPs. For the participants listening to the renditions, this type of coordination is crucial as it retains coherence in the renditions. For example, in an adjacency pair if the interpreter responsible for rendering the answer would be unconcerned for coordinating the rendition to coincide after colleague's rendition of the question, the 'sense' in the participants' discussion would be skewed. Thus, it might be that in team interpreted interaction coordinating same-language renditions to align at the TRPs of the colleague's renditions is an additional requirement of 'successfully' interpreted interaction when interpreters deploy a work-division that allows having more than one rendering interpreters.

The ability to render participants' overlapping talk, however, implied a momentary compromise in interpreters' ability to support each other, i.e. to ensure 'accuracy' in the output, when both of them were rendering interpreters. This was due to the

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interpreters' diverging focus that led them not knowing the content of the original or the rendered utterance (at least) for the part participants' talk overlapped. Thus, having two rendering interpreters implied that interpreters were momentarily working as 'solo' interpreters or as a 'compromised' team (Hoza, 2010). In Meeting B, for example, during rendering from Finnish to FinSL, Interpreter D did not see what P7, whose turn Interpreter C rendered, signed. Interpreter C, conversely, by focusing rendering P7 into Finnish, was unable to fully concentrate on Interpreter D's signing (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Diverging attention (Meeting B, 00:01:11)

Alternatively, in some situations when the non-rendering interpreter focused on supporting colleague, a participant's turn was not rendered because it fell out of the non-rendering interpreter's visual field. This happened, for example, in Meeting A:

Figure 10. Zero rendition (Meeting A, 00:11:08)

In this situation, Interpreter B was responsible for rendering P1's turn related to posting material online while Interpreter A was a non-rendering interpreter focusing on monitoring P1. At the end of P1's turn, Interpreter B faced difficulties in rendering,

which she demonstrated by hesitating and momentarily stopping rendering, which initiated Interpreter A to prompt her "on the website," which enabled Interpreter B to finish rendering P1's turn. During interpreter A's prompt, P8 signed "SATURDAY" to correct P1's timeline that it was not last week but on Saturday P1 had made the request. Due to Interpreter A's involvement in supporting Interpreter B, however, this comment was not noticed by Interpreter A because the comment fell outside her visual field. Thus, albeit participants relying on renditions could listen to a corrected rendition of P1's turn, they missed the rendition of P8's contribution.

Interestingly, during transformation from a non-rendering to a rendering interpreter, however, it seems to be possible to support the colleague minimally while already attending to the subsequent turn. This is illustrated in a support request initiated by Interpreter B in Meeting A:

Figure 11. Compromised support (Meeting A, 00:09:12)

In the situation, Interpreter A was responsible for rendering P1's and Interpreter B P3's turns into Finnish. During rendering P3's question, Interpreter B had trouble verbalizing a sign, which initiated her support request at the point P3 had finished posing the question that ended with a turn-final hold. From the lens of multiactivity this initiated Interpreter B's involvement in two courses of actions attestable through the

body torque (see #2 on Figure 11). In the situation, Interpreter B requested support firstly by leaning towards Interpreter A while expressing hesitation as well in her rendition. The problems with finalising the rendition and not receiving support from Interpreter A who was transforming into a rendering interpreter at the same time, led her suspending rendering, uttering "um" and signing the problematic concept thus momentarily foregrounding requesting support. At this point, Interpreter A had already transformed into a rendering interpreter and was listening to P1. However, while listening to the P1's turn, she initiated another course of action and minimally confirmed Interpreter B's rendition correct by nodding and uttering "mm" (thus allocating complementary resources to the two courses of action), which let Interpreter B finish her rendition. Thus, it seems that during transformation to a rendering interpreter an interpreter is able to limitedly support her/his/their colleague.

This chapter has illustrated the basic principles of working according to participants' turn-taking in multidirectional multi-party interaction. Generally, this work-division allows interpreters to modify their working practices depending on the discourse and the number of participants involved in the interaction at a time. Having two rendering interpreters or a combination of rendering and a non-rendering interpreter, however, have their pitfalls; the former allows rendering participants' dialogues, but it implies compromises in the ability to support colleague. The latter, on the other hand, allows supporting colleague and, thus, ensuring accuracy in the rendition of the current turn, however, it might lead to zero renditions of the signed turns taking place outside interpreters' visual field. In practice, both options might hinder access to information for participants relying on renditions. Additionally, due to the limitations of the interpreters' visual field, it seems that in team interpreted multidirectional multi-party interaction in a situation in which a sign language is involved, ensuring that 'everything' gets rendered requires also participants cooperating with the interpreters in checking that the interpreters are aware and available for rendering the participant's turn if they want to ensure that the participants relying in renditions are also given equal access to information. Generally, however, it seems that the team interpreters orient to ensuring accuracy in the renditions and "smoothly" rendered interaction whenever possible.

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5.2 Problematically overlapping talk

In interpreted situations, "problematically" overlapping participants' talk occurs when the number of participants overlapping in their talk outnumber rendering interpreters. Problematically overlapping participants' talk leads to the interpreter balancing between rendering different participants' turns-at-talk (i.e. participants' courses of action) and making compromises either in rendering a turn altogether, in the turn-order or in the participants' ability to engage "freely" in the interaction for the reason that the interpreter is only able to render one participant's turn at a time (Roy, 1992/2015). In practice, when an interpreter renders problematically overlapping participants' turns-at-talk, they appear in linearly after one another because the interpreter is unable to produce overlapping talk alone.

In team interpreting interpreters' work-division creates varying possibilities for solving participants' overlapping talk. Deploying a work-division in which one interpreter is responsible for rendering 'everything', implies that the team faces problematically overlapping talk already when two participants overlap in their talk. However, deploying a work-division, which allows having more than one rendering interpreters implies that interpreters are able to render as many overlapping participants as there are interpreters in a team. Consequently, with such work-division the team interpreters encounter problematically overlapping talk only when participants overlapping in their talk outnumber rendering interpreters. In the data studied for this paper, interpreters' work-division allowed having two rendering interpreters, which implied that problematically overlapping talk occurred when more than two participants overlapped in their talk.

The meetings differed in their interaction significantly, which impacted interpreters' work. In Meeting A, participants clearly orientated towards only one person talking at a time, which led to the interpreters encountering only one incidence of problematically overlapping talk. In Meeting B, in which the interaction approximated conversational interaction, participants' turns overlapped constantly, which resulted into 12 incidences of problematically overlapping participants' talk. Generally, however, interpreters' work-division(s) enabled rendering most of the overlapping talk unproblematically. Thus, in the data studied for this paper, incidences of problematically

overlapping talk were scant. Next chapters, however, elaborate the few incidences of problematically overlapping participants' talk and discuss the findings in relation to Roy's (1992/2015, 1996, 2000) notions for overlapping talk.

5.2.1 Ignored turns

According to Roy (1992/2015), the interpreter may ignore one participant's turn during problematically overlapping talk. In the data studied for this paper, several turns (or turn-beginnings) resulted into 'zero renditions' (Wadensjö, 1998), however, only one of the incidences seemed to involve a consciously ignored turn (Figure 12):

Figure 12. Ignored turn (Meeting B, 00:04:28)

In Meeting B, Interpreter D rendered P4's suggestion of creating folders to organize the group's work. During that situation, P1 self-selected and seconded P4's suggestion. Interpreter C rendered that turn, however, at the P1's TRP she directed her gaze back to P4 and turned into a non-rendering interpreter, which made her miss that P1 continued signing "indeed, (it, i.e. creating folders) would be easier, a lot easier." When P4 arrived to the TRP of the question that was directed to P1 and P2 having a turn-final "palm-up," Interpreter C directed her attention towards P1 and P2 who sat next to each other. At this point, P2 self-selected after a long turn-bidding and commented that having only one folder for everything would suffice while P1 was still signing the turn that Interpreter C had previously missed. At this point, as Interpreter D was still engaged with rendering P4's turn, Interpreter C confronted participants' problematically overlapping turns. In this situation, she ignored the rest of P1's turn and focused on

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rendering P2's answer without asking P1 later to repeat. Thus, Interpreter C seemed to ignore (a part of) a turn and deploy an overlap-resolution similar to described by Roy. Based on this situation it seems that in team interpreting similarly as in 'solo' interpreted interaction, only one interpreter resolves problematically overlapping talk.

Significantly more often, however, in the data studied for this paper "problematically" overlapping turns were ignored because the turns occurred outside the interpreters' visual field. This happened, for example, in Meeting A:

Figure 13. Unrecognised turn (Meeting A, 00:05:16)

In the situation, Interpreter A rendered P1's clarification to Chair that the city mentioned previously was not the place in which the event in discussion was to be held and corrected it to another city. After hearing Interpreter A's rendition, the chair wondered, whether the "wrong" city was really mentioned. As the outcome of the interpreters' work-division, Interpreter B began rendering Chairs wondering, which led to both interpreters being rendering interpreters for different participants for the sequence. Meanwhile, P4 self-selected and signed to P1 that the previously-mentioned city belonged to the previous topic. However, as the interpreters' focus was in rendering P1's and Chair's dialogue, they did not recognise P4's comment because it fell outside their visual field. During this sequence, neither Chair nor P1 recognised P4's turn.

This example demonstrates that in team interpreted multidirectional multi-party interaction in situations in which a signed language is involved, interpreters might not be aware of all of the "problematically" overlapping contributions. Additionally, this example highlights the participant's role in assuring that the interpreter is available for rendering if they foreground the idea of providing equal access to information for all participants. Thus, similarly as in situations in which the non-rendering interpreter was

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involved in supporting her colleague, participants should work with the interpreters in ensuring that interpreters are available for rendering turn. This happened, for example, in Meeting B when P2 repeated the signed comment after Interpreter D had finished rendering the previous turn and established mutual gaze between P2:
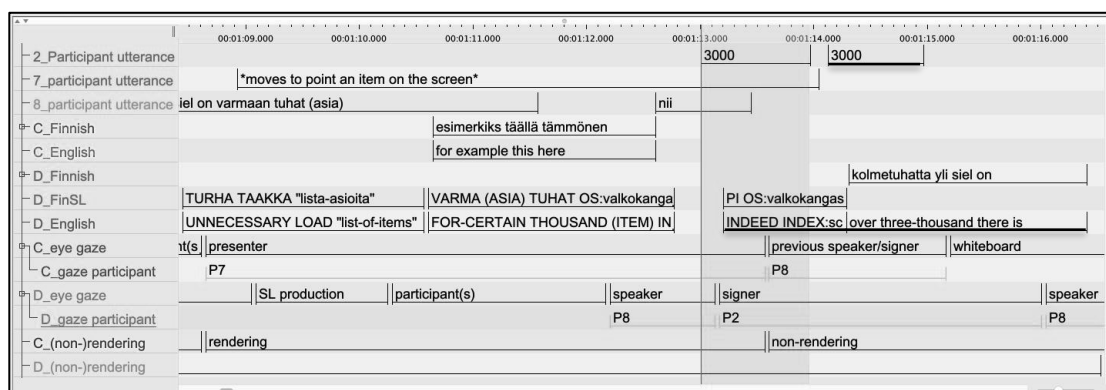
Figure 14. Participant working with the interpreter (Meeting B, 00:01:08)

In the situation, participants were discussing about stored items shown in the screen. Interpreter D rendered P8's comment regarding the items during which P7 moved to point an item on the screen. Interpreter C as the dedicated speaker's interpreter verbalized P7's pointing turning to a non-rendering interpreter after that rendition. Meanwhile, P5 began signing a name on the screen, turned to P4 who gazed back thus initiating a parallel conversation with P5. For the reason that both interpreters were involved in rendering, however, this comment was not rendered. Overlapping with P5's turn and P8's last comment "indeed" related to P7's pointing, P2 self-selected and commented P8 that there is not one-thousand but three-thousand items. While signing, however, P2 noticed that Interpreter D was still involved in signing P8's last comment although her gaze was already at P2. In order to ensure rendition, P2 repeated the comment after Interpreter D had finished rendering. By repeating signing, which is a typical way of ensuring listening in signed interactions during overlapping talk (Coates & Sutton-Spence, 2001; McIlvenny, 1995), P2 cooperated with Interpreter D and assured that the comment was rendered into Finnish. Thus, P2 did not rely on Interpreter D's likely overlap-resolutions during that turn.

When it comes to the practices of coordinating problematically overlapping talk in team interpreting, it seems that team interpreters may resolve problematically

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overlapping talk using Roy's option of ignoring a participant's turn. In practice, only one of the team interpreters is involved in resolving it while the other interpreter is engaged with rendering solely one participant's turn. Additionally, this chapter demonstrated the various forms of ignored turns in the team interpreted interaction studied in this paper. The findings highlight the importance of participants and interpreters working with each other in assuring that 'everything' gets rendered, which, in practice, requires maintaining the frame of interpreted interaction pertinent in providing all participants equal access to information (see Takimoto & Koshiba, 2009; Turner, 2007).

5.2.2 Halting a turn

In the data studied for this paper, there were no clear instances for an interpreter resolving problematically overlapping talk by halting one participant's turn, however, in Meeting A, Interpreter B self-initiated a situation that resembles halting participant's turn as described by Roy (1992/2015):

Figure 15. Halting a turn (Meeting A, 00:07:14)

In the situation, Interpreter A was rendering P1's question addressed to Chair while Interpreter B was a non-rendering interpreter. During P1's question, P6 raised

hand to indicate willingness to talk, which lead to the non-rendering interpreter B verbalizing it by saying "hey" to indicate it to Chair. In doing so, she transferred into a rendering interpreter for the P6's upcoming turn. However, meanwhile, Interpreter A had arrived to the TRP in her rendition of P1's question, which initiated a direct response from the chair as the addressed participant of that question relying on the Finnish rendition. This resulted into a situation in which Interpreter A was engaged with rendering P1's talk and Interpreter B was involved with rendering two turns, i.e. Chairs comment and the self-initiated P6's verbalized turn-bidding. Thus, Interpreter B faced self-generated problematically overlapping talk.

Interpreter B resolved this situation by suspending rendering P6's emerging turn, shifting to render Chair's turn and after rendering the Chair's comment directed to P1, resuming to rendering P6's turn. During this sequence, Interpreter B marked the departure for rendering Chair's comment by a gaze shift and marked the resumption of rendering P6's comment by turning back and pointing at P6, which could be seen as a form of explicit coordination. Interestingly, this sequence happened before formal turn-allocation to P6. Meanwhile, the emergence of Interpreter B's involvement in "problematically" overlapping turns did not go unnoticed from Interpreter A as after hearing interpreter B's utterance "hey" (knowing that it was not initiated by the chair), she shifted her gaze from P1 to her colleague. However, as she noticed Interpreter B beginning to render the chair's turn thus solving the "problem", she shifted her gaze back to P1 and orientated towards P1's answer. Thus, Interpreter B was momentarily engaged with two concurrent participants' turns to be rendered out of which one was emerging and the other an actual participant's turn. She resolved the situation by halting the (self-generated) P6's turn, turned to render the chair's comment with then again returning, and manually indicating the resumption, i.e. the return back to being able to render P6's turn.

5.2.3 Rendering overlapping talk linearly

According to Roy (1992/2015), an interpreter may hold part of the overlapping talk in memory and render it after the previous turn has been rendered, i.e. an interpreter may opt for an overlap-resolution in which she/he/they decides to render participants "concurrent" turns linearly. In the data studied for this paper there was only one situation that resembled such overlap-resolution. However, as the outcome of signed dialogue, the "overlap-resolution" differed from Roy's description to some extent (Figure 16).
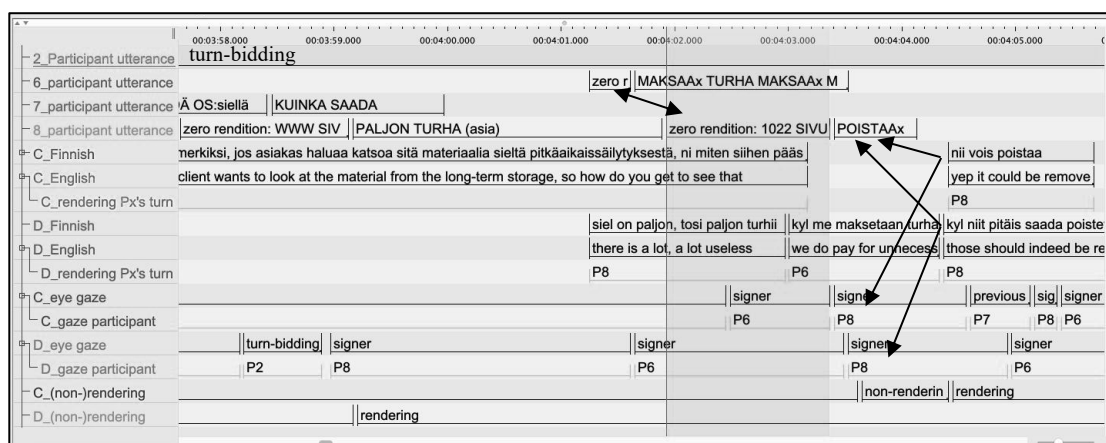
Figure 16. Linearly rendered overlapping talk (Meeting B, 00:03:57)

In the situation, P7 was talking and Interpreter C was rendering the turn as the dedicated speaker's interpreter. During the turn, P8 summoned P6 and commented about a lot of things being in storage initiating a parallel conversation with P6. P6 responded P8 saying "indeed, we pay for unnecessary stuff," into which, with a partially overlapping turn, P8 commented 1000 items being stored out of which some could be removed. In the beginning of this situation, Interpreter D was a non-rendering interpreter focusing on P7 and the turn-bidding P2. However, after noticing P8's and P6's conversation, Interpreter D began rendering it. Consequently, there were two different 'original' interactions that were rendered by different interpreters in the room. Likely for the reason that Interpreter C was still engaged with rendering P7 while P8 and P6 had exchanged turns, Interpreter D decided to render their dialogue linearly and, thus, orientated for resolving the partially overlapping talk with P8 and P6 alone. In doing

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so, she seemed to arrive to an overlap-resolution that resembled Roy (1992/2015) description of "holding a part of the turn in memory in order to produce it later".

Due to a modality-related difference, however, Interpreter D's actions differed from Roy's description. Whereas in Roy's study, the interpreter could listen both turns and deliver one of them later likely because the overlapping talk occurred in different modalities, this was not possible in the sequence of signed interaction described above because listening both contributions required gaze. Thus, although Interpreter D resolved the problematically overlapping talk, she was able to attend to only one signer at a time, which led her missing parts of the turns while she was rendering the overlapping dialogue. This might imply that in signed same-language interaction resolving problematically overlapping talk is not possible by holding part of the interaction in memory for the reason that the interpreter is unable to attend to both sources at the same time. Instead, such problematically overlapping talk seems to result into ignoring parts of the interaction, which makes the resolution resemble Roy's overlap-resolution of ignoring a turn as a whole.

Interestingly, after finishing rendering P7's turn, Interpreter C turned towards rendering that dialogue as well and orientated for rendering the next possible turn. As she noticed that Interpreter D was involved at rendering P6's comment "we do pay for unnecessary things," she turned her gaze to P8 and rendered the rest of the comment "yep it could be removed." This situation, however, led to both rendering same participant's turn because Interpreter D also turned to render P8's comment after finishing her rendition of P6's comment. Thus, whereas Interpreter D orientated towards finishing rendering the whole sequence alone, in this situation Interpreter C likely orientated towards resolving two participants' overlapping talk according to their work-division and alleviating her colleague's rendering in the first possible moment.

This situation illustrated that albeit in team interpreting it is possible to let an interpreter resolve the problematically overlapping talk alone, the idea of shared work might also result into the interpreter previously involved in rendering other participants' interaction orientating for resolving the problematically overlapping talk by sharing the workload on the first possible moment after finishing rendering of the previous turn. This type of practice takes advantage of the interpreters' work-division that allows rendering dialogues without confronting problematically overlapping talk. It might,

however, be that the interpreters conceptualise the situation differently, which may result into both interpreters rendering the same participant's turn. Additionally, it seems that problematically overlapping signed interaction results into partially rendered participant's turns contrary to situations in which the problematically overlapping talk appears in different modalities and in which it is, at least in theory and within the limits of memory and time, possible to render the "whole" overlapping dialogue.

5.3 In situ turn management

In the data studied for this paper, apart from one situation in which the interpreters rendered same participant's turn in full length from FinSL to Finnish described in the chapter above, teams managed to coordinate their work following the norm of having one interpreter rendering one participant's turn at a time. In three situations, however, in situ turn management was required because interpreters were about to render the same participant's turn. Out of these incidences, one was related to rendering from FinSL to Finnish and two into rendering from Finnish to FinSL. The incidences derived from situations in which both interpreters were momentarily unengaged with rendering or in which, contrary to the interpreters' work-division, one of the interpreters was about to render two participants' turns in a row.

The only instance related from rendering from FinSL to Finnish was resolved by Interpreter C quitting rendering after noticing accidentally overlapping renditions (Figure 17):
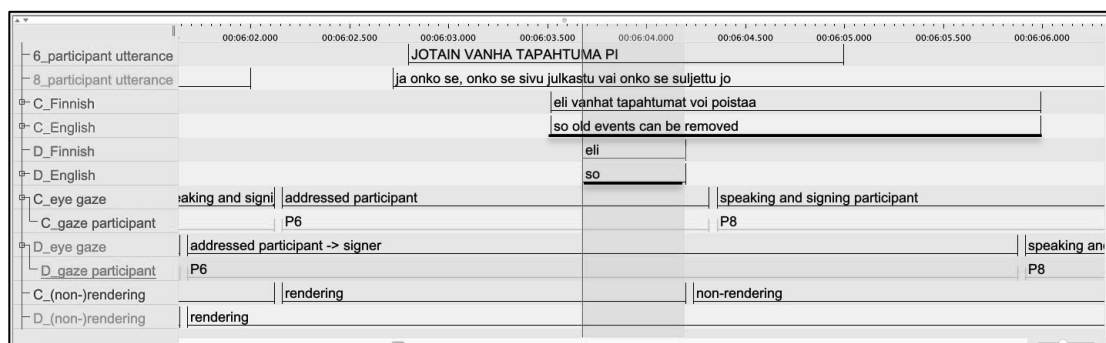
Figure 17. FinSL-Finnish turn management (Meeting B, 00:06:01)

In the situation before the excerpt, P6 had posed a question directed to everybody, which Interpreter D had rendered. After that, P5 answered shortly followed by Interpreter C's rendition. Then, P8 summoned P6 and responded to P6's question signing and speaking at the same time, which resulted into both interpreters becoming non-rendering interpreters. Consequently, both interpreters began rendering P6's response to P8. This situation was resolved without overt negotiation by Interpreter C quitting rendering right after she had uttered "so" and realized that Interpreter D was also rendering the comment. Thus, the interpreters did not create a side activity for negotiating on the rendering turn.

When it comes to incidences related to the other interpreting direction, in both of them a side activity between the interpreters was created for solving the situation. In Meeting A, Interpreter A quit rendering after noticing that Interpreter B had also began rendering Chair's turn (Figure 18):

Figure 18. Tacit turn management (Meeting A, 00:04:01)

In the situation, the chair was closing a topic and about to introduce the next topic. Interpreter B had rendered P2's last comment into Finnish, which was followed by Interpreter A's rendition "YES, YES," a comment whose utterer was inaudible and unclear due to the problematic camera angle (see Figure 3, p. 31). After this exchange,

Chair closed the previous discussion by saying "OK, good" and welcomed P9 back before introducing the next topic. At this point, however, both interpreters began rendering the turn by signing Chair's sign name to indicate the speaker, thus using typical practices for source attribution in sign language interpreting (Metzger, 1999). Interpreter A first noticed the overlapping renditions, quit signing, put her hands on her lap to indicate that she is no longer having the floor (Baker, 1977), and gazed at Interpreter B who also a bit after Interpreter A, had noticed that they both were about to render the same participant's turn (see #2 on Figure 18). She also put her hands momentarily on the lap, however, as Interpreter A kept her hands on the lap and nodded to Interpreter B, thus tacitly indicating she could continue, Interpreter B continued with rendering the chair's introduction. During this situation, however, P9's "thank you," was not noticed by the interpreters and it led to a zero rendition. Based on the interpreters' work-division this comment would have been Interpreter A's responsibility, however, she did not recognize this comment due to her engagement with the turn management.

Also in Meeting B on site turn management was required, however, in this situation interpreters verbally negotiated on the rendering turn (Figure 19):
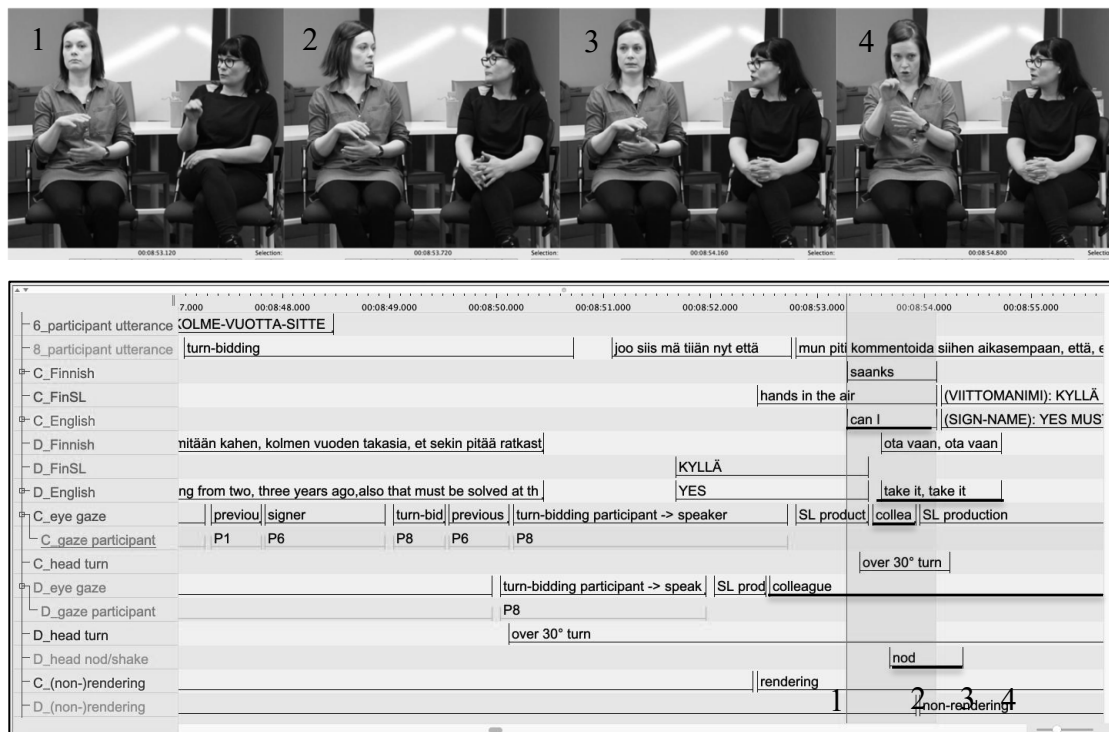
Figure 19. Negotiation of the rendering turn (Meeting B, 00:08:47)

Before the situation, P6 had talked about a matter that needs to be solved. During it, P8 turn-bid and after the turn began talking about a matter related to a previous discussion, which initiated Interpreter D's rendering turn. Right after Interpreter C also raised her hands in order to sign, which was immediately recognized by Interpreter D who turned towards Interpreter C. At this point, Interpreter C indicated her willingness to render P8's turn and asked Interpreter D "Can I?" while turning towards Interpreter D (#2 on Figure 19). Interpreter D answered by saying: "Take it, take it" while nodding to Interpreter C.

These examples demonstrate that although interpreters' work-division is most of the time clear, in situ turn management is occasionally required due to unintentionally overlapping rendering turns. In practice, the practices of resolving these situations varied, however, all situations were resolved by the interpreter who first recognized the accidentally overlapping rendering turns abandoning rendering and letting her colleague continue. In the only example found for rendering from FinSL to Finnish, the overlapping rendering turn was managed solely by Interpreter C abandoning the rendering the current participant's turn and, thus, turning into a non-rendering interpreter while Interpreter D continued rendering without negotiating on the rendering turn.

In the incidences regarding Finnish to FinSL rendering, a side activity that could be attested through the interpreters' body torque was, however, created for negotiating on the rendering turn. In practice, in both situations the interpreter who first recognized the accidentally overlapping turns, abandoned rendering by putting hands in their lap and turned towards the other interpreter thus initiating the sequence for turn management. In Meeting A, Interpreter A first noticed simultaneous rendering turns, abandoned rendering, and turned towards Interpreter B thus initiating a side activity for the turn management displaying it through her torqued body. Shortly after, when Interpreter B noticed the requirement for turn management, she was also about to abandon rendering as she put her hands in her laps, however, after glancing at Interpreter A thus momentarily joining the side activity for managing the rendering turn and seeing her nodding, which could be conceptualized as a turn-allocation (see Kääntä, 2010; Kääntä, 2011), she lifted her hands again to sign and continued rendering. After this, Interpreter A retained her torqued posture and continued as a non-rendering interpreter monitoring her output thus continuing listening at the rendered interaction.

In Meeting B, after recognizing accidentally overlapping rendering turns, Interpreter D abandoned rendering and turned towards Interpreter C thus initiating a side activity for the turn management displaying it through her torqued body. Shortly after, Interpreter C joined the side activity by allocating vocal-auditive resources and gaze to it while displaying the relevance of the ongoing main activity of rendering through her frozen manual resources, i.e. by keeping her hands in the signing position (cf. Deppermann, 2014). Thus, unlike all other interpreters attested in the above-mentioned excerpts, likely for the reason that she wanted to continue rendering, she did not (momentarily) abandon rendering but instead maintained simultaneous involvement in two concurrent courses of action. After requesting and hearing Interpreter D's consent and nodding (that might also be understood as turn-allocation), Interpreter C turned back to the main activity and resumed rendering while Interpreter D remained torqued and continued monitoring the output as a non-rendering interpreter.

6 Discussion

This paper focused on studying team interpreted multidirectional multi-party interaction in two informal workplace meetings with 9 and 11 participants and two interpreters. In both meetings, the languages of interaction were Finnish and FinSL; however, in both of them, participants predominantly used FinSL. In the meetings, that were chaired, the interaction varied from relatively well-facilitated turn-taking to turn-taking that approximated conversational interaction.

By focusing on team interpreters' actions in a predominantly signed discourse, this study illustrated interpreting practices in a typical work life context that has received little interest in interpreting studies (see however Dickinson, 2017; Selin-Grönlund, 2007; Takimoto, 2012; Takimoto & Koshiba, 2009; Van Herreweghe, 2002), albeit it has gained attention in CA studies in general (Svennevig, 2012). The scope of this study was on how the team interpreters coordinated their work intrapersonally and interpersonally in situ within the team; a matter that apart from Duflou's (2014) ethnomethodological study on EU spoken language conference interpreters' on booth actions has not been studied on a moment-by-moment level. Additionally, the study reflected the implications of interpreters' actions to the participants' interaction and the interpreters' work. By studying these matters, this study contributed to increasing knowledge on team interpreting in multidirectional multi-party interaction.

Interpreters' actions were studied applying CA taking into account the inherent multimodality of interaction. The approach taken allowed studying interpreters' actions as a situated and locally coordinated practice and enabled drawing a picture of the actions on a moment-by-moment level. Besides, it enabled studying interpreters' actions from the lens of multiactivity. Thus, according to my knowledge, this study took a novel approach in signed language interpreting studies (see, however, Davitti, 2019 for an overview of multimodality in interpreting studies).

Following chapters discuss the findings of this study from different perspectives. Firstly, the basic features of working according to participants' turn-taking are discussed. Secondly, the focus is turned to problematically overlapping participants' talk and multiactivity in relation to it, which is followed by discussion related to coordination during supporting and in situ turn management. Lastly, the implications of the

interpreters' work-division for the participants' interaction and the interpreters' work are discussed.

6.1 Working according to participants' turn-taking in multidirectional discourse

Based on this study, team interpreters coordinate their work within the team in various ways that are guided by the interpreters' work-division, the norm of having one interpreter at a time responsible for rendering one participant's talk and, ultimately, by participants' turn-taking. In the data studied for this paper, the norm of having one interpreter rendering one participant's turn at a time was broken only once, which implied that interpreters generally followed that norm. In practice, interpreters' work-division schema(s) guided the team's work interpersonally by defining the parts of discourse interpreters shared their rendering responsibilities with. Consequently, depending on the participants' interaction, i.e., depending on the number of participants interacting at the same time, it defined interpreters' roles on the intrapersonal level as a rendering and/or a non-rendering interpreter. Additionally, as is typical for cooperative team interpreting in which interpreters work jointly responsible for the assignment (Cokely & Hawkins, 2003; Gajewski Mickelson & Gordon, 2015; Hoza, 2010; Napier et al., 2008; Russell, 2011; Selin, 2002; Selin-Grönlund, 2007), the team interpreter's shared work led to them paying attention to each other's output and enhancing each other's renditions through support if required.

In the data studied for this paper, interpreter teams differed slightly in their deployed work-division schemas: In Meeting A interpreters had explicitly agreed to work "as always," which implied working according to participants' turn-taking. In practice, this led to interpreters alternating rendering turns after each participant's turn regardless of the speaker, i.e., without having a preference for having one interpreter rendering the same participant's turns throughout the meeting. During dialogic interaction, however, the working practice resulted into interpreters momentarily allocating a "voice" to a particular participant as the interpreters kept rendering same participant's turns throughout the sequence if no other participants engaged in that sequence of interaction. In Meeting B, interpreters worked without an explicitly agreed work-division schema

"as they always had," which resulted into having a dedicated speaker's interpreter for the presenter and working according to participants' turn-taking regarding other participants' turns. Albeit other features of the work-division remained the same, this difference in the work-division compared to Meeting A allocated a "voice" to the presenter, which enabled keeping consistency in the presenter's talk for the participants listening to the renditions. Apart from a few exceptions, in which an interpreter rendered several participants' turns in a row, the teams followed these schemas.

When it comes to the interpreters' actions within the team, interpreters' work-division(s) allowed them to modify their actions according to the number of participants engaging in interaction, which led to the teams varying in their 'constellations' from two rendering (or during silence, non-rendering) interpreters to having a rendering and a non-rendering interpreter. In situations with only one person talking, interpreters formed a pair of a rendering and a non-rendering interpreter in which the interpreters deviated in their responsibilities. During such turns, the rendering interpreter could focus on rendering the current participant's turn knowing she could request (or receive) support from the non-rendering interpreter if required and also, knowing that she could finish the rendition without "rushing" or considering rendering of the subsequent turn because it typically fell to the non-rendering interpreter's responsibility. The non-rendering interpreter, on the other hand, focused on monitoring the current turn and its rendition by paying attention to the 'accuracy' of the rendition and being alert for supporting the rendering interpreter if required. Additionally, the non-rendering interpreter monitored the floor for the subsequent contribution that likely fell to her responsibility as the outcome of the interpreters' work-division. Thus, during single participant talk, interpreters' working practices echoed the typical working practices described in team interpreting literature with interpreters cooperatively 'enhancing' renditions through (un)solicited support, the rendering interpreter focusing primarily on rendering, and the non-rendering interpreter, on the other hand, having multiple involvements through the various forms of monitoring (e.g. Hoza, 2010; Napier et al., 2010; Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, 2007; Selin, 2002).

Typically, during single-participant talk the non-rendering interpreter focused on monitoring the current turn and its rendition at the beginning of the participant's turn and at the TRP switched to monitoring the progression of the interaction by focusing

on the actions of the addressed or turn-bidding bidding participant(s), previous speakers, chair/turn-allocating participant, who, in practice, were the most likely subsequent contributors. During multi-TCU turns, the non-rendering interpreter repeated this type of successive alternation between different monitoring actions. In practice, the successive alternation between various forms of monitoring resulted from the fact that gaze as a resource needs to be sequentially organised (McIlvenny, 1995). Thus, during a single-participant talk, as focusing on the current turn and its renditions and the progression of the interaction required gaze, the non-rendering interpreter had to be selective in whether to focus on monitoring the current turn and its rendition or the progression of the interaction by monitoring the audience for subsequent turns. In practice, if the non-rendering interpreter's attention was "wrongly" directed, the interpreter was unable to fulfil the responsibilities related either to ensuring 'accuracy' in the current turn or in ensuring smooth rendering of the subsequent turn. If the non-rendering interpreter focused on monitoring the subsequent contributors, she was unable to support her colleague and thus ensure the 'accuracy' in the current rendition as she was unaware of either the colleague's signing or the current signer's utterance. Alternatively, if the non-rendering interpreter focused on ensuring accuracy, she was oblivious of the signed comments that possibly took place outside her visual field. Thus, albeit the interpreters were able to render most of the interaction successfully, the non-rendering interpreter was not at all times able to ensure that both aspects were filled.

Sharing rendering responsibilities according to participants' turn-taking was an efficient way of sharing the workload within the interpreter team. In practice, it enabled "keeping up" with the rapid turn-taking in multidirectional discourse and, also, it enabled interpreters to overlap in their renditions because the non-rendering interpreter could at the point when speaker/signed changed to turn into a rendering interpreter. Consequently, interpreters could render dialogic interaction and participants' overlapping talk unproblematically conversely to situations in which one interpreter is alone responsible for rendering dialogic talk and is forced to render participants' turns linearly one after another (cf. Roy, 1992/2015, 1996, 2000).

In practice, however, rendering dialogic same-language talk by two interpreters seemed to require additional coordination regarding the delivery of the renditions. Based on this study, when rendering dialogic same-language talk, interpreters did not

deliver renditions right when they appeared. Instead, they (or one of the interpreters at a time) aligned renditions to the TRPs in the colleague's output by alternating the processing time. In doing so, interpreters displayed sensitivity to the points in which it is appropriate to speak in conversation and retained the coherence present in the original dialogue. Thus, this working practice seemed to result into an output that in structure resembled, especially in same-language renditions, the common interactional orientation of "no gap, no overlap" (Sacks et al., 1974) in the rendered turns-at-talk, which implied that the participants listening to rendered interaction could listen to a more naturally structured interaction that resembled the turn-taking attestable in the original interaction. Generally, coordination of the same-language renditions to occur at the TRPs of colleague's turns in addition to the non-rendering interpreter's preference for focusing on monitoring the likely subsequent contributors demonstrate that interpreters are sensitive to the progression of the interaction and also explicitly aware of the discourse structure as Van Herreweghe (2005) has demanded for.

The possibility for having two rendering interpreters did not, however, come without compromises in the interpreter team. In practice, the compromises were related to the ability to ensure accuracy in the renditions. Based on the data analysed for this paper, rendering interpreters were unable to support each other and thus ensure 'accuracy' as their diverging focus, i.e., gaze directed to different directions, led them not knowing the (signed) content of the original or the rendered utterance. Thus, in situations in which interpreters were rendering participants' overlapping interaction, they seemed to work momentarily as 'solo' interpreters or as a 'compromised team' (Hoza, 2010). However, contrary to Hoza's notions that point that interpreters working as a compromised team would last throughout the assignment, based on the findings of this study, team interpreters' inability to support each other lasted only as long as the interpreters were involved in rendering the overlapping participants' turns. When the interaction reduced to having a single participant talking, the interpreters returned to the formation of having a rendering and a non-rendering interpreter.

6.2 Team interpreting during problematically overlapping participants' talk

According to Schegloff (2000), in conversational interaction, most of the overlapping talk seems to be reduced to two participants talking. Likely for this reason and the fact that the interpreters' work-division allowed rendering such talk unproblematically, in the data studied for this paper, incidences of "problematically" overlapping participants' talk, that required Roy's (1992/2015) overlap-resolutions, were scant. In well-facilitated Meeting A with more turn-bidding and turn-allocation compared to more informal Meeting B, interpreters' work-division enabled rendering almost every participant's turn-at-talk. In Meeting B, this working practice sufficed for rendering most turns, however, problematically overlapping participants' talk that resulted from the number of participants engaging simultaneously in interaction outnumbering the number of rendering interpreters occurred more often than in Meeting A.

In the data studied for this paper, there was only one clearly ignored turn, one interpreter-generated incidence of halting a participant's turn and one incidence of rendering participant's problematically overlapping talk linearly, which resembled Roy's overlap-resolutions (1992/2015). Additionally, as the outcome of interpreters' visual focus being differently directed, there were few incidences of overlapping participants turns (or parts of them) the interpreters did not recognise. For the reason that the interpreters were unaware of such turns, however, it is questionable to which extent incidences that occur outside interpreters' visual field count for of problematically overlapping talk for the interpreters.

When it comes to the few incidences of problematically overlapping talk, based on this study, only one of the team interpreters at a time was involved in resolving the problematically overlapping talk while the other interpreter was involved in rendering solely one participant's turn. Thus, managing problematically overlapping participants' talk in interpreting is a matter in which an interpreter is uniquely involved. In the data studied for this paper, however, in one incidence, after finishing rendering one participant's turn, one interpreter orientated for resolving other interpreter's involvement in problematically overlapping talk after finishing rendering her previous turn at the first possible moment. This might indicate that in team interpreting interpreters might avoid leaving colleague in resolving problematically overlapping talk alone if they are

available for rendering. However, as this incidence led to both interpreters rendering same participants' turn, it demonstrates that interpreters' conceptualisations of the same situation might vary.

Regarding the overlap-resolutions found in the data for this paper, in one instance the interpreter ignored one participant's course of action that required rendering. In another example, the interpreter suspended a self-verbalized participant's request for having the floor and resumed rendering it after rendering the incipient course of action by another participant. Additionally, in one situation the interpreter rendered participants' overlapping signed dialogue linearly missing parts of the dialogue as the outcome of the inability to attend to both turns-at-talk at the same time. Encountering signed overlapping talk and the restrictions of gaze as a resource, however, seem to result in the inability to render talk linearly without missing parts of information. Thus, Roy's overlap-resolution of rendering participants turns-at-talk linearly one after another without information loss might be restricted solely to utterances that occur in different modalities.

Interestingly, the actions described by Roy, and the interpreters' overlap-resolutions attested in this paper, have a striking resemblance with resolving situations with concurrent courses of action/activities. Generally, a person faces multiactivity when she/he/they is engaged with more than one concurrent course of action at the same time. Depending from the situation, a person may alternate between different courses of action/activities, suspend it to proceed with another incipient course of action/activity, and later resume the suspended course of action/activity. In some situations, however, it is not possible to coordinate the engagement with two courses of action, which leads to the person abandoning one course of action altogether in the first place. Alternatively, if the courses of action require complementary resources, a person may be engaged with both courses of action in parallel. In this paper, during problematically overlapping participants' talk, one of the interpreters abandoned rendering one participant's course of action altogether in order to render another participant's simultaneously occurring course of action without returning to it later, another interpreter alternated between rendering different participants' turns-at-talk. Both of these actions demonstrate practices found for coordinating involvement in multiactivity. Lastly, one interpreter suspended the self-generated, yet emerging, participant's turn-at-talk for rendering other

participant's turn and manually by pointing indicated return to it after finishing rendition of the previous turn. In practice, the pointing could be seen as a form of 'explicit' coordination in interpreted interaction, however, it can also be seen as a linguistically marked return back to the previously suspended course of action. Albeit one finding does not account for making any conclusions and the incidence differs from Helisten's (2018) data in which participants indicated the resumption linguistically by using lexemes but/anyway, interpreter's linguistic marking of the resumption is nonetheless noticeable.

Albeit the findings of this paper do not allow for addressing the matter in depth as there were only few incidences of interpreter's engagement with problematically overlapping participants talk, it might well be that for an interpreter a participant's course of action that entails talk constitutes a course of action for rendering as the outcome of the fact that in interpreted encounters there is the expectation that interpreter(s) should render 'all' participants' turns-at-talk. During problematically overlapping participants' talk, an interpreter confronts two concurrent turns-at-talk, i.e. two participants' courses of action to be rendered, at the same time. For the reason that the interpreter is unable to render two participants' turns simultaneously (Roy, 1996, 2000), and thus render two courses of action in the parallel order, she/he/they must use other practices of managing the involvement with two participants' courses of action that require rendering.

For example, if a participant poses a question into which two participants decide to answer at the same time, both of these answers consist a 'unit' that should be rendered. If the interpreter cannot share the workload of rendering different participants' turns through team working practices to her colleague, in such situations, the interpreter is faced with the expectation of rendering both simultaneously occurring participants' courses of action. If rendering one participant's turn-at-talk constitutes a course of action for the interpreter, and, thus, engagement with problematically overlapping participants' turns-at-talk constitutes multiactivity for the interpreter, the notion of multiactivity may also help explain *why* problematically overlapping participants' talk is challenging for the interpreter. Until now, albeit the difficulties related to rendering (problematically) overlapping talk have been noted in several studies (e.g. Dickinson, 2017; Holcomb, 2018; Mitchell, 2002; Napier et al., 2010; Roy, 1996; Takimoto & Koshiba,

2009), according to my knowledge, the reasons for problematically overlapping talk for the interpreters have not been discussed before. Thus, this study provides a plausible new angle for approaching problematically overlapping participants' talk in interpreted interaction.

6.3 Coordination during supporting and in situ turn management

In the data studied for this paper, in addition to the plausible multiactivity during problematically overlapping participants' talk (and during non-rendering interpreter's monitoring), interpreters were attested to be involved in multiple courses of action during support sequences and in situ turn management. In a situation in which the rendering interpreter had trouble verbalising a participant's sign, she was attested to initiate a course of action for requesting support alongside rendering participant's turn. Thus, the interpreter self-initiated engagement in multiactivity. While rendering into Finnish, the interpreter firstly indicated the support request by leaning towards the non-rendering interpreter and thus allocating complementary resources to both courses of action (i.e. gaze and speech for rendering and torso for requesting support), which resulted into a torqued body that displayed the rendering interpreter's involvement in two courses of action at the same time. However, shortly after, troubles with completing rendition and not receiving support from the colleague who was transforming into a rendering interpreter and orienting towards rendering the subsequent turn, let her continue hesitating and momentarily suspend rendering, foregrounding requesting support and allocating additional, namely manual, resources, to requesting support.

Interestingly, during this situation, the colleague was also involved in multiactivity. In the beginning of this situation, she was a non-rendering interpreter focusing on monitoring the signed original turn and the colleague's output, however, around the time of the support request, the interpreter transformed into a rendering interpreter for the subsequent contribution. Likely for the reason that she was already involved in listening to the signed contribution, the formerly non-rendering interpreter had to compromise in the depth of support. In this situation, while listening to the signed turn, i.e. by using gaze for listening, she initiated a second course for action and allocated

complementary resources, namely speech and nodding, for confirming colleague's renditions correct. After confirmation, the support sequence was over and the first-mentioned interpreter was able to finish her suspended rendition and, the other interpreter could continue rendering the subsequent turn.

In practice, this example of multiactivity demonstrates that rendering interpreters may be involved in multiactivity during team interpreted interaction. Additionally, it demonstrates that team interpreters seem to orient towards cooperating and fulfilling the responsibilities related to rendering and ensuring accuracy in the renditions whenever possible albeit it might imply compromises in the depth of support.

When it comes to the interpreters' in situ coordination of the rendering turns, in the data studied for this paper in three incidences, additional in situ turn management was required as both interpreters began rendering the same participant's turn. These situations were resolved by the interpreter who first realized the accidentally overlapping rendering turns abandoning rendering. Additionally, in situations in relation to rendering into FinSL, similarly as in spoken language conference interpreting (Duflou, 2014), the rendering turns were tacitly or verbally negotiated by creating a side activity alongside the main activity of rendering that was attestable through interpreter's body torque. During these sequences, the interpreter who first recognized the accidentally overlapping rendering turns abandoned rendering and turned into a non-rendering interpreter while directing her gaze towards the other interpreter. At this point, the rendering interpreter also momentarily halted/quit rendering and shortly joined the side activity of managing the rendering turns. In the data studied for this paper, this happened either by glancing at the non-rendering interpreter and shortly halting rendering to "negotiate" on the rendering turn or by suspending rendering by halting manual actions and using gaze and speech for turn management, thus demonstrating a typical way of coordinating engagement in multiactivity (see Deppermann, 2014).

However, after noticing that the other interpreter was not going to continue, which was attestable through the non-rendering interpreter's hands in the lap and also through her (speech) and nodding, the rendering interpreters continued rendering. After this, the currently non-rendering interpreter continued monitoring the rendering interpreter's actions thus listening the rendered signed interaction before turning to monitor the audience for the upcoming contributions while the rendering interpreter proceeded with

rendering the current turn. Generally, the currently non-rendering interpreter's nodding could indicate that the non-rendering interpreter conceptualizes the rendering turn as a turn that could be allocated tacitly by nodding similarly as teachers have been attested to do in classroom interaction (Kääntä, 2011). Interestingly, also in Duflou (2014), during conference intepreters' turn changes the interpreter who let her/his/their colleague to continue rendering after her/his/their offer for turn change, nodded to the colleague in order to indicate she/he/they may continue rendering.

6.4 Implications for the participants' interaction and the interpreters' work

Generally, multidirectional multi-party interaction forms a challenging discourse for the interpreters due to the participants' rapid and overlapping interaction. Additionally, participants' ability to address each other directly may also pose challenges to interpreters because, in multi-party interaction, the frame of interpreted interaction may not at all times be foregrounded, which leads to the participants engaging into same-language interaction without considering the needs of the participants' relying on the interpreters renditions or the interpreters' needs in producing the renditions (Napier et al., 2010; Takimoto & Koshiba, 2009). Thus, it seems that in successful multidirectional multi-party interaction, the idea of participants' and interpreters working 'with' (Turner, 2007) each other is essential in ensuring that 'everything' gets rendered and that all participants are given equal access to information. Moreover, in interpreted interaction in a setting in which signed language is used, such as in the meetings studied for this paper, the notion of participants and interpreters working with each other seems to be even more central for the reason that similarly as deaf participants' are restricted in their visual field when attending the interpreters (see Berge & Thomassen, 2016; Van Herreweghe, 2002), also interpreters are restricted in their visual field, which might lead them not seeing the signed contributions, that should be rendered if everyone should be guaranteed equal access to information, taking place outside their visual field.

Generally, interpreters are expected to render 'all' participants' turns. In team interpreting, in addition to this expectation, however, interpreters have responsibilities towards each other in ensuring the accuracy of the renditions as well. For the reason

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that in bimodal signed language team interpreting monitoring the colleague's output and the audience require gaze, in practice this implies that interpreters have to decide whether to focus on ensuring accuracy in the colleague's renditions, which may lead to missing participants' signed contributions if they occur outside the interpreter's visual field or whether to focus on ensuring that subsequent contributions get rendered, which leads to the interpreters' inability to ensure accuracy in the colleague's renditions. That is, there is no perfect solution. For the reason that interpreters' work-division implies trade-offs either in the accuracy of the renditions or in rendering participants' turn-taking, as was attested in the previous chapters, it seems to be crucial that interpreters practice clients' interests foregrounding 'expository' interpreting (Turner & Best, 2017). That is, similarly as Holcomb (2018) suggests, interpreters should openly discuss whether 'accuracy' of the renditions is valued over smoother and more natural sounding turn-taking and, ultimately, whether everybody, i.e. the participants relying on renditions, should be provided equal access to information.

Based on this study it seems that interpreters' work-division may contribute positively to rendering dialogic interaction. However, for the reason that problematically overlapping participants' talk makes the interpreter to be selective in rendering of the overlapping turns, i.e. whose turns are rendered and when, it seems that multidirectional multi-party interaction requires cooperation and an actively maintained frame of interpreted interaction from the participants and the interpreters. In practice, this seems to require a rather well-structured interaction with the participants checking that the interpreters are available for rendering their contributions and, if required, by repeating what was said earlier as was attested in the data in this paper. Ensuring everybody equal access to information requires also openness from the interpreters in requesting to repeat and in informing the overall inability to render as well (see Van Herreweghe, 2005). That is, albeit team interpreting practices may alleviate rendering multidirectional multi-party interaction to the point in which the number of participants engaging simultaneously in interaction equals the number of rendering interpreters as it (in most situations) enables rendering interaction as it occurs, in practice, providing everybody equal access to information through ensuring that 'all' turns get rendered is a mutual achievement. If this does not happen, it is likely that the access to information is hindered to the participants relying on renditions, which restricts their participation.

7 Conclusions

This study focused on team interpreting in multidirectional multi-party interaction paying specific attention to Finnish-FinSL interpreters' actions within the team. By drawing focus to team interpreters' actions during the assignment applying CA methods, the study increased knowledge and served as ground research on how interpreters coordinate their work intrapersonally and interpersonally within the team on a moment-by-moment level in multidirectional multi-party interaction. The findings of the study indicate that in multidirectional multi-party interaction team interpreters' interpersonal work is directed by their work-division that sets the framework for coordinating rendering turns within the team. A shared framework, alongside the norm of having one interpreter rendering one participant's turn at a time, directs the interpreter's actions on the intrapersonal level. In practice, with the work-division attested in this paper, the number of participants' interacting (given that interpreters are aware of the turns), defines what type of 'constellation' interpreters form, i.e. whether interpreters work as (non-)rendering interpreters or as a rendering and a non-rendering interpreter. Thus, it also defines interpreters' responsibilities in relation to a specific interactional sequence. In practice, interpreter's current 'role' as a rendering or a non-rendering interpreter within the team defines how the interpreter coordinates her/his/their actions on site on the intrapersonal level. Additionally, the conceptualisation of joint work impacts team interpreters' work, which leads the interpreters to monitor each other's output, enhance each other's renditions, and to coordinate the rendering turns within the team on site, if required. Based on the study, when possible, interpreters seem to coordinate their actions so that it enables rendering participants' "smooth" turn-taking, which implies that they de-emphasise ensuring accuracy in the renditions. However, if possible, interpreters aim for assuring both aspects. Additionally, when it comes to the team interpreters' intrapersonal coordination, interpreters may be involved in 'monoactivity' or in 'multiactivity', that is, the interpreter may have only one or, occasionally, two simultaneously relevant courses of action that require coordination.

When it comes to the notion of multiactivity in team interpreting, based on this study, FinSL-Finnish team interpreters may encounter moments of multiactivity during in situ turn management, in support sequences and also when participants'

problematically overlapping talk occurs. The findings of this study indicate that the notion of multiactivity could prove useful in explaining some team interpreters' cooperative actions. Additionally, the notion of multiactivity might help explain why participants' problematically overlapping talk is so troublesome for interpreters in general.

Team interpreting with a work-division that allows having two simultaneously rendering interpreters seems to suffice for rendering most of the multidirectional multiparty interaction. That is, this type of work-division seems to be conducive for participants' interaction in multidirectional discourse if conduciveness interpreters' work is measured by the ability to render most turns. An additional benefit of this working practice comes through the interpreters' ability to overlap in their renditions and through the ability to render different participants' turns without depending on the previous rendition as this working practice; especially when same-language renditions are concerned, this working practice results into a more ordinary-conversation-like output to be listened to, which differentiates it from interpreted interaction in which one interpreter is responsible for rendering all turns.

Generally, albeit team interpreting might be 'successful' and suffice for rendering most interaction without confronting problematically overlapping participants' talk, in practice, there is no perfect solution as the interpreters' actions have implications for the participants' interaction and the interpreters' work. For the reason that interpreters' working practices entail compromises either in the interpreters' ability to support colleague, i.e., in ensuring accuracy in the renditions, or in the participants' ability to engage "smoothly" in interaction given that every turn should be rendered to ensure all participants equal access to information is taken as the starting point for interpreted interaction, this study highlights the importance of participants' and interpreters' cooperation in deciding what is valued. Ultimately, the question is about whether renditions should be as accurate as possible or whether participants' smooth turn-taking and/or equal access to 'all' information is valued. If all participants' equal access to information is valued, it implies that interpreters should be able to render all turns, i.e. they should not confront moments of problematically overlapping talk that seems to constitute multiactivity for interpreters and might in practice result into information loss. Due to the limitations of gaze as a resource, in interpreted interaction with signed languages involved, participants and interpreters should, additionally, work with each other in

ensuring that interpreters are able to see and render all contributions deploying similar practices, such as repeating signing, that may be attested in monolingual signed interaction. However, if accuracy in the output is valued, which in practice implies interpreters working with the constellation of a rendering and a non-rendering interpreter in a team of two interpreters, participants' interaction should be limited to only one participant talking at a time for the reason that interpreters are no longer able to render overlapping talk as the non-rendering interpreter focuses on ensuring accuracy. Thus, ensuring accuracy in the renditions, if all participants' equal access to information is valued at the same time, seems to result into even more restricted turn-taking for the participants than having two rendering interpreters. Alternatively, if participants value the possibility to interact with each other without considering interpreters' availability for rendering, it should be acknowledged that the participants who rely on interpreters' renditions might not get equal access to information and, consequently, equal opportunity to participate in situations in which interpreters are unable to render the problematically overlapping turns or when participants' signed turns occur outside their visual field. Understandably, depending on the interaction, different participants may at different times be in a disadvantaged position.

For the reason that interpreters' work-division may impact participants' interaction and participation significantly through the alternative emphasises various working practices provide, team interpreting should not be seen as a practice solely in service for ensuring accuracy, the interpreters' endurance and well-being. Instead, similarly, as Holcomb (2018) suggests, team interpreting should also be seen providing different alternatives that may promote or hinder participation and participants' overall access to interpreted information. For this reason, finding optimal team interpreting practices for each situation and discourse should be a pertinent part of interpreters' and participants' pre-assignment discussions, and it should not rely solely on interpreters' decision.

By explaining the mechanisms of interpreters' work-division of working according to participants' turn-taking (with/without having a dedicated speaker's interpreter for the presenter) that led to the interpreters modify their actions during multidirectional multi-party interaction and forming varying combinations of rendering and/or non-rendering interpreter depending on participants' interaction, this study contributed to increasing knowledge on team interpreting. The findings of this study provide insights

and strategies for interpreters for working with participants (and for participants working with interpreters), which is a matter Leeson, Wurm, and Vermeerbergen (2014) also demand when discussing the directions of signed language interpreting research. Thus, this study contributed in increasing knowledge in a way that is seen pertinent in the field of sign language interpreting. Additionally, by reflecting the implications of the interpreters' actions, this study highlighted the importance of perceiving team interpreting as a situated and locally managed practice.

According to my knowledge, there are no studies that focus on signed language interpreting and multiactivity. Thus, this study took also the first step in bridging these fields of study together. Albeit the rigorous approach into data analysis allowed making evidence-based conclusions of interpreters' actions on site, future studies are, however, needed in confirming the findings of this study for the reason that the limited data led to many of the findings being based on few, if not single, incidences. To corroborate the findings and to allow generalizability meaningful for qualitative studies in general (Eskola & Suoranta, 2003), the data set related to the findings should be expanded.

Future studies could explore team interpreting in different types of discourses and with different types of work-divisions from a micro-analytical perspective to expand knowledge on the mechanics of team interpreting. Additionally, to increase knowledge on participants' perceptions, it would be beneficial to focus on team interpreters' in situ actions from the participants' perspective, i.e., what it is to participate through or listen to a specific type of work-division in a particular discourse. As the findings of this study indicate that the notion of multiactivity may enable explaining interpreters' actions from a novel perspective, future studies could also focus on interpreters' actions during problematically overlapping participants' talk in different settings to confirm whether participants' problematically overlapping courses of action constitutes multiactivity for the rendering interpreter and further explore team interpreters' support sequences and in situ turn management from the lens of multiactivity. In doing so, the studies could contribute to re-framing previous notions made for team interpreters' support sequences and, also, corroborate the findings of this study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Transcription conventions

Participants' FinSL interaction is glossed in Finnish and Finnish interaction is described verbatim in Finnish. Interpreters' renditions or their mutual interaction is described based on the language of the interaction either in Finnish glosses or with Finnish transcription followed by free English glosses or translations, respectively.

TAKAISIN TERVETULOA	FinSL interaction
tervetuloa takaisin	Finnish interaction
(SIGN-NAME) / (VIITTOMANIMI)	indicates information that has been removed to preserve anonymity
"peukku"	gestures or manual signs with gestural information, i.e. SASSes or type 3 verbals (see Jantunen, 2010)
POISTAAx	reduplicated sign
VIIME-VUOSI	hyphen is used when the meaning of a single sign cannot be described with one word only
HUHTI+KUU	compound sign
INDEX:that / OS:tuo	indicates a pointing sign with additional information about the meaning
nods	indicate participants' embodied actions if they appear in interpreter's renditions
turn-bidding	describes participant's embodied practices used in indicating willingness to talk
turn-allocating	indicates any embodied practice used in turn-allocation
zero rendition:	not rendered participant's turn or part of it
(2.0)	duration in seconds

Annotations for eye gaze

addressed participant(s)

addressed participant -> speaker

colleague

previous signer/speaker

participant(s)

signer

turn-bidding participant

turn-bidding participant -> signer

turn-bidding participant -> speaker

SL production (sign language production, gaze not directed to any participant)

P7 (specifies the participant the interpreter is looking at)

Annotations for interpreters' head movements

over 30% turn	interpreter's over 30% head turn from the middle position
nods	one nod
nodding	multiple nods

Appendix 2 Research permission

xxxxxxxx   Helsinki, 25.2.2019

TUTKIMUSLUPAPYYNTÖ

Opiskelen Humanistisessa ammattikorkeakoulussa European Master in Sign Language Interpreting (EU-MASLI, 90 ECTS) -tutkintoa. Kevään 2019 aikana tulen kirjoittamaan maisterintutkielmani otsikolla "Exploring team interpreting in multi-party interaction". Tutkimus valmistuu 14.6.2019 mennessä ja sen tulokset esitellään avoimessa opinnäytetyöseminaarissa Kööpenhaminassa, Tanskassa 3.-5.9.2019. **Tiedustelen teiltä mahdollisuutta päästä taltioimaan tutkimusaineistoa (organisaatio) järjestettävissä kokouksissa, kuten (xxxx), helmi-huhtikuun 2019 aikana.**

Tarkoituksenani on tutkia kieliparilla suomi-suomalainen viittomakieli toimivan tulkkiparin keskinäistä ja muiden osallistujien kanssa tapahtuvaa vuorovaikutusta ja yhteistyötä. Ajatuksenani on taltioida yksi tai tarvittaessa useampi autenttinen kokoustulkkaustilanne, jossa on paikalla useampia osanottajia. Tutkimukseni on tapaustutkimus ja se tulee painottumaan erityisesti tulkkiparin keskinäiseen yhteistyöhön. Olen päätynyt valitsemaani aiheeseen eli paritulkkauksen tutkimukseen siitä syystä, että aihe ei ole saanut juurikaan tutkimuksellista huomiota Suomessa tai kansainvälisesti. Tähänastinen paritulkkaustutkimus on painottunut vahvasti nk. luentotulkkauksen tutkimiseen tutkimukseni keskiössä olevien monenkeskisten paritulkattujen keskustelutilanteiden jäädessä paitsioon. Täten myös tietämys paritulkatun keskustelun mekanismeista, toimijoiden välisestä yhteistyöstä ja diskurssin vaikutuksesta tilanteeseen on suppea. Yleensä ottaen katson paritulkkauksen laaja-alaisen tutkimisen välttämättömäksi, sillä paritulkkaustilanteet muodostavat merkittävän osan tulkkien työjärjestelyistä kestoltaan pitkissä tai muutoin vaativissa tulkkaustilanteissa; esimerkiksi Kuurojen Liiton sisäisestä tulkkaustarpeesta 65% toteutettiin paritulkkauksella ja 4% tulkkitiimiä käyttäen vuonna 2018.

Pyydän lupaa taltioida aineistoa maisterintutkielmaani ja mahdollisia jatko-opintojani varten. Aineistonkeruun ja analyysin työläyden takia sekä siksi, että vastaavanlaista aineistoa ei juuri ole kerätty eikä sitä täten ole julkisesti saatavilla, olen myös ajatellut pyytää tutkittavilta suostumusta aineiston luovuttamisesta laajempaan tutkimus- ja opetuskäyttöön esimerkiksi Kielipankin välityksellä (ks. myös liitteenä oleva "tiedote tutkittavalle ja suostumus tutkimukseen osallistumisesta" -lomake). Olisiko tämä teidän silmissänne mahdollista? Tutkittavien tiedot tullaan esittämään tutkimusraportissa anonymisoituna, elleivät tutkittavat erikseen anna lupaa kuviensa käyttöön siten, että heidät niistä tunnistetaan. Olen myös varautunut tarvittaessa häivyttämään (organisaatioon) ja kokoukseen liittyviä asiasisällöllisiä yksityiskohtia tuloksia raportoidessani.

Koen, että tutkimukseni kautta on mahdollista lisätä tulkatun tilanteen osapuolten, ammatinharjoittajien ja akateemisen yhteisön ymmärrystä paritulkkaustilanteen käytänteistä. Tuloksia voidaan hyödyntää muun muassa tulkkien työkäytänteiden kehittämisessä ja uusien tulkkien kouluttamisessa.

Olen valmis kertomaan aiheesta enemmän, jos katsotte sen tarpeelliseksi.

Ystävällisesti,

Saija Kuronen

Appendix 3 Fact sheet and consent to participate the study

(Original in Finnish only)

TIEDOTE TUTKITTAVILLE JA SUOSTUMUS TUTKIMUKSEEN OSALLISTUMISESTA
FACT SHEET AND CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE THE STUDY

Tutkijan yhteystiedot / *Researcher's contact details*

Saija Kuronen
viittomakielen tulkki ja European Master in Sign Language Interpreting (EUMASLI) -opiskelija
sign language interpreter and European Master in Sign Language Interpreting (EUMASLI) student
xxxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxx

Tutkimuksen taustatiedot / *Background information*

Opinnäytetyön otsikko:	**Exploring team interpreting in multi-party interaction**
Thesis title:	
Oppilaitos:	Humanistinen ammattikorkeakoulu
Institution:	*Humak University of Applied Sciences*
Opintokokonaisuus:	EUMASLI-koulutusohjelman maisterintutkielma (30 ECTS)
Module:	*Master's Thesis for the EUMASLI program (30 ECTS)*
Tutkimusajankohta:	Tutkimus toteutetaan keväällä 2019 ja tutkimustulokset esitellään julkisesti syksyllä 2019
Timeline:	*The study will be conducted in spring 2019 and the results will be presented in public autumn 2019*
Ohjaajat:	Rachel Rosenstock & Liisa Halkosaari
Tutors:	

Tutkimuksen tarkoitus, tavoite ja merkitys /
Research purpose, aim, and meaning

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on tutkia kieliparilla suomi-suomalainen viittomakieli toimivan tulkkiparin keskinäistä ja osallistujien kanssa tapahtuvaa vuorovaikutusta ja yhteistyötä taltioimalla yksi tai tarvittaessa useampi autenttinen tulkattu työelämään liittyvä kokoustilanne. Vaikka paritulkkaus on kieliparin suomi-suomalainen viittomakieli -tulkkaustilauksissa vallitseva käytänne erityisesti silloin, kun tilaisuus on kestoltaan pitkä tai muutoin vaativa, aihe ei ole saanut juurikaan tutkimuksellista huomiota Suomessa tai kansainvälisesti. Paritulkattuja kokoustilanteita ja niissä tapahtuvaa monenkeskistä tulkattua vuorovaikutusta ei myöskään ole juurikaan tutkittu. Tutkimuksen kautta on mahdollista parantaa esimerkiksi tulkattujen tilanteiden osallistujien, ammatinharjoittajien ja tiedeyhteisön tietämystä paritulkkauskäytänteistä ja aikaansaada keskustelua osapuolten välisestä vuorovaikutuksesta ja yhteistyöstä. Tutkimustuloksia voidaan myös hyödyntää tulkkikoulutuksessa ja jo alalla toimivien tulkkien työkäytänteiden parantamisessa.
The study aims in studying Finnish-Finnish Sign Langugage team interpreter's interaction and cooperation between the interpreter team and between the participants by recording one, or more, if needed, authentic interpreted work-related meeting. Although team interpreting is a standard practicce especially if the situation is long-lasting or otherwise demanding, the topic has received only little scholarly interest in Finland and internationally. Team interpreted meetings and multi-party interaction in them has also been studied only little. The research will increase e.g. participants', professionals' and scholars' knowledge on team interpreting practices, and it may also serve as the impetus on mutual interaction and cooperation. The research findings can be utilized in interpreter training and also in improving practitioner's professional practices.

Tutkimusaineiston käyttötarkoitus, käsittely ja säilyttäminen /
Usage, handling and storage of the data

Aineistoa käytetään osana tieteellistä tutkimusta eli kevään 2019 aikana valmistuvassa maisterintutkielmassa. Tutkittavien suostuessa aineistoa voidaan käyttää tutkijan jatko-opinnoissa (l. tohtoriopinnot) ja muihin tarkoituksiin, kuten opetukseen. Aineisto säilytetään tutkijan toimesta siten, ettei ulkopuolisilla ole pääsyä aineistoon. Poikkeuksena tähän ovat opinnäytetyön ohjaajat, joille tarvittaessa taataan pääsy aineistoon. Mikäli kaikki tutkittavat suostuvat siihen, että aineisto luovutetaan myös muiden tutkijoiden ja opettajien käyttöön, käynnistetään toimenpiteet aineiston siirtämisestä Kielipankkiin (https://www.kielipankki.fi/) tai muulle vastaavalle alustalle.

Kielipankin esite tutkittaville: https://kitwiki.csc.fi/twiki/pub/FinCLARIN/KielipankinEsiteTutkittavalle/Kielipankin_esite_tutkittaville.pdf
The data will be used in scientific study, i.e. in the MA thesis made in spring 2019. If the researchees give consent, the material may be used in researcher's further studies (PhD studies) and for other purposes, such as for teaching. The material will be stored by the researcher so that outsiders have no access to the data. The tutors of the thesis, however, will be guaranteed access to the data if needed. If all researchees give consent for giving other researchers and teachers access to the data, procedures about moving the data to the Language Bank of Finland (https://www.kielipankki.fi/) or to a equivalent platform will take place.
Brochure for the researchees about the Language Bank of Finland:
https://kitwiki.csc.fi/twiki/pub/FinCLARIN/KielipankinEsiteTutkittavalle/LanguageBank_info_for_subjects.pdf

Menettelyt, joiden kohteeksi tutkittavat joutuvat / *The procedure*

Aineisto kerätään taltioimalla todellinen paritulkattu työelämään liittyvä kokous (tai tarvittaessa useampia kokouksia), jossa on paikalla monta osallistujaa. Taltioitava tilanne ja siinä tulkkaavat tulkit valikoituvat hyödyntämällä tutkijan henkilökohtaisia verkostoja. Tilaisuus videoidaan useammalla kameralla siten, että kaikki tilanteen osallistujat ja heidän puheenvuoronsa taltioituvat kameroiden nauhoille. On mahdollista, että otteita tilanteessa käydystä vuorovaikutuksesta ja keskusteluista julkaistaan osana tutkimusraporttia ja tutkimusesitelmiä.
Tutkimusaineisto tullaan anonymisoimaan, ellei tutkittava erikseen anna tästä poikkeavaa lupaa. Henkilötietojen minimoimiseksi aineiston analyysivaiheessa jokaiselle tutkimuksessa esiintyvälle henkilölle tullaan antamaan pseudonyymi (eli "keksitty nimi"). Tätä pseudonyymiä käytetään tutkimusraportissa, jos henkilön puheenvuoroja lainataan kirjallisesti. Videonauhalta poimittuja still-kuvia, joista kuvattava on mahdollista tunnistaa suoraan, liitetään tutkimusraporttiin vain tutkittavan suostumuksella. Videoleikkeitä käydystä vuorovaikutuksesta esitetään osana tutkimusesitelmiä ainoastaan tutkittavan suostumuksella.
The research data will be collected by recording an actual team interpreted multi-party meeting (or several meetings, if needed). The situation and the interpreters will be selected using reseacher's personal networks. The situation will be recorded using multiple cameras so that participants and their utterances will be recorded. It is possible that parts from the interaction and conversations, will be presented in the research report and in research presentations.
The data will be anonymized if a distinct permission is not given by the participant. To minimize personal information, during the analysis, every participant will be given a pseudonym (i.e. a 'made-up name'). This pseudonym will be used in the research report, if quotes by the person are presented. Directly recognizable still-captions from the video will be added to the report only if consent is received. Video clips of the interaction will be presented in research presentations only if consent is received.

Tutkimuksen hyödyt ja haitat / *Benefits and disadvantages of the study*

Tutkimus toteutetaan siten, ettei siitä koidu haittaa haastateltavalle eikä hänen edustamalleen yhteisölle. Tutkimus hyödyttää tutkittavia epäsuorasti. Tutkimukseen osallistumalla tutkittavan on mahdollista olla osana synnyttämässä tietoa paritulkkaustilanteissa tapahtuvasta vuorovaikutuksesta ja yhteistyöstä. On mahdollista, että tutkimustulokset edesauttavat paritulkkauskäytänteiden kehittymistä tulevaisuudessa.

The research will be conducted so that it does not disadvantage the participants or their community. Researchees will benefit from the study indirectly. By particpating the study, the participant makes it possible to generate information about team interpreted interaction and cooperation between participants. It is possible that the results will benefit on improving team interpreting practices in the future.

Miten ja mihin tutkimustuloksia aiotaan käyttää /
The usage of the research findings

Tutkielma julkaistaan ammattikorkeakoulujen yhteisessä Theseus-opinnäytetyötietokannassa (https://www.theseus.fi/). Tutkimustulokset raportoidaan EUMASLI-tutkintoon kuuluvassa maisterin-tutkielmassa ja tulokset esitellään mm. koulutusohjelman muille opiskelijoille, opettajille, tulkkikollego-ille ja tutkijoille avoimessa opinnäytetyöseminaarissa Kööpenhaminassa, Tanskassa, 3.-5.9.2019. Tämän lisäksi tutkimuksen tuloksista tullaan raportoimaan myös muualla, kuten alan koulutuksissa, yrityksissä ja seminaareissa (esim. efsli:n kongressit ja KäTu-symposium).
Thesis will be published in the Open Repository Theseus (https://www.theseus.fi/). The research results will be reported in the MA Thesis for the EUMASLI degree and the results will be presented for other students, professors, interpreter colleagues and academics in a public colloquium in Copenhagen, Denmark on September 3-5, 2019. In addition, the results of the study will be presented elsewhere, such as in trainings, at agencys and in seminars (e.g. efsli congresses and KäTu symposium).

Tutkittavan oikeudet / *Participant's rights*

Osallistuminen tutkimukseen on täysin vapaaehtoista. Tutkittavalla on tutkimuksen aikana oikeus kieltäytyä tutkimuksesta ja keskeyttää tutkimukseen osallistuminen missä vaiheessa tahansa ilman, että siitä aiheutuu heille seuraamuksia. Tutkimuksen järjestelyt ja tulosten raportointi ovat luottamuksellisia. Tutkimuksesta saatavat tutkittavien henkilökohtaiset tiedot tulevat ainoastaan tutkijan ja hänen ohjaavien opettajiensa käyttöön ja tulokset julkaistaan tutkimusraporteissa siten, ettei yksittäistä tutkittavaa voi tunnistaa. Tästä voidaan poiketa ainoastaan, mikäli tutkittava antaa suostumuksen kuviensa julkaisuun siten, että hänet voidaan tunnistaa niistä suoraan. Tutkittavalla on oikeus saada lisätietoa tutkimuksesta tutkijalta missä vaiheessa tahansa.
The participation to the study is voluntary. The researchee can cancel or decline their participation to the study anytime without consequences. The set up and reporting of the study will be confidential. The personal information gained from the study will be limited to the researcher and to her tutors and the research findings will be reported in such a way that the reseachees cannot be identified. An exemption can be made only if the researchee gives consent to publish her/his/their pictures in an identifiable manner. The researchee has the right to receive extra information about the study form the researcher anytime.

Tutkittavan suostumus tutkimukseen osallistumisesta /
Researchee's consent to participate the study

Minä _____ **olen perehtynyt tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitukseen ja sisältöön, kerättävän tutkimusaineiston käyttöön ja tutkittavan oikeuksiin. Suostun osallistumaan tutkimukseen. Voin halutessani peruuttaa tai keskeyttää osallistumiseni tai kieltäytyä tutkimukseen osallistumisesta missä vaiheessa tahansa. Tutkimustuloksia ja kerättyä aineistoa saa käyttää ja hyödyntää sellaisessa muodossa, jossa yksittäistä tutkittavaa ei voi tunnistaa ellen erikseen anna lupaa kuvieni tai vuorovaikutustani sisältävien videoleikkeiden käyttöön julkaisuissa ja tutkimusesitelmissä.**

I _____ have familiarized myself with the purpose and content of this study, to the data that is to be collected and to the researchee's rights. I give consent in participating the study. I can withdraw my consent, cancel participation or decline from the study anytime. Unless otherwise stated in relation to utilizing my photos or video clips containing my interaction in publications and research presentations, the research findings and the collected data can only be utilized in such a form where it is impossible to identify a particular researchee.

	kyllä *yes*	ei *no*
Annan tutkijalle luvan käyttää aineistoa hänen maisterintutkielmassaan. *I give the researcher permission to utilize the material in her MA thesis.*		
Annan tutkijalle luvan käyttää aineistoa hänen jatko-opinnoissaan (tohtorintutkielma). *I give the researcher permission to utilize the material in her further studies (PhD dissertation).*		
Tutkija saa käyttää aineistoa opetuksessa. *The researcher can use the material in teaching.*		
Muut opettajat saavat käyttää aineistoa opetuksessa. *Other teachers can utilize the material in teaching.*		
Muut tutkijat saavat käyttää aineistoa heidän tutkimuksissaan. *Other researchers can utilize the material in their studies.*		
Kuvani saa julkaista tutkimusraporteissa siten, että minut on mahdollista siitä tunnistaa. *My pictures can be published in research reports so that it is possible to identify myself.*		
Kuvani saa julkaista tutkimusraporteissa siten, että kasvoni on peitetty tai sumennettu. *My pictures can be published in research reports so that my face is covered or blurred.*		
Vuorovaikutustani voi esittää videolla osana tutkimusesitelmiä siten, että minut on mahdollista siitä tunnistaa. *Video clips of my interaction can be presented in research presentations so that it is possible to identify myself.*		

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Paikka / *Place*   Päiväys / *Date*   Tutkittavan allekirjoitus / *Researchee's signature*

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Paikka / *Place*   Päiväys / *Date*   Tutkijan allekirjoitus / *Researcher's signature*

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