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He said 'I will ask you questions': A case study of interpreter impact on rapport building in an authentic sign language interpreter-mediated police-suspect interview

Robert Skinner
Heriot-Watt University, United Kingdom
robert.skinner@hw.ac.uk

Jemina Napier
Heriot-Watt University, United Kingdom
j.napier@hw.ac.uk

Ursula Böser
Heriot-Watt University, United Kingdom
u.boser@hw.ac.uk

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Abstract: In police-suspect interviews it has been argued that rapport building and management plays a vital role in collecting good quality evidence. How rapport building and management is achieved in the presence of an interpreter is an understudied topic. To examine how the interpreter manages this feature of communication we present an interdisciplinary case study analysis of an authentic police-suspect interview involving a deaf suspect, a British Sign Language interpreter and two police officers. Discourse-based interpreting research has determined that interpreters are participants within the interpreter-mediated interaction, and that a high level of discursive expertise and sensitivity is a necessary skill for interpreters working in police interview settings. For this study we draw on policing research to apply a rapport model used in police interviews, and on interpreting studies to examine the interpreter's use of expanded renditions (Wadensjö, 1998) and source attribution (Metzger, 1999) and the interpreter's impact on rapport building. These rendition types contain what appears to be conscious or unconscious additions to the source message that seem to support the suspect's ability to understand the interpreted message but, in some cases, potentially jeopardise the officer's rapport building strategies. The examples we provide demonstrate the delicate balance needed because expansions to meaning, repetitions or source attribution utilised by the interpreter may lead to unintentional coercive outcomes.

Keywords: Interpreting Studies, police interviews, rapport management, rapport building, cognitive interview

1. Introduction

The importance of rapport building in interaction is widely recognised in applied linguistics and interpreting studies literature, with Spencer-Oatey's (2000) Rapport Management Theory being one of the most popular frameworks for analysis (see for example Mapson & Major, 2021). Scholars in policing

research have also paid close attention to rapport in the communicative methods employed by police officers during interviews, recognising the pivotal role of officers' verbal and non-verbal behaviours in determining the quality of evidence retrieved (Abbe & Brandon, 2014; Alison et al., 2013; Bull & Baker, 2020). The manner in which an officer approaches an interview is contingent upon the interview practice authorised by the governing jurisdiction. Law enforcement interview methods can broadly be separated into two categories: the *accusatorial method* or the *information-gathering method*. Countries such as the United States and Canada are recognised as routinely using the accusatorial approach while "oppressive police practice is not admissible" in EU member states, the UK, Australia or New Zealand (Mulayim et al., 2014, p. 38), which utilise the information-gathering method. In these countries law enforcement agencies tend to follow a more ethical and research based approach by adopting a 'cognitive interview approach' (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Milne & Bull, 1999; Mulayim et al., 2014).

The cognitive interview approach, first introduced in the 1990s, sought to reform how officers approach and conduct interviews (Baldwin, 1993). In the Scottish context, the cognitive interview-gathering approach is structured around the PRICE model (Böser, 2013). This stands for (i) Preparation, (ii) Rapport, (iii) Information, (iv) Confirmation, and (v) Evaluation. Police interviewers in Scotland undergo extensive training in how to follow the PRICE cognitive interviewing technique. The model is not a fixed linear model, and an investigator may choose to return to an earlier step to gather further intelligence before completing the interview. The PRICE model is designed to support the officer's ability to build and establish rapport with a suspect. The development of rapport is understood in two distinct stages, the first is active development and building of rapport in the initial stages of the police interview, followed by the management of rapport to secure the ongoing cooperation throughout the free recall stage of the police interview (Walsh & Bull, 2012). The opening phase is intended to convey courtesy towards the suspect, agreeing on how the suspect wishes to be addressed, communicating to the suspect their legal rights and evaluating the suspect's understanding (Walsh & Bull, 2012). The latter stage involves the use of questions to promote talk, to clarify aspects of a citizen's story, without judgement (Filipović, 2019b, p. 201; Walsh & Bull, 2012).

The rapport model for investigative interviews was built upon Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's (1990) model, which was originally devised for clinical sessions. Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's rapport model consists of *mutual attention*, *positivity*, and *coordination*. Mutual attention refers to 'the degree of involvement or engagement that interactants experience' (Abbe & Brandon, 2013, p. 239). The investigating officer can intentionally display mutual attention through verbal and physical feedback (such as nodding, eye contact, changing behaviour according to what is said and how it is said). Positivity is not always obvious in police interviews and generally refers to the investigator's perceived warmth and competence. It is possible for an interviewer to not display warmth toward the suspect, whereby positivity is replaced with neutral regard and a non-confrontational affect (such as small talk, non-threatening tone of voice, colloquialism, positive language, or preferred forms of address). Coordination refers to the quality of complementary behaviours between interviewer and suspect (such as matching gestures and vocabulary choice, matching posture and speech rate); namely, whether participants can be seen to be "responsive to each other and patterned in their responses" (Abbe & Brandon, 2013, p. 240).

While the cognitive interview model, and its focus on rapport, is designed to produce more reliable and better quality evidence, studies have shown success depends heavily on the skills of the investigative interviewer (Alison et al., 2013; Bull & Baker, 2020; Bull & Milne, 2004). Officers have been found to produce complex sentences that can interfere with how communication is sustained, both in monolingual or bilingual interviews (Filipović, 2019b; Heydon, 2005). Although progress has been made through training, especially with promoting rapport at the opening stages, maintaining rapport is not always well accomplished or considered (Walsh & Bull, 2012). The findings from these studies indicate further training and skill development for police interviewers is needed to ensure the PRICE objectives are satisfied.

Police training on rapport focuses on monologic spoken language interaction, with no or minimal consideration of how to adapt rapport or interview practices for deaf signers (Napier et al., 2021). While advice and guidance on how to interview deaf signers with the assistance of an interpreter are available, they do not prepare officers to consider how the experience of communicating via an interpreter may impact their rapport building and management strategies. It is not clear how different the interview experience is for officers where the deaf signer's use of eye gaze, eye contact, pointing, gestures, (visual) tone or affect is qualitatively different to an interview with a non-signer. The cross-modal communication described is further challenged by the reliance on an interpreter to mediate the communication. While some research suggests the interpreter's presence does impact on rapport in police interviews (e.g., Goodman-Delahunty & Howes, 2019), how rapport is built and maintained through a sign language interpreter is an understudied topic.

2. Interpreter-mediated police interviews

The basis of the *dialogue interpreting paradigm* (Mason, 1999; Merlini, 2015) recognises that interpreters not only relay *how* other people talk but must also *coordinate* talk (Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998) and make professional judgements on how to manage their presence (Major, 2013; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017). From this viewpoint, a dialogue interpreter is recognised as a co-participant and co-constructor of meaning in the interaction (Mason, 1999; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998), who must also take a particular stance in the interpreted interaction alongside the primary participants (PP) (Mason, 2009; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017; Skinner, 2020). As such, in their co-participant role, both spoken and signed language interpreters have been found to utilise various sociolinguistic discoursal and multimodal strategies to relay and coordinate talk and to facilitate rapport building between interlocutors, including pausing (e.g., Major & Napier, 2012), clarification (e.g., Major, 2014), repetition (e.g., Straniero Sergio, 2012), source language attribution through pointing or eye gaze (e.g., Metzger, 1999; Davitti, 2012), and switching between first and third person (e.g., Murphy, 2012). Some of these strategies have been found to disrupt behavioural norms, such as mitigating face-threatening acts (FTAs)[1] and reducing important rapport building strategies in sensitive settings such as medical or police interactions (Cheung, 2012; Mapson, 2020; Mapson & Major, 2021).

[1] A face-threatening act (FTA) is an act which challenges a person's expectations of self-image or 'face' in interaction, for example, by not responding in a culturally appropriate way (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

With respect to police interviews, the complex interplay of how interpreters relay and coordinate talk requires further scrutiny. A common focus in interpreter-mediated police-suspect interviews is how interactive power and institutional power is asymmetrically distributed (Mason & Ren, 2012). The officer holds specific institutional power while the interpreter is in a unique and privileged position of independently monitoring and influencing the flow of talk (Nakane, 2014; Wadensjö, 1998) – it has been noted that when interpreters omit or soften FTAs, this can affect outcomes of legal proceedings (Mason & Stewart, 2001). In turn, interviewing officers must recognise that the way they perform their institutional role cannot remain the same when working with interpreters (Lee & Hong, 2021; Perez & Wilson, 2007). The interview can often become inaccessible when the investigating officer formulates utterances that contain complex word choices or complex sentence structures (Filipović, 2019a). In interpreter-mediated interviews, when officers use ambiguous or convoluted language, the outcome often means the interpreter must work harder to disambiguate its meaning.

This raises a question around the strategies used in a policing context, which has strict institutional discoursal protocols (Heydon, 2005), as to how much attention interpreters should afford to clarifying, or expanding on, the source utterance to become more accessible to another (Mulayim et al., 2014). One common strategy used by interpreters is to shift between talk in first-person (e.g. "I would like to ask you…") and third person (e.g. "He would like to ask you…"). When communicating in first person, the interpreter implies that they, in Goffman's (1959) terms, are the author of the utterance. Interpreters can use third-person to contain their involvement to being the animator of another person's utterance. Legal interpreting scholars such as Hale (2007) and Mulayim et al (2014) and Dhami et al. (2017) advocate a direct approach to interpreting in police or legal settings, whereby the interpreter strives to remain in the first person role. This advice is echoed in the UK Association of Sign Language Interpreters (ASLI)[2] 'Legal Interpreting Best Practice' document[3] (Newby & Weald, 2015):

> Direct speech: The most important standard technique an interpreter uses. Whilst interpreting, the interpreter assumes the same grammatical voice as the original speaker (first person) and, unless there is a clear reason to do otherwise, never injects him or herself into the communication by using the third person (e.g. "He says that…"). The use of direct speech lessens confusion, keeps the written record clear by making it plain who is speaking, and enables the parties to communicate directly with each other as though no language barrier were present. (Newby & Weald, 2015, p. 40)

Yet, it has also been noted that interpreters' use of third person provides them the opportunity to disassociate from the speaker and assert themselves as "an independent persona" (Shlesinger, 1991, p.152), especially in high-stakes legal settings (Angermeyer, 2009). Switching to third person can also disambiguate the source of the utterance (Murphy, 2012). Therefore, the way in which interpreters navigate this fine line between co-participant and 'independent persona', is of interest to interpreting scholars.

[2] ASLI is a UK professional interpreting association.

[3] The guidance produced by ASLI was an adapted version of US's The National Consortium of Interpreter Education Centres (NCIEC) *Best Practices: American Sign Language and English interpretation within Legal settings* (Stewart et al., 2009)

Gallai (2013) studied the shifting production formats displayed by the interpreter during the opening stages of a police-suspect interview and found the language and alignment choices (footing shifts) of interpreters was inconsistent and tied to the interpreter's ability to judge how their involvement impacted on others and how much one is understanding. The misalignment that occurred in the opening phase of Gallai's study has been seen to persist through to the free recall phase (Böser, 2013). This led Böser (2013) to press the importance of discursive expertise as being a 'central component' in being a police interpreter. For Böser (2013), the police interpreter is a "co-creator of participants' orientation" (2013, p. 114). In this capacity, how does an interpreter project an investigator's effort to build rapport and maintain rapport? Police Scotland's 'Interpreting and Translating Services Standard Operation Procedure' (2018) offers guidance to officers to communicate in a paced and jargon-free style, which recognises the responsibility that the police have to create a context that is conducive to the inclusion of the interpreter in an interview. Making oneself understood by the interpreter reduces the potential for misunderstanding and over involvement from the interpreter. However, the guidance does not prepare the interviewer on how to adapt their rapport strategies.

The empirical research listed above reinforces the argument that trained interpreters, with a high level of discursive expertise, can and do make a difference to the quality of evidence gathered in police interviews in comparison to untrained interpreters (Berk-Seligson, 2009; Lee & Hong, 2021; Mulayim et al., 2014; Nakane, 2009). While training will not eliminate shifts, misalignments or even factual errors from occurring, trained interpreters should be better able to monitor for and communicate errors, to competently initiate repairs and to tend to other people's understanding (Mason, 2009; Wadensjö, 1998). Recent studies have found that interpreters require additional training to understand the sensitivities of rapport building strategies in police interviews (Dhami et al., 2017). Most of this research has been on spoken language interpreter-mediated interactions.

Abbe and Brandon (2013, p. 210) raise the question of how rapport is established and maintained in a police interview since any "ethnic, socioeconomic, or cultural differences between the interviewer and source may become more salient in these interactions, with status or power differences and different communication norms potentially coming into play". Dhami et al. (2017, p. 292) list the likely problems with rapport building and management in interpreter-mediated police interviews as: interpreters providing "explanations, advice or information; giving any instruction that is not part of the linguistic transfer process; taking control of the interview in another way; providing their opinion; unjustified omissions or addition of information; distorting meaning; and allowing their personal views to affect interpreting". Interpreting is an imperfect exercise where the interpreter's presence and decision-making can disrupt or enable the goals of those engaged in interpreter-mediated communication.

This paper presents a case study of an authentic investigative interview involving a deaf suspect who is a British Sign Language (BSL) user and two police officers[4] in Scotland. By authentic we mean that it was a real police interview with a deaf suspect. The interview was interpreted by a professionally

[4] This study was conducted as part of a larger project: *JUSTISIGNS – VET in Interpreting & Justice*, funded through the European Commission Leonardo da Vinci Development of Innovation Lifelong Learning Programme 2013-2016.

qualified BSL/English interpreter who is highly experienced in police interviews. With privileged access to audio-video recording, this study draws on Wadensjö's (1998) definition of expanded interpreter renditions and Metzger's (1999) framework for analysing source attribution in sign language interpreting to examine how the interpreter in the case study added information in interpreted renditions which may have supported or undermined the building and maintenance of police-suspect rapport. In the following section we explain how we classify instances of expanded renditions and source attributions, and their apparent discourse functions.

3. Models for analysing interpreting renditions

To investigate how rapport is affected by the interpreter's involvement, this study isolates examples of expanded renditions and source attributions in the interpreter renditions. These instances are of interest because the supplementary information (not available in the original source) produced by the interpreter has the potential to interfere with the officer's rapport efforts. Often these interventions will not be made known to the police officer, further complicating the officer's rapport building strategies.

Wadensjö (1998) developed a discourse analysis taxonomy to systematically analyse interpreter-mediated interactions at an utterance-by-utterance level. As Wadensjö explains, all utterances produced by the PP are classified as 'originals', while an interpreter's utterances, linked to the nature of their linguistic mediation role, are classified as 'renditions' and relate in some way to an immediately preceding original. The nature of interpreter-mediated communication essentially means that an interpreter's rendition is prone to change. An original message must not only pass through linguistic changes but is affected by the interpreter's linguistic and discursive competencies (Böser, 2013). Wadensjö (1998) developed a taxonomy of renditions to further classify the kind of interpreter initiated (intended or unintended) changes (see Table 1).

The rendition types are both broad and general (Wadensjö, 1998) and can co-exist. For example, it is possible for a rendition to contain expanded and two-part rendition. Importantly, these categories should be evaluated against their contributions to the outcome of the interaction. The expectation is that interpreter non-renditions, an interpreter's utterance where no counterpart in a preceding 'original' can be identified, should be strategic and related to the goals of the interaction.

For the purpose of this study we focus on expanded renditions, which can be defined as interpreter renditions that explicitly express 'more information than the preceding "original' utterance" (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 107). The use of expanded renditions could be explained in several ways – for example, as a conscious effort to improve the clarity of the original, a response to perceived communication needs, a cultural brokering effort, a strategy to mitigate or repair translation issues, a response to an interactive management or co-ordination issues. These communication orientated strategies become part of the interpreter's repertoire in facilitating communication. In this paper, we provide examples of what appears to be an interpreter's effort to disambiguate meaning but then inadvertently poses a potential risk to the officer's rapport building strategies.

Table 1: Taxonomy of interpreter renditions

Close renditions	In principle, to qualify as a 'close rendition', the propositional content found explicitly expressed in the 'rendition' must be equally found in the preceding 'original', and the style of the two utterances should be approximately the same.
Expanded renditions	Includes more explicitly expressed information than the preceding 'original' utterance.
Reduced renditions	A 'reduced rendition' includes less explicitly expressed information than the preceding 'original' utterance.
Substituted renditions	A 'substituted rendition' consists of a com bination of an 'expanded' and a 'reduced' one.
Summarized renditions	A 'summarized rendition' is a text that corresponds to two or more prior 'originals'. In some cases, it may consist of constituents related to two or more 'originals' provided by one and the same interlocutor.
Two-part' or 'multi-part renditions	The text of a 'two-part rendition' consists of two interpreter's utterances corresponding to one 'original', which is split into parts by another interjected 'original' utterance, the propositional content of which is not reflected in the 'rendition' .
Non-renditions	A 'non-rendition' is a 'text' which is analysable as an interpreter's initiative or response which does not correspond (as translation) to a prior 'original' utterance.
Zero renditions	When comparison starts out not from the 'renditions' but from the 'originals', looking for correspondences among interpreters' utterances may result in cases of 'zero rendition', that is, cases when 'originals' are left untranslated.

The coordination of talk in sign language interpreter-mediated interactions is not simply about managing turns but also a strategy intended to disambiguate authorship of an utterance or change in speaker (Marks, 2013, 2015; Metzger, 1999). In sign language interpreting, coordination often involves source language attribution, where the interpreter will attribute the source of an original utterance by pointing an index finger towards who is speaking (especially if there is more than one hearing person present). This tendency to visually inform the deaf PP who is speaking may be initiated by the interpreter's own judgement of what the PP needs to know to maintain their appropriate alignment. The apparent motivation for both types of interpreter-initiated changes (expanded renditions and source attributions) is to use their knowledge in such a way that supports the understanding of the source message; or to enable the flow of interpreter-mediated interaction to progress with minimal confusion or disruption. These efforts would be defined as within the parameters of interpreter's relaying and coordinating responsibilities (Major & Napier, 2012; Wadensjö, 1995). However, as this study demonstrates, source attribution is used when no change in speaker has occurred. Instead, the interpreter in our study appears to use source attributions when they detect a noticeable shift in the officer's interactive frame, for example when the officer shifts from responding to the suspect's account to accusing the suspect. These cues become overt signals, which could influence or support how a deaf person reads the behaviour of their interviewer; a topic we discuss further in this paper.

4. Methodology

We were fortunate to be able to access authentic data for this case study. As such, as per Wadensjö (1995, p.111), we adopt "an interactionistic, non-normative, dialogical approach to [this study] of interpreter-mediated talk for a deepened, developed understanding of the interpreter's role in face-to-face interaction" in a sign language interpreter-mediated police-suspect investigative interview.

4.1. The data

Data for this study was provided by Police Scotland as part of a corpora of sixteen authentic audio-visual video-recorded interpreter-mediated suspect interviews in six different languages including BSL. Prior research on interpreter-mediated police interviews has either relied on experimental data (Böser, 2013; Lai & Mulayim, 2014; Skinner, 2020) or had access to audio recordings of the interview, supplemented by interview transcripts (Berk-Seligson, 2009; Filipović, 2019b; Gallai, 2013; Krouglov, 1999; Nakane, 2014). In the latter example, the data is void of embodied, visual information, such as eye gaze, bodily movement and or visual-gestural forms of communication. The audio-tapes will not reveal all that has happened, and "on occasion provide a misleading picture of the whole encounter" (Baldwin, 1993, p. 328). The protection of anonymity has created an obstacle for researchers seeking to access authentic audio-visual examples of how deaf signers access justice (Leeson et al., 2016; Young & Temple, 2014) . Until now, this has prevented any research of authentic cases where a suspect, victim or witness is deaf and uses a signed language.

This study represents the first in-depth interactive study of how a police interview is facilitated by a sign language interpreter. The video recording of the interview was provided in VHS format including two camera angles. The video quality and resolution were of a sufficient standard to allow the analysis of some physical and multimodal forms of communication such as gestures and head movements, as well as the signed and spoken interpretation of utterances. Studies of interpreter-mediated interactions have shown the immense value in examining such multimodal aspects of communication (Davitti & Pasquandrea, 2017; Krystallidou, 2014; Major & Napier, 2012; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017), and this is a longstanding inherent part of the analysis of sign language interpreting (Napier, 2020).

Use of this data was subject to a Police Scotland approved Confidentiality and Disclosure Agreement and Anonymity Protection Protocol. In line with this agreement, several identifiers such as the precise nature of the charge of assault and burglary, and names and location of the crime, have been modified in the brief and excerpts from the interview transcript presented below. Ethics approval was received through the Heriot-Watt University Social Sciences Human Ethics Review process on 26 January 2015. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the anonymity of interview participants.

4.2. Background to the arrest and interview

The 36-minute interview was led by Sergeant Osborne (PO1), accompanied by Police Officer O'Neill (PO2). No solicitor was present[5]. Inga, a female

[5] According to Police Scotland's Standard Operational Procedures the suspect would have been given the opportunity to request the presence of a solicitor prior to any

BSL/English interpreter, was sat next to Sergeant Osborne on the same side of the table. The suspect, Simon, was sat directly opposite Sergeant Osborne on the other side of the table. Next to Simon was Police Officer O'Neill who had angled her body towards the suspect (see Figure 1).

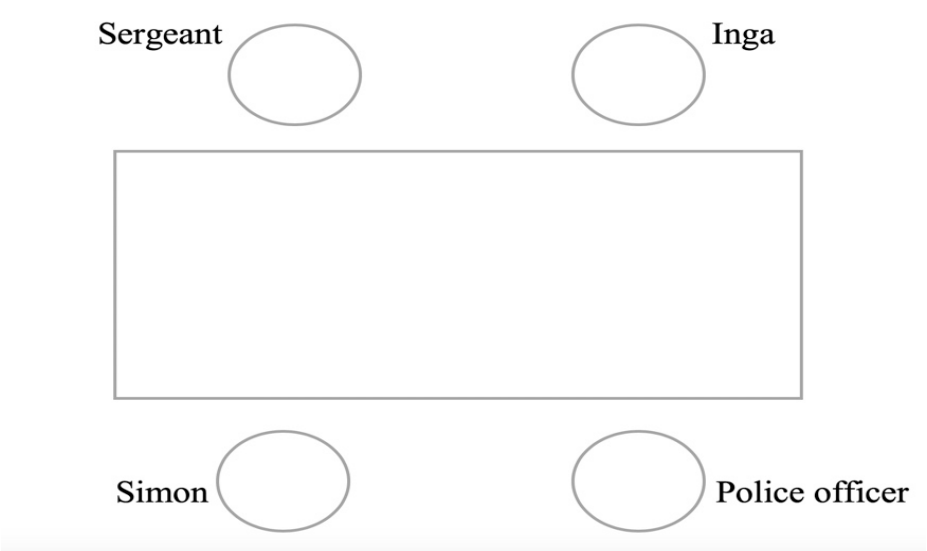

Figure 1: Seating arrangements of participants

Simon was arrested suspected of committing assault and robbery, which took place in a subway in a suburb of a major Scottish urban city, Middleton. The victim recalled two young people, one male and one female, walking into the subway and reported how the male youth attacked and robbed him before running off. Simon was arrested in a neighbouring suburb, Lowerton. He was with a group of friends at the time of his arrest. Simon, who was being questioned by the police, had not yet been charged. The objective of the interview was to establish his whereabouts during the night of the incident and to clarify how the stolen items were found on Simon's person. The interview closes with the police officers probing and contesting Simon's versions of events and charging him with assault and robbery based on evidence collected from witnesses.

4.3. Data limitations

Video recording of suspect interviews with a signed language interpreter is a procedural requirement and considered good practice (Newby & Weald, 2015). The police interviewers, suspect and interpreter were all aware of the video recording as part of the investigative interview. However, a limitation of the video data should be acknowledged. The original VHS video footage of the interview was transferred onto digital format which slightly reduced the quality of the video footage. Two cameras were positioned at ceiling level in different corners of an interview suite, which are not optimal for recording sign language communication (ideally the cameras should be directly in front of the signers).

interview. This interaction is not captured on the recording and we have assumed that the suspect declined the presence of a solicitor.

The recording shows a medium shot of the deaf suspect from a high-angle perspective. The suspect's facial expressions and signing can be seen, however not in the detail in which it would be available in a typical signed interaction where individuals would typically look directly at each other. A smaller inserted image is also a high-angle wide shot of the interview suite and included Sergeant Osborne, the interpreter Inga as well as the profile of Police Officer O'Neill. It should be noted that some of Inga's facial expression was lost due to the low degree of pixilation around the face. The angle of both cameras in the interview suite meant Simon and Inga's eye gaze could not be tracked accurately. Eye gaze studies have found eye gaze to function as a grammatical agreement marker within signed language production of constructed action (Thompson, Emmorey, & Kluender, 2006) as well as providing prosodic information (Nicodemus & Smith, 2006; Wilbur, 2000). For the purposes of our analysis, software programme (Camtasia) was used to focus on and re-record, the picture-in-picture image so we could see it in an enlarged format to enhance the analysis, as seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Video camera angles & enlarged image

4.4. Positionality

Before presenting the results, it is important for us to outline our positionality as interpreter researchers as this may have impacted on our interpretation of the data (Bendazzoli, 2016; Hale & Napier, 2013; Tiselius, 2019; Wurm & Napier, 2017). Robert Skinner and Jemina Napier are both hearing, heritage signers and sign language interpreter practitioners, researchers and educators and are active members of the British deaf community. They have both conducted extensive research on sign language interpreting in legal contexts, and are members of the Scottish Government Justice Working Group, which may bring an element of subjectivity to our study of interpreting in the police context. Ursula Böser has been involved as a researcher, spoken language interpreter and educator in international research projects on police interpreting which involved cooperation with Scottish and international police forces.

4.5. Analysis

The video files were synched, transcribed/translated and analysed in ELAN, a computer program that allows the precise alignment of transcription with video data (Johnston & Schembri, 2005; Wittenburg et al., 2006). ELAN is increasingly used in studies of sign language interpreter-mediated interaction (e.g. Major & Napier, 2012; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017; Napier et al., 2018). The video files of the wider shot and the insert were synched and annotated as one file (see Figure 3), with tiers representing the initial utterance, the interpretation,

the response, and coding for different sociolinguistic and interpretation features. The interpreter-mediated extracts are presented in this paper using horizontal transcription as proposed by Gallez (2010, 2021) and others (Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017; Napier et al., 2018; Skinner, 2020) to demonstrate and visualise the turn-taking between participants in the interaction. Detailed transcription conventions are listed in the Appendix.

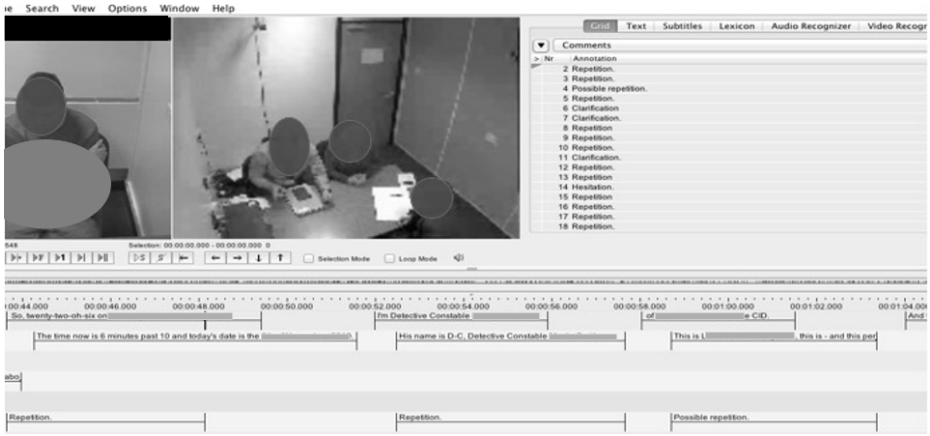

Figure 3: Screen capture of ELAN annotation

This was a data driven study with the first stage of analysis focusing on coding moments where the interpreter produced a rendition that could be defined as either an expansion (following Wadensjö, 1998), or source attribution (following Metzger, 1999). These rendition types were identified as contributions introduced by the interpreter, which have the potential to influence the intended rapport building strategies utilised by the lead interviewer. These renditions are of particular significance since the officer is unaware of the interpreter's additions. The second stage of analysis reviewed the rendition types thematically to describe possible motivations driving these renditions. The rendition types were operationalised as outlined in Table 2 and were used to code the data. These variations illustrate the balance the interpreter seeks to achieve between translation and coordination - bridging differences between languages and between perspectives.

Table 2: Operationalisation of rendition categories

Expanded	Addition	Addition of information explicitly that may have been implied in the original utterance
	Disambiguate pronoun/location	Change of pronouns (from broad description to narrow description, e.g. "they" to "the police", "he" to "the victim")
	Disambiguate English term	A general English term is replaced with a more specific/precise BSL lexeme, e.g. "assault" to "punch" or "hit".
Source attribution	Speaker shift	Communicating a change in speaker
	Frame shift	Communicating a change in the speaker's interactive frame

5. Results and discussion

We begin our discussion by providing a general overview of how the lead officer handled the interview, their general demeanour and style of communicating with the interpreter and suspect. We then move on to describe the suspect's demeanour and involvement in the interview. The focus then moves to the interpreter, describing noticeable patterns in how she managed the interaction. This background provides some contextual description that is not identifiable in the transcripts.

In the data we see the interviewing police officer creating opportunities in the initial stages of the investigative interview for rapport to be built with both the sign language interpreter and suspect. The police interviewer conducted the interview in a formal, non-judgemental, business-like style and produced questions or statements in segments. Although he kept his sentences short, he was not always successful at producing clear sentences. The police officer concentrated his gaze on the suspect and used both gestures and props to show attention and cooperation towards the suspect. According to Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's (1990) rapport model, the police interviewer could be judged as being attentive to the suspect, but positivity was replaced with a more neutral affect.

The suspect presented themselves as calm and disinterested and would switch between production formats, acting as the witness to the actions of others or responder of his own actions. The suspect, when asked, was able to recall in detail the actions of others but less able to provide an account of his own actions and whereabouts because he alleged he was drunk. The suspect used colloquial BSL and produced clear and descriptive narratives. The suspect's ability to transition between production formats was an indication of his willingness and ability to participate in the interview.

Inga's approach to interpreting appeared to assume responsibility for Simon's understanding generally. Inga repeatedly explained police terminology (see Extracts 1 and 2) and disambiguated or specified contextual details (e.g. *'they'*, *'he'*, *'there'* were replaced with *'the police*', *'the victim*', *'the garage*'). Just like her production into English, Inga's use of BSL was colloquial. She aligned her language register in both directions according to the suspect's, not the officer's, who adopted a business-like non-judgemental register. Through the analysis we did not observe any examples of interpretations that could be described as factually incorrect; turn-taking was unproblematic; and there was only one instance where the interpreter had to seek clarification, which was the name of a location.

In total, 47 tokens of expanded renditions were identified. The expansions produced by Inga were almost exclusively into BSL. The focus of the presentation of data in this paper concentrates on renditions that posed potential and perceived issues with regards to the building and maintenance of rapport. There are challenges with understanding how expansions of this kind impact the rapport building process, especially as the data does not contain the PP's or the interpreter's reflections. As such, we can only infer what might be the possible impact of a rendition on the rapport building and maintenance.

Another type of interpreter-generated content was the use of source attribution. There were 13 instances of source attributions that either involved a gender-neutral finger point in BSL or a modification of the final placement of a directional verb, which means *'he/him/her/she/they/them'*. Source attributions are communicative acts that are only communicated to the deaf participant. As described by Metzger (1999), we found a number of source attributions

functioning as part of co-ordinating talk where Inga signalled to Simon a change in speaker (7 tokens). Two further sub-types of source attribution occurred where no change in speaker occurred. Instead, the source attribution appeared to function as a cue, signalling a speaker's change of interactive frame (6 tokens). The second sub-type appeared to be another cue strategy, signalling Inga's distance as relayer, not author, of the message (2 tokens). The two sub-types of source attribution are of interest because they overtly signal to the deaf suspect a shift in the police interviewer's behaviour, or at least convey the interpreter's internalised reaction to the interviewer's behaviour. These signals are subtle and not made known to the officer, yet they have the potential to influence the suspect's perception of the interviewer.

Here we present six extracts from the data that illustrate how the interpreter's expanded rendition or source attribution had the potential to disrupt the interviewer's rapport building or rapport maintenance strategies. Text that is present in bold indicates where Inga has used source attribution or produced an expanded rendition.

Extract 1

Sergeant Osborne (PO1)	Inga (interpreter)
Simon... You're going to be asked questions about an assault and robbery.	
	(Points to PO1) (HE) SAY I ASK YOU QUESTION S. YOU (2.0) WELL ASK ASK YOU A-T A.S.S.U.L.T. **PUNCH-FACE HURT PERSON**. PLUS ROB AS WELL. Back translation: **He said 'I will ask you questions' Simon... (2.0)** Now there will be questions to you about an assault, **a person has been punched in the face and hurt**, and robbed as well.
You're not bound to answer but anything you do say will be noted, tape-recorded and maybe used in evidence.	
	NOT MUST TELL US. **YOU CAN CONCEAL**. I.F. DECIDE DISCLOSE WILL **WRITE (point to PO2's notepad)** ALSO RECO**RD (gestures towards tape recorder)**. WILL SHOW **COURT** EVIDENCE MAYBE. Back translation: You don't have to tell us, **you can withhold information**, if you do decide to tell us anything, this will be noted down on that notepad. It will also be recorded on that tape recorder and could be later used as evidence **in court**.

In Extract 1 Sergeant Osborne was following established police practices by reading the caution and consulting with Simon to confirm his understanding. This initial step is believed to establish the interviewer-responder relationship (Heydon, 2005). Inga's first expansion disambiguates the term 'assault' by spelling out the term assault (inaccurately) and adding that 'a person has been hit in the face' and the implied meaning of 'you're not bound to answer' as

"You don't-have-to tell-us/him, you-can-withhold-information". There is some ambiguity with who Simon does not have to answer to. For the directional verb sign TELL to remain in first person, e.g. TELL-ME, the final location needed to be placed in the direction of the interpreter (see *Figure 4*). For the sign TELL to be expressed in third person, e.g. TELL-HIM, the final location should be modified and directed towards Sergeant Osborne (see Figure 5). Instead, the final location of the sign TELL was ambiguously located mid-way between the interpreter and Sergeant Osborne, implying that "*you're telling him through me*" (see *Figure 6*). Inga's idiosyncratic modified use of the verb TELL could be intended to distance herself as intended recipient and protect her alignment with Simon.

Figure 4: TELL-ME

Figure 5: TELL-HIM/HER/THEM

Figure 6: TELL-HIM/ME

There were multiple occasions where Inga would modify a directional verb to be completed by her shoulder closest to the police interviewer. This did appear to be a strategy Inga employed, as a subtle way to communicate her mediator role as a relayer not the original author of the message. Referring to her shoulder reminded the suspect that his answers were not only going to the interpreter but back to the police interviewer. The interpreter's reference to her shoulder did appear strategic, particularly when the suspect may have revealed incriminating details about himself. Further examples are seen in Extract 6.

Further expansion occurred where Inga added specific information when producing the sign *'tape-recording'* and *'notes'*. Inga directed her movements for each sign towards the objects in the room. Finally, Inga suggested the evidence collected in the interview would be used in *'court'*, which provided information not included in the original utterance. These expansions provide insights to Inga's approach to facilitating communication, where she voluntarily used contextual knowledge to disambiguate meaning. This approach to interpreting is discussed later in this analysis, particularly where additional information has the potential to interfere with rapport building strategies. In the above examples, it could be argued that Inga's approach enables rapport to be built between Simon and Sergeant Osborne.

Extract 1 also contains an example of source attribution where no change of speaker occurred. Preceding this extract, each of the participants in the room had introduced themselves for the benefit of the recording. The speaker role had returned to Sergeant Osborne. After introducing himself, he proceeded with the caution. Sergeant Osborne indicated this shift in interactive frame, from introducing himself to reading the caution, this shift was signalled when addressing Simon using his given name. Inga began her interpretation by pointing to Sergeant Osborne, akin to a source attribution, e.g. '*he said*' (Metzger, 1999), followed by a switch to direct speech '*I ask you*'. Sergeant Osborne already had the turn, so Inga's source attribution was not used to signal a change in speaker but to signal a shift in Sergeant Osborne's interactive frame. This signal gives the impression that Inga was again distancing herself from the owner of the message, in this case the charge, e.g. "*he said (not me)*…". The signal could be an attempt by Inga to protect her relationship with Simon, as someone that can be trusted to relay Simon's version of events. However, Inga's distancing has the potential to seed doubt in the mind of others, i.e. Sergeant's Osborne's trustworthiness.

Overall, Inga appears to adopt a more institutional discourse style, using her contextual knowledge of how the police speak and conduct their interviews.

Inga also appears cautious about how she is perceived by Simon. There are two possible interpretations of how to critique Inga's use of contextual knowledge. The explanation of *'punch to the face and hurt'* and *'used as evidence in court'* make explicit what is implied in Sergeant Osborne's questions, and it could be argued that they could be perceived as more direct and face threatening. It is potentially more face threatening as Sergeant Osborne did not describe the type of attack nor state the likelihood of going to court. These expansions combined with Inga's distancing, *"he said (not me)"* and *"tell him through me"* have the potential to create a sense of judgment and mistrust, which is counter-productive to rapport building strategies.

Alternatively, it could be argued that Inga's expansions were not intended as face threatening but a display of her alignment toward Simon. Inga's expansions could be described as conforming to norms in BSL communication and owning responsibility for Simon's understanding, where details about the assault would be described, such as *"punched to the face"* or *"kicked in the stomach" "thrown an object"*. From this viewpoint, the contextual expansions are intended to benefit Simon, and her distancing from the police interviewer is a way of reassuring Simon of her impartial role.

The ambiguity here is linked to the lack of linguistic research that explains accepted interview, or interrogation, styles in BSL. For example, how would an interviewer approach a suspect about an incident or manage frame shifts, without appearing judgemental and/or accusatory? Interpreters like Inga are managing investigative interviews based on their own assumptions of what is linguistically and culturally appropriate behaviour. As we see in later examples, if these expansions are left unchecked, these expansions could sometimes, unintentionally, go beyond supporting communication and interfere with the intended outcome, as noted by Mason and Stewart (2001).

Extracts 2 and 3 return to the argument of how expansions can facilitate the suspect's understanding. This explanation is not yet supported by empirical linguistic research and is based on the authors' native understanding of BSL communication. As indicated earlier, there is no in-depth study that describes BSL norms in interview settings and the cultural differences between English and BSL in producing direct versus indirect forms of questioning.

Extract 2

Sergeant Osborne (PO1)	Inga (interpreter)
And they asked you "had you been outside?" You said "no".	
	WELL **POLICE** ASK YOU, **POLICE ASK YOU**, BEEN OUTSIDE? **ASK BEEN OUTSIDE**, YOU SAID NO. Back translation: Well **the police** asked you, **the police asked you**, had you been outside? **Had you been outside?** You said "no".

Extract 3

Sergeant Osborne (PO1)	Inga (interpreter)
By the police officers?	
	POLICE **LIE** (points to S)? Back translation: The police **had lied**?

In Extracts 2 and 3 Inga can be seen using her contextual knowledge to produce contextually informed expanded renditions. Extract 2 contains a repetition of the same interpretation, each time the pronoun *"they"* was repeated as *"the police"*. Extract 3 was a response to Simon's earlier statement *"that's a lie"*. Sergeant Osborne was seeking to confirm or deny that the lie was *"by the police officers [not Simon]?*". Inga contextualised this clarification by asking "*The police had lied?"* Both examples suggest Inga's alignment is towards Simon, producing an interpretation that avoided ambiguity and provided contextual clarity.

Interpreters have been criticised as not doing enough to ensure their interpretation reduces the burden on deaf signers in accessing legal procedures (Brunson, 2007). Inga's style of interpretation appears to be the opposite, where her renditions assume some burden for explaining police procedure, police behaviours and processes. The issue with Inga's approach and assuming responsibility for Simon's understanding is how the focus on explaining meaning can verge towards a more face threatening rendition, as demonstrated in Extracts 4 and 5.

Extract 4

Sergeant Osborne (PO1)	Inga (interpreter)
So, were you drunk?	
	YOU **REALLY** DRUNK, **REALLY DRUNK**? Back translation: Were you (INDEX-S) **really** drunk? **Really drunk?**

Extract 5

Sergeant Osborne (PO1)	Inga (interpreter)
He saw, he saw nobody else, (1.8) only a teenage m-male and a teenage female	
	(Point to location of victim) NEVER SEE PEOPLE (repeated across horizontal plane), **BOY** ONLY **YOU** TEENAGE BOY **(points to S)** TEENAGE **GIRL (points to S) THAT'S ALL**.** Back translation: He never saw anyone else. He only saw **you**, a teenage boy and a teenage girl. **That's all.**

Extract 4 represents a key turning point in the interview, where Sergeant Osborne shifts his interview approach from interviewer-responder to interviewer-accused. Sergeant Osborne does not explicitly accuse Simon but is presenting details about the night that will eventually lead him to press charges. Inga appears to anticipate this change whereby her renditions appear to be more face threatening than the source. In Extract 4, Inga emphasises "*really*" and repeats her interpretation.

In Extract 5 Sergeant Osborne indirectly challenges Simon's version of events, by putting forward the victim's version of events. Sergeant Osborne generic description of a teenage boy was rendered as a direct allegation by Inga "*you*". The increasing use of expanded rendition resulted in a more face threatening act.

The issue with Inga's choices is that her renditions are potentially leading the witness statement. Sergeant Osborne's open statement is known to produce better quality evidence (Bull & Baker, 2020). It is possible that in both Extracts 4 and 5, Inga permitted her own assessment (of presumed guilt) to manifest in the interpretation. If so, Inga's involved approach to mediating communication makes it more challenging to separate her judgements from her renditions.

Extract 6 represents the final shift in interview style whereby Sergeant Osborne prepares to make his charge. Simon is about to be charged with assault and robbery, and possibly impugned for similar offences where other people have been assaulted and robbed in the same subway. Before announcing his decision, Sergeant Osborne begins to present his version of events to Simon. In Extract 6, Sergeant Osborne makes clear his concerns how Simon was selective with his memory, giving him grounds to be suspicious of Simon's version of events. Extract 6 contains a clear example of source attribution where Inga appeared to attempt to indicate a frame shift by referencing Sergeant Osborne through an overt indexing of *"HIS"*.

Inga begins her interpretation with a source attribution *"HIS"* (i.e. *"he is saying"*). Inga's brief shift into third person became an opportunity for Inga to signal to Simon her relayer-position. The source attribution HIS stands out as an unusual addition since there had been no change of speaker. The source attribution therefore serves a different purpose and could be interpreted in several ways. The reference to Sergeant Osborne could be intended to remind Simon who is the originator of the utterance and to distance herself from Sergeant Osborne's i.e. *"you know more than you're telling us"*. Another possible explanation is to signal to Simon a shift in Sergeant Osborne's interactive frame.

Like in Extract 1, Inga also expanded by producing a modified verb *"TELL"*. This modification of the verb could be back-translated as *'won't tell him/us'*). The sign "*TELL HIM/US"* is produced with two hands starting from the direction of the suspect with a single motion away from the suspect and towards Sergeant Osborne and the interpreter herself. One hand veers towards Sergeant Osborne's torso and the second hand towards the interpreter's torso. This invitation *"explain to us"* places the interpreter as one of the addressees of the requested explanation. At no point prior to this moment had the police interviewer referred to the interpreter overtly and it can be assumed that when he referred to *"us"* he meant the police. While Sergeant Osborne requests an explanation to *"us"*, it is unlikely to mean the "*the interpreter and me*". Inga used this same final modification four times for the sign *"TELL-ME/HIM"*, *"DISCLOSE-ME/HIM"*. There was no consistent pattern with Inga's switching

between first and third person, which is consistent with findings in courts (Angermeyer, 2009) and police interviews (Gallai, 2013).

Extract 6

Sergeant Osborne (PO1)	Inga (interpreter)
(hands clasped) My- my concern (open hand) is that you know (clasped hands) more than you're telling us. (4.7)	
	(closed hands) HIS, I FEELYOU KNOW, **HAVE KNOW (points to S), HAVE KNOW, HAVE IN-MIND, YOU KNOW** NOT TELL HIM/US (clasped hands). Back translation: **Well, his comment,** I feel you- you know, **you do, you know something, you do know,** you're not telling **us**.
About either the activities of others (hand point right) (clasped hands) (8) Or about your own (points to Simon) (1.0) actions.	
	YOU KNOW WHAT (sweeping point to Location A) THEY YOUR FRIENDS THEY (sweeping point location A) **WHAT THEY (sweeping point location A)** DOING, **YOU KNOW, WON"T TELL HIM/US. O.R YOU** MYSELF I KNOW MANY-THINGS DISCLOSE NOTHING **LIPS-SEALED**. Back translation: **You know that group of people**, what they have been doing, you know **and won't tell us. Or you, yourself**, know what you have done and you're not telling him, **keeping your lips sealed.**

The interpreter in this case study appears to have demonstrated an alignment towards Simon, whereby she would repeatedly expand and explain the source. The interpreter's expanded renditions made implicit or assumed information explicit (Extracts 1 – 6). In doing so she often *introduced* FTAs as opposed to trying to *mitigate* them (Extracts 1, 4, 5 and 6), which is what is more typically observed in analyses of interpreter-mediated interactions (see for example Hoza, 2001; Jacobsen, 2008; Lázaro Gutiérrez, 2021; Magnifico & Defrancq, 2016). The introduction of an FTA, for example a more direct accusation to the suspect or explicit information about the nature of assault (Extracts 1, 4, 5 & 6), goes against the PRICE model protocol of information gathering rather than using an accusatorial model. The interpreter switched between first and third person for what appeared to be different reasons (Extract 1 & 6): sometimes to distance herself from ownership of the original utterance (mitigation of FTA) and at other times to align herself with the interviewing officer to include herself in the content of the rendition. This presents a complex picture of the interpreter as co-participant, which is further discussed in the conclusion.

6. Conclusion

The types of expansions and source attributions identified in the interpreter renditions in this case study will often go unnoticed by primary participants who only use one of the languages in the interaction. As this study demonstrates, this has the potential to render the interpreted renditions as more coercive or face threatening than the original utterances, which can have an impact on the rapport building strategies of police interviewers.

In this case study, the interpreter saw it as her role to indicate to the suspect a change in speaker before delivering her interpretation. This account matches Metzger's (1999) and Marks' (2013, 2015) observations of source attribution in other dialogic sign language interpreted contexts. A second example of source attribution was observed, one that indicated a noticeable shift in interactive frame. The police interviewer's interactive frame shifted at specific points in the interview, particularly when he challenged Simon's version of events. It is not clear if the interpreter's cueing was intended to indicate a shift in interactive frame or an unconscious effort to distance herself from the police interviewer's direct challenge. The interpreter would indicate a frame shift to the interviewer, where no change in speaker had occurred, before rendering an accusation or direct challenge. The indexing therefore communicates to the suspect, *"The police interviewer is the owner of this statement/question (not me)"*. The interpreter also distanced herself from the police interviewer's role by either pointing to the tip of her shoulder closest to the Police Officer (e.g. *"tell him/us"*) or by modifying a verb (*"TELL/DISCLOSE"*) towards the same shoulder (see Figures 4, 5 and 6). In these instances, Inga is reminding Simon the intended recipient of his reply. These ambiguous changes mean that the interpreter is no longer strictly following the direct interview approach employed by the police interviewer but implying third person reporting. How Inga's distancing influences Simon's perception of Sergeant Osborne, i.e., as someone that can be trusted, is unknown. Nevertheless, this study contributes to the small literature that explores interpreters' involvement in rapport-building by illustrating not only how interpreters can help to build rapport between interviewer and interviewee, but also how they can negatively impact on rapport building by introducing FTAs.

Inga's use of contextual knowledge and expansions either clarified the police interviewer's explanations/questions or included details that rendered his statements into more of a narrative rather than questions. This approach could be viewed as goal orientated towards promoting communication, monitoring and enabling the suspect to understand who is talking and the seriousness of the interview. However, there is a tension here between the interpreter possibly 'over' interpreting and providing too much information based on assumed knowledge, and also introducing possible FTAs where none actually existed. The findings from this study require further exploration to determine if linguistic and cultural differences create different perceptions as to what would be considered as coercive. For example, it is often reported that sign language users are more direct and that English speakers are more indirect, but this might not necessarily be the case (Hoza, 2007). Little is understood about this generally, but even less so in police interviews, where directness in sign language may not be viewed as coercive but as a standard form of communication. It is possible that indirect forms of communication in English may be perceived as provocative when translated into BSL. This is an area of BSL communication that is yet to be understood, where differences in

politeness may exist when compared to spoken language politeness norms (Mapson, 2014).

There are pressures on interpreters to assume a more participatory position, where they assume greater responsibility for making institutions inclusive and accessible to deaf signers (Brunson, 2007; Skinner & Napier, 2023). This pressure arises because police procedures have been constructed around the ideals that suspect, victims or witnesses are people who hear and can communicate in the national spoken language. As illustrated in this study, interpreters who assume an involved stance need to be trained to understand the implications of using expansions and source attribution in police interviews, as they may inadvertently influence the rapport building attempts of police interviewers, which could ultimately affect the goal of a police interviewer to build rapport and ultimately influence the outcomes of an investigative interview.

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Appendix

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS	
VERBAL FEATURES - Symbol	Meaning
Sergeant Osborne	Lead interviewing police officer
S	Suspect
Inga	BSL interpreter
White cell	English
Greyed cell	British Sign Language (BSL)
[	Beginning of overlapping actions
:	Long previous vowel
::	Very long previous vowel
-	Sudden cut-off of the current sound
(n)	Longer pause: length of pause in seconds
↓	Falling intonation
Boldface	Word spoken with emphasis
*	Final position of sign is held in signing space for .5 seconds
CAPITALS	BSL Gloss
C.A.P.I.T.A.L.S	BSL Fingerspelling
Boldface	Code-mixing: insertion in a sentence in the other language
NON-VERBAL FEATURES	Meaning
((PRO-X))	BSL GLOSS - Pronoun
((PRO-L/R))	BSL GLOSS – Pronoun set in interpreter's signing space on the left or right
((non-verbal: verbal))	Text between double brackets: description of non-verbal features.
((non-verbal action/interlocutor))	the speaker directs a non-verbal action to an object or person presented after /
((CAPS/interlocutor))	the speaker directs a PRONOUN action to an object or person presented after /