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ABSTRACT

Using conversation analysis, we explore workshop leaders' collaboratively coordinated translations in bilingual workshops for primary school children of a Finnish- and Swedish-speaking school. We focus on cases in which a turn transition occurs between the original and translatory turn. We show that to proceed in parallel in both languages, the participants need a locally negotiated mutual agreement regarding translation. The first speaker's task is to package the translatable items into translatable chunks. The second speaker needs to grasp the translatable content and the relevant timing of the translatory turn. In some cases, the translation process halts. We argue that the problems that arose were related to the timing of the local agreement, the chunking of the translatable items, and the lack of access to the ongoing embodied activity. We show how potential access problems can be overcome in a complex multimodal interactional sequence in which the second speaker moves bodily to enhance their visual access to the embodied activity, and the first speaker collaborates with proper, temporally fitted manipulation of artifacts. We show that non-professional translating in educational settings requires a great amount of intersubjective work in respect to timing, sequencing, and providing and gaining access to the ongoing embodied activities.

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1. Introduction

When translating in an interactive situation, the person who translates may also have to engage in the activities at hand, which makes their role dynamic (Merlino and Mondada 2014; Davitti and Pasquandrea 2017; Wadensjö 1998). In many interactional settings, translating activities may emerge when no one is present as solely a translator (see Traverso 2012; Harjunpää 2017, 2021a, 2021b). In contexts in which the translatory talk emerges in an improvised manner (Mondada 2012), participants need to constantly negotiate the sequential organization of the translatory talk, and use a variety of verbal and embodied means to negotiate turn allocation and the participation framework (De Stefani, Miecznikowski & Mondada 2000; Harjunpää 2021a). Hence, a micro analysis of translatory sequences in non-professional settings can reveal how participants co-construct an understanding of the emergent activities, and sheds light on the division of labor in the verbal and embodied practices used in interaction.

The current study explores[1] translatory sequences in a primary school context in which students from a Swedish-speaking class and a Finnish-speaking class meet in workshops both in and outside the school setting. The instructed workshop

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[1] The first and the second author carried out the analyses and wrote the results, the theoretical and methodological background, and the conclusions. The third author designed and collected the data and wrote the contextual background of the data.

activities were inherently embodied and connected to the material environment and include artifacts (baking, planting). The workshops were designed as bilingual: All the relevant information had to be comprehensible in two languages, and the translatory work was carried out by the workshop leaders, who were not professional translators. Either one speaker conducted the turns in both languages, or both speakers shared the translatory work. We focus on the latter—when the second speaker produces the translation. Given that the size of the turns to be translated might vary from one-word phrases to extensive multi-unit turns, when to initiate the translation is a mutually negotiable matter (Traverso 2012; Markaki et al., 2013; for professional interpretation, see Hansen and Svennevig 2021). How do the participants know what should be translated and who will carry out the translatory work? How do they manage the complexities of both mediating the contents and participating in the ongoing emerging activities? The management of participation roles is particularly central when the participants need to be able to instruct the activities of others, for example, in educational contexts. In our study, we explore how the participants manage the turn taking and the packaging of the translatable items in interactionally complex situations. We show that translating requires a great amount of intersubjective work in timing and sequencing, and in providing and gaining access to the ongoing embodied actions.

1.1. Bilingual workshops in a parallel monolingual school system

From the perspective of multilingual education and classrooms in Finland, the workshops analyzed in this study are a special case (Piippo et al. 2021). In officially bilingual Finland, the school system is divided into two monolingual Finnish- and Swedish-speaking strands (Basic Education Act, 628/1998). The education system has been described as "parallel monolingualism" (From 2020; Heller 1999). This study investigates recurrent workshops in which students aged 9–10 from a Swedish-medium school (9 students) and from a Finnish-medium school (8 students) participated for one calendar year. The workshops took place in different workplaces in the local community and aimed to enhance language crossing activities and multilingual practices for the students. The workshop leaders, adults of different professions, were asked to use both Finnish and Swedish if possible and in suitable ways, and to create opportunities for the children to work in language-mixed smaller groups. All the adults understood both languages and were able to produce the second language to at least some extent. Some of the adults were fluent in both languages. As for the students, even though their schools are officially monolingual, some children may have bilingual backgrounds, or they may encounter the other language in their free—time activities and in their neighborhoods. In addition, the students who participated in the workshops had begun studying the other language as a subject in the first grade in primary school.

The languages used in the workshops, Finnish, and Finland Swedish (the variety of Swedish that is spoken in Finland) are structurally different. Finnish belongs to the Finno-Ugric languages, and Swedish, as one of the Germanic languages, belongs to the Indo-European language family (Dryer and Haspelmath 2013). Apart from structural differences, Finnish and Finland Swedish contain similar features that result from a long cultural relationship between the speakers of both languages. This is manifested in the great number of Swedish loan words in Finnish (Häkkinen, 2007, 229–231, 245–253), partly identical discourse particles (Lindström 2008; Wide and Lyngfelt 2009), and similarities in prosody (Aho 2010). Hakulinen and Saari (1995) have suggested that these similarities are due to a "shared speech community".

Given that all the workshop participants, both the adults and the children, had at least some competence in both languages, and that the languages have resembling features in prosody and lexis, the turns produced in the original language (either Finnish or Swedish) were not entirely opaque to any participant. Thus, the constellation of languages here differs significantly from that in studies on translation and interpretation, in which the interpreter renders the messages between participants who do not understand each other's languages (Vranjes and Brône 2021).

1.2. Embodiment and temporality in interaction

Our point of departure is the verbally and bodily organized collaboration among the participants who carry out the translations. Conversation Analysis (CA) investigates the temporally unfolding sequential organization of interaction (e.g., Schegloff 2007). The multimodal turn (see Nevile 2015) has highlighted the simultaneity (rather than linear sequentiality) of actions and the temporal coordination of verbal and embodied recourses, as well as the manipulation of artifacts in interaction (for a discussion on this, see Mondada 2019a).

There is now a growing body of research on the interplay between verbal, embodied and material resources in different mundane and institutional contexts (see e.g., Day and Wagner 2019; Råman 2019), including the educational context (see e.g., Kääntä, 2021; Kääntä and Piirainen-Marsh 2013; Jakonen 2015, 2016). These studies show how the manipulation of artifacts enables participants to conduct contextually varying and locally relevant interactional work. The results of Lindström & al. (2017) concerning institutional interaction, more specifically, at a theatre box office counter, are directly relevant to our work. When the interactional focus is negotiated through artifacts, the verbal talk is often fragmentary. Their results also show how speech may be paced to match the deployment of an artifact in an interactionally meaningful way. Likewise, Sorjonen and Raevaara (2014) showed how in service encounters, walking towards a counter desk may be the reason for using a full clause when the customer paces their steps so that the noun phrase (NP) comes when they reach the counter. Furthermore, in mobile activities, the pacing of one's steps when walking away from an interactional situation is an inherent part of the organization of actions (Broth and Mondada 2013; Mondada 2019b). The significance of embodied activity in relation to verbal activity was also evidenced in Stevanovic's and Monzoni's (2016) research. Their results show that when

participants engage in joint activities, of which the material objects are part, they rely more on embodied behavior than verbal talk. This is manifested in situations in which the verbal and the embodied messages contradict each other.

The research on the embodied means in interpretation and translation settings is still scarce. However, in the context of professional dialogue interpretation, embodied means such as gaze, gesture, and body position have recently been analyzed from the specific perspective of participation framework and turn taking (Davitti and Pasqandrea 2017; Hansen and Svennevig 2021; Vranjes and Brône 2021). Concerning non-professional interpretation, the observation of the importance of the participants' embodied positioning is especially relevant to our work (see Mondada 2012; Merlino and Mondada 2014).

1.3. On terminology and the focus cases

We use the term translation instead of interpretation when referring to the talk produced in the second language (see Harjunpää 2017, 21), even though the term interpretation is commonly used in studies investigating oral translating (see e.g., Davitti and Pasquandrea 2017). Consequentially, we also use the terms translatory turn and translatory sequence (Harjunpää 2017). In the CA tradition, interpretation may refer to the inferencing processes in meaning-making in everyday interaction. The term translation is unambiguous and thus more suitable for our purposes. Furthermore, we define the participants in our data set as non-professional translators, in the sense that they had not received any special education as interpreters (for further definitions, see Antonini et al., 2017). Translation and interpreting studies have examined these kinds of non-professional translating and interpreting practices and defined them as ad hoc interpreting (e.g., Bührig and Meyer 2004). Much of this research is conducted from the perspective of dialogue interpreting (Wandensjö 1998), in which interpreting is done back and forth. The cases we deal with resemble those in which translation occurs after longer stretches of talk (Markaki et al., 2013). In our data, the participants' role as translators was designed beforehand rather than ad hoc, although none of the participants were present solely as translators (see Traverso 2012; Antonini et al., 2017). Furthermore, our data are from a primary school context in which the participants' roles differ significantly from, for example, multilingual workplaces (Markaki and Mondada 2012; Markaki & al. 2013; Mondada 2012) and everyday interaction (Harjunpää 2017, 2021a, 2021b).

We focus on translations that emerge as a collaboratively coordinated activity between the workshop leaders. The participation framework (see Goffman 1981; Goodwin and Goodwin 2004; Goodwin 2007b) in these sequences is complex. The translatable talk and the translations are directed at the group of children, but the turn-taking processes concerning the translatory talk are negotiated between the adult participants who are carrying out the translations (see Section 3.1). Thus, the participation framework changes constantly. We focus on the interaction between the first and second speaker—the adult participants.

The following sequence illustrates the focus cases. Reetta and Mia are workshop leaders. They are starting to present plants that the children can later choose and take home to plant. Prior to this sequence, Reetta has shown other artifacts needed for planting (soil and pots), and the children have started to run to get the pots, which momentarily interrupts the on-going instructed activity. The workshop leaders have just guided the children back, and are restarting the instructing. Reetta is the first speaker, speaking Finnish (F), and Mia translates into Swedish (S). Reetta has a plant in her right hand and a pot in her left hand. Our focus is on the verbal formatting of the two turns, and the embodied action that supports the verbal turns.

```
01 REE:  ¤sitte * täällä on     erilaisia
              then    ADV  be.3SG  different.PTV
              then there are various (F)
     Ree      ¤lifts the plant with right hand holds it on display--->
     Ree           *gz at the child group--->

02 REE:  tomaat *teja?¤
              tomatoes.PTV
              Tomatoes (F)
     Ree      --->            ¤
     Ree      --->      *turns gz to the plant in her hand--->>

03       ¤(.)
     Ree  ¤lowers the plant to chest level, starts putting it into the pot in l/ hand --->

04 MIA:  olika   to¤mat¤er?
              various tomatoes.INDEF
              various tomatoes (S)
     Ree      --->         ¤raises the tomato 5 cm ¤
```

Reetta presents the plant using a turn that is formatted as an existential clause. The tomato is the first item that is named and showed to the children in this sequence with this particular clause frame. Reetta simultaneously lifts the plant and holds it on display until the end of her turn (lines 1–2). Mia's translation comes after a micropause (lines 3–4). Mia does not, however, translate the clause frame; only the final NP. Linguistically, the translation relies on the syntax of the original turn. More importantly, it relies on Reetta's embodied action, the holding of the plant on display. The plant is in Reetta's hand, not Mia's, and thus, Mia is not able to manipulate the object while speaking. This may be a reason for not translating the clause frame: When Mia starts the translation, Reetta has already begun to lower the plant (line 3), and therefore, clause formatting would delay the NP that describes the plant in focus here (cf. Sorjonen and Raevaara 2014). Moreover, when Mia produces the noun, Reetta stops her downward movement and raises the plant slightly upwards again (line 4). The lifting of the plant is of

importance here because the turns are directed at the children, who are supposed to understand the leaders' activity in both languages. Here, being able to see the object in question is as important as understanding the verbal turn; it is more important to make the connection between the NP and the artifact, the plant, than to have a full clause translation. This stretch of talk illuminates how translations are collaborative achievements, situated in the complex ecologies of interactional environments (cf. Mondada 2007).

2. Data and method

The data comprised 16 h of videorecorded interactions recorded in six workshops. Our data set for this article included four workshops (10 h). We excerpted translations in which a speaker change occurred between the original and the translatory turns, both turns being produced by the adult participants. We use the terms first speaker and second speaker to refer to the speakers of the original turn and the translation, respectively. We excluded the two workshops in which the translatory work was systematically carried out by one speaker and no speaker change occurred between the original turn and the translation.

Our data set included 44 cases in which the second speaker translated the first speaker's turn, in other words, one case is a unit entailing an original turn and its translation. We also identified seven cases of what we call local agreement on translation, in which the speakers verbally agree that they will proceed in two languages. Simultaneously, they agree on who speaks first and in which language (Finnish or Swedish) and who will translate to the other language. In some cases, in the analyzed 10-hour data, the subsequent turns in the two languages seemed to emerge in parallel in the situation, and not as translations. Typically, these cases where short instructions, such as *vänta lite* 'wait a minute', *odottakaa vähän* 'wait a minute', directed at both groups in parallel in the two languages. We excluded these cases because we do not consider them to be translations.

Translatory turns tend to emerge in clusters, typically at the beginning of new activities. The most typical contexts are instruction-giving sequences. In some cases, the translatory sequences are located after the group of children has carried out the instructed tasks. Overall, these situations resemble plenary talk: When the workshop leaders or teachers speak, the students' role is to listen.

The locations of the workshops, like the instructed activities, varied considerably. In some cases, the students were in a traditional classroom setting, in others they were outside in a garden, or in various cooking spaces in which the instructed activities were profoundly connected to the physical environment. In these places, one or two professionals gave instructions and engaged the children in activities in which they had expertise. Typically, the first speaker was the one with better access to the activities at hand, and the second speaker was the one with good enough skills in both languages to produce the translatory talk.

We analyzed the data using CA (Sacks 1992a and b). CA is designed for analyzing interaction as it emerges, moment by moment. It aims to discover the practices that participants use when collaboratively carrying out interactional projects. We analyzed in detail the verbal and the embodied resources that the participants used, as well as their use of artifacts relevant for the action ascription in the emerging local environments (Mondada 2014). When collecting the cases for our analysis, we did not focus on any particular action or activity; we excerpted all the translations (see also Harjunpää 2017). For embodied activities, we followed the transcription conventions introduced for transcribing multimodal interaction (see Mondada 2018).

To secure the anonymity of the participants, we used pseudonyms and illustrated the multimodal details in the transcripts using drawings. All the participants and the guardians of the children consented to participate in the project. In the text, we use the inclusive pronoun *they*, when possible, but in the analyses, we use the pronouns *she/her* and *he/him* to clarify the distinction of singular and plural.

3. Findings

We start by providing a schematic description of the translatory sequences in our data set. We call this the basic pattern (3.1). We then analyze the illustrative examples and explain the features that were essential for the translatory sequences to proceed smoothly (3.2), that is, for the second speaker to translate the first speaker's turn or turns, and for the collaboration between the participants to be sufficient for the practical purposes of the ongoing interaction. Then we show what happens when the sequence does not follow the pattern. In these cases, translating becomes challenging. We show how the arising challenges are due to the second speaker lacking access to either the verbal or the embodied action that is essential for making a proper translation (3.3). Finally, we show how potential access problems are overcome in a complex multimodal interactional sequence (3.4).

3.1. Basic pattern

Translations typically emerge at the outset of interactional sequences, either at the very beginning of the activities when the plan for the workshop is introduced, or when new instructions are given. Fig. 1 depicts the basic pattern of the sequential formatting of translatory talk. The original turn can be in either Finnish or Swedish, and consequently, the translation in the other language. The schematic figure describes the sequences as they emerge in prototypical cases.
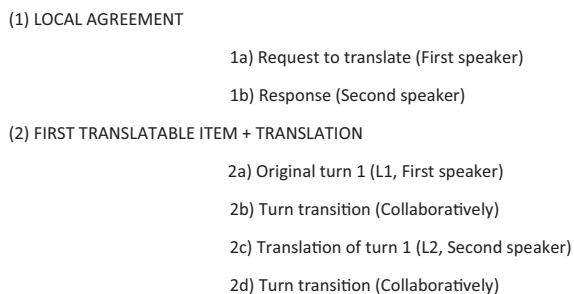
(1) LOCAL AGREEMENT

      1a) Request to translate (First speaker)

      1b) Response (Second speaker)

(2) FIRST TRANSLATABLE ITEM + TRANSLATION

      2a) Original turn 1 (L1, First speaker)

      2b) Turn transition (Collaboratively)

      2c) Translation of turn 1 (L2, Second speaker)

      2d) Turn transition (Collaboratively)

Fig. 1. Schematic pattern of translatory sequences.

Translatory sequences begin with a local agreement to translate (1) (cf. Markaki et al., 2013). Local agreements are made verbally between the two participants, the first speaker initiates the action by producing a request to translate (1a), and the second speaker agrees (1b). We found no cases in the dataset in which the second speaker disagreed with or ignored the request. The formatting of the request (1a) adapts to the local sequential context, and imperative, declarative, and interrogative clauses can all be unproblematic. Note that the speakers do not necessarily call the activity translating, but use other wording, such as *sano ruotsiks* 'say it in Swedish' (see Excerpt 1A) but sometimes they explicitly talk about translating, for example, *sit sä käännät* 'then you translate', *sit mä käännän* 'then I translate'. However, the sequential place of the request is crucial. In all smoothly proceeding cases, the request to translate precedes the first original turn (2a), that is, the first entity in the L1 that is supposed to be translated into the L2 (for a deviant case, see Excerpt 2 in 3.3).

When the local agreement is made, the first speaker proceeds to the first translatable item by producing what becomes the first original turn (2a). Unlike the turns that form the local agreement, the original turn is directed towards the group of children. In terms of participation, this indicates a change in the participation framework. In our data, the rationing of the translatable item(s) is up to the first speaker and the size of the original turn may vary from a single phrase to a multi-unit turn. Due to the multiple changes in the participation framework and the complex turn design, the transition from the original turn to the translation entails a significant amount of interactional work. The first and the second speaker must jointly manage the translatory process and simultaneously produce comprehensible contents, often instructions, to the group of children. Typically, the turn allocation is suggested by embodied means, such as gaze (Sacks et al. 1974; Rossano 2013; Ruusuvuori 2016), hand gestures with an upwards facing open palm (Kendon 2004), pointing (Heath and Luff 2013), nodding, or a combination of these. Occasionally, the second speaker signals their understanding by nodding, before initiating the translation. The turn transition may even form an adjacency pair, in which the first speaker allocates the turn verbally and the second speaker responds with a particle or with a whole clause. In any case, during the turn transition, the participation framework returns to momentarily involving only the first and second speaker. After a successful turn transition, the second speaker forms a new participation framework, directing the talk toward the children again, and provides a translation of the original turn(s) (2c). At this point, the first speaker typically waits for the translation to be completed.

The turn transition that follows the translation (2d) does not require as much interactional work as that preceding the translation. Before proceeding to the second translatable item, the first speaker occasionally produces an acknowledging discourse particle, typically *joo* 'yes' (see Sorjonen 2001), but the turn transition never expands further. Given that the first and the second speaker both understand each other's languages, the first speaker has enough clues to project the completion of the translatory turn. They are aware of the content and the approximate length of the turn——it is the translation of the turn(s) they themselves just produced.

In sum, the translatable items and their translations (2) form multimodal action packages (Goodwin 2007a) consisting of talk in two languages and turn transitions that are mutually recognizable for the first and the second speaker who carry out the translatory work. The formatting of the translations is contingent on the local interactional environment. The action packages are potentially—and in our data even typically—recurrent. Moreover, as we will later show, the emergent sequences that follow the basic pattern are constructed of syntactically, semantically and prosodically similar turns that together form a list construction (see Selting 2007). Although insertion sequences are possible at all points (cf. Schegloff 2007: 26), the participants return to the basic pattern if the translating continues. Predictably, some cases do not follow the basic pattern, and translating becomes challenging, as we show in Section 3.3.

3.2. Smoothly proceeding translations

We first explore how the first speaker formulates the translatable turn(s) and rations the verbal content that the other speaker is conveyed to say in the other language. We start with a case in a classroom setting. We show the excerpt in three parts. This is the first meeting of the two groups. The first speaker, Saara, is speaking in Finnish. Laura translates her turns into Swedish. Prior to the sequence presented in Excerpts 1A–C, Saara has given an overall introduction to the bilingual workshops, and the children and the adults have introduced themselves. We join the group as Saara is starting to explain the upcoming tasks. The sequence starts with a local agreement to translate, which in this case is realized as an imperatively formatted request to proceed in two languages in parallel.

Excerpt 1A. Local agreement to translate

```
01 SAA:   elikkäh*   (.)          *
          PRT
          so (F)
                 *points to LAU with arm*

02 SAA:   *sano    *sä  sit [*ruotsiks*>  mä sa[non suomeks<
          you say it in Swedish            I say it in Finnish then (F)
          *points to LAU*         *points to LAU *

03 LAU:                   +[jå              [jå+
                            yes              yes
                          +nodding            +
```

Saara starts a new activity with *elikkä* and points to Laura with her hand (line 01). The pointing gesture selects the recipient of the incoming action (Heath and Luff 2013). Saara then continues with an imperative *sano* 'say', which implies that the activity is already mutually agreed upon, and the first speaker can rely on the second speaker's approval (Raevaara 2017). While producing the turn, Saara makes two more pointing gestures that are similar to the previous one. Laura responds with two 'yes' particles, nodding at the same time (line 3). The first 'yes' response comes even before Saara has formulated the names of the languages. This strengthens the interpretation that the request to say the same thing in Swedish does not come unexpectedly.

As illustrated in Excerpt 1A, the local agreement to proceed in two languages is a quick procedure. Here, the sequence can be analyzed as an insertion sequence (Schegloff 2007), which emerges when Saara is initiating a new, larger activity, displayed by the turn initial *elikkä*. One of the usages of the turn initial *eli* or *elikkä* is to signal the start of a new sequence (see Sorjonen 2018). When the agreement is successfully attained, Saara begins again with the same particle (depicted in Excerpt 1B, line 04).

Excerpt 1B is a direct continuation of Excerpt 1A. We now focus on the turn transition and the rationing of the translatable items. Excerpt 1B illustrates the interactional work needed for turn allocation. Even if the activity, the translating, is now agreed upon, the second speaker needs to grasp when to initiate the translation. Thus, the first speaker must signal the point at which the second speaker is expected to take the turn. Naturally, the placement of the turn transition is linked to the size of the emerging translatable item. Now, it is important to point out that Saara and Laura are standing at opposite sides of the classroom; Saara is standing in the front, facing the children and Laura, and Laura is standing at the back, behind the children, facing Saara (see Figures 1 and 2).

Excerpt 1B. Instructions in the classroom: Turn allocation

```
04 SAA:   .hh eli nyt me mennään tonne (0.3) ää keittiöön ja
                PRT now we go     there        to the kitchen and (F)

05        ruoka¤laan?        #*&(0.4)¤(0.2)
          to the dining hall (F)
    Saa                      *closes mouth tightly, pressing her lips together--->
    Saa                      &gaze twrds LAU --->>
    Lau            ¤gz to right        ¤gz twrds SAA--->
    fig                      #Fig. 1
```
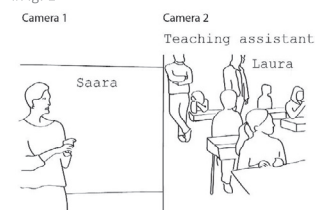

Figure 1.

```
06        *(0.3)                      *+(0.4)+(0.4)#
    Saa   *lowers her chin, points with both hands to LAU*
    Lau                                +nods    +
    fig                                         #Fig.2
```
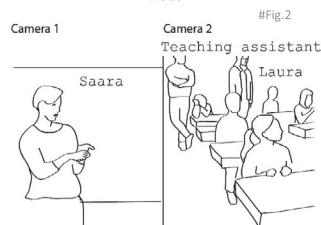

Figure 2.

```
07 LAU:   ¤.hh så vi+(.) kommer att gå där ti-++ köket?  +
                PRT we      will go there to the kitchen (S)
                      +leans twrds the child next to her     ++points bwrds +
          ¤ gz twrds children--->

08        å (.) ti- den (här)(.) ¤avdelningen?
          and   to that          section (S)
                                ¤ gz twrds SAA--->>
```

After Laura has agreed to the request to translate (illustrated in Excerpt 1A), Saara proceeds to describe the plans for the upcoming activities (lines 4—5), beginning with procedural instructions (Mushin et al. 2019). The turn initial *eli* signals a shift from one participation framework to another, and the beginning of a new sequence (see Sorjonen 2018). In the current sequential context, Saara has engaged in momentary interaction with Laura, and now the turn is directed at the child group. The turn describes the upcoming activity and the location for the following tasks. It is formatted as a complete declarative and produced with a final rise (lines 4—5). When the turn reaches its end, Saara closes her mouth tightly, pressing her lips together and simultaneously turns her gaze to Laura, who is standing at the back of the classroom (Fig 1). Saara then stays in the same position, gazing at Laura, who turns her gaze to Saara. When the mutual gaze is established, Saara lowers her chin, gazes intensively at Laura, and makes a pointing gesture with both hands (Fig 2). The overall interpretation of the body posture is expectant. Saara clearly signals that it is Laura's turn to continue (see Rossano 2013). After Saara's embodied turn allocation, Laura nods, and continues with a *så*-initiated turn that formulates a verbally close translation of what Saara has said. Laura also produces the turn with a final rise (lines 7—8).

The turn final rising intonation signals that the overall activity is not yet complete. The first turn (shown in Excerpt 1B, line 04) described the location of the upcoming activities. Thus, it is interpretable as the projection component of a list (Selting 2007). What follows is an insertion sequence (not shown here) in which Saara describes an upcoming division into small groups, and Laura translates. After this, the sequence continues as a list, depicted in Excerpt 1C.

```
Excerpt 1C. Orientation to list construction
25 SAA:   ¤.hh sitte yks ryhmä tekee    salaattia? (.)
              PRT   one group make.SG3 salad.PTV
              then  one group   makes     a salad (F)
    Lau   ¤gz twds SAA--->

26 SAA:   *tän      päivän   ruoan* salaattia?
           DEM1.GEN day.GEN  food.GEN salad.PTV
           a salad for today's meal (F)
           *gz twds LAU            *

27        *(0.2)¤(0.2)*
    Saa   *closes mouth*
    Lau    --->¤

28 LAU:   så ¤en grupp    får kommer att  få    vara  med
          PRT one group.NDEF get shall   INFM get.INF be.INF with
          so one group gets to participate  (S)
             ¤gz twrds the children (looks around to left)--->

29        å   göra     sallad (1.0)¤  (0.4)
          och make.INF salad
          and make        a salad (S)
    Lau                              ¤ gz twds SAA

30 SAA:   mt sitte ö yks ryhmä (.) auttaa* ↓kattamisessa?
              PRT     one group      help.SG3 lay.the.table.INESS
          then one group helps to lay the table (F)
                                   *gz twds LAU--->>

31        (0.1) +(0.3)
    Lau         +turns head to left --->>

32 LAU:   så ↑en grupp    som  hjälper till att duka   borden?
          PRT one group.NDEF which help    PREP INFM lay.INF table.DEF
           so one group helps to lay the table (S)
```

The turns in Finnish begin with the particle *sitte* 'then', followed by the NP *yks ryhmä* 'one group', and a verb phrase (lines 25, 30). While enhancing projection (see Kim and Kuroshima 2013), identical turn-beginnings also contribute to the overall structuring of the translatory sequence. As an action, one turn describes the upcoming activity of one small group. The rationing of each translatable item thus takes shape as short, syntactically and semantically similar chunks. The translations (lines 28—29, 32) entail a similar turn-beginning: the particle *så* + NP *en grupp* 'one group'. Both particles *sitte* and *så* are used for structuring longer stretches of talk or lists (*så,* see Ottesjö and Lindström 2005; SAG §42; *sitte*(*n*) see ISK 2004 §825). The turns also have other similarities. They are of approximately equal length and have a turn final rising intonation. The similarities of each turn and action and their translations indicate that the participants have established a mutual understanding of the ongoing activity: They are constructing a list of instructions in both languages.

Compared to what we saw in Excerpt 1B, the turn allocation here is carried out with less interactional work. When approaching the end of her turn, Saara turns her gaze towards Laura (line 26). When reaching the end of the turn, Saara pauses and closes her mouth (line 27). The pause that follows is shorter than that in Excerpt 1B (lines 5—6). Thus, Saara's embodied means of allocating the turn to Laura are more subtle. Furthermore, the following turn transition (line 31) is conducted without the prominent closing of the mouth. In sum, it seems that the embodied means to signal turn allocation become smaller as the list proceeds (cf. Kunitz 2021).

The first transition relevance place (see Sacks et al. 1974) and the micro pause in line 25 reveal that Laura does not start the translation, even though Saara's turn has syntactically and semantically reached completion. While Saara is talking, Laura gazes at her (line 25). However, Saara has not turned her gaze to Laura but gazes at the children. Then Saara adds a specifying turn constructional unit (TCU) and simultaneously turns gaze towards Laura (line 26). Only after the mutual gaze is established and the specifying TCU is completed does Laura start the translation (line 28). Thus, it seems that she waits for a signal to start translating. As Laura translates, Saara does not speak, and waits for Laura to finish the translation.

In 1 A–C, the body positioning of the adult participants potentially affects the embodied means used in turn allocation. The second speaker (Laura) is standing behind the children, facing the first speaker (Saara), in the same direction as the children. Thus, prominent gazes and pointing gestures are needed to mark Laura as the recipient. Even though the construction here is a projectable list, and both participants recognize the mutual activity, there are pauses of up to 0.4 s between the turns. In the current sequential context, the issue is not only turn transition; the participation framework also needs to be established again in each turn and in each turn transition. All verbal content here is initially directed at the children, and the participation between the first and the second speaker is managed by embodied means (gaze, gestures). It is the adult participants' responsibility to not only ensure smooth turn transitions but also to design proper recipiency for the two groups of children (the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking group).

3.3. When translating becomes challenging

In Section 3.1, we showed the basic pattern of the translatory sequences. Excerpt 1A–C illustrated how the smoothly proceeding translatory sequences emerged in terms of the sequential placement of the request to translate and the reasonable rationing of the translatable items. We now show what happens when the translatory sequence differs from the basic pattern or the second speaker lacks access to the activity at hand.

First, we analyze a case (Excerpt 2) in which the agreement to translate is sequentially misplaced. Consequently, the rationing of the translatable item also differs from the pattern. The context resembles the one we saw in the classroom setting (Excerpts 1A–C): The children are sitting in a dining hall and the workshop leader is giving them instructions for the up-coming activity. The excerpt starts as the first speaker (WL1) is in the middle of giving instructions and has thus already had the turn for a while. The excerpt ends when the translatory turn begins.

Excerpt 2. Can you say it in Swedish?

```
01 WL1:   ↑haarukalla ja veitsellä syödään voi laittaa sen
            we eat with a fork and knife you can put the (F)

02        servetin tohon (.) syliin ja (1.0) sit jutellaa (.)
            napkin            on your knees and      then we talk (F)

03        semmosella rauhallisella äänellä (0.5) ni ei tuu liian
            with a quiet      voice           so that it does not  get too (F)

04        kova meteli tänne. (.) säilyy semmonen arvokkuus.(.)
            loud in here a kind of diginity remains (F)

05        kan du säga de på svenska?
                          PRO
            can you say it in Swedish (S)

06           (0.6)

07 WL2:   jå.
            yes (S)

08        (0.5)

09 WL2:   ↑alltså: (.) ää (.) på svenska så (.) så
            so / PRT           in Swedish   so    so (S)
```

The first speaker lists various instructions concerning table manners during the upcoming mealtime. The same turn—that had already started before the one presented above—contains several instructions and reasonings for some of them. As the list of instructions comes to an end, the first speaker directs an interrogative at the other workshop leader. The interrogative functions as a request to translate the preceding talk. It is of note that the first speaker also switches to the second language when uttering the interrogative (line 5). Although the translatable turn is complex and long, the first speaker refers to the prior talk using the pronoun 'it' (line 5), which treats the translatable item as undivided and coherent. On the other hand, as an interrogative, the formatting reveals that the request concerns something that has not been agreed on during the preceding interaction (see Wootton 1997). For the second speaker, this is a problem, given that the request comes after the translatable talk has already been produced. This is in clear contrast to the pattern in which the agreement on the translating is first made before the translatory sequence begins (see Sections 3.1, and 3.2 Excerpt 1A).

The second speaker responds with 'yes' (line 7), and thus, the verbal item is identical to that used in Excerpt 1A (line 3). However, the sequential context and what follows is different: Here, the particle is a positive answer to a yes-no question, indicating that the second speaker agrees to the request. However, the pauses both before and after the particle indicate a problem (lines 6 and 8). As we saw in the classroom setting, the particle responses overlapped with the imperatively formatted request, and after the agreement was made, the first speaker produced the translatable turn.

Here, it is the second speaker who continues after agreeing to translate. The turn (line 9) starts with the particle *alltså,* produced with a prolonged vowel. The speaker then pauses several times, and recycles the lexical items from the request turn, *på svenska* 'in Swedish', thus naming the language instead of starting to translate into the language. According to Hoey (2018), recycling something from the previous turns is a prototypical way to manage lapses in conversation when speakers do not know what to say next. Here, the particle(s), pauses and the recycling give the second speaker time to plan the upcoming translation.

The formatting of the turn beginning reveals that in this sequential context, translating is as not an easy task. This is under-standable, as the request to translate comes when the translatable turn is already produced and is thus no longer accessible.

In Excerpt 2, the access problems emerged due to the intertwined effect of the timing of the translation agreement, and the size of the translatable chunk. Hence, Excerpt 2 portrays a case that differs from the basic pattern and Excerpt 1C in terms of overall sequential organization and turn design. Instead of collaboratively constructing a list of instructions, the first speaker provides a list and then asks the second speaker to translate the whole thing into Swedish.

However, the customary placement of the translation agreement alone does not guarantee proper access to the translatable item. We now revisit the classroom, where the first and the second speaker are collaboratively constructing a list of instructions (see 3.2, Excerpts 1A–C), and where translating has thus far proceeded smoothly. In the following case, the agreement has been made before the first turn is produced, but an access problem emerges in the opposite manner to that discussed in Excerpt 2. The first speaker cuts off the turn before the translatable content is sufficiently formulated, and therefore, the translatable item is not produced far enough. Excerpt 3 is a direct continuation of Excerpt 1C. Saara is producing a list of syntactically symmetrical pieces of instruction, and Laura is translating. Due to the symmetrical formatting, the items are fairly equal in length.

Excerpt 3. Dessert chocolate

```
34 SAA:   &mt .hhhh ja sitten yks ¤ryhmä tekee *(0.3)
                    and then   one  group make.3SG
                    and then one group makes (F)
                                               *a circular gest. w/both hands--->
          &gz frwrd--->
   Lau                              ¤gz twds SAA--->

35        <me&ille>*
           we.ALL
           to us
                   --->*
             &gz slightly left--->

36 SAA:   *ketkä on     tässä&     työpajassa?*
           who   be.3SG DEM1.INESS workshop.INESS
            who are in this workshop
          * a circular gest. w/both hands            *palms open, closes mouth --->
                              &gz twds LAU--->>
37        (0.3)¤*(0.1)
   Saa           *hands together--->
   Lau      --->  ¤

38 LAU:   ¤#å# (.) en grupp      kommer att (.)
                   one group.NDEF shall  INFM
                   and one group will
          ¤gz twds left--->

38        va    heter   de (0.7)+ (1.6)   +¤(--)          ¤+
          what is.called it.DEF
          what is it called
                                   +turns twds TAS ¤gz twds TAS            ¤
                                   +circular gests. w/ both hands+

39 TAS:   (--) laga
              make.INF
              make
40 LAU:   +öö laga (.)        +¤va   heter    de:
           make.INF            what is.called it.DEF
           make what is it called
                              ¤gz twds SAA--->
          +circular gest. w/ both hands+

41        +fö den hä gruppen   som+ e här.
          PREP DEM1  group.DEF which  be.3SG ADV
          for this group that is here
          +a circular gest. w/ both hands   +

42        (0.3) *(0.1)
   Saa         *opens mouth--->

43 SAA:   .hh öö *jälkiruokakaakaota.*
                  dessert.chocolate.PTV
                  dessert chocolate
                 *a circular gest. w/ both hands*

44        .hh ↑ket*kä haluu      jälkiruokakaakaota.*
               who   want.3SG/PL dessert.chocolate.PTV
               who wants to have dessert chocolate
                 *leans slightly twds right, gz twds children        *

45        *(0.3) &(0.2)*¤
   Saa   *closes mouth    *
   Saa           &lowers her chin, gz twds Lau-->>
   Lau                   --->¤

          ((several children raise a hand))

46 LAU:   hmm ¤*så då* kommer vi o    gö     lite efterrätt
               PRT then  shall  we INFM make.INF QUANT dessert.NDEF
               so then we will make some dessert
              ¤gz twds children --->>
   Saa           *nods *
```

Saara starts with a new item of the list. The turn begins with a similar construction to that which we saw in Excerpt 1C, '(and) then one group + verb' (line 34). Saara then pauses (line 34) and adds an increment, PP *meille* 'to us', followed by a relative clause (lines 35–36) which specifies the members of the group to which the PP *meille* 'to us' refers. Saara's turn is accompanied by circular hand movements. Before completing her turn, she turns her gaze towards Laura. Then she pauses again, and closes her mouth, thus signaling to Laura that she should take the turn. Laura starts rather promptly (line 38). She formulates the beginning of a similar phrase that was used in the previous parts of the list, including the infinitive marker *att*. When Laura reaches the point at which the verb should come, she cuts off, pauses, and produces an interrogative. Then she pauses again, looks around and makes circular hand gestures that resemble those that Saara made when producing the original turn (lines 34–36). The pauses, the gazing and even the gestures are typical indications of a word search (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986; Greer 2013; Kurhila 2003, 139–216; Savijärvi 2019). Given that Laura has already uttered the infinitive marker, it is evident that the word search concerns a verb, in this case the correct equivalent to the Finnish verb *tekee* 'make'. However, the verb is contingent on the complement that has not yet been produced, and therefore Laura does not have enough information to proceed with the translation.

Interestingly, Laura turns her gaze towards the Swedish-speaking teaching assistant who is standing next to her (line 39). This indicates that she locates the problem in the language and not in the missing information. The assistant provides a candidate verb, *laga* (line 39) and thus seems to interpret Laura's action as a request for assistance in word search. Laura continues with the verb, and then pauses again, and recycles the interrogative *vad heter de* (line 40). It is evident that the suggested verb does not completely solve the problem. Laura then proceeds to the second part of the translation, specifying the group.

Laura has now translated the complete translatable item, and after a short pause, Saara takes the turn. She starts with a hesitation marker and continues with the object complement that was missing from the original main clause (line 34). Then she proceeds with a TCU that is formatted as a relative clause. At this point, the list construction seems problematic even for Saara. The part of the list that she has formulated is syntactically complex, involving two embedded relative clauses. In addition, the second relative clause is syntactically ambiguous: it can be interpreted as an interrogative. This is exactly what some of the children seem to interpret, as they raise their hands (for a further discussion, see (Juvonen and Savijärvi in prep.). Even for Laura, it seems problematic to identify whether Saara has now reached the end of her turn. A pause follows, and Saara closes her mouth prominently and intensively gazes at Laura, indicating that it is her turn. This is comparable to what we saw in the first instances before the list construction began (Excerpt 1B). Laura then provides a translation, even if not an exact equivalent to the original turn. Note that she now chooses a verb (*gö(ra)*) that differs from the one she came to after the word search (*laga*).

We identify the problem that Laura seems to face in her translation as being that Saara has not provided the NP *jälkiruokakaakaota* 'dessert chocolate' before she allocates the turn to Laura. Thus, Laura has no access to the whole utterance, which she would need to be able to translate the verb *tekee* 'make' in the current context.

Excerpts 2 and 3 depicted access problems that were primarily located in language—the second speaker lacked access to what was about to be said. In Excerpt 4, the access problems concern the embodied activity. The setting is in many respects different to those we have seen thus far. The group is baking buns with a professional baker, who is the first speaker in the sequence. The local agreement on translating has been made just before the beginning of the sequence depicted in Excerpt 4. The children are gathered around the table (Fig. 3). They can see what the baker is doing with his hands, and they have pieces of dough in their hands. The second speaker, who is translating, is standing behind the children, with no tactile access to the dough (Fig. 4).

Excerpt 4. Follow the example

```
01 BAK:    nu ska vi g- (.) göra %dom runda?         %
           now we make them round  (S)
                                    %gz at the child next to him%

02         %(0.5)              %*(0.5)
    Bak    %turns gz down twds table %
    Bak                        *rolls dough pieces with both hands--->

03 BAK:    så gör man såhär?
           then you do this (S)

04         (0.8)

05 MAR:    teh[dään ensin]  pyö[r e i k ]si?
           you make first round (F)

06 BAK:      [dom runda?]      [>ni får<]
              them round        you may (S)

07         (0.8)

08 BAK:    såhär?
           like this (S)

09         (0.5)
```

```
10 MAR:   katso        mal[lia,#
          look.2SG.IMP model.PTV
          follow the example (F)
   fig                         #Fig. 3
```

Baker

Figure 3.

```
11 BAK:                [*å ↑sen* (.)%
                       and then  (S)
                      *puts the rolled dough peaces on the table*
                             %gz left twds the tray--->
```

```
12 BAK:   när dom e så hä# *#(.) så sätter man dom* på plåten.%
          when they are like this then you put then on the tray (S)
                          *points twds the tray         *
                                                    --->%
```

Baker   Mari

Figure 4.

```
13        %(0.6)
   Bak    %turns gz down twds table --->>
```

```
14 MAR:   *↑tulipa pyöreitä. *
          they got so round (F)
   Bak    *moves ready buns further and takes new pieces of dough in both hands*
```

```
15 BAK   *>jå<
         yes (S)
         *rolls new dough pieces --->>
```

The first speaker begins with a declarative (line 1) that describes the upcoming activity and functions as an inclusive directive, engaged in baking and then directing the joint orientation to the embodied activity with a turn that entails the deictic expression *såhär* (line 3) (see Goodwin 2000). The second speaker (line 5) finds a place to translate the first declarative after pauses (lines 2 and 4). The prosody in both the original (line 1) and the translatory turn (line 5) is with the final rise typical of the lists analyzed in Excerpts 1 and 3. What is different, however, is that the first speaker does not wait for the second speaker to complete the translation. Furthermore, the first speaker does not use similar signals of turn allocation to those we saw in the previous excerpts (1—3) but lets the second speaker self-select. This results in a different kind of pattern.

The first speaker's turns are constructed from fragmentary, deictic elements in a way that ties the meaning-making strongly to the embodied activity (Keevallik 2014; Lindstöm et al., 2017). The second speaker, who is doing the translating, does not share the same focal point as the first speaker and the children. In line 10, the turn *katso mallia* 'follow the example' takes the sequential position of a translation, but it differs syntactically as well as semantically from what could be treated as the original (*såhär*, line 8). The turn is a directive, formatted as an imperative clause. The baker's turn *såhär* directs the children's orientation to the activity of baking. Because the second speaker is not holding the dough, and the focus is not on her, she is not supposed to take the expert position—the directive is the best option here for guiding the children's orientation in a meaningful way in the current interactional context.

The first speaker then continues (line 12), by producing a turn that is formatted as a clause complex and would therefore be possible to translate using the means to which the second speaker so far had access. However, the second speaker's next turn (line 14) does not provide a translation of the instruction, but a comment on the accomplishment of the activity, thus recycling a part of the initial instruction (lines 1 and 5). Furthermore, the first speaker's particle response (line 15) indicates

that the second speaker also treat the previous turn as a comment rather than a translation. Instead of translating, the second speaker here takes the position of audience, but continues providing talk in the second language in the same sequential positions in which the translations would be in the basic pattern (see 3.1).

3.4. Providing and gaining access to the embodied actions

In the previous section (in Excerpt 4), we showed how the second speaker gave up translating. According to our analysis, this was the result of limited access to the ongoing embodied activity and a limited collaboration between the first and the second speaker. We now show how potential access problems are dealt with in a sequence in which the talk is connected to complex embodied activities and artifacts.

In the excerpts below, the group is in a garden. Reetta is the gardener, speaking Finnish, and Mia is translating into Swedish. They have made a local agreement on translating a few minutes ago. Mia and Reetta are now giving instructions for planting and sowing different vegetables. They are standing quite close to each other, and the group of children is in front of them. Excerpt 5 illustrates how the stage for the joint explanation is created through embodied means: Reetta gazes at Mia, and Mia takes steps toward her, thus giving herself visual access to Reetta's hands. The translation follows after a few lines, but here we only show the staging.

Excerpt 5. The nice side of planting tomatoes

```
01 REE:   tomaatin  istutuksessa on    ¤se hauska puoli¤
            the nice side of planting tomatoes is
    Ree                              ¤turns twds Mia      ¤

02 REE:   ¤et  tehään   tänne &reikä#
            that [we] make   here     a hole
    Ree    ¤demonstrates planting a tomato--->>
    Mia                       &takes a step twds REE
                                #Fig. 5
```


Figure 5.

```
03        &%(0.7)#
    Mia   & leans frwd --->>
    Mia   %gz twds REE's hands --->>
                #Fig 6
```


Figure 6.

When Reetta starts talking (line 1), Mia stands some distance behind her (Fig. 5). Reetta initiates an explanation about planting a tomato (lines 1–2), with a pot in her hands. While producing the first TCU, she turns gaze towards Mia (line 1) who then takes some steps forward and leans forward, enabling visual access to Reetta's hands. Mia then fastens her gaze on Reetta's hands and on the pot (Fig. 6). The visual access is crucial here because Mia needs to understand the process to be able to translate the instructions into Swedish. Reetta is aware of this and in a way, she invites Mia with her gaze to come closer and look at what she is doing with the pot. The instruction (line 2) entails a demonstrative *tänne* 'here' that is only understandable with visual access to the pot.

In the following, we show how Reetta makes sure that Mia has the embodied resources and the proper artifact available during the translation. Reetta shows how to start the planting. She has a pot in her hand, and she has just filled it with soil. The instructions are about how much soil is sufficient: The point is that there should be space for watering in the pot. While Mia is talking, Reetta lifts the pot, to support Mia's translation to match the objectives of the participation framework in which the primary recipients are the children who should be able to understand the instructions.

Excerpt 6. You don't fill the pot too full

```
01 REE:    jättää vähän tilaa tähän et sit ku kastelee
             [you] leave a little room/space here so when [you] water (F)
           >>holds a pot in her hands--->>

 02 REE:   ni ei laita ihan täyteen purkkia
             so [you] don't fill the pot too full (F)

03 MIA:    ni få int sätta den &rikit helt full
             you mustn't make it really full (S)
                                 &stretches r/hand on the pot that REE holds--->

04 MIA:    för att sen om ni vattnar &så kommer de &över&
             because then if you water [it] it'll go over   (S)
    Mia                             --->&              &palm up, raises eyebrows&

05         &(0.6)
    Mia    &hand on the pot--->

06 MIA:    så ni måst lämna så hä typ lite
             so you must leave [it] like this like a little (S)

07 MIA:    att ¤&nä ni #vattnar den ha liksom utrymme& för¤ de
             so when you water it it has room for that (S)
    Mia        --->& taps the pot with r/hand                &
    Ree        ¤lifts the pot                                ¤
    fig            #Fig. 7
```

Figure 7.
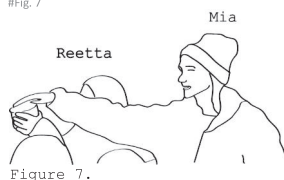
The instruction that Reetta is giving concerns a process that involves resources that are partly available (the pot and the soil) and partly unavailable (the water). Reetta's turn (lines 1—2) constructs the process vaguely, the description of adding the soil is partial. Mia's translation (lines 3—4) is more explicit: The first part is formulated as an imperative and is followed by a 'because'-initiated explanation for the directive, that is, she explains the outcome of not leaving enough space for water.

While Mia translates, she puts her hand on the pot that Reetta is holding (line 3). When she comes to the word *över* 'over' she raises her eyebrows and turns her palm upwards. This is the dramatic peak of the explanation, mirrored by embodied means. It is followed by a short pause (line 5). Mia keeps her hand on the pot during the pause and continues talking. In a way, the outstretched hand gesture, reaching into Reetta's individual space, functions as a means with which to keep the turn. Even though the verbal construction is complete, the gesture and body posture show that the turn is still continuing (cf. Lilja and Piirainen-Marsh 2019). Mia then rephrases the translation with a *så*-initiated turn (lines 6—7), her hand on the pot that Reetta is holding. Then she amplifies the gesture by tapping the soil in the pot (line 7). Simultaneously, Reetta lifts her hand, holding the pot, and the whole constellation is on display and thus visible for the whole group. Although Reetta is the one performing the actual activity (adding soil to the pot) and the one holding the pot, she provides tactile access for Mia to give the similar, and in this case even more thorough, instruction in the second language.

4. Conclusion and discussion

To conclude, we have shown how workshop leaders who are not professional interpreters manage translation in bilingual workshops for primary school children. The workshop leaders provided plans and instructions, first in one language and then in the second. Our analytic focus was on the cases in which the two speakers jointly produced translatable items and translations. In the translatory sequences, the participation framework and action ascription were complex. Without the translations, the first speaker would have carried on with their ongoing project until it was complete. In the translatory sequences, however, the first speaker had to design the translatable turn in such a way that every now and then they cut off and gave the floor to the second speaker. To be able to translate the first speaker's turn(s), the second speaker had to grasp its detailed content, as well as know where to fit in the translation. Therefore, the participants use additional means to organize smooth turn transitions, alongside to syntactic, semantic, and prosodic ones (Traverso 2012; cf. Sacks et al. 1974; Fox et al. 1996).

We demonstrated that in the cases in which the participants successfully proceeded in both languages, the sequences were similarly constructed in a way that we defined as the basic pattern. The basic pattern described the organization of a sequence and defined how turn allocation was conducted: who was the first and who the second speaker. The pattern also provided a projectable and recognizable structure to which the participants orientated and which in turn supported the translatory process.

The first component of the pattern was the verbally conducted local agreement on translating. As we showed, a sequentially misplaced agreement led to problems in translating. This agreement is important because of situational factors:

None of the participants were solely present as interpreters, and not all turns were translated. Consequently, the participants needed to negotiate what and when to translate. The translatable items and their translations emerged in clusters, and the sequence was often constructed as a list. The list construction was significant, as it allowed the first speaker to ration the verbal content into translatable chunks. The adequate rationing of the translatable items, and the list parts being syntactically similar made it easier for the second speaker to initiate the translation at an appropriate moment and in a proper manner. Thus, the list structure supported both turn taking and turn design. This was manifested in the cases that showed how the interactional work (gestures, gazing) required for turn transition decreased as the list structure proceeded. We argue that the reason for this was the increasing projectability (cf. Auer 2005; Kunitz 2021).

In these bilingual workshops, the translatable items, as well as the translations, were produced primarily for two groups of children. The two adults, who together produced the list of instructions in two languages, were on stage, and the children were their audience. In our analysis, we found that the translatory sequences took place when a new activity was introduced. In these contexts, the translation was conducted meticulously. When translating became challenging, the second speaker positioned themselves as the audience but continued producing talk in sequentially relevant positions in the second language, even though the turns were not translations. The participants rarely entirely abandoned their role as translators in the middle of the translatory sequences. This might be due to the activity itself: The instruction giving sequence in educational settings is significant in the sense that without understandable instructions, the proceeding of the activity halts (see St. John and Cromdal, 2016).

We analyzed the translatory sequences in various settings: a classroom, a bakery, and a garden. The results show that the formatting of the translations was contingent on the local interactional environment. A major challenge that emerged in the classroom type of setting was that the translatable items entailed only verbal action: As they concerned instructions for upcoming activities, the environment and its artifacts did not support mutual understanding between the translating participants. Thus, the second speaker needed to rely on the first speaker's talk. When the first speaker allocated the turn to the second speaker too early or too late, translating became challenging because the essential part of the information was missing. It had not yet been produced, or it was produced before the second speaker was aware of their role as a translator. In the bakery and in the garden, on the other hand, the challenges were quite the opposite: The translatable items were connected to the embodied activities, and the talk was fragmentary. An access to the embodied activities, including the artifacts at hand, facilitated the second speaker to provide proper translations. Our analyses support the well-established observation that artifacts are connected to the ongoing activity as well as other modalities in interaction in various ways (see e.g., Goodwin 2000, 2007b; Nevile et al. 2014). Our analyses also show that the physical positioning of the first and second speaker in relation to each other, as well as to the children, influences the embodied means employed in the translatory sequence (see also Merlino and Mondada 2014).

In the translatory sequences, the workshop leaders needed to coordinate their verbal and embodied actions, as usual. They also had to instruct the activities and carry out the translatory work and orient to both of these tasks. In designing a double delivery of the action, the participants needed to collaboratively coordinate their verbal and embodied actions twice. Given that embodied activities have their own temporal trajectories (Keevallik 2015; Mondada 2015), the second saying, that is, the translation, came after the embodied activity was already conducted. In our final case, we showed how the first speaker supported the translation by moving the artifact accordingly, when the second speaker produced the translation.

In sum, we demonstrated that the translations were situated in the complex ecologies of the local interactional environments, and they emerged as profoundly collaborative achievements. One of the main challenges in interaction in general is understanding the other person's action (see Levinson 2013). Our results show that even though the participants were not professional interpreters, and the situations, environments and activities varied, the participants managed to coordinate their activities, the participation frameworks, and their embodied and verbal means when carrying out the translatory work. In this article, we have shown how this complex interactional work is possible when the participants achieve a mutual understanding of each other's project, and understand the project as shared.

Data availability

The data that has been used is confidential.

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