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Dialogue between the Lines: Deaf and Hearing Interpreters' Interaction during Intralingual Co-Interpretation

Abstract

This study focuses on the practice of simultaneous co-interpreting in the media, specifically examining the interaction between a hearing interpreter (HI) and a deaf interpreter (DI). The HI's role in this context is to interpret the spoken source speech in Belgian French into French Belgian Sign Language (LSFB) for the DI, who, in turn, conveys the discourse to a deaf audience. The main objective of this research is to explore the phenomenon of adjustment within the HI-DI interaction and the strategies used by the HIs to overcome the inherent challenges of this configuration. To do so, the study analyzes a collection of recorded press conferences related to the COVID-19 crisis, featuring four HI-DI teams. By analyzing a set of video data from press conferences, this study aims to identify the types of information exchanged during the interpretation process, such as

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specific concepts, meta-comments, the speaker's intentions, and so on. Additionally, the study aims to identify the strategies used by the HIs throughout the process. This analysis reveals the complex dynamics of the HI-DI interaction, shedding light on the HIs' efforts to convey content and meaning from the source speech, as well as their use of metalinguistic indications to make effective adjustments. This article focuses on three specific strategies employed by the HIs: compression strategies, whose goal is to provide the DI with time and space to reformulate the (pre)interpreted message; explicitation strategies, used to make explicit logical connections and prosodic information in the discourse; and interactional signaling strategies, which facilitate interaction between the interpreters.

Introduction

Interpreting requires a constant (re)adjustment of the meaning produced in the target language. This phenomenon, strategic by nature (Heyerick 2021), has been largely studied from an individual perspective. Co-interpreting, or deaf-hearing team interpreting, in all its forms known so far, is the process whereby a hearing interpreter (HI) and a deaf interpreter (DI) collaborate closely as a team. The HI acts as a pivot or feeder: They translate the oral source speech into a signed discourse for the DI (interlingual interpreting). The DI, in turn, acts as a relay: They rephrase and relay the discourse from the feeder to the deaf audience in the same sign language (SL) the HI uses (intralingual interpreting). This form of interpretation, requiring at least two interpreters, can be consecutive or simultaneous (Boudreault 2005, 340). The concept of deaf-hearing co-interpreting is not new, yet it remains a largely uninvestigated field of research. In this interpreting configuration, the phenomenon of (re)adjustment requires study, not only from an individual perspective but also from a collaborative/interactional one. Among the rare studies devoted to this type of interpreting, none is concerned with the simultaneous co-interpretation between French Belgian Sign Language (LSFB) and Belgian French (BF).

When co-interpreting, each partner carries out multiple tasks (simultaneously listening/looking, deverbalizing, monitoring the DI, and so on). At the same time, the partners adapt to each other by

adjusting strategies to cope with the inherent difficulties of the discourse to be translated, the ambiguity that can be generated by the intertwining of the productions (i.e., of the speaker, the HI, and the DI) and to establish a reciprocity of understanding. Co-interpretation is not a dialogue per se, as the language flow is mainly in one direction. Yet, both partners need to establish a way to interact during opportunities offered by the interaction. This kind of dialogue during the gaps has been observed in studies focused on specific community interpreting settings or international interpreting conferences (e.g., Bienvenu and Colonomos 1992; Ressler 1999; Boudreault 2005; Bentley-Sassaman and Dawson 2012; Stone and Russell 2014; Tester 2021). These authors have called for a deeper investigation of the numerous strategies involved in DI-HI team interpreting.

The co-interpretation design raises particularly intriguing issues, since the HI, in addition to the usual constraints of any direct interpretation, must deal with a second set of constraints related to the interaction with the DI partner. To explore how those additional constraints impact the interpreting process, we analyzed a corpus of media co-interpretation productions that took place within a context of government crisis communication in Belgium. The corpus consists of press conferences recorded during the COVID-19 crisis. These were co-interpreted by four teams: the sign production of four HIs (two beginners and two experienced interpreters) working from BF into LSFB and two DIs working from LSFB to LSFB. Figure 1 displays the setup of the co-interpreting process, where the DIs' rendering was filmed and aired live.

For this study, we focus on what is not broadcasted in the media, namely the recording of the HIs' interpretations. In particular, the aim is to explore how the HI, in addition to the usual constraints of interpretation, controls the specificities implied by the co-interpretation setting and process.

Interpreting Strategies

Different strategies have been identified and studied in the field of interpretation, be it in the context of interpretation of spoken languages (SpLs; for a thorough view, see Pöchhacker 2006) or in the context of SL and SpL interpretation (Napier 2005; Heyerick 2021). Interpreters'

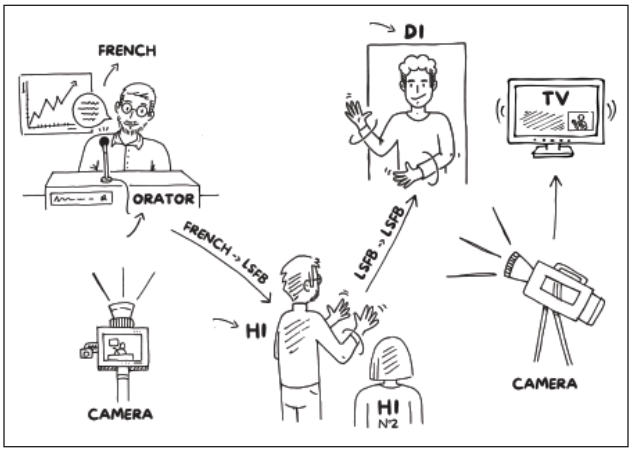

FIGURE 1. Representation of the setting.

anticipation, active listening, short-term memory management, and reformulation are part of those strategies that are now widely studied in interpretation research. From these seminal studies, research has taken two main directions. On the one hand, strategies are seen as a way for the interpreter to deal with speech difficulties and with the cognitive load of interpretation. On the other hand, the interpretation process, as a whole, is considered strategic by nature (Heyerick 2021). According to this approach, intentional omission, for example, is viewed as a way to better manage the information flow rather than as a mistake (Napier 2005). Our study adopts this second perspective.

Heyerick (2021) emphasizes that strategic interpreting is not a one-size-fits-all approach, but rather a flexible and adaptable process that is tailored to the specific demands of each interpreting assignment. Studies show that the interpreter constantly makes decisions to properly meet the challenges given by the source speech (Pöchhacker 2015), aiming to produce a target speech that is linguistically and culturally appropriate while having the same effect as the source speech on the person(s) receiving that target speech (Pöchhacker 2015). We shall adopt the definition of Heyerick (2021):

> A linguistic interpreting strategy is a choice an interpreter makes on the textual and cognitive levels (i.e., local level) of the interpreting

> activity in order to render the source text message. Such local strategies can be specific or general and are co-dependent in that they interact with each other and with global strategies that reveal the general aim the interpreter seeks to obtain. [. . .] The motivation to use a linguistic interpreting strategy can be oriented towards the process or the product of the interpretation. (206)

Because of its collaborative nature, co-interpreting adds an additional dimension to the act of interpreting that is related to the interactions between the partners.

Co-Interpreting

The need for interpretation into international, national, or regional SLs from one pivot language was observed decades, if not centuries, ago (Leahy and Cormac 2016; Adam, Carty, and Stone 2011), notably since international congresses and conferences between deaf people using various SLs began. As mentioned, though the concept of HI-DI interpreting is not entirely new, its practice has only recently widely developed, rendering the research on deaf-hearing teamwork very recent, too. Most studies have been carried out in western countries and mostly from an ethnographic perspective. The first research projects shed a much-needed light on the various forms of co-interpreting practice, notably by showing the contribution of the DI working in tandem with an HI, as DIs adapt their production to the public in a shared perspective (Boudreault 2005, 331). This type of research is crucial, as it brings the importance of *deaf-same*[1] into focus, highlighting the significance of having interpreters who are also deaf. This is crucial in situations where interpreting requires sensitivity and understanding of the deaf communities. In turn, such inclusion can "enable the communication process through interpretation" (Boudreault 2005, 335). In terms of research methods, interviews with (co)interpreters and surveys are often used.

Research approaches are particularly varied, and researchers often draw on small samples. Among others, Adam et al. (2014) and Boudreault (2005) describe how DI-HI teams and DIs positioning are established in different settings; Stone and Russell (2014) and Tester (2021) provide a technical analysis of the teamwork process. They investigate, for example, the way DIs perceive their own interpreta-

tion (Tester 2021) and translation process (Stone 2009). Other projects conduct a setting-based analysis researching DIs (and HIs) working on television (de Meulder and Heyerick 2013; Stone 2009) or in the courtroom (Tester 2018, 2021) and other places where they work (Adam et al. 2014). Some scholars have a didactic approach and identify relevant elements to teach deaf and hearing interpreters (see e.g., Bentley-Sassaman and Dawson 2012; Stone 2018) and to implement training for deaf interpreters (Heyerick 2021). Most studies focus on either the DI or the HI and only rarely consider both the HI's and the DI's productions. While there might be several reasons as to why this is the case, major inherent methodological difficulties and the scarcity of sufficient real-time corpus data play a role.

The first research to examine the collaborative linguistic aspects during co-interpreting was carried out by Ressler. Ressler (1999) tried to perceive the differences between a direct interpretation performed by an HI and the production of the same speech by the same HI, but in a co-interpreting setting with a DI. For the first time, light was shed on linguistic differences between direct and pivot interpretation. One of the particularly relevant findings relates to the number of signs produced per minute. In pivot interpretation, the number was reduced by a fifth, showing that an interpersonal adaptation of the speech does occur. Another strength of this pioneering study is that it pointed out the complexity of the interaction during co-interpreting, notably through three differences: (1) a higher number of pauses in relays, (2) brief clarification moments embedded in the HI's production, and (3) the spelling of concepts in co-interpreting, although they are broken down into paraphrases during direct interpretation. One hypothesis put forward by Bentley-Sassaman and Dawson (2012, 3) is that the three differences Ressler (1999) observed aim to monitor the DI's production and to allow clarifications between the members of the interpreting pair. Ressler, too, (1999, 94) suggested several possible explanations, among them being the need to find space in the speech to monitor the DI and to check for accuracy, monitor comprehension, and provide feedback (92).

Although stories of and opinions on co-interpreting experiences may vary depending on the interpreters and the context of interpreting, some broad outlines on the DI-HI relationship seem to emerge

in the research, along with the idea that interpreters must adapt to one another appears regularly. HIs, for example, need to be able to meet the linguistic needs of their deaf colleague (Bienvenu and Colonomos 1992, 71). Studies seem to agree that relay interpreting is more effective when three elements are present. First, preparation time seems to have a positive effect (Bienvenu and Colonomos 1992, 71), which includes negotiating how the *feeding*[2] will be done (Tester 2021). The shared techniques and methods cannot be discussed anymore once the interpretation has started, and research shows that it is better to talk them through beforehand, following the needs of the *active* interpreter—the DI—(Peters and Scholl 2018, 80). Studies that were specifically focused on the relationship between the DI and the HI showed that tensions and even hostility can arise if there is no time and space for discussion between them before the assignment begins (Nicodemus and Taylor 2014, 91). Secondly, debriefing after the interpreting assignment between the interpreters is crucial (Russell 2017; Bentley-Sassaman and Dawson 2012). Finally, learning through repeated experience with the same colleagues (Stone and Russell 2014, 153) increases the effectiveness of the teamwork, notably by applying the elements discussed on previous occasions. The audience for whom one is co-interpreting also determines the strategies to be used. There is an obvious difference, for instance when working for migrant deaf people who recently arrived in the country (Russell 2017, 5), or when interpreting for the deaf communities in times of government crisis communication.

Stone and Russell (2014) investigated linguistic strategies used by teams of DIs and HIs during a conference interpretation from English into International Sign with one pivot language (i.e., American Sign Language [ASL] or British Sign Language [BSL]). Their study is based on two teams of interpreters working during the same conference. One team included interpreters who had never worked as a team before, and the other one was made up of colleagues who have previously worked together in co-interpreting settings. The authors noted that the latter had some specific conventions and, thanks to shared experience, these conventions were hardly noticeable to the conference attendees or were identified as part of the interpretation process.

Stone and Russell (2014) identified three strategies used by the teams. The first strategy is the use of *chunking indicators*, which are elements in the interpretation that clearly identify a completed piece of information (144). These chunking indicators serve as signposts to manage the flow of information. The second strategy relies on *accommodations*, indicating that the information being delivered by the interpreter is in progress and not yet complete (Stone and Russell 2014, 144). In that sense, accommodations are the opposite of chunks. The third strategy is *affirmations*, which are elements in the interpretation used to support the interpreter's rendering of information while also indicating the continuation of the message (Stone and Russell 2014, 145). Chunking indicators made by the HI, such as holds, pauses, and drops (hands drop at the end of a sentence) are recognizable clues that allow the DI to identify when one piece of information is complete. The adjustments to warn the deaf co-interpreter that one piece of information was not fully interpreted were noticed thanks to holds and the repetition of manual signs.

Then, two types of pauses used by the HI, already identified by Ressler (1999), were also observed: (1) pauses to enable listening to and understanding the source speech before translating it and (2) sign holds used to monitor the DI's production. Affirmations were observed through head nods, which occurred at three different paces (fast, slow, and from slow to fast). These head nods are used by HIs in conjunction with other linguistic elements, such as lexical signs, spelling, and manual pauses. Head nods are used by HIs to adjust their pace to allow the DI to keep up (Ressler 1999, 105). Stone and Russell (2014) noticed that the HI's production pace was between consecutive and simultaneous interpreting (a "blended approach," Stone and Russell 2014, 154), which may be due to the will to provide the DI with enough time to interpret full chunks of the discourse. It is interesting to note that Sforza (2014) identified the same linguistic elements in intralingual interpretation (ASL to tactile ASL) in DI teams. Although Stone and Russell (2014), Sforza (2010), and Ressler (1999) focus on different languages and profiles of interpreters than our study, the elements they observed can be used as clues to investigate our corpus.

Research Context and Main Objective

The first author of this study is currently conducting a larger research project on co-interpretation, which is grounded in his own experience as a hearing interpreter having taken part in the press conferences around the COVID-19 crisis (autoethnographic approach).[3] Previous to the study presented in this article, a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2022) was conducted on various elements coming from the HIs' and DIs' teamwork during two years of interpreting together, such as meeting reports, a documentary cowritten by the interpreters (collective output), and team exchanges (feedback sessions after interpreting). In addition to these initial data, pilot studies were conducted on three recorded press conferences, involving a systematic analysis of the HIs' productions. Based on these investigations, and triangulation of the different sets of data, three major categories of strategies were identified. The object of this article is to document and qualify in a data sample the presence and frequency of occurrence of these three types of strategies used by HIs. It is important to note that the research employs a circular iterative analysis approach within the data, which is presented here in a linear format due to the logical constraints of writing. Not all of the various themes (such as the contribution of the DI, neologism analysis, etc.) are addressed in this article; only those relevant to the study's objectives are discussed. Consequently, this study is said to be a qualitative one, and this article particularly focuses on one step of the overall research: the corpus analysis of four recorded press conferences. The (larger) study is specifically oriented towards the work of HIs, as it is based on potentially shared experience with hearing pairs. Moreover, the DIs' productions will be observed from the perspective of the HIs' productions and will not be analyzed as an independent text. As this exploration is set at the crossroads of linguistics and (auto-)ethnography, addressing the impact of the exploration process (Kusters and Hou 2020, 562) from a more personal point of view, it falls into linguistic ethnography (Rampton 2020).

The overall goal of our study is to describe, in each press conference interpretation, the HI's task within the co-interpretation tandem. In doing so, we examine how the HI conveys the source speech content to the DI, while allowing enough space and time for the DI to interpret the message. Additionally, we turn our attention to the

interaction(s) between the HI and the DI during the interpretation. We specifically aim to identify the collaboration strategies implemented by the HIs in order to allow for a successful interpretation by the DI.

Based on a sample of data collected in an ecological context of French–LSFB co-interpreted productions, we more specifically aim to identify the strategies implemented by the four HIs (one for each press conference interpretation) to collaborate with the four DIs. The focus will especially be on features that emerge from the specificities of the co-interpretation setting itself.

Given the collaboration between the HI and the DI, an additional temporal lag occurs, compared to the usual interpretation setting, and there is a need for the partners in the dyad to adjust to each other and to interact. Furthermore, the HI must provide the DI with the opportunity to deploy the information and, in the case of the crisis communication context of our data, to do so in a particularly clear, understandable language for all audiences. Finally, since the HIs are the only ones to have direct access to the source discourse and, in particular, to its prosodic components, it is up to the HIs to communicate to their colleagues a whole set of expressive, rhythmic, and intonational cues which contribute pragmatically to the meaning and the intention of the discourse to be interpreted.

In light of these observations on the specific nature of co-interpretation and based on the previous observations, we will investigate the ways the HI applies strategies of compression and explicitation[4] when feeding the source speech content. Additionally, we would like to investigate how these strategies are signaled by the HI to the DI, in order for the DI to use them to deliver a clear interpretation. This leads to the expectation that a third type of strategy will occur, falling within the domain of interactional signaling. Consequently, this study examines the HIs' use of the three strategies of compression, explicitation, and interactional signaling in a co-interpreting setting.

Methodology

Context

On March 17, 2020, the Belgian government decided to hold press conferences on the evolution of the epidemiological situation related

to the coronavirus that would also be interpreted and available to the D/deaf communities. The scheme, supported by Belgian federations for the D/deaf and under the incentive of HIs, allowed co-interpretation to take place in more than 200 conferences (for a complete account, see Hanquet and le Maire 2021 and Gebruers et al. 2022). Out of a group of five HIs and four DIs, teams were formed to include systematically at least one HI and one DI. Those teams remained almost unchanged throughout the whole two-year-period, thus allowing for the development of a close collaboration. Conferences were broadcast and thus also recorded. Moreover, a camera was recording the hearing interpreters, which allowed us to collect an unprecedented set of data in situ.

Interpreters

This study homes in on the productions of six interpreters. They were the six most experienced interpreters in co-interpreting the speaker chosen for this study: two HIs with five years of experience or more, both paired with one DI, and two beginner HIs (less than one year of experience) with another DI. All DIs had previous experience of more than five years in translation into LSFB (from SpLs or SLs) and some experience in interpreting. However, none of the interpreters had any experience in live, broadcast, simultaneous co-interpretation of crisis communication. The HIs have granted their consent for the data to be collected and studied. For the sake of anonymity, a code has been assigned to each HI (1 to 4). The interpretations provided by the DIs fall under the public domain and are not subject to the General Data Protection Regulation. Yet, to protect the anonymity of both the HIs and the DIs specifically studied here, all data will be anonymized. For this purpose, and for demonstration purposes, certain signs are presented in the form of drawings or replicated in video format by the first author.

Data

The data include a large number of variations; the corpus was recorded over a period of two years thus covering different phases of the coronavirus crisis and as mentioned above, is composed of professionals with various backgrounds. Moreover, the speeches were

read by different speakers embodying different roles that are likely to influence the text type (i.e., two different Belgian prime ministers, three minister-presidents, four scientific experts, and three spokesmen from the Federal Crisis Center). Although controlling those variables was impossible considering their natural aspect, a thoughtful selection process was conducted on the corpus to be able to compare the conferences under study. Two main criteria were chosen to select the data to be analyzed, so as to balance the sample in terms of the representation of DIs and HIs among the large team involved during the COVID-19 crisis and to keep the diversity in speeches. To enable a comparison between the data, we selected speeches that were all given by the same Crisis Center spokesperson. They all included recommendations on how to contain SARS-CoV-2 transmission and encouragement for the Belgian citizens in those difficult times. All selected conferences took place during the second COVID-19 wave, when Christmas and New Year 2021 celebrations were soon to come, involving several constraints and strict recommendations for all citizens. The selected corpus of forty-one minutes and eighteen seconds has been annotated in ELAN. We have formed three sub-corpora: one showing the orator's (OR's) speech, a second showing the HI's production, and the last one showing the DI's final production).

Analysis

As mentioned previously, the thematic analysis that guided the present study focused on the exchanges (pre- and post-interpreting at each press conference) between the DI and HI over the two-year period. These exchanges were documented through field notes (participatory observation), observation notes, meeting minutes, and exchange reports (notably using a specific feedback sheet created to fit the linguistic needs of the teams). Additionally, exchanges related to the creation of a documentary by one of the team's DIs were used as a basis. The writing process for this film on the co-interpreting of press conferences during the first wave of COVID-19 involved collective input, particularly in defining the practice and the arguments that justified the use of this technique in the context of a crisis. After analyzing those elements, we were able to narrow down our field of investigation. Additionally, by exploring three pilot press conferences

in ELAN, we identified a series of linguistic elements and patterns, and developed an annotation scheme to explore the corpus.

Annotation

The elements we annotated were chosen according to two characteristics. First, we annotated the complete production of the His, and we identified a series of cues that we considered as signaling that a strategic choice was made. Secondly, because there is an overlap of the elements caused by three intertwined renderings happening simultaneously, we wanted to examine observable linguistic phenomena that were similar in function and present in all three discourses in the chain. We had noticed during the pilot studies that pauses are of particular interest for observing interaction. Additionally, we noted the use of discourse markers (DMs) that were not related to the source speech and produced by the HIs before or after the pauses (see figure 2). Therefore, we decided to identify and label the structuring (silent) pauses, present in both spoken French and LSFB (HI's and DI's productions) and possibly linked to higher-level cognitive processes (Grosman, Simon, and Degand 2018). These pauses are used for discourse segmentation and can offer a time for meta-communication, clarification, and monitoring. Although they vary in length and are globally shorter in French because of the reading of a text, they are

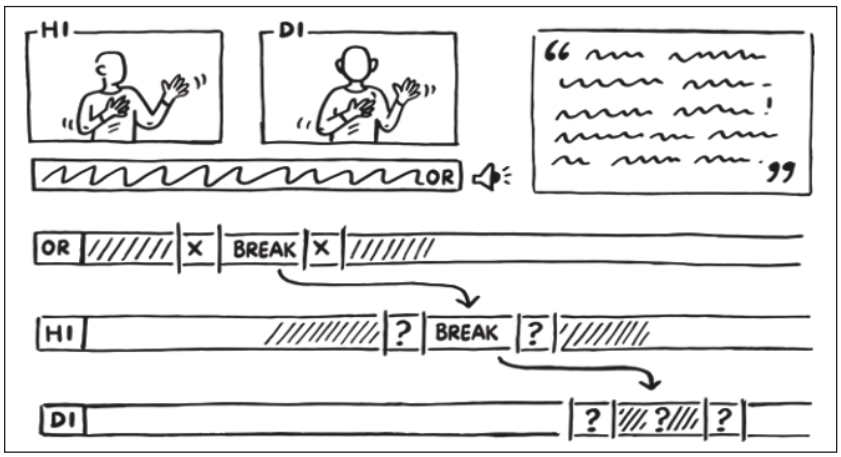

Figure 2. Schematization of break annotation in ELAN.

nevertheless noticeable because they are framed by sound sequences from the same speaker (Candea 2000) and are not followed nor preceded by a marker of hesitation (such as a filled pause, a lengthening, a repetition, or a false start). These pauses are considered perceived by the listeners as "chunk markers" (Candea 2000) and therefore a structuring element. Pauses in SL and SpL differ in their articulation (breathing and deglutition in SpL, for instance); but in both cases, they were annotated when representing a clear chunk in the speech. Pauses in LSFB, and in SL in a wider sense, do not go through the same articulation constraints as those in SpL do, and are noticeable when there is no sign produced (Fenlon 2010). The annotated pauses are those noticed in LSFB when the hands are crossed, by the side, or in a neutral space (Notarrigo and Meurant 2014). Pauses with upper crossed hands (close to sternum) together with another articulator (glance at the DI, nodding of the head and eyebrow movement) are also annotated, whether they are around a meaning unit or within the unit. We observe these types of pauses in DI as well as HI productions. Pauses can also be expressed by maintaining the sign (hold) and can occur at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a sign. Additionally, we annotated holds occurring in combination with one or more other articulators: change in eye gaze, eyebrow movement, and head nod. We choose pauses as a starting point to observe the productions and as a common entry in the three renderings for the comparison of the parallel corpus.

Then, thanks to the thematic analysis, we know that the HIs in this context decided to explicitly mark logical connectors in the speech. Indeed, the transcription of the speeches we studied showed that this added information is mostly prosodic in French. Therefore, the DI cannot have direct access to this information. In the first co-interpretation performances, the HI noticed the lack of cohesion in DI productions when those articulators were not explicated. Therefore, in a discussion preceding a new communication, they chose to mark them in their pivot interpreting in LSFB. We identified and annotated various DMs, including the sign SAME—known for its role as a DM in LSFB (Gabarró-López, 2017]) and used the most frequently by all the interpreters. The occurrences of SAME we kept are those found after a structuring pause, those accompanied with a glance and

when they are used in order to add information on the same topic. Then we annotated the signs meaning "next" (various forms) and, when the pauses marked the shift towards a new topic, the sign IF as a subordinating conjunction and the PALM-UP only before and after a pause when they had a punctuation role and were added by the HIs (i.e., not present in the source speech). Finally, we annotated a list of ad hoc signs used to express new concepts about the SARS-CoV-2 virus and the measures taken (prophylactic and constraints) that appeared during the press conferences. Those elements are of interest not only to observe teamwork during a conference but also to compare the various strategies used specifically around the same concepts, given most of them are neologisms or were not used on a daily basis by the general population before COVID-19 lockdown (e.g., social distancing, rate of transmission, lockdown, and so on).

Once these cues had been used to detect passages where HIs can make strategic adaptations, we focused on the linguistic elements used with interactional signaling purposes between the HI and DI, when not related to the source discourse. We chose to label the phenomenon as *compression* whenever a sign was used in a reduced or incomplete manner compared to the conventional sign used for what was said in French and to reduce the scope of our investigation by only looking at COVID-19-related concepts. We also annotated the concepts that had been the object of a shared convention between interpreters and when this compression phenomenon on those concepts led to the freeing of space and time in the HI's productions. Once this was done, we gathered the annotated elements in accordance with the aim of their use. We marked and selected the DMs as part of the explicitation strategy when their function was cohesive and only noticeable implicitly in the source speech. We also included in this strategy chunks of the HIs' productions when they showed a noticeable exaggeration in their facial expression that we could link to implicit elements in the OR's speech, and when emphasizing a concept by using repetition. Additionally, we categorized linguistic elements unrelated to the source discourse but used for interactional signaling purposes into three categories: those added to the elements related to compression strategies, those related to explicitation strategies, and those used in other parts of the discourse produced by the

HI that were not related to the source speech. We then proceeded to annotate the DI's productions related to the elements identified in the HI's productions. The OR's sentences were transcribed into French on ELAN, and various annotation lines were added to capture nonverbal elements (different types of pauses, hesitations). Each sign produced by the HIs was glossed individually, and different lines were used to annotate different nonmanual elements, like head nods. A typology of strategies and substrategies was created based on their functions in the pivot process, and they were labeled in ELAN. The authors are aware that transcribing with glosses has limitations in capturing the visual aspect of the signs. To address this, drawings and videos are suggested, and the analysis is based on directly comparing actual productions rather than relying solely on gloss transcription.

Results

General tendencies

In our sample, we found 178 occurrences of the three strategies: compression, explicitation, and interpersonal signaling. In our dataset, Figure 3 shows the distribution of these strategies across all four conferences and the frequency of use per strategy for each of the four interpreters.

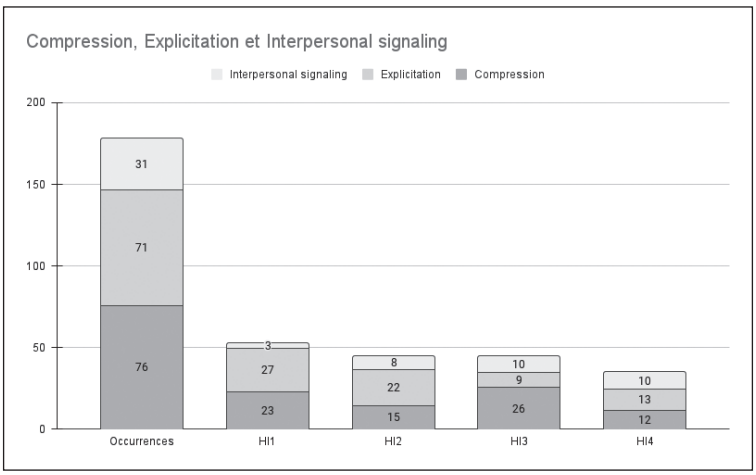

FIGURE 3. Main strategies by interpreter.

To provide space for the DIs to reproduce the discourse by adding their own touch (as, for example, by using "enrichment strategies," as described by Stone 2009), the HIs deploy a phenomenon of linguistic compression. This strategy of compression was the most used strategy by the interpreters in our study. Sign language, thanks to its multidimensional expression and the different layers of simultaneity it offers, allows for a flexibility in the use of space. Both from a lexical point of view (i.e., by reducing the repetition of one of the parameters of a sign, using a smaller space to produce a sign, or removing one part of the sign), and when using only the center of the signing space (i.e., not using the peripheral spaces). Secondly, in the press conferences studied here, the HIs had already acted on and implemented the decision to make DMs explicit. During our annotation process, we found that HIs use DMs to make some information explicit. We identified seventy-one occurrences of this explicitness phenomenon in the four annotated speeches. With these two strategies—compression and explicitation—we observed different articulators being added to the DMs (head nod, raising eyebrows, hold of a sign; used alone or together), at different moments of the discourse. Finally, various linguistic elements not associated with compression or explicitation strategies were also identified, seemingly serving as monitoring and feedback. We regroup them as interpersonal signaling strategies, which co-occur with the other two strategies.

As can be seen in figure 3 and figure 4, the strategies are used at varying rates among the HIs studied. Before discussing this phenomenon, we will now present a breakdown of these three strategies.

Compression strategy: Tendencies

The interpreters developed a set of ad hoc lexical conventions for interpreting concepts used during the SARS-CoV-2 crisis. These newly agreed upon signs were filmed and shared with other interpreters through an online medium. Some of them included propositions for compressed signs to be used by the HIs. The thematic analysis revealed that discussing neologisms and how to make new concepts clear for deaf viewers comprised an important part of this shared experience. During the annotation process, it was noted that there is a tendency to use lexical ad hoc conventions largely for specific con-

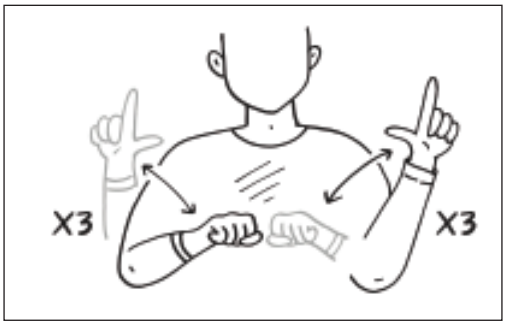

FIGURE 4. FIREWORKS in LSFB.

cepts related to COVID-19 and to the main topics discussed during the press conference. It appears that the phenomenon of compression occurs in the production of HIs when they produce a certain sign at a fast pace and do not fully render the sign. This then results in a decompression of that sign in the DI's interpretation. This is, for instance, the case for the interpretation of the word *fireworks* (figure 4).

During the first occurrence of the sign, the HI depicts the explosion of a firework (conventionalized sign in LSFB) by repeating the movement parameter of the sign six times. At its second occurrence, the HI produces the movement parameter only twice. The DI, in their interpretation, increases the repetition of the movement to six (as during the first occurrence). At times, the HI adds a head nod when producing the compressed sign. It is likely that the addition of this nonmanual gesture has the "aim to mark the content of the information transmitted (as new or shared)" (Lepeut and Shaw 2022, 7), both to frame the concept and to ensure that the concept is well perceived by the DI.

As shown in Figure 5, the HIs used lexical compression seventy-six times across the four lectures we analyzed and on concepts related to COVID-19 or on the main topic of the discourse. We can also observe that HI 1 and HI 3 used compression more than HI 2 and HI 4.

One of the signs for which a convention had been established is CURVE^DOWN, which expresses a decrease in the figures as they appear in graphs. In table 1, example 1, the speaker announces a

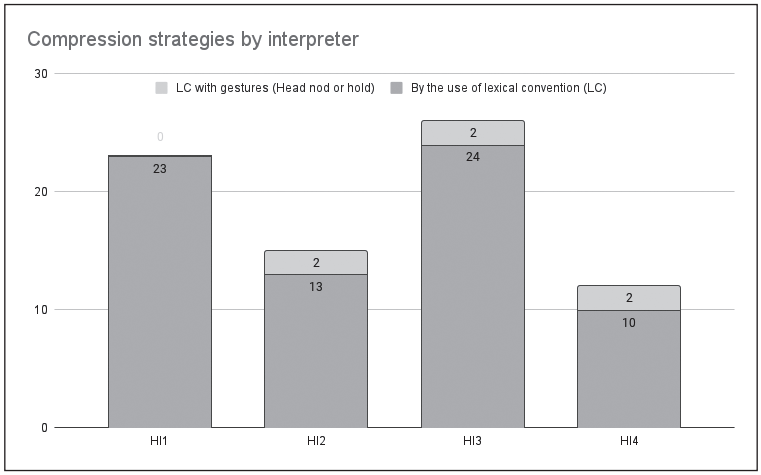

Figure 5. Compression strategies by interpreter.

positive effect on the evolution of the pandemic. The HI uses the sign CURVE^DOWN with a rapid (790 ms) and reduced movement. In his production, the DI gives more weight to the concept of the downward curve, lengthening the production of that sign (one second, 210 ms) and articulated in a clearer and more visible way. In the interpretation, the DI puts emphasis on the signs CURVE^DOWN and POSITIVE, which are accompanied by head nods. Example 2 occurs in the same extract concerning the sign HOPE. While the HI compresses the idea of optimism within the two signs GIVE HOPE, the DI develops the idea and makes it more explicit by using GIVE HOPE POSSIBLE BETTER FUTURE.

Table 1. Examples 1 and 2

	OR	We are currently seeing **a positive effect on the evolution of the pandemic** in our country, which is encouraging
	HI(3)	NOW NOTICE WHAT? **YES CURVE^DOWN YES ATTENTION POSITIVE SITUATION GIVE HOPE**
	DI	NOW NOTICE **PalmUp THAT YES CURVE^DOWN POSITIVE THAT PalmUp GIVE HOPE CAN BETTER++ FUTURE PalmUp**

Table 2. Example 3

	**OR**	**However, social relations remain important during this time.** Many of us have plans to be out and about with family and friends in the coming days
	HI(2)	**Ind_CONTACT** IMPORTANT MUST CONTINUE
	DI	**Ind_CONTACT PERSON PEOPLE TO-MEET Inds_**IMPORTANT MUST CONTINUE

In table 2, the concept of social contact gives rise to the HI using a compression, which is decompressed by the DI. The speaker uses the words "however, social relations remain important" in his speech. The HI produces the sign CONTACT that is part of the conventionalized list. Before using the sign, she catches the attention of her colleague by raising her index finger, which is repeated at the end of the sign while holding the sign IMPORTANT. The DI decompresses the sign CONTACT in the utterance CONTACT PEOPLE MEET and frames the three signs with two occurrences of a pointing sign: one before CONTACT and one after MEET. Despite this explicitation, the structure produced by the DI takes considerably less time (3 sec 220 ms) than the equivalent extract from the HI (4 sec 640 ms). The time the HI invests in producing the interpersonal signals is used by the DI to decompress the conventionalized sign.

Explicitation Strategy: Tendencies

Explicitation strategy, in this study, is understood to be a strategy that aims to make (more) explicit some implicit information in the source speech (e.g., DMs (logical connections) and the speaker's intentions and emotions). As shown in Figure 6, there seem to be three ways in which explicitation manifests itself in the HIs' productions: (1) the use of DMs, (2) emphasis, and (3) repetition. Out of the seventy-one occurrences of this strategy, fifty-five are DMs, of which forty-eight are used without another marker. In seven instances, DMs are produced with one or two additional nonmanual articulators. These latter instances seem to carry an interpersonal intention(e.g., ensuring reception of the DM, marking the periphery of the stated idea, or waiting for the DI, in addition to conveying the message).

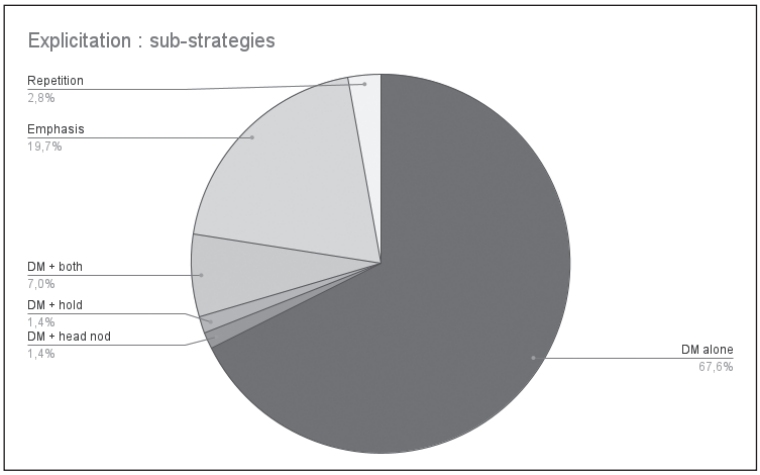

Figure 6. Explicitation substrategies.

During the annotation process, we observed a frequent phenomenon among the HIs. It seems that they intentionally amplify their facial expressions for certain implicit elements in the discourse of the OR, related either to the expression of a spokesperson's stronger position or to an idiomatic expression used. This emphasis phenomenon is visible via the exaggeration in the expression of eyebrow movements and facial muscle contractions. While it is necessary to amplify facial expressions in SLs to convey certain meanings (in interpreting, they are used to make intentions more explicit, for instance), we noted here an additional grade of this phenomenon that serves as a signal to the DI to give special emphasis to a particular unit of meaning expressed in the source text. The following example (table 3) illustrates this strategy, employed to emphasize the importance of following certain prophylactic rules during the holidays. The speaker encourages the audience to take care to avoid the backlash that would be the consequence of a relaxation of the rules. The HI uses the expression PAF![5] introduced by a long preparation movement and accompanied by a stressed mouth gesture. She produces two different signs for NO (with the right index and then with both hands) and repeats the two-handed sign after DON'T-WANT. Her facial expression is amplified during this sequence. In response to this emphasis, the DI completes

Table 3. Example 4

	OR	The objective being that the curves do not give us a hangover backlash(?) for a few weeks
	HI(3)	GOAL FEW WEEKS PAF! NONONO DON'T-WANT
	DI	AFTER FEW/WEEKS AFTER PAF! BLUR CURVE^UP NONONO CALM

the expression PAF! and decompresses it using two signs: BLUR and CURVE^UP. By doing so, he makes the idea of backlash explicit in two ways: first, the sign BLUR denotes that people would be unsettled by a backlash, and secondly, the CURVE^UP sign makes explicit the cause of the backlash, namely an increase in the transmission figures.

We have also observed that this phenomenon of emphasis is used more often when the HI uses less lexical compression, as was observed in the production of one experienced HI (HI 2). DMs are used following a structuring pause to indicate the continuation of an idea expressed without a marker in French. The placement of these elements in the HIs' productions serves to reinforce their cohesive purposes and, because they often occur after a structuring pause, they tend to be more salient to the DIs.

The interpreters also use the sign NEXT (in various forms, as shown in figure 7) after a pause, which is specifically directed at the DI and serves to reinforce the explicitation of the cohesive relation in the OR's speech. There were no words or prosodic cues in the

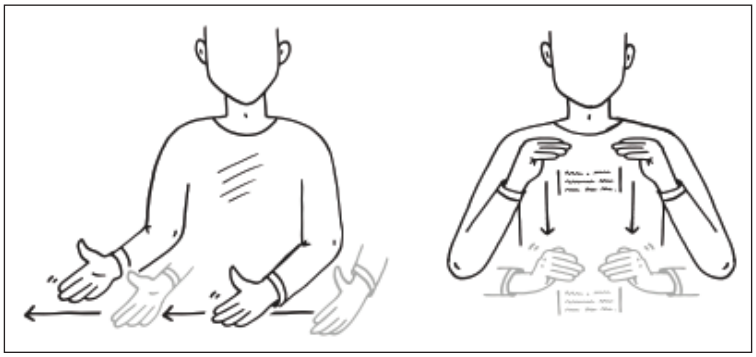

Figure 7. Signs for NEXT.

OR's speeches that could be translated as *next*. Unlike DMs, such as SAME, which are used to link an unfinished idea between two units separated by a pause, NEXT is used to make explicit the renewal of a unit that contains a new idea. The use of these signs highlights the HIs' role in structuring the discourse and in guiding the DI to follow the OR's ideas in a cohesive manner. Therefore, we see that HIs use DMs and signs like NEXT as explicitation strategies on both the content and discourse levels.

Interpersonal Strategies: Tendencies

Across the four conferences, we noticed thirty-one linguistic phenomena (i.e., manual and nonmanual) in the HIs' productions that were not related to compression or explicitation strategies and that we could not connect to the OR's speech. Figure 8 presents the subcategories of this strategy. These elements did not appear in the discourses of the OR and seemed to be addressed solely to the DI. Although the variation observed in the use of those nonmanual markers by the HIs and where they appear is high, we would like to present some of the trends observed.

Two general tendencies are observed here: first, the use of head nods, sometimes associated with raising eyebrows, and second, the use

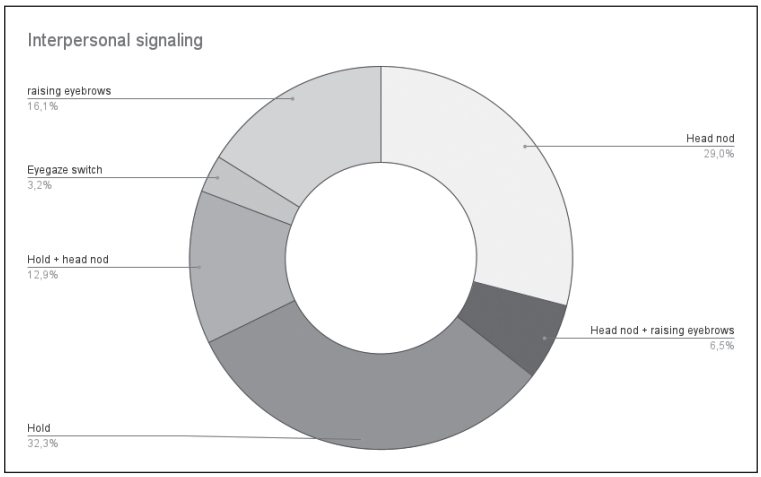

Figure 8. Interpersonal signaling strategies.

of holds. Nods occur mainly in the HIs' interpretation and disappear in the DIs' productions. A large majority of these nods appear during the expression of concepts of primary importance and come as feedback. The monitoring function already observed in other contexts by Ressler (1999) and by Stone and Russell (2014) seems to be similar in our data. Holds, accompanied by a head nod or not, serve to punctuate the productions of the HIs and seem to be used at different levels of the interaction. They are used to signal to the DI to wait, regulate the flow of information being conveyed, ensure comprehension by the DI, and maintain the interpretative choice during the reception of information by the HI. Even here, when the holds are not part of a turn-taking in a conversation, the functions we can observe turn out to be similar to the ones identified by Lepeut (2022, 299) across noninterpreted data in LSFB. Although it is difficult to determine the precise intentions of HIs regarding these volatile elements (e.g., holds to stress a word? To stress a part of the discourse? To maintain the attention to be able to listen closely? To check for the comprehension of the DI?), and because the OR, in his speech, unlike the HI, does not pause or hesitate, it seems clear that this type of hold appears at another level (i.e., on the meta-level) than the interpretation of the discourse content alone).

The first example (table 4) of this strategy shows the use of a hold to wait and check the understanding of the DI, followed by a nod when the interpretation of this unit is resumed. The HI articulates the sign IMPORTANT with a large preparation movement and holds the hand in final position. In total, this one sign takes 2 sec, 220 ms in the HI's production, which is very long in comparison to another occurrence of the same sign within the same discourse (720 ms). This hold is followed by a long pause (1 sec, 700 ms) during which the HI

TABLE 4. Example 5

	OR	Here it is for the little reminder of these measures, constraining for all of us, **but still necessary at the present time.**
	HI(4)	(...)NOTIFY (you)KNOW FORYOU PATIENCE STILL **IMPORTANT**
	DI	(...)NOTIFY (you)KNOW PalmUp NOT EASY YOU PATIENCE THIS PATIENCE STRONGLY **IMPORTANT FUTUR PLEASE**

Table 5. Example 6

	OR	all of this is usually part of life, their life, but it's all a bit on hold at the moment
	HI(4)	(...) TOGETHER BEFORE IMAGINE HABITS NORMAL RIGHT LIHE CHANGE DONE ONHOLD PalmUp (...)
	DI	LIFE NOW AIE THEM YOUNG STUDENTS CHANGE LIKE THEIR LIFE WHAT ONHOLD TILL(indefinitely) (...)

crosses her hands in the neutral space and produces a long head nod until the DI has produced the sign PLEASE.

The accumulation of such a long hold and a long pause has a clearly interpersonal function. It gives the DI time to stress the concept of patience: The sign begins with a hold in the initial position of the hands and is accompanied by a facial expression depicting a strong effort. Within the timeframe given by the HI's hold and pause, the DI develops the concept of "important" by adding the sign FUTURE (it is important for the future) and the sign PLEASE (depicting the attitude of a prayer) with a strong facial expression.

A bit later in the same discourse, the OR addresses his thanks to students, whose lives were drastically changed by the lockdown (table 5). Similarly, by holding the sign ON-HOLD and producing four head nods, the HI points out to the DI that the concept of "putting students' life habits on hold" is emphasized in the source speech. In doing so, she also gives the DI time to develop this idea. In reaction to this indication, the DI modifies the sign ON-HOLD by adding a lateral movement, which provides the meaning of duration. Then, she adds the time sign INDEFINITELY, which emphasizes the idea of "patience."

Combined Strategies

Far from being isolated strategies, we can observe that compression, explicitation, and interpersonal signaling can be combined, in particular to deal with a portion of the speech that is very long and dense, packed with complex ideas, and that requires the interpreter's very close attention. In the following example (table 6), the HI employs an explicitation strategy by emphasizing the first part of the sentence on the pronoun THIS. This is immediately followed by a head nod on

Table 6. Example 7

	**OR**	**Delicate because** it is usually a lively evening and night, accompanied by dinners and parties with family and friends **(THIS is about this part of the speech)** **at home or outside this year the passage to the new year should be celebrated in a more sober way and in any case in smaller company**
	HI(3)	**(...)THIS(emphasis) ATTENTION(head nod)_INSIDE^OUTSIDE(compression) ATTENTION**

the sign ATTENTION to point out that the OR is asking citizens to pay attention to the rule. The HI then employs a compressed lexical convention on "at home or outside" —INSIDE^OUTSIDE—by not assigning locations to them in his production, nor a sign for home. This use of the strategies in succession effectively conveys the meaning of the phrase in a succinct and efficient manner without sacrificing clarity or understanding for the DI. It is worth noting that the HI's use of strategies does not always result in an expansion of the DI's rendering. Here, for instance, the DI reproduces the sentence in a similar way.

We would also like to discuss a final example (table 7) of an observed decompression phenomenon to highlight the linguistic contribution of the interpretative chain: OR > HI > DI. In the following example, we can see that, starting from a metaphor uttered by the OR, the HI produces a version that remains quite close to it in LSFB, but the form of which is synthetic and is produced in a limited time. The DI seizes HI's rendering of the metaphor and produces a longer, more accomplished rendering, and the metaphor is extended. The metaphor of the closing book had been induced by the OR with the terms *chapter* and *closed*. The HI develops it by depicting an open book that is closed and put aside; she then highlights this idea of the closed book with a repeated negation, followed by a pause. The DI exploits the duration of the negation as well as the pause to further develop the image of the book. She modifies the idea of "putting the book aside" to "putting the book back on the shelf," making a clear and detailed use of space. Then, she reformulates the negation (the chapter is not closed) by expressing the idea of "taking the book off the shelf (referring to the same location in space) and re-opening it." The structure used by the HI provides the DI with a metaphor

Table 7. Example 8

	**OR**	It is still a little premature to say that the darkest period is also behind us. The concrete prospect of the vaccine is promising. **However, this does not mean that we can consider this chapter of our history closed, although we would all like to.**
	HI(2)	**(...)HISTORY_IT'S_TOPIC_COVID_WRITE_BOOK_CLOSE_PUT/AWAY_NONONO**
	DI	**HISTORY_TOPIC_THIS(or it's)_CORONA_WRITTEN_OVER_TURNTHEPAGE_CLOSE_PUT BACKINTHELIBRARY_NO_TAKEBACK_OPEN(the book)_NOT_YET_FINISH**

(the closed book) that is more visually efficient in LSFB than the one given by the OR (the closed chapter). Additionally, the hold/repetition of the negation and the following pause gives the DI the time to decompress the metaphor and extend it to the negation itself, by using an idiomatic structure, widespread in SLs, called *constructed action* (Metzger 1995); using her own body, the DI depicts the actions of leafing through, closing, and opening a book.

Now that we have examined the results, we will discuss the implications and limitations of these findings. We will also explore potential avenues for future research.

Discussion

This study provides valuable insights into the interpreting strategies used during simultaneous intralingual co-interpreting by deaf and hearing teams, but it has its limitations. Indeed, the study presented here is confined to a distinct geographical context, therefore linked to French and LSFB, and is about a unique crisis. As a result, the observed patterns may not be generalizable to other contexts, languages, or language combinations. Methodologically, although careful attention was paid to possible positioning biases, the proximity of the researcher to the object of the study may have influenced the observations more than anticipated. Theoretically, the study was limited by its focus on only a few linguistic aspects of the chainwork and by the scarcity of previous studies on this topic. Secondly, the protocols for annotating interpreted parallel discourse make export and comparative analysis difficult, especially on multimodal language phenomena happening in three productions at once. The attribution of the func-

tions of certain nods, for example, can be made difficult. Moreover, the study was limited in sample size and involved a great number of variables. Further research is necessary to investigate a larger dataset and different interpreting contexts to determine whether the observed strategies are only context-specific or are generalizable across various contexts. Such investigations could enhance the generalizability and reliability of the findings and lead to a deeper understanding of co-interpreting strategies. Despite these limitations, the findings of this study contribute to the growing body of literature on co-interpreting in a team of deaf and hearing co-interpreters.

Although the data studied here are limited in quantity and are specific to a small number of interpreters, the initial tendencies suggest that the interpersonal phenomena, on the content or meta-level, hold a significant position in the production of HIs when working in a co-interpreting setting. To achieve objectives such as clarification, waiting, and confirmation, or to give space and time to the DI to reframe the discourse and add their own touch, HIs use linguistic interpreting strategies. These include compression, explicitation, and interpersonal signaling. HIs certainly use other interpreting strategies, but the ones presented here are directly related to the special configuration of co-interpreting and derive from its functioning characterized by teamwork. The study of interactions in SL can inform us about how interpreters use these strategies in this specific context. The appearance of these specific phenomena between the lines of the content of the interpreted discourse, and in its interstices, also allows us to highlight a more subtle interpreting phenomenon. Nonetheless, interpreters can draw on the same resources as when conversing in SL. Studies on interactions in LSFB (see Lepeut 2023) and more broadly the comparison between SpL and SL, increasingly highlight that meaning is co-constructed. The analysis of the speech produced by the HIs, even if it is not truly their speech, in the moments when they interact with the DI (reorientation of the speech, repetition of the sign, voluntary truncation, and so on) has perhaps its roots in this same will to co-construct, indeed co-interpret, the speech.

Daily repetition of practice in teams over a significant period has enabled the establishment of strategies and conventions between deaf and hearing interpreters that are challenging to implement in other,

more volatile contexts and between colleagues who are less used to working together (as shown for instance, in Stone and Russell 2014). Nevertheless, it remains difficult to determine the extent to which certain linguistic behaviors have become automatic versus intentional strategic choices addressed to the DI. For instance, the number of compressions on strategic lexical conventions may fluctuate depending on the degree of the automaticity of their use. Ressler (1999) observed the use of fingerspelling in intermediary interpreting for concepts that were made explicit in direct interpretation. This could be seen as a voluntary compression that may have the same root as the ones we have observed. It would be relevant to investigate whether the number of compressions used is linked to the number of occurrences of "compressible" terms per conference, as the variability of use per interpreter could change according to this and not only as the result of the interpreting chain. Also, since the compressed signs are built on preexisting lexicon (alone or in a complex construction of a multiple signs), other concepts probably do not have a compressible form in their construction. These initial observations confirm that HIs intentionally create space in their productions to leave room for the DI to deploy their own rendering. We can observe that lexical compression can take place on shared ad hoc lexical conventions and can be settled and deployed during the conference, as for example with FIREWORKS. Furthermore, interviews with the HI and DI might reveal more elements to investigate on this phenomenon.

The observation of DMs helped to identify the explicitation strategy. To allow the interpretative chain to work, the prosodic elements in French are deliberately highlighted by the HIs to preserve the cohesion of the discourse. During the transfer of elements of the source speech on the discursive level or concerning the intentions that the ORs implicitly show, the HIs also seem to use emphasis to make them explicit to the DIs. Future research on more data and on other types of discourse will allow for the observation of other phenomena of explicitation and refine our analysis on the ones we have observed so far. Regarding the interactional aspect of these two strategies, there is a noticeable variation between the interpreters in the use of nonmanuals and their locations during the discourse. We have also seen that the HIs use interactional signaling on a meta-level

of the production, revealing that this dialogue between the lines can occur at any given moment of the production. A more extensive study could provide additional insights into these interactional signals. For instance, in the case of holds, further research could explore the frequency of their usage, particularly on the periphery of concepts or sentences, as well as their number in different locations. Additionally, an examination of whether holds occur more frequently at some points of the speech, such as on the borders of concepts in general or on specific lexemes, would be of interest. The observation of raising eyebrows and changes in eye gaze directions are more difficult to explain at this stage of our research and require further investigation.

By continuing to observe passages that are marked by the same interactional nonmanual cues, pauses in the discourse flow, and DMs, and by studying the strategies used by the HIs, it is possible to identify whether there are other strategies in use. Interpreting is a complex practice that relies on a range of skills and is influenced by specific contexts that determine the choice of strategies employed (Heyerick 2021). Therefore, conducting a round of interviews with the interpreters could fine-tune the findings and help to consolidate their value. These interviews will also provide multiple perspectives on the strategic acts, thereby reinforcing our understanding of them. Finally, analyzing the complete chain of co-interpretation, from the source speech by the speaker to the target discourse deployed by the DI, highlights the strategic and interpersonal nature of co-interpreting.

External influences can also shed additional light on interpretative choices. Our analysis revealed that one of the DIs in the corpus used significantly fewer pauses in her interpretation (only one-fifth of the pauses identified in the speaker's speech and less than half of the those used by the HI). When asked about this phenomenon, she explained that she had received feedback from deaf citizens. They told her that they were wondering why she was using so many pauses (neutral position of the hands), especially when the speakers were still speaking (as evidenced by their lip movements, implying that she was omitting too much information). This direct feedback from the users of interpreting influenced her prosodic choices, as she made a conscious effort to avoid producing too many pauses. It is evident that the representation of a constructed audience (Stone 2009) influenced her production.

We can infer that her signing rhythm may have influenced the HI's pace, who had to adapt to an almost continuous flow of production. The HIs' use of strategies had to, therefore, consider the limited opportunities to communicate during interpretation. Research on interaction in LSFB also shows that the use of backchannels is influenced by the degree of proximity between the interactants (Lepeut 2023). The study from an ethnographic perspective (interviews to be conducted in the next stage of the larger study) could shed more light on this point and put into perspective the use of strategies according to the degree of proximity of the team members studied.

Conclusion

This article reported on the interaction between hearing and deaf interpreters during intralingual simultaneous co-interpreting. Using a corpus of COVID-19 press conferences during the COVID-19 crisis, the study focuses on the (interactional) strategies used between the interpreters. The aim is to contribute to a better understanding of the technical aspects of co-interpreting from the perspective of HIs.

This study has brought to light the complex and intricate nature of co-interpreting between hearing and deaf interpreters. Thanks to the combination of the thematic analysis of the exchanges between interpreters during two years of teamwork and the study of parallel corpora, we hypothesized that HIs resort to a second level of interpretation strategies specific to the teamwork. The results of this study provide support for this hypothesis, and we identified three main strategies: compression, explicitation, and interpersonal signaling. These strategies are expressed at different levels of the discourse: (1) the content and textual level (i.e., on words/signs and topics); (2) the cohesion level (DMs and pauses); and (3) at the meta-communicative level using nonmanual elements for interactional signaling purposes.

The results of this study provide valuable insights into the technical aspects of co-interpreting from the perspective of HIs and may inform the development of training programs for interpreters in the future. Moreover, this study contributes to the growing body of research on the interactional dynamics of (co)-interpreting and underlines the importance of collaboration and communication between interpreters in achieving interpretation outcomes. Ultimately, we hope that this

study will inspire further research on this topic and contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of co-interpreting in various settings.

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Notes

1. *Deaf-same* encompasses the shared experiences, perspectives, values, and norms among Deaf individuals (Kusters and Friedner 2015). Research shows that when deaf viewers see a deaf presenter or interpreter on TV, it can lead to a better reception of the information (Gebruers, Vermeire, and Garitte 2022; Dhoest and Rijckaert 2022; de Meulder and Heyerick 2013).

2. *Feed interpreting* always occurs between at least two interpreters, either two HIs, two Dis, or a mixed team (see Sforza 2014; Napier, McKee, and Goswell 2006). Two types of practices have been distinguished. The first practice entails supporting a colleague during their interpretation by adding skipped information or by correcting potential translation shifts (Hoza 2010; Peters and Scholl 2018, 84). In the second type of practice, which is more broadly used, the interpreters share the responsibility of the load of the interpretation process. Recently, scholars are debating changing the terms *feed* and *feeding* to *pivot interpreting*, notably to avoid the negative connotation of the concept of feed(ing)/being fed.

3. This shift from one status to another required the awareness of some potential methodological biases, such as the confirmation bias (i.e., to search for, interpret, favor, and recall information in a way that confirms or supports preconceptions) (Van Campenhoudt, Marquet, and Quivy 2017).

4. *Explicitation* should be understood here as the interpretive phenomenon of "increased explicitness" that interpreters and translators apply

(Pöchhacker 2015, 156), coined by Blum-Kulka (1986, cited in Pöchhacker 2015), and Shlesinger (1995), in particular, expands that definition, saying, "[I]nterpreters tend to explicitate implicit links by inserting additional cohesive devices in the target text."

5. The hand comes crashing down on the nose, signifying that the person is facing the consequences as if walking headfirst into a wall. PAF is a reference to the labial movement (onomatopoeia of the sound of hitting a wall) Belgian deaf signers produce when they sign this expression.

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