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Translatory practices in everyday conversation

Bilingual mediating in Finnish–Brazilian Portuguese interaction

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This thesis examines the interactive organization of bilingual mediating in everyday conversations among Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese speakers. The study focuses on how participants who know both of these languages relay parts of the ongoing conversation for their co-participants in the other language, and thereby facilitate their understanding and participation in the interaction. The bilingual speakers' means of representing prior talk and action in another language are referred to here as *translatory practices*.

The study seeks to understand how participants introduce and handle translatory talk as an intelligible, accountable part of the ongoing activity. More specific research questions concern what occasions mediating at given moments, how translatory talk carries the voice of the original speaker, what kinds of actions are accomplished by translating, as well as how translatory utterances are fitted to and how they shape the unfolding of the interactions. This approach to translatory interaction is based on the methods and theoretical framework of multimodal Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics.

After situating the study within relevant fields of research and providing background for the analyses (ch. 2), the study proceeds to investigate recurrent turn designs in translatory talk. When speakers move into translating, they can frame their turns with explicit quotative elements to mark another voice, or they can relay elements from prior talk in another language without overt framing. The various formats for translatory turns occur in different sequential and action environments, connecting in distinct ways to the prior talk as their source. The means of explicit framing (ch. 3) include *reporting clauses*, *topic formulations*, *generalizations* of stance, turn-initial '*voicing particles*' and the *logophoric* use of third-person pronouns. In comparison, when speakers deliver translatory talk without additional framing (ch. 4), the composition of the relayed material itself and its placement in the conversation allow the turn to be understood as translating prior talk. For this, speakers make use of turn-initial lexical '*keywords*' as detached or fronted within the larger turn, or as free-standing units. These keywords occur in various types of *retellings*.

Quotative framings and keywords are also compared to translatory turns that are delivered without any clear marking of another voice (ch. 5 and one set of cases in ch. 6). In these turns, the speaker relies on the recipient's access to the ongoing activity and/or recycles prior action as an independent agent. The analysis of mediating in *question–answer sequences* (ch. 6) brings to light how negotiations of addressivity and epistemic domains intertwine with the organization of bilingual mediating, as well as what consequences the more restricted sequential environment has on the representation of prior talk and action.

The study demonstrates how translatory talk is reflexively shaped in relation to the conversational sequences and courses of action in which it occurs, and how the participants thereby handle a variety of tasks for the purpose of managing intersubjectively coherent understandings in the asymmetric, multilingual interactions. Among other things, a move into mediating involves establishing the situated relevance of the prior talk for the other-language-speakers as recipients, which typically involves multimodal negotiation of their participation. In brief, the study offers a perspective on oral translation in terms of mundane conversational phenomena by showing how the participants methodically orient to local features of the interaction through their translatory practices.

Tiivistelmä

Arkikeskustelun translatoriset käytänteet. Tutkimus kielenvälityksestä suomen- ja brasilianportugalinkielisessä vuorovaikutuksessa

Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan videotallennettuja monikielisiä vuorovaikutustilanteita, joissa kaksikieliset osallistajat kääntävät keskustelua muille läsnäolijoille ja siten auttavat näitä ymmärtämään meneillään olevaa toimintaa ja osallistumaan siihen. Puhujien keinoja välittää puhetta ja toimintaa eri kielellä kutsutaan tässä tutkimuksessa *translatorisiksi käytänteiksi*. Työn tavoitteena on kuvata suullista kääntämistä arkikeskustelun ilmiönä ja selvittää, mikä motivoi tällaista kielenvälitystä tietyllä hetkellä, miten käännös kantaa alkuperäisen puhujan ääntä, millaisia toimintoja käännösvuoroilla tehdään, ja vielä, miten käännöspuhe heijastaa ja muokkaa keskustelukontekstiaan. Tutkimuksen metodina ja teoriapohjana ovat multimodaalinen keskusteluanalyysi ja vuorovaikutuslingvistiikka, ja työn punaisena lankana on käännösvuorojen ja niiden kielellisten rakenteiden analyysi.

Työn alussa käsitellään kääntämistä/tulkkauksia niin institutionaalisenä kuin arkisena toimintana sekä sen keskeistä ominaisuutta, toimijan roolin jakautumista alkuperäisen tuottajan ja välittäjän kesken. Tämän jälkeen esitellään yleisiä tekijöitä, jotka ohjaavat keskusteluvuorojen muotoilua. Luvuissa 3 ja 4 tarkastellaan käännösvuorojen päätyyppisiä tavallisissa esiintymisympäristöissään. Puhujat voivat ensinnäkin kehystää kääntäviä vuoroja lainausta merkitsevillä elementeillä, kuten referoivilla johtolauseilla, nimeämällä puheenaiheen tai yleistämällä puheen ilmaisevan näkökulman. Lainaamista osoitetaan myös vuoronalkuisilla partikkeleilla (*että/que*) sekä persoonapronominien logoforisella käytöllä. Myös kehystämätön vuoro voi kutsua vastaanottajaa tulkitsemaan aiemman, erikielisen puheen lähteeseen sen perusteella, miten vuoro on asemoitu keskustelussa. Vuoron asemoinnin keinona puhujat käyttävät ns. leksikaalisia avainsanoja erilaisissa lohkeavissa ja topikalisoivissa rakenteissa. Sekä kehystetyt että avainsana-alkuiset vuorot mukauttavat aiempaa, välitettävää toimintaa vaihtelevin tavoin uudelle vastaanottajalle.

Luvussa 5 käsitellään sellaisia käännösvuoroja, joiden lähteeksi ei selvästi osoiteta aiempaa puhetta. Näissä tapauksissa meneillään oleva (esimerkiksi fyysinen) toiminta on itsessään osin ymmärrettävää käännöspuheen vastaanottajalle, ja lisäksi puhuja näyttyy välittäjän sijasta vahvemmin itsenäisenä toimijana. Luvussa 6 käännösvuorojen tarkastelu kysymys–vastaussekvensseissä syventää kuvaa edellä tutkituista kääntämisen käytänteistä muun muassa tuomalla esiin, miten neuvottelut vastaanottajuudesta ja tietämyksen alueista kietoutuvat kielenvälityksen ilmiöihin.

Tutkimus osoittaa, miten translatoriset käytänteet ja niille ominaiset tavat kantaa alkuperäisen puhujan ääntä jäsentyvät sekventiaalisten ja laajempien toimintaympäristöjen ehdoilla. Arkikeskustelua välittävät puhujat eivät pyri kääntämään aiempaa puhetta samanlaisena vaan muokkaavat sanomaansa monenlaisten toimintojen tarpeisiin. Tällöin käännösvuorojen ja niiden välittämän puheen välille muodostuu erilaisia sisällöllisiä ja toiminnallisia suhteita. Tutkimuksessa nostetaan esiin tätä muokkausta ohjaavia tekijöitä, kuten kielenvälitystä edeltävät keholliset neuvottelut aktiivisesta osallistajuudesta sekä piirteitä, jotka kutsuvat osallistujia nostamaan aiemman puheen eri puolia kääntämisen kohteeksi.

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1 Introduction

How do people interact with each other when they do not speak the same languages? How do interactional participants coordinate their mutual understanding in these asymmetric situations? In order for linguistically diverse participants to take part in a interaction in mutually coherent and meaningful ways, they may need to rely on specific methods to produce and maintain a joint conversation. The current study explores one of the ways to manage an asymmetrically multilingual, multiparty interaction: *translatory practices* in talk, that is, oral translation by bilingual speakers as a situated method of facilitating the participation and understanding of their co-participants.

Asymmetric linguistic resources pose particular challenges for interaction, but even speaking the same language does not of course guarantee that interlocutors will reach a shared understanding. The management and display of understanding in social interaction is a collective, temporally organized, and public achievement (see Mondada 2011, Deppermann 2015). Moreover, it cannot be assumed that our interpretation of what others “mean” when they say something can ever fully correspond to their take on it (see, for example, Linell 2009: 226–227). There is an inherent asymmetry between the self as an individual subject and the others. However, in concrete situations, we have ways to actively coordinate our experience of the world with others, connecting with them at various levels of *intersubjectivity* (see discussion in Duranti 2010). In one sense, maintaining intersubjectivity can mean achieving a shared focus of attention or sufficient mutual understanding in social interaction, or perhaps a sense of coherence in the social encounter. In a more fundamental sense, intersubjectivity can refer to our awareness of others as fellow humans, which is a condition for any type of interaction, and can even become a sense of conjoining “streams of consciousness” (Duranti *ibid.* on Husserl).

In order to socially interact with each other, participants need understandings that serve them “for all practical purposes” (Garfinkel 1967). Framed in this way, understanding is what happens when participants “know how to go on” in the current circumstances (Wittgenstein 1953: 106–107 n. 154). During a conversation, understanding is lodged within the commonplace unfolding of interaction through talk and embodied action. Participants respond to each other’s actions by moving on to produce next actions. Through these next moves, interlocutors then demonstrate to each other “that they understood or failed to understand the talk that they are party to” (Moerman & Sacks 1988: 185). In the same vein, they also have the possibility to accept, decline, or otherwise address each other’s interpretations (see, for example, Schegloff 1992, 2007a: 14–16). That is, the display and management of understanding in interaction underlies the basic mechanisms of the unfolding of conversation. Through their conversational moves, participants can then be said to locally manage their intersubjective relations in a discreet fashion, between the lines.

In a multilingual, multiparty situation where the participants do not speak the same languages, managing this type of underlying understanding becomes more complex due to the asymmetric circumstances. To begin with, when there are multiple participants, not everyone is in an equal position to show their interpretation of the ongoing talk. This is because some are the main addressees of that talk, and others may have a more peripheral role in the participation framework at that moment (Goffman 1981). These more peripheral

participants do not necessarily need to express how they have interpreted every past turn. Moreover, if speakers know that some of the co-participants do not know their language, they can expect them to *not* understand what they are saying. How do speakers then act in the presence of the others who might not be able to understand them? And how do the “non-understanding” participants relate to what goes on in the interaction? These are some of the general themes that the current study touches upon.

The data for the study consist of video-recorded everyday interactions between speakers of Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese. Some of the participants are bilingual speakers of Finnish and Portuguese, and others know only one of these languages. This study examines how the bilingual speakers mediate the ongoing interaction for their co-participants, and more specifically, how they represent a prior speaker’s talk for them in the other language. The bilingual speakers engage in this form of oral translation occasionally, as an *ad hoc* solution to local interactional needs. To distinguish this type of mundane linguistic mediating from institutionalized forms of translation and interpreting, it can also be referred to as *non-professional interpreting*.

In their definition of understanding above, Moerman and Sacks state that the participants display understanding of “talk that they are party to.” This wording may easily pass unnoticed, but in the case of multilingual multiparty interaction, it becomes crucial. The bilingual participants do not render the discussions intelligible for everyone all the time. Instead, they only engage in mediating the interaction when it becomes locally relevant to provide for the understandability of the conversation for the speaker of another language as a ratified, receiving party. This means that translatory talk also reflects ongoing negotiations of participation in the asymmetric interactive situation. The means of mediating are endogenous products of the unfolding of these interactions, as they emerge as solutions for the particular situational needs and circumstances.

Although translating concerns the meaning of words and utterances at some level, what is characteristic of the data examined here is that speakers render prior talk, action and the whole situation intelligible for the recipient in a much wider sense than simply clarifying the content of prior utterances. Furthermore, the speakers, mediators and recipients alike rely on a range of aspects in the interpretation and coordination of interaction beyond the understanding of linguistic content. They depend on the unfolding of courses of action, the verbal and embodied dynamics of the participation framework, on their previous knowledge of each other, and on other, multimodal aspects of the situation. The mediatory activities are constructed on the basis of all these features of the asymmetric interaction. The situated circumstances both constrain and provide resources for the speaker in the task of designing translatory talk. The aim of this study is to closely examine this *reflexive organization* of translatory talk. It is analyzed how different instances of translatory talk are designed for their current interactional context, addressing questions such as: What occasions bilingual mediating at particular points of the interaction, how do the participants orient to these interactional motives for the representation of past talk and action, and how do the mediating activities demonstrably shape the unfolding of the interaction?

Mediating speakers can deliver translatory turns in formats ranging from verbal depictions of past speaking (for example, ‘she said’) to embedding a turn in the conversation so that its contextual relations allow the recipient to perceive it as relaying past talk without

added framing. A central theme in this study is the interplay between these means of incorporating a prior speaker's voice in translatory talk. Format variation is entangled with more general issues concerning how the participants, on the one hand, rely on the intelligibility of various aspects of the situation that are available regardless of their knowledge of individual languages, and on the other hand, how the participants introduce and handle specific targets of understanding within the mediating activities.

1.1 Research questions and the structure of the study

This study investigates the interactional organization of bilingual mediating in everyday conversations. In terms of the problem of achieving mutual understanding, the study concerns the ways in which the participants manage, maintain, and produce the intelligibility of the interaction through linguistic resources that are not equally shared by all. The approach of the study is to closely examine the members' social-interactional and linguistic methods for mediating the interaction through the representation of prior talk in another language. This analysis sheds light on translatory phenomena in a variety of local conversational environments. The study aims, then, to gain a better understanding of translation-in-conversation by examining specific interactional phenomena in its production, such as the establishment of pragmatic links between prior and current turns and actions, as well as the distribution of agency in complex participation frameworks. The empirical point of departure in this investigation is the identification of recurrent turn designs in translatory utterances. Through an interactional analysis, the study aims to provide answers to the following questions:

- What occasions linguistic mediating at given moments in the interaction?
- How do translating speakers indicate another voice in their utterances?
- What kinds of actions do translatory turns accomplish in relation to the past talk?
- How does the design of translatory turns reflect and shape their interactional environment?

Let us begin the investigation by taking a closer look at how speakers can represent the translatee's voice in their utterance. The most transparent way that speakers can portray their turns as relaying another's prior talk is to deliver it as reported speech. However, overt quotative framing is not the only way to indicate a source in prior talk in translatory turns. Speakers can also contextualize their translatory talk without overt framing, through composing the translated material itself in such a way that in its interactional environment it becomes understandable as relaying prior talk. Many of the cases that do not have overt framing exploit independent phrasal and lexical elements, such as summarizing noun phrases. These are only understandable as relaying past talk owing to how they relate to their immediate sequential and multimodal context.

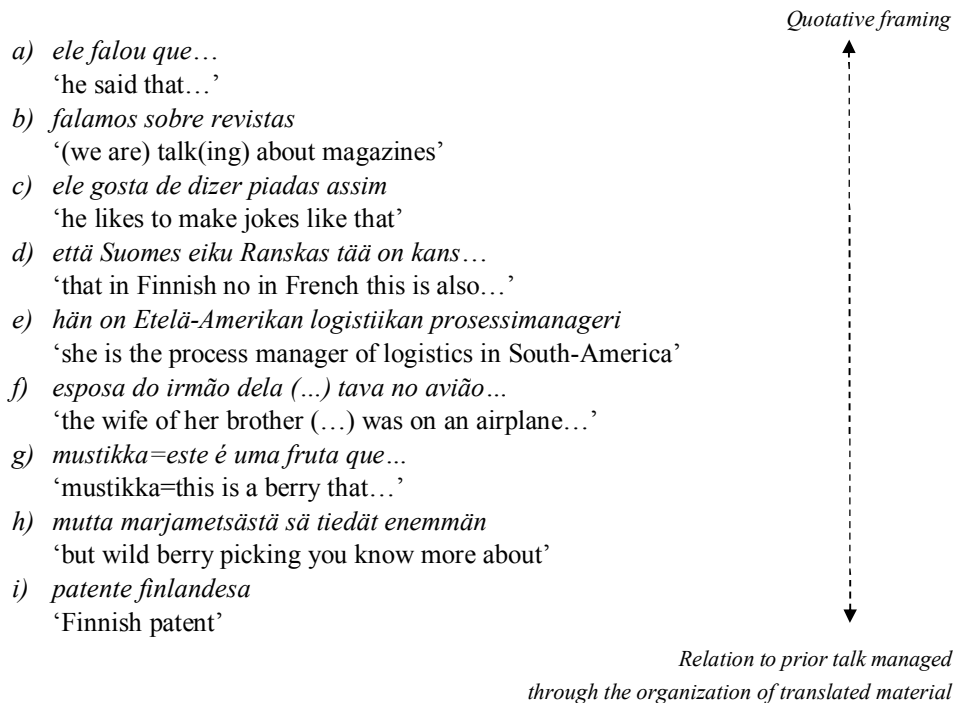
This indication of another voice through the position and composition of the turn resembles what C. Goodwin (2007: 37) has called "sequential practices for assimilating another's talk into a current utterance." Through these practices as well as with the quotative

framing, co-participants engage in a multimodal and reflexive process of *interactive footing* (ibid.). This involves the general positioning of participants as speakers and recipients, and establishing ties to the prior talk in the other language in order to launch the social action that the translatory talk conveys. Thus, the actions implemented in translatory talk are to some extent recycled and distributed between the current and original speaker.

The speakers who engage in mediating typically establish ties to the prior talk right at the beginning of their turns. Turn beginnings project the shape of the upcoming turn and the type of action that is to follow (§2.3.1). This gives a motivation for the present study to focus on the turn-initial designs of the translatory turns, from the most elaborated clausal framing with *verba dicendi*, to no overt framing at all.

A sample of the main types of turn design examined in this study are placed on a continuum below. The means of representing another's talk that are demonstrated in the utterances from *a*) to *e*) below involve quotative elements. Thus, speakers frame their relaying of prior talk with (*a*) reporting clauses, (*b*) by formulating topics, (*c*) by making generalizations about the speaker, or by using more fragmentary framing devices, such as dialogic particles (*d*: *että* in Finnish, *que* in Portuguese), and with the "logophoric" use of the third person reference to the translatee (*e*). In comparison, ways of relaying another's talk from *f*) to *i*) more directly begin a conversational action that stands for the prior action in the other language (although this may involve transforming the action). These turns begin with detached, fronted and independent lexical elements that organize their relation to past talk *within* the translatable content, without added framing.

Scheme 1. The main types of translatory turns analyzed in the study.



The present study proceeds from the most elaborated framing of another's talk to more minimal framings, and finally to cases that contain a relation to past talk and speakers that is indicated only through the organization of the translated material. The first set of cases (*a-e*) is analyzed in chapter 3, and the latter (*f-i*) in chapter 4. Even though the means of turn design are presented in two main categories (with and without added framing) and analyzed in separate chapters, this division is not intended to represent a binary distinction, but rather the two ends of a continuum. The categories of the means for turn construction are also not mutually exclusive but can be intermingled. Features of one type depicted along the continuum can also be found in the others, as the speakers combine a number of resources. Even so, the division of the main characteristics of turn design pins down functional tendencies in the respective means for mediating. It will be argued that the ways of representing past talk in another language reflect distinctive types of action and structures of participation, that is, how the participants relate to each other within situated action.

The various ways to deliver translatory talk mentioned above occur in both directions in the languages involved, when relaying talk from Finnish to Portuguese and from Portuguese to Finnish. As may be expected, they also exhibit language-specific features, and these will be discussed. In addition to translating others' talk, the data also involve translation of the speakers' own talk, here referred to as *self-translation*. In the latter case, one person appears in the role of the prior and the current speaker.

The choice of what to translate and how involves considering the conditional relevancies for action created in the prior talk, the current recipient, and the overall multimodal organization of the interactive situation. In addition, the means of mediating are sensitive to the participants' social alignment and temporary discourse identities in terms of features such as affective salience and the acceptability and accountability of action. The organization of mediating also involves orientations to the participants' domains of knowledge and rights to speak for themselves, and in particular, the balancing of those aspects with the participants' asymmetric access to the conversational context. These negotiations encompass not only the situated organization of individual actions, but also the constitution of "who we are" as participants in a much wider sense than as partakers in a mediatory constellation. In other words, the shaping of translatory talk is deeply intertwined with the overall interactional organization of the social encounters.

The analytic chapters in the study are structured around recurrent turn formats in bilingual mediating, which are then discussed in light of features in the surrounding interaction that appear to invite these particular ways of mediating, and their consequences. The study as a whole is organized as follows. Chapter 2 provides background for the analyses. First, forms of translation in institutional and everyday contexts are discussed in relation to some main themes in the related fields of research. This is followed by laying out the theoretical background for more specific discourse phenomena: the distribution of the speaker role in translating, and the reflexive organization of the interactional resources that speakers exploit in mediating the interaction. Chapter 3 begins by exploring the use of quotative elements in translatory talk, proceeding from the framing that is fullest to more minimal forms. Even though quotative framing is the most transparent way to relay talk by a prior speaker, the chapter demonstrates that the framing actually accomplishes much more than the clarification of prior utterances. The cases examined thus open a view to the

multifaceted nature of translatory talk. Chapter 4 examines the use of turn-initial, phrasal elements in translatory talk, and in particular, the mechanisms through which these turns become linked to the prior talk.

Following the chapters that introduce the main translatory practices, chapter 5 discusses translatory talk that does not involve the kinds of perceivable devices to contextualize translatory talk examined thus far. It is suggested that this design is feasible when the recipient already has certain types of access to the ongoing activities. This chapter also discusses possible ways to understand the relation between translatory talk and other language-alternating repetition as well as the matter of similarity between source talk and translatory talk in the context of everyday conversation. Chapter 6 extends the findings of the earlier chapters by exploring how mediating is organized within the sequential environment of questions and answers. This sequentially more restricted environment renders further empirical criteria for examining the interactional consequences of particular ways of relaying prior talk and action, as well as for examining the effectiveness of translatory talk in facilitating the recipient's participation in the ongoing action. The overall findings of the study are summarized and discussed in chapter 7.

1.2 Multilingual data and participants

The data for this study have been collected by audio and video recording interactions in Finland and Brazil on several occasions from 2009 to 2012. I have pursued opportunities to record naturally occurring interactional situations that feature speakers of Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese gathering together. In order to increase the possibility of capturing instances of linguistic mediation, the data collection has focused on situations where both bilingual Finnish and Portuguese speakers and their non-bilingual family, friends or acquaintances are present.

1.2.1 The settings

The data involve various lunch and dinner table conversations, barbecues and birthday parties, and hours of leisure time at someone's home. All these are multi-party situations that involve at least three participants. Most of the data feature from four up to 11 participants. For the purpose of this study, more than 50 hours of interaction have been recorded on over 20 different occasions. Due to various reasons, much of the data in the larger corpus does not involve translatory interaction. If all the co-present speakers of one of the languages are bilingual, often they simply use the language that the non-bilinguals can also understand. In the opposite case, which occurs especially in big groups, speakers of different languages may engage in separate conversations and use the two languages accordingly.

From the larger set of data, the study has four recordings (approximately nine hours in total) its core data. These involve the most translating, although individual instances from the other data are also analyzed. Three recordings from the main data set were conducted in Brazil. One of them takes place at a restaurant owned by a Brazilian couple (Cíntia and her husband). The clients are a Finnish-Brazilian couple (Sauli and Gaia), who are friends with the owners. They are accompanied by Sauli's friend, who lives in Brazil (Toni), and his father (Antti), who is visiting him from Finland. This data recording is labeled as "Ravintola" in the time codes of the extracts. In another recording, a Finnish-born couple (Kaisa and Teppo) are hosting a barbecue for a Finnish family (Leena and Simo with their children) who have recently moved to Brazil. At times, Kaisa's and Teppo's Brazilian housekeeper (Clarice) joins the table. This set of data is labeled as "Sauna." A third recording concerns a birthday party with 11 participants, bilinguals of Finnish descent and their Brazilian friends. This recording is labeled as "Syntymäpäivä." The fourth setting occurs in Finland. This recording, labeled as "Kesä", features several hours during an afternoon barbecue at the home of a Finnish couple (Raili and Pentti), who are hosting their daughter (Sanna), her Brazilian husband (Márcio), and his Brazilian friend (André). I am present in some parts of the first three recordings.

When discussing examples from the data, the participants are introduced with a coding of their competence in the two languages, F and P. In the order of first and second language, a capital letter (F) represents good or fluent skills, a small letter (f) intermediate skills, and a minus after a small letter (f-) means that the participant uses and understands only some basic expressions in the language. When the speaker does not use that language, no letter is provided. The coding is by no means devised as a thorough evaluation of language skills or as a basis for analysis, but to make it easier for the reader to follow the unfolding of the mediating activities. It should also be noted that *bilingual* refers here simply to the use of the two languages, not more profoundly to linguistic identities. In addition, this concerns only Finnish and Portuguese. Knowledge of other languages has not been taken into account in any systematic way, although the data extracts involve occasional use of English as a *lingua franca*. Some of the participants are also trilingual.

In the analyses, it is often necessary to point to a participant's local status as the "linguistically different" party. For this purpose, participants who are not fluent speakers of the language that is currently being spoken or do not speak it at all, and who come to receive mediation, are referred to by the abbreviation OLS (other-language-speaker). Naturally, these can be speakers of either language.

To ensure anonymity, as is customary, the names of the participants have been changed into pseudonyms. The participants' original names include traces of their language background, and to indicate this in the transcripts, people who have originally Brazilian names have either B, C, D, or G in their name, whereas Finnish names include none of these. In the transcripts, talk in Portuguese is presented in italics and Finnish in normal font.

Due to the extensive second-language use in the data, the conception of languages such as Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese as fully separate entities needs to be viewed with caution. The speakers may use innovative translanguaging expressions or ones that sound odd or ungrammatical. Nevertheless, however they speak, they are using language to socially interact with others (see, e.g., Kurhila 2006). Current sociolinguistic studies on diversity

and multilingualism try to avoid a "monolingual bias" (Auer 2007) and employ terms such as *trans-*, *poly*, etc. *linguaging*. These are meant to capture the pluralistic nature of linguistic resources instead of presenting the speaker's languages as stable, separate entities – images that weigh on concepts such as *multilingualism* (see Arnaut, Blommaert, Rampton & Spotti 2016, also Lehtonen 2015). For the purposes of interacting, talk does not have to represent the canonical use of a specific language. Among forms of multilingual "linguaging," translation is the one that perhaps most clearly draws a line between the use of two languages, as the speaker mediates others' lack of access to one of them. However, it will be demonstrated that even in translatory interaction, the relevance of distinguishing the languages as well as the opaqueness/transparency of talk in a given language for the participants are situated matters.

In order to provide coherence for the study of the multilingual practices and allow some evident comparisons between the use of the two languages in the current data, the analyses focus on practices that occur in translations in both directions with somewhat similar formats. The analysis of the few resources that occur in the data in only one language are excluded from the present study. In fact, most of the recurrent designs of translatory turns that I have come across do occur in both languages – and some of them can be found in data extracts in studies of other languages as well (for example, see Wilton 2009, Bolden 2012).

1.2.2 Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese

Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese belong to different language families. Finnish is a Finno-Ugrian language that is spoken by approximately five million speakers in Finland and abroad. Finnish-speaking minorities live predominately in Sweden, Norway and Russia. As a result of an emigration wave at the beginning of the twentieth century, there are smaller Finnish-speaking communities in the United States, Canada and countries in South America. One of the most active Finnish communities is Penedo in Brazil, which is currently a tourist attraction that even has a small "Finnish village," *Pequena Finlândia* 'Little Finland.'

Brazilian Portuguese is a variant of Portuguese, which is a Romance Language that belongs to the Indo-European language family. Portuguese is listed as the sixth largest natively spoken language in the world with approximately 220 million speakers. Brought to new continents by Portuguese colonizers, it is now an official language, in addition to Portugal, in Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor and Macau. The Brazilian variant has developed separately over 500 years and has been influenced by South American Spanish, several African languages, and local indigenous languages, such as Tupi (for example, see Negrão & Viotti 2012). The Brazilian is therefore considerably different from the European variant in lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, to such an extent that some would prefer treating it as a separate language, *brasileiro*.

Finnish and Portuguese may appear to have nothing in common, but in fact, the languages also have overlapping features. In principle, both languages have an SVO word

order, but also allow considerable word-order variation (for Portuguese, see Dutra 1987, Paiva 2008). In Finnish, the variation is enabled by ample marking of case, person, and other grammatical categories through word inflection, which free the word order to take on other functions (for example, see Hakulinen 2001a, Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979, in English see Vilkkuna 1989, Helasvuo 2001). In Portuguese, the grammatical functions of nouns are mostly marked with prepositions, and the language has a rich verb inflection system. Speakers of Portuguese exploit a variety of what is commonly referred to as topic-prominent structures (as in Pontes 1987), which allow placing objects and other non-subject constituents before the predicate verb. The use of such structures will be the focus of chapter 4. These involve the “detachment” or “fronting” of noun phrases (NP). Regarding the internal organization of heads and modifiers in phrasal elements, Finnish modifiers usually precede their heads (*pieni auto*, small car), and adjective modifiers agree in case with the head noun (*piene-n auto-n* [GENITIVE]). In Portuguese, the order is the opposite, as modifiers usually follow their heads (*carro pequeno*, car small). However, the contrary is also possible, as can be seen in the name of *Pequena Finlândia* mentioned above. Adjective modifiers agree in gender with the head noun (*uma* ART.INDEF.F/a ART.DEF.F *casa pequena* ‘a/the small house,’ *um* ART.INDEF.M/o ART.DEF.M *carro pequeno* ‘a/the small car’) (in English see Wetzels et al. 2016).

In principle, both of the languages considered here have variable subject expression, allowing both the presence and absence of pronominal subjects. Both languages have verbs that are marked for person. Although the absence of pronominal subjects is common in standard Finnish, it is rarer in colloquial speech (Helasvuo 2001). Portuguese has an ongoing increase in subject marking, which is said to be a result of the general decrease in person marking through verb morphology (Kato & Negrão 2000). For instance, the second and the third person take the same third-person copula (*você* [2SG] *é*, ‘you are,’ *ela/ele* [3SG] *é*, s(he) is). The pronoun *você* has its origin in a polite address form, which comes with 3SG inflection. Now, even in parts of Brazil where another variant, the original 2SG pronoun *tu* is in use, it may have the 3SG treatment on the verb (*tu* [2SG] *é*, ‘you are’). Although it may appear essential to identify the original speaker in translatory turns, the data also include translatory turns in Portuguese where subjects are not expressed, and some Finnish translatory turns with the passive voice, in which agents are not expressed.

As regards interactional practices, Finnish and Portuguese share features related to how questions are answered (Enfield et al. in prep.). Both languages a mixed system of particle responses (such as *jo* (F), *sim* (BP), ‘yes’) and echo responses, in which the answer is formed by repeating the predicate or other element of the question (Sorjonen 2001b, Hakulinen 2001b for Finnish, Guimarães 2007 for Portuguese). This makes Finnish and Portuguese different from a number of Indo-European and other languages in which unproblematic answers to questions are mostly formed with particles (for example, see Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen 2015). In terms of the current study, this variation is relevant with respect to how answers to questions are translated (ch. 6).

The contact between Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese speakers has a history that spans almost ninety years in the Finnish community of Penedo (see Peltoniemi 1985, Melkas 1999). Today, there are only a few dozen Finnish speakers left, but Finnish culture is still actively maintained. According to unofficial estimates, approximately 600 Finns live

permanently in all of Brazil, mainly in big cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Many of the Finns moving there have left Finland for work or for an interest in Brazilian culture. In 2014 there were slightly more than 1200 Brazilian descendants or natives born in Brazil living in Finland (StatFin 2014). Among Finns, Brazilian dance and sports are widely known, practiced in Capoeira groups and Samba schools. Since 1993, the capital of Finland, Helsinki, has hosted its own yearly samba carnival. The conversations in the data for this study exhibit many intriguing aspects of these cultural encounters.

1.3 Theoretical background and methodological tools

This study is rooted in interactional views of language and social action, and its more specific methodological basis is Conversation Analysis (CA). CA is a field of study that investigates the situated organization of talk-in-interaction (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974, Schenkein 1978, Heritage 1984a, Sacks 1995, Psathas 1995, Schegloff 2007a, ten Have 2007, Sidnell & Stivers 2013, Stevanovic & Lindholm 2016). CA focuses on the shared methods or procedures through which actions are produced and understood in social interaction (Heritage 1988: 139). Language is the pervasive semiotic medium for the production and interpretation of meaning in talk-in-interaction, but speaking, and interaction in general, is also thoroughly multimodal. Interaction unfolds through the coordination of action, time, and space with others (C. Goodwin 1981, 2000, 2013, Heath 1984, Mondada 2009a, Streeck, Goodwin & LeBaron 2011). This involves the shaping of talk through prosody as well as visual, embodied coordination with other participants and the physical environment through gaze, touch, and movement.

The production and interpretation of action thus does not occur in single utterances as "speech acts" but in a reflexive and emergent fashion within the social environment. Following C. Goodwin (2000: 1491–1492), the notion of *action* encompasses the "public recognition of meaningful events reflexively linked to the ongoing production of these same events," which is achieved "through the use of appropriate semiotic resources within an unfolding temporal horizon." CA studies analyze interaction to identify the participants' methods to accomplish action in naturally occurring situations. These members' methods are referred to as interactional *practices* (for example, see Schegloff 1997, Heritage 2010). The more recent field of Interactional Linguistics examines the various ways in which this social interactional organization permeates the structure of language use at the level of grammar (Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson 1996, Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 1996, Auer 2005, 2014, 2015, Szczeppek Reed & Raymond 2013, Thompson et al. 2015, Depperman & Günthner 2015).

The current study adopts an Interactional Linguistic framework to investigate translatory talk in everyday conversations with multiple participants. This is not the type of data one would first consult to look for translation. Indeed, when the preliminary data were collected during an earlier phase of the study (Harjunpää 2011), there was not yet an intention to investigate how people mediate for each other. The selection of the type of data, everyday

conversation, was guided by my methodological background in CA. Furthermore, my selection of the multilingual setting was guided by my interest in the language contact situation of Finnish settlements in Brazil. In the same vein, the questions that the study addresses are primarily of Conversation Analytic and Interactional Linguistic interest; they do not spring directly from Translation and Interpreting Studies (see §2.1). The phenomena are nevertheless discussed in relation to findings in interactionally oriented research on interpreting, and also to some extent in relation to theories of translation, raising some points of comparison and convergence.

In the CA method, large portions of data are first examined in order to detect some aspect of interaction that stands out as an interesting, potential phenomenon to analyze further. The benefit of this meticulous observation of data is that the analyst is exposed to phenomena that would perhaps not be expected and searched for a priori. Such observations, which are motivated by the analyst's theoretical background, provide the orientation to search for similar and related cases, and to compare them. In a similar fashion, the choice to analyze translatory practices was inspired by what I observed in the preliminary multilingual data.

What attracted my attention in the data were features in the design of turns whereby speakers rephrase each other's talk in the other language. The initial observations were influenced by traditional issues in functional linguistics. On the one hand, questions arose in relation to studies such as Du Bois' (1987) theory of preferred argument structure, which suggested a system of constraints on how much new, heavy information can be introduced in one utterance. Translatory utterances had interesting properties in this regard, as they appeared to incorporate a dense design right at the beginning. On the other hand, there was Hopper's (1987) notion of Emergent Grammar, which advocated investigating the dynamicity of language structure. These types of questions regarding grammar as a constrained resource and, at the same time, dynamic resource come together in later Interactional Linguistic studies, which deepen our understanding of how grammar is sensitive to social interaction and at the same time shapes it. Therefore, it provides useful tools for analyzing the current phenomena of interest.

Over the course of the research process, the present study has thus drawn from three fields that are considered to be the ground from which Interactional Linguistics has emerged (Schegloff et al. 1996: 3–19), from Functional Linguistics, Conversation Analysis, and also to some extent from Linguistic Anthropology (Hanks 1990, 2007, C. Goodwin & Duranti 1992, Enfield 2009, Kockelman 2007, C. Goodwin 2013). The analytic process and theoretical/methodological interests have guided the investigation towards phenomena that researchers with other approaches would perhaps not refer to as proper *translation*. The purpose of including rather than excluding such material from the study is to understand better the variation in how, and what types of relationships, language-alternating turns may establish with past talk when speakers render it intelligible for their co-participants.

2 An interactional linguistic approach to translatory interaction

This chapter presents the background and tools for the study by discussing themes at the intersection of grammar and interaction, interpreting/translation, and generally, multilingual interaction. I begin by discussing oral translation as an interdisciplinary object of research in both institutional and mundane interaction. This brings us to specific discourse phenomena, especially to how speakers can show that their talk carries another speaker's voice, in other words, to the distribution of discursive agency. Third, the chapter provides background for the upcoming analyses of translatory talk through a discussion of how the design of turns-at-talk can be tailored to their local environment – how turns are sensitive to their position within sequences, courses of action, and participation frameworks.

2.1 Translation/interpreting in professional and mundane contexts

Translation and interpreting are ubiquitous sociocultural and linguistic phenomena that can be studied from numerous perspectives. In order to position the current study, I will here outline some of its overlap and divergence in relation to the study of professional translation and interpreting. The discussion also aims to clarify terminological choices: In the current study, I use the terms *translatory talk* and *translatory practices* instead of *interpreting*, although the latter is usually (in Translation and Interpreting Studies) employed for oral forms of translation. This choice is made in order to allow an analytic separation between the interactional-linguistic practices and the larger social activities in which they occur. The instances of translatory talk in the present data can be rather different from *interpreting* as a type of institutional activity. What speakers achieve by the interlingual representation of prior talk (that is, by oral translation) in these mundane interactions is examined in terms of more specific social actions, which involve complex organization as such.

When linguistic mediation is studied in professional and institutional contexts, the point of departure is that the assignment for this activity already exists. What a professional interpreter does is examined in light of handling the task of conveying a message in another language for someone's benefit (as in Nord 1997). By comparison, in an everyday conversation that has multiple participants with asymmetric language repertoires, relaying talk in another language can have a range of functions. These intertwine with the general recycling of structure and content from prior talk in interaction (see, for example, Anward 2005). Furthermore, the mundane situation does not provide the participants with the same type of interpretive frame as the institutional interpreter-mediated setting: when a bilingual person speaks, the others cannot assume that she will be mediating prior talk. Instead, mediating activities are locally, and collectively, established each time. These different starting points to linguistic mediation have consequences for how the concrete actions can be conceptualized when investigating them.

Translation has been defined in numerous ways throughout the history of Translation Studies, and different approaches have highlighted various features in the process and/or product of translating. Broadly speaking, translation has been viewed as a process that includes maintaining some level of correspondence with a source text (literal or spoken) while making its rendition in the other language (or other medium) adequate for current purposes in the discourse context (see Pym 2010). From an outsider's perspective to the research literature, perhaps the most indisputable feature of what constitutes translation is that it must have some kind of a source that is (often, but not necessarily) produced in another language. Without going into further detail on the variety of definitions, it can be said that during decades of "search for a theory" (Toury 1980), the field of Translation Studies has moved far away from the early conceptualizations of translation as the provision of equivalent expressions. Increasingly sociocultural approaches have been adopted in the field in the last thirty years (Pym *ibid.*). These approaches regard translation as shaped by cultural spreading of ideas, practices, and norms of translation (for example, see Chesterman 1997, Toury 1995), and it is imbued with questions of identity, cultural hybridity and globalization (Cronin 2006, Tymoczko 2007). The focus has shifted from translated texts to the situated activities that are involved in translating. (In Finnish, see Aaltonen, Siponkoski & Abdallah 2015).

The study of interpreting emerged from the need to investigate oral forms of translation in their own right, and soon began to be viewed as its own field of study instead of a subfield of Translation Studies (see Pöchhacker & Shlesinger 2002, Pöchhacker 2004). Interpreting can be regarded as a form of *translational activity* (Pöchhacker 2004: 9) and defined broadly as "interlingual, intercultural oral or signed mediation, enabling communication between individuals or groups who do not share, or do not choose to use, the same language(s)" (Pöchhacker & Schlesinger 2002: 2–3). Since the first seminal studies (see Berg-Seligson 1990, Wadensjö 1998, Roy 2000), interactional approaches have taken a strong foothold in the study of interpreting, especially in dialogic, face-to-face mediated interaction (for *dialogue/community interpreting*, see Wadensjö 1998: 49–60). Interactional studies have contributed to changing views of interpreting: it is no longer seen through a conduit metaphor, as automatic and invisible transcoding of another language but as complex social interaction. Empirical investigations have also demonstrated the mismatch between ideals of the neutrality or invisibility of interpreters in light of the actual interpreting work (Berg-Seligson 1990, Wadensjö 1998, Angermeyer 2015). In reality, any act of translation (oral or not) involves situated construction of meaning (for example, see Baker 2006).

Conversation Analysis has also been applied to the study of interpreting. The CA studies have shed light on the organization of triadic, mediatory constellations by examining, for instance, the dyadic exchanges that occur between the interpreter and each participant separately, and how interpreters orient and adapt to particular recipients and institutional goals (see, for instance, Bolden 2000, Gavioli 2012, and Raymond 2014). Research has also begun to identify and examine the multimodal aspects of interpreted interactions (Wadensjö 2001, Pasquandrea 2011, Mason 2012, Merlino 2012, 2014 and Mondada 2016). One crucial question is how interpreting affects the opportunities that the interpreted-for parties have for full participation in the institutional encounters.

Lately, different disciplines have also become interested in *non-professional* forms of translation and interpreting (for early studies, see Knapp-Potthoff & Knapp 1987, Tse 1996; for reviews, see Harris 2012, Kolehmainen, Koskinen & Riionheimo 2015). Examples of non-professional written translation involve genres such as fan subtitling¹ and translation as voluntary work. In addition, lay multilingual speakers take up the task of interpreters in a variety of situations and conditions. Non-professionals may fill a gap that arises out of the lack of professional services, but this is not the whole story. Non-professional translation and interpreting are also sociocultural phenomena in their own right, not only in relation to the professions. They reflect the emergence of new forms of engagement in public life in the digital era, changes in publishing and media marketplaces, and new paradigms of linguistic and other forms of mediation that result from voluntary and involuntary resettlement of populations (Pérez-González & Susam-Saraeva 2012: 152). Although the field of study is new and tackles these contemporary phenomena, mundane forms of linguistic mediation have undoubtedly existed ever since there has been contact between speakers of different languages, long before the professionalization of the activities (see, for example, Karttunen 1994, Pöchlhammer & Shlesinger 2002, and Tymoczko 2007).

Research on translation and interpreting has focused predominantly on professional activities. When these fields are faced with non-professional variants, it becomes necessary to revise and specify terms as well as the object of study. That is, to obtain a holistic view of translation and interpreting, there is new terrain to cover outside of institutional contexts, both in the contemporary and historical expressions of linguistic mediating. Distinctions between professional and non-professional activity can be made based on whether the person acting as an interpreter has been professionally trained, and whether the activity is paid for (see Kolehmainen et al. 2015). However, the practices and circumstances are varied. Factors such as the person's experience and frequency of acting as a mediator make up a range of different profiles for a lay interpreter. As an example, non-professional interpreters may act regularly in institutional settings and participate in systematic modes of interpreting, but they may also be second-language speakers who act as *ad hoc* mediators every now and then, on single occasions.

Differentiations within the activities of translation and interpreting have thus been based on the medium (written/oral), on whether the person undertaking it is a trained professional, and furthermore, on whether the activity occurs within an institutional setting. In addition, specific genres of the activities are distinguished according to the setting, such as conference interpreting and community interpreting, which require different techniques. These distinctions demonstrate what was already mentioned in the beginning of this subchapter: specific activities of linguistic mediation are defined and measured in relation to the professional tasks in particular settings. Moreover, official guidelines (such as *Asioimistulkkin ammattisäännöstö* [Community interpreters' code of professional conduct] 2013) as well as widespread cultural conceptions shape these specialized forms of linguistic mediating. In some countries the provision of interpreting services is also governed by law. In non-professional and non-institutional contexts, however, linguistic mediation begins to

¹ Fansubtitling is the subtitling of films or television programs by fans in contrast to an officially licensed translation made by professionals.

overlap with mundane discursive and socio-cultural phenomena that may not be commensurable with the definitions created for the professional activities.

These different points of departure are also reflected in the terminological choices made in the study of non-professional linguistic mediating. In a study that has influenced much later research in the field, Harris (1977, as well as Harris & Sherwood 1978) presented the controversial claim that instead of professional practice, translation scholars should study translation in everyday situations by people who have not had training for it. Harris referred to this as *natural translation*. The somewhat problematic notion of “natural” related to the position held by Harris of translation as an innate skill. The term differentiates lay bilingual practices from institutionally trained skills, but it can be criticized for bypassing the social processes through which individuals acquire language, and accordingly, their lay translating practices, in interaction with their environment (Toury 1995: 241–254).

Indeed, a later branch of research on lay translation² has focused on how children become linguistic mediators for their family and peers. This activity has been referred to as *child language brokering* (CLB) (Shannon 1990, Tse 1996, Orellana et al. 2003, Orellana 2009, Antonini 2010, 2016, see also Savijärvi 2011: 135–138). This field has discussed many aspects of both the controversies and possible benefits of acting as a broker in children’s lives (Antonini 2016), but there is also a growing need to examine empirically the interactional and linguistic realization of these activities. For instance, a study by Orellana et al. (2003) reports that children act as language brokers for their family most often in their homes. Yet, few empirical studies have been conducted on these domestic interactions.

In addition to the study of children as mediators, the term *brokering* has been adopted in other contexts, and in various ways. For example, Bolden (2012) examines *language brokering* in everyday conversation as an occasion of conversational repair. She investigates how bilingual speakers join in repair sequences by providing a repair solution with a translation or paraphrase of prior talk (that is, either in another or the same language). By comparison, Del Torto (2008) conceives of brokering in everyday conversation more broadly as oral translation. Skårup (2004) examines another form of mediating in terms of *bilingual brokering*: a mere switch of language is used to help a work colleague from abroad to join in an informal conversation at a work place. Raymond (2014), for his part, refers to how professional interpreters bridge gaps in the participants’ different background knowledge as *epistemic brokering*.

Terms such as brokering can be useful to describe specific interactional practices. They may also be used to underline the difference between lay and professional contexts and activities, and/or to emphasize that the speakers are facilitating the situation in a different manner or beyond what would be expected from a professional interpreter.³ However, it appears to me that these distinctions also run the risk of implying that there is a clear division between some “actual” translation of language and other linguistic mediating, the latter including the situated shaping of socio-cultural aspects, stances, and so on, in interaction. In other words, it can become implied that this shaping is not involved in “only” translating.

² From now on in the text I use the term *translation* for both its written and spoken forms.

³ For varying terminology, see Pilke et al. 2015, Baraldi & Gavioli 2012: 10–11, Chesterman 2006.

This would be contradictory with a socio-cultural view of language and interaction and with contemporary views of translation (see above). Even when an interpreter positions herself as neutrally as possible as someone who “only translates”, this is a specific type of interactional achievement (see, for instance, Kozin 2006).

An alternative possibility is, then, to regard translatory activities as heterogeneous linguistic and sociocultural phenomena as such. For example, Kolehmainen and her colleagues (2015, Koskinen 2014) suggest that translational activity (in Finnish: *translatorinen toiminta*)⁴ covers a continuum of different contexts and practices of both written and oral forms of translation, from professional to mundane contexts. “Translationality” in this form is present basically wherever there is multilingualism, in different realizations that change over time and reflect their cultural environment (Cronin 2006, Koskinen 2014). Concerning “translational activity” in everyday conversation, relaying prior talk in another language may arise for a range of different purposes and gain different realizations (for example, see Müller 1989). The translatory talk examined in the current study has translatory properties in that the speaker relays elements from prior talk in another language to render the interaction intelligible to co-participants. However, speakers make considerable changes in relation to the prior talk, and they may not be strictly speaking “enabling communication” between other parties, which is in contrast to the definition of interpreting by Pöchhacker and Shlesinger (2002) above. Although the speakers’ activities do not necessarily correspond to interpreting in the sense of the earlier definition, they can still be viewed as translatory (or “translational”) phenomena.

The shaping and adapting that the translating speakers undertake can be regarded as the *praxeological* aspects of translating in that situation (as in Merlino & Mondada 2013). In other words, how the translatory talk is shaped and used is part of the situated (and potentially habitual) organization of a given social situation (see also Linell 2009: 190). This type of approach to non-professional oral translation has been adopted in studies of workplace interaction and academic settings in which someone engages in linguistic mediating on an *ad hoc* basis. Indeed, the approach seems suitable especially to contexts where the involved parties are relatively equal, such as an international group of professionals, or friends and family. They can adopt translating as one of the possible multilingual practices, adjusted to what best suits the local purposes. This branch of research has discussed *ad hoc interpreting/translation* (Traverso 2012), *oral translation* (de Stefani et al. 2000, Merlino 2012, 2014, Merlino & Mondada 2013, 2014), *interactional translation* (Wilton 2009), and *translatory interaction* (Müller 1989). In the same vein, I consider it beneficial for the present study to use a general term for the process in which prior talk is taken up and relayed in another language (translation/translatory talk), as it makes it possible to analyze at a different level of detail the various conversational uses of this type of talk. This entails examining how translatory talk contributes to the organization of actions, such as asking questions, telling, explaining, or providing accounts in the asymmetric, multilingual participation framework. As an umbrella term, I refer to the activity broadly as

⁴ This term originates in the theory of translatory activity proposed by Justa Holz Mänttari (*translatorisches Handeln* in German) (see Nord 1997).

bilingual mediating. However, the outcome and organization of the *translatory practices* is always investigated in more specific terms (for further discussion, see §2.2.1).

The situated organization of linguistic mediating in conversation is well captured by Müller's (1989) notion of a *translatory mode*. This refers to how participants introduce, organize, and handle ways of linguistic mediating to suit the particular situational circumstances and needs (see also Merlino 2012: 43–45). From this viewpoint, Müller also redefines the above-mentioned notion of “natural translation” as an emic conception of translation. That is, the conception of translation is founded upon the participants' interactional methods for doing it. The translatory modes range from strictly local instances (for example, clarification of single expressions) to systematic modes of interpreting. In the latter, interpreting is a central activity that structures the whole situation (Bolden 2000: 390). In non-systematic modes, speakers engage in translating occasionally. It is conducted in various ways, and it can merge with other activities. As Traverso (2012: 151) observes: “different types of phenomena appear according to the pragmatic nature of the stretch of talk to be translated.”

How translatory talk is performed depends also on the characteristics of the larger setting in which it occurs. Institutional settings introduce a layer of institutional goals, agendas and normativity that influence what type of interpreting can occur. As an example, it is common that institutional situations that involve interpreting are organized around patterns of asking and answering (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992), as in medical interaction or asylum hearings. It follows that translating in that situation will necessarily also target sequences of questions and answers. In this manner, the institutional agenda produces particular types of sequential frames for translating talk. In comparison, the current study will demonstrate that the mundane multiparty, multilingual setting may pose particular challenges for the participants in their addressing and translating of questions, which becomes visible in the unfolding of these sequences (ch. 6). It seems that examining the organization of translatory talk in the same type of conversational action in these different settings might yield interesting insights into the specificity of both the institutional(ized) and the mundane translatory practices.

When a bilingual speaker engages in occasional translating, her role in this activity is intertwined with her overall involvement in the situation in other possible roles. Merlino and Mondada (2014) describe the shifting between mediating and acting as a regular party as the mediator's “fluid” identity. As an example, ad hoc mediators at a workplace can be at the same time experts who participate in a meeting (Mondada 2004, Traverso 2012) or in an event of public speaking (Merlino 2012, Mondada 2016), and can also realize these roles while they engage in translating. In these contexts, translating can be a means to emphasize elements in the discourse and to state argumentative positions, to pursue missing responses in the context of potential disagreement, or to emphasize key elements of a telling (de Stefani et al. 2000, Merlino & Mondada 2014, Bolden 2014: 235). The same can apply to mediators who accompany their family members as clients to a doctor's appointment. For example, acting as a “husband” may result in answering on behalf of the client instead of relaying her talk (Ticca & Traverso 2015, Zendedel et al. 2016). Translating also exposes the language competences of the participants, and may categorize them in one way or another (Auer 1984, Müller 1989, Greer 2008, Del Torto 2008, Bucholtz & Hall 2008, Bolden 2012, 2014, Traverso 2012).

Regarding the structure of translatory sequences, studies have reported that establishing the need for mediating often involves collaborative negotiations, and translatory stretches of talk can be collaboratively produced (Müller 1989, de Stefani et al. 2000, Traverso 2012). Translatory talk is often produced to solve communicative problems, and with reason, translating has then been examined from the viewpoint of repair organization (Greer 2007, 2008, Bolden 2012). Much translatory talk does not, however, correct or replace anything from the past talk but has a complex relationship to it as a summarizing, paraphrasing or formulating -like turn (Auer 1984a: 89). One example of this is the re-telling of jokes and other humorous talk that has been examined by Wilton (2009). She shows that translatory stretches of talk typically have a marked beginning but no clearly marked end boundary.

A number of studies mention that speakers may contextualize their translatory talk with quotative framing, similarly to what was exemplified here in chapter 1. Studies concerning repair, for their part, demonstrate that the proper repair organization provides a sequential frame to embed the translatory turn. Nonetheless, to my knowledge, no previous studies have been published that specifically focus on how the design of translatory turns contributes to the organization of translatory interaction in mundane settings. In general, few studies have as their main focus translating in everyday conversations (see, however, Del Torto 2008, Bolden 2012, Wilton 2009, and for interviews of families at home, Knapp-Potthoff & Knapp 1987, Müller 1989).⁵

In everyday, multiparty conversation, translatory talk occurs within freely flowing conversations, and it is intertwined with the overall features of such interactions. The presence of multiple participants expands their possible ways of participation (Goffman 1981, C. Goodwin 1984, Lerner 1992, 1993, Linell & Korolija 1997, Schegloff 1995), and the participant constellations change in terms of who participates more actively in the conversation. This differs considerably from the prototypical triadic constellations in interpreter-mediated interactions. Moreover, the language constellations vary from partially transparent, meaning that the participants can understand each other's talk to some extent, to opaque, in which some participants have no shared language (see Müller 1989). In these contexts, translatory talk as an *ad hoc* solution – including its design – is therefore an *endogenous* product of the unfolding of the multilingual, multiparty interaction. In other words, translating in this situation is a result of what occurs between the participants during the interaction, not a system of mediation imposed on the whole encounter.

This brings us to another conceptual issue that concerns the relationship of translatory talk to the related task of *coordinating* the interaction. This will be the topic of the remainder of this section. Even in professional, systematic modes of interpreting, interpreters continuously adapt their renditions (i.e. oral translations) to the current interactional circumstances and also manage further issues related to the unfolding of the interaction (Wadensjö 1998). Wadensjö discusses this in terms of *implicitly* and *explicitly* coordinating interpreter utterances (ibid. 108–119). Implicit coordination refers to the simple achievement of continuing the mediated interaction by providing renditions of past turns.

⁵ Translating also features occasionally in research on code-switching, but a review of that literature is beyond the scope of the current study (for a brief review see Harjunpää & Mäkilähde 2016).

Explicit coordination refers to an interpreter's talk that is not a rendition of past turns but organizes the interaction, such as asking for clarifications or more time to translate.

The terms "implicit" and "explicit" as such are somewhat problematic. They base the division of interactional phenomena on the presence of denotationally explicit verbal material that expresses a given proposition, whereas what is achieved through the use of these resources is a different matter; it may not correspond to any explicitness or implicitness in terms of social action. Meanings that are achieved with implicit means can also be present and socially meaningful for the interlocutors. Indeed, Wadensjö does not make an exclusive distinction between the two categories. She argues that it is useful to distinguish translating and coordinating aspects analytically because they can be foregrounded to varying degrees on different occasions, but maintains that they are, nevertheless, practically inseparable. In short, an interpreter coordinates the conversation simply by talking every now and then, and vice versa, even the non-renditions are closely oriented to the translating task.

Baraldi and Gavioli (2012: 6–9) propose to specify Wadensjö's distinction by redefining the types of coordination as *basic* coordination and *reflexive* coordination. Basic coordination refers to the smooth unfolding of interpreted interaction. By contrast, reflexive coordination constitutes actions that improve, question, or claim understanding and/or acceptance of utterances and meanings, and these involve a complex interplay of renditions and non-renditions. The terminological distinction is thus used to cover highly specific phenomena that as such provide immensely relevant insights to interpreted interaction. Nevertheless, making a categorical distinction between "basic" translation/interpreting and other, reflexive aspects of the activity downplays rather unfortunately the profoundly reflexive and indexical nature of language. This is somewhat contradictory, considering that the authors themselves refer to views of "basic" interactional coordination as a form of reflexivity. It is true that the reflexive capacity of language to represent its own structure and use (Lucy 1993: 10–11) is most evident in metalinguistic and metapragmatic acts (as in the above-mentioned acts to improve, question, or claim understanding), but it also penetrates the "basic" unfolding of interaction (Silverstein 1993, 2003, Agha 2007).

As Wadensjö argues, the relaying of prior talk in itself involves coordination of the interaction and the participants' positioning, even if this is undertaken in a more covert manner than in the more foregrounded coordinating or mediating. In light of these views on translation, the current study sees the interlingual process of translation itself as reflexively organized and endowed with coordinatory and mediatory functions: these are part of the situated shaping of translatory talk that was discussed above in terms of the praxeological aspects of translational activities. This emphasis finds support in Translation and Interpreting Studies, in approaches that consider translation and interpreting as forms of construing the social world, always bearing situated considerations of the particular situation and reader/recipient as well as responding to cultural norms (as in Baker 2006, Cronin 2006, Hatim & Mason 1990, House 2009, Nord 1997, Pöchhacker 2004, Pym 2010, Toury 1980, 1995, cf. Linell 1997).

The following two sections will introduce themes in the study of language and interaction that provide a background for investigating the reflexive organization of interaction through translatory talk.

2.2 Translatory practices as means of interactive footing

Mediating activities entail the organization of complex structures of participation. The unfolding activities involve original speakers, mediating speakers, recipients of the original talk, and recipients of the translatory talk, and the translatory turns contribute to organizing these changing positions in one way or another. How exactly they do this will be dealt with in the data analyses. For now, I provide a basis for investigating the role of the mediating speaker, or to put it differently, the distribution of discursive agency in translatory talk (§2.2.1). As a follow-up (§2.2.2), I discuss the general issue of the interactive constitution of a “context” in light of the speakers’ means of relating their turns to prior talk (see the continuum of resources in §1.1).

2.2.1 Distribution of discursive agency

Translating another person’s talk in conversation is a prime example of Goffman’s (1981) classic notion of the *production format*. Wadensjö (1998) adopted this framework in his seminal study on interpreting as interaction to unravel the dialogic nature of interpreting. Goffman distinguishes between the roles of *animator*, who delivers an utterance, *author*, who composes the form and content of the utterance, and *principal*, who is committed to the consequences of what is said and can be held responsible for it. Correspondingly, a translating speaker may be said to act as the animator of talk that has a prior speaker as a principal source. The purpose of these concepts was to decompose the notion of “speaker” as one unit and to grasp the distributed and dialogic nature of speaking. Recipients were, for their part, depicted as forming a *participation framework*. Within this framework, recipients occupy roles ranging from the one that is most focal, the addressee, to those that are more peripheral. Changes within the roles of speakership and reciprocity constitute changes of *footing*. Later research conceives of the participation framework as consisting of speakers and other participants together (see Goodwin & Goodwin 2004, C. Goodwin 2007, Seppänen 1998 in Finnish). This is more adequate for investigating the dynamics of speakership and reciprocity, as it involves coordination between co-participants within time and space. This means that a “speaker” is also to be considered more broadly, and more explicitly, as a social agent who coordinates her actions with others in social environments (see also Kockelman 2007, Enfield 2013).

Agency in communication can be envisioned as a dynamic interplay between aspects of flexibility and accountability in performing actions. On the one hand, participants have flexibility as they can control and compose what they produce and as they can anticipate others’ reactions to their behavior. On the other hand, participants are accountable for their behavior as they become subject to others’ evaluations, and to perceived entitlements and obligations. When a person talks, she realizes varying orientations to the aspects of controlling, composing, and commitment to what she says, resulting in different combinations. Furthermore, actions and agency may be distributed among more than one individual. With these conceptualizations of agency, the analytic focus can be shifted from

the relatively static categorization of roles (as in the production format) to the situated, dynamic aspects of speakership and discursive agency in general. (Enfield 2013: 104–112, Kockelman 2007, 2013).

Professional interpreting can be conceived of as an institutionally guided decomposition of an agent/speaker. Section (§2.1) briefly discussed the (social) normative aspects of the interpreting activity. It was also mentioned that notions such as a *broker* or a *mediator* appear somewhat more permissive in terms of the activities that can be subsumed under them. A mediator is generally understood as someone who acts between others' differing perspectives and accommodates them (Merlini 2009, Baraldi & Gavioli 2012, Wadensjö 1998: 62–69). As regards interpreting in institutional settings, there are debates about how much an interpreter should mediate in this broader sense between the main parties. Some cultural adaptation may be inevitable, but one should not act as an advocate for either party.

Thus, the notion of a mediator is also a recognizable figure of decomposed agency, although socio-cultural conceptions about it vary. In terms of participant roles, the distinction between an interpreter and a mediator is reminiscent of attempts to specify further participant roles of the decomposed speaker. Such specifications include, for instance, distinctions between a 'relayer' and a 'spokesman' (Goffman 1981, Levinson 1988), which suggest different degrees of involvement in the composition of the message. Such attempts to name types of participant roles have been criticized, however, for reifying the categories of participation and thus failing to examine the very processes through which participation is enacted (Hanks 1990, Irvine 1996, C. Goodwin 2007, Enfield 2013). The present study takes up these challenges in the analysis of how bilingual speakers render the situation intelligible for their co-participants. Their activities are broadly referred to as mediating, as the speakers purport to render talk in another language accessible to someone else. However, more specific analytic attention is given to how the participants mutually coordinate actions and degrees of agency during these stretches of interaction.

The aim is to avoid supposing the role of a mediator, and consider instead how the speakers display degrees of composing, controlling, and committing to what they deliver as translatory talk, and how this organizes their local participation. The speakers manage the situation interactively, by accompanying and responding to the others' behavior. Studying mediatory activities thus involves examining how structures of participation emerge in the here-and-now of a conversation. It should also be noted that translatory talk does not necessarily constitute mediation in the sense of mitigating and accommodating differences between others, as the speakers can also relay prior talk for their own benefit as well as for reproaching the prior speaker.

When a speaker relays prior talk in a prototypical form of *reported speech*, as in 'Antti said that...', she explicitly introduces a prior speaker's voice in her utterance. That is, the speaker embeds the voice of another in her utterance by lexical and morpho-syntactic means that involve denoting the prior speaker and speaking with a *verbum dicendi*. Since the work of Vološinov (1990) and Bakhtin (1981, see Clark & Holquist 1984), studies sharing a dialogic view of language have investigated reported speech as an example of how the voices of different actors come together in language (for instance, see Goffman 1981).

Reported speech and multilingual practices intertwine in Gumperz' (1982) framework for the analysis of *code-switching*, that is, the use of more than one language within a single

instance of interaction. Gumperz examined the switching of languages as one of the speakers' means to signal that they are moving into reported speech. In his terminology, the switch of language can function as a *contextualization cue* in introducing the voice of another speaker. Contextualization cues are elements that indexically point towards contexts that are relevant for understanding the utterance here-and-now. Speakers make use of these cues to set up, modify, and/or maintain interpretive frameworks in interaction. Later studies have amply confirmed the use of code-switching in contextualizing reported speech (see Frick 2013, Frick & Riionheimo 2013 for recent studies).

Early on, Gumperz (1982, Blom & Gumperz 1972) divided the contextualizing functions of code-switching into *situational* and *metaphorical* switching. These were later further elaborated as *participant-related* and *discourse-related* switching by Auer (1984a, 1995, 1998, in Finnish see Kalliokoski 2009). These distinctions depict the scope of the interpretive frames that code-switching may relate to, from broader aspects of the situation, such as where and with whom certain languages are used, to the organization of interactional detail (such as reported speech). These two types of organization are, however, deeply intertwined (see, for example, Auer 1984a, Bailey 2000, Lantto 2015). Code-switching permeates language use from grammar and the organization of face-to-face conversation to the construction of interpersonal relationships and social identities (for instance, see Auer 1998, Auer & Wei 2009).

With regard to contextualization cues, there are, in principle, no restrictions on what can guide the interpretation of talk, although only some sets of cues have been in focus within the framework (Auer 1992, see Kalliokoski 1995 in Finnish). In addition to language alternation, another main example of these cues is prosodic design. Interactional linguistic studies on reported speech have demonstrated how the introduction of other voices is achieved through combinations of framing expressions and prosody in different interactional environments (Couper-Kuhlen 1999, Günthner 1999, Golato 2000, Bolden 2004, Routarinne 2005, Haakana 2007, Holt & Clift 2007, Berger & Pekarek Doehler 2015). In conversation, reported speech is typically used in storytelling, where it can provide evidence and authenticity for what the speaker is conveying. It can have similar functions in non-narrative uses, such as in assessments and accounts (Clift 2007, Couper-Kuhlen 2007). The studies have also shed light on the interactional realizations and fusions of direct and indirect reported speech, which have traditionally been distinguished on the basis of morpho-syntactic and lexical components. In sum, the voicing of others is temporally, sequentially, and bodily organized (see, for example, C. Goodwin 2007, Thompson & Suzuki 2014).

On the occasion of interlingual translation in conversation, the switch of language is an unavoidable part of the activity itself. Therefore it cannot work as a contextualization cue in the same way as it can within many typical uses of code-switching. Moreover, turns that redo prior talk in another language create various types of functional relationships to earlier talk. Together with the switch of language, other interactional features contribute to rendering the turn understandable as a particular action. Sometimes the contextualization of translatory talk involves negotiations on who will act as mediator (see Müller 1989: 719). For example, one of the participants can claim incompetence to speak a given language, and as a response, others offer to translate for her (Traverso 2012, Härmävaara 2014). In the

speaker (capable of brokering the problem), and when this third person provides a repair solution, she complies with this role.”

The repair sequence is a specific sequential environment that allows the speaker to embed translatory talk within the trajectory of action. A further question concerns how the particular design of translatory utterances organizes this position, and how these practices relate to other ways of engaging in mediating. In the current data, translating speakers sometimes rely on shared sequential trajectories and may be regarded as forming a party with the prior speaker (as in Bolden 2012). However, translatory talk is not always built into an unfolding sequence. Translatory turns can also occur as side-talk during ongoing discussions or retrospectively after completed sequences. These environments accommodate a range of methods whereby the speakers incorporate a prior speaker’s talk into their utterances.

Thus far, we have established that the relation to past talk as a source can be created through both ”explicit” and ”implicit” devices. As was already discussed with regard to types of coordination in interpreted interaction, these terms typically refer to the presence or lack of overt lexico-grammatical material. Nonetheless, both the explicit material and implicit cues in interaction are reflexively organized and open to situated interpretations, although they are organized at different levels (for example, see Garfinkel & Sacks 1970, Hanks 2005, Agha 2007: 22–33). In the following section, I approach this matter through the Conversation Analytic concept of *formulating* an ongoing interaction.

2.2.2 From formulating to invoking prior talk as source

The CA notion of *formulating* originates in a theoretical discussion by Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) on member’s methods for the production, recognition, and rationalization of their everyday activities. The somewhat puzzling notion of formulating (also referred to as ”glossing”) covers acts of describing, explaining, characterizing, explicating, translating, summarizing, or furnishing the gist of a conversation (ibid.: 350). These are members’ methods of “saying-in-so-many-words-what-we-are-doing,” or more generally, who they are, where they are, and what they are talking about. Garfinkel and Sacks argue that because interaction is generally achieved without such metalevel comments, they must serve a function besides simply achieving the action that they are “glosses” of. That is, formulations of what the interactants are doing do not resolve the members’ problem of recognizing the ongoing activities but pose for them yet a further task of understanding what the speaker is doing by formulating. In this sense, the explicit metalevel comments are just a further layer of conversational action, and an indexical phenomenon just like the implicit interactional cues are (see above).

Similarly, Heritage and Watson (1979, 1980) discuss formulating in terms of members’ reflexive orientation to their conversation as an orderly and self-descriptive phenomenon. The basic assumption is that whenever they talk, participants deliver their actions as relevant and accountable – describing the actions conveys a special orientation to their relevance and accountability. Heritage and Watson specify formulating as the delivery of gists (the main

points of past talk) and upshots (implications made explicit) that a speaker draws from her⁶ interlocutor's prior turn. Formulating these interpretations makes it relevant for the prior speaker to accept or reject them in her next turn. Much of later conversation analytic work has maintained this specific approach to formulations (Drew 2003, Hutchby 2005, Bolden 2010, Depperman 2011; compare Kurhila 2006: 153–217 for candidate understandings in second-language conversation). When displaying an understanding of an interlocutor's talk by formulating, the speaker somehow conceptualizes it and in doing so, occasions "a collaborative and reflexive consultation of foregoing sections of the conversation" (Heritage & Watson 1980: 255). Formulating therefore has both explicative and transformative potential, which can contribute to even more lasting transformations in rationalizing one's conduct (for formulations in therapeutic interaction, see, for instance, Antaki 2008, Weiste & Peräkylä 2013).

Later CA studies have thus shifted the focus from the broader meta(pragmatic) sense of formulating to its specific instances, examining how the broader (potential) phenomenon is particularized with regard to different settings and activities (Drew 2003: 261). At the same time, it has been acknowledged that the original concept of formulating was intended to refer more broadly to how a current state of interaction can be depicted, not only to individual stretches of talk whereby a speaker offers an explicit interpretation of a prior turn. Antaki, Barnes & Leudar (2005: 642–643) speculate that further types of formulating interaction have not been widely investigated because they are simply rare.

However, other phenomena that could be regarded as formulating seem to have already been investigated, only in different terms. An example of this would be preliminaries to preliminaries, such as "Can I ask you a question?" (Schegloff 1980, 2007a: 44–47), in which the speaker formulates an upcoming action. Also Garfinkel and Sacks (1970: 350) use a potential case ("Now let me ask you this") as an example. Schegloff's empirical investigation demonstrates how this type of utterance organizes the upcoming sequence of action in particular ways: the immediate next turn by the speaker does not yet entail the question but another preparatory move before the actual asking. In other words, labeling an action in launching the course of action organizes its sequential unfolding in particular, identifiable ways.

Formulating as describing a current interaction is also akin to the more general use of the term for the "designing" of turns and specific expressions, such as formulating reference to a place or to a person (Schegloff 1972, Sacks & Schegloff 1979). In this use, formulating refers to the choice of expression from the viewpoint of its interactional functionality, as in how it contributes to accomplishing action (for examples, see Stivers 2007). Similarly, ways of depicting events and actions are interactionally motivated and functional. In other words, events and actions can be formulated with glosses, paraphrases, and more general descriptions of the past or ongoing situation (Schegloff 2000: 171, Wilkinson et al. 2010, Deppermann 2011).

All talking that represents an action in another language (or translates it) could also be understood as formulating it in terms of providing a gloss. However, there are crucial differences in speakers' ways of doing this. Framing with quotative elements expresses *that*

⁶ From here on in the text, the feminine form will be used generically for third-person references.

the speaker is providing a formulation of the past talk (Garfinkel & Sacks 1970: 351).⁷ This can be contrasted with translatory turns where the speaker does not spell out the turn's relation to the prior talk but positions the turn as redoing the past talk with some other means. This distinction was exemplified in the list of the speakers' resources (§1.1), which vary from quotative framings to relaying key elements from the past talk.

For Sacks (1995 I: 515–522, see also Hanks 2005: 195), formulating an interactional event stands in contrast to *invoking* a setting with indexical means. To put it simply, speakers may name and characterize the current situation (such as "seminar") instead of talking in ways that make it relevant to consider the "seminar" environment as the locally relevant context, such as using deictic expressions (we, here, now) (Hanks *ibid.*). The notion of formulating thus addresses some basic questions of indexicality and the constitution of context in talk-in-interaction (see Auer & di Luzio 1992, Heritage 1984a: 283, 291), and in particular, the relevance of a "setting" as a member's problem (Sacks 1995 I: 516).

Similar questions apply to how the mediating speakers formulate and/or invoke the prior, partly inaccessible talk as the locally relevant "setting" for the recipient, and moreover, how they convey that their turns carry the voice of a prior speaker as a source, and implement a particular action in relation to that other-language talk (such as redoing a prior question). The variation in how speakers relay prior talk can be understood as a continuum between formulating and invoking a conversational context, or more precisely, as a continuum of different combinations of means for achieving these.

Additional complexity comes in with the asymmetric language constellation, as the recipient of the turn that switches to her language has limited access to the prior conversation, and often a peripheral role in it. This creates particular circumstances for inferring how a current turn relates to past, other-language talk. The interaction involves an asymmetric indexical field (Hanks 1990, 1992: 68–69) in that the participants have uneven access to their (conversational) environment. The asymmetry influences the translating speaker's possibilities to tie her talk in that environment by using means such as anaphoric and other deictic expressions. If translating speakers remedy the recipient's access to the past talk, then they may need to employ transparent lexical expressions even to entities that were just mentioned. At the same time, the speakers make use of the composition and position of these turns as a means to invoke the other-language talk as their contextual ground and relate to it as action.

The present study examines, then, how the language-switching turns rely on, reflect, and shape the past and ongoing interactional context in their design, and how the turns become understandable as translatory talk through this process. In other words, the study focuses on action formation (or action ascription, see Levinson 2013), that is, on how the participants produce and manage activities involving translatory talk as mutually recognizable and accountable, rather than the understanding of verbal content as such. As mentioned previously, the study proceeds from how speakers frame past talk by the fullest framing to the sequential practices used to invoke the setting so that the turn can become understood

⁷ Delivering a formulation of an interlocutor's past talk in a monolingual conversation typically involves expressions such as 'so (you are/are you saying)' in English (see references above) or the particles 'niin siis' and 'että' in Finnish (Kurhila 2006), which mark the turn as taking up prior talk.

as relaying past talk. The metapragmatic conception of formulating is thus useful for translatory interaction, not just because of the occurrence of formats for formulating past and current talk, but because of the division of labor with turns that do not spell out their relation to the source talk. The next subchapter discusses in more detail how turns-at-talk show sensitivity to their position within conversation.

2.3 Positional sensitivity of turn design

When speakers report or otherwise represent prior other-language talk in their turns, they do not just select from a set of translation strategies; instead, they produce actions that are reflexively shaped within the interactional environment. When moving into translating for the first time in a stretch of conversation, speakers need to somehow display how their upcoming turn relates to the past talk in another language, and to the potential source. The very beginning of the turn often involves elements that contribute to invoking this setting (see §2.2.2) for the translatory talk. This subchapter presents Interactional Linguistic research on the role of turn-initial design in positioning a turn within its interactional environment (§2.3.1), followed by a discussion of the specific case of multilingual interaction (§2.3.2). This concerns the interplay of turn-initial design and language alternation in turns that switch from the language of an ongoing conversation to address someone in another language.

2.3.1 Grammar at turn-beginnings

As any spoken interaction, translatory interaction is temporally unfolding and cumulative, it builds on the immediate conversational history. Some features in the organization of mediating are particular to the multilingual, asymmetric speech situation, but most are also general to interaction in a multiparty constellation. In this section I discuss themes in conversational organization that are particularly consequential for the phenomena under examination. These concern, in general, the situated shaping of grammar in interaction and, in particular, how *turn-beginnings* point backwards and forwards in conversation.

Studies of interaction and grammar have demonstrated that the internal structure of utterances is deeply intertwined with the organization of the interaction they occur in (Ochs et al. 1996, Schegloff 1996a, 1996b, 2004, Helasvuo 2001, Sorjonen 2001a, Hakulinen & Selting 2005, Etelämäki 2006, Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005, Anward 2005, Lindström 2006, Laury 2008, Laury & Suzuki 2011, Koivisto 2011, Laury et al. 2014, Ford, Fox & Thompson 2013, Szczepek Reed & Raymond 2013, Vatanen 2014, Thompson et al. 2015). Accordingly, these studies have reconsidered basic linguistic categories, such as phrases, clauses and sentences, in terms of whether and how they are relevant as interactional units.

Since the early years of CA, linguistic structure has been analyzed in terms of the structure of turns-at-talk. Conversation unfolds through speakers taking turns, and these turns may be of different sizes and have diverse compositions. The basic unit of turn construction, and one that can form a complete turn by itself, is the *turn-constructive unit* (TCU) (Sacks et al. 1974). These interactionally contingent units are involved in the organization of turn-taking so that, basically, completing a TCU enables a transfer to the next speaker (see, e.g., Vatanen 2014: 33–42). Speakers can also build multi-unit turns by continuing their talk past the first turn-constructive units. How TCUs constitute turns is always subject to the situated interplay among "syntactic, lexico-semantic, pragmatic, activity-type-specific, and prosodic devices in their sequential context" (Selting 2000: 487). Similarly, it involves coordination between participants through gaze and embodiment. These are essential for establishing observable reciprocity, and thus for determining who will take the next turn, and at what point (for example, see C. Goodwin 1979, 1981, 2000, Mondada 2007, 2009a, 2015, Deppermann 2011, Rossano 2011, 2013).

The shaping of language in the course of the temporal, linear unfolding of talk and the sedimentation of structures resulting from it have been referred to as the *emergence* of grammar (Hopper 1987, 2011). The shaping of language in the unfolding of interaction has also been depicted as the *on-line* processing of syntax and grammar (Auer 2005, 2009, 2014, 2015). One of the central on-line processes in talking is *projection*, the foreshadowing of what is to follow in the unfolding of the interaction. This projection occurs both within patterns of linguistic structure and within courses of action. The ability to project ongoing trajectories of talk and action allows interactants to recognize and react to each other's actions in a fast, even simultaneous fashion. Projection also entails that speakers are constrained by what has occurred thus far, and need to consider this when moving forward. Speakers thus orient to what their turns come *next* to in the unfolding of interaction. Within these circumstances, it is also possible to resume or link back to even prior talk and retrospectively shape the meaning of past talk in the here-and-now. Speakers also cut off their turns, repair talk, continue past possible completion points, produce increments to their talk, restart their turns, and so on. Through this coordination, participants establish and negotiate units of language and interaction.

Schegloff (1996a) discusses how the grammar of TCUs may be sensitive to their position within a turn and within a sequence, which he calls the *positionally sensitive grammar(s)* of turn construction (cf. Thompson et al. 2015). An example of the positional sensitivity of turns is how speakers modify repeats of their prior talk (Schegloff 2004, Oh 2005). The achievement of "saying the same thing," that is, of making the turn recognizable as a resaying of what the speaker just said in an earlier turn, may actually involve altering the second saying in relation to the initial saying (also Schegloff 1984: 40). For example, when speakers redo their prior talk in coming out of an overlap or responding to repair initiation, the dispensing with elements and/or adding them in the resaying is a way to specify how exactly this turn relates to the initial saying as a repetition (see also Local et al. 2010). The turn can be displayed as a whole new try to deliver an action, or as continuing the prior sequential trajectory. Thus, the dispensability of elements from a prior saying not only

concerns the placement of the turn but is a way to display what the speaker is doing by repeating in this environment.⁸

The notion of positional sensitivity is also suitable for describing the variation in the design of translatory turns in different conversational environments. Translatory practices are ways of "resaying" another's or one's own prior talk. They are realized within different sequential structures, actions, and participation frameworks, and they respond to these contextual circumstances in their design. It turns out, then, that the shaping of translatory utterances is not only a matter of the mediating speaker's choice of translation strategy or her skills but a result of the collaborative, on-line shaping of interaction.

Translatory stretches of talk involve both turn-internal organization as well as TCU-internal organization for handling the translated "packages" of talk, but my first point of interest is how speakers organize the relationship of their turns to the past talk and to the interactional environment in the beginning of these resaying turns.

The most basic means that speakers use to render their turns understandable regarding past turns is through their *adjacent* positioning. That is, being adjacently placed to some talk makes a turn interpretable in relation to that talk. Sacks (1995 II: 554) talks about *adjacency pairs*, such as questions and answers, as the "institutionalized means to exploit the power of adjacency." These turns are understood in relation to each other by convention. If an answer is not produced, it is treated as "noticeably absent" (Schegloff 1968). Speakers have at their disposal a range of ways for displaying how a turn relates to a particular earlier turn, which Sacks (1995 I: 716–747) refers to as *tying techniques*. A basic example of tying is using an anaphoric pronoun to tie a turn to a prior turn which contained a first mention of the referent.⁹ More generally, any turn becomes interpretable against its environment and what it is adjacent to, whether it is understood as "fitting" with it or not. This is further evidenced by the fact that speakers employ means such as disjunction and resumption markers to indicate that a turn does *not* relate to the immediate past talk (Schegloff & Sacks 1973, Mazeland & Huiskes 2001).

The very beginning of a turn is crucial to the organization of turn-taking and the general organization of action (Heritage 1984b, Schegloff 1987, Sacks 1995, Auer 1996, Sorjonen 2001a, Lindström 2006, Levinson 2013). This is because turn-beginnings project the shape and type of the upcoming turn early on, and the turn-initial position is also a place to manage how the turn relates to earlier talk. Deppermann (2013) suggests that in constructing turns-at-talk to precisely fit the interactional moment of production, participants need to deal with four types of tasks. These are to achieve joint orientation, to display uptake of prior turns, to deal with projections emanating from those turns, and to project properties of the turn in

⁸ Dispensing with turn-initial particles has also been examined in interpreters' talk from the perspective of whether these elements carry significant information that is, as a consequence of dispensing with them, lost in translation (for example, see Tillman 2009).

⁹ Pronominal tying is approximately the same as what might be referred to as producing 'cohesion,' 'referential coherence,' or 'discourse continuity' in other functional approaches (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Givón 1995). Sack's concept of "techniques" has the advantage of presenting tying as members' situated employment of available resources, instead of presenting these as features of an interactional text.

progress. Deppermann proposes that the participants' orientation to these tasks bears consequences for how turn-beginnings are designed.

Regarding turn-initial elements, a distinction is often made between pre-beginning elements, such as turn-initial particles, and elements that are constituent parts of a new TCU (see, for example, Heritage 1984b, Schegloff 1987, 1996a, Auer 1996, Lindström 2006, Kim & Kuroshima 2013). The pre-beginning elements have been more extensively studied of the two. Both types of initial elements also contribute to positioning translatory turns in relation to past and upcoming talk, and hence contribute to launching a turn so as to make it understandable as a resaying. Although verbal design at the beginning of translatory turns is important for how the recipient can understand them, the organization of the activity typically begins before the delivery of the turns through a multimodal negotiation of joint orientation (see C. Goodwin 1981, 2000, Mondada 2007, 2009a, Deppermann 2013). In particular, the potential mediator can observe the OLS's (other-language-speaker, for the term see §1.2.2) displayed orientation to the ongoing conversation and, based on that, consider the relevance of mediating for her at a given moment. The beginnings of turns are, then, also coordinated with respect to these embodied aspects of the situation.

In producing translatory talk, the speaker's tasks in turn construction are affected by the participants' asymmetric access to the past and ongoing conversation, and by the changes in the participation framework that are involved in mediating. At the very beginning of a translatory turn, the speaker and recipient encounter the local asymmetry in their access to the conversation. Furthermore, even though some translatory talk addresses the same participant who was the recipient of the prior talk, in other cases, translatory turns are directed to someone who has thus far participated only peripherally. The access of the translated-to participant to the previous talk therefore varies. She may not have understood any of the prior talk or even been listening to what was said, or she might have just minor difficulties in comprehension. Nevertheless, this participant has some sort of perception of the ongoing interaction, and despite not speaking the language, she may have understood different aspects of the ongoing interaction. More importantly, she may have displayed her interest in the ongoing interaction, and this has consequences for how her understanding of the situation becomes collectively handled. Understanding is not only based on words and utterances but on monitoring other participants' action through their bodily behavior, prosody, pauses, beginning and ending of sequences of action, displays of affect, and so forth (for example, see Savijärvi 2011). The OLS participant can react to these aspects of the interaction without having understood the linguistic content of a turn, and the mediating speakers also take this into account in recipient-designing their translatory talk. In fact, translating is part of negotiating the recipient's past and current participatory status in the interaction. The design of translatory turns is thus not only sensitive to their sequential position but also to emerging structures of participation.

2.3.2 Relating language-alternating turns to past talk

A mere switch of language in a conversation can provide the recipient with cues as to how to interpret the current talk (Gumperz 1982, Auer 1984a, 1995, 1998). A switch of language can indicate a change in the participation framework, such as the addressing of a new recipient. It can also work "metaphorically" to organize the discourse, that is, to indicate various types of conversational moves. It follows that a switch of language can also be an important resource in relating a current turn to past and ongoing conversation and in projecting what is to come. Nevertheless, the switch of language does not accomplish this alone but as part of an overall semiotic process. The main focus of interest in this section is the role of verbal turn design in how turns that alter the language from the ongoing conversation establish relations to the immediate past talk.

The following three extracts demonstrate how potential mediators can relate their turns to the prior talk when they switch the language to address a new, OLS recipient. The speakers can design these turns as moving away from the ongoing conversation that is (partly) inaccessible for the OLS recipient, or as having a source in that prior talk. In the first two extracts the speaker moves away from the ongoing line of talk either by initiating a new, disjunctive topic or by resuming an earlier line of conversation. By contrast, in the last case the speaker rephrases something from the immediately prior other-language talk. Only the last case is an instance of translatory talk, and it brings us to the details of how translatory utterances can be linked to past talk.

The speaker in the first extract initiates a new telling in a language that is different from the current language of the interaction. A bilingual participant, Márcio, addresses a Portuguese speaker, André. He produces a turn (l. 4->) in overlap with Railii's talk in Finnish.

(2.2) Potato.FI (Kesä_B 44.08)

- 01 Sanna: *täälä sataa.*
it's raining
- 02 Railii: *tulee vähä vesi semmonen pien- pieni (-)*
there comes a little bit of water kind of sma- small
- 03 *täytyy noi (.) pan[na*
(one) must put those ((away))
- 04 Márcio:→ *[ehm cê †sabe uma coisa que é*
you know one thing that is
((TO ANDRÉ))
- 05 *interessan< essa ba†tata; (0.2) ela é uma batata*
interesti< this potato it is a potato
- 06 *tirada antes (.) antes da hora.*
taken up before before its time

- 08 Sauli: [semmonen iso iso (0.4) lehmätila on on,
that kind of big big dairy farm is is
- 09 Cíntia: *queijo já é bo[m especial melhor ainda né.*
cheese is already good a special one even better right
- 10 Sauli: [yleensä yli kymmentuhatta päätä.
usually over ten thousand heads
- 11 Antti: *niin.*
yes
- 12 Sauli: *ja (.) ne on, (.) et ne-*
and they are so they

The participants have been discussing Finnish dairy farms, mentioning where cows are kept in the winter, and finally about calves and the special cheese that is made from raw milk (see ex. 6.17 Dairy farm in ch. 6). Antti has participated in that discussion by telling the others about Finnish farms and cows, and Toni has translated some of that talk into Portuguese for Gaia and Cíntia. The later cheese talk, however, occurs only in Portuguese, as Toni explains to the Brazilians more about Finnish food traditions.

At line 6, Sauli turns away from the discussion to address Antti in Finnish, resulting in the creation of two parallel conversations in the two languages. He resumes the talk on dairy farms, telling Antti about dairy farming in Brazil. Again, the language choice is motivated by the recipient's language preference/competence. Sauli marks disjunction from the current discussion by using the turn-initial *mut* 'but' (Duvallon & Routarinne 2005, Koivisto 2011, see Mazeland & Huiskes 2001 for the Dutch *maar*). This initiates a move away from the cheese talk back to the cows. The locative \uparrow *täällä* 'here' ties to the location of the speech event, in contrast to the Finnish farms that have just been discussed. Sauli produces the locative with a high pitch, again strengthening the impression of disjunction and contrast, and of a new beginning. The pro-adjective *semmonen* 'that kind' with the adjective *iso* 'big' begins a description, introducing a new referent and simultaneously appealing to the recognizability of what is talked about (ISK§1411, Helasvuo 2001: 136). These components in Sauli's turn display that he is moving away from the immediate ongoing discussion and instead continuing the earlier Finnish discussion.

The two extracts demonstrate that in addition to the switch of language, speakers use other means – similar to ones that occur in monolingual conversations – to indicate that their turns do not continue the discussion from the immediate past turns. By comparison, if a speaker is going to mediate a particular prior stretch of talk for the recipient, she can employ designs that allow the OLS recipient to perceive the turn's relation to the prior stretch of conversation. In other words, the speaker can display that although she is addressing a new recipient and switching the language, which could indicate moving away from the current line of conversation, the prior talk actually serves as a source for the current utterance.

Let us consider the following extract from a cocktail party. Two bilingual participants, Kyllikki and Pirkko, are talking in Finnish. Carla (who does not know any Finnish) turns towards them, and they respond by rephrasing their past discussion for her in Portuguese (l. 4->).

(2.4) Mansion. BR

01 Kyllikki: **F#1** siin ei +työt loppu väh(iin) he **F#2** [he he
that work will not run out he he he

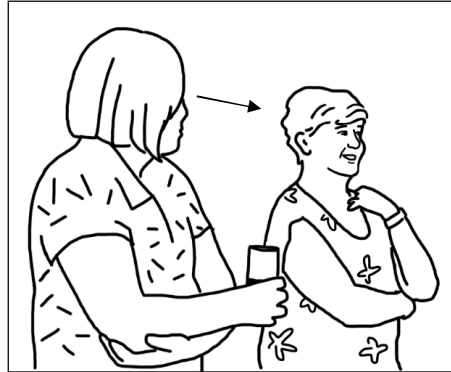
02 Pirkko: [joo;
yes

Carla +TURNS HEAD/GAZE TOWARDS K AND P

F#1



F#2



03 (1.0)

04 Pirkko:→ **trabalho lá es*sa(h)** †(0.2) †(0.2) **casarão né?**
work ADV DEM2 mansion TAG
work there (at) the mansion huh

Kyllikki *G>CARLA-->>
Carla †TILTS HEAD†

05 (0.2)

06 †(0.4)
Carla †NODS-->

07 Pirkko: **(incentiva:r;)** †
(stimulate/inaugurate)
Carla ----->†

08 (0.8)

09 Kyllikki: **esse dá ↓muito trabalho. (s-)**
DEM2 give.3SG much work
that causes a lot of work

10 Carla: é?
is it so

11 (3.0)

12 Carla: **mas tá quase acabando.**
but it's almost finishing

13 (2.2)

- 14 Kyllikki: [/aa n-/
oh n-
- 15 Pirkko: [nã::o acabando casarão nunca.
no finishing (the) mansion never
- 16 Kyllikki: nunca (-).
never (-)

Kyllikki and Pirkko have been talking about the renovation of a house nearby. Carla has been standing next to them, but facing away, apparently not understanding their Finnish discussion. However, at line 1 Carla turns to look at them, and after a moment, Pirkko begins to rephrase for her what they have been saying (l. 4). In other words, Pirkko's turn is produced as a response to Carla's embodied involvement in the Finnish discussion. By turning towards the speakers, Carla herself contributes to establishing the relevance of that talk to herself as a recipient, but simultaneously, she also comes to demonstrate her limited access to that talk. Pirkko's translatory turn is responsive to this situation. Thus, the prior Finnish talk is invoked as the relevant co(n)text for the language-switching turn in collaboration, through the multimodal negotiation.

Carla lacks local access to the conversation, but she displays attention to it, and moreover, she has prior familiarity with the matter talked about. The change in the participation framework and Carla's particular recipient status is acknowledged in Pirkko's translatory turn. She begins her turn with the complex phrasal element, *trabalho lá essa (0.4) casarão* 'work there (at) the (0.4) mansion,' accompanied by a tag (*né*). On the one hand, by mentioning the talked-about matter within a transparent, lexical format Pirkko orients to Carla's lack of access to the prior talk at a moment when she has stood next to the speakers and possibly *heard* the talking. On the other hand, with the mention of the construction work followed by the tag, Pirkko appeals to Carla's recognition of the matter talked about. Carla responds to this by nodding (l. 6). Later on, she receives Pirkko's and Kyllikki's talk about the amount of work as new information by producing a news receipt (l. 10), but she also displays previous knowledge concerning the renovation (l. 12).

Pirkko's turn is different from the language-switching turns in the earlier two extracts in that it does not build an initiation for talking about a new or resumed item but simply involves a mention of the matter discussed in the new language. The position and composition of Pirkko's Portuguese turn invite Carla to interpret it as related to the immediately prior Finnish discussion (see §4.1). This task is supported by the prosodic delivery of the turn with mid-initial pitch, which is opposite from the high onset that occurs in marked new beginnings. Based on impressionistic observations, middle or even low pitch onset and a narrow pitch range are typical in such phrasal beginnings of translatory turns (although no systematic analysis of prosodic features is conducted). This adds to their nestedness in the prior talk.

The extract demonstrates how speakers can employ phrasal design as means to make a language-switching turn appear to be "symbiotic," or "parasitic" (Auer 2014, 2015, Schegloff 1996a) on the prior, other-language talk (see ch. 4). That is, the phrasal design invites the newly engaged recipient to hear the turn against the backdrop of the immediately prior conversation that is at least partly inaccessible for her – not as a self-standing

informing that would begin something completely new in addressing the new recipient. This is an example of how the design of an utterance can contribute to creating a translatory relation to the past talk without being organized as repair (compare Bolden 2012), and without explicating the relation by means of added framing (such as reporting clauses).

A general point to make is that the mediating involves establishing the local relevance of the other-language talk to the participant who has been in a peripheral position and unable to understand the talk. In this case, the relevance of Pirkko's and Kyllikki's talk for Carla as a potential recipient is first indicated in an embodied way, by her turning to face the speakers. The relevance of the discussion for Carla is then confirmed by the speakers by presenting the matter talked about as something that is familiar to her. Through this negotiation, the participants jointly orient to facilitating Carla's participation in the conversation at that moment as a locally relevant, accountable activity.

In addition to this type of immediately previous talk, mediation can target talk further back in the conversation (as in ch. 6). In these varying positions, the construction of translatory turns is responsive to the interactional features of the talk that they mediate (such as the type of action, addressing of recipients, epistemic territories, affect expressed), and to the interactional motivations for mediation (such as signs of trouble and embodied displays of interest). In other words, the translating speakers display orientation to the status, access and involvement of the current recipient in the prior and ongoing courses of action at various levels. The next chapter will present an analysis of how this is accomplished with translatory turns that involve initial framing with clausal and other quotative elements.

3 Translatory turns with quotative elements

When translating conversation, a speaker incorporates speech from immediately prior turns into her own turns-at-talk. She may distinguish the other voice by framing it with quotative elements at the beginning of her turn. In addition to full representations of past talking (with a mention of the speaker and the act of speaking with a *verbum dicendi*), the representation of past talk can be achieved by using a combination of more minimal quotative elements, such as particles and pronouns that point to a co-participant as a source.

How a translation is produced reflects the pragmatic properties of the translatable talk, and the speakers' interpretations of why and how the situation needs mediation. By adding verbal framing and by maintaining or omitting elements from the source talk, the speakers adjust the translatable talk to the particular situational circumstances. The present analysis will demonstrate how the different combinations of framing elements in translatory turns reflect specific orientations and scopes in mediating the interaction.

This chapter begins by investigating utterances that are framed with reporting clauses (§3.1). The next two subchapters present topic formulations (§3.2) and generalizations of stance-taking (§3.3) as means of mediating prior talk. The translatory turns in the subsequent two sections do not depict speaking per se, but they begin with word-level elements that indicate another voice. In (§3.4), the link to past talk is established through a dialogic particle (*että* in Finnish and *que* in Portuguese). In (§3.5), another voice is indicated through logophoric uses of third-person pronouns. Let us consider the following brief examples of the turn designs analyzed in each subchapter:

§3.1) Toni: *hmheh **ele ele falou que ele** (.) *ele tem: (0.3) carne demais (aqui)*
'hmheh **he he said that** he he has too much meat here'*

§3.2) Tiina: *aa. (.) **falamos sobre** (0.2) *revistas*
'ah. **we (are) talk(ing) about** magazines'*

§3.3) Márcio: ***o Pentti sempre faz piada com::, com coisa de de, política**
'**Pentti always makes jokes** about about politics'*

§3.4) Liisa: ***e- että** suames eiku ranskassa tää on kans cou ku: suomessa
se on se taivaankappale
'**that** in Finnish, no, in French this is also *cou* while in Finnish
it is the ((name of the)) celestial body'*

§3.5) Toni: ***hän** soitti (.) rumpuja aikoinaan kovasti.
'**she** played drums back in the days intensively'*

All the five examples listed above contain quotative elements (in bold) that frame the upcoming translatory talk. In fact, all of them could be regarded as instances of reported speech (for example, see Kuiri 1984: 1, Kalliokoski 2005 for Finnish). However, in the current study, the term reporting is reserved for utterances that contain a syntactic quotative

construction (§3.1). These utterances involve a reference to the speaker(s) (in most cases) and describe a particular act of speaking, with a conjunction/particle as a bridge to the actual quotation. In other types of framing, particular speakers and acts of speaking can also be mentioned independently of one another (such as the passive voice in reporting and logophoric pronouns that occur without a reporting verb). This chapter proceeds from investigating examples that contain the framing of translation that is most explicit to those cases that are most implicit, or to state it differently, more plainly based on indexical ties to the interactional environment. The methods of producing translatory talk reflect the multimodal situated organization of particular instances of action and participation structures.

The examples in each section have been chosen to represent similar practices in both languages. They have been selected from larger collections of cases with similar phenomena. However, as the individual cases involve many variables in terms of ongoing actions and participation frameworks, including the participants' language repertoires, analytic emphasis is placed on discussing contrasts between individual cases, as well as on the overlapping features between different practices.

3.1 Reportive, clausal framing

This chapter begins by analyzing translatory turns that contain a reference to a co-participant and their speaking that projects the upcoming turn to be a report of past talk. That is, they are occasions of *reported speech* (see §2.2.1). Broadly speaking, reported speech in interpreters' talk has been considered as a means to distance the speaker from what is being translated, and as an alternative to a direct translation of a prior utterance (Wadensjö 1998: 239–274, Bot 2005, Johnen & Meyer 2007, Angermeyer 2009). According to Goffman (1974: 512), when a speaker marks an utterance as having originated in someone else's talk, then "it is clear that he means to stand in a relation of reduced personal responsibility for what he is saying." The problem to be addressed is when the need to mark such roles in interpreting becomes "particularly stressed" (Wadensjö 1998: 247) and invites framing the utterance as reporting.

The inherent distancing and evaluative aspect of reported speech in interpreting is further discussed by Johnen & Meyer (2007: 412). Their review of prior literature shows that studies on interpreting have found the use of reporting to relate, first, to socially sensitive content, such as "face-threatening acts" (Knapp-Potthoff 1992: 216) and to emotive, expressive talk. There are also indications that reports occur especially after requests to translate (Pöchhacker 2000: 212–213, Wilton 2009: 89–91 for a case in German–English data). The request in itself can be understood as indicating some sort of trouble. The second point is that reportive framing has been regarded as a way to build space for longer translations and to organize large "chunks of knowledge." In their own data from medical interactions, Johnen and Meyer (2007) observe that non-professional interpreters use reported speech in their translations when they express their stance towards the translated matter. The expression of stance in an interpreter's talk is of course a somewhat

controversial issue because the general goal in institutional interpreting is neutrality. This means that taking sides and stances should be avoided. Nevertheless, more and less evident instances of “positioning” are present in interpreted interactions (see, for example, Wadensjö 1998, Mason 2009, Angermeyer 2009, 2013: 75–79, see §2.2).

During everyday conversation, a translating speaker is a regular participant in the interaction, and consequently cannot be expected to orient to acting as a neutral intermediary. On the contrary, speakers take positions in relation to the action they are translating – they do this already by the act of engaging in translating. This also yields a different context for the use of reportive framing than in the institutional settings. However, the use of reportive framing in translatory talk also differs from typical uses of reported speech elsewhere in mundane conversation, such as in story telling or other environments where it typically conveys authenticity or evidence for a claim being made (see §2.1). Translatory talk with reportive framing (and without) meets a need to render intelligible the just prior or ongoing action in the other language. As translatory turns refer to the immediate situation, they are also means of formulating the current interaction (§2.2.2). Depicting the current moment in a situated and selective way inevitably expresses the standpoint of the speaker towards it.

As mentioned earlier, previous studies suggest that reportive framing in interpreting relates both to socially sensitive or problematic talk and to segmenting and building space for long turns. The following analyses will partially align with these earlier findings and also clarify the relation between the postulated social and structural motives for the use of reported speech – obviously within the limits of the data of the current study. It will be emphasized that what invites reportive framing is not necessarily the type of action as such, but more specifically, the consequences of those actions for the unfolding of interactional sequences, which can be manifold. More precisely, reporting clauses relate the translatory talk to past talk that could not, for a number of reasons, be simply repeated as it was because of the new action/sequential environment in which the translation occurs. This relates to another characteristic of the cases, namely, that the OLS has been in some indirect or ambiguous way concerned by the talk that is translated. The translatory turns with reportive framing adjust and modify these indirect implications between the participants.

This subchapter identifies two main environments for the use of reporting clauses in translatory talk. First, reportive framing occurs in an environment that most explicitly calls for translation: as a response to other-initiation of repair (OIR) (§3.1.1). These translatory turns deal with something more than a problem in understanding a language, and in fact, this further aspect is already visible in the repair initiation. Second (§3.1.2), reportive framing occurs in translatory turns that are provided impromptu, without being requested. In these cases, the translating speaker initiates action to deal with problems of intelligibility or acceptability of the ongoing social action. This can occur after dispreferred responses and even within small disputes, but also when there is a bad fit between the translatable talk and the current conversation in a more technical sense.

3.1.1 Reportive framing in responses to requests for clarification

When the OLS initiates repair (see Hayashi, Raymond & Sidnell 2013 on repair) on some talk in an inaccessible language, she makes it relevant to provide a clarification of that talk in her language. In other words, she invites translating. In this section, I analyze cases where the OLS initiates repair on talk in which she was not directly involved. She was not an addressee of the talk that her repair targets, and she therefore initiates repair as a third party.¹⁰ Although the prior talk has not been initially addressed to this participant, it has relevance for her in other, indirect ways. The talk concerns something that the OLS has said earlier or in which she has been involved, and she is able to infer this relation despite not (fully) understanding the language. The OLS makes this understanding public by requesting clarification, typically with an open class repair initiator (Drew 1997) such as *mitä* ‘what,’ which does not specify the trouble source.

In general, it is rather uncommon for translations in the data to be triggered by the recipient’s explicit initiative (also Del Torto 2008: 87). In the examples presented in this section, the repair initiation itself raises issues beyond a problem in understanding specific linguistic content. Accordingly, the translations offered as solutions in this position – and delivered within reporting clauses – orient to problems of fittedness or acceptability in the translatable talk. This is in line with Drew’s (ibid.) finding that open-class repair initiation typically marks problems of a sequential character, in particular, a lack of fit between the turn and its sequential context (Haakana 2011 for Finnish). Furthermore, problems that generate open repair initiation typically shade into matters of alignment or affiliation, and conflict between speakers (Drew 1997).

This subchapter examines three instances from one interactional encounter. The same people are present, but the mediatory constellations between them vary. In all the cases, the one who initiates repair is pursuing some type of explanation or account for what is happening, and the others assume different positions with regard to their commitment to what was said. In the first instance, the repair-initiating speaker targets talk that is perceivable for her as joking about her earlier contribution to the conversation, or even laughing at it.

Raili (F) remarks in Finnish that she has been searching for Márcio’s (B/f) (the husband of her daughter Sanna, [F/B]) name on the internet. Sanna and Márcio end up joking about it in Portuguese, and Raili initiates repair (marked with **R** in transcript) at line 31. The participants in this conversation refer to Márcio by his nickname, Manu.

(3.1) Google.FI (Kesä_F 4.50)

01 Raili: mä kato^un netistä eilen Manu sun sivuja.
I looked in the internet for your pages Manu yesterday

02 Márcio: aijaa. ((TO PENTTI IN A PARALLEL CONVERSATION))
oh okay

¹⁰ Later on, in subchapter (§6.1), I analyze translatory talk in cases where repair is initiated by the original addressee of a question.

03 Raili: tai niitä mis Manun nimi oli.
or the ones where Manu's name was

04 André: ei kiitos. ((REJECTS FOOD BEING OFFERED BY PENTTI))
no thank you

05 Sanna: m(h)itä s(h)ivuja,
what pages

06 Raili: nimi vaa; (0.4) olihan sielä siel oli #e# niitä (0.4)
just the name there were there were those

07 siitä kuvataidejutusta ja; (0.8) mä en nyt ota. ((REJECTS FOOD))
of the visual arts thing and I don't take now

08 Sanna: ei kiitos. ((REJECTS FOOD))
no thank you

(11 lines of talk between Sanna and Raili omitted: Raili tells how she searched for Márcio's work project)

20 Raili: #em mä ois osannu# sieltä*
I wouldn't have known how to

Márcio *G FROM PLATE>SANNA-->

21 Márcio: hm #hah*
-->*G>RAILI->

Sanna #WINKS EYEBROW TO MÁRCIO

22 Raili: sitä* kattoo.
look it up there

Márcio -->*G>DOWN AT PLATE-->

23 Sanna: *ela dá g- co*loca seu nome no google para ver (.)*
she gives g- puts your name into google to see

Márcio ---->*G>SANNA

24 *onde você aparece.*
where you appear

25 Márcio: *mm.*

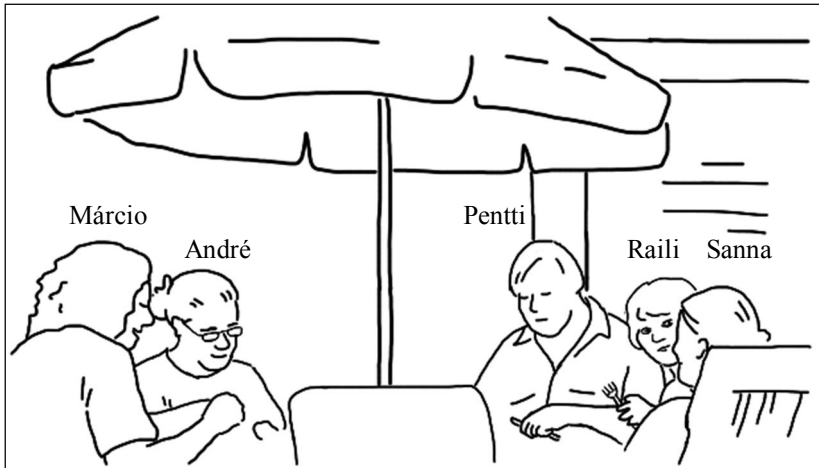
26 Sanna: *cuidado hein?*
be careful huh

27 Márcio: *na ^delegaçia;^ hehe[he*
at the police station

28 Sanna: [mhehheh^
Raili ^G UP>MÁRCIO--^DOWN----->^G>SANNA

29 **F#1** (1.2)

F#1



30 Márcio: [.hmeh]

31 Raili: R[mitä.
what

32 (0.8)

33 Sanna: →#eiku Manu sano #että että# et menit sä sit< tota
PRT [name] say.3SG.PST että että et(tä) go.2SG.PST 2SG PRT PRT
no Manu said that that that did you go uhm

34 .hh (0.4) suoraan tonne poliisi-aseman sivuille;
directly DEM2.LOC police.station.GEN page.PL.ALL
directly to the pages of the police station

35 [(hakeen) s(heh)e
get.INF.INE DEM3
to get the

36 Márcio: [hahaha]

37 Raili: hmhehe

38 Sanna: sen nimen °sielt°
DEM3.GEN name.GEN there.from
the name from there

During lines 1–22, Raili tells the others that she has tried to search for a specific internet site concerning the work of her son-in-law, Márcio, but rather than accessing it directly, she had to do a Google search. She initially addressed the talk to Márcio (l. 1), but as he was engaged in another discussion, Raili ends up talking to Sanna (l. 3->). During lines 20 and 21, Márcio pays attention to their discussion, and, in a gesture like an eye wink, Sanna lifts her eyebrow to Márcio, implying some stance towards Raili's talk that Márcio could share. At line 23, Sanna rephrases Raili's informing to Márcio in Portuguese. She also adds a

humorous warning regarding her mother's curiosity (l. 26). Márcio responds by implying that Raili would consider the police website as a relevant place to find information about him. Both Sanna and Márcio laugh (l. 27, 28, 30), and Raili subsequently makes an explicit request for clarification of that talk (l. 31): *mitä* 'what.' She may perceive the connection of Sanna's and Márcio's talk to herself, as their exchange has occurred immediately after Raili told Sanna something that concerns her husband. Moreover, Raili might be able to recognize the word *google* from Sanna's Portuguese turn. Even though Raili's repair initiation literally requests clarification of the content of what was stated, her turn actually is an attempt to determine why Sanna and Márcio have been laughing and talking within the stretch of talk that she does not have access to.

Raili addresses the repair turn to Sanna by gazing at her (l. 29), and Sanna responds by translating Márcio's joke. She begins her translatory turn with the particle *eiku*, a typical repair particle in Finnish (Sorjonen & Laakso 2005, Laakso & Sorjonen 2010, Haakana & Kurhila 2009). In addition to straightforward repair, *eiku* can index a need for some other type of reorientation to the past talk and action, both in self- and other-repair (Sorjonen & Laakso 2005, Haakana & Visapää 2014). As for this example, Raili has indicated interest or even suspicion about the others' exchange and its significance to herself by initiating repair. The *eiku* in Sanna's response works to reorient Raili's understanding of the exchange, somewhat downplaying the significance of what was said.

The OIR provides a slot for a translation, but here it does not offer a slot for simply relaying the prior turn in a similar or shorter version, without any framing.¹¹ This is due to the position of the translation in relation to the source talk: Raili's OIR targets a sequence of conversation that she was not involved in, but that possibly concern herself. The sequential context does not support a simple repetition of "at the police station" or something similar from Márcio's turn, as Sanna needs to tie to the earlier exchange between her and Raili. Sanna links her utterance back to Raili's last point of access to the conversation through the temporal linking with *sit* 'then,' and the determiner *se* (DEM3) (see Laury 1997) that marks the 'name' (*se nimi*) as accessible to the recipient, taking up the prior mention. It would also be problematic to embed the repeated elements in a full clause without the verbal framing, as in something such as "did you go directly to the site of the police?." That sort of turn could leave room for an interpretation that Sanna is (humorously) accusing Raili of being exceedingly nosy, rather than mediating a joke about it. Through the additional framing, Sanna is able to introduce the police station (cf. Márcio's turn at l. 27) into the new conversational environment without rendering it interpretable as her action towards Raili.

The repair solution then reflects the change in the import of that talk when it is redelivered to a previously unaddressed participant. A direct phrasal repetition of Márcio's past utterance would not accomplish much bridging to the earlier sequence, and an expanded clausal repetition could have undesirable consequences for the positioning of the participants to each other, as discussed above. As a result, the explicit reference to speaking not only signals distributed speakership but also adjusts the translatable talk in terms of what

¹¹ For contrast, see the repair in the question-answer sequences in (§6.1).

type of action it may be understood to achieve. The relaying of prior talk is calibrated with the emerging sequential context (third-party repair) and structures of participation.

Raili's turn could be targeting either Sanna's or Márcio's talk in Portuguese because both of them have contributed to the humorous sequence. However, Sanna attributes the responsibility of the past talk to Márcio by marking it only as his words: what becomes depicted is his humorous comment, not Sanna's part in it. The proper name reference to Manu is also likely to be related to the same matter. A pronoun reference to Márcio would rely on his source speaker role as presumed, whereas the proper name reference rather establishes it. The use of the name reflects the *selection* of the person in whose name the talk is portrayed.

As I hope to demonstrate with these examples, the design of translatory talk displays sensitivity to issues beyond problems of comprehending talk in a certain language. The distribution of agency through reportive framing (even when there are multiple source speakers) contributes to how the speakers manage problematic aspects in the past talk. It responds to the implications of the repair initiated by the OLS as a third party, and to the implications of the translatable talk for the translating and receiving party. These are contingencies that arise through the unfolding of actions in the multiparty constellation.

In some cases, as in the previous example, the translating speaker utilizes an additional resource to address the problematicity of the prior talk, namely, she responds to the OIR by placing a repairing element at the beginning of the translatory turn (Sanna's *eiku*). The next example illustrates a similar use of *não* in Portuguese.

This case is an even more obvious demonstration of how translation can address the moral sensitivity of enabling access to the conversation. It also shows that the speaker role may be distributed not only in translating another's talk but also in turns where a speaker translates her own prior talk. Even though the speaker is the same person, she distinguishes between her status as the current speaker and as the prior speaker (as in 'I said'). During this extract, André (P/f-) requests a translation of the Finnish talk in which he has been mentioned.

(3.2) Multicultural interaction.FI (Kesä_F 16.33)

- 01 Sanna: hyvä ku André ei puhu mitään täs +meiän muol-
it's a good one that André doesn't speak at all in our muol-
- André >>SMILING----->
Pentti +G>ANDRÉ----->
- 02 multi+kulttuurises fvuov- [vuorovaikutuksesf.
multicultural int- interaction
Pentti -->+
- 03 Márcio: [nii.
yes
- 04 Pentti: naureskelee vaan partaansa ku se ym[märtää kaikki.
just laughs up his sleeve since he understands everything
- 05 Raili: [ja ajattelee
and thinks

06 et vo[i he_{rr}anen j- +aika mikä poruk[kah.+
oh lord what a bunch of people
Pentti +G>ANDRÉ-----+

07 Márcio: [hahahah

08 Pentti: [kje_h kje_h he_h .hh

09 kr kr[hmm

10 Raili: [kyl on kaikenlaises porukas oltukkih. .hh †m*itäs
we sure have been among all kinds of people what about
*G>MÁRCIO

11 eiks sullaki ollu aikamoinen †k_{ok}[emus ku sä tulit
didn't you also have quite an experience when you came

12 André: R [†nã_o isso aí< isso
no that thing that
-->† †TILTS HEAD TWD M

13 Raili: ensimmäisen kerran suomeen.]
for the first time to Finland

14 André: R era impor†tante=(para/cê não vai) (tradu]z[ir)?
was important=(to/aren't you going to) (translate)
†HEAD/G>SANNA, SMALL NOD

15 Márcio: [•mm.
•NODS ((TO RAILI))

16 (0.6)

17 Raili: .khh ku sä jouduit h[eti saunaa.
when you had to go to sauna right away

18 Sanna: → [nã: o falei que é engraçado que
PRT say.1SG.PST que be.3SG funny que
no ((I)) said that it's funny that

19 este não< fala nada e eles tão falando besteira e::
DEM1 NEG say nothing and 3PL be.3PL speak.GER bullshit and
this one says nothing and they are talking bullshit and

20 o ca- camera tá [gravando.
ART camera be.3SG record.GER
the camera is recording

21 André: [(filmando)
filming

22 Raili: khheheh

23 Pentti: kr[hm

24 Sanna: [.khhh

The others have been commenting on André's role in the interaction, and they have laughed. Pentti gazes at André on two occasions (l. 1, 6) (the faces of Raili and Sanna cannot be seen). Furthermore, André may recognize his name from their talk. At any rate, he engages as a recipient by smiling at the others. The request for clarification shows he has perceived the relevance of the stretch of talk for himself (l. 12, 14), but also that he has not understood everything as Pentti jokingly suggested (l. 4). André characterizes the prior talk as *importante*, and therefore in need of translation. The beginning of the turn can be heard well, but it is difficult to hear what André says after that: whether he says it was important 'to translate,' or 'aren't you going to translate,' or even simply that it was important what 'she was saying' (*ela tava dizer*). Nevertheless, when Sanna begins to translate, she partly rejects André's interpretation by saying *não falei que...* 'no I said that....' That is, she presents the talk as having less significance for André than what his intervention suggests.¹²

André's OIR could be understood as concerning the talk of any of the prior speakers, but Sanna assumes responsibility for it by marking it as her own words. By talking about the translatable talk in the past tense, both André and Sanna treat it as something that was completed without André's participation, and that is now being revisited. Sanna's choice of reference to André at line 19 is interesting in terms of his participant role. In Finnish, a DEM1 reference (*tämä*) to a co-participant is typically used to refer to a prior speaker (Seppänen 1998: 59–71). For Sanna, Portuguese is a foreign language, and it might be speculated whether her use of the Portuguese DEM1 (*este*) reflects the function of a corresponding demonstrative in Finnish. Understood in this light, she would portray her prior talk about André (l. 1) as referring to a discourse participant instead of someone merely talked about in an excluding manner. Attributing this kind of a participant status to the OLS would be in line with the presence of other indirect addressivity towards the OLS in the examples of this section, to which the OLS speakers orient to by initiating repair.

The talk about André is closed with laughter (l. 7–9), and the subsequent new initiative by Raili is marked with a high onset prosody, and a gaze at a new addressee (l. 10–11). These multimodal cues allow some transparency in the unfolding units of action for André even if he has a limited understanding of the content. He requests clarification of the talk only after the completion of the sequence. Delaying a repair initiation in conversation is typical when the repair initiator is a third party who has not been involved in the prior talk. The third party does this only after "letting the addressed recipients go first" (Schegloff 2000: 216–219). André's repair initiation comes in overlap with Raili's new initiative. This leads to a moment of *schisming* (l. 12–18), in which the conversation becomes divided into two simultaneous, parallel conversations (Egbert 1997). One occurs between André and Sanna and another between Raili and Márcio.

¹² No extensive research has been conducted on conversational repair in Brazilian Portuguese (see, however, Garcez & Loder 2005), but the use of utterance-initial *não* in both self- and other-repair appears in some of the data extracts cited (e.g., Fávero et al. 1999: 66). Guimarães (2007: 182, 306, 307, 341) analyzes several instances of *não* as initiating repair on other's talk in third position. In her cases, a police officer initiates repair on a complainant's understanding of the officer's question, as in *não, tou falando a- que eu quero sabê...* 'no, I'm talking a- what I want to know...' (ibid. 182). Similarly, Sanna initiates repair on André's reaction to the earlier talk, although within a different type of action.

André's turn does not specify a trouble source in the prior talk but inquires about the significance of the whole stretch of conversation. Intervening in an ongoing conversation in another language can be considered to be a sensitive matter, since the OLS's entry is not directly warranted by others' actions. Just as Raili's *mitä* 'what,' in the previous extract, André's turn here ('it was important') seems to be reacting to the affect-laden prior conversation (laughter, "lively" prosody) and to the cues that indicate that these participants have been talked about or even laughed at. When the OLS initiates repair, he or she problematizes the language choice of the conversation in relation to what has been talked about. If the prior talk was something that touches upon the OLS, or if it is something that she could comment on or contribute to, then it either should have been said in a language s/he can understand, or now be translated. The recipient of the OIR is thus made accountable for the current state of affairs. As for the translatory turns in this chapter, we see that the translating speakers may orient to (mitigating) their accountability in this matter.

With the beginning element *não* in this example (cf. *eiku* in the previous extract), Sanna displays an interpretation that the recipient has not properly understood the import of the prior talking and that he has perhaps made too much out of it. In other words, she displays a re-orientation with respect to the prior action. Nevertheless, Sanna provides a translation. It appears that on the one hand, the one who initiates repair compels the prior speakers to be accountable for the stretch of conversation in the other language, of the possible laughing at her and the lack of translation thereof. The repair initiator thus orients to his or her epistemic or moral right to know what is being said in the other language. On the other hand, the translating speaker downgrades the need for mediation in the response and as a consequence, portrays what has occurred as "innocent." The claimed innocence or insignificance of the prior talk suggests for the OLS that it was not necessary to integrate him or her in that talk.

In the next extract, the speaker also quotes his own talk. In this example, the speaker's reference to himself as the prior speaker contributes to self-selection at a moment when another participant has been addressed by the repair.

The discussion originates in Raili's question to Sanna regarding the distance between two Brazilian cities. They have compared this to some distances in Finland. Before the beginning of the extract, Sanna (F/P) has asked her mother Raili (F) whether she agrees that the total length of Finland from end to end is two thousand kilometers. Raili is uncertain, but Márcio (P/f) has self-selected to reject the estimate and stated that it must be less than two thousand. He has asked for André's (P/f) opinion based on his experience of recently flying from the south to the north of Finland and back. When Márcio turns to André, the language changes from Finnish to Portuguese. After some disagreeing turns between Sanna and Márcio, André finally responds at lines 8, 9 and 11.

(3.3) The length of Finland.FI (Kesä_E 9.55)

01 Sanna: *não mas eu ac[ho que é*
no but I think that it is

02 Márcio: *[pera aí pera [°pera°.*
wait now wait wait

- 03 Sanna: [dois mil
two thousand
- 04 quilómetros a Finlân[dia do da do ponto da;
kilometers Finland from from from the top of
- 05 Márcio: [não é:?
it's not
- 06 (0.8)
- 07 Márcio: não é.
it's not
- 08 André: não é. foi uma hora e meia só de vôo. (.)
it's not it was one hour and a half of flying
- 09 ra[pidinho.
fast as that
- 10 Márcio: [entã:u?
so
- 11 André: menos de< de uma hora e cinquenta,
less than than one hour and fifty
- 12 Márcio: para ir para Pernambuco são quatro horas:.
to go to Pernambuco is four hours
- 13 (1.2)
- 14 Márcio: da ↑minha: da de São Paulo pra Pernambuco
from my from from São Paulo to Pernambuco
- 15 tem: dois mil e poucos quilómetros.
it's two thousand and a few kilometers
- 16 (1.4)
- 17 Raili: R mitä hän:; ((TO SANNA))
what he
- 18 (2.8)
- 19 Márcio: →mä sanoin että se (0.8) se: (1.2) .mt sisällä
I say.1SG.PST että DEM3 DEM3 inside
I said that it it inside
- 20 Suomessa se: .hh se pit:us mhöhöhö .hh
Finland.INE DEM3 DEM3 length
Finland the the length
- 21 Raili: [mm,
- 22 Márcio: [s:e on niinku:: eijole kaks kakstuhatta.=
DEM3 be.3SG PRT NEG be two thousand
it is like it's not two thousand

two two thousand’). In other words, he portrays the prior talk as a rejection of Sanna’s estimate instead of enlisting the facts that contradict it (he is about to explain the reasons at line 26 [*koska* ‘because’] but is interrupted). Márcio’s subsequent estimate of seven or eight hundred kilometers (l. 23–24) is not repeated from his Portuguese turns. This has occurred in yet earlier talk in Finnish (but it has not been taken up by Sanna). In line with this, the introduction of the estimate by *mä luulen* ‘I think’ does not display it as part of the translation. Within the reported talk, he mainly spells out the disagreement. This displays an orientation to representing to Raili the socially problematic aspects of the past talk.

Another important point is that the details brought up in the discussion have different implications for the different participants. For example, Raili is most likely an unknowing participant concerning the geography of Brazil. As a consequence, details concerning it would not work as firm evidence in the same way if they were translated for her. They could serve as new information, or at least their effect as evidence would have to be expressed more elaborately. In brief, the composition of the translatory turn reflects the particular participant constellation of the disagreement.

This extract raises some questions regarding the similarity between the translatable talk, or “source” talk, and the translatory turns. The case demonstrates that the sameness between what is translated and the translation must be understood in light of recipient design and the continuous renewing of the interactional context. First, stating something about the world can convey different things for different recipients; repeating the details in Márcio’s claim would not necessarily achieve the provision of evidence in the same way for Raili because of the recipients’ different prior knowledge. Second, the participants are in different positions as parties to the current activity. For instance Sanna is the party argued against and Raili is an observer who was involved earlier. Furthermore, the content of Márcio’s claims gains different meanings in different sequential contexts. During the Portuguese stretch of talk, Márcio provides evidence to demonstrate why the distance is not two thousand kilometers. In the Finnish turn, he merely claims it. He has also claimed this before, in his Finnish talk just before the extract shown. The claim itself works differently in these positions, as the first counter-argument addressed to Sanna, and as an explanation of the unfolding of the past interaction for Raili in the translatory turn. However, in translating, Márcio continues a line of activity that he has implemented during various turns in both languages. Within the larger activity, each turn is embedded in its specific sequential context with different participation frameworks, and within these, the particular turns have different interactional functions. This means that rather than having a single identifiable stretch of past talk as its source, the translatory talk accumulates traces of the unfolding, emerging courses of action and contributes to them in several ways. Likewise, the reportive framing reflects broader aspects of the organization of the ongoing activity than the simple rendition of earlier turns.

In the extracts analyzed in this subchapter, the OLS participant initiates repair on the prior talk from a non-addressee status. The talk in the other language has concerned her in some way but she has not been addressed as a recipient. She directs the repair turn either to the proper speaker of the repairable talk, or to another participant. By initiating repair, the OLS participant pursues further access to what was said. A translation is then produced for

her as a repair solution, either by the prior speaker, or by another participant who has been a recipient to the translatable talk.

In principle, the repair initiation provides a ready-made slot for producing a translation. Nevertheless, the speakers do not take advantage of this slot by simply repeating the past talk. Instead they use reportive framing, which displays the speaker's orientation to the circumstances in which the interaction has come to need mediation. One aspect that may motivate mediation is that the actions involve clear social problematicity, such as joking at someone's expense, or disagreement. However, it is not simply the quality of the past action that is problematic. Another matter is that the participant status of the OLS with regard to that talking is not in line with her access to it. She did not have recipient rights nor full linguistic access to the repairable talk although it has concerned her, and this influences how the repetition of the past talk can be delivered for her. In this position, the framing of the past talk as "speaking" readjusts the translatable talk in terms of the participation framework and may contribute to renewing the implications of the past talk for the OLS. In the first two cases, the adjusting work is further strengthened by the repair particles *eiku* and *não* at the beginning of the translatory turns, indicating some kind of reorientation. It should be pointed out that circumstances that invite adjusting by reportive framing can also occur in other than socially problematic actions (see discussion in §3.1.3).

To complicate the picture, the translating speakers select to whom they attribute the past talking, and they can portray the situation other than it actually was. For instance, a speaker can strategically omit her own role in a past stretch of collective talk by quoting it as only another's words. Alternatively, she can highlight her own role as invested in the speaking. It was also shown that the recipient of the OIR can refuse to translate, which means another participant can take the turn. With these moves, the participants manage the participation framework and the responsibility for what is targeted by the repair.

The reportive framing therefore relates to negotiations of alignment and affiliation between co-participants; it contributes to portraying the participants as (un)cooperative with each other's activities, and to affective positioning of the participants with regard to each other (see Stivers 2008, Stivers et al. 2011, Peräkylä & Sorjonen 2012). These matters are addressed within the tying of the translatory talk to a source talk, embedded in a larger course of action. It is evident that in addition to a prototypical mode of mediating a problem of understanding between a speaker and an addressed recipient, translatory talk delivered as a repair solution is used to handle multiple situations and participant constellations (also Bolden 2012).

In the next section we see further ways that translatory talk with reportive framing remedies interaction, this time in environments where translatory talk is not explicitly invited.

3.1.2 Reportive framing in managing socially problematic actions

In the previous section, translation is invited by OIR that introduces some sort of problem to the surface of the conversation. By contrast, most mediatory activities in the data occur spontaneously, without being prompted by invitations to clarify prior talk. This does not

mean that there is no perceivable motivation for mediatory activities. The participants monitor the interaction to decide when it is appropriate to facilitate the conversation, what and how to translate, and who does it for whom. In this section, I analyze a number of environments where translatory turns with a reportive framing are produced as reactions to recipient activities other than explicit repair initiation. The translations are preceded by signs of problematization in what the participants do or what they fail to do after a particular action. Again, the mediatory constellations vary. Translatory talk can be addressed to the original recipient of an account or a joke when she does not provide sufficient uptake. It can also address other participants, such as when there is a need to attract a new audience in support of the translating speaker's line of action. Here, as in the previous subchapter, reporting manages social responsibilities for the events that mobilize mediation.

One typical situation that occasions mediation is when humor goes awry. In general, understanding humor in a second language can be difficult, as it may require broad cultural understanding in addition to comprehending what is actually said. What is considered funny can also be highly culture-specific, and may transfer unsuccessfully to recipients from a different background. Nonetheless, in the unfolding of interaction, humor invites laughter, and joining in laughter is important for the situated building of social relationships in talk-in-interaction (Jefferson et al. 1987, Haakana 1999, 2002, 2012, Glenn 2003). Jokes have even been claimed to make laughter conditionally relevant (Jefferson 1979, Norrick 1993). It is therefore not surprising that humor and laughter are contexts where the lack of understanding becomes salient and mobilizes translation (as in Wilton 2009).

The examples in this section are predominately cases of translating unsuccessful or (in)sensitive uses of humor, such as making fun at someone else's expense. This is what makes them socially problematic, and also relates to why they become translated by reporting, even when the OLS does not initiate repair on that talk. These translatory turns often involve some type of fixing of the past action in the sense of guiding the recipient's attention to a "no-fault quality" (Heritage 1984a: 269–273) or excusing aspects of the prior talk. This type of translation of humor does not occur to share something funny (compare Wilton 2009) but to deal with ambiguities in how the humor is to be understood.¹³ It is important to note that not all the translations that deal with the acceptability of prior action remedy potentially problematic aspects. In some cases, the speakers actually use the opportunity to tease or blame the prior speaker for their undertakings (as in the last extract in this section).

The first case is an instance of translating an account of having rejected an offer. Antti (F) is visiting his son, Toni (F/P), in Brazil. They are having lunch at a restaurant with their acquaintances, Gaia (P/f) and Sauli (F/P). Antti assesses the food positively, after which Gaia offers him another dish to taste (*rabada* 'oxtail'). Antti rejects this offer by producing an account and later, an ambiguous, humorous comment, and following that, Toni engages in translating.

¹³ Examples of translatory talk that remedies the understanding of humor more straightforwardly as a lack of a possibility to join in collective laughter appear in (§3.4 ex. 3.15) and (§4.2 ex. 4.5).

(3.4) Own food.BR (Ravintola_A 4.40)

- 01 Antti: yllättävän hyvää toi (0.6) papukastike.
surprisingly good that bean sauce
- 02 (0.8)
- 03 Gaia: mm.
- 04 (1.0)
- 05 Gaia: haluatko maista tä.
do (you) want to taste this
- 06 (0.6)
- 07 Antti: mul[la on täs-
I have he-
- 08 Gaia: [rabada.
(oxtail dish)
- 09 Antti: mulla on tässä (.) khm .mt ihal [liikaa.
I have here way too much
- 10 Gaia: [rabada.
- 11 (0.3)
- 12 Antti: tää o iha hyvä.
this is fine
- 13 (1.4)
- 14 Antti: rouva vaan fsyö omat ruo[kansaf.
madam should just go ahead and eat her own food
- 15 Sauli: [hm [hm hm]
- 16 Toni: → [hmheh] ele [ele falou que]
3SG 3SG say.3SG.PST que
he he said that
- 17 Gaia: [mha ha ha]
- 18 Toni: ele (.) ele tem: (0.3) carne demais
3SG 3SG have.3SG meat too.much
he he has too much meat
- 19 a (qui). [(--)
here
- 20 Gaia: [aah sim é.
oh yes right
- 21 Antti: [täs oj jo melekeil liikaa jo;
this is almost too much already

23 Antti: ku mä oon yrit[täny syyä (vaa vähempi).]
because I have tried to eat less

Gaia asks whether Antti would like to taste some of the food on her serving platter (l. 5). Antti rejects her offer by saying that he has already too much to eat on his own plate (l. 7, 9, 12), but Gaia continues by pointing to and specifying the referent, *rabada*. After a lengthy pause, Antti produces another, humorous, yet rather impolite rejection by saying *rouva vaan syö omat ruokansa* ‘madam should just go ahead and eat her own food.’ The third person address form ‘madam’ has a teasing undertone (cf. Laury 2006b: 164–165). Just before Gaia’s mild laughter, Toni engages in translating (l. 16, 18, 19). He does not repeat Antti’s last humorous utterance, producing instead the “real” account for why he is rejecting the offer to taste the food. The description of having “too much” works as an account by relying on a normative limit for the quantity of food.

As in the previous cases, tense marking plays a role in how the previous action becomes portrayed. The past tense (*ele falou* ‘he said’) depicts Antti’s action of rejecting and accounting as past action, and this is in line with how the turn revisits Antti’s earlier talk. Toni could have entered at an earlier moment (see, for example, the pauses at l. 11, 13) to remedy the lack of Gaia’s reaction to Antti’s rejection. Instead, he begins talking at the end of Antti’s humorous turn, which has already been a further attempt to invite Gaia’s response. By translating the appropriate account, he omits the last, possibly impolite version. Antti himself also treats his prior action as somehow problematic by repeating the first account and producing another one, which also includes a *ku* ‘because’ marked explanation (l. 21, 23), which is typical in accounts in Finnish (Raevaara 2011). Furthermore, Gaia receives the translation with *aah* and by agreeing (*sim é* ‘yes right’). Studies on several languages suggest that speakers use *aa(h)* responses to display that they should have previously understood something (see Koivisto 2015 for Finnish, Persson 2015 for French). In this particular example, Gaia shows that receiving Toni’s mediatory turn makes her revise her understanding of the import of Antti’s past talk.

Even though the switch of language by Toni suggests that the problem is language-related, the translation deals with the intelligibility of the prior action beyond the linguistic content. The translation serves to mediate the justification of Antti’s rejection for the benefit of both parties. In other words, Antti’s action is displayed as justified, and Gaia’s insistence on offering the food (l. 8, 10) is portrayed as a result of not having understood the delivery of the rejection, not as problematic behavior in itself.

Regarding ways of referring to the prior speaker, it was observed that a proper name can be used to establish the speaker role of the referred-to co-participant (ex. 3.1). Here, Toni uses the 3SG pronoun *ele*. By using the deictic reference, she treats Gaia as being able to retrieve from the situation that the quoted person is Antti. This seems to reflect the turn’s position as following several turns by the same speaker – there is no need to select or re-establish who is to be understood as the source speaker. Ways of referring to a prior speaker in translatory turns can thus reflect different levels of reliance on the participation framework, which will be established as a central aspect in the organization of translatory talk throughout this study.

In addition to tying the turn to Antti's talk, Toni needs to design it in terms of the action of accounting. Accounts have some special features as targets of translating because of how they relate to who produces them. A turn is understandable as an account only in relation to what is accounted for. When mediation targets account-giving, this inherent relation to the past action has consequences for how the past accounting can be represented. Perhaps this will become clearer if we consider how it would sound if Toni translated his father's account without the framing, simply as "he has too much meat here." We know that Toni is not the one who is accountable for the rejection, and if he just uttered the account, it would gain a somewhat different meaning. He could be heard as producing this turn to align with Antti in rejecting Gaia's offer. By providing the account as such, he would be targeting Gaia's understanding of the *reason* for Antti's rejection as such, as Toni's own stance. Instead, when Toni uses the 'he said' format, he formulates the turn as dealing with the *saying* of the account as the matter that Gaia has not understood. These are two different ways for Toni to position himself in relation to the current recipient and to what is being accounted for.

Before Toni's engages in mediating, Antti has made several attempts to address Gaia, and moreover, Toni omits the last, humorous attempt. This results in the translatory turn being not adjacent to the quoted talk. The reportive framing has an apparently structural task in bridging the distance to the translatable talk. However, this distance was created by the lack of appropriate uptake from Gaia, which has indicated problems concerning her alignment with Antti's accounting and led him to make several further attempts. The interactional motives for Toni to report Antti's talk stem from the necessity to adjust the accounting turn so that it revisits Antti's talk earlier in the sequence and opens another opportunity for Gaia's uptake. That is, the aligning/disaligning or preferred/dispreferred nature of the translatable actions may lead to sequential conditions that invite for structural adjusting as well.

The next extract presents a whole new context for "mediation." An account is translated by its recipient to a third indirectly involved party. The translating speaker does not accept the accounting, and blames the original speaker. Kaisa (F/P) and Teppo (F/P) are hosting a Finnish family (Leena, Simo and Kimi in this extract) at their home. They are having lunch, accompanied by the housekeeper, Clarice (P). Teppo rejects Kaisa's offer of *farofa* (l. 1, 2).

(3.5) Poor thing.BR (Sauna_A 10.35)

- 01 Kaisa: *tem fa₁rofa lá teppo.*
there's farofa there Teppo
- 02 Teppo: *nhää? (.) e[m mä o₁ta.*
I won't have it
- 03 Kaisa: *[de cenoura.*
with carrot
- 04 (0.8)
- 05 Teppo: *en halua nyt faroffaa mä halua< (2.2)*
I don't want farofa now I want

06 nyt mä haluaisin syödä lihaa::f.
now I would like to eat meat

07 Kaisa: /hmmheh/
08 (5.0)

09 Teppo: ku kerranki saa.
when it's available for once

10 (0.4)

11 Kaisa: voi ressukka?
oh poor thing

12 Teppo: jaoh.
yes

13 Simo: mhehe

((3 lines of unrelated talk between Leena and Kimi omitted))

17 (0.4)

18 Kaisa:→ **d[^]iz que quer comer**, (0.2) **krhm**
say.3SG que want.3SG eat
(he) says that (he) wants to eat
^G>CLARICE----->

19 **kh .hh carne porhq- porque ^khh k**
meat beca- because
meat beca- because
---->^DOWN/SIDEWARD TO TEPP-->

20 **quando que .hhh que ganha car[^]ne.**
when que que gain.3SG meat
when is it that that (he) gets meat
--->^CLARICE-->

21 **coitado não come carne f- faz muito tempo.**
poor.thing NEG eat.3SG meat make.3SG much time
poor thing hasn't had meat f- for a long time

22 ◇ ^ (0.3) ◇ ^ (0.3) ◇
Kaisa ◇P>TEPP--◇MAKES FACES◇
->^GLANCE>TEPP^G>CLARICE+-->

23 Simo: mhehehe^
Kaisa -->^G>DOWN

24 Kaisa: **(não) coitado.**
no poor thing

25 (4.0)

26 Leena: mh?

27 Simo: krkxm

28 Teppo: *ninguém dá carne pra mim?* ((TO CLARICE))
nobody gives me meat

Kaisa has offered Teppo (her husband) some carrot *farofa*, but he rejects it, first plainly (l. 2), and then by saying that he prefers meat now that he can finally get some (l. 5–6, 9). Kaisa responds with an ironic *voi ressukska* ‘oh, poor thing’ (l. 11). After a while (l. 18), she turns to Clarice and begins to translate Teppo’s account for rejecting the *farofa* in a sarcastic tone.¹⁴

Clarice was not an addressed recipient of the original talk, but as the housekeeper, she is also touched upon by Teppo’s complaint about not being properly fed (this is made explicit later at l. 28). That is, the complaint also alludes to Clarice’s epistemic and deontic territory. As someone who participates in the daily kitchen routines, Clarice knows that there is no lack of meat in the house. Kaisa’s translation to her presents Teppo’s rejection as something that has not been properly accounted for, and instead, as a gratuitous complaint concerning the offer of food. Clarice does not respond verbally, and her possible embodied reactions cannot be observed, as her face is not visible on the video.

In addition to Clarice, who could engage in supporting Kaisa’s stance, the turn is also meant for Teppo as an indirect target (Levinson 1988). Kaisa briefly points at him, glaring in his direction (l. 22). By conveying that “this is what he says” and then ironically indicating the apparent contradiction with how she sees the situation (l. 21, 24), Kaisa implies that the processing of what Teppo said is not yet finished. The action of her translatory turn as elaborating on her own reception of Teppo’s talk also transpires in her use of the present tense (*diz* ‘says’). In comparison to the past tense, which looks backwards to revisit the consequences of past action, the present tense treats the discussion as still open. At line 28, Teppo does provide a more elaborate response in which he reaffirms his earlier position with a further humorous complaint (l. 28). In the end, the primary achievement of the translatory talk is not to facilitate Clarice’s understanding of Teppo’s talk but rather to target Teppo. In comparison to the previous cases where translation mitigates the problematic nature of prior talk, this case illustrates another way that a translation with reportive framing can deal with the acceptability of the action that is being translated.

The next case also involves accounting. It is part of an extended discussion about the reasons for not having fancier tableware for the meal. Kaisa (F/P) is again translating for Clarice (P). In this instance, Kaisa is rephrasing her own account for the choice of less fancy tableware, which she has produced for the benefit of her Finnish guests Leena (F/p--) and Kata (F/P).

¹⁴ Kaisa quotes Teppo’s talk without expressing a subject (*diz* ‘says’). Subject omission of 3SG pronouns in BP has been reported to be more likely when there is greater discourse continuity, whereas subject expression is more probable when there is less discourse continuity (for example, see Silveira 2011, cf. Kato & Negrão 2000, Posio 2012a: 27–32). Due to the small number of cases in the data, not much can be said about the alternation of subject expression in translatory turns. Still, it can be noted that there is at least one other case in Portuguese in which quoting a co-participant without the expression of subject occurs when mocking the speaker. (For the use of the Finnish 3SG pronoun *hän* in complaint stories, see Priiki 2014.)

(3.6) Ordinary people.BR (Sauna_D 3.35)

(Kata tries to catch crumbs falling from eating a cake, and Kaisa offers her some paper towels.)

- 01 Kaisa: meillä ollaan kato näi a- maalla nii meillä
we are you see in the countryside we
- 02 ei mitään hienosteluja laiteta: (0.2)
don't put any snobbery
- 03 pikku:: mikä se on,
little what is it
- 04 Leena: ä- mm;
- 05 Kata: ei se mitääm mut mä en osaa syödä nii
that's okay but I can't eat so
- 06 hienostuneesti ettei tippuis.
sophisticatedly that I wouldn't spill
- 07 Kaisa: mhhahh
- 08 Leena: onks se pullavati vai asetti jo[mpi kumpi].
is it coffeebread bowl or saucer one or the other
- 09 Kaisa: [joo asetti
yes saucer
- 10 mä: (0.2) kyl meil on mut kato mä en kehtaa.
I sure we have (one) but i don't bother/(have the nerve)
- 11 Leena: mut ei tuu ↑tiskiä.
but there won't be dishes to wash
- 12 Kaisa: °sen verran°=ei se oo t- tiskistä [kiinni
enough it's not the dishes
- 13 Leena: [eikö.
is it not
- 14 Kaisa: se on #siitä kato että hh # (0.3) #tyttölläki# on ollu
it's that you see the girl has had
#P AT CLAR W HEAD AND EYES# #((SAME))--#
- 15 näinä päivinä aika paljo töitä nii.
these days quite a lot of work so
- 16 Leena: joo.
yes
- 17 Kaisa: (-) turhanpäivästä. .hh
unnecessary
- 18 (0.2)

- 19 Leena: *nii joo.*
right
- 20 Kaisa: *mhh nii sit ku on ihan tavallist (.) tTAVALLisia*
so when there is just ordinary ordinary
- 21 *ihmisiä min[um +mielestä ei tartte .hh*
people in my mind one doesn't have to
+GAZE AWAY TOWARDS POOL-->
- 22 Leena: [ha ha hah .hh
- 23 Kaisa: *ruveta# hienos#telemaa#.*
start giving oneself airs
- 24 Kata: #.mgh mh mhh#
- 25 (0.8) +(0.2)
Kaisa -->+.....->
- 26 Kaisa: → *+tô falando para ela que eu não +tô colocando*
be.1SG speak.GER PREP 3SG *que* 1SG NEG be.1SG put.GER
I'm saying to her that i'm not putting
->+G>AT TABLE IN FRONT OF KAISA/CLAR-->+G>CLAR--->
- 27 *pra↑ tinho; (0.4) para não ficar enfrescu\rando porque*
small plate PREP NEG be.INF act.snobbishly.GER because
the dessert plates to not be showing off because
- 28 *é tudo: #acho que é pessoa ↑ simples;*
be.3SG all think.1SG *que* be.3 person simple
it's all I think it's modest/unpretentious people
#WAVING/SHAKING PALMS ABOVE TABLE
- 29 (1.0)
- 30 Kaisa: *então não vamo +(en) frescurar.*
so NEG be.going.to.1PL act.snobbishly
so we're not going to be showing off
-->+G AWAY-->
- 31 Leena: *ihan ta+vallisia vaikka meillä *prinsessa onki.*
quite ordinary even though we do have a princess
*G>BABY ON HER LAP
Kaisa -->+LEENA
- 32 Kaisa: *no:: prinsessa mutta [.hh prinsessa ei [juo kahvia*
well the princess doesn't drink coffee
- 33 Leena: [heheh [(-) haha
- 34 Kaisa: *eikä syö pullaaa.*
or eat coffee bread

Initially, Kaisa accounts for not having dessert plates on the table by saying that the participants are now in the countryside (l. 1–3), and then by referring to Clarice's workload (l. 14–15). She continues by saying, in a smiley voice, that dessert plates are not even needed

because the present people are ‘ordinary people’ (l. 20, 21, 23). This is what she translates to Clarice at lines 26–30. Kaisa represents the talk in the present tense and imperfective aspect (*eu tô falando* ‘I am speaking/saying,’ as well as *não tô colocando* ‘I’m not putting’), and in doing so, extends the past talk to the current moment as an ongoing activity. Clarice does not reply nor does she reciprocate Kaisa’s gaze¹⁵, and Kaisa partially repeats the turn to her at line 30. All in all, Kaisa seems to have problems with the uptake of her comment, both before and after translating.

Kaisa has explicitly assessed the present people as ‘ordinary (/common)’ and as ones that she does not need to impress. There are indications that the recipients regard this as a somewhat awkward thing to say. Even though Kaisa’s comment does receive a reaction (l. 22, 24), making this type of assessment would seem to necessitate a more engaged uptake, such as an aligning response (Pomerantz 1984, Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, Goodwin & Goodwin 1992). At first, the recipients, Leena and Kata, react to it with laughter. Providing laughter as a response by itself may be ambiguous: without other verbal response, it is equivocal in terms of the type of stance that it expresses, appreciative or perhaps embarrassed (Glenn 2003: 127). Occurring in this context, Kaisa’s translatory turn appears to look for more uptake. The data also involve other cases where translation is used to recruit a new audience for talk that has not received enough uptake from the recipients addressed.

A further motivation for translating to Clarice appears to be Kaisa’s earlier orientation to her. Kaisa has talked about Clarice and pointed at her (head and eye pointing at l. 14). Although discreet, the gesture might be perceivable to Clarice and therefore put some pressure on mediating that talk for her. Clarice has been directly involved in the preparation of the coffee table, and thus it may also be relevant for her to know what is being said about it. In addition, Kaisa may be accountable to her for the choices made concerning the tableware. The choice of what to translate for Clarice indicates Kaisa’s orientation to these matters. If she were to simply repeat to Clarice the earlier statement that the other tableware is not used because it would increase her workload, it would passively attribute to Clarice the responsibility for not having out the better tableware. In quoting her own talk about ‘ordinary people,’ she instead claims everyone’s equal status and bases the account on the casualness of the situation, not on Clarice’s work.

After the translatory stretch of talk, Leena produces an aligning second assessment (l. 31: *ihan tavallisia*, ‘just ordinary’) that begins a humorous, stepwise transition to talking about the ‘princess’ on her lap (on figurative talk in topic transitions, see Drew & Holt 1998, Holt & Drew 2003), and the conversation proceeds. The turn is smoothly tied as a continuation of the preceding talk in Finnish. This suggests that Leena has perceived Kaisa’s talk to Clarice in Portuguese as continuing her earlier action. This is one of the many examples of how participants are able to follow and contribute to an ongoing conversation without allegedly understanding its exact linguistic content.

In the next extract, recipients respond to humor in different ways. A recipient of the humorous talk produces a translation to another recipient. By doing this, she deals with others’ reactions to humor that concerns herself as the host of a family gathering. After

¹⁵ It must be noted that Clarice’s participation in the conversation is minimal most of the time, and therefore the lack of responses or reciprocated gaze cannot be treated in quite the same manner as usual.

having smelt something burning, Iris (P/F) has urged her husband Ricardo (P) to check on the pizza in the oven. Ricardo returns and brings to the table a slightly burnt pizza and makes a joke about it. Soon after, Iris translates this joke for a visitor, Kata (F/P).

Example (3.7) Jabuticaba.BR (Pizza night_B 33.01)

- 01 Ricardo: *isso é jabuticaba.*
 is that jabuticaba
 >>WALKS IN CARRYING PIZZA ON A TRAY-->
- 02 Bianca: HA[HAHAHAHAH
 03 [(ALL LAUGH OR SMILE)]
- 04 Bianca: *pretinho.*
 black (as soot)
- 05 ≠(1.4)
 Ricardo ≠LOWERS TRAY TO SHOW PIZZA
- 06 Liisa: *al[ahh tá bonito.*
 aahh (it looks good)
- 07 Kata: [*ala::h.*
- 08 Bianca: ha haH HAH ha haha [ha h
- 09 Kata: [ihan thyvä[hän se (-)=
 just fine it (-)
- 10 Bianca: [(-)
- 11 Iris: →=(Ricardo kysy jos) se on jabuticabasta.=
 [name] ask.3SG.PST if DEM3 be.3SG [name of fruit].ELA
 (Ricardo asked if) it is made of jabuticaba
- 12 =jabuticaba on sellainen musta marja.
 [name of fruit] be.3SG DEM3.ADJ black berry
 jabuticaba is one kind of black berry
- 13 (0.4)
- 14 Iiris: **kun se on kypsä niin se on tämmönen=**
 when DEM3 be.3SG ripe PRT DEM3 be.3SG DEM1.ADJ
 when it is ripe it is like this
- 15 /<sa kyl tun/ne•t> niinkö.
 you do know don't you
 Kata •NODS
- 16 Iris: noni,
 oh well
- 17 (1.8)

- 18 Iris: mutta kyllä se vähä liian (.) kauan oli
but it did stay there a bit too long
- 19 kas se alko jo (.) iha,
since it started already even
- 20 (1.1)
- 21 Liisa: käpristymää.
to curl up

When Ricardo brings the pizza to the table, he makes a joke by asking whether the pizza has a topping of jaboticaba, a berry with a pitch-black color. Two different types of response occur: Bianca (P) and her family burst into loud laughter, whereas Liisa (Iris' mother) and Kata (guest/researcher), despite being amused, mitigate the problem of the pizza being burnt by saying that it still looks fine (l. 6, 7, 9). These comments display an interpretation of Ricardo's joke as meaning that the pizza is spoiled. Immediately after Kata's turn, Iris engages in reporting Ricardo's talk to her (l. 11–15). Proper name reference to the prior speaker is again used when the translatory turn occurs at a distance from the source talk. By adding an explanation (l. 12) that jaboticaba is a black berry, Iris explicates the association made between jaboticaba and the burnt food. However, she cuts off the turn (l. 14–15) to check whether Kata already knows the berry. After Kata confirms by nodding, Iris abandons the explanation as unnecessary (l. 16).

Iris' translatory turn, especially considering her position as the host, appears to deal with the laughing at the food and ridiculing it. Kata (along with Liisa) has perhaps interpreted the joke and the others' laughter too seriously as an implication that the food is not good. Kata has reacted to this with her mitigating turns (see the "empathetic" prosody on l. 7). Iris, for her part, provides a socially favorable explanation for the others' laughter. She justifies the others' general ridiculing stance by indicating that what is funny is Ricardo's joke, not the food as such. This analysis is corroborated by Iris' subsequent turn at line 18 (*mutta...* 'but...'), where she admits that the pizza stayed in the oven for a little too long anyway. Beginning by formulating the past action is again related to adjusting the recipient's interpretation of the import of the past talk. Although Iris' turn involves explaining a potentially unfamiliar item, she formulates Ricardo's action instead of simply clarifying the "exotic" item. Later on, it will be shown that such items can also be introduced with straightforward turn-initial mentions (compare ex. 4.8 Blueberry and ch. 5).

In (3.7), Iris treats Kata as not having fully understood what is being laughed at in the situation. In the next case, example (3.8), a humorous comment is also forwarded by its prior recipient. The problem that the translation concerns is not clearly socially problematic, but rather an issue of fittedness in a more concrete sense. This case demonstrates how the asymmetric distribution of linguistic resources in a multiparty situation can pose challenges for coherent self-selection. In general, choosing the right moment to take a turn is enabled by the participants' ability to project upcoming courses of action (Sacks et al. 1974). This is significantly more difficult for a participant who has limited access to the content of the talk, as in the asymmetric language constellation.

In (3.8), Gaia (P/f) chooses an unfortunate moment to continue a prior topic. Some minutes earlier there has been humorous discussion in Portuguese about the eggs of a

“special” chicken breed, the Guinea fowl. The conversation has later on changed into Finnish. They have talked about chicken breeds in Finland, and now Antti (F) is telling the others about a serious bird flu epidemic that occurred some years before. Gaia comes in with a suggestion in Portuguese (l. 22). She picks up from the previous discussion without perceiving that the topical context has changed radically.

(3.8) Special eggs.BR (Ravintola_A 48.18)

- 01 Antti: ei täälä ollu sitte< tässä muutama vuos
so (it) wasn't here some years
- 02 aikaa oli maai[lmalla ja jo-
ago there was globally and
- 03 Sauli: [köh krhm
- 04 Antti: taikka niinku euroopassa ja aasiassa oli tää
or like in Europe and Asia was the
- 05 lintuinfluenssa.
bird flu
- 06 (0.6)
- 07 Antti: sehä oli kauheer rajua).
it was awfully fierce
- 08 Sauli: joo. (.) ei:, (.) ei.
yes no no
- 09 (1.2)
- 10 Sauli: [ei täälä.
not here

(8 lines omitted: Antti talks about the bird flu)

- 19 >siihenhän< kuoli valtavasti ihmisiä siihen
an enormous number of people died of the
- 20 (0.4) lintuin[fluenssaan.
bird flu
- 21 Sauli: [↑nii joo.
yes right
- 22 Gaia: *se eu soubesse que ele vinha;* (0.8) *ia ia*
if I knew that he ((Antti/Toni)) would be coming (I) would would
- 23 *agora eu tinha deixado o ovo e ele leva*
now I would have kept the egg and he (could) take
- 24 *o ovo?=choca lá?* (1.0) *e vai nascer*
the egg incubate there and so will be born

- 25 *uma galinha de angola lá.*
a guineafowl there
- 26 Sauli: *mheh*
- 27 (1.6)
- 28 Gaia: *na finlândia.*
in Finland
- 29 Sauli: *mheh*
- 30 (1.8)
- 31 Gaia: *né?*
isn't it
- 32 (2.6)
- 33 Gaia: *hhe[hehe*
- 34 Sauli: *[mhehe*
- 35 Toni:→ **niin,** (0.4) **Gaia sano että ni- jos** (1.8) **jos::**
PRT [name] say.3SG.PST *että* PRT if if
so Gaia said that if if
- 36 (0.8) **haluais ni vois viedä sellasen** (1.0)
want.COND PRT can.COND bring DEM3.ADJ.GEN
one wanted one could take one of those
- 37 **erikoiskananmunan suomeen ja sitte se** (0.4)
special.egg.GEN [name].ILL and then DEM3
special eggs to Finland and then it
- 38 **sitte se kuoriutus sielä ja sitte ois**
then DEM3 hatch.COND there and then be.COND
then it would hatch there and then there would be
- 39 Antti: *heh heh [hähähä*
- 40 Gaia: *[ehe[heh he [he he*
- 41 Sauli: *[mhehe*
- 42 Toni: **[kasvais sielä >sellasia<**
grow.COND there DEM3.ADJ.PL.PAR
would grow there those
- 43 **erikoisk[anoja sitte.**
special.chicken.PL.PAR then
special chickens
- 44 Antti: *[joo.*
- 45 Gaia: *.hh hehe*
- 46 (0.4)

- 47 Antti: joo se pitäs s- tietää et se on semmonen (.)
yes one should then know that it is such an
- 48 muna et se lähtee,
egg that it will start
- 49 (0.6)
- 50 Gaia: ahaha[ha
- 51 Sauli: [mheh
- 52 Gaia: .hh n[a mala chega lá
in the suitcase it arrives there
- 53 Toni: [kasvamaa.
to grow

At lines 22–25, Gaia returns to the previous topic about the Guinea fowl at a moment that is inapposite in at least two ways. First, she comes in at a point when the ongoing sequence awaits continuation. Antti has just lamented that an enormous number of people died of the bird flu and Sauli has merely responded to him with *niin joo* ‘yes right.’ Some stronger affiliation is expected to follow. The second reason the moment is wrong is that Gaia’s suggestion to fly Guinea fowl’s eggs to Finland creates an unfortunate topical link to a deadly infection contracted from birds. Furthermore, she is stating something humorous when the topic is actually rather serious.

Gaia’s turn is followed by long pauses, by her making further tries (l. 28, 31), and by her husband’s, Sauli’s, mild laughter. When Toni begins to translate, he begins with the particle *niin*, which marks resumption of an earlier point in the conversation (Vilkuna 1997, Heinonen 2002). He continues by reporting Gaia’s talk, using a proper name reference to her. In many cases, translating speakers refer to the source speakers with proper names when the translatable talk is not contiguous or congruent with the ongoing course of action. Introducing the participant as a speaker by her name compensates for a lack of ground for presenting the relaying of her talk as relevant here-and-now. The lack of congruity in this extract has many facets, as discussed above.

By translating, Toni offers an explanation to Antti about the distractions in the flow of conversation (l. 26–34), which must have been perceivable even to a participant who does not speak Portuguese. The translation also solves the problem of insufficient uptake of Gaia’s initiative by engaging Antti as a new recipient. He responds by aligning with Gaia’s suggestion (l. 39, 44, 47–48). The framing of Gaia’s talk as ‘saying’ fails in any clear sense to remedy the topical mismatch. However, for this very reason, the framing creates a slot for translating Gaia’s unexpected comment at this moment, instead of claiming to smoothly continue the prior discussion.

The participants in a multiparty situation typically develop “serially dyadic” (Stivers 2015) lines of action, interacting directly first with one participant, then with another. This means that not everyone’s understanding is displayed in next turns, and that the conversation may continue without the co-present parties understanding, or even paying attention to, everything that is said (see also Seppänen 1998, Kangasharju 1998: 26–31). This allows for

the talk to develop in directions that everyone does not follow, particularly in an asymmetrically multilingual situation. The need for translating may spring from incoherent self-selection when speakers enter a conversation that they have not fully understood with a turn that is somehow out of place. Even though the situation in (3.8) is solved by translating prior talk to Antti, the origin of the problem, and the motive for the specific way of delivering the prior talk by reporting, is only indirectly a problem of understanding a language.

Let us now summarize the findings of this subchapter (§3.1.2) on translatory talk framed with reporting clauses. In these cases, mediation is not invited by the OLS through the initiation of repair, as it was in the cases examined in the previous subsection (§3.1.1). By contrast, the speaker here produces them spontaneously. Still, spontaneity does not equal a lack of identifiable motivation for the mediating. The translatory turns result from the mediating speaker's observations of the situation, to which she may respond by translating. By engaging in translating, the speakers manage problems that have surfaced in the participants' responses to an action, or in a lack of reactions to it.

The first two extracts involved translation of accounts. In (ex. 3.4), an account is translated to its original addressee (but humorously addressed in the third person, as 'madam') by a third party. In (ex. 3.5), an account is translated by its original recipient to a third party. The first case is a more typical case of mediation in the sense that it handles apparent problems of understanding the prior action, whereas the latter works towards gaining a new audience to align with in opposition to the translatee. A new audience is also pursued in (ex. 3.6). This is a case of self-translation for a third party, which the speaker delivers after not receiving sufficient uptake for her earlier talk. In the last two extracts, a humorous comment is either received with an inapposite reaction (ex. 3.7), or the comment itself is inapposite and lacks uptake accordingly (ex. 3.8). Both are followed by translation of the humorous comment for a participant who has not been a focal recipient. In the latter case (ex. 3.8), the talk has indirectly concerned the OLS, and in the former (ex. 3.7), the OLS is a potential recipient of talk that does not select one addressee but is meant for all who are present.

In all the cases in this subchapter, the translatory talk somehow deals with problematic implications that have arisen in the participants' reactions during the unfolding of the prior sequences. Translating not only facilitates the understanding of linguistic content but also contributes to a broader collaborative establishing of the intelligibility and (un)acceptability of these prior and ongoing actions. In some cases, the participant whose reactions indicate problems in the prior action is not the same participant who it is then mediated for, but someone else. It may even be the mediator herself. Furthermore, the problematic aspect can concern both the mediator and the translatee, as in the extract where Kaisa translates an account concerning the tableware for the housekeeper, Clarice (ex. 3.6). Together they share the responsibility of preparing the meal and setting the table.

It follows that the exact way in which translation handles past action in the extracts is not captured by the prototype of mediation as a triadic constellation wherein one speaker facilitates interaction between two main parties. Especially when the translating speaker has herself been the speaker or the recipient of the talk that she then translates, she can use the translation to appeal to other co-present parties. This may allow the problematic discussion

– or silence – to resolve itself in further talk (as in ex. 3.6). In addition, the mediator herself can be expanding her own reaction (such as disapproval of a past action) by translating to another, indirectly involved party (as in ex. 3.5). Nevertheless, in both cases delivering a turn as linguistic mediation provides for the validity of the action at that moment.

In the cases in this subchapter, translation with reportive framing is used to resolve small, uncomfortable moments through treating them as translate-able – not necessarily targeting a true problem of understanding the language. Whereas in the previous subchapter the problem of reception was that the prior talk had perceivable, indirect relevance for the OLS but was at the same time inaccessible for her, in the current cases there is another socially problematic aspect of the prior talk that is visible as a hitch or conflicting uptake in the unfolding of the conversation. That is, the problem that the translatory turns primarily concern is not necessarily the OLS’s lack of understanding the content of prior talk. In line with this, the translatory turns also do not structurally rely on the prior turns. Again, framing with reporting clauses creates a position for translatory talk when such a position is not provided by the organization of the sequence that contains the talk to be mediated. In more detail, the position of the translatory turn within the conversation does not enable the speaker to rely on the recipient’s contextual inference for matters such as who is committed to what the utterance expresses and how its import as an action concerns the current recipient. The import of prior action is adjusted through the way the speaker formulates the prior acts of speaking and portrays the source.

In the following subchapter, the function of framing translatory talk with reporting clauses will be discussed in more detail.

3.1.3 Discussion of reportive framing in translatory talk

In the cases analyzed in the past two subchapters, representing past talk occurs when the translating speaker reacts to some problematic aspect of what was said, which has been indicated in the uptake of that talk.¹⁶ In the cases with other-initiated repair, the translatory talk responds to the OIR as an indication of trouble, whereas spontaneously produced translatory turns react to problems displayed otherwise, through a lack of sufficient or aligning uptake of the prior talk.

The analyses provide further empirical grounds for the association of reported speech with the mediation of “face-threatening,” emotive, and other types of sensitive talk. This association has been made in earlier research on interpreting in institutional contexts (see §3.1). The cases examined in the current study (and that are representative of the main uses of reportive framing in the data) demonstrate that mediating with reportive framing often deals with more than, or with something other than, a problem of understanding the linguistic content of a turn. Moreover, it appears that this way of mediating relates to an

¹⁶ When the translating speaker has been the addressed recipient of the talk that she then forwards (as in ex. 3.5 Farofa) she obviously cannot be said to do this after observing her own response. However, by translating she expands her own reaction, such as disapproval, possibly to compensate for the lack of proper third position uptake of that reaction by the earlier speaker. Thus she orients to issues of uptake as well.

aspect of indirectness in the translatable talk.¹⁷ This indirectness and what follows from it can be a byproduct of the asymmetric language constellation. Other participants may mention matters that somehow concern the OLS without addressing this talk to her, or alternatively, addressing her may involve indirect features. Due to the language constellation, this talk is only partially available for the OLS's observation and intervention. The asymmetric distribution of linguistic resources thus affects her possibilities of producing a next action at a moment when participation could be relevant. If the OLS participant wants to pursue further access to the ongoing conversation in this situation, the only viable solution may be to initiate open class repair (§3.1.1).

The translatory turns provided as a solution deal with the social implications of the third-party initiation of open class repair. One of these implications can be that there has been a violation of the OLS participant's rights to have access to what was said about her. Moreover, this can concern further problematic aspects, such as the prior speakers laughing at her expense. The translating speakers manage those implications in their translatory turns, partly by portraying the quality of the prior speakers' commitment to the past action. In so doing, the speakers dynamically adjust the prior action and its consequences for the alignment between themselves, the original speakers, and the recipients.

Even when the OLS does not initiate repair, the reception of the past action may invite a mediator to step in. Although the translatable talk in these cases also involves indirect addressivity towards the OLS, this indirectness is not oriented to as problematic in itself (as it often is with the cases involving third-party repair). Instead, reception of the past talk by some of the participants indicates problems of acceptance or intelligibility of the past action, and the mediator manages these through engaging in translating. Again, the problem may be indicated by the OLS participant's uptake of the prior action, but not necessarily so. Problems may also be indicated by the reactions of other participants. Nonetheless, the mediating speaker may respond to this indication of problems by engaging in translating. In this case, the translating speaker may be expanding her own activities instead of really facilitating interaction between the original speaker and the OLS. In other words, the mediator makes use of the presence of a participant who has perhaps not fully understood the prior talk to engage her as a new audience. This means that the peripheral status and limited access of the OLS with regard to the past action can legitimize relaying that talk for her even when she displays no trouble in understanding. The problematic features thus diffuse into the progression of the interaction through the creation of further and more places for uptake by several participants.

Both in the cases with OIR and in the spontaneously produced translatory turns, reportive framing is used to make the repetition of prior talk coherent with its position. There are several reasons for why a direct repetition of past utterances would not be compatible with this position. The translatory turns are produced either as solutions to repair-initiation by a third-party that does not specify the trouble source, or to problems otherwise indicated in the uptake of a prior action. In the cases that involve repair initiation by a third-party, the

¹⁷ Nonetheless, reportive framing is not motivated by the ambiguous recipient status of the OLS as such – it will be demonstrated later on that indirect addressing can also be used as a resource to approach the OLS, and can allow translating without added framing (§6.1.2).

translatable stretch of talk has occurred in a different participation framework, and it typically consists of several turns by two or more speakers. The translatory turns are therefore usually not adjacent to the talk that they mediate as a repair solution. This sequential environment requires the speaker to establish a link to a trouble source further back in the talk. Possibly, the speaker also skips over some of the source speaker's intervening turns (see ex. 3.4). Moreover, the repair initiation may have been addressed to someone else instead of the speaker whose talk is being repaired. A further complication is that someone other than the addressee of the repair initiation may respond to it. As a result, additional interactional effort may be necessary in order to coherently relay the prior talk as a response to the repair initiation.

The spontaneously produced translatory turns, for their part, occur in contexts of disaligning and missing responses. This entails interactional features typical of the unfolding of problematic actions, such as delaying the delivery of next actions and elaborating the prior talk in post-expansions (Schegloff 2007a: 58–81). Relaying the prior actions may therefore require further bridging work in the translatory turn.

As all the instances of translatory talk with reportive framing examined here involve an aspect of indirectness and a structural motivation for adjustments, it was suggested that it may not be the problematic nature of the actions as such that invites reportive framing. Rather, it is the conversational structures in the unfolding of this type of action that invite reporting. As was demonstrated in the analyses, neither of the sequential environments of translatory talk examined in (§3.1) occasions a slot for a direct repetition of a past utterance. These conditions may be typical of socially problematic actions, but they are not necessarily limited to them. Nevertheless, the specific problems that arise in these cases may be typical of asymmetrically multilingual constellations. Diverse problems related to indirectness, ambiguity, and coherence, for instance, can be engendered by the participants' lack of equal access to the conversation. Moreover, the resolution of these problems can become considerably extended (for example, see self-selection with poor topical fit in ex. 3.8 Eggs), this also causing the need to bridge the gap to the prior talk.

The adjustment of prior actions leads to a further concern in the translatory turns, which is the representation of the prior speakers' responsibility for the past action. The other-language talk targeted by OIR is typically a stretch of interaction that involves multiple speakers, not a single utterance. Nevertheless, it is reported as a single act of speaking, in the name of a single speaker. This is one means to attribute responsibility for the past action to someone, according to situated motivations. Adjusting the import of the past action for the current recipient may involve mitigating its possible problematic aspects but possibly also highlighting them, as during a dispute.

The relaying of past talk is further organized through the temporal scope of the reporting verbs. It varies between the past and present tenses ('said' versus 'says', including the progressive aspect 'is saying' in Portuguese). Accordingly, the talking is depicted as having already happened, or as still being in progress. It appears that with the past tense, the speakers orient retrospectively to what has occurred during the past talking, whereas the present tense indicates that the sequence is still open. The present tense is used to find a new audience and uptake for a past action when the translatory talk expands the mediator's own action (as a past speaker or recipient). These present-tense reports are followed by elaborate

comments, such as an aligning assessment in (3.6) ‘Ordinary people’ or confirmation in (3.5) ‘Farofa.’ However, the comments are not provided by the recipient of the translation, but by an indirect target or other recipient of the original talk. This suggests that the translations orient to the lack of appropriate uptake within the original framework, not necessarily to the understanding of the talk by the OLS as such.

When a speaker translates by framing her turn with a reporting clause, she is not relying on the conversational context to provide a slot for a straight repetition of the prior talk. On the contrary, by formulating the prior act of speaking, the speaker becomes one step removed from that talk and implicitly evaluates it in some manner. The speaker is then able to make adjustments between what was said and how it ought to be understood. The adjustments may work to represent the prior action in a socially acceptable light, and in a more technical sense, to construct the local relevance of relaying the past talk at this point. This brings up a key feature in the organization of bilingual mediating in everyday conversation. The participants establish the *relevance*¹⁸ of translating something through negotiating the local relevance of the prior stretch of conversation to the OLS participant. If the mediator conceives of the action as locally relevant for that participant, then the next thing to do is to engage in making that talk intelligible for her. This process involves embodied as well as epistemic coordination.

Thus, translating past utterances is calibrated on the one hand with the turn’s sequential placement, and on the other, with what implications “saying the same thing” (Schegloff 2004) as in the prior talk has for certain participants. These two aspects are intertwined. Even when a sequential slot occurs to relay past, other-language talk (such as after repair initiation), the mediating speaker must consider the social implications of making certain types of comments in this position. The translating speaker thus modifies her saying of the “same thing” with respect to the recipient’s status, rights, and access to the past talking, and with regard to the consequences for her own positioning. Her status as a “mediator” is not independent of her involvement as a regular participant in the interaction but is calibrated with her roles as a prior speaker and an addressed/unaddressed recipient in the past and ongoing activities. In sum, reportive framing is used to manage the situation when it requires more adjusting than would be possible by providing a simple repetition of the past content in the current interactional environment.

Next, we proceed to a set of translatory turns that do not portray past talk as single, quoted utterances of an individual speaker, but as ongoing topical talk of a group of speakers. This is achieved by *formulating the topic* of an ongoing conversation.

¹⁸ In Translation and Interpreting Studies, the shaping of translation for current purposes and contexts is sometimes understood in terms of *relevance theory* as developed by Sperber & Wilson (1986) (see Pym 2010), in which relevance is envisioned as cognitive effects. Within the Conversation Analytic approach that the current study represents, relevance is understood differently, as collectively established interactional relevancies.

3.2 Topic formulations as representations of exclusionary talk

Topic formulations resemble reportive framing in that they also include the expression of who has been talking and denote the speaking with speech act verbs. In contrast, however, speakers formulating topics do not report the saying of particular utterances, but name more broadly what the discussion concerns, such as *falamos sobre revistas* ‘we (are) talk(ing) about magazines.’ The naming of topics is the most explicit manifestation of the participants’ orientation to topical organization in conversation, which is otherwise difficult to pin down empirically (Schegloff 1990).

The translatory talk as topic formulation in the data occurs in rather uniform mediatory constellations: it is produced for an OLS who has not been previously involved in the ongoing discussion. Her involvement becomes oriented to predominantly through embodied negotiations, so that either the speaker orients to this recipient’s understanding, and/or the OLS displays interest in the talk through gaze and other embodied means. At times, this situation of exclusion emerges at a moment when a *schism* (Egbert 1997) dissolves. That is, the conversation has been divided into simultaneous, parallel discussions, and when one of them ceases, the schism thereby dissolves. Bringing the participants back to one multiparty constellation may involve mediation by describing the topic of the remaining line of conversation.

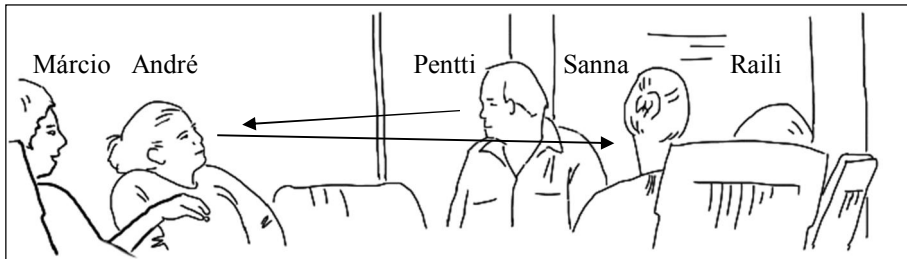
The “exclusionary” talk that is followed by topic formulations is found to involve affective features, such as laughter, intensive tones of voice, or other affective salience. These may draw the OLS’s attention and make the understanding of the current conversation locally relevant. By saying “we are/someone is talking about...,” the speaker represents the activities as something in which the recipient has not participated. Although 1PL pronouns are not in themselves exclusive in either language, their context of use here entails that the reference does not involve the recipient. The distinction between the past group of interactants and the current recipient is verbalized not only by a 1PL reference but in different deictic expressions that mark their asymmetrical relation with regard to the matters talked about.

In the CA literature, topic formulations are perhaps best known from Sack’s (1995 II: 67–83) discussion of inviting newcomers to join in an ongoing conversation. His example (ibid. 71) features young men at a therapy session who formulate the ongoing discussion for another young man who enters:

Joe: We were in an automobile discussion
Henry: discussing the psychological motives for
Mel: drag racing on the streets.

Sacks discusses automobiles as a “rich topic,” as this category-bound item provides the “hot-rodgers” endless details to discuss. Interestingly, translations composed as topic formulations do not usually directly invite their recipient to participate in the discussion. What matters is whether the topic is familiar and in some way relevant to her. Sacks also argues that the speakers work to socialize the newcomer into the ongoing discussion (see

F#1



09 Sanna: +F#2 et eihän se niinku tavallaan oo +Se Paik[ka.
so in a way it's not the place

Márcio +G>ANDRÉ-----+G>SANNA

10 Pentti: [mhm.

F#2



11 Sanna: °jotenki°.
somehow

12 Raili: no kerran [me oltii kans< opiston kanssa tuolla
well once we were with the institute there

13 Márcio: [eh

14 Raili: jos+sain kylpy[lässä ja;
in some spa and

Márcio +G>ANDRÉ-->

15 Márcio:→ [*>(a) gente< tá falando da:
ART 1PL be.3SG speak.GER PREP+ART
we are talking about
André *G>MÁRCIO-->

16 Raili: .hhh [sitte me mentii
then we went

17 Márcio: [#•cultura de sauna.--#
culture PREP sauna
sauna culture

André #SMALL SWIPE WITH HAND---#
•NODS, FOLLOWED BY 4 SMALLER NODS

18 Raili: .h[h

19 Sanna: [mm;
 20 Raili: tonne< + (0.4) #ee# hh *se oli †kaks valintaa.
 there it was two choices
 Márcio: -->+G>RAILI
 André: -->*G>RAILI

At line 6, Pentti reformulates his prior comment on why religion might forbid having a mixed sauna. At line 8, Márcio agrees and laughs (looking at Pentti). In order to understand the embodied negotiation of André's status as a recipient and the need for mediation at this point, one must examine Pentti's and André's gaze during Márcio's laughter.

During the laughter, Pentti turns his gaze to André, as if checking for his reactions. However, André is looking at Sanna (who is also talking), as he has done since line 5. André responds to Pentti's gaze by turning to look at him. At the same time, Pentti has already began to turn his gaze back to Márcio, his main recipient, and so André returns to look at Sanna during the end of her turn, *epäseksuaali*nen* 'asexual.' Thus, his gaze to Pentti is merely a quick glance. Immediately following this exchange of glances, Pentti also turns his gaze to Sanna.

Then Márcio also glances at André (l. 9), apparently prompted by observing Pentti's earlier attention to him. However, André does not establish mutual gaze with neither Márcio nor Pentti, focuses on Sanna, instead. This seems to liberate the others from having to engage in mediating at this point. However, when Sanna's telling has come to an end and Raili begins a new on-topic contribution in the form of a story (l. 12, 14), Márcio returns to gaze at André and formulates the topic for him: (*a gente tá falando da:: cultura de sauna* 'we are talking about sauna culture' (l. 15, 17).

To summarize, André's presence and role as a potential recipient has been acknowledged by Pentti and Márcio turning to gaze at him, but at that moment, he has not made himself available as a recipient. Márcio waits, and when the conversation seems to continue further, he steps in. In other words, translation is preceded by a subtle embodied negotiation of the need and exact moment of mediating (see Merlino 2012 on negotiating transition to translation in public speaking).

By providing the translation as a formulation of the topic, Márcio acknowledges that while André already perceives the ongoing talk and is possibly making interpretations about what is going on, he has not actually been involved in the conversation. The 1PL reference (*a gente* (see Travis & Silveira 2009, Posio 2012b: 345) in Márcio's turn verbalizes the asymmetry between "we" who are speaking and the current recipient. André has oriented to both Pentti's and Sanna's parallel, competing exchanges with gaze and a fully attentive, amused facial expression. This occurs during talk with a dense atmosphere; laughter and intensive on-topic talk occur in two overlapping courses of rather opinionated exchange on religion and sexuality. It seems reasonable to say that framing it topic-wise contributes to explicating the participants' affective tones for the OLS. After all, much of it is observable without knowing any of the language. The topical framing provides resources for further understanding the atmosphere of the other-language talk. However, it does not yet adjust or explicate the past talk for the recipient to the extent of inviting new uptake, as occurred in the previous section (§3.1). André remains as an observer of the others' discussion.

In extract (3.9), the first initiative towards mediating comes from the speaker's side: the main speaker, who has just said something funny, glances at a potential recipient. The other-language speaker has also publicly (but without speaking) shown interest in the ongoing talking. In the next extract, mediation is mobilized through embodied signs of current engagement by a participant who has seemingly not been paying attention to the other-language conversation thus far. Antti (F) clears his throat, readjusts his upper body and gazes at the speaker after the others' lengthy discussion in Portuguese.

(3.10) Musicians.BR (Ravintola_A 37.10)

01 Cíntia: *é o pointzinho da galera:: jovem.*
it's the hub for young folks

Antti >>"BLANK" GAZE, SITS STILL-->

02 (0.6)

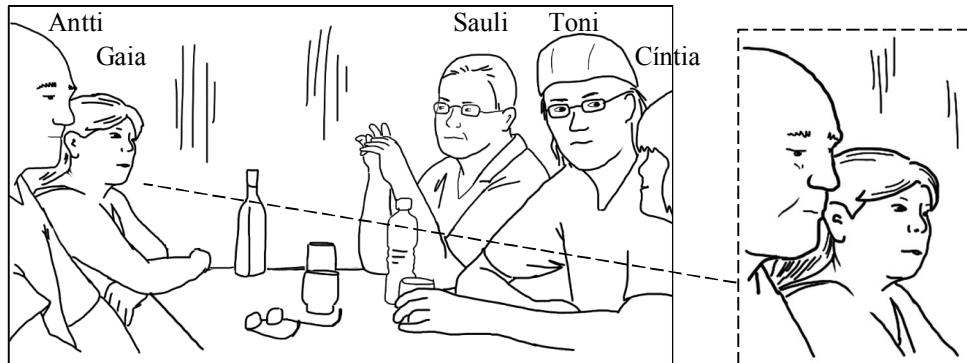
03 Gaia: [*é.*]
yes

04 Cíntia: [*a/lí é o:: ca/nal.*]
that's the core

05 (0.4)

06 Gaia: *é. F#1*
yes

F#1



07 Cíntia: *alí é.*
there (it) is

08 (1.6)

09 Gaia: *e e †lá o+:: filho *da Marina to/ca lá/,*
and and there Marina's son plays there

Antti -->+G>SAULI, READJUSTS UPPER BODY---->

Toni *G>GAIA-->

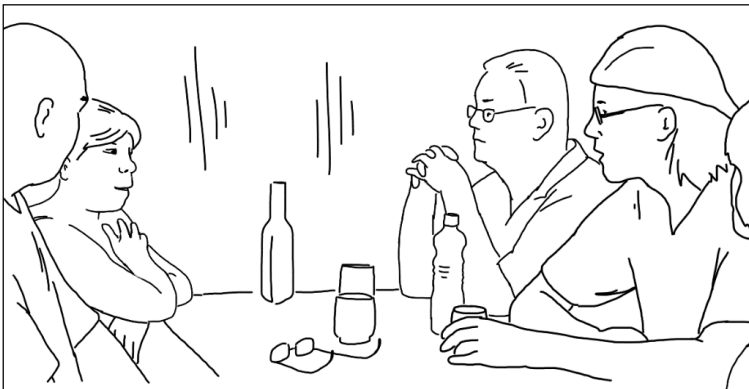
10 (0.4)

11 Antti: krhm+
 -->+G>GAIA-->

12 Cíntia: †toca.
 does he

13 ◊(1.6) **F#2***(0.2)
 Gaia ◊NODS DEEP
 Toni -->*G>ANTTI

F#2



14 Toni:→ **n- täs puhutaan+ (.) niinko (.) m- missä muusikot**
 DEM1.INE speak.PASS PRT w- where musician.PL
 here it's being talked like w- where musicians
 Antti -->+G>TONI

15 → **soittaa täällä ja,**
 play here and

16 Antti: [mh.

17 Toni: →[**mikä o hyvä paikka. (.) baari ja s[(-)**
 what is a good place bar and (-)

18 Antti: [joo.
 yes

19 (0.8)

20 Antti: •kr krhm
 Toni •PREPARES TO GRAB BOTTLE-->

21 Toni: •**dá pra (.) receber mais uma [água com gas.**
 is it possible to have one more sparkling water
 ->•GRABS BOTTLE

22 Cíntia: [mais uma água.
 one more water

23 Toni: é.
 yes

24 Cíntia: (-)

- 25 Antti: krkhm
- 26 (0.8)
- 27 Cíntia: já j[á.
just a moment
- 28 Antti: [(haluatteko te) ol]utta vielä.
do you want some more beer

Antti's blank face displays no particular interest in the Portuguese discussion for several minutes (see F#1). Then he shifts his gaze, first to Sauli (l. 9), and then to Gaia (l. 11), and sees her slow, emphatic nod. Antti's readjustment of his body posture (l. 9) and his gaze towards the speaker make him more actively present in the interaction. Toni appears to react to this by engaging in translating: he orients to Antti's moves as demonstrations of his simultaneous willingness to be involved and his lack of access to the conversation. In this sense, it is Antti who initiates the course of events in which translating becomes relevant. Toni formulates the ongoing discussion in the passive voice, *täs puhu-t-aan* (DEM1.INE speak-PASS-4 'here there's talk [about]'). The Finnish simple passive involves a special passive personal ending (here: *-aan*). The passive is thus part of the person marking system in verbs, sometimes referred to as the "fourth" person. It has been argued that although the passive does not explicate an agent, it is not impersonal either, but invites the recipient to construe the agent from the context (as in Helasvuo 2006).

To mention a topic in Finnish a speaker does not use prepositions to construct it, as in Portuguese (and English; 'talk about x'). Instead this can be formulated in Finnish by accompanying the speech act verb with an adverbial, with appropriate case marking ("puhua muusikoista" [talk.INF musician.PL.ELA] 'talk about musicians'). In the current case, the formulating turn does not syntactically integrate the speech act verb and the mention of the topical talk. This involves a looser link between the talking and the mention of what is talked about. The speech act verb is followed by the particle *niinko* and the headless relative clause (*missä...* 'where'). The verb depicts 'speaking/talking' (*puhua*) instead of 'saying' (*sanoa*). This circumscribes the prior discussion about 'locations' and 'good places' in the present tense with loose syntactic linking, whereas *sanoa* was shown (§3.1) to occur when reporting particular prior utterances, accompanied with *että* as a linker to the quote. The choice of the speech act verb contributes to whether the prior talk becomes portrayed as a topic versus specific talk (although the division of labor of the verbs is not always this clear).

The demonstrative *täs(sä)* 'here' in the beginning of Toni's utterance indexically ties it to the immediately prior talking. In somewhat different turn-initial uses, the Finnish *täs(sä)* (Etelämäki 2006: 162–167) may refer to a situation that extends outside the speech event, marking asymmetry between the participants with regard to having access to the situation mentioned. Here, the prior talk is also portrayed asymmetrically, within the speaker's sphere (Laury 1997: 62–70). This context guides the understanding of whose act of speaking the passive voice concerns. *Täs* presents the prior speaking as a situation beyond Antti's access, and the further turn does not provide him with any substrate to build on now. This turn also presents the topic as not being accessible to him, as he is not a member of the category of "musicians" or knowledgeable about their category-relevant activities. By contrast, the

others have demonstrated their specific knowledge about the “hub” of those activities. In this case, as well as in the prior example (3.9), the formulation of a topic thus involves *membership categorization* (Sacks 1995, Schegloff 2007b) as a means of formulating the situation. In CA, membership categorization refers to how categories of social personae are invoked and made meaningful in local interaction. For these two cases, the category-bound presentation of the prior topic contributes to justifying the exclusive language choice of the prior discussion without inviting the recipient to join the discussion.

In comparison, the speaker in the next example incrementally adds to the topic formulation a more detailed description that provides the recipient with something to contribute to, and thereby an opportunity to join in the discussion. The speaker formulates the topic after displaying a sudden realization that some other participants have ended up being excluded from the ongoing discussion. The data is from a gathering of friends at the home of a Finnish man (Niko) in Brazil. They have been talking about the Rolling Stone music magazine in Portuguese, and that conversation has become divided into two parallel lines, Tiina (F/p) and Niko (F/P) in Finnish, and Toni (F/P), Kari (F/P) and Dário (P) in Portuguese. In a dyadic stretch of talk, Tiina has remarked that she rarely reads any magazines, prompting Niko to ask her if she ever goes to a bookstore just to flip through them, as he himself likes to do. Tiina has answered negatively, which has led Niko to conclude that Tiina and himself represent different generations in this matter. At this moment, Dário is the only one present who does not speak any Finnish.

(3.11) Magazines.BR (Mafia_A 30.42)

(Most of the parallel discussion in Portuguese between Dário, Toni and Kari has been omitted for clarity.)

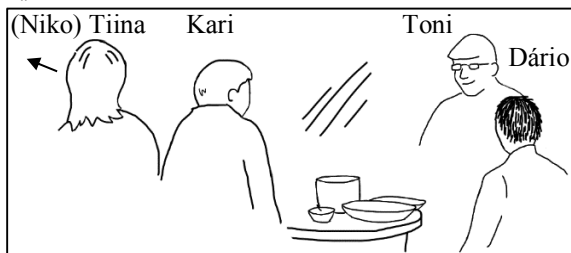
- 01 Tiina: ehkä mä en vaan lue.
maybe I just don't read
- 02 (3.2)
- 03 Niko: ostatsä lehtiä.
do you buy magazines
- 04 (1.0)
- 05 Tiina: joskus?
sometimes
- 06 (1.6)
- 07 Niko: mutta just jotain niinku
but like something like
- 08 cosmopolitan[ia tai;
Cosmopolitan or
- 09 Tiina: [en ikinä,
I never do
- 10 (0.4)

11 Tiina: [wa+din **F#1** ostan jos haluan
 Wad I might buy if I want to

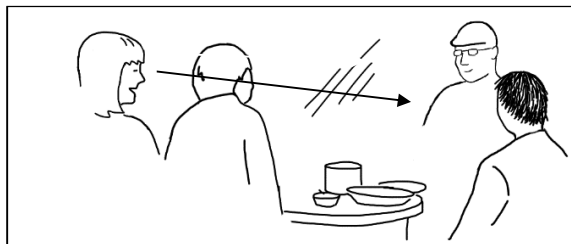
12 Dário: [en+tão::, ((END OF A PARALLEL CONVERSATION WITH TONI AND KARI))
 so

Toni +G>TIINA

F#1



F#2



13 Tiina: →*laittaa seinälle< .hh **F#2**
 put on the wall
 *G>TONI

14 **aa.** (.) **falamos sobre** (0.2) **revistas.**
 PRT speak.1PL PREP magazine.PL
 oh we (are) talk(ing) about magazines

15 (0.8)

16 **que eu não f- eu não iria para ver** (.) **revistas** (0.4)
 que 1SG NEG 1SG NEG go.COND PREP see magazine.PL
 that I w- I would never go see magazines

17 **na loja.**
 PREP+ART shop
 in a store

18 Kari: °nãõ?°
 no

19 Dário: *mhm?*

20 Tiina: *nunca,*
 never

21 (1.0)

- 22 Dário: *é:?*
is it so
- 23 (0.6)
- 24 Tiina: [*mas ele v- ele vai.*
but he g- he goes
- 25 Dário: [*quê que cê não gosta.*
what is it that you don't like
- 26 Tiina: *ele gosta.*
he likes
- 27 Toni: *e eu [também.*
and me too
- 28 Niko: [*aah sim pas[sar assim só:: .hh*
oh yes just to stop by
- 29 Dário: [*eu também.*
me too

The parallel conversation between Dário and Toni is subsiding (l. 12). Toni turns smilingly to look at Sanna (F#1), who has just reported to ‘never’ buy the *Cosmopolitan* magazine. Niko is sitting next to Tiina at the left end of the table, facing Toni and Dário, whereas Tiina is sitting sideways to them, currently turned towards Niko. Niko (or his gaze) is unfortunately not visible on the video, but it appears likely that he reciprocates Toni’s gaze, and Tiina follows his attention by likewise turning her gaze towards Toni and Dário (F#2). Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why she turns towards them at this point (l. 13), while talking to Niko.

Midway through her turn (l. 13–14), Tiina produces an interjection, *aa*. This resembles the change-of-state token *aa* that has been analyzed in Finnish (Koivisto 2015). This token displays a change of cognitive state, a realization of something that should have been known or understood before. The matter that was realized can be detected based on what follows: she changes the language to Portuguese and provides a topic formulation. With this utterance, she reacts to the state of exclusion that has occurred when the parallel conversation that occupied the participants at the other end of the table has ceased. Dário has no access because the conversation takes place in Finnish. The Finnish speakers (Toni and Kari) also become disregarded in an embodied way, as Tiina has been facing the opposite direction. The example thus demonstrates a shift in the participants’ orientation to the use of Finnish an exclusive language.

Whether the use of a language not understood by everyone is considered as problematic is dependent on what else is going on in the interaction and whether the other-language speakers are positioned as willing and available to be involved. During parallel conversations, the others are not oriented to as recipients, but when the schism dissolves, they become available again. In stretches of talk that occur among speakers of one language who are separated from the larger multilingual group, the speakers may switch to their shared, in-group language (see, for example, Traverso 2004). Rejoining the whole group

thus requires another switch of language. It should also be noted that returning from a schism generally requires some negotiation and adjusting (Egbert 1997). When the speaker formulates the topic in the current example, she overtly acknowledges that there has been inaccessible talk. This is especially clear in her use of a realization token expressing that there is something that she could or should have taken into consideration before. In this case, she “should have” noticed that there are available recipients whom she is ignoring by her language choice. Nevertheless, the formulation does not point to a wrong language choice in the prior talk, but rather acknowledges the shift in the participation framework by treating the others as “newcomers.”

At line 16, Tiina continues with a detailed relaying of what she has been saying. She ties her continuation to the initial topic formulation by using the element *que*. *Que* does not work here as a complementizer, but as a linking element in turn-initial position. This closely resembles the use of *que* as a dialogic particle right at the beginning of a translatory turn, which will be analyzed later (§3.4). In the continuation, Tiina makes the topic discussable for the others by laying out the contrast of stances towards the matter under discussion (l. 16–17, 20, 24). The others respond to this by stating their own views. This point introduces us to the theme of the next section: the explication of stance in a translatory turn provides the recipient with something to relate to, and thus can invite more elaborate responses than the simple naming of topics. The mere naming of topics also involves membership categorizations to which the recipient may potentially relate, but in the current data, they mostly exclude rather than include the newcomer.

Studies of embodied interaction have highlighted the importance of gaze in monitoring the behavior of co-participants (for example, see Kendon 1967, Mondada 2009a, Streeck et al. 2011, Rossano 2011). Heath (1984) demonstrates that gaze and postural shifts directed towards a co-participant can be used to display reciprocity and thus prompt the other to speak (see also Kidwell 1997). Monitoring gaze and facial expressions also enable the sharing of emotion (Kaukoma 2015). In the extracts with translation as topic formulation, the potential exclusion of some participants becomes oriented to, on the one hand, after talk that includes bodily produced affect, such as laughter or marked tones of voice. In other words, salience in conversation is oriented to as making it relevant to understand. On the other hand, these also become oriented to as worthy of translation through embodied orientations to the OLS’s reciprocity. Gazes and glances “across the language barrier” may demonstrate to a potential mediator the need for mediation. This can be either the OLS’s gaze directed at the speaker, or the speaker’s gaze at a potential but, presumably, non-understanding participant. Sometimes this occurs when emerging from a schism. The conversation has divided into parallel lines in different languages, and when one ceases, suddenly silent participants are gazing in the speaker’s direction, making it relevant to re-include them. In some cases, a potential mediator checks as to whether the OLS has understood, and thus marks something in the discussion as worthy of understanding. However, none of the topic formulations occur as responses to the OIR by the OLS herself.

Often the newly engaged recipient is not familiar with the formulated topics. By translating, the speaker orients to the local language asymmetry, but she reacts to the change in the set of recipients rather than to having used a wrong language or having said something suspicious (contrary to the translations following the OIR in §3.1.1). Verbalizing the act of

speaking again shifts the focus on the speaking itself. It was suggested that in topic formulations, it marks the actual division of the conversation between included and not included parties. The use of topic framing is similar to reporting in that it also adjusts the prior, or in this case, ongoing action with regard to the recipient. However, how the past discussion is depicted appears not so much to deal with content that might be problematic for the recipient. Rather, the issue is the inaccessibility of the ongoing discussion for the “newcomer.” By maintaining that the talk has taken place among “us” or some others, but not the current recipient, the formulating speaker marks a change from the past participation framework. Furthermore, the recipient-excluding features as well as the including features that may accompany the mention of a topic organize the relation of the topic to the language choice – the exclusiveness of the past topic can be in line with the exclusive language choice. The formulating turns thus adjust the prior topic to the new participation framework – or perhaps better said, they adjust the new participation framework to the topic.

In principle, formulating a topic may open it up to elaboration by the recipient as well, but this is not achieved through the formulation alone. Instead, the topic may be continued and further elaborated by elements that explicate the prior discussion at a further level of detail, such as stance-taking, which may then afford the newcomer some substrate providing for where to continue and what to contribute. The negotiation of the OLS’s joining in the topic under discussion may then also involve a coordination of stances. Even though the OLS might not engage in talking, framing the overall theme of the conversation can make it easier for her to infer more as to what is going on, especially if she has at least some competence in the language used. In some cases, the language of the conversation changes to the language of the formulation. Of course, this makes the conversation accessible to speakers of that language, even if only from the periphery.

3.3 Generalizations of locally expressed stance

In addition to describing a particular act of speaking or a discussion, the representation of speakers and their communicative actions can be accomplished so that it transcends the current situation and explains it through a generalization. The following is an example: *o Pentti sempre faz piada com::, com coisa de de, política* ‘Pentti always makes jokes with, with stuff on on, politics’ (see analysis below). By generalizing, the utterances portray the prior speaker’s ways of communicating as indicative of their attitudes and viewpoints, or else directly depict these (*ela acha tão engraçado... ‘she thinks it’s so funny...’*). According to Deppermann (2011: 124), generalizations (and abstractions) may achieve “accounting for particular instances by more general patterns, which themselves get their referential and indexical meaning by the instances they are applied to.” In the cases in this section, generalizations of a participant’s stance, or stance-indicating communicative behavior, work as translations. That is, the generalizations are locally meaningful as turns that render the prior talk intelligible for someone. They represent the past talking as an instance of the more general characteristics of the speaker(s).

In the previous section, it was proposed that explicating stances towards a formulated topic may provide the recipient with something to relate to (take a stance to), and thus the expression of a stance in such translatory turns can invite the recipient to contribute to the conversation. This means that the current cases partly overlap with topic formulations. However, whereas the topic formulations directly characterize a current discussion, the translatory turns examined in this section achieve this by asserting a more permanent, general state of affairs.

The various phenomena referred to as stance in the literature concern the expression of attitudes, perspectives, points of view, standpoints, opinions, and positions; *stance-taking* in particular refers to how these are constituted interactively (see Haddington 2005, Englebretson 2007). The issue of how stance transpires and is organized in translating another's talk is of course a rather complex network of phenomena. The theme of *stance-taking* may be relevant in observing any mediatory interaction, especially the issue of how a mediator *distances* herself from the words spoken (see §3.1).¹⁹ In the current study, stance will be discussed mainly with regard to generalizations. This is because they appear in the data as ways to mediate talk that includes the salient expression of evaluative and affective stances.

The translatable, affective talk in this section resembles some earlier examples of talk relayed as a report or topic. It was shown that the affective salience of talk is one of the apparent features that makes talk worthy of translating, and that the translatory turns deal with the implications of that talk for the recipient of the translation. For those cases that have reportive framing (§3.1), these implications are treated as problematic as they (and the affect) indirectly concern the OLS. In the cases with topic formulation (§3.2), the implications are personally more neutral, but the translatory talk deals with the exclusiveness of the past or on-going talk. The generalizing translatory turns in this section also orient to the OLS as someone who was not involved in the past exchange, and they treat the past talk rather neutrally in terms of any personal consequences for the OLS. However, in comparison to topic formulations, the generalizing turns have the relaying of stance as the scope of the mediating right from the beginning – they orient to the recipient more directly as someone who has observed the affective tones of the past talk.

In these cases, mediation is mostly mobilized by an embodied negotiation of the OLS's involvement as a new recipient who is potentially interested in what was said. She may have observed affective tones in the prior talk that are somewhat available regardless of language competence, such as laughter or arguing. In some cases, a potential mediator asks whether that participant has understood anything; the latter may also reveal some of her understanding of the situation through smiling or other facial expressions. Alternatively, she can signal withdrawal from the interaction. As was already shown, withdrawal can also mobilize mediation.

The first example of generalizations that can be oriented to as representations of just prior talk is from a lengthy discussion. For convenience, it is here divided into two parts: the first part includes the talk that leads to mediating in the second part of the extract. Pentti (F) makes a provocative, humorous comment on the social situation in Africa by saying that

¹⁹ Note the common root of “stance” and “distance” in Latin (*di*)*stantia*, meaning ‘stand (apart).’

people suffering from poverty do not have much else to do than have children (l. 10–11). His daughter, Sanna (F/P), rejects “Africa” as a topic by referring in an irritated manner to past discussions that have led to a conflict (l. 12–13, 17–23).

(3.12a) Africa.FI (Kesä_B 32.40)

(During the extract, André keeps shifting his gaze between his plate and the others who are talking and laughing, and he also smiles. Details of this embodied behavior have not been transcribed.)

01 Pentti: niill_ei oop paljo muuta tekemistä ku lapsia.
they don't have much to do other than make babies

02 Márcio: mm hemmheh hehe[hehheeheheh .hh

03 Sanna: [ai kenellä,
(you mean) who

04 Pentti: [niillä köyhil*lä.
the poor

05 Márcio: [he he he he .hhmh

06 Sanna: m[m.

07 Raili: [(nii) ja lestadiolaisilla.
(yes) and the laestadians

08 Pentti: mm.

09 (1.0)

10 Pentti: Afrikasha on sama juttu mitä
in Africa it's the same thing the

11 on köy[hempi paikka (ni);
poorer the place

12 Sanna: [joo ↑nyt ei aleta puhuu Afrikasta
yeah now we will not start to talk about Africa

13 ollenkaan [tänää.
at all today

14 Pentti: [fmh-hm?ɛ mheh

15 Raili: .kh[hheh

16 Márcio: [hehe

17 Sanna: se aihe on [täysin kilelletty.
that subject is totally banned

18 Raili: [mhe he he he he

19 Pentti: [jaa-a?
I see

20 Raili: [he he he he .snfhh

21 Sanna: tää [aihe oj jo käsitelty.
this subject has already been dealt with

22 Raili: [hi hi hi he he he

23 Sanna: viime kesänä.
last summer

24 Márcio: mm-hm.

25 Raili: ahhahha[hhahhah

26 Sanna: [ehh ihan t(h)arpeeksf.
quite enough

27 Raili: joo.
yes

28 Sanna: .ghh

29 (3.0)

In the above extract, Sanna has explicitly banned a topic (l. 12, 17, 21). In the beginning of the second part of the transcript, Raili (Pentti's wife and Sanna's mother) laughingly lists another baneful topic, communism. Later on, Márcio (Sanna's husband) asks André whether he has understood what is going on (l. 36), and mediates for him.

(3.12b) Africa.FI (Kesä_B 33.02)

30 Raili: nii ja sit toine on kommunist(h)ih, heh he
yes and another one is communism heh he

31 Sanna: mm,

32 (1.2)

33 Raili: ehh s(h)e on m- mheh .hh
ehh it is heh

34 Sanna: joo.
yes

35 Raili: meidän lemppariaiheita.
one of our favorite topics

36 Márcio: c[ê *entendeu*?
2SG understand.PST
did you understand

37 Pentti: [ja<
and

- 38 Márcio: →*krhm .hh* (1.6) *o Pentti sempre faz piada*
 ART [name] always make.3SG joke
 Pentti always makes jokes
- 39 *com::* (1.2) *com coisa de de;*
 PREP thing PREP PREP
 about about stuff on on
- 40 (0.6)
- 41 Pentti: (mitä); (.) [(*kerro*);
 what tell ((what you said))
- 42 Márcio: [*política*;
 politics
- 43 (0.8)
- 44 Márcio: *pieni hetki.* [#e#
 just a moment
- 45 Sanna: [*só para me provo[car.*
 only PREP 1SG provoke
 just to provoke me
- 46 Márcio: [é. *he heh he*
 yes
- 47 André: [é.
 is it so
- 48 Sanna: [*ai eu falei que não vou falar s- #e# ah*
 ADV 1SG say.1SG.PST *que* NEG AUX.1SG talk a-
 so/then I said that I'm not going to talk a-
- 49 *África é um tema que não vai ser discutido hoje.*
 [name] be.3SG ART theme *que* NEG AUX be discuss.PPC today
 Africa is a theme that will not be discussed today

At line 36, the future mediator checks the OLS's understanding, which means that the prior talk was worth being understood. A motivation for this can be found in the prior laughter and intensive tones of voice, which André has displayed attention to by glancing at the others and smiling occasionally while he eats. Márcio depicts Pentti's comment and the other's reactions to it through a generalization about him as 'always' making these types of jokes (l. 38–39). Sanna first joins in Márcio's generalization by providing an increment (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, Ford et al. 2002), *só para me provocar* 'just to provoke me.' With this utterance, she explicates that telling such jokes is an instance of Pentti's attitude towards her. Then she continues by reporting to André her own reply to Pentti: *ai eu falei que não vou...* 'so/then I said that (I) am not going to....' With the "narrative marker," adverb *ai* 'then/so' (Furtado da Cunha 2012: 12, Jungbluth & Vallentin 2015: 326–329) she reports her reply as having been locally responsive to the behavior that was expressed by the generalization. The tying of the response shows that Sanna does, in fact, orient to the generalization as representing a particular instance of Pentti's talking.

In the previous extract, Márcio's translation targets stance-laden talk that is explicitly dealt with as provoking conflict. In the following case, the evaluating aspect is somewhat more subtle. Gaia (P/f) tells a joke in Portuguese (l. 1–15), and as the only non-Portuguese speaker, Antti (F) cannot understand.

(3.13) Jokes about the Portuguese.BR (Ravintola_B 00.10)

(During the first 1.5 minutes of the extract in Portuguese, until l. 39, Antti shifts his gaze between the conversationalists and around him in the restaurant, at times scratching his arm and adjusting his clothing and posture.)

- 01 Gaia: *.hh é igual a piada do japonês.* (0.4) *(ou) do japonês=*
it's like the joke about the Japanese (or) about the Japanese ((I mean))
- 02 *do português.* (0.2) *ele veio no Brasil?* (0.6)
about the Portuguese he came to Brasil
- 03 *chupou picolé?* (0.8) *ai ele falou*
ate popsicle then he said
- 04 *eu vou levar esse pa Ma[ria].*
I'll take this to Maria
- 05 Sauli: [kh krahm
- 06 Gaia: *ai comprou picolé?* (0.4) *colocou dentro da mala?*
so he bought a popsicle put inside the suitcase
- 07 (0.6) *assim num cantinho né?=vou picolé pra mulher.*
there in a corner you see I'll (take) popsicle to my wife
- 08 (0.8) *.hh maria eu trouxe picolé pra v[ocê].*
Maria I brought a popsicle for you
- 09 Sauli: [krahm
- 10 (1.0)
- 11 Gaia: *uma coisa e- (-) do Brasil.* (1.2)
a thing (---) from Brasil
- 12 *a la- ele abriu a mala?* (0.8) *quando ele*
he opened the suitcase when he
- 13 *abriu a mala e viu todo molhado lá?* (0.6)
opened the suitcase and saw everything was wet
- 14 *ai ele falou caramba; (.) nem de roubarem*
so he said damn it's one thing if they steal
- 15 *meu picolé ainda fizeram xixi na minha mala.*
my popsicle but why did they have to pee in my suitcase too
- 16 Sauli: *mhhe[he*

17 Toni: [hehehehee[hehe

18 Gaia: [hahahaha

(5 lines omitted)

24 Gaia: e tinha hospede português lá? (0.6) e eu
and there was a Portuguese guest there and me

25 contando piada d(h)e p(h)ortu[guês pra ela.
telling jokes about the Portuguese to her

26 Sauli: [ahhahhahha ha hah

27 Gaia: .hh haha .hh [(qua-)

28 Sauli: [é:: nunca se ehheh sabe q(h)uem hehe
yes you never know who
(ANTTI PUTS ON EYEGLASSES ON AND CHECKS HIS CELL PHONE)

(14 lines of conversation in Portuguese omitted: Talk concerns how it is possible to recognize a Portuguese person by their looks, and whether the woman liked the joke.)

43 Gaia: ela falou que o marido faz piada pra ela [(assim).
she said that her husband makes that kind of jokes to her

44 Sauli: [mheheh

45 Toni: leg*al.
cool

Sauli *GAZE FROM GAIA TO DISTANCE (PAST ANTTI), SMILING-->

46 (2.0)

47 Gaia: mmh

48 Antti +(0.2)*+
#. #PICKS UP GLASS-->

Sauli -->*G>ANTTI'S GLASS

49 Sauli:→**tä*äl kerrotaan paljo;** (0.2) **#portugalilaisista #vitsejä.**
here tell.PASS much portuguese.PL.ELA joke.PL.PAR
here they tell a lot of jokes about the Portuguese
->*G>ANTTI

Antti ----->#DRINKS-----#, , , , ->

50 Antti (0.2)+(0.2)#(0.4)

->, , , , , , #
+G>SAULI-->

51 Antti: aijaa.
oh really

52 Sauli: **n- n- niitä [pidetään vähä;**
DEM3.PL.PAR consider.PASS little
t- t- they are considered a bit

53 Gaia: [não tem bigode.
doesn't have lip hair ("mustache")

exclusion can be distinguished from moments in which the linguistically different parties remain inactive on the side without anyone treating this as problematic. In large portions of the data, the OLSs are sitting there without actively talking or trying to understand or enter the conversation. In other words, non-understanding is not constantly oriented to as a problematic instance of exclusion but handled as an inevitable condition in the multilingual, multiparty situation.

In this example, the discussion following the joke concerns the attitudes that people can take to such jokes. The participants seem to appreciate that the Portuguese woman who heard Gaia's joking did not get upset (during 24–25, 43, 45, and omitted lines). Thus the joke and the following discussion in Portuguese reveal the delicacy of treating other nationalities as objects of humorous mocking. Antti seems to grasp some of this tension, as he provides a mitigating response to the generalization by saying that similar joking is common everywhere (l. 55–56: *joo se ov vähä joka maassa on vähä sillai* 'yes it's a bit in every country it's a bit like that').

The properties of stance-taking have a number of specific consequences for translating stance-imbued talk. Stance is expressed during interaction in a myriad of ways, both given off and purposely stated (M. H. Goodwin 2006, Haddington 2005, Englebretson 2007). When the mediating speaker chooses what and how to translate, she needs to take into account how these more or less implicit aspects of the past talk become portrayed. The participant who acts as a mediator is present as a regular participant, who then takes up the task of mediating. Not only what she chooses to relay but also the way she delivers it conveys her own positioning in the interaction. As the data extracts have shown, the description of a co-participant's stance also conveys the mediating speaker's own evaluation of what that person has contributed to the interaction.

Affective stance in interaction is typically indexed by features such as prosody, lexical choice, or nonverbal conduct rather than in an utterance's propositional content (see, for example, Peräkylä & Sorjonen 2012). Therefore it is difficult to separate affect from the speaker who produces the signs of it (as compared to, for example, marking the words one uses as not one's own). Thus instead of reproducing the indicators of affect, mediating speakers may tend to relay expressions of affect by verbalizing them. As Wadensjö (1998: 273) observes, when a professional interpreter demonstrates ("replays") stance indicators instead of describing them, there may be more room for mis-interpreting the stance as the current speaker's own, and moreover, the effect may become comical or even be understood as mockery (also Mason 2009: 64). As for non-professional interpreting, Knapp-Potthoff & Knapp (1987: 194) suggest that others' emphatic expressions are not easily mediated directly but rather through a description, such as "she is delighted" or "she agrees." Likewise, in the current data, the affective stances of others are represented in other ways instead of replaying them. However, the translatory talk does not involve any explicit depictions of emotional states. As I have demonstrated, translating speakers can depict (affective) stances in the source talk through a generalization, still mediating their local expression.

The fact that the generalizing turns depict the prior speaker's viewpoint so clearly makes them appear backwards-looking, centrally oriented to present that participant in a certain light. Nevertheless, generalizations are also designed to take into consideration the

particular recipients and the progression of their involvement in the interaction. The speakers consider the recipient's prior perception of the situation, as they explicate something that she will already have observed. In addition, the expression of stance in these translatory turns has the capacity to invite the recipient to contribute something substantial to the discussion. This is in line with conversation analytic literature on the explicit expression of stance in *assessments* (Pomerantz 1984, Goodwin & Goodwin 1987). These are turns in which the speaker evaluates something, often using the format "x + copula + evaluation." Assessing makes it conditionally relevant for the recipient to respond by (preferably) agreeing with the assessment. Even non-aligning stances that occur during disputes invite responses that contribute to the activity of debating (Kangasharju 1998, 2009). In a similar manner, generalizing stances in translatory talk offer substrate for the recipients to relate to, enabling them to respond with something more elaborate (in comparison to, say, receipting a report or factual informing).

The emphasis on issues of alignment between the participants in translatory talk may also entail the need to make explicit whose viewpoint is being represented. Angermeyer (2009: 5, 2013) remarks in his study on court interpreting that antagonistic stances in the source talk invite the interlocutors to take contrasting or aligning stances, and that this affects the professional interpreter's position as well. In this situation, the interpreter may avoid taking stances by the way she relays that talk. She can, for instance, refer to the speaker in third person and thus avoid direct translation that might give an impression of aligning with the speaker. The distancing function of mentioning the speaker and formulating their act of speaking was discussed earlier in the case of reported speech (§3.1).

When the translating speakers in the current data explicate the source speaker's stance-taking as that person's general standpoint, they are also making a distinction between their own position and the one of the prior speaker. Nevertheless, the next case of self-translation is evidence that this is not necessarily because the speaker personally distances herself from the prior view. Instead, the speaker may be adopting a new position in the participant constellation with the new recipients. Before the extract, Sanna's (F/P) father Pentti (F) has asked whether Brazilians have the custom of eating potatoes, and Sanna has engaged in a long explanation on Brazilian eating habits.

(3.14) Rice and beans.FI (Kesä_B 38.24)

- 01 Sanna: kyl ne syö sit (.)
they do eat
- 02 ne syö niinku peru[namuussii kyllä?
they do eat like mashed potatoes
- 03 Pentti: [otatko voita?
do you take butter
- 04 (0.4)
- 05 Sanna: mut seki on aina <riisij> ja papujen #kanssa#,
but that too is always with rice and beans
- 06 (0.8)

- 07 Raili: †nii.=
right
- 08 Márcio: ai[na.
always
- 09 Sanna: [et mi- et †mitää:n ei [syödä ilman riisii ja papuja.
so no- so nothing is eaten without rice and beans
- 10 Raili: [ai kum mun silmä on niin kipee.
oh my eye is so sore
- 11 Márcio: e†i.=tul[ee aina;
no=always comes
- 12 Sanna: [tai var†sinkaa riisii. .hh et esimerkiks
or especially rice like for example
- 13 me oltiin syömäs >siä yhel< Manun kaveril mis oli
we were having a meal there at Manu's friend where there was
- 14 la↓sanjee? (0.6) •(0.2) †ja •friisiä£.
lasagna and rice
- Raili •LETS FORK DOWN•GETS UP AND LEAVES
- 15 Raili: pmhh
- 16 ◇(1.6)
Pentti ◇SCRATCHES FOREHEAD, LEANS FORWARD, GAZES AT HIS PLATE->
- 17 Sanna:→ +>pra gente< é im- é ä é †totalmente inacreditável
PREP+ART 1PL be.3SG im- totally incredible
for us (it) is im- totally unbelievable
+G>ANDRÉ
- 18 que vocês fazem la:sanha e comem junto com ar↓roz.
que 2PL make.3PL lasagna and eat.3PL together with rice
that you make lasagna and eat (it) with rice
- 19 Márcio: s[im.
yes
- 20 André: [ahn.
- 21 Sanna: tipo <arroz>.
like rice
- 22 (0.4)
- 23 André: é:: [até †feijão;
yes even bean sauce
- 24 Márcio: [(e)
- 25 Márcio: s↓im,
yes

At lines 17–18, Sanna mediates for André by generalizing the earlier point of view: *pra gente* (--) *é totalmente inacreditável que* ‘for us (--) it is totally unbelievable that...’ Again, talking from an “our” perspective (*[a] gente* ‘we’) creates a contrast between the reference group of the speaker (generally speaking, the Finns) and that of the recipients(s) (Brazilians). Using this perspective also conveys that the prior audience for her talk (her Finnish parents) shares her stance.

When she expresses the ‘unbelievability’ of someone eating lasagna with rice, Sanna adopts an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz 1986), ‘totally.’ Extreme case formulations are expressions such as *completely*, *always* and *never*, which typically portray the state of affairs as unreasonable and illogical (ibid, 219). These expressions with marked prosody have also occurred in the earlier talk. For example, Márcio’s collaborative turns include *aina* ‘always’ at lines 8 and 11, and Sanna’s turns at lines 5 and 9 include ‘always’ and ‘nothing.’ The combination of prosodic and rhythmic means (such as the dramatic pause at l. 14) and the real-life example of visiting a friend, all render Sanna’s claims more convincing. By comparison, in the translatory turn, she verbalizes these as a general view. The translatory turn thus demonstrates properties of generalizations that are also typical for practices of formulating. Formulations “make meanings explicit which were implicit in the prior version (or which are at least treated as if they had been implicated in it), but their local meaning rests itself in part on the versions they are meant to replace” (Deppermann 2011: 122). In this case, the ‘incredibility’ that was originally expressed by prosody and word choice (extreme cases) is partly relayed at the level of prosody and word choice, but it is also formulated as “our view” – this turn obtains its meaning from the relation it establishes with the past talk among the Finns.

André is not visible in the video immediately before the translation, but the video does show Raili leaving the table at the end of Sanna’s Finnish utterance (l. 14) and Pentti withdrawing his gaze while focusing on eating (l. 16). This means that Sanna has lost her recipients. When she now rephrases the earlier talk in Portuguese, she mediates for André, but she also gains a new audience to support her claims (l. 23). Both André and Márcio (who are Brazilian) contribute to enhancing the claimed oddity of eating rice with everything (l. 8, 11, 23). Sanna is highly invested in the viewpoint she portrays in her self-translatory turn. Accordingly, the example shows that translating by explicitly referring to those who hold a particular stance is not necessarily motivated by the speakers’ need to distance themselves from what has been expressed. Sanna’s 1PL reference includes herself, which demonstrates no distancing of the speaker-animator from the stance indicated in the past talk. However, she does not depict the talk as solely her own words either (as she could do by reporting; ‘I said...’).

By naming ‘us’ as a source for a general view, Sanna verbalizes the asymmetry of the participation in prior talk and the change in the participant constellation within the current turn. Asymmetry is expressed through referring to a larger social group that does not involve the recipient. As Sacks (1995) suggests, membership categorical terms make it relevant for the recipient to position herself in relation to that categorization. Referring to “our view” has a somewhat similar function as the previous example’s *tääl kerrotaan* (here tell.PASS.4),

although that case does not specify the principal source. ‘Here’ and ‘we’ both portray categorical asymmetry between the group that holds the stance and the recipient. However, as shown, the deictic expressions (*tääl* DEM1.LOC.ADE; *gente* 1PL) obtain their meaning locally in relation to the participant constellation in the prior other-language talk. Hence, the change that occurs between Sanna’s turns (from talking about individual experience to generalizing membership-categorical viewpoints) serves to adapt the past talk to the new participant constellation. Sanna is not restarting the talk on rice as a new telling, nor is she simply insisting on her opinion by recycling prior turns (this latter type of recycling occurs, for instance, from l. 18 to 21). Instead, she is transforming the prior telling for the new context of action and the individual recipients, and the expression of social asymmetry in the design of her turn contributes to making this link visible.

It was observed earlier that the translatory turns in this section do not orient to any problematic implications of the past talk for the OLS. In the latest extract, the talk that is eventually mediated obviously concerns the Portuguese speakers. However, the talk does not target them on an indirect, personal level as it did in the cases that involve reportive framing. In those cases, the mitigations, omissions, and modifications of the past talk in the translatory turns displayed orientations to ambiguities in the OLS’s position. In the current extract, the initial discussion has straightforwardly concerned Brazilian habits, and this is maintained, even highlighted, in the translatory turn. In other words, the fact that the Finnish talk concerns the OLS participants is not treated as a sensitive or problematic matter. The topic does entail different participant statuses for them, however. Whereas the original evaluation of the Brazilian food culture was addressed to the Finnish-speakers as unknowing recipients, the mediation of that talk addresses new, but in this case, knowing recipients. They respond by joining in the exoticizing evaluation of their culture. In other words, the new recipients contribute to the discussion by aligning with the view presented to them.

This section has demonstrated how speakers may generalize prior communicative stances to render individual stretches of prior talk understandable for the OLS participant. These translatory turns depict and explicate prior affective talk, while simultaneously providing a way for the recipient to relate to this talk and contribute to the conversation. The generalization of another’s stance makes explicit the distribution of viewpoints towards what is translated. Nonetheless, generalizing is not only a strategy to express (di)stance towards the past talk when the mediator wishes to do so (compare reported speech in Johnen & Meyer 2007), but appears to respond to or anticipate the interactional consequences of salient expressions of stance in the past talk.

Adopting a particular stance reveals something about the stance-taker’s more general worldview. Such an interpretation is reflected in how the mediating speakers generalize viewpoints, but also in how they adjust past talk to accommodate the new recipient. They adjust it according to their interpretation of what the current recipient may have inferred from the talk thus far, and how she will be able to relate to what transpires in the past talking. These considerations are sometimes accomplished through membership categorization, that is, through invoking the recipient’s more lasting social characteristics. This type of categorization is illustrated in extract 3.13 above when Sauli mediates a joke about Portuguese people to Antti. If he repeated the joke as such, he would be presupposing that Antti can align with the others’ way of joking about the Portuguese. However, Antti’s status

as a Finnish guest does not provide grounds for Sauli to assume that he would share the view that Brazilians have about Portugal (a country that colonized Brazil). Sauli mediates the joking through a generalization, and Antti in fact indicates having understood the point by making an analogy to relationships between other closely related countries ('it's a bit like that in every country'). Thus, both orient to Antti's differential status as a recipient in relation to the attitudes expressed in prior talk. This is one of the ways in which membership categories, stance, and the formulation of what has been discussed intertwine in translatory interaction.

The cases also feed into a seemingly more common phenomenon in translatory interaction: the OLS' access to the interaction is oriented to when the discussion involves affect. This suggests that translatory practices are related to wider issues of alignment and affiliation with others' experiences (Stivers et al. 2011, Peräkylä & Sorjonen 2012). There seems to be some sort of moral obligation (see, for example, Goffman 1959) or push to collectively handle affectivity and thus also to render it intelligible in the other language, both in order to make others' affect intelligible for the OLS and to allow her to respond to it. In brief, orientations to social rights and responsibilities underlie everyday mediatory interaction.

It can be questioned whether it is plausible to treat utterances such as generalizations as translations, because they are considerably different from the source utterances and assert something about the past speakers that goes beyond the speech situation. However, it was also demonstrated that these turns locally achieve the mediation of past talk. Analyzing these cases in the scope of translatory practices affords insight into the various types of transformative relationships between representations of ongoing interaction in another language and some original talk. It also allows us to glimpse at how the expression of personal stance is managed in translations as instances of distributed discursive agency. The next subchapter will analyze another means of relating to past talk, mediating it by *explaining*.

3.4 Voicing particles in launching explanations

With regard to framing the past, other-language talk with a *verbum dicendi* (§3.1), it was demonstrated that the Finnish *että* and the Portuguese *que* occur frequently as complementizers in connecting the introductory clause and the quotation. However, as already mentioned with regard to one extract (3.11), they can also occur in turn-initial position. As is evidenced in interactional studies of clause combining, elements that have traditionally been regarded as subordinated complements are not necessarily best described as syntactically dependent on a main clause. This is because the elements have independent uses in talk, and moreover, even when they are preceded by clausal frames, the frames may work more on the basis of interactional projection than actual subordination (for example, see Thompson 2002, Hopper & Thompson 2008, Laury & Suzuki 2011). This applies to both *että* and *que*. In grammatical descriptions, *että* and *que* have been regarded as

multifunctional conjunctions. (For Finnish, see ISK §819 and for Portuguese, Azevedo 2005: 85 and 244, Thomas 2000: 317–319.) Nevertheless, they also occur as turn-initial particles (for Finnish, see Seppänen & Laury 2007, Laury & Seppänen 2008, Koivisto et al. 2011 and for observations on Portuguese, Decat 1999, Dutra 1999).

The turn-initial particle *että* has been shown to function in introducing reported speech. However, even when it is preceded by an introductory verb, the quotation may not have the status of an actual syntactic complement (Kuiri 1984: 149, Routarinne 2005: 94–103, Laury 2006a, Koivisto et al. 2011). Laury & Seppänen (2008: 154) suggest that the syntactic integration of *että*-initial utterances to preceding talk can be best understood as a continuum between conjunction and particle uses, not a binary distinction.

In this section, I analyze the uses of *että* and *que* as turn-initial particles. Due to their dialogic function (see Koivisto et al. 2011), I refer to them as *voicing particles*. For instance, let us consider an example in Finnish that is the beginning of a translatory turn that follows a discussion about a homonymic word (for analysis, see ex. 3.18).

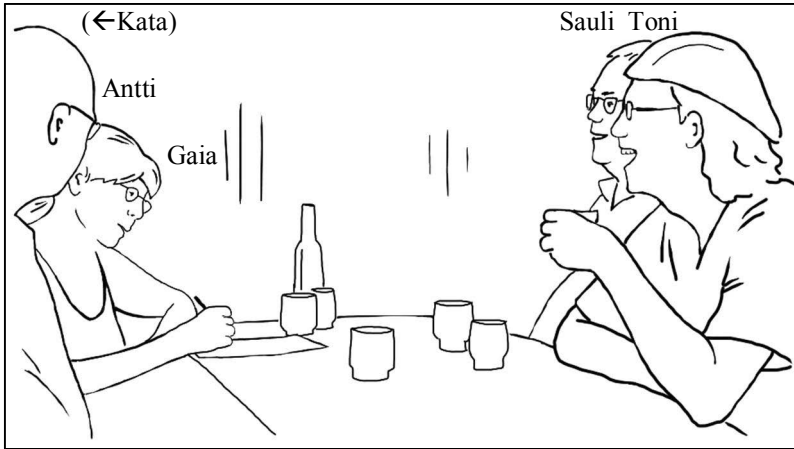
et- että Suames eiku:: Ranskassa tää on kans cou ku: Suomessa se on se taivaankappale, 'et- että in Finnish no:: in French this is also cou whereas in Finnish it is the celestial body'

The initial *että* and *que* tie the language-alternating utterance to prior talk. The analyses will further reveal how the particles mark the turn as a paraphrase of that talk and thus incorporate the prior speaker's voice in the current utterance. Accordingly, they function as quotative elements without being accompanied by speech act verbs. They index the past talk as a source, and thereby contribute to forming a mediatory constellation.

Similar to extracts in the past sections, in these cases a participant engages in mediating after the OLS has expressed interest in the talk in an embodied way. The mediator may first ask about her understanding of prior talk and only then begin to rephrase it. This section also presents a motivation for engaging in mediating that has yet to be discussed: the OLS may act in an incoherent way, revealing that she has not followed or understood the past talk. Others may react to this by beginning to translate the past talk.

The translatory turns with the turn-initial particle *että* or *que* examined in this section treat the past talk as *explainable*. The mediating speakers relay and contextualize the translatable matters in a detailed way, and in this regard, they differ especially from the earlier examined topic formulations, which can deliver rather broad glosses of prior discussions. Explanations in conversation have been examined as types of accounts, but they also have a broader use in normalizing something that is exceptional, surprising, unexpected, or strange (Antaki 1988, 1994, Fasel Lauzon 2009: 42). The translatory explanations in the data concern, for instance, multilingual puns and tellings of exceptional events. These matters can be rather complex to mediate. For the recipient to fully appreciate them, she must be able to grasp the relationship between a number of related facts (such as metalinguistic definitions in the above example) or courses of events. The mediating speaker presents these as bits of information that she is now explaining for the recipient – the original talk was not necessarily delivered as an explanation. That is, the turns form rather lengthy stretches of translatory talk that are displayed as composed, or authored, by the mediating speaker.

F#1



- 08 Toni: [hö [höhö
- 09 Kata: [hiha[hahah
- 10 Sauli: [heheh
- 11 Gaia: hhe[heeh
- 12 Toni: → +[et[tä*
that
->+G>ANTTI
Antti -->*G>TONI
- 13 Kata: [muit(h)o b[om.
a good one
- 14 Toni: [#hän puhuu #intiaanikieltä (.)
3SG speak.3SG indian.language.PAR
she speaks indigenous language
#P>GAIA-----#POINTS FURTHER TWD GAIA/PAPER->
- 15 t- #k:atariinan [kanssa.
[name].GEN with
with Katariina
-->#P>KATA
- 16 Kata: [mas é muito
but is it very
- 17 dife[rente do: tupi an↑tigo.]
different from the old Tupi
- 18 Antti: [*j(h)aa m:itens ne intiaanit] puhuu.
oh (I see) well how do the indians speak
*G>KATA->>

At the end of his turn at line 5, Toni turns his gaze to Gaia, who has just begun delivering the punchline. Soon after (l. 7), Antti follows the change in Toni's focus of attention and turns to look at Gaia as well. In doing so, he positions himself as a potential recipient of Gaia's talk. Toni briefly points to Gaia at lines 6–7 while also laughing. The pointing seems to have been produced for Kata, who is the target of the tease involved in the joking. Around this moment, everyone but Antti starts laughing. Joking makes it relevant for the recipients to join in the laughter (Jefferson 1979, Norrick 1993, Glenn 2003), and this appears to be an even stronger implication when everyone else is laughing. The absence of laughter by the OLS may create the relevance of mediating at this moment.

Gaia jokes about writing in the questionnaire that she uses Tupi with the researcher. This springs from the earlier discussion on the researcher's Tupi studies. Toni has relayed this information to Antti at lines 1 and 2 (for this type of translating, see §3.5), which provides background for understanding the humor being translated. In addition to this, Antti will also need to gather an understanding of the current activities and the personal history of two participants whom he does not know beforehand. Thus, there is a certain level of complexity to the mediated action.

Immediately after the beginning of Toni's translatory turn (l. 12 *että*), Antti turns his gaze from Gaia back to Toni. Now Toni has secured Antti's gaze, and he again points at Gaia while producing a pronominal reference to her (l. 14). He moves the pointing further towards Gaia's direction before he turns to point at Kata, the other person under discussion. The trajectory of the pointing appears to organize referring to the two participants involved, the translatee and the person that has been talked about. Moreover, it appears that at lines 2 and 14 Toni points at the consent form as representing the indigenous language: through gesturing he maps onto the local situation the relationship between Gaia, Kata and the language. Gaia as the source speaker is referred to with a pronoun, whereas the other person talked about is referred to with a proper name. Pronominal reference thus invokes Gaia's immediate presence as a source speaker as in the reportive frames, with the difference that here, reference occurs only after the introductory element (*että hän...* 'that s/he...'). This differs from both reportive framing and the subject of the next subchapter; turns that begin directly with the third-person reference, 's/he (is...).'

The *että* at the beginning of Toni's mediatory turn gains Antti's attention and also ties the utterance to Gaia's prior talk, which the others have received with laughter. In a study on *että*, Laury & Seppänen (2008) suggest that both as a complementizer joining a reporting clause and the citation and as a turn-initial particle, the general function of *että* is dialogic. The *että* contributes to organizing the participation framework by indexing the introduction of another voice. More precisely, *että* regulates the interaction in terms of who is to be taken as the principal source of the current talk, and indexes the role of the current speaker as an animator of another's talk (Laury & Seppänen 2008: 157, Koivisto et al. 2011: 70). Furthermore, Laury and Seppänen (2008) suggest that when *että* introduces the words of a co-participant, it indexes that the talk to follow is a paraphrase, summary, candidate understanding or upshot of earlier talk (also Kurhila 2006: 197–214). When it relates to the speaker's own prior talk, *että* marks the current words as a repeat or paraphrase of prior talk. In other words, *että* has been shown to introduce formulated interpretations of past talk.

In translatory turns, *että* works in a similar manner. It occurs as a complementizer in translatory turns constructed with reportive frames (§3.1), but also as a turn-initial element that indexes another voice without being preceded by any reporting verb or main clause. In translating past talk, the turn-initial *että* is able to invoke a co-textual relation to the past other-language talk which has been at least partly inaccessible to the recipient. The possibility of using *että* to connect to asymmetrically accessible past talk makes it even stronger as an independent linking element.

The turns also expose the current speaker's role as the one who has composed the current talk. The paraphrasing *että* indicates that the speaker is drawing from what was said, but she is not depicting the communicative action of the prior speakers as was the case in the earlier sections. In terms of the translated content, these turns organize information so that it can become interpretable as necessary background for understanding the action implemented by the past talk – not only for its own worth. Adopting (3.15) as an example, both Gaia's original talk and Toni's translation assert that Gaia speaks the Tupi language with Kata. However, this is not true, nor is Gaia simply conveying this as information to the others. Instead, her talk is meant to be understood ironically, exaggerating the competence of them both in Tupi. It appears that the "explanatory" framing element serves to manage such ambiguities, whereas relaying Gaia's talk in a format such as 'she speaks Tupi with Katariina' (compare §3.5) would not convey the additional layer through which the utterance is to be understood.

The next extract shows that the Portuguese *que* is used somewhat similarly to the Finnish *että*. This is hardly surprising, as the use of independent subordinate forms for the representation of speech has been reported in a number of languages (Evans 2007: 394–398). In analyses of Portuguese written texts, it has been shown that the "subordinating" *que* can occur without a main clause in contexts where prior text provides, at the discourse level, a frame for the embedding of repeated subordinate clauses (Decat 1999, see also Dutra 1999: 17–18 for the use of utterance-initial *que* in an oral narrative). Decat claims that such independent *que*-initial clauses can occur only in a paraphrasal chain, when they repeat syntactic structures from prior discourse. However, it will be demonstrated here that the utterance-initial use of *que* in translatory turns is not limited to cases with a preceding syntactic frame for the embedding. The Portuguese *que* works to index another voice as the source of the current utterance without lacking a main clause, much as the Finnish *että* was shown to work. In fact, Johnen & Meyer (2007: 405) mention a similar use of turn-initial *que* in non-professional interpreting in European Portuguese.

Let us now consider the following example. Pentti (F) has told a story about a plane crash. In addition to him, there are only two people present at this moment. He has treated Márcio (P/f) as the main recipient, but he has also glanced at André (P/f-) occasionally. Pentti also accompanies the telling by using extensive iconic gesturing to make it easier to understand. André appears to be carefully attending to his telling. When the story is completed, Márcio (P/f) begins to mediate for him by summarizing the history of the company that built the plane. This information has been mentioned in Pentti's earlier talk, which was constructed in a stepwise manner from ship making to planes – but it has not occurred as an introduction to the story as such. At line 1, Pentti presents proof for the

veracity of the story. Later on, Márcio asks whether André has understood. This foregrounds the language choice of the conversation and topicalizes possible problems in understanding.

(3.16) Plane.FI (Kesä_F 32.30)

- 01 Pentti: ja meidä- meill_ov *fv*anha (.) suomen kuvalehti
and ou- we have an old [name of news magazine]
Raili >>ENTERS, WALKS TWD THE TABLE-->
- 02 missä on kuva siita ku sef .hh kone on
with a picture of when the plane is
- 03 siel[lä et •siita näkyy #vähä.•
there ((in the water)) partly visible
- 04 Márcio: [£#oho#£,
wow
André •SMALL NODS-----•
Raili --->#PUTS CUPS ON THE TABLE
- 05 (0.6) MÁRCIO LOOKS AWAY SMILING WHILE
ANDRÉ GAZES AT PENTTI. PENTTI LOOKS DOWN.
- 06 Márcio: .snffhh
- 07 (0.2)
- 08 Márcio: ^cê *entendeu?**
2SG understand.3SG.PST
did you understand
André ^G>ANDRÉ *G FROM PENTTI>MÁRCIO
- 09 (0.4)
- 10 André: .mt não n-
no
- 11 Márcio:→ **que o pai dele trabalhava nu::m**
that ART father PREP+3SG work.3SG.PST PREP+ART
that his father used to work in
- 12 **lu[gar em Turku que fazia coisa pa ba[rco**
place PREP [name] that make.3SG.PST thing PREP boat
a place in [name] that made things for ships
- 13 André: [(certo) right [(certo) right
- 14 Márcio: **e que depois veio fazer coisa pra a[vião.**
and that after AUX.3PST make thing PREP plane
and which afterwards came to make things for planes
- 15 André: [avião.
planes

- 16 (0.8)
- 17 André: >e que era tudo de< ma₁deira,
and that it was all made of wood
- 18 Márcio: é:[::
yes
- 19 André: [só botou (-) [de metal].
only (-) was made of metal
- 20 Márcio: [é,
yes
- 21 é.
yes
- 22 (0.2)
- 23 Márcio: **e aí teve uma apresentação de #de::# (0.4)**
and then/so there was a show of of
- 24 **de a- desses aviões (.) acrobáticos?**
of those airshow planes
- 25 André: certo?
right
- ((MÁRCIO'S TRANSLATORY TALK CONTINUES))

Around line 6, Pentti's telling comes to a potential closing. He has reached the point in the story where the plane crashes down, and he has provided further proof for the events by saying that he has a picture of the accident. Márcio responds to the telling with an *oho* expressing amazement, and smiling. Pentti's talk has thus been appreciated as a story about unusual and tragic events. At the same time, Raili has arrived at the table to bring cups from the kitchen, and her entry seems to contribute to a natural closing of the discussion. Márcio looks away and Pentti looks down, establishing mutual disengagement (l. 5). André's reaction is, however, different from theirs, as he continues gazing at Pentti with a puzzled expression on his face. Márcio appears to interpret this as a sign of problems in understanding, basing on the fact that he then engages in mediating Pentti's talk for André. In fact, the relevance of André's understanding of Pentti's talk is not only established at this moment, but also throughout the extract. Although Pentti does not address much of the telling directly to him, he has glanced at André occasionally and anticipated issues of understanding by using extensive gesturing. The timing of mediating is then coordinated with the end of the main discussion.

At line 8, Márcio turns towards André and asks *cê entendeu?* 'did you understand?' He thus verbalizes the issue of understanding with regard to the past talk. Moreover, by using the past tense, he approaches the understanding retrospectively, portraying the target of understanding as something already completed. On those occasions when non-native speakers initiate repair by claiming non-understanding ("I don't understand"), it has been observed that the speakers who respond to it tend to resume talk from a few turns back to

rephrase the matter more holistically instead of just repeating immediately prior turns (Kuruhila 2012). Inquiring whether another participant has understood prior talk is similar to this in that it addresses the understanding of a larger issue. It is thus logical that in the data these turns occur in anticipation of the delivery of multi-unit explanations. Here, André disconfirms (l. 10), and Márcio begins an explanation of Pentti's relation to the plane crash. In this case, Márcio's *que*-initial translatory turn (l. 11) can be regarded as embedded in a syntactic frame established in his earlier utterance (l. 8). However, this analysis is complicated by the fact that André has already responded to the question in a turn that allows Márcio to proceed with his project. This renders no obvious structural motivation to use *que* as a linker to retrospectively embed, or increment, a subsequent part to his prior turn.

While extract 3.16 involved combining simultaneously existing states of affairs into an explanation, the next case illustrates the temporal organization of background information. The temporal sequencing of events builds into a story climax. This extract demonstrates some of the means of connecting the internal parts of an extended translatory stretch of talk. The utterances with initial *que* (l. 11, 14, 17) are later (l. 23) followed by the adverb *ai* ('then/so') that works as a transition marker (Furtado da Cunha 2012). It is accompanied by a change of aspect in the past tense, from imperfective (*trabalhava* 'used to work') to perfective (*ai teve* '(then) (there) was.') This temporal transition in the narrative is also where the translatory turn moves from background information to the main point. In translations to Portuguese, *ai* occurs frequently at transitions, including instances where reported speech is portrayed as a response to something in the represented event (compare ex. 3.12 Africa).

Que can be used in chaining clauses, as has been established in Portuguese texts before (Decat 1999). In many of the translatory turns, the turn-initial *que* is used to connect various subsequent utterances in a stretch of translatory, explanatory talk (in the current extract l. 14 and 17 *e que* 'and that,' and ex. (3.17) Mix l. 9 *mas que* 'but that'). The data do not contain examples of this sort of chaining in translatory turns into Finnish, although a similar use of *että*-initial clauses has been shown to occur in Finnish (Laury & Seppänen 2008: 165–166).

In the following extract, the Portuguese *que* is not preceded by any check on the recipient's understanding. The Finnish speakers are talking about an old saying that originates in their Finnish community in Brazil. According to the saying, Finns should avoid mixing languages. This is amusing for them because the saying refers to the mixing with *mistuurata*, an expression that is supposedly itself borrowed from Portuguese (*misturar*). Sinikka (F/P) has asked the others whether they remember who used to cultivate the saying in the community. Liisa (F/P) responds that she does not remember, but that she remembers well the saying itself. Still during Liisa's response, Luciana (P) looks at her smilingly, with raised eyebrows (l. 6).

(3.17) Mix.BR (Syntymäpäivät_A 13.30)

01 Liisa: em minä muista mutta se::;
I don't remember but that

- 02 Sinikka: [ei meillä mistuurata.
we don't mix
- 03 Liisa: [/se LA:use on jää/ny; (.) se lause on kyllä jääny:
that sentence has stayed that sentence has sure stayed
- 04 (.) ni ↑muistoo:n se.
in the memory, that one
- 05 ? : mhem
- 06 Liisa: et*tei mistuura[ta.
that (we) don't mix
Luciana *G>LIISA, RAISES EYEBROWS SMILING
- 07 Sinikka: [em mä muista olik-
I don't remember was-
- 08 [olisko se ollu tää;]
could it have been this
- 09 Liisa: → [**que a gente fala finla•ndês**] **mas que nós não mistura**
que ART 1PL speak finnish but *que* 1PL NEG mix
that we speak Finnish but that we don't mix
#HAND MOVEMENT TOWARDS LUCIANA
Luciana •NODS
- 10 **finlandês com fpor•tuguês e mist(h)u:ra né porque**
Finnish with Portuguese and mix TAG because
Finnish with Portuguese and we do mix, don't we, because
Luciana •NODS, SMILING
- 11 **c- como que nós não mistura [se falou mistura.f**
how come 1PL NEG mix if say.3SG.PST mix
how are we not mixing if (he) said 'mistura'
- 12 Kyllikki: [otit sä: kurkkua.
did you take cucumber
- 13 Saara: *sinikka*. (0.6) *não era o harju* (.) *que falou isso*.
Sinikka wasn't it Harju who said that

Thus far, Luciana has not been engaged in the ongoing discussion or looked at anyone. At line 6, however, she gazes at the current speaker, Liisa, and smiles. This is possibly a reaction to a competition for the floor, which Liisa engages in by slightly raising her voice. Part of Liisa's earlier turn (l. 1) has overlapped with Sinikka's speech, after which Liisa restarts louder and higher (l. 3). The others stop speaking and allow her to have the floor, which makes her voice stand out as a single speaker among the 11 participants. This appears to draw Luciana's attention to her.

Soon after, Liisa begins a translatory turn with the particle *que* (l. 9). The Finnish counterpart *että* (with negation: *ettei*) has occurred in Liisa's prior talk, in the increment 'that we don't mix' (l. 6). At first, one might wonder whether the subsequent *que* simply repeats (translates) the element from the past turn to produce a similar structure for the turn, as at line 6. However, this is not plausible because in that case, Liisa would be claiming to

remember ‘the sentence’ that ‘we speak Finnish,’ which would be nonsensical. By using the initial *que*, she introduces metalinguistic background information that has a wider scope than the actual point of the telling, which is the contradiction between claiming not to mix languages and then doing exactly that with the expression *misturar*. This is necessary in order for a recipient who does not speak Finnish to understand what is funny about the saying – and it may not come through even with the explanation. In any case, the turn-initial *que* introduces a matter that is not to be taken as information in and of itself (‘we speak Finnish’), but as part of an explanation.

Again, the OLS displays that she is available as a recipient just moments before the occurrence of the translation (l. 6) (cf. previous extract l. 7). These types of embodied displays of attention to another’s talk do not yet convey any specific understanding of that talk. In fact, as has been demonstrated, these displays may work to remind the speaker or a potential mediator of that participant’s language repertoire and thus the potential difficulties in understanding the ongoing talk (as in Greer 2007, 2008). By engaging in mediating, the speaker treats the prior talk as not having been intelligible to the current recipient. At the same time, the speaker can rely on the incipient recipient’s focus of attention to the prior talk in embedding her translatory turn as an explanation of it.

With regard to internal linkages in the explanatory stretch of talk, Liisa juxtaposes the bits of information with the adversative and additive conjunctions *mas* ‘but’ (l. 9) and *e* ‘and’ (l. 10). By doing this, she creates a contrast between various states of affairs that are needed in order to understand the point that she is making. In terms of turn construction, these elements also serve as resources to build an extended turn. In the next case of translation into Finnish, the juxtaposition of simultaneously existing states of affairs (as in a metalinguistic definition) is accomplished with the turn-initial *että* accompanied by the conjunction *ku*.

Liisa (F/P) rephrases a metalinguistic discussion to Pirkko (F/P). In this case, the only apparent trigger for mediation is that Pirkko enters with a turn that appears incoherent with the ongoing talk (l. 19).

(3.18) The moon.BR (Syntymäpäivät_B 12.20)

- 01 Luciana: e em francê:s: •(0.2) pescoco• sabe como que
and in French neck (you) know how
•POINTS AND TOUCHES HER NECK•
- 02 fala em francê:s.
they say in French
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 Luciana: •é °cou°. hehehe
it’s ‘cou’
•LEANS CLOSER TO LIISA
- 05 Liisa: ah é (.) e [na Finlândia
oh is it and in Finland

- 06 Luciana: [.hh hi *hi hi
*G>BEATRIZ-->
- 07 Luciana: [•.hh •em fran- •
in Fren-
- 08 Liisa: [na *Finlândia é: aquele:: que: (.) #i# não é o sol
in Finland it's the one that is not the sun
- Luciana •P>NECK•P>BEATRIZ,,•
->*G>LIISA-->
- 09 é o outro que aparece de noite que é o cu na
it's the other that appears at night that is the 'cu' in
- 10 Fin*lândia e [aqui não pode falarh, hahahaha
Finland and here one can't say (it)
- Luciana ->*G>BEATRIZ
- 11 Luciana: [.hh hahahahahahaha
- 12 Luciana: .hm em francês o pescoço né >como [que fala< pes[coço.
in French the neck right how do they say neck
- 13 Beatriz: [aeh aeh #e# [le cou?
- 14 ?: hehehe
- 15 Liisa: ðle #cou#.ð
- 16 Luciana: é o cu? he[heheheeh
it's the 'cu'
- 17 [((LAUGHTER))
- 18 Beatriz: [é.
yes
- 19 Pirkko: é Kirsti (.) Kirsti [né
it is Kirsti Kirsti isn't it
- 20 Beatriz: [e [na< em f- finlandês é a lua né?
and in and in F- Finnish it's the moon isn't it
- 21 Luciana: [(-) pescoço (-)
neck
- 22 Pirkko: [joo,
yes
- 23 Liisa: → [et- [että Sua[mes eiku:: Ranskassa tää on kans cou
et(tä) et(tä) [name].INE PRT [name].INE DEM1 be.3SG also [word]
th/s- that/so in Finland no (I mean) in France this is also 'cu'
- 24 Kata: [é.
yes

- 25 Beatriz: [lua né.
moon, isn't it
- 26 Liisa: **ku: Suomessa se on se**
PRT [name].INE DEM3 be.3SG DEM3
whereas in Finland it is the
- 27 **taiivaankappa [le.**
celestial body
- 28 Pirkko: [aha? heh heh he
- 29 Liisa: **ja tääl foj joku ↑muuhf;**
and here it's something else
- 30 ((LAUGHTER))

The participants have discussed mixing languages, which engenders further metalinguistic discussion. At the right end of the table, Luciana and Liisa are talking about the homophones *cu* (BP: ‘buttocks’)/*cou* (French: ‘neck’)/*kuu* (Fi: ‘moon’), while a parallel conversation goes on at the other end of the table. Again, Liisa gains an exclusive moment as a speaker in her telling about her amusing observation, as the others quiet down to listen (l. 8–10). They respond to her remark by collective laughter (for example, see l. 17). Pirkko, however, makes an initiative (l. 19) that appears incoherent with the ongoing activity. She appears to be returning to an earlier discussion, but this is not taken up by Liisa. Instead, Liisa takes this as an opportunity to rephrase the prior discussion for Pirkko (l. 23, 26–27, 29). That is, Liisa does not take up Pirkko’s incoherent turn for its content, but as a sign of her involvement in the discussion, which invites mediation. In this case, the *että*-utterance contains no reference to individual speakers.

Pirkko’s turn is otherwise a typical explanatory translation, but the conceptualization of it as “translation” may be questioned because of the language constellation. Pirkko and Liisa are both bilingual, and so there should be, so to speak, no reason to provide linguistic mediation. Nevertheless, it seems that the lack of hearing, general perception or attentiveness to talk may be handled with solutions similar to what is offered for the lack of understanding a specific language (this occurs in the data with elderly people). It is difficult to say whether this means that the speakers use translation to treat other types of problems as language-related, or whether problems in hearing and understanding are, in this case, somewhat indistinguishable phenomena overall. At least it appears that when a peripheral participant does not understand the language of the on-going conversation, the practices of dealing with these problems can be identical.

Furthermore, the process through which the participants become integrated in the conversation in these situations rests on a mixture of orientations. In addition to a proper understanding of linguistic content, the process involves an interplay between the general accessibility of the ongoing activities for the participant, her previous involvement and level of active attention, including signs of (dis)engagement in the interaction. Thus making a categorical distinction between problems in hearing and comprehension might oversimplify the picture. Thus far, it has been demonstrated in this study that translations that target the understanding of a certain language simultaneously orient to other problematic aspects in

the ongoing interaction through their design. In general, studies on multilingual and second-language interaction have shown that stated language competences and interactional orientations to them cannot be expected to always go hand-in-hand (as in Kurhila 2006, Bolden 2012).

What Liisa's turn conveys is not simply that 'neck' is 'cou' in French, but it expresses the ambiguity of the word in the other languages that the participants know. Again, the dialogic particle introduces an explanatory turn as well as a multilingual pun. When Liisa recounts the metalinguistic definitions of the three languages, she presents the contrast between French and Finnish with *ku*, which is translated in the transcript as 'whereas' (l. 26). As a contrastive element, *ku* expresses a contrast between symmetrical situations (Herlin 1998: 149–151, for *ku* as an explanatory particle in accounts, see Raevaara 2011: 560). For a comparison to Portuguese, Pirkko uses the additive *ja* 'and' (l. 29). Here, the speaker is juxtaposing simultaneous matters. An earlier extract in Portuguese (3.16) already showed how the speaker may build (not contrastive but) temporal linking of successive events within a chain of translatory units. In that example, Márcio used the narrative marker, adverb *aí*, in a turn that also involved the chaining of *que*-utterances. In translations into Finnish, speakers achieve narrative temporal transitions for instance with the adverb *sit(ten)* 'then.' In terms of constructing translatory talk, these ways of linking are also ways of building continuous, extended units of translatory talk.

Story climaxes and puns invite affective responses, such as laughter or displays of surprise. If the OLS does not react in an appropriate way, this may be sufficient to invite mediatory action. Since the translations are mobilized by reactions to these highpoints, the subsequent translations in a way build backwards from that point, portraying it as a result of a course of events or facts. The speaker begins the telling by explaining the whys and hows behind the point of interest and tying backwards in the conversation, rather than recycling the structure of a "beginning" from the past talk. The speaker may summarize the whole stepwise build-up of the past discussion that led to the key point, providing it as background information. This organization differs from typical first tellings in which preliminaries, such as story prefaces, anticipate the recipients' stances and invite them to jointly make a further telling worthwhile (Sacks 1974, Sidnell 2010: 174–184). By contrast, explanatory tellings treat the matter as already tellable. They portray themselves as responsive to a need for mediation. Thus, the worthiness of the telling also provides for the relevance of translating it. We might refer to the established relevance of translating at a given moment as interactionally established *translatability*.²⁰

In nearly all of the cases the future recipient of the translation has displayed at least incipient availability or willingness to be involved in the ongoing conversation. Displays of reciprocity that might in a symmetric situation be completely unexceptional (such as gazing at the current speaker and smiling) may gain a further meaning in an asymmetric language constellation, as the attempt to engage in the interaction may paradoxically demonstrate a lack of understanding. By providing a detailed explanation of a variety of related matters,

²⁰ This term is used differently in translation studies, where it has been used to discuss the (im)possibility of translation. I employ this term to refer to the locally established interactional relevance of translating, which is part of the process through which translating emerges on an *ad hoc* basis in the interaction.

the translating speaker orients to the need for mediation of a complex target of understanding. The OLS's display of attention also contributes to jointly establishing the relevance of the past talk for this participant, which enables linking to that talk without more specific framing in terms of whose talk is relayed.

To summarize, the dialogic particles, Finnish *että* and Portuguese *que*, frame the turn as drawing from prior speakers' talk in a paraphrase-like manner, and in this way contribute to the intelligibility of the turn as having that talk as its source. The explanatory nature of the turns lies in how they juxtapose a number of things that are relevant to understand the import of the past talk. The dialogic particles specifically frame utterances that are to be understood through a further interpretive layer, such as multilingual homophony or irony. In the case of talking about successive events, they introduce contextualizing background information. By introducing this further layer, the speaker becomes perceivable as authoring, or composing, the translatory talk. It is the speaker who now composes the turn as explaining, which is needed to make the past, complex talk and action intelligible for the new recipient. The initial framing together with the further connecting elements also achieve an extended turn space for delivering all the related information.

In the next section, I discuss translatory turns that assert something about a co-participant by referring to her in the third person, and with such minimal framing, succeed in indicating her as the source speaker.

3.5 Logophoric uses of third-person pronouns in relaying others' self-disclosure

In some of the data for this study, people are meeting each other for the first time. Especially on these occasions the participants end up telling each other about themselves. Talking about oneself is an explicit way to give impressions of oneself to others, in addition to what is given off by one's actions, physical appearance, ways of speaking, and so on. According to Goffman's (1959) classic approach, participants engage in "the presentation of self." In more detail, they engage in providing autobiographical information and descriptions within particular courses of action. Such situated processes of conveying "who I am" always involve the application of reflexive models of personhood and sociality through which a person can attempt to anticipate and control others' interpretations of herself (see Visakko 2015: 49–57). Translatory interaction renders observable some of the ways in which other participants can show both recognition of and orientations to another's self-presentation.

In conversation, disclosing information about oneself has been shown to have potential special characteristics in terms of turn-taking and participation frameworks. When getting acquainted with each other, co-participants may orient to moments of talking about themselves individually by together setting the stage for extended topical talk to appreciate that person's self-disclosure. These types of orientations have been described as methods adopted to maintain the "sacredness" of the participants' selves (Maynard & Zimmerman 1984: 309, cf. Goffman 1967, also Svennevig 1999).

Orientations to others' self-presentation are also visible in translatory interaction, during tellings about topics such as one's job or family, and during other types of lengthy trajectories of action centered on one participant. Others may support the extended, "self-centered" activity through how they position themselves as recipients to that talk. In addition, the activity appears to invite a specific type of mediatory talk to accompany it. Translating it may be achieved with rather minimal framing, by simply asserting something about the person with the use of a third-person (3p) reference. Let us consider the following Finnish talk and its Portuguese rephrasing (here simplified, for analysis, see 3.20):

Sandra: ja: tota mä olen (...) logistiikan .hh Etelä-Amerikan prosessimanegeri. →
 'and uhm I am (...) the process manager of logistics in South America

Niko: *ela:: hh .hh ela é o man- ee gerente de processos de...*
 she she is the man- ee director of processes of...

These translatory turns contain neither reporting verbs nor dialogic particles, but instead they involve a turn-initial reference to the prior speaker (as *ela* 'she,' above) that contributes to displaying this participant as a source for what the speaker says. This has been regarded in professional interpreting as a form of free indirect speech, or *indirect translation* (Bot 2005). A central difference in the reportive framing examined earlier in the chapter is that in reporting (§3.1), the person reference occurs as the subject of a reporting verb (*ele falou que...* 'he said that...'). In the translatory turns in this section, what is stated about the co-participant concerns the world outside of the speech situation. That is, the speaker does not mention the prior speaker as the subject of communicative action.

Furthermore, when a speaker mediates another participant's talk about herself, the earlier talk has possibly contained a self-reference in the first person. The translating speaker then refers to the same participant in the third person (*mä olen* 'I am' → *ela é...* 'she is...'; see above). It could be assumed that the translating speaker redoes the earlier reference as part of repeating her utterance, with adequate changes in deictic expressions according to who refers to that person. However, it will be suggested that this is not simply a recontextualized redoing of the prior reference but instead, part of the reflexive organization of the turn within the activity of talking about oneself, tied to the multimodal organization of the participation framework.

The mediatory constellation is rather similar in all the relevant examples in the data. A speaker is saying something about herself, and an earlier recipient of that talk mediates for a participant who has not been an addressed recipient, but who has expressed an embodied interest in the talk. In the first extract, translating develops into a brief moment of mediating more systematically, turn-by-turn. This supports the claim that the participants consider talking about oneself as a focal, extended activity.

During a conversation on music, Gaia (P/f) has mentioned to Sauli (F/P) and Toni (F/P) that Cíntia (P) plays the drums. Cíntia has confirmed by saying *é, eu toquei por um bom tempo* 'yes, I played for quite a while' and has continued by elaborating to the others about that time in her life. In the first turn in the extract, she completes her telling by repeating an earlier assessment of the good old times. Antti (F), who does not understand Portuguese,

looks at Cíntia during the telling, which has included a considerable amount of gesticulation, such as depicting having long hair and playing the drums.

(3.19) Drums.BR (Ravintola A 33.50)

- 01 Cíntia: *mas era muito bom aquela época foi:, (0.4) muito bom.*
 but it was really good that epoch (it) was really good
 Antti >>G>CÍNTIA-->
- 02 (0.6)
- 03 Cíntia: ◊.MTh
 ◊NODS
- 04 (0.2)
- 05 Gaia: [(-)]
- 06 Toni: → [+hän soi]tti (.) *rumpuja aikoinaan *kova[sti].
 3SG play.3SG.PST drums.PAR back.in.the.day lots.of
 she played drums back in the days a lot
 +G FROM CÍNTIA TO ANTTI
 Antti -->*G>FROM CÍNTIA TO TONI-*G>CÍNTIA
- 07 Antti: [ah*a?
 *NODS, SMILES
- 08 (0.4)
- 09 Toni: → **poppia ja ^rokk[ia.**
 pop.PAR and rock.PAR
 pop and rock
 Cíntia ^NODS, SMILES
- 10 Cíntia: [é:. (0.2) São Paulo #e# (0.2)
 yes São Paulo
- 11 *uns quatro anos (nessa) (-)
 some four years (in that) (-)
 Antti *NODS
- 12 (0.2)
- 13 Antti: aoo.=
 yes/oh
- 14 Toni: → =neljän vuoden ajan.
 four.GEN year.GEN during
 during four years
- 15 Cíntia: *mas aí: não deu para mim:, (.) ◊banda um foi pra um lado*
 but then it didn't work for me the band one went to this direction
 ◊THROWS ARMS RIGHT AND LEFT--->
- 16 *um pra outro um pra um lado um pra outro*
 one to another one to another one to another

- 17 \diamond *ai se acaba se:*. \diamond
 so one ends up
 -> \diamond SWIPES TO BOTH SIDES \diamond
- 18 Gaia: [*separando.*]
 separating
- 19 Toni: \rightarrow [*mut sitte bändi*] *hajos.*
 but then band break.3SG.PST
 but then the band split up
- 20 (0.6)
- 21 Antti: (j)oo.
 yes

Antti has been gazing at Cíntia throughout her extended and gesturally vivid reminiscence of the times in the band. Thus, in this case, no sudden change occurs in the OLS's attention that might invite mediating at this very moment, but Antti has displayed constant interest in Cíntia's performance. The positioning of the translatory turn coincides with the potential end of her telling (l. 1–4), and the subsequent mediating activity is organized around Cíntia's provision of further details regarding her history with the band.

First, Toni turns to Antti (l. 6) and begins an assertion about Cíntia with a pronominal reference to her (*hän soitti rumpuja...* 'she played the drums...'). Finnish has several options for third-person pronominal reference. Third parties can be referred to by the personal pronoun *hän* and the demonstrative pronoun *se* (Laury 1997: 81–87, Seppänen 1998: 45–58, Duvalon 2006), as well as by the demonstrative pronouns *tämä* and *tuo* (Seppänen 1998, 2005, Etelämäki 2006). The 3SG personal pronoun *hän* has *logophoric* uses, and for this reason, it has been regarded as the “third speech act pronoun” in Finnish (Laitinen 2005). Some languages have morphologically distinct logophoric pronouns that are used to represent speech, thoughts, or viewpoints. Prototypically they relate to an antecedent reference to the same person in a regular, non-logophoric form, such as in a reporting clause (see Clements 1975). The logophoric pronouns thus express the viewpoint of the cited speaker within the citation. This is also the basic context for the use of *hän* in colloquial Finnish. However, logophoricity can extend beyond these prototypical forms. Besides the use in reported speech, the Finnish *hän* is considered a reference form that treats the referent as a participant in either the present, or in an earlier speech event (Seppänen 1998: 82–92, Laitinen 2005, Helasvuo & Laitinen 2006: 197, Priiki 2014). According to Seppänen, referring to a co-present participant with *hän* may be used to step into the position of the person referred to, to empathize with their viewpoint (also Kalliokoski 1999). That participant may thus become presented, in Goffmanian terms, as the principal for what the current speaker says.

In the Finnish translatory turns discussed in this section, the reference form is *hän*, except for one example that involves both *se* (DEM3) and a subsequent *hän* (ex. 3.21). The choice of the reference form shows that the speaker is presenting the referred-to person as a co-participant and past speaker instead of an outsider who is talked about. It can be said that when the “third speech act pronoun” occurs in the turn-initial position, it contributes to the intelligibility of the turn as doing translation of the prior speaker's talk.

In the current case (3.19), Antti acknowledges Toni's translation (l. 7) and then looks at Cíntia, smiling. At this point, Toni produces a turn that specifies the music style (l. 9), and Cíntia continues to provide details of the telling (l. 10–11, 15–18). The participants establish for a while a translatory mode that resembles a *consecutive* mode of interpreting (see Hale 2007: 10): the interpreter relays the speaker's utterances one-by-one (Toni's lines 14, 19). Antti aligns with this ongoing activity by providing minimal feedback, which allows the others to continue (l. 7, 13, 21). During the feedback turns in Finnish, he looks at Cíntia. During most of the extract, it is difficult to ascertain where exactly Cíntia directs her gaze, but at least her smile and nod at line 9 are directed to Antti. In this brief moment of a consecutive translatory mode, the embodied attention between the main speaker and the recipient (in addition to the mediator) seems essential to the organization of turn-taking. The main speaker needs to know that she has an audience who is being translated to so that she can coordinate the timing of her utterances. The reactions of the participant translated for serve as cues for her to know when the translated units are completed, and when she can again continue to speak (cf. Merlino 2012).

Toni's specifying turn at line 9 also plays an important role in the initiation of the mediatory mode. The turn maintains the topical talk and encourages Cíntia to continue. Cíntia reacts to Toni's Finnish turn with the agreement token *é* (l. 10) and thus seems to be going along with Toni's project of translating her talk to Antti. It is possible that she recognizes the words *poppia* and *rokkia*²¹, since as loan words from English, they closely resemble the Portuguese names for the music styles. Thus her turn may actually confirm the Finnish description, although she does not otherwise speak or understand any Finnish. Concerning the continuity of translatory stretches of talk, it is also important to note how all of Toni's translatory turns are tied to prior ones. His turns build onto earlier ones; at lines 9 and 14 this is achieved by phrasal design and at line 19, by marking contrast and sequencing of events (*mut sitte* 'but then'). Each of these turns adds one more step to Cíntia's telling in a stretch of translatory talk that accompanies – and incites – further telling about her past experiences.

Portuguese has no options in the third-person personal pronouns that would correspond to the Finnish logophoric alternative. Nonetheless, the Portuguese pronouns *ela* (3SG.F) and *ele* (3SG.M) can occur in similar turn-initial environments in translatory talk. Let us consider the next example. The mediating speaker initiates what resembles whispered interpreting, or *chuchotage* (see Hale 2007: 10), interpreting that is undertaken for an individual participant in a quiet voice on the side of ongoing talk. However, the translating speaker ends up attracting the main speaker's attention, and the situation dissolves into other talk as the mediating speaker returns to the main conversation.

Sandra (P/F) and Lasse (F/P) are a Brazilian-Finnish couple who live and work in Brazil. They have been invited to a gathering to get to know some other Finnish expats in Brazil.

²¹ The words 'pop and rock' were not mentioned in Cíntia's telling, so this specification could be considered as Toni's own contribution. However, the music style of Cíntia's band has been expressed in a humorous comparison between her and Janis Joplin. In this sense, Toni's choice of words is a more explicit version of the music style mentioned previously in the conversation.

Others know the two languages to some extent, but Fabi (P) does not know Finnish, and Petri (F), who is during this extract only listening, is only beginning to learn Portuguese. Before the beginning of the extract, Kari (F/P) has asked where Sandra works, and Niko (F/P) has requested confirmation of Sandra's response, both in Finnish. Sandra continues in Finnish and provides further information (l. 2–7). Later on, Niko translates for Fabi, who is his girlfriend.

(3.20) Process manager.BR (Convidados_A 29.59)

01 Sandra: nii x x x
yes ((name of company))

02 .hh ja: tota (0.4) mä olen (.)
and uhm I am

03 pro^osessimanagerin se (.) south ameri#can# (0.2)
process manager the South American

04 [etelä-amerikan
South America's

05 Lasse: [logistiikan.=
logistics

06 Sandra: =joo logistiikan .hh etelä-amerikan
yes logistics South America's

07 pro^osessi[ma:nageri.
process manager

08 Kari: [.mt siellä (.) alphavillessä
is (it) there in Alphaville

09 on toimistoh.
the office

10 Sandra: ei: se s- se os- se on täällä
no it i- it i- it is here

11 São Paulossa se missä omor- [Morumbissa.
in São Paulo there where mo- Morumbi

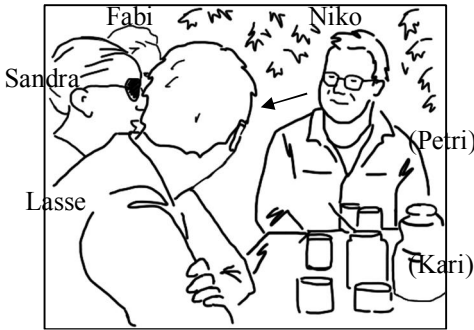
12 Lasse: [Morumbi.
Fabi \diamond STOPS DRINKING, TURNS HEAD>SANDRA

13 Sandra: ni[i.
yes

14 Kari: [just.
okay

15 Sandra: .hh Morumbi toⁱmisto se **F#1** Marginaalin #ee#
Morumbi office that of Marginal

F#1



F#2 (Niko→Fabi)



- 16 Pinheiron +ihan **F#2**(0.4) [(-).
of Pinheiro right (-)
Niko +LEANS TOWARDS FABI, G>FABI

17 Niko:→

[*°#ela::#° **F#3** ^**F#4** hh .hh
3SG.F
she
*G>NIKO
^G>NIKO

Sandra
Fabi

F#3 (Sandra→Niko)



F#4 (Fabi→Niko)



- 18 Niko: +**ela é o man-** +**F#5** (0.4) #**ee# gerente de**
3SG.F be.3SG ART man- director PREP
she is the man- director of
+G>SANDRA +LIFTS LEFT EYEBROW TWICE

F#5 (Niko→Sandra)



an implicit request for confirmation of the job title, and Sandra responds to it with a nod (l. 21)²². This occurs immediately after Fabi has acknowledged Niko's translatory turn (l. 20).

Fabi is the recipient of the translation being produced, but Sandra is the recipient of the embodied request for confirmation, and they both acknowledge Niko's turn. In other words, the turn with the 3p reference to Sandra does not exclude her from the conversation but on the contrary, actually (and coincidentally) draws her in. By requesting confirmation and providing it, both Niko and Sandra orient to Sandra's epistemic authority concerning how the information about her is properly conveyed. It is noteworthy that because Sandra can understand the talk about herself, she has an opportunity to control how Niko relays her job title to Fabi. In this unusual mediatory constellation, the source speaker, Sandra, and the recipient of the translatory talk, Fabi, are both native Brazilian Portuguese speakers. Indeed, the need to mediate in this extract is not a consequence of the two women not having a shared language. Instead, mediation from Finnish to Portuguese compensates for the language choice that has accommodated the Finnish speakers, and perhaps also allowed Sandra to showcase her Finnish skills.

The attempted "whispered" mode of translating on the side of the conversation in Portuguese would have enabled Niko to keep Fabi on track in the conversation while allowing it to continue in Finnish (elsewhere he does succeed in this). Talking in Finnish has the benefit of allowing Petri, who has been observing the talking without saying anything, to follow the conversation. However, when Sandra becomes involved in Niko's sideplay, the active participation framework comes to involve participants who are all Portuguese speakers. Eventually, the language changes into Portuguese. With the subsequent assessment *legal* 'cool' (l. 24) and a question (l. 26–27), Niko continues to address Sandra in Portuguese. Through the negotiation of participation during the translation, translation ends up changing the language of the whole conversation.

As I have observed earlier, the capacity of the Portuguese 3p pronouns (*ela*, *ele*) to express the source speaker's viewpoint in translatory turns cannot rely on the choice of the reference form as is the case with the Finnish *hän*. However, *ela* and *ele* do occur in positions in translatory talk that are similar to those of the Finnish logophoric alternative. In fact, the use of the Portuguese pronouns to express the speaker's viewpoint seems to rely on these contexts, that is, on their positioning within the ongoing activity that centers around one participant's talk about herself.

Generally, third-person pronominal forms are considered to point at referents that are accessible or inferable from the discourse context (for example, see Laury 2005a: 57–59). However, the indexical field against which reference is produced and understood is not stable. In referring, speakers reflexively organize the indexical ground against which the reference is to be understood (see C. Goodwin 1983, Hanks 1990, 2005, for Finnish Laury 1997, 2002, 2005, Seppänen 1998, and Etelämäki 2006). Likewise, forms of 3p pronominal reference to co-participants in conversation can have specific functions in managing actions and participation frameworks (C. Goodwin 1984, Schegloff 1996b, Seppänen 1998, 2005, Laury 2002, 2006b, Laitinen 2005).

²² See Rossano 2011 for how gaze alone may mobilize a response.

The analysis suggests that when translating speakers deliver translatory turns as assertions about a co-participant with turn-initial 3p reference, they rely on the ongoing activity to incorporate the voice of the person referred to in their utterance without using additional framing. The design occurs especially when a speaker translates someone's talk about herself within extended tellings (or within courses of multimodal action), to which the recipient of the translatory turn has already displayed attention by embodied means. By using the pronominal reference, the speaker indexes a joint orientation to the verbally and bodily established activity. She thereby also invites the recipient to hear the utterance as relating to the speech of the referred-to participant as its contextual ground. For Finnish turns, the source speaker's status is portrayed through the choice of the reference form (*hän*). Even with the Portuguese 3p pronouns (*ela/ele*) that do not in themselves possess logophoric properties, mediators appear to accomplish a similar task: They assert something about the speaker while treating her as the principal source. This pattern of occurrence highlights the role of the ongoing type of activity, an extended project/talk concerning oneself, as a feature that allows this particular way of delivering translatory talk.

Let us now examine more closely the use of third-person reference to the prior speaker in the translatory turns in relation to that speaker's earlier self-reference. In research on institutional interpreting, a central issue is whether the interpreter uses first-person or third-person forms to relay the main speaker's self-reference, particularly because the use of the 1p is preferred in most professional guidelines (see Bot 2005).²³ By contrast, the current data on everyday conversation involve only the 3p alternative. Nevertheless, it could still be argued that, similar to the institutional cases, the use of the 3p reference (*I am* → *she is*) is the result of a change in the perspective from which the reference to this person is produced (Bot *ibid.*). According to this view, the use of the 3p form is understood as a deictic shift in repeating a past utterance. But there seems to be more to it.

In the example cited here, Sandra's self-reference has occurred at line 2, which means that there is a distance of 21 seconds to Niko's subsequent mentions of Sandra (l. 17–18), including a transition to talk about the office location. This means that redoing the past mention in the 3p might be a case of long-distance pronominalization, sometimes referred to as a "return pop" (Fox 1987: 27–36). Yet to me, it is more plausible to consider it as a means of organizing the move into translating at a moment that immediately follows Sandra's extended talk about herself. In this view, Niko's 3p reference can be thought of as making use of the action environment to display Sandra as the source for the assertion he makes about her, and not simply as a modified repetition of the earlier reference.

The past talk that is relayed with 3p assertions contains the prior speaker's 1p reference to herself, but the mere presence of the self-reference in the source talk does not yet distinguish these cases from other types of translatable talk. Earlier sections of this study involve translatable talk containing the speaker's self-reference as well, and this talk was relayed in other ways, such as with reportive framing (§3.1 'he said that he has...'). In the current cases (translatory turns designed as a 3p assertion about a co-participant) referring to the source speaker does bear resemblance to representing the reported/formulated/

²³ That is, the interpreter reserves "I" for speaking in the voice of the translatee, and refers to herself with the NP "interpreter," as in "the interpreter corrects."

generalized speakers in the previous sections. However, the speaking itself is not depicted, which appears related to the fact that the ongoing activity is centered on one participant's ongoing telling about herself. The content of that talk is not treated as problematic like in the reports, nor is it treated as excluding the OLS participant in the same way as collective topical talk (§3.2). When seen among the set of different framings, the distinctive feature in the current cases appears to be that they are supported by the larger activity of a co-participant's self-disclosure.

In the activity of talking about oneself, the status of this speaker as holding the floor is highlighted, and the multimodal establishment of her speakership is perceivable also for the OLS participant. These features appear to allow the mediator to rely on the participant constellation in portraying that talk as the source. The logophoric, quotative use of referring to a co-participant is more evident in the Finnish translatory turns because of the choice of the "third speech act pronoun" *hän*. Nevertheless, the same situational properties of the activity may account for the uses of the 3p in a similar position in Portuguese as well. Thus, the job of the turn-initial pronominal 3p reference in these translatory turns appears to be not exactly to reformat a past 1p mention according to a shift in perspective, but to indexically tie the turn to the ongoing activity of self-talk. That is, the reference to the source speaker is reflexively organized in relation to the ongoing activity and participation framework.

During these short monologues about themselves, the tellers deliver some autobiographical facts. These are less available for the translating speaker to mold for her current purposes in comparison to something such as the topical content or stance expressed in a past discussion. The import of the latter for the current recipient can be modified in translatory talk, whereas another's personal information is treated more plainly as facts that are under her authority, and to which she is committed. The joint orientation to the OLS participant's self-presentation and its constitution as a specific activity perhaps stand out more in an everyday context in relation to institutional interpreting. This is because mundane translatory practices are not as typically organized around talking about oneself as institutional environments of interpreting, where interviewees, clients, and other translatees are regularly asked to provide personal information. In addition, translatory practices in everyday conversations may occur in rather different positions: they are often not adjacent redosings of immediately prior utterances, and they comprise stretches of talk in which the current recipient was not treated as a (main) recipient. These instances of translatory talk render visible various types of orientation to the prior speaker and a range of ways that translating speakers construe links to the past talk, as they cannot rely on the expectedness of translation. A more continuous orientation to the translatee as a "main participant"²⁴ in the interaction is, then, only one of the possibilities.

In extract (3.20), the translatory turn is produced when the ongoing talk moves past the announcement of the translatee's job, which is subsequently translated. In other words, the turn is timed so as to anticipate a projected course of action that moves away from the matter being translated, and this results in overlap. On other occasions, translation can occur within

²⁴ The concept of "main participant" is often used in interpreting research to refer to the two parties whose dialogue is being interpreted (see, for example, Hale 2007).

a lengthy course of action that remains ongoing, not yet complete. The next extract is a case in point. A Portuguese-speaking participant is measuring a doorway, which creates a projection for this participant to provide the result of the measuring after completing it. A problem in executing the action entails talk about it, and the talk thus occurs within the larger interactional project. Similar to self-presentation, this allows the Finnish translatory turn to build on the established activity role of the speaker as the one to be translated. This case also presents another type of occasion for self-talk as compared to self-presentation in getting acquainted with others.

Kaisa (F/P) has requested that Leena (F/p--) bring her a specific type of curtain from Finland when she travels there. Leena has expressed the need to have the correct measures for the curtain, and Kaisa has recruited Clarice (P) to measure the doorway where it will hang. Kaisa and Leena (with a baby sleeping in her lap) remain chatting at the table while Clarice does the measuring further away behind Leena's back.

(3.21) Curtains.BR (Sauna_D 16.53)

- 01 Clarice: *qual é pra medir.*
what is to be measured
- 02 Kaisa: *essa cortina da da da porta Clara (0.4) o comprimento.*
that curtain of of of the door Clara the length
- 03 (0.6)
- 04 Kaisa: *por gentileza.*
would you be so kind
- (5 lines of conversation between Kaisa and Leena omitted)
- 10 Clarice: **vou pegar o meu metro seu é branco não tô enxergando*
I will get my measure yours is white I don't see
Leena *STEPWISE PROGRESSING LOOK BEHIND SHOULDER, TWD CLARICE'S VOICE-->
- 11 *direito pra ler,**
properly to read (it)
Leena ----->*G>KAISA
- 12 Kaisa: *ah mas pega meus óc(h)ulos [hehehe*
oh but take my eyeglasses hehehe
- 13 Clarice: [não peguei o meu aqui?
no I took mine here
- 14 Kaisa: .hh
- 15 *(1.0) *(1.0)
Leena *GLANCES BACK*G>KAISA-->
- 16 Kaisa: → *sill_on< se:: (.) teetti silmälasit jotta lähelle (.)*
DEM3.SG have.3SG DEM3.SG have.made.3SG.PST eyeglasses in.order.to close.to
she has she had a pair of glasses made in order to (see) near

- 17 **mutta .hh h ee se ku ei käytä töissä sitä ni**
but DEM3 PRT NEG use work.INE DEM3.PAR PRT
but as she doesn't use it at work so
- 18 **hh .hh se mun metri ov valkonen nii hän ei; hh**
 DEM3 1SG.GEN measure be.3SG white PRT 3SG NEG
 my measure is white so she doesn't
- 19 Leena: aa *no tu-
 oh so (-)
 ->*TURNS TO LOOK BEHIND HER TO SEE CLARICE-->
- 20 Kaisa: **.hh huomaa mitään.**
 perceive anything
- 21 (5.0) *
 Leena -->*G>KAISA
- 22 Leena: se voi olla jopa kaks ja kaks- oisko se niin;
 it can be even two and two could it be so
- 23 (1.0)
- 24 Kaisa: #emmä tiedä emmä# usko.
 I don't know I don't think
- 25 (0.4)
- 26 Leena: •tai satayheksänkyt mitä se o.
 or hundred and ninety what is it
 •STANDS UP TO WALK TO CLARICE

The features that mobilize mediation in this extract are similar to many prior ones: Leena displays interest in Clarice's talk by glancing behind her shoulder in Clarice's direction, although at first Leena cannot actually turn her head sufficiently to see her because she is holding a baby (l. 10–11, 15). In contrast to the prior Finnish example (3.20), Kaisa begins her translatory turn with a demonstrative pronoun (l. 16 *se*) as a reference to the speaker. This pronoun is typically used in Finnish to talk about non-present parties, but it is also used for subsequent mentions of co-participants when they have already been talked about (Laury 1997, Seppänen 1998: 45–58). Clarice has not been talked about, but as the main actor involved in the project of measuring, she is a focal figure. She is standing further away from the dyadic exchange at the table, which may enable the others to talk about her first as a non-party. In the *se*-initial utterance, Kaisa presents background information about the eyeglasses (l. 16–17), but when she begins relaying what Clarice just said (l. 18, 20; that she cannot manage to read the measure), Kaisa uses the 3SG pronoun *hän*. Even though the turn does not begin (l. 16–18) with an actual reporting clause, the syntactic environment is closer to the prototypical environment for a logophoric pronoun (see Laitinen 2005: 81–93) than in the earlier cases. The *hän* ties back to an antecedent mention of the person whose speech, thoughts, feelings, states of knowledge, perceptions, and so on, are being formulated and marks a shift to their viewpoint within the quoted talk.

Both mentions of Clarice are therefore organized in relation to the larger course of activity that she is involved in. The talk that Kaisa relays is relevant for the ongoing measuring, as it indicates a delay in the action. Leena is the one who will go to the shop and buy the curtain, and she has initially suggested getting the exact measurements. These are grounds for Kaisa to treat the talk as something relevant for her to understand. After the translation, Leena turns to watch Clarice (l. 21), guesses about the length (l. 22, 26), and finally walks up to her (l. 26).

To summarize, in this instance of measuring activity as well as the previous examples of a participant's self-presentation, the mediating speaker orients to an extended interactional project as centered on one, focal participant. This serves as the basis for presenting the participant as the source speaker. Beginning translatory talk in the way examined, that is, asserting something about a co-participant with a third-person reference to her, typically occurs when one speaker is holding the floor for an extensive period of time. If the participant is not actually speaking, then she can be pursuing a larger embodied, interactional project. The mediating speaker initiates a translation to a participant who is likely not to (fully) understand the ongoing talk but who has displayed interest in it by visibly attending to it.

Many of these translatory turns occur when the main speaker is already moving on from the matter that will be translated to a next piece of personal information. Accordingly, the translatory turns may occur relatively late, at a distance from the source talk, and moreover, in overlap with further talk by the main speaker (ex. 3.20). Through the timing, the mediator anticipates the continuation to further matters within a larger course of activity. The timing thus reflects the mediator's orientation to the other's activity of talking about self as something that will be extended, or as something that is relevant for the recipient's understanding of the ongoing or subsequent actions. The "talk about self" is oriented to as an activity, not only by the content of the talk, but by the participants' interactional orientations to others' self-disclosure. This is also visible in that the co-participants refrain from making other initiatives or developing competing lines of action meanwhile. By remaining as audience, they can also support the emergence of a "consecutive" or "whispered" mode of interpreting, which allows the main speaker to continue and take turns with the translating speaker.

With the turn-initial 3p pronoun (*hän, ela, and ele*) reference to the prior speaker, the mediator treats the original speaker as being on stage, and affirms the role of this participant as the primary speaker. The pronouns are thus used logophorically, to voice the referred-to participant. The mediating speaker expresses that particular participant's viewpoint, but does not depict their act of speaking. Hence, the current speaker diminishes visible signs of her own control over what is said. In other words, she ends up portraying the source speaker's viewpoint in a way that might be said to maintain the integrity of the other's self-presentation. In sum, mentioning the co-participant with a third-person pronoun contributes to the reflexive, multimodal organization of the participation framework in this particular context of action.

Example (3.21) shows how the features of translatory turns examined thus far can overlap with each other. Kaisa's turn has features of an explanation as well as what could be regarded as a generalization about Clarice's use of eyeglasses. However, Kaisa's

translatory turn orients more clearly to embedding the talk within the interactional project of one participant rather than targeting a puzzle in understanding, as in the explanations, or foregrounding a communicative stance, as in the generalizations. As stated above, they also include less explicit marking of control by the mediating speaker over what is translated. In other words, in comparison to all the previous types of translatory turns, ones that relay others' talk about themselves involve less of an adjusting position concerning the past talk and appear more smoothly fitted within ongoing courses of action.

Let us now summarize the findings of this chapter on the use of quotative elements at the beginning of translatory turns.

3.6 Summary

Translatory turns that contain turn-initial quotative elements occur in diverse mediatory constellations. They can be produced by an earlier recipient, or by the speaker of the translatable talk, and are directed to participants who were or were not directly involved in the original stretch of conversation that comes to mobilize mediation. Nevertheless, all cases contain some indication of the relevance of that talk for the OLS, to whom it becomes mediated. Overwhelmingly, the OLS displays an orientation to this relevance by verbal or embodied signs of willingness to participate, or alternatively, disengagement from the interaction (ex. 3.10 Musicians). When these types of signs cannot be identified, the mediating speaker is more self-driven in her orienting to this participant's involvement in the conversation. This may occur, for instance, when the mediating speaker makes use of the potential relevance of the OLS's participation in order to expand her own interactional projects by addressing the OLS – that motivation is not dependent on the recipient's display of a lack of access to the conversation (ex. 3.5 Farofa, 3.6 Ordinary people).

Whatever the purpose of mediation is in the individual cases, some kind of motivation for the OLS's involvement in the current stretch of conversation is analytically detectable. Typically, the OLS has been involved in concrete activities, such as preparing the food at the table, that bring the current other-language talk also to her epistemic territory. However, a common feature in all the examples cited in this chapter is that the participant who receives translation is not an unambiguously addressed recipient of the original talk or a fully ratified participant. Even when she is addressed in the past talk, there is some aspect of indirectness involved (for instance, the person is referred to in the 3p, ex. 3.4 Own food). In most cases, the OLS has been a peripheral participant until the moment of mediating, at which point she becomes a newly engaged recipient.

The subchapters have identified five main types of relations that translatory turns with quotative elements manage in regard to the translatable talk, within different contexts of action. *Reportive framing* occurs, first, as a solution to other-initiation of repair (OIR) (§3.1.1). The “other” is here a third party who was not a direct addressee of the prior talk. The framing also occurs in spontaneously produced translatory talk (§3.1.2). In both environments, indications of problems beyond the understanding of specific linguistic

content have manifested themselves in the reception of the past action. The past talk has concerned the OLS in an indirect way, and this has consequences for the configuration of reciprocity in mediating. The repair initiated by a third party (more or less as an “outsider”) indicates that the indirectness itself poses a problem: the OIR points to a conflict between the relevance of her knowing what has been said and her lack of access to it. In the cases of reportive framing that are not prompted by OIR, the indirectness per se is not displayed as a problem. However, the indirectness influences the mediating in other ways. For instance, the problems of uptake can occur in the reactions of someone other than the participant who comes to receive the translatory turn later on. Relaying the prior talk in a way that is relevant and adequate for this peripherally involved participant may require the speaker to omit some aspects of the prior talk and elaborate more on others, possibly through expanding the translatory talk. Nevertheless, by relaying the prior talk to the OLS participant, the speaker can diffuse the prior problematic actions within the participation framework by creating further and more places for uptake.

Thus the motive for reportive framing, or “distancing” of the translating speaker, appears to be a combination of aspects that invite the framing. On the one hand, socially problematic aspects invite consideration of the prior speaker’s committedness to their actions, which may invite explicit framing. On the other hand, the unfolding of these trajectories of action entails conversational structures that make it necessary to bridge the translatory talk further back to the talk portrayed as the source. That is, the need for framing can emerge in the unfolding of problematic action, yet it is not directly motivated by the problematic quality of action but by its consequences for the organization of the subsequent talk. These environments do not occasion direct repetition of the prior turns. Instead, the speakers of the translatory turns engage in some effort to embed these turns in the current trajectories of action and make adjustments to the translatable content in terms of the social implications it has for the co-participants.

A report of prior talk portrays someone as being committed to and responsible for what has been said. When the speaker singles out the prior speaker with deictic means (pronouns), she ties the translatory turn to the participant constellation of that moment. By comparison, proper name reference appears to create a slot for taking up that participant’s talk at the current moment, for instance, when the turn follows some intervening talk – these two uses of reference to the source speaker occur in other types of framing as well. In the context of reporting clauses, referring to the prior speaker can be a way of strategically attributing responsibility for the prior talk to her. The turns can involve mitigating elements and convey a no-fault quality of the past talk, but they can also fault the prior speaker. By reporting, the speakers revisit, so to speak, the moment when something was said, often at a distance of a few turns from the source talk, and expose the talk for reconsideration. Thus, they give the recipients an opportunity to provide a new, unproblematic uptake.

A different strategy to handle inaccessible past talk is to name its topic (3.2). Translatory turns delivered as *topic formulations* occur when the OLS has not been involved in a discussion and her lack of access to it suddenly becomes oriented to. The translatory turns do not display any earlier relevance of the content of that talk for the OLS, but an orientation to a here-and-now change in the participation constellation. This change is visible in the multimodal organization of reciprocity, which makes it relevant to change the language. The

prior talk is represented as a topical unit, and the formulation of the topic itself can convey membership-categorization. According to the categories created, these translatory turns may cast the new recipient as an outsider. However, the topic description can also provide fuel for integrating the recipient if it is followed by further details, such as overt stance-taking towards this topic.

The next section (§3.3) on *generalizations* elaborated further on the achievement of the expressions of stance in translatory talk. Generalizations were examined in those contexts where they mediate for the OLS displays of stance that have occurred in the prior talk. The salient expression of an affective stance is perceivable for the OLS, and it is argued that this salience invites rendering the underlying motivation intelligible for the OLS (hence the focus of the translatory turn on displayed stance). The recipient's attention to the talk in the other language is, once again, visible in embodied behavior. By generalizing the past affective stance, the translating speaker treats it as not having targeted the OLS on a personal level (as in §3.1.1). Instead, it is portrayed through a generalization of the other's behavior, going beyond the particular situation. This provides for a substrate that the new recipient can relate to through her broader observation of the world – she does not need to be an insider in the community of speakers to understand their particular shared stance.

In a similar vein, translatory turns that begin an explanation of the immediately past talk (§3.4) are not designed to represent single acts of speaking. Instead, they draw together details from what was said in order to compose a comprehensible description of some complex relation between facts or courses of events that have been talked about. It was examined how turn-initial *voicing particles* (*että* in Finnish, *que* in Portuguese) can be used to tie the turn in a paraphrase-like way to the past talk. At the same time they portray the mediating speaker as an author, or composer, of the turn.

As for translatory turns that involve no framing other than a third-person reference to the original speaker (§3.5), the active role of the current speaker in manipulating the representation of past talk is least visible in the turn. The 3p reference begins an assertion about the co-participant. Within this turn, the pronominal reference becomes understandable as *logophoric*; it points to the referred-to party as the speaker whose speech is being represented in the turn. This occurs during extended interactional projects that focus on one participant and/or that consist of (or involve) this person's talk about herself. This activity involves a participant constellation that allows the tying of the translatory talk to it by a design that empathizes with that participant's viewpoint. At times this mediating develops into brief moments of more systematic modes of mediation that resemble consecutive and whispered forms of interpreting. The participants are thus orienting to talk about self as well as its mediation to the OLS audience as larger activities.

By translating with explicit quotative elements, speakers show a specific orientation to how the import of the past action can be transferred to the new participation framework that is established in mediating. These translatory turns manage, or construe, the relationship of the translatory turn to its source talk in a way that displays it as something other than a straightforward resaying. To put it differently, they fix the positioning of the translatory turn as "repeating" that talk. The term "repeat" needs to be used with caution, however, because a language-alternating resaying turn always involves modification in relation to the earlier talk – to begin with, by employing the resources of another language. In fact, as observed

by Jefferson (1972: 295–299), conversational repeats are not simply occurrences of similar items even in monolingual talk, but ones that are made publicly recognizable as having a source, or what she calls a “product-item,” in prior talk. Consequently, the key issue is how turns become recognizable for the recipient as tied to the past talking.

The adjustment of translatory turns with quotative elements is motivated by at least two intertwined aspects: the social implications of the past action (such as accounting, joking, and incoherent actions) and the structural circumstances that their unfolding creates for repeating the past talk to the OLS as a peripheral/indirectly involved participant. These complexities emerge from the same features that come to make mediation relevant (such as intervention by a third party, exclusive topics, and handling displays of affect). Thus, the interactional motivations that influence the design of translatory talk are not properties of the translatable utterances alone, but emergent properties of the unfolding interaction. This means that translatory turns display positional sensitivity to the environment in which they are delivered (see §2.3).

The basic tasks of the quotative elements thus cluster around organizing structures of participation in the particular sequences of action. They adjust the nuances of the translatable action within the new participation framework. They do not rely on the inferrability of the action within its environment but instead they *formulate* this relation, and are thereby able to provide for “the ‘instanced fixing’ of the self-descriptive property of the conversation” (Heritage & Watson 1980: 250). This work is least visible in the last set of cases, which involve translatory turns that begin with pronouns allowing a logophoric interpretation. With these turns, the translating speakers align with the main speaker’s ongoing activity of talking about herself, and moreover, utilize the inherent organization of the activity around the source speaker in contextualizing the translatory turn. These cases bring us towards the other end of the continuum introduced in chapter 1: from examining ways of formulating to ways of invoking ties to the past action within the relayed material itself. In the latter case, ties to past action are made intelligible without added framing, and this is accomplished through how the translatory turn relates to the interactional environment.

4 Translatory turns with turn-initial keywords

As an alternative to introducing translatory talk with the variety of quotative framing that was analyzed in the previous sections, the translating speakers can also proceed directly into redoing prior talk. The current chapter examines practices in which speakers begin their translatory turns simply by relaying some central component of the past talk. More precisely, the speakers begin with a lexical mention that re-introduces something from the prior talk that was conducted in the other language. These elements are referred to here as *turn-initial keywords*. These translatory turns can diverge from the talk that they mediate to varying degrees, as they are newly designed as actions for the current recipient.

The translatory talk examined in this chapter can cover single turns as well as larger stretches of discourse. Whereas the representation of past talk in the previous chapter had different scopes or focuses as mediating activity, the cases analyzed here do not display major differences in that regard. The common denominator for the turns in terms of action is that they compose (re)tellings. Moreover, the set of grammatical turn designs in which the keywords occur are closely related to one another. In prior research, they have often been regarded as belonging to a family of constructions, namely, the family of topic and focus constructions. These have been widely studied in monolingual interaction within other analytical frameworks. The present study provides a novel view of these structural phenomena by investigating them as interactional resources employed in translatory talk. In order to establish the background for the upcoming analyses, the first subchapter (§4.1) provides an introduction to these structures by briefly discussing prior research on them, relating it to their particular uses in translatory interaction. The five main uses of keywords will be introduced here, followed by a more detailed analysis in the respective analytic subchapters.

4.1 Introduction to the structural phenomena

Turn-initial keywords occur in grammatical structures that, as will be argued, have a role in the interactional organization of translatory interaction. This section introduces the keyword structures all together and outlines the analytic approach to them that is adopted in the current study. Moreover, the section discusses analytic support based on prior research concerning how the keywords contribute to invoking prior talk as their source. Let us consider the following examples of the types of utterances to be examined:

- §4.2 a) Liisa: **naapurin miäs sielä niin Maria Ritan appiukko (...) hän** on kovin viisas mies mut ei osaa lukee eikä kirjottaa
'**the neighbor man, Maria Rita's father-in-law (...) he** is a very wise man but cannot read or write'

b) Sanna: *a esposa do irmão dela?* (...) *tava no avião...*
'her brother's wife (...) was on a plane...'

§4.3) Riitta: **mustikka**=*este é uma fruta que na Finlândia tem aqui não...*
'blueberry=this is a berry that in Finland there is (but) here not...'

§4.4) Toni: mut **marjametsästä** sä tiedät enemmän
'but berry picking you know more about'

§4.5) Márcio: *patente finlandesa*
'Finnish patent'

The basic question regarding the translatory nature of the above utterances is how they become linked to the past, other-language talk without additional framing. It will be suggested that their “heavy” turn-initial design plays a role in this organization. The turn-initial keywords (in bold) are heavy with substantial informative content packaged into lexical noun phrases, consisting of single nouns or more complex combinations with determiners and/or modifiers. Some adpositional and adverbial phrases also occur.²⁵ On the one hand, the delivery of the translated material in these dense packages responds to the need to produce intelligible and coherent reference for a recipient who has not had access to earlier mentions. On the other hand, the structural composition with the keywords contributes to embedding the turns in their environment in a way that invites the recipient to interpret them as linked to the past other-language talk. Thus, the turn-initial keywords contribute both to remedying the recipient's access to some content and to positioning the turn itself as a resaying (instead of a language-switching turn that would begin a whole new telling, see §2.3.2). At the same time, the keywords serve as a type of “peg” on which the speaker can elaborate the turn further – although sometimes a phrasal keyword can also serve as a minimal, summarizing translation alone (§4.5).

In the above list of utterances, the keywords are structurally more or less integrated in the subsequent talk. In terms of syntax, the turn-initial elements can be “peripheral” constituents that are loosely integrated with a following clausal structure (§4.2 and §4.3). In the linguistic research literature, these have been referred to, among other terms, as *detachments* or *left dislocation (LD)*. In prototypical cases of left-dislocation, the initial mention of a referent is resumed with a co-referential mention, and only the latter is integrated in the clausal unit. The first example utterance (4.2a) above contains the initial, complex phrasal unit *naapurin miäs sielä niin Maria Ritan appiukko* ‘the neighbor man, Maria Rita's father-in-law’. It is followed, after a pause, by a co-indexical pronoun *hän* (3SG) that serves as the subject in the following clausal unit. The second example utterance (4.2b) has no co-indexical pronoun, but the initial mention is similarly detached from the subsequent part by a pause. In the third example utterance, an initial mention is co-indexed with a demonstrative pronoun (*mustikka=este* ‘blueberry=this’), but the two parts are

²⁵ Turn-initial adverbials could also be analyzed as a separate group of resources that speakers employ in establishing relations to past talk (cf. Ford 1993) in translatory turns.

prosodically tied together. The relation between these three types of detachment will be discussed below.

The keywords can also be integrated in a clause in a “marked” word order. This occurs in the fourth example utterance, with an oblique complement *marjametsästä* (“berry forest”.ELA) produced in preverbal position. Such utterances have been referred to as instances of *topicalization* or *fronting*. The last example is a noun phrase (NP) *patente finlandesa* ‘Finnish patent’ that works as a translatory turn by itself. It is not part of any clausal structure. Such independently used phrasal elements have been referred to as *unlinked/unattached (noun) phrases*. Some instances of the related category of *hanging topics* also occur in the data. Hanging topics are topical items that are followed by a comment that is semantically but not structurally linked to it, as in *esse rádio estragou o ponteiro* ‘this radio the pointer broke’ (Pontes 1987: 31, cf. Li & Thompson 1976).

The structures in question have been extensively analyzed in discourse-functional approaches particularly from the perspective of information management (the free NPs have received less attention) (Chafe 1976, Li & Thompson 1976, Lambrecht 2001a, 2001b, Gelyukens 1988, 1992, Prince 1981). There is a considerable variation and controversy in terminology and analytic choices concerning these structures. Much of the work is based on decontextualized or invented examples, which are examined in relation to the clause and to default word order as analytic reference points. As a consequence, much of the research is not easily commensurable with an interactionist perspective on language and grammar. Due to the often difficult fit between terminology and analytic tools, and as the focus of the current study is elsewhere, the discourse-functional accounts of the structures will be only briefly discussed here. A recent, comprehensive review and discussion is provided by Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani and Horlacher (2015) in their interactional linguistic study on LDs, topicalization and hanging topics in French. (For Finnish, Vilkuna 1989, Helasvuo 2001, Etelämäki 2006.)

To point out some terminological issues, the term “dislocation” implies that something has been removed from its place, which is misleading, as nothing can be moved from its place during the unfolding of talk (see Helasvuo 2001, Pekarek-Doehler 2011, et al. 2015). The regularly used terms “left” and “right” dislocation also pose problems in relation to the unfolding of talk in time. The concept of left and right applied to linguistic structures reflects the Western writing system rather than the organization of speaking. For these reasons, Finnish interactional studies have preferred to talk about ‘clefting’ towards the beginning (*lohkeama alkuun*), and correspondingly, ‘forward’ (*lohkeama eteenpäin*) in the course of producing a turn (see ISK §1018).²⁶ Moreover, the “dislocated” element that is external to the clausal structure it forms a construction with, has been referred to as a *free NP* (Helasvuo 2001), a term that underlines the role of these elements as dynamic building blocks of utterances. In Portuguese, the term ‘segmentation’ (*segmentação*, Koch 1999: 29–30) has

²⁶ The dislocations are also related to biclausal *cleft constructions* (see Lambrecht 2001a, cf. Hopper & Thompson 2008). In fact, the data do include cleft constructions in translatory talk in Portuguese, but these are left for further investigations.

also been used in addition to the other terms (*topicalização, deslocamento, construção de tópico*).²⁷

Within discourse functional approaches, LD and topicalization/fronting have been regarded as having topic-related functions in the organization of information structure (as in Chafe 1976, Givón 1995, Prince 1981, 1984, Lambrecht 1994, 2001a, 2001b). They have also been referred to as *topic constructions* (although researchers use the term in different ways). The distinction of topics and focuses is associated with the distribution of given and new information. To simplify, topic refers to what the “sentence is about,” and therefore it is typically something already activated, or given, in the discourse (Li & Thompson 1976, Chafe 1994, see Hakulinen 1989 for a critical discussion). Focus is, generally speaking, the utterance’s new contribution to the topic (Lambrecht 1994). This conception of the term topic is obviously a different matter from how participants handle what the “conversation is about,” which was discussed in (§3.2).

Both LDs and fronting have been claimed to accomplish “foregrounding” of referents (Ochs & Schieffelin 1983) or “referent-highlighting” (Geluykens 1992). They are also said to promote to a topic position a referent that has not been activated as a focus of attention in the conversation, but one that is accessible or possible to recover without the speaker having to introduce it as something new. Similarly, Lambrecht (1987: 231–234) maintains that LDs are grammatical devices whereby speakers can make available topics that are recoverable for the recipient although they have not yet been mentioned in the discourse.

Nevertheless, there is no consensus in the findings on different languages with regard to whether the introduced referents have actually been mentioned (“old”), whether they are new, or whether they can be either (cf. Geluykens 1988 for English, Ashby 1988 for French, Helasvuo 2001: 127 for Finnish). The whole concept of old and new referents is somewhat problematic for analyzing the relation of utterances to their interactional context. First of all, the information status is defined in cognitive terms, and second, it is typically determined on the basis of the mere presence of earlier mentions of the referents in the discourse. This does not account for the reflexive constitution of context. As an example, in translatory interaction the mentioning of referents can have a different status for different participants. If a new recipient has not understood prior talk, she cannot be assumed to have access to the “old” mentions. However, the present study shows that the potential of these structures to point backwards in conversation can be employed for managing the participants’ asymmetric access to the prior conversation.

A considerable number of previous studies confirm that a central property of LDs and fronting is that they display the relation of an utterance to prior discourse. This is in various ways present in discourse-functional approaches to information structure, but interactional studies demonstrate the process more concretely in terms of the organization of (inter)action. Interactional studies have suggested that LDs are typically used for presenting referents, new or old, in an already existing frame (Pontes 1987: 74–77, Duranti & Ochs 1979 for Italian, Helasvuo 2001: 127 and Etelämäki 2006: 86 for Finnish). An early analysis by Duranti & Ochs (1979) in their classic paper on LDs in Italian, maintains that LDs are

²⁷ In the current study, the above terms are used when it is necessary to reflect on relations to prior research, and the terms *detachment* and *fronting* are adopted as the basic analytic terms.

reserved for topic shifting functions, but these topics still remain within the discourse frame or within concerns currently attended to. That is, the topics are not completely new but invite the recipient to infer their relation to the just prior talk. The dislocated item can also be repeated or transformed from earlier expressions (cf. Tao 1996: 101 for NP repetitions).

In their book on LDs, topicalization, and hanging topic, Pekarek Doehler and colleagues (2015) report that LDs are a powerful resource for displaying actions as linked to earlier action, such as next in a series of actions (ibid. 107). The authors argue that LDs, topicalization and hanging topics are all centrally used for backlinking, for “making recognizable how current turns and actions tie back to prior turns and actions” (ibid. 242). Likewise, Wilkinson et al. (2003: 71–72) report that dislocation-like structures are used by aphasic speakers to make use of others’ past talk. The LD structure allows an aphasic speaker to begin with an element with few grammatical constraints, making it easier to deliver the turn. These findings are very much in line with how the structures work in translatory talk; they build links to prior talk and organize resayings of past talk.

The use of heavy, turn-initial elements in translatory talk is understood here in terms of the turn-constructive operations of *detaching* and *fronting*, along with the related phenomenon of self-standing phrases. Before defining these in more detail, let us first consider an example. This case was discussed in the introductory chapter concerning the positional sensitivity of turn design (§2.3.2).

Pirkko (F/P) and Kyllikki (F/P) are relaying their immediately prior discussion regarding the renovation of a nearby house for Carla (P), who has turned to look at the two women talking in Finnish (for images see ex. 2.4 in §2.3.2).

(4.1) Mansion. BR (Festa_B 26.04)

- 01 Kyllikki: siin ei +työt lopu väh(iin) he [he he
that work will not run out he he he
- 02 Pirkko: [joo;
yes
- Carla +TURNS HEAD/GAZE TOWARDS K AND P
- 03 (1.0)
- 04 Pirkko:→ **trabalho lá es*sa(h)†(0.2) †(0.2)•casarão né?**
work ADV DEM2 mansion TAG
work there (at) the mansion huh
- Kyllikki *G>CARLA •TURNS TWD CARLA->>
Carla †TILTS HEAD†
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 †(0.4)
Carla †NODS-->
- 07 Pirkko: **(incentiva:r;)†**
(stimulate/inaugurate)
Carla ---->†

- 08 (0.8)
- 09 Kyllikki: *esse dá ↓muito trabalho. (s-)*
 DEM2 give.3SG much work
 that causes a lot of work
- 10 Carla: *é?*
 is it so

The previous analysis of this case explained how the Portuguese phrasal element *trabalho lá essa (0.4) casarão né?* that occurs at the beginning contributes to displaying a link between the current telling and the prior Finnish talk as a source. In the discussion it was pointed out that this way of beginning a telling contrasts with ways of introducing something as completely new or as resuming talk from further back in the conversation. The current chapter will continue from the previous analysis by demonstrating how these types of turns are used to organize the unfolding of the translatory stretch of talk in collaboration with the recipient. Namely, they can be used for *try-marking* (Schegloff & Sacks 1979, see Pekarek Doehler 2011: 59–64, Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015). In brief, this means that the speaker offers a mention of the referent for the recipient’s ratification before continuing (in more detail, see §4.2).

In the extract, Carla gazes at the Finnish speakers (l. 2), and this seems to invite the move into mediation (l. 4). By turning her gaze and body towards Carla, Kyllikki orients to her as belonging to the conversational group (Kendon 1990: 209–238). Pirkko first begins her translatory turn with *trabalho lá essa o* ‘work there at the.’ During this, Kyllikki turns to gaze at Carla, who reacts with a quick head tilt. This is Carla’s first acknowledgement of the upcoming turn. After Pirkko delivers the reference to the mansion with a tag, Carla nods (l. 6). This complex NP in Pirkko’s translatory talk is separated by its syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic design as a unit that is nevertheless not yet complete: it organizes an *interactive turn-space* (Iwasaki 2009, 2013) for the recipient’s acknowledgment before continuing. The recipient may produce a minimal verbal token, such as *mm*, or an embodied sign (as here, a nod) as a *continuer* that signals to the speaker that she can go on (C. Goodwin 1986, Schegloff 1982). This allows the establishment of a shared focus of attention and a start for what is to follow. In fact, the example case has two moments within the delivery of the phrasal elements at which Carla displays an embodied reaction; the head tilt and the nod (l. 4 and 6). In the subsequent turns (l. 7, 9), Pirkko and Kyllikki build their talk on the initial mention of the work at the house.

The extract demonstrates how the the recipient can influence the unfolding of the turn involving detachment. However, this is not achieved by the grammatical design alone but also by delivering the initial element with rising intonation towards its end, producing a tag, and by pausing the talk for the recipient’s acknowledgment. Indeed, prosodic patterning has been one of the criteria used to distinguish LDs, topicalization, and their discourse functions. Geluykens’ (1992) definition of referent-introducing in English (as distinct from contrasting/listing LDs) involves a three-step pattern. In the most simple version (ibid. 35–36), a speaker introduces a referent as a separate unit with falling intonation, the recipient produces a go-ahead, and the speaker continues. This therefore resembles the current example except for the delivery with falling pitch instead of the rising pitch. However, as

Pekarek Doehler and colleagues (2015: 39–41, 228–231) point out, no stable matching of prosody and discourse function exists for these constructions. In general, prosodic patterning is better understood as a situated resource that is sensitive to the sequential environments in which the constructions occur (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 1996). Another difference to Geluyken’s three-step pattern is that here the initial element is designed in such a way that it does not introduce the topic as new, but as what is already being talked about.

In accordance with earlier studies, the current analysis suggest that continuously versus separately produced syntactic detachments manage somewhat different tasks in terms of organizing recipient involvement in the activity of mediation (§4.2 and §4.3). Pauses are therefore also included among the potential means of detaching turn-initial elements. In sum, *detaching* is understood here as a syntactic, prosodic, and/or more broadly pragmatic operation of turn-construction.

The first analytic subchapter (§4.2) begins the analysis of detachment from cases in which it occurs only at the level of prosody and the pragmatic incompleteness of the turn, without the presence of a co-indexical, resumptive element. Nonetheless, the subsequent utterance otherwise builds on the initial mention, also allowing subject omission. In addition to these cases, the analysis includes beginnings that are detached both prosodically and syntactically. All these instances of detaching are used for try-marking.

Correspondingly, the discussion also concerns turns in which speakers resort to prosodic means to overcome the syntactic detachment of the initial element. These are analyzed in (§4.3). In these cases, the speakers through-produce the syntactically detached item and the subsequent talk. The continuous delivery means that the speakers do not create a similar type of turn-space for the recipient to acknowledge the beginning as they did in the prosodically detached cases. It is suggested that the through-produced keywords also lead the way to a slightly different mediating activity.

Subchapter (§4.4) examines fronted keywords. In addition to occupying a pre-verbal position, these keywords are typically fronted in another sense: the element that occurs in a turn-initial position in the translatory turn is taken from the end of the prior speaker’s turn. The speaker thus begins from the end, so to say, again entailing a somewhat different way of mediating past talk. The last analytic subchapter (§4.5) examines how phrasal units work as translatory turns alone, without forming any construction with surrounding talk.

The current study thus aligns with approaches that have suggested investigating topic constructions (such as LD) primarily as sequences of communicative acts (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992, Ford et al. 2013). Instances in which speakers first introduce an entity and then comment on it within distinguishable interactional units reflect a division of activity within the utterance (Goodwin & Goodwin *ibid.*: 161–162). Accordingly, the analysis of those structures can be expanded to dimensions of activity and participation, and somewhat liberated from the issue of information structure (e.g., Ochs & Schieffelin 1983, Wilkinson et al. 2003, Etelämäki 2006, Ford et al. 2013, Hopper & Thompson 2008, de Stefani 2008, Pekarek Doehler 2011, Pekarek Dohler et al. 2015). The collaborative and stepwise unfolding of the translatory talk from an initial phrasal element was demonstrated in example 4.1 above. The “topical” item that Pirkko first delivers is acknowledged by the recipient, and subsequently Pirkko (l. 8) and then another speaker (l. 10) continue by building talk on the initial mention. The mention of the house and its subsequent detailing

for the recipient as translatory talk is thus distributed over the turns of two speakers, and the recipient also contributes to the unfolding of the mediating activity. In the examples of the use of keywords examined in this chapter, talk unfolds from the keywords in different, situated trajectories of action between the speakers and recipients. Their similarities and differences are discussed in the four analytic sections.

As I observed earlier, the translatory turns in this chapter can be characterized as *(re)tellings*. The remainder of this section establishes the background for analyzing how these translatory turns relate to the prior talk in terms of the action of telling. In a broad sense, telling is an action whereby a speaker provides a recipient with some information. It invites the recipient(s) to respond in ways made relevant by that particular telling. Moreover, the recipients' actions also contribute to the unfolding of the telling (C. Goodwin 1984, Jefferson 1978). As understood here, tellings can be brief informings or constitute larger courses of action. The telling of stories has been extensively studied as an example of the organization of larger units of action in conversation. To prepare for the delivery of these larger units, speakers may anticipate a telling with prefaces that invite the recipient to orient to the upcoming activity, and at the same time project what type of story it will be or what sort of point will be conveyed by telling it (for example, see Sidnell 2010: 174–196). The matter of how translatory retellings differ from such prefaced, new tellings was already briefly discussed in (§2.3.2).

A central aspect in tellings as translatory talk is how they contribute to displaying the turns as recounting something from the prior conversation. For this, Jefferson's (1978) classic study on storytelling in English provides relevant insights. She examines how speakers use the *embedded repetition* of an element from prior talk at the beginning of a second story to display that something in it has "triggered" the current telling. In the utterance *the cops, over the hill... there's a place up in Mullholland drive* (ibid.: 220), the noun *cops* repeats past talk in launching a new telling, indicating that it was triggered by the past talk. Speakers can mark the triggered, upcoming telling as either topically coherent with the prior talk or not coherent with it. For instance, the combination of a disjunction marker (such as *incidentally* or *oh but*) and the embedded repetition displays that the telling is not topically coherent with the prior talk although it has been triggered by it. Alternatively, embedded repetition can indicate a trigger for a story that is also topically coherent with the prior talk. In a study on story-telling in Finnish, Helasvuo (1991) describes a similar use of phrasal elements in which a speaker introduces a story by repeating a noun phrase from prior talk, as in *vinetto, tosiaanki* 'vinetto, as a matter of fact.'²⁸ These story-linking devices are examples of how speakers construct their action by recycling material from the conversation thus far, making the tie perceivable for the recipient (Anward 2005, C. Goodwin 2013). This is also a way to motivate the current action of telling. In other words, claiming the turn's coherence with past or ongoing action can provide for its tellability.

The phrasal links discussed above are partially established through the structural dependence of the phrasal elements on their conversational context. The recipient is expected to be able to infer how *the cops* or *vinetto* relate to the past talk. Embedded repetition thus locates the trigger element in the prior talk without explicitly citing it. During

²⁸ *Vinetto* is an alcoholic beverage.

conversations conducted in a shared language, it can be said that the working mechanism of the linking devices is that they invoke the recipient's access to the past discussion. The structural dependence guides the recipient to look for what the turn relates to (cf. Sacks 1995: I 716–747). The problem in translatory talk is that the speaker cannot assume the recipient to have access to the source of the repetition. What is crucial, then, is the identification of the initial structure as not introducing something new into this environment but as pointing back to previous talk. That is, the recipient can identify the prior talk as relevant for her on the basis of a combination of linguistic and multimodal cues.

Jefferson (1978) compares the phrasal linking of stories with explicit devices for achieving a similar result, such as *speaking of x*. Her study thus demonstrates that relating stories to what triggered them in the earlier talk involves, similar to translatory turns, a division of labor between implicit and explicit devices for making this link visible.

More recent investigations of phrasal structures in invoking past talk as a context include Bückner's (2012, 2014) study of the German *mit*+NP construction (*aber mit dem konzert* 'but regarding the concert'). This construction works to tie a current utterance to something previous in the conversation. The initial *mit* 'with' does tying work, and the NP functions as a "metapragmatic index" of a topical antecedent in prior talk. It establishes the prior talk "as part of the context for adjacent turn-constructive units" (Bückner 2012: 3, 2014). Phrasal structures have also been examined in institutional, workplace interaction as speakers' means of bringing next items to the discussion from a written form or agenda (Svennevig 2012, Mikkola 2014). NPs are used to introduce something that will then be elaborated on later in the turn without being syntactically integrated in the continuation, such as in the utterance **HR, HR Sweden** *I'm still discussing wi:th ehm (.) an internal applicant* (Svennevig 2012: 59) or in *no sit tää öö pedagoginen puoli, eli teil on nyt sitte tota ne oman talon asiat kunnossa siellä...* 'then the **pedagogical side**, so you have now things on track in the house ...' (Mikkola 2014: 530). The speakers employ phrasal structures²⁹ to present an item as grounded in the pre-existing agenda and as thereby emanating from a specific source.

These phenomena are somewhat analogous to the delivery and tying of translatory turns in the data. During translatory turns, speakers produce keywords in a way that makes them understandable as emanating from what already exists in the interaction. At the same time, they pave the way for the upcoming action. The data on translatory interaction highlight the capacity of these designs, in suitable interactional environments, to produce the effect of tying to past talk even when the recipient does not have (full) access to it. When a translatory turn is tied to partly inaccessible prior talk, a crucial operation is not only locating a source but displaying *that* there is a source in prior talk.

The initial elements also change the language from the immediate prior conversation, and the switch in itself indicates some sort of shift in the conversation. In terms of the participation framework, the switch of language may work to address the turn to the OLS as a new recipient. The language choice thus works in conjunction with the linking devices to contextualize the current turn with regard to the past and upcoming talk. Additional tying

²⁹ The two examples cited could be analyzed as what is referred to as "unlinked" or "hanging topics" (Lambrecht 2001b: 1058, Pekarek-Doehler et al. 2015: 185–220, cf. ex. 4.3 Birch whisk)

elements can accompany the mention of the previously talked-about matter in the translatory turn and specify the turn's relation to its interactional environment. Most often these are resumption markers in cases where the translatory talk takes up talk from further back in the conversation. Naturally, the turns are also coordinated with the participants' gazes and orientations to their physical surrounding.

4.2 Detached keywords in try-marking

The speaker in the first group of cases uses a detached keyword to launch the relaying of a prior telling. This serves as *try-marking* (Schegloff & Sacks 1979, Pekarek Doehler 2011: 59–64, Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015). That is, the speaker offers the initial mention for ratification by the recipient before continuing. By adopting this practice, speakers can orient to possible knowledge gaps between the participants and, in general, to the recognizability of the matter talked about for the recipient. Moreover, the speaker can also secure the turn-space for a multi-unit telling.

The turn-initial phrasal element, which would be incomplete as a turn, is separated from the subsequent talk by a pause. In some cases, the initial element is also syntactically detached, forming a construction that was earlier referred to as left-dislocation. That is, the initial element is not integrated as an argument in the clausal structure of the following utterance, as this role is taken by a subsequent, co-indexical mention (see Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015: 22). Other cases have detaching that is not, strictly speaking, the same as a left-dislocation, as they do not involve co-indexical, resumptive elements. However, their prosodic and pragmatic detachment works similarly in producing a sub-unit component that is designed to be continued as a multi-unit turn after recipient acknowledgment.

The initial elements project turn continuation by them being produced with a level or rising intonation and by being pragmatically incomplete (or only the latter). The pause creates a space for the recipient to provide a go-ahead, which is a signal for the speaker to continue (for a similar case in German–English, see Wilton 2009: 91–95). Inviting a recipient's ratification resembles what Müller (1989: 732) refers to as 'continuation permission claiming' in translating. The examples of the use of try-marking in translatory interaction include storytelling as well as shorter informings of events and related facts.

The first two examples are ones where detaching does not involve the use of co-referential items. These cases are introduced first, as they are somewhat simpler than the subsequent cases, which involve syntactic detachment by a co-referential item (that is, actual LD structure). The data in both languages contain instances of the ratification of an initial mention and the speaker's subsequent building on it without a co-indexical mention of a subject, but predominately these occur in Portuguese. This would seem logical due to the many opportunities to forgo an overt subject that the language allows (notwithstanding the ongoing changes in subject expression, §1.2.2).

In the first example below, Raili (F) has been telling the others where she got the recipe for the avocado-shrimp appetizer they are having, and Sanna (F/P) re-tells it to André (P/f).

(4.2) Cook-book.FI (Kesä B_1.05)

01 Raili: .hh ja se sai siitä lahjaks sen; (0.4) ää (.)
and because of that she received as a gift the

02 finnairin keittokirjan.
Finnair cook-book

03 (0.4)

04 Sanna: ai jaa.
oh

05 (0.4)

06 Raili: mm.

07 Sanna: kuka: †Minna vai.
who, Minna

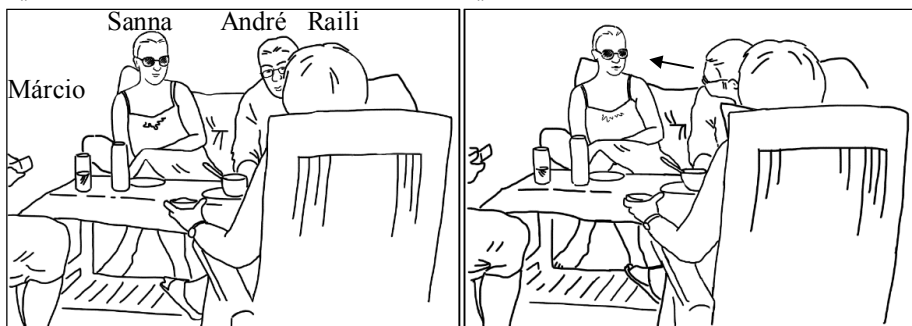
08 Raili: Minna.

09 Sanna: → +a esposa F#1 *do ir*mão d'ela? F#2*
ART wife PREP.ART brother PREP+3SG.F
the wife of her brother

+G>FRONT/DOWN³⁰----->
André *.....*G>SANNA-----*G>DOWN-->
•NODS

F#1

F#2



10 Márcio: mm-m,

11 (0.4)

12 Márcio: Mat[ti.

13 Sanna: [.MT (0.2) tava no avi•ão?
was on a plane

André •NODS

14 (0.2) • (0.8)
André -->•

³⁰ Small shifts in gaze direction are unobservable here because Sanna is wearing sunglasses.

- 15 Sanna: *aí caiu o vinho no colo* •**dela?*
 then/there wine got spilled on her lap
 André --->*G>SANNA-->
 •NODS
- 16 (0.6)
- 17 Sanna: *e eles deram (.) o livro de re•ce-* não sei-
 and they gave the book of re- i don't know
 André •NODS
- 18 *não- nem sabia que tinha livro de*
 I didn't even know that there was a book of
- 19 *receitas +de comida? (.) de finnair,*
 food recipes of Finnair
 Sanna -->+G>ANDRÉ-->
- 20 André: (-) **né,*
 -->*G>DOWN-->
- 21 Sanna: *o- *um +livro assim.*
 a book like that
 André -->*G>RAILI-->>
 Sanna ->+G>RAILI-->>
- 22 Márcio: *aah que legal.*•
 oh that's great
 André --->•

Raili has been telling the story about the cookbook in English, stumbling and hesitating so much that even Sanna has not understood what had actually happened. Raili retells the story in Finnish, and lines 1–2 constitute the end of her telling. The fact that prior attempts to tell the story in a lingua franca have failed motivates her to provide another version in Portuguese. Moreover, the previous attempt has conveyed at least some information to André regarding the reported events. Sanna now knows the story and proceeds to translate it to André (l. 9). Sanna initiates the telling with a NP that introduces the main character of the story, which is Raili's sister-in-law. The rising intonation projects more to come, and before the continuation, Márcio and André both acknowledge Sanna's turn (l. 9, 10). After the continuers by Márcio and André, Sanna proceeds with the telling (l. 13). This subsequent unit does not contain an expressed subject – instead the unit makes use of the reference established in collaboration with the recipient.

Sanna's detachment thus resembles the practice of try-marking, as discussed above (Sacks & Schegloff 1979, see Pekarek Doehler 2011: 59–64 for LD for try-marking in French). She offers a reference to a person for confirmation of recognition by the recipient, and only after receiving the confirmation, she continues to talk about that person. There is, however, a difference between the translation-initial try-marking and the checking for recognition of a person that has been discussed in prior research. Recognition try-marking was first observed in occasions where the speaker checks whether the recipient actually knows or has some level of knowledge of the person who is talked about (Sacks & Schegloff

ibid.). Later studies include try-marking that occurs more broadly in the ratification of a sufficient understanding of what is talked about (see Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015: 228).

What is negotiated in translatory turns is also not necessarily the identification of specific persons but the acceptance of the mention of the person (or non-human object) as an intelligible starting point for a telling. In the current case, this involves presenting the person talked about as the main character of a just-told story in another language. Sanna's turn (l. 9) comes after she has expanded the story-telling sequence by requesting confirmation of the identity of the protagonist (l. 7–8). The prior name reference, *Minna*, could have been understandable for André in the Finnish talk, had he known her. On the contrary, when Sanna translates, she reformulates the reference in a way that does not assume André can identify the person talked about based on a proper name, and this means that Sanna treats him as an unknowing recipient. Both with this type of mention of single persons as well as with generic reference (“indians” in ex. 4.5 below), the recipient may not have exact knowledge of who is talked about, but she displays understanding and acceptance of the mention as a departure point for the upcoming translatory telling, and positions herself as a recipient. By doing so, the recipient also accepts the relevance of the current turn at that moment in the conversation. This indicates that the recipient acknowledges the relationship of the initial mention to the past interaction already at this point. The first element therefore works as a bridge for establishing a link between past and upcoming talk.

Here, the relation to the protagonist is established as *associative reference*, that is, through a social network, such as a family relation, mapped onto the participation framework (Hanks 2007). It is crucial that Sanna does not formulate the person for André through her own relationship but through Raili's ('her brother's wife'). The form chosen is motivated by Raili's role as the source of the telling. Accordingly, this third-person reference to a co-participant does not cast her as an outsider but as a person whose just prior involvement and contribution in the conversation is now oriented to, and more precisely, as having a specific participant role as the person who just spoke. The translatory turn thus involves a reference to the source speaker, which resembles the reference to prior speakers discussed in chapter 3. In this case, however, it occurs embedded within a phrase that begins the telling, not in a quotative framing. Moreover, it is part of denoting a network of relationships. Even the phrasal elements that begin the redoing of a telling thus involve aspects of “formulating” the current interactional event.

The design of the turn as a detached NP with associative reference contributes to displaying it as a retelling that has its source in Raili's prior talk. Even though the reference is made as a first, lexical mention for an unknowing recipient, the position and composition of the phrasal unit contribute to understanding it as relaying the prior telling instead of a whole new telling. Transparent forms of reference are often necessary in translating, and even though the functional properties of this type of reference would otherwise suggest that this is the introduction of something new to talk about, the composition and position of the unfolding translatory talk as a whole make it understandable as a redoing.

Márcio joins in by adding the name of Raili's brother (l. 12, *Matti*). That is, he provides further associative cues for the person talked about and displays some knowledge about the events. André does not reply to Márcio to reveal whether he recognizes the person, but he produces a go-ahead for Sanna by nodding (l. 13–14). From the viewpoint of the action of

story telling, the identification is sufficient: the main character is put on stage and the telling can begin. Sanna continues to deliver the story in steps that are acknowledged by André's nodding (l. 13–17). At line 17, Sanna cuts off her utterance and moves into a commentary from her own perspective on the event told about.

Sanna does not gaze at André when she begins the translation, but she does not gaze at anyone else either. This gaze pattern could be described as a “non-speaker” gaze. There are various cases in the data where a translating speaker gazes down or “out” of the situation during the translation and only turns to gaze at the recipient either at the end of the turn, or as she moves into independent commenting on the matter talked about. A somewhat similar gaze pattern (the interpreter deflects gaze from the “main participants” to display positioning as an intermediary) has been attested in institutional interpreted interactions (Mason 2012). In the current case, the recipient, André, also orients to the aversion of mutual gaze. He directs his attention to Sanna relatively late in the course of her Portuguese turn (l. 9) and he gazes down and away immediately after perceiving that Sanna is not looking at him. In fact, the speaker and recipient refrain from mutual gaze during most of the translatory telling. André turns to gaze at the source teller, Raili, only at the completion of the retelling when Sanna has moved to commenting on the story (l. 21).

In the next example, the speaker more clearly orients to the recognizability of an object talked about, but in this case, it is not person reference. This translating speaker actually repairs an earlier misunderstanding concerning the object talked about. As there is no available Portuguese name for the object, the mediating speaker depicts it with a gesture that has been used earlier by the current recipient. The recognizability of the item for her is thus based on its earlier identification with the same gesture.

Gaia (P/f) has expressed in rather simple Finnish her desire to grow birch trees in Brazil, but the others reject the idea by saying the climate makes it impossible (for this part of the conversation, see ex. 5.3). Gaia and Sauli are talking to each other in Portuguese (l. 1, 4), but Antti makes a suggestion in Finnish to put some birch in the freezer (l. 2). First, the others do not take this remark seriously, but Antti's later specification reveals that this is an actual possibility (l. 14–17). This leads to Toni revising his earlier resaying (l. 9, 11) for Gaia (l. 19, 22, 24).

(4.3) Birch whisk. BR (Restaurante_A 22.10)

- 01 Sauli: mas esse não sobrevive aqui. ((TO GAIA))
but that doesn't survive here
- 02 Antti: ◇+se o[n ◇Suomesta ^tuotava ja pistettävä pakastearkkuun.
(one) must bring (it) from Finland and put in the chest freezer
- 03 Sauli: [é quente demais.
it's too hot
- Antti +G>GAIA----->
Gaia ◇.....◇OPEN PALM UP TWD SAULI----->
^G FROM SAULI TO ANTTI-->
- 04 Toni: mmhe[he^he
- 05 Sauli: [mm^heh

Gaia -->^HEAD AND GAZE>DOWN (THROUGH A NOD)-->

06 Gaia: mhyØhähäØ+
-->Ø,,Ø
Antti --->+

07 Sauli: .hh

08 Toni: *tem q^ue* (.) [*tem que trazer*] *da Finlândia*
(one) must bring from Finland

09 Antti: [sillaihan ne,]
that's how they
Gaia -->^G>TONI

10 Toni: *e* [*colocar no*] *congelador*;
and put in the freezer

11 Gaia: [é:.,]
yes

12 Gaia: nm^m-mn,
->^G>DOWN-->

13 Antti: *sillaihan ne säi^lyttää*; (0.2) ^monetki (0.4)
that's how they store many people (store)
Gaia -->^TO DISTANCE-----^G>ANTTI-->

14 *saunavihtoja että ne .h kesällä tekee*
birch whisks that they in the summer (they) make

15 *niin vihta aikaan ja sitte pistää^*
during the season and then put
Gaia -->^GAZE DOWN, PICKS UP GLASS

16 *pakaste*ark[kuu.*
in the chest freezer
Toni *G FROM ANTTI TO GAIA

17 Sauli: [j↑oo. (.) se oli mun< mun isän=
yes that was my my father's

18 Toni:→ =aa; (.) •^*essas* (.) >*esses*< *negócios pra*Ø
oh DEM2 DEM2 thing.PL PREP
oh those those things for
•AS IF WHIPS HIS BACK----->
Gaia ^GAZE>TONI-->> ØNODS-->

19 Sauli: *i↑sä teki;•Ø*
father made
Toni -----•
Gaia ---->Ø

20 Antti: *joo.* ((TO SAULI; SCHISMING OF CONVERSATION ANTTI/SAULI, TONI/GAIA))
yes

- 21 Toni: [va- dá †dá] pra trazer da Finl[ândia e
 be.possible.IMPS be.possible.IMPS bring PREP+ART [name] and
 (one) can can bring from Finland and
- 22 Antti: [kylä mäki] [minä en
 me too I don't
- 23 Toni: **depois colocar no congelador e depois usar;**
 then put PREP+ART freezer and then use
 afterwards put in the freezer and then use
- 24 Antti: ite käyttää mu- mutta muorille ku mun] (.) äiti<
 use myself bu- but my old lady because my mother
- 25 Gaia: é?
 really
- 26 Antti: äiti elää se on kahdeksan[kytä
 mother lives she is eighty
- 27 Gaia: [ó Toni quan- traz
 hey Toni whe- bring (one)
- 28 para mim quando você for?
 for me when you go

Gaia raises her arm and open palm towards Sauli, which appears to be preparation for a counter-argument to Sauli, but at the same moment, Antti takes the turn (l. 2/3). Contrary to Gaia's idea, the others have concluded that the climate in Brazil is too hot for birch trees to survive, and Antti comments on this further by saying that one could put birch in the freezer. Toni translates Antti's talk to Gaia first at lines 8 and 10 (for this type of translatory talk, see §5.2). Later on, Antti elaborates his suggestion by saying that it is a regular thing to do (l. 13–16), which Sauli agrees with (l. 17). Until this moment, Gaia has withdrawn her gaze twice during talk about the birch tree (l. 5, 12). During Antti's further talk, Gaia withdraws her gaze for the third time and picks up her glass (l. 15). Immediately after this, Toni turns to gaze at her and, interrupting Sauli's turn, translates for her (l. 18). It appears that Toni interprets Gaia's withdrawal as implying that she is not fully understanding the ongoing talk.

In addition, there is a new aspect to Antti's suggestion that even Toni himself did not grasp earlier: only now Antti specifies that he means the birch tree in an instrumental sense, made into *whisks*. These are bundles of tree branches that are used in the Finnish sauna. Toni begins his turn with a vocalization that resembles the change-of-state token *aa* used in Finnish (Koivisto 2015). This vocalization displays a change of cognitive state, a realization of something that could or should have been known or understood before. In other words, Toni realizes that Antti was not just talking about freezing the tree but the whisks made from the branches; this means that his prior translation also requires correcting. The *aa* token indicates to Gaia that his subsequent talk expresses some change in relation to what was said just before. The phrase *esses negócios pra* 'those things for,' is used in place of a more specific expression, and it is complemented by an embodied demonstration of the object (Enfield 2009: 111–220, Ford et al. 2013, Keevallik 2013, Mondada 2014a, 2014b, 2015).

The demonstrative *esses* approximates an expression that is lacking, but at the same time appeals to the recognizability of the matter talked about through gesture; Gaia has herself used a similar gesture when she initiated the discussion and searched for the word for birch tree in Finnish (see ex. 5.3). By nodding (l. 18–19), Gaia displays her understanding of the depiction.

The detached beginning is followed by the impersonal modal construction *dá pra* (lit. *dar para* [give PREP]) (see Salomão 2008) (cf. ex. 6.2 in §6.1.3). In order to illustrate the typical uses of *dar para*, I will provide an example of it from a monolingual stretch of conversation in the data: There has been discussion of losing weight by jogging on the beaches of Rio de Janeiro. Cíntia comments:

Rio de Janeiro dá pra emagrecer bem=há várias atividades para fazer ‘
Rio de Janeiro (*dá pra*) lose weight easily=there are many activities available’

The NP *Rio de Janeiro* expresses the conditions for the action of losing weight that could be also expressed with a preposition, say, as being *in* Rio de Janeiro. In this case, the initial item is juxtaposed to the rest of the utterance so that it resembles an *unlinked topic* (Lambrecht 2001b: 1058, Pekarek-Doehler et al. 2015: 185–220), also called a *hanging topic*. In other words, the initial item is not a clausal constituent, but it is semantically and pragmatically linked to the rest of the utterance. Interestingly, Pekarek-Doehler and her colleagues find as a distinct property of hanging topics in French that they often relate to an impersonal clause.

In comparison to the phrase *Rio de Janeiro* in the example from monolingual stretch of talk, the phrase *esses esses negócios pra* ‘those those things for’ (+ gesture) in the current extract can be more easily regarded as being integrated in the subsequent clausal structure. The beginning of the translatory turn (l. 18), composed of verbal and gestural elements, could be regarded as expressing the object of bringing (*trazer*), putting (*colocar*), and using (*usar*) in the rest of Toni’s turn (l. 21, 23). As Toni does not create a link to the initial phrase by another mention, the structure could be treated as object fronting. The presence of co-referential mentions is typically considered as a structural basis for distinguishing LDs from topicalization/fronting. In LD, the co-referential item links the initial and subsequent part but distributes them into two separate syntactic units, the phrasal and the clausal. In topicalization/fronting, the initial and subsequent part are not distinguished by a co-referential item, so from the perspective of syntactic structure, the initial item “fits” in the same clausal unit with the subsequent part. However, this distinction is less clear for languages that allow so-called zero elements (Pontes 1987: 65–71 for Portuguese, Lambrecht 2001b: 1056–1057 for French). In Brazilian Portuguese it is possible, and typical, to do without the expression of anaphoric pronominal objects (Cyrino 2002, Cyrino et al. 2000). Lambrecht suggests that in such languages, LDs can involve “understood” pronominals – in other words, zero elements that fill the slot of a co-indexical item. Lambrecht still considers such cases as LDs. This reasoning is based on the possibility that another LD structure can be added in the utterance, which (as I understand it) serves as evidence of the separatedness of the subsequent clausal structure (Lambrecht 2001b:

1057).³¹ However, this is not a highly convincing argument when we consider that during actual interaction, speakers are able to produce increments, parentheses, and other means to insert and retrospectively continue syntactic structures even over separate turns (Ono & Couper-Kuhlen 2007, Duvallon & Routarinne 2005).

In the analyses of the current study, other interactional features of detachment versus integration override the role of the absence/presence of co-indexical items or assumed zero elements. In the extract above, the initial phrasal element in Toni's talk works as try-marking. At a pragmatic level, the initial phrasal item is distinguished from what follows it, as it is collaboratively established as a sub-unit component that makes way for the upcoming turn. Toni's talk is therefore divided into the acts of introducing and elaborating within the larger turn, notwithstanding the absence of a co-referential item that would cast it in the canonical group of LD structures. Toni and Gaia together identify the "whisk," and the listed verbs with no explicit object rely on the prior, multimodal unit for being understood. For this interactional organization, it seems to be of secondary importance whether one assumes that Toni's subsequent talk has a "zero" resumptive element or analyzes it as the syntactically integrated fronting of an object (on determining the role of syntactic linkers in turn-continuation, see Couper-Kuhlen 2012, Koivisto 2011: 186–192).

The impersonal structure that Toni uses in proceeding with his translatory turn can continue from the initial phrase without much grammatical constraint. The structurally rather loose linking of the initial phrases seems to favor try-marking as a mediatory process. This loose linking allows the speaker to, deliver a lexical, transparent reference as a starting point, but since this does not yet contain much grammatical projection, it allows the speaker to then continue with emergent structures through which the multi-unit turn can progress into unplanned directions (cf. Wilkinson et al. 2003). In the Finnish translations, the detached nouns usually occur in the nominative case (cf. Helasvuo 2001: 113–116), and in Portuguese without articles or prepositions (cf. Pontes 1987: 30–34). This adds to the syntactic and semantic independence of the NP. In terms of the unfolding of the turn, the detached noun provides relatively unconstrained grammatical options for progressing from there, and allows the use of a co-indexical item or a looser, pragmatic link to the past mention. The following example of a Finnish LD illustrates how linking with the particle *ni(in)* provides for a similar type of malleability (cf. de Stefani 2008) concerning the beginning item in the organization of the utterance.

André (P/f-), a Brazilian visitor to Finland, has been talking about the supply of fruit in Brazil as a response to Sanna (F/P). At line 12, Sanna turns to her Finnish parents, Raili and Pentti (both F), to translate André's explanation, and Sanna begins with a complex phrase.

(4.4) Coffee and oranges.FI (Kesä_B video 40.05)

01 André: *sim sim.*
 yes yes

³¹ A regular LD with a zero resumptive element in French *Les cacahuètes j'aime bien ø moi* 'Peanuts, I like (them=ø), me' can become *Les cacahuètes moi j'aime bien ø*, where the *moi j'* is the intervening second LD structure (example from Lambrecht 2001b: 1057).

- 02 (.)
- 03 André: *a m- a melhor laranja o melhor café?*
the best oranges the best coffee
- 04 Márcio: m[m-m,
- 05 André: [*eles* (.) *exportam ti*[po *exportação*.
they export like exportation
- 06 Sanna: [mm-m,
- 07 Márcio: mm-m.
- 08 Sanna: mm.
- 09 (0.2)
- 10 André: *aquilo que não é tão bom* (0.4)
what is not that good
- 11 *eles vendem no mercado interno.*
they sell in the internal market
- 12 Sanna: → **ee niinku >Brasiliias esimerkiks< kah#vi ja#**,
PRT [name].INE for.example coffee and
uhm like in Brazil for example coffee and
- 13 (0.8) °**ja tota°**, (1.4) **#appelssii#nit?**
and PRT orange.PL
and uhm oranges
- 14 Márcio: *nelkyt euroa [paketi.*
forty euros for a packet
- 15 Sanna: [**ni**
(linking element))
- 16 (0.4)
- 17 Márcio: kilo.
- 18 Sanna: **niim parhaat niinku #m# n- hh niistä eristä**
ni(in) best.PL PRT DEM3.PL.ELA batch.PL.ELA
(linking element) best of the batches
- 19 **mitä tu,lee ni m- myydään ulkomaille?=
REL.PRON come.3SG *ni(in)* sell.PASS abroad.ALL
that come (linking element) are sold to abroad**
- 20 Pentti: =siis mistä.
(you mean) what
- 21 (0.4)
- 22 Sanna: *esimerkiks kahvist ja appel[siineista?*
for example of coffee and oranges

- 23 Pentti: [mm? joo?
yes
- 24 Sanna: ja monist muistki,
and many others

All the participants except André have been involved in an earlier discussion in Finnish concerning the production of food in Brazil. Pentti has asked whether rice is grown there, which Márcio has affirmed, but Sanna has contested this by saying that they also import food from China. The Brazilians have rejected this during a stretch of conversation that changes into Portuguese. After this, Sanna again turns to her parents to translate for them.

Sanna begins with the particle *niinku* as a linker, or as a formulating element, expressing something like ‘in other words.’ The following translatory talk is framed in terms of location by the adverbial *Brasílias* ‘in Brazil.’ The recipient’s access to the immediate past talk is limited, but the adverbial makes clear from the beginning of the turn that this concerns the Brazilians. Presenting the talk as an ‘example’ relates this talk to an earlier part of the conversation that involved the current recipients. The new items *kahvi ja (0.8) ja tota (1.4) appelsiinit* ‘coffee and (0.8), and uhm (1.4) oranges’ introduced are then to be interpreted in this frame of example-giving. Despite relating back to the earlier discussion, Sanna does not mark a step away from the immediate past turns. The phrasal design makes the turn parasitic on the past talk and thus contributes to making the turn understandable as relaying the prior talk instead of producing a self-contained, novel contribution to the discussion.

Sanna’s turn shows the processual nature of delivering the translation, and a sort of on-line analysis of what was said and what needs to be said to convey it to the new recipients. The coffee and oranges are introduced as key elements in a phrasal structure with rising intonation, inviting uptake from the recipients. Pentti or Raili do not respond, but Márcio joins in (l. 14) as a co-teller by attempting to complete Sanna’s utterance. This is interesting considering their prior positioning. Márcio and André have defended their claims rather intensively. As I have demonstrated in previous chapters, signs of affect are treated as possible indicators of a need to render the talk intelligible also for more peripheral parties. When Sanna translates the Brazilians’ talk, she needs to assimilate in her own talk a view that has just contradicted her own claims. Márcio’s view has won over Sanna’s claim that the fruit is imported from China, and at line 14 he further elaborates on his view by adding (to Sanna’s turn) that the locally produced fruit is also expensive. Sanna does not display her acceptance of the completion but instead continues with her own telling.

Sanna links the subsequent part (l. 18–19) to the initial part with the typical linker *ni(in)* (Vilkuna 1997). She has mentioned the coffee and oranges without having yet specified that she is talking about the *best* of this fruit, even though this distinction is essential for what will be said about them. At line 18, she adds *parhaat* ‘the best,’ which projects producing a new head for the modifier. She does this as a reference to ‘the batches that come,’ this phrase working similarly to a co-indexical element in a LD even though it is much more substantial than a co-referential pronoun. In order to describe more accurately this type of instances, Pekarek Doehler et al. (2015) choose to talk about co-indexicality instead of co-referentiality of the subsequent mention in LDs. Often there is, strictly speaking, no actual co-referential relation between the initial and subsequent elements. As a matter of fact, the second mention (‘batches’) in the current example diverges from the mention of fruit to the

extent that it could be regarded as a completely different reference. This would allow the interpretation of the initial element as an instance of a hanging topic (see introduction to ch. 4). This case demonstrates well that even though the categorizations of the structures attempt to encode what the speakers are doing, speakers may do things that do not smoothly fit into those categories. Sanna continues after the second mention by again producing the linker *ni* (l. 19). This would allow for another co-indexical mention and a new LD structure, but here she delivers directly the predicate *myydään* ‘are sold.’ The development of Sanna’s utterance is evidence that the detachment is not preplanned but is instead an emergent structure (cf. Pekarek Doehler 2011, Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015). It is interesting that the recipients here do not produce a continuer after the keyword mention, and later on, Pentti expresses by initiating repair (l. 20) that he did not fully understand what Sanna was saying.

Although “zeros” that build on prior mentions are typical in Portuguese (see ex. 4.2), co-referential items also occur. In the following example, the translatory turn begins with an introduction of the protagonist of a joke. Antti (F) has made a joke about Indians standing on a hill, which Gaia (P/f) does not understand. Her husband, Sauli (F/P), translates for her.

(4.5) Hill (Ravintola _B 16.20)

- 01 Antti: (h)ei no tiätkö_s sitte näistä intiaani_juttuja että .hh
so well do you know these Indian puns like
- 02 minkä takia intiaanit ku ne on noil kukkuloilla ja
why do indians when they are on the hills and
- 03 #ku ne kattelee kaua #niin ne kattelee näi.
when they look far away they look around like this
#DRAWS CURVE W HAND-----#PLACES PALM HORIZONTALLY ABOVE EYES-->
- 04 Sauli: m[m-m?
- 05 Antti: [minkä takia ne pitää kättä näin.
why do they hold their hand like this
- 06 (3.0) ((QUIET TALK, OTHER ACTIVITIES))
- 07 Sauli: kun ne öh aurinko (.) häi[käsee.
because the sun is blinding
- 08 Antti: [°joo°; .hh ei kato
yeah no you see
- 09 sen takia .hh #jos ne pitää_s #näin niin
because if they had it like this
-->#.....#PALM VERTICALLY IN FRONT OF EYES-->
- 10 >ne ei< näk[isi yhtää mi[tää.
they wouldn’t see a thing
- 11 Toni? [krrrh
- 12 Sauli: [tshe#he[heh he he he
Antti --->#

- 13 Antti: [tehheheh (ptäh näi)
- 14 Toni: [AHHAHHAAH .HH EHHE
- 15 Antti: [hä hä hääähäähää
- 16 Toni: HE HE [HEÄHÄHÄÄH
- 17 Gaia: [é o quê?
what is it
- 18 Toni: [haha[hah
- 19 Sauli: [ahah[aha
- 20 Gaia: [é o quê=es[se não entendi.
what is it=that I didn't understand
- 21 Antti: [jos ne pitääs
if they would hold
- 22 Toni: [hahahahahahah
- 23 Antti: näin niin ne ei näkisi mittää.=[vaikka ne
like this they wouldn't see anything=even though they
- 24 Toni: [khHHH
- 25 Antti: pitääs näin nii[n ne [n(h)äkish
would hold it like this they would s(h)ee
- 26 Toni: [KRRRRHHHEHE
- 27 Sauli: [nä- näkee kauas.
se- sees far
- 28 Antti: [joo.
yes
- 29 Gaia: [não entendi não.=que [que é?
I didn't understand no=what is it
- 30 Antti: [hehehe
- 31 Toni: que:
that
- 32 Sauli:→ não.=[porque: in-
no=why in-
- 33 Toni: [que tem uma piada;
that there is a joke
- 34 Sauli: in,dio(s) • (0.2) • (0.4) quando ele fica lá no topo de morro;
Indian(s) when he is at the top of a hill
Gaia •NODS--•
- 35 Gaia: mmh.

- 36 Sauli: **ele (senta::) (.) enxergando lon#(ge) assim;**
 he sits looking far away like this
 #SHADES EYES WITH PALM -->
- 37 Gaia: *mm.*
- 38 Sauli: **porque.**
 why
- 39 Gaia: *não.*
 no
- 40 Sauli: **#porque se ele tivesse assim i(h)a enxergar nada.#**
 because if he had it like this he wouldn't see anything
 ->#COVERS EYES WITH PALM-----#
- 41 Gaia: [*hahaha*]
- 42 Antti: [*hahahaah haaha näitä*]
hahahaah haaha these
- 43 Sauli: *mhahahah*
- 45 Antti: .hh v[*itsejä.*]
 jokes
- 46 Gaia: [*é simples.*]
 it's simple

Translation in this case is occasioned by Gaia's explicit prompts to do so. She asks 'what is it' (l. 17, 20, 29) and states that she did not understand. This appears to be a reaction to the others' loud laughter in response to the prior action. Sauli responds to Gaia with a repairing element *não* (NEG), which is familiar from the cases presented in subchapter (§3.1.1) (requested translations using reportive frames). In the same vein as those cases, the *não* seems to mitigate the importance attributed to the prior talk through the repair initiation. However, here Sauli does not report the joking but begins to tell it again. The interrogative *porque* 'why,' creates a joke format of the type "do you know why....," similar to the way it was presented by Antti. However, Sauli stops after *índios* 'Indians' for (0.6) second. During the gap Gaia nods, and then Sauli goes on with his telling with a co-referential pronoun (*quando eles* 'when they').

Here, two speakers engage in different mediatory activities. In overlap with Sauli's turn, Toni has initiated his version, an explanation (see §3.4) that describes the past talk as joking (*que: que tem uma piada* 'que [that] there's a joke'), but he abandons this and lets Sauli translate. This attests to the alternative ways of engaging in translating the same stretch of talk that show different orientations to what type of action the representation of that talking will implement. Whereas Toni moves towards something close to an explanation (containing a formulation of the prior talk as a 'joke'), Sauli's turn begins a re-telling with a detached beginning (a keyword together with 'porque'). Gaia's nodding as a continuer reflects her understanding of this as a starting point to the upcoming action. By producing only the signal to go on at this point, avoiding an initiation of a turn or of repair, she displays

her understanding of Sauli's turn as something to be continued (Schegloff 1982, Mondada 2011).

The original joke has involved a co-indexical mention (l. 2 *intiaanit* 'Indians' --> *ne* (3PL) 'they'), but the translatory turn cannot be said to simply copy the format, as it occurs in a telling whose beginning is organized very differently. Antti has produced a preface for the joke (l. 1) and the first, lexical mention occurs without any slot for a recipient acknowledgment. By comparison, Sauli proceeds directly to deliver the joke and pauses to introduce the protagonists for Gaia to acknowledge. In this case the translation of the joke is also framed with the question 'why' that projects a more substantial response from the recipient. However, it projects further towards the end of the larger unit of telling. Meanwhile, the recipient is invited to receipt the sub-units of the telling. Even after the try-marked beginning, the translatory talk unfolds in phases that the recipient acknowledges turn by turn (l. 35, 37). In a way, the tellings with try-marked keywords "begin with a beginning."

Even in short tellings that resemble more announcements or informings, the unfolding of the talk may be dependent on how the recipient reacts, or whether she reacts at all, to the offer of a starting point. This is illustrated by the following extract, in which the lack of recipient attention and feedback results in the speaker's abandoning the translatory turn.

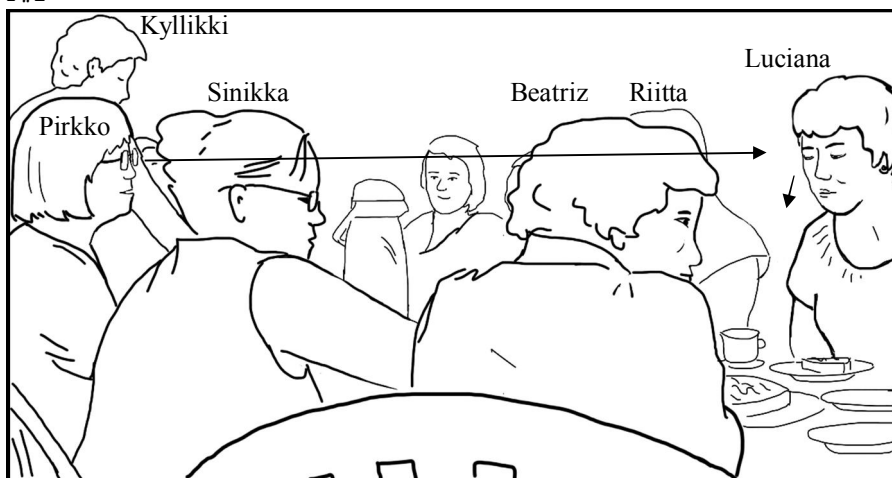
Two women are cutting cakes at a birthday party and talking in Finnish. Pirkko (F/P) initiates a turn in Portuguese by saying *três bolos* 'three cakes' while gazing at Luciana (P), but since Luciana does not react, Pirkko abandons the incomplete turn.

(4.6) Three cakes (Syntymäpäivät_A 28.34)

- 01 Pirkko: ota sinä ja leikkaa.
you take and cut
-->>HANDING THE CAKE SERVER TO SINIKKA
- 02 Sinikka: ai mitä.
which one
- 03 Pirkko: #(siinä)
there
#P>CAKE
- 04 Sinikka: tästäkö.
(do you mean) this one
- 05 Pirkko: kaikista vähä.
a little bit of all ((cakes))
- 06 (2.4)
- 07 Pirkko: °mut° vähä vaa ka- kaikille kun::
but only a little bit because
- 08 kun täs on ↑kolmee *vielä.
there are still three left
Luciana *G>PIRKKO-->
- 09 (0.8)

- 10 Pirkko: kolme *ka°kkua°.
 three cakes
 Luciana -->*GAZE DOWN
- 11 (0.4)
- 12 Pirkko:→ +†três +bolos.
 three cakes
 +.....+G>LUCIANA-->
- 13 (1.0) F#1*•+(2.0)+
 Pirkko ----->+,,,,,+G>CAKES-->>
 Luciana •LIFTS HAND TO RUB NOSE

F#1



- 14 Riitta: *(-) ((IN PORTUGUESE))
 Luciana *TURNS TO RIIITTA->>
- 15 Pirkko: pedacinho pra mim.
 a small piece for me
- 16 (5.4) ((SINIKKA IS CUTTING THE CAKE))
- 17 Sinikka: ensimmäinen pala on ainaki vähä vaikee saada (-).
 the first piece is a little tricky to get (-)

At lines 7–8, Pirkko is instructing Sinikka in cutting the cakes in Finnish, and Luciana glances in their direction. At line 10, Pirkko specifies her prior turn, still in Finnish, *kolme kakkua* ‘three cakes.’ During this turn, Luciana shifts her gaze away, turning to look at her plate. It seems that Pirkko treats Luciana’s gaze towards them as seeking an opportunity to be integrated in the conversation, but reacts to it a little too late. At line 12 Pirkko produces a similar noun phrase in Portuguese, *três bolos* ‘three cakes.’ She gazes directly at Luciana during this turn and continues to look at her for one second. However, Luciana is already looking elsewhere, and Pirkko finally returns to the cakes. As a consequence, the turn that

contains *três bolos* ‘three cakes’ is left pragmatically incomplete, as Pirkko abandons the elaboration of the translatory turn.

With the shifts in Luciana’s and Pirkko’s gazes toward each other and away, the participation framework is in a state of negotiation with regard to who participates in the conversation that has thus far involved only Pirkko and Sinikka. Pirkko’s Portuguese turn provides a key to the content of the Finnish discussion concerning the current activity. However, the possible continuation from *três bolos* is dependent on Luciana’s next action. If she had reciprocated Pirkko’s gaze, we could assume that Pirkko would have somehow continued her talk about the cakes. Instead, what happens is that Luciana does not return to look at her, and Pirkko abandons her project. She continues to speak in Portuguese with Sinikka (l. 15), as if camouflaging her prior switch of language by maintaining that language. Sinikka, for her part, speaks in Finnish, which is their common language.

It is important to notice that without taking into consideration the multimodal aspects in the extract, Pirkko’s code-switch would seem arbitrary in this case. The analysis of embodied conduct, however, shows the importance of the incipient recipient’s multimodal responses to the keywords. In the other cases, some receipt token was either produced or then the sequence involved repair later on (ex. 4.4), and translatory talk continued. By contrast, in the current extract no ratification of the keyword occurs, and the speaker abandons further elaboration of the translatory talk.

This section has examined phrasal beginnings that are detached syntactically and/or in temporally to offer them for try-marking, that is, for the recipient to ratify before the speaker continues with the telling. In both ways of detaching the beginning of (a successful) translatory turn, the initial element is collaboratively established as a starting point for the telling. Instead of presenting the talked-about matter as something new, the turn manages to display it as having its source in the prior talk.

Detaching can also be understood as a form of *segmenting* translatable talk into smaller units.³² Müller (1989: 737) suggests that segmentation can “serve, as a kind of spoken sentence analysis, a structural(ist) function to underline or expose elements of abstract linguistic structure, e.g. constituent structure units.” That is, the segmentation reveals the translating speaker’s “analysis” of the parts of prior talk. From another viewpoint, this “analyzed” structure may also be understood as the structural organization of delivering actions. Here, the speakers are rebuilding a beginning for a multi-unit telling in collaboration with the recipient. The speaker takes what has been told and transforms it into something slightly different. She maintains some of the structural organization of the past action (i.e., the keywords and the structure of a telling) but adapts it to the new context of retelling. Segmentation is thus a way to rebuild a recognizable beginning for the telling within a new participation framework.

³² Segmenting has also been regarded as a professional interpreter’s strategy in simultaneous interpreting, where it is a means to handle the simultaneous listening and production of talk (see Pöschhacker 2015). The type of segmenting discussed here is, however, different from the segmenting discussed in the institutional settings. Here, for instance, the speaker is reproducing a telling only after the initial version has been completed.

The examples of detached keywords that are presented in the next section contain evident syntactic detaching but no prosodic gap before the continuation. In these cases, the translatory beginning accomplishes somewhat different interactional tasks, such as inserting something within the repeated telling, or using parts of it to create a stepwise transition to talk about related but different matters.

4.3 Overcoming detachment with prosodic latching

Syntactically detached beginnings can be detached from the upcoming turn in time, as was evident in the cases presented in the previous section. Alternatively, the upcoming utterance can be produced continuously with the syntactically detached element. The speaker can deliver the continuation as prosodically latched onto the beginning (Couper-Kuhlen 1993). This means no gap or transitional pause occurs between the beginning and the continuation. In some cases, the speakers even deliver the continuation as a rush-through (Schegloff 1982, Walker 2010), bridging the syntactic juncture point by accelerating their talk.

The prosodic latching of syntactically detached keywords appears to be related to the different functioning of the initial element in comparison to the earlier cases. Whereas detaching in time allows for the keyword to be jointly established as the starting point by the speaker and the recipient(s), the latching of the initial and subsequent part postpones the slot for recipient acknowledgment further in the turn. In this case, the role of the beginning element is related less to structuring a telling in collaboration with the recipient but more to paving the way for something further in the turn and in the upcoming action.

In the first extract, the syntactically detached beginning is passed by on the way to introducing another item that is, in fact, more subject to the issue of recognition (a place name, *Billnäs*). Before the beginning of the extract, Márcio and André have been talking about a couple (Tero and Mia) in Portuguese, while a parallel discussion about those same people occurs in Finnish. The conversation between Márcio and André ceases while the others continue the discussion (l. 1–11). At line 13, Márcio begins a translatory telling to André in Portuguese. Billnäs is a town in the area of Karjaa, at about an hour's drive from Helsinki.

(4.7) That place.FI (Kesä_G 8.13)

- 01 Sanna: no hei se on p- käyny koko vuoden niinku tuol
 well c'mon he has been going to and fro the whole year there
 André -->>GAZE AT SPEAKERS-->>
- 02 Helsingin [kaupunginorkester(h)iss(h)a
 in the Helsinki city orchestra
- 03 Pentti: [/juu juu juu ju/u.
 yes yes yes yes

- 04 Sanna: niinku joka t_oinev [viikko
like every other week
- 05 Pentti: [joo joo ky- juu,
yes yes su- yes
- 06 Sanna: et se on [t_ottunu.
so he is used to it
- 07 Pentti: [kyl,
sure
- 08 Sanna: .hh nii on se silleen niinku (.)
it's in a way
- 09 no Karjaa s- niinku t_os mieles että (0.6)
well Karjaa like in that sense that
- 10 ku on tol alalla niin (0.6)
when (one) is in that field
- 11 #joutuu (0.2) kuitenkin reissaa.
(one) must travel anyway
Márcio #LEANS BACK AND TURNS TOWARDS ANDRÉ-->>
((SCHISMING OF CONVERSATION: MÁRCIO/ANDRÉ, SANNA/PENTTI))
- 12 Márcio:→ **o Tero >e a *Mi[a;=eles< vão mudar pra Billnäs.***
ART [name] and ART [name] 3PL AUX move PREP+ART [place]
Tero and Mia they will move to Billnäs
André -->*G>MÁRCIO-----*G>TABLE
•NODS
- 13 Sanna: [niin se on tavallaan keskel
right it's kind of in the middle
- 14 niinku e- tur- Turku ja Helsinki
like tur- Turku and Helsinki
- 15 molem[mat [ol lähel.
both are close
- 16 Márcio: [**pra es[se lugar. cê •↑sabe onde é né?**
PREP that place 2SG know where be.3SG TAG
to that place you know where it is, don't you?
André •SMALL NOD
- 17 Pentti: [on on joo joo joo niin niin
yes yes yes yes right right
- 18 niin niin [niih.
right right right
- 19 André: [sim.
yes
- 20 Márcio: uma (hor)- */>a gente j-< [cê/ passou lá? não né?
one tim- we al- did you pass by there? no, right?
André *GLANCES AT MÁRCIO

- 21 Pentti: [s_{en} takia mä: kysyi[nkin
that's why I asked
- 22 Sanna: [nii.
right
- 23 Pentti: et[tä mikä työ.
what job
- 24 André: [não.
no

Márcio withdraws from the Finnish conversation and turns to André (l. 12). In their prior exchange in Portuguese, they were already talking about the couple that is now the subject of conversation in Finnish. Márcio has asked whether André has met them, so the issue of recognition has already been dealt with. In his translatory turn, Márcio refers to Tero and Mia by name and then uses a co-referential pronoun (l. 12) (that is, forming a LD). There is no gap inviting recipient acknowledgment at this point, as the subsequent mention is latched onto the beginning. Indeed, André nods only at the end of the turn, which has a new element at the end: the place to which the couple is moving (*Billnäs*). The recipient continuer is thus produced at the completion of a syntactic unit and after a new “mentionable.”

By nodding at the end of Márcio’s turn, André only offers him a go-ahead, as in the previous cases. A more elaborate response could be relevant here, such as a news receipt, as Márcio has made an announcement. Márcio does not treat André’s continuer as sufficient acknowledgment, as he asks about André’s familiarity with the place twice (l. 16, 20). The first continuation is incremented on the prior mention with a slightly awkward and redundant expression *pra esse lugar* ‘to that place.’ It draws attention to the place instead of to the news about the moving. In later talk, it becomes clear that Márcio is not building a longer retelling about Tero and Mia’s moving. In fact, this topic has not been central in the others’ past talk, either, as they already knew about the moving. Raili has asked about the exact date of the move, and this has led to talking about how Tero and Mia will now have to travel long distances to work. Márcio uses the translatory link to the others’ discussion concerning the move to bring up matters from his own perspective. Later on (not shown in the transcript), he talks about his visit to the town and laments the fact that in such a small town, one has no privacy.

The translatory beginning re-introduces the topic of Tero and Mia through the detachment, but launches directly into details that become the focus of the following discussion. In line with this, the translatory talk does not unfold as a telling about Tero and Mia, but focuses first on the place they have moved to, and then shifts to other matters concerning the place, still maintaining the topical frame. Thus, in terms of the participation framework and the mediatory action, this detachment accomplishes a task that is different from the prosodically detached cases that jointly establish a recognizable beginning for a telling.

Yet an initial keyword is not necessarily passed by because it is already familiar from earlier talk. On the contrary, in the following case, it is an “exotic” item, *mustikka* (‘blueberry/bilberry’). The speaker does not even have a corresponding expression for the

berry in her target language repertoire but maintains it in the original language. It can still be sensible for the recipient because the relevant object is visibly accessible. The speaker first introduces the berry with an explanation and then moves on to report her earlier talk concerning it.

Riitta (F/P) is enthusiastic, because Pirkko has brought a blueberry pie to the table. By translating her own past talk to Luciana (P), Riitta shares her joyful reaction with her.

(4.8) Mustikka (Syntymäpäivät_A 34.36)

- 01 Pirkko: *sitte* on tommonem *mustikkapiirakka*,
and next we have a blueberry pie
- 02 Riitta: *a::i mustikkapiiras.=fsitä* minä haluan ku *sitä*<
oh blueberry pie =that I do want because that
- 03 *s(h)itä* ei *sitä* *fe(h)i* (saa joka päivä) *hehe*,
that one can't get every day
- 04 (1.8)
- 05 Riitta: *mustikkapiirakka*. (0.4) *hi+hehe .hh*
blueberry pie +G.....->
- 06 *Riitta* + (1.0)
->+G>PIE-->
- 07 Riitta: → *#aäh mustikka.=este é uma fruta que *na finlân+dia*
blueberry DEM.1 be.3SG ART fruit *que* PREP+ART [name]
aäh mustikka=this is a berry that in Finland
#LEANS TOWARDS PIE AND LUCIANA ---->+G>LUCIANA->
Luciana *G>PIE
- 08 Riitta: *tem •aqui +não=já olhei=falei ++isso eu quero*
be.3SG here NEG ADV look.1SG.PST speak.1SG.PST DEM2 1SG want.1SG
there is, here not=as I looked=I said that I want
-->+G>PIE----->+G>LUCIANA-->>
Luciana •NODS *#OPEN PALM TWD PIE*
- 09 Riitta: *•comer porque (--)* *ftodo d(h)ia* *• hehe*
to eat because (--) every day
- Luciana* •NODS *•RAISES EYEBROWS, SMILES*

When Pirkko brings a blueberry pie to the table, Riitta makes a joyful comment about it, but no one provides a verbal reply. After a long pause (l. 4), Riitta repeats the word *mustikkapiirakka* ‘blueberry pie’ and laughs to herself. She then looks at the pie and leans towards Luciana, who does not understand Finnish. Riitta begins with the name *mustikka* ‘blueberry’ and a co-indexical item *este* (DEM1) that is latched onto the initial mention. She changes the focus from the pie to its filling, explaining about the berry. Finally, she moves into quoting her own words (l. 8 *falei*... ‘I said’) from just a few seconds ago. She does not use a preface to present the berry (compare this to the initiation of a new topic in §2.3.2). Instead, she begins her turn to Luciana by the lexical mention in Finnish.

By translating, Riitta finds a new audience for talking about the pie. For Luciana, this is presented as something exotic and as something to affiliate with. Even though Riitta's turn begins with an explanation about *mustikka*, the explanatory introduction is not the main scope of the translatory talk. Her turn is constructed to pass by the initial item quickly and continue to the main point of the telling, which is the representation of her affective reaction to the pie (l. 2, 3, 5) – this is what invites Luciana's feedback, and what she responds to. In order for Liisa to be able to understand and affiliate with this, she needs to know about the rarity and value of the berry, as introduced to her at lines 7 and 8. At the same time, Riitta's rushing past the point of introduction signals to her that this is not what she is meant to focus on as a recipient.

The speaker in the past two examples begins by re-introducing an item from past talk as a syntactically detached item that is, however, prosodically continuous with the subsequent parts of the turn. That is, after delivering the keyword the speaker continues immediately with her turn. Recognition is not at issue here: in the first example, there is no need to negotiate recognition, and in the second case, the recipient's familiarity with the item is not even considered as a possibility. In the first case, the reference to Tero and Mia and their moving works as a stepping stone to discuss the place they are moving to. In the second case, blueberry is introduced before presenting the actual report of the speaker's affective reaction to the berry. In other words, the keywords are involved in a different organization of the mediatory activity than in the fully detached cases. The speaker does not stop to wait for the recipient's go-ahead as a sign of sufficient recognition or approval. The recipient seems to not need to display her understanding yet, as the ascription of what the turn is conveying is postponed until later in the talk. In both cases, the point is something else than simply a retelling that concerns the initial item.

Nevertheless, the relayed keyword still works as a bridge from prior, other-language talk to a discussion that continues on-topic, or as a stepwise transition to something else. The translatory turn characterizes the prior, other-language talk for the OLS, although it may not maintain the type and shape of the prior action. In fact, in these cases, it might not even be possible to deliver the translatory talk as the same type of action as its source, as the source consists of topical talk that does not form a clear unit of action. In comparison, the stories and informings in the previous section (§4.2) formed such units and could be relayed by producing the same types of actions. Moreover, the source talk in the examples (the discussion about moving and the comment about the blueberry pie) occur within courses of action that cannot be easily re-invoked as the relevant context for the recipient of the translatory turn. The relayed content is rather made into something relevant for the current recipient's participant status and worldview. This is different from the retellings in the previous subchapter, where the joint establishment of a starting point achieves the recreation of a slot for the retelling there and then, the telling being in itself sufficiently newsworthy and therefore translatable (see also the discussion following ex. 3.18).

In the next section, speakers construct translatory turns by bringing an element from the end of the prior other-language talk to the beginning of the turn. Similarly to what was seen in this section, those translatory turns can integrate the prior talk with new elements.

4.4 Fronting: Beginning from the end

While the detached keywords in the past two sections mostly begin courses of action that are realized in multiple turn-constructive units and turns, the translatory turns covered in this section consist of assertions delivered in single turn-constructive units. The turn-initial heavy, phrasal elements occur integrated within a single, continuously produced utterance, as in the first example case: *língua finlandês falado er↓rado /vã- vocês tão chei/o de ouvir* 'Finnish language spoken incorrectly you are full of hearing' (see analysis below). This type of resaying covers some aspects of what was said, but may also involve added elements. Moreover, the fronted keywords recycled from prior talk can be involved in a different type of action than they were in the source talk. This was already seen with the turn-initial elements in the previous subchapter (§4.3), but there are also differences. If the detached beginnings were described as "beginning with a beginning," the cases in this section can be described as "beginning from the end." Generally, these translatory turns depart from the talk and action they mediate to a greater extent than the ones in the previous subchapter.

Fronting (or topicalization) is typically understood as placing such elements in a pre-verbal position that would, in a canonical word order of a given language, occur after the verb. These elements include non-subject constituents such as object complements, adjuncts, and/or predicatives, which thus occur in a marked word order. The pre-verbal position is often associated with the expression of contrast in relation to what was said prior to the utterance (Chafe 1976, for Finnish Hakulinen 2001b, Vilkuna 1989). Prince (1981: 252) postulates the back-linking function of the topicalized NPs as their ability to "represent either an entity that is already evoked in the discourse or one that is inferentially related to some evoked entity" (see Vilkuna 1989: 102–107 for Finnish).

A problem with the definitions of topicalization is that they establish a phenomenon based on its deviation from an assumed fixed, neutral word order in the clause (see Pekarek-Doehler 2015 et al.). By comparison, the question posed by interactional linguistic research on language and grammar is how, and to what extent, these types of syntactic units correspond to units of action and turn-organization (for instance, see Ochs et al. 1996, Tao 1996, Helasvuo 2001, Thompson 2002, Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005, Laury 2008, Laury & Suzuki 2011, Couper-Kuhlen 2012, Ford et al. 2013, Etelämäki et al. forthcoming).

Here, fronting refers to producing in turn-initial position a notably "heavy" or "dense" element (lexical noun phrases with substantial informative content) that is not a subject and that is produced continuously with subsequent talk. In other words, there is no evident detaching marked by syntax or prosody. Most of the cases are also fronted in another, rather concrete sense: the element recycled from prior talk at the beginning of the translatory turn has occurred at the end of the prior, other-language talk. Thus, the concept of fronting arises not only from syntactic analysis but also acknowledges its use in the modification of an immediately prior turn-structure in constructing a turn that rephrases it. Although the switch of word order as such is usually not perceivable for the OLS recipient, this transformation results in a design in the translatory turn itself that contributes to displaying the turn as back-linked for the new, OLS recipient as well.

In the first example, which is from a birthday party in Brazil, Pirkko (F/P) prompts the Finns (or Finnish descendants) to recall funny stories about language blunders. Later on, in mediating the prior discussion for the Portuguese-speakers (l. 21–22), Pirkko says that they must be "full of" (fed up with) hearing those mistakes. It should be noted that Pirkko has invited Liisa (F/P) to recall stories about speaking Finnish, which is a slip of the tongue; beginning at line 28, Pirkko corrects herself, implying that she meant Portuguese.

(4.9) Wrongly spoken.BR (Syntymäpäivät_B 5.46)

01 Pirkko: Liisa. (0.6) *vo*∅*cê::* ∅*lembra umas,*
 Liisa do you remember some
Beatriz ∅.....∅LEANS FORWARD TO SEE PIRKCO-->

02 ∅(0.9) ((OTHER CONVERSATIONS QUIET DOWN))
Beatriz ∅LEANS BACK TO SEE PIRKCO-->

03 Pirkko: *niin suomen kielen;**
 like of Finnish language
 *G>BEATRIZ-->

04 ∅>*tô falando (com ela/em Finlandês)*<∅*
 I'm speaking (with her/ in Finnish)
 ---->*G>OTHERS

05 *Beatriz:* ^∅>*aah.*<∅
 ^TURNS GAZE AWAY

06 Pirkko: *é que::* (0.4) *m m oi*kee *huono*:< tai *semmonen*
 (I mean that) really bad or like

07 *kiva:* #e# *väärin:* puhuttu *suomen* kielellä.
 nice incorrectly speak.PPC *finnish.GEN* language.ADE
 nice wrongly spoken in Finnish language

08 (0.7)

09 Pirkko: *panna tonne* (0.2) *ylös paperille.* (.)
 to put there down to paper

10 [*sull_on;*
 you have

11 Liisa: [#ee# *em /mä oi/keim muista.*
 I don't really recall

((10 lines omitted))

12 Pirkko: *et sä muista Vaaran Hulda kum* [*puhu jotai; s-*((TO LIISA))
 don't you remember when Hulda Vaara spoke something

13 Tuula: [*ne jotka jää mieleen*
 those that stay in the memory

- 26 Beatriz: [pode falar er*rado pode *xin[gar pode<
(you) can speak incorrectly (you) can swear
Pirkko ----->* , , , , , , , , , , *G>BEATRIZ-->>
- 27 Riitta: [hi hi hi hi
- 28 Pirkko: †nã:o [to falando<
no (I) am talking about
- 29 Beatriz: [qual- >qualquer coisa< que [a gente
an- anything because we
- 30 Pirkko: [não
no
- 31 Beatriz: não entende nada nada de finlandês.
don't understand anything of Finnish

At the beginning of the extract, Pirkko asks Liisa to recall some funny incidents that involve Finns speaking Finnish (but as said, Pirkko means speaking Portuguese) incorrectly. While Pirkko talks to the others in Finnish, Beatriz (P) is craning her neck to see her from behind Sinikka (F/P) (l. 2). As a reaction to this embodied display of interest, Pirkko turns to talk to Beatriz. Pirkko puts her on hold by saying that she is now talking to Liisa (or ‘in Finnish,’ this is difficult to hear) (l. 3–5), and returns to the Finnish-speakers. Pirkko’s description of events to be recalled takes some time, but she finally arrives at the formulation as ‘incorrectly spoken in Finnish language.’ The others respond to her request by claiming that they are not able to recall any of those incidents at that moment.

Finally, at line 21, Pirkko turns again to Beatriz. Pirkko begins her turn with a complex phrase in Portuguese (*língua finlandês falado errado* ‘Finnish language spoken incorrectly’) which resembles content-wise the earlier Finnish phrase at line 7 (*väärin puhuttu suomen kielellä* ‘wrongly spoken in Finnish language’), except that it switches the order of the components. Thus, “fronting” occurs inside the phrase, in addition to the actual syntactic fronting. The whole Finnish phrase has been the object of recalling, completing the cut-off structure from line 1 in Portuguese (*você lembra umas* ‘do you recall some’). In the translatory turn at line 21, the Portuguese phrase is a fronted object of what the recipients are claimed to be ‘full of (/fed up with) hearing.’

As she engages in mediating, Pirkko rearranges the order of components from prior talk and transforms the action in a way that serves the purpose of local recipient design. She mediates the past conversation but at the same time, her claim that the Portuguese speakers have heard enough already also justifies why they were excluded from it earlier. That is, Pirkko’s turn redelivers the action in such a way that it also covers her earlier rejection of Beatriz’s reciprocity (l. 3–5).

The configuration of participation here resembles the category-bound talk examined in topic formulations in (§3.2). Pirkko recontextualizes the earlier discussion for the new recipients, who are not members of the group that the prompting of stories concerns. Presenting the discussion as category-bound makes it legitimate to have used the in-group language. However, in the current extract, the speaker does not begin the turn by formulating whose topic or viewpoint this is, but by delivering a “topical” keyword that is in itself

stance-laden ('wrongly spoken'). This might be related to the fact that Beatriz's involvement in the discussion has already been dealt with earlier. Pirkko's translatory turn is not a here-and-now reaction to a sudden situation of exclusion (as was suggested for topic formulations) or to the OLS's potential interest invited by affective tones (as with the related practice of generalization in §3.3). The opportunity for that type of mediation was already passed at the moment when Pirkko rejected Beatriz's embodied attempt to become a recipient. Instead, Pirkko proceeds here more directly into the content of the past discussion.

Interestingly, Pirkko still presents the past discussion through contrasting viewpoints. This resembles the cases in sections (§2.3) and (§3.3) in terms of how (antagonistic) stances may invite substantial uptake from the OLS. Pirkko does not present the matter at hand as being of potential interest for Beatriz or Luciana, but rather appeals to their *lack* of interest. On the one hand, this justifies the earlier exclusion as discussed above. On the other hand, Pirkko's turn conveys a statement about the recipients ('you are...'). In this B-event statement (Labov & Fanshel 1977, Stivers & Rossano 2010) the speaker asserts something about the recipient who is more knowledgeable concerning this matter. Although the utterance is not designed as an interrogative, the participants' epistemic relationship makes it relevant for the recipient to respond by confirming or disconfirming the claim regarding her viewpoint. The interpretation that the turn prompts the recipients to express their opinion is supported by embodied cues: Pirkko points at Beatriz and Luciana with an open palm up (F#1), as if inviting the recipients to present an example (Kendon & Versante 2003). In order for the recipients to do this, they must recall some of their own experiences regarding the "incorrect speaking" that Pirkko has referred to. Due to Pirkko's slip of the tongue in asking about Finnish, Beatriz responds by saying that mistakes do not matter as she does not understand any of the Finnish talk anyway. After Pirkko's correction that she means mistakes in Portuguese, Beatriz provides an evaluation (not shown in transcript). She says she did not hear anything so wrong, but that the Finns do have an accent. Thus, Beatriz treats Pirkko's turn as an invitation to offer her own view on the matter, and they engage in further conversation.

As for the turn-initial structure, the current example resembles an earlier case that was analyzed as detachment (ex. 4.3 Birch whisk), where the initial element could also be viewed as a fronted object. Similarly, the predicate here occurs at the end of the utterance (*ouvir* 'hear') and is not followed by an anaphoric pronominal object co-indexing the initial reference. That is, the initial element can be regarded, on syntactic grounds, as being integrated into the turn. The difference between the examples is that in the current case, the initial element is integrated syntactically as well as pragmatically and prosodically. No slot is built for the recipient's ratification: Pirkko relays a complex phrasal expression from her Finnish talk as the first element in the Portuguese turn, but she does not stop to invite the recipient to ratify this as a starting point. The heavy initial item is produced continuously with the subsequent talk and indeed receives no acknowledgement from the addressed recipient(s) in the course of the turn. Later on, Beatriz responds at length (l. 26).

The initial phrase at line 21 contributes to progressing in the activity so that, first, the matter under discussion is displayed as having occurred in the past talk and, second, the past moment of exclusion of the recipient becomes justified. Moreover, the past talk becomes portrayed as something that the recipients already have a (negative) stance towards, which

they can confirm or disconfirm in their next action. This can lead to further discussion involving the OLS participant(s). That is, transforming the prior action when representing it in the translatory talk contributes to managing larger courses of action between the multiple participants.

The next case involves again the type of humor that arose in chapter 4. Participants may produce humorous talk instead of a projected response, and this action is followed by translating. Gaia (P/f) has tried to proffer a new topic by asking Antti (F) whether there are many mushrooms to pick where he lives. Antti has responded, jokingly, that there are some in the supermarket. At line 1, Toni (F/P) covers for his father's joke by making a generalization (see §3.3) about his sense of humour to Gaia. Toni attempts to continue translating, but in overlap, Gaia says how much she enjoys mushroom picking (l. 2, 4). Then she goes on to praise Antti's playful attitude (l. 14, 17, 22). Finally, Toni manages to proceed with explaining that his father does not like mushrooms, and this is why he does not have an answer to Gaia's question. As a final comment, Toni presents Antti as knowledgeable about another, related topic, berry picking.

(4.10) Mushrooms.BR (Ravintola_A 40.30)

- 01 Toni: [ele< ele gosta:[: °de° dizer assim piadas assim.
he likes to make kind of jokes like that
- 02 Gaia: [sou louca
I'm crazy
- 03 Antti: mä [en o-
I'm not
- 04 Gaia: [catar catar eu sou l:ouca pra [°catar°.
for picking picking I'm crazy for picking
- 05 Antti: [en oo sieni-ihmi+siä
not a mushroom person
Gaia +...->
- 06 et+ten oo sienimettässä koskaan käyny.+
so I have never been mushroom picking (/to the "mushroom forest")
Gaia ->+G>ANTTI----->
- 07 Sauli: mm-m,+
Gaia -->+G>TO DISTANCE-->
- 08 (1.2)
- 09 Toni: ma- +*[meu pai não não tá muito f- [fim *para: para:
my- my dad is no not so much a fan of of
*SLIGHTLY LOWERS G FROM ANTTI-----*RAISES G>ANTTI->
Gaia -->+G>TONI----->
- 10 Antti: [ostaa pian,
(one) might buy [ostaa pian a- tai(kka)
(one) might buy or

- 11 kerää semmosia sien*ä* mitä ei s(h)aisi [kerätä.
or pick such mushrooms that one is not supposed to pick
- 12 Toni: [*co:-
-->*G>GAIA
- 13 [(comer cogume-).
eat mushrooms
- 14 Gaia: [ele gosta muito de brincar né;
he likes to be playful doesn't he
- 15 Sauli: *mheh*
- 16 Toni: *é.*
yes
- 17 Gaia: *é que bo:m. is[so aí nem envelhece* [a pessoa.
yes that's good that way one doesn't get old
- 18 Toni: [*cogumelo.*
- 19 Sauli: [mhhehe
- 20 (0.4)
- 21 Toni: *(s[im eI-)
yes h-
- 22 Gaia: [a pessoa *fica muito s:éria en•velhece rápido.
a person stays very serious also gets old quickly
- Toni* *G>DOWN----->*G>GAIA •NODS, SMILES
- 23 Toni: >mas •ele ele< não:: (.) *come* muito (.) •*cogumelo*. (0.2)
but he he doesn't eat much mushrooms
•POINTS WITH EYES/HEAD AT ANTTI-----•
- 24 *então ele* [não:
so he doesn't
- 25 Gaia: [a↑*ah* não; ((BREATHY VOICE))
oh (he) doesn't
- 26 Toni: °*sabe*.°
know
- 27 (1.2)
- 28 Toni: >*sim* ele< *sabe mais sobre:: fruti*inha.
yes he knows more about berries
- 29 (0.2)
- 30 Toni:→ *.hh mutta mar:jametsästä >sä< tiedät [enemmän.
but berry.forest.ELA 2SG know.2SG more
but berry picking you know about more
*G>ANTTI

- 31 Antti: [joo[: ti- tiedäm
yes I know
- 32 Gaia: [ma::rja;
berry
- 33 Antti: mä oon k[ova käymään.
I'm eager to go
- 34 Gaia: [mustikka;
blueberry
- 35 Toni: [mm-m,
- 36 Antti: [mustikkaa ja puoluk[kaa.
blueberry and lingonberry
- 37 Gaia: [puolukkaa j(a):;
lingonberry and

When Toni has finished the account as to why Antti cannot answer Gaia's question concerning mushrooms (see l. 9–26), Toni introduces berries to the discussion (l. 28). In this turn, he first confirms (*sim* 'yes') Gaia's news receipt (l. 25) and then mentions the berries as something that Antti knows more about and could therefore discuss. Berries were not talked about earlier, but by introducing them, Toni achieves a topical transition to something shared by Gaia and Antti. Toni first introduces the *frutinha* 'berries' to Gaia as the last element in his Portuguese turn. Immediately afterwards, he turns to Antti and translates that talk. Toni begins this Finnish turn with a NP that implicates the activity of picking berries (*marjametsästä* 'berry forest'.ELA -> 'about berry picking in the forest'). In this case, the status of the NP as an oblique complement is evident in the Finnish case marking, *-stä* (ELA 'about'). The initial *mutta* 'but' and the recycling of 'forest' (l. 6 "mushroom forest" -> l. 30 "berry forest") link to the mushroom discussion after intervening talk while also creating a contrast to it.

Even though both Toni's original turn and its rephrasing express that Antti knows about berries, what the action of saying it achieves differs from one recipient to another. In Toni's turn to Gaia, he expands his talk regarding Antti not knowing about mushrooms. By conveying that Antti could be available to talk about something else, Toni is still in the process of adjusting Antti's prior reaction to Gaia's question about the mushrooms. In comparison, the B-event statement ('you know more') for Antti invites a response from him. Again, the fronted element is used to offer an occasion for the recipient of the translatory turn to participate in the conversation by contributing her or his experiences on the matter at hand. Antti takes up the topic proffer, and Gaia joins the talk by displaying her experience with berries. In the end, Toni has managed to promote Antti and Gaia's mutual exchange.

Both cases in this section involve recipient-designing in the translatory turn that somehow changes the type of action from what was implemented by the source talk. In the first case (4.9), the original talk prompts the recipients to recall humorous stories about language blunders that they have made when speaking Portuguese. The translatory talk, instead, suggests that the new recipient is not interested in hearing more of them but can evaluate the others' mistakes. In the second case (4.10), the speaker proceeds from covering

for the lack of Antti's answer to inviting him to talk about a related matter. That is, whereas in the source talk the OLS participant was oriented to as not being an eligible respondent to something, the translatory turn shifts to a new perspective that recognizes the special competences of the OLS concerning that matter. The Portuguese speakers are oriented to as experts on correct language use, and Antti is oriented to as an expert on berries instead of being ignorant of mushrooms. On this basis the translatory turns invite further contributions from the new recipients. In both cases, the translatory turns are followed by an extended discussion that involves the person who was mediated to. Other instances of translatory turns in the data with fronting include, for instance, claims of incompetence in a given language that have different situated implications for the original recipients and for the recipient of the translatory turn.

The element that is fronted in the translatory turn maintains a key aspect that has been under discussion, but the action the element is part of is modified. Accordingly, the prior action and its mediation make relevant a different type of response from their recipients. Moreover, the other participants' orientation to the OLS's role in the ongoing activity undergoes a change. What is favored through these transformations is the progressivity of the activity towards something that the OLS can contribute to, rather than a retrospective translation of the prior instance of action in which she was not involved.

All translatory turns can somewhat change the prior action as part of their recipient design, but the translatory turns in this section are more adjusted for the particular recipient than, for instance, tellings that invite generic reciprocity for a story or for the telling of new information. The translatory turns examined here involve a component of particular personal relevance to the current recipient. However, the turns also do not imply that the current recipient could find the content of the earlier talk socially problematic. This was the case, for example, when repair by the OLS was responded to with reported speech (§3.1.1). The comparison might become clearer through a hypothetical example of what would ensue if Toni framed his own prior talk as reported speech. If Toni reported to Antti what he just said to Gaia, as in 'I said to Gaia that you know more about mushrooms,' Toni would be revisiting the prior lack of response and focusing on how he has compensated for it. His actual turn, however, looks forward by prompting further topical talk. These represent two different ways of mediating a contact between Antti and Gaia.

Moreover, in contrast to how adjusting of prior actions is achieved with quotative framing, the adjusting made here is from *within* the translatable content. The turns do not usually maintain the structural organization of the original action, as they achieve a change for the benefit of managing the situation more broadly and of progressing the activity. The speaker of the translatory turn picks up the end of prior talk and reuses it at the beginning of the turn in another language, recontextualizing the fronted expression in one way or another. At the same time, when a speaker loads the turn-initial position with keywords (which are often heavy, complex NPs), this renders the turn interpretable against the previous other-language talk as the relevant context, and thus contributes to establishing a translatory relation to it. In brief, fronting contributes to relaying prior other-language talk, while also allowing the speaker to transform the past action and its consequences for the new recipient. The next subchapter presents translatory turns that are even more concise in their design and more tightly embedded in the prior or ongoing trajectories of action.

4.5 Free-standing phrasal recapitulations

The previous keyword-initial translatory turns contained a keyword that could be to a greater or lesser extent integrated in a subsequent utterance. As the last type of design of translatory turns, this section examines phrasal units that occur independently, without any subsequent utterance building on them. One case was already presented where a phrase occurs alone (ex. 4.6, Three cakes), but in contrast to that extract, the free-standing phrases here are complete turns. Independent noun phrases in Finnish conversation have been called *Free NPs* (Helasvuo 2001).³³ (see Ono & Thompson 1994 for *unattached NPs* in English, Tao 1996: 76–103 for NPs in Mandarin). The current examples include a noun phrase (NP) and a postpositional phrase (PP).

In the first extract, Pentti (F) is engaged in an extended telling in Finnish about ships, and he gesticulates almost throughout the entire exchange. Both Márcio (P/f) and André (P/f) are looking at him, but his talk is primarily addressed to Márcio. After Pentti and André gaze at each other towards the end of the telling, Márcio provides a short translatory turn (l. 25).

(4.11) Patent.FI (Kesä_F 29.50)

- 01 Pentti: laiva ohjataan sillä propellilla. .hh
the ship is navigated with the propeller
- 02 onks se azipoodmoottori taih; (.) mä muistan
is it an azipod motor or I remember
- 03 et sen nimi on azipod.
that its name is azipod
- 04 Márcio: en tiedä. (.) em mä tiedä
(I) don't know I don't know
- 05 *m:[:(h)it(h)ään hehe *l(h)aivoist(h)a.]
anything about ships
- 06 Pentti: [so- suomalainen; .h keksi-]
Fi- Finnish inven-
- André *GLANCES AT MÁRCIO-----*G>PENTTI--->
- 07 suomalaisine (.) patenttikesintö kanssa [.hh
Finnish patent invention also
- 08 Márcio: [aɪhaaa.
- 09 (0.4) hyvä* juttu.
good thing
André -->*G>MÁRCIO-->

³³ In Helasvuo's (2001) terminology, these include both NPs that compose turns alone as well as NPs that have been discussed here as detached NPs or left-dislocated "peripheral" constituents (see §4.1).

10 Pentti: mm ◊[.mth *ennehän ne .hh ohjas laivaa semmon[er ruori.
in the old times they navigated the ship (with) a rudder
◊GESTICULATES----->
André -->*G>PENTTI----->

11 Márcio: [(.hvai) [n:
12 nii;
13 André: m-[hm?

14 Pentti: [.hh ja si- sielä oli takana sit se joka teki näin
and th- there was in the rear section the one that did this
15 mut nyt se [on ↑pois,
but now it is gone
16 Márcio: [se oli <vai[kea>.
it was difficult
17 Pentti: [se on pois nyt siel_ov [vaan se .h
it is gone now there's only the
18 Márcio: [nii.
19 Pentti: [sähkömoottori;
electric motor
20 Márcio: [(niin helppo),
(so easy)
21 Pentti: ja (.) propelli. •.hh
and a propeller
André •NODS
22 ja [sil- ^sil•lä käännetää ^lai[vaa.◊
and with th- with that the ship is turned
^G>ANDRÉ-----^G>MÁRCIO
----->◊
André •NODS 3 TIMES-----•
23 Márcio: [°okei,° [nii.
24 (1.6)
25 Márcio:→ °m° +pa*tente finlandesa.
Finnish patent
+G>ANDRÉ
André -->*G>MÁRCIO
26 Pentti: joo;
yes
27 Márcio: *mm-m;
28 •(0.4)•
André •NODS 3 TIMES•TURNS TO PENTTI-->>

Pentti's explanation about ships is addressed primarily to Márcio, but much earlier in the discussion, Pentti has also clarified his own talk by saying in English "electric motor in ship." That turn was also directed to André. That is, the relevance of André's reciprocity of this extended telling has been established earlier, although he has not been provided further mediation during the rest of the telling.

At line 21, André nods for the first time during the extract, and at line 22, Pentti glances at him and simultaneously restarts his turn. This marks a point of local orientation to André's involvement as a recipient. During Pentti's following utterance, which involves a glance towards him, André nods three times (l. 22). After a gap of 1.6 seconds, Márcio mediates for André by delivering the phrase *patente finlandesa* 'Finnish patent' (l. 25) in Portuguese. His turn appears to be mobilized by signs of André's reciprocity. First, André's nodding invites Pentti to gaze at him as a recipient, and once André is oriented to as a recipient, it becomes relevant for Márcio as the potential mediator to orient to André's further understanding of the conversation at this moment. Once again, translatory talk occurs after an extended stretch of talk has arrived at a potential closing.

The 'patent invention' was mentioned more than 10 seconds earlier (l. 6–7). However, the ship motor that the phrase describes has been the focus of the discussion during the whole stretch of talk in Finnish. With the self-standing, predicating NP (l. 25), Márcio selects only one aspect of the prior conversation to be relayed. André acknowledges the turn by nodding. When no further talk follows, he turns back to the teller, Pentti (l. 28), making himself available for potential continuation of the telling. Thus, mediating in this occasion is performed with the single NP. On the one hand, engaging in this type of recapitulation in the other language is an orientation to potential gaps in the OLS's understanding. On the other hand, the minimal format makes the turn highly dependent on past talk and therefore also presupposes some prior understandability of it on the part of the OLS. In this extract, the motor has been discussed earlier. Moreover, Pentti's gesticulation and transparent loanwords such as *propelli* ('propeller') and *moottori* ('motor') may provide André with detailed cues of what Pentti is explaining, especially considering that André can be expected to understand some Finnish. These circumstances appear to make it possible for Márcio to rely on some intelligibility of the past telling for André, and accordingly, to recapitulate Pentti's talk in this minimal way. At the same time, the contextual dependence of the phrasal unit on the surrounding talk renders the unit understandable as having a source in it.

Whereas the detachments examined in sections (§4.2) and (§4.3) relate to segmenting multi-unit translatory talk, fronting (§4.4) as well as the free-standing keywords examined in this section are used to deliver translatory talk as a single package. The speakers do not appear to aim at covering whole complexes of content from prior talk, but rather focus on some of its central aspects.³⁴ Moreover, phrasal translatory turns seem to rely on some level of intelligibility of the past discussion for the recipient.

In her study of Finnish syntax, Helasvuo distinguishes between four types of Free NPs (ibid.: 105–131). *Identifying* and *classifying* NPs do predicating work and are backward-looking. In *theme and orientation*, a nominative NP forms a construction together with a

³⁴ Comparisons could possibly be made with *compression* as a strategy in professional interpreting (see Kalina 2015).

locative noun, similar to *No kids on the balcony!* in Ono & Thompson (1994). These predicate as well, but differ from identifying and classifying in that the structure is principally forward-looking, meaning that it can initiate something new. The last type, *topic constructions* (topic NP with anaphoric reference; the same as LD here), are also forward-looking, but even these display a relation to something prior, for instance placing focus on some specific, previously mentioned referent. They serve to negotiate reference rather than to make predication (ibid.: 123). Distinctions between backward and forward-looking phrases can also be made with regard to the translatory turns examined here, and often both of these properties are present. For example, detached NPs can be forward-looking as they begin multi-unit tellings, while the larger unit of telling is still retrospectively rebuilt from prior talk. The previous example illustrated a free NP, *patente finlandesa*, which predicates something about the past talk and can therefore be regarded as backward-looking, but instead of returning to redo the prior telling it rather moves on towards a closing.

The next case bears resemblance to the “theme and orientation” type mentioned above. The translatory turn consists of a postpositional phrase that expresses an additive relation between two things (x with y). This format of juxtaposing two phrases occurs several times in the data, in translations of directives. In addition to clarifying past talk, this format projects an action to be accomplished.

Leena’s (F/p-) Finnish-speaking family, who speak little Portuguese, are visiting Kaisa and Teppo’s (both F/P) home. Kaisa offers the guests some kale, which is normally eaten as an accompaniment to the Brazilian bean sauce *feijão*. While handing the bowl of kale to Leena (l. 9), Kaisa remarks that it should be eaten together with the beans.

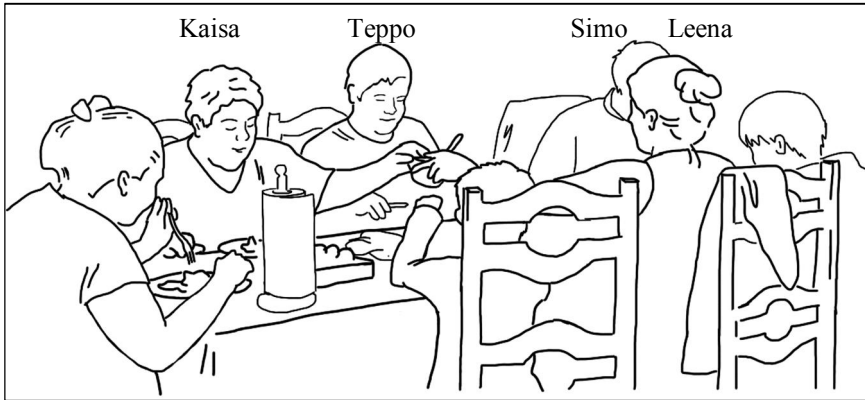
(4.12) Fork.BR (Sauna_A 8.23)

- 01 Leena: onks sielä (.) h̄aarukkaa; (.) ei oo. ((TO SIMO))
 is there a fork no
- 02 Kaisa: on tääl tuol †pode p̄egar; (.) pode p̄egar esse.
 here it is, there (you) can take (you) can take that one
- 03 Leena: †aha.
- 04 †(0.8)
 Kaisa †HANDS A KNIFE
- 05 Leena: eiku (.) h̄aarukka.
 no a fork
- 06 Kaisa: gaðrfo tá a_i.
 (the) fork is there
 Teppo ◊HANDS A FORK
- 07 (0.3)
- 08 Leena: kiitos.
 thank you
 (2.8)

09 Kaisa: *esse aqui #com e:: tem que comer †junto do fei†•jão.*
 DEM2 ADV with/eat- have.to.3SG eat together PREP+ART bean
 this here with/eat- (one) has to eat together with the beans
 #HOLDS BOWL ABOVE TABLE-----#...->
 Leena->

10 #•(0.4) **F#1**
 Kaisa -->#GIVES BOWL-->
 Leena -->•TAKES BOWL-->

F#1



11 Teppo:→ **ton:†• p-** (0.2) #**pavun kanssa (h)**
 DEM2.GEN b- bean.GEN with
 with the b- beans
 Kaisa -->#,,,,,,#
 Leena -->•MOVES BOWL TWD HERSELF-->

12 (1.4)

13 Teppo: **tuota. khm**
 DEM2.PAR
 that

Kaisa is handing the bowl across the table and gazing towards the other end where Simo (F/p-) is seated. Simo does not react, but Leena raises her hand to take the bowl. While Kaisa and Leena are passing the bowl (l. 10–11, F#1), Teppo begins redoing Kaisa’s instruction in Finnish. He begins by relaying the last element from Kaisa’s turn, the ‘beans,’ in a postpositional phrase (l. 11 *ton p- pavun kanssa* ‘with the b- beans’³⁵). Although Teppo’s turn is temporally coordinated with the handing and taking of the bowl, the initial reference (to beans) does not match the object being handed over. Instead, the postpositional phrase as if complements the physical object. Only the latter demonstrative reference *tuota* (DEM2.PAR) (the “theme”) matches the physical object, even though it is produced very late.

³⁵ As a clarification, the Finnish *ton* (DEM2.GEN) used here is not a separate reference to the food (as the Portuguese *esse* [DEM2] at l. 9 and the Finnish *tuota* [DEM2.PAR] at l. 13 are), but instead works as a determiner for the *pavun* (bean.GEN).

The partitive case in *tuota*, without any verb, is able to mark that this is the item to be acted upon (eaten with the beans). Despite the long pause, lines 11 and 13 can be heard as belonging to the same turn because the initial part was delivered prosodically as incomplete.

The whole phrasal unit is similar to the theme and orientation structure that was mentioned above (“theme” + what/where), except that the orientational part occurs first, before the “theme”-like element (‘with the beans’ + ‘that’). That is, Teppo begins the translatory turn with the mention of beans, which was the last element in Kaisa’s prior turn, and conversely, Kaisa began her turn with the deictic reference to the object (*esse* DEM2), whereas in Teppo’s turn the reference to the object occurs at the end (*tuota* DEM2.PAR). The phrasal unit thus contains a switch of order that resembles the “fronting” of a final item examined in the previous subchapter (§4.4).

As was already mentioned, the ‘beans’ as a keyword does not referentially match the physical object that is being handed over at that moment, which is a bowl of kale. Although Teppo’s minimal turn is coordinated with this focal, embodied activity of handing the bowl, the design of the turn is then not merely an instance of fitting with the visible, embodied action. Instead, the composition of the turn (phrasal format and, moreover, “fronting”) contributes to linking back to the prior talk as a source in a similar manner as in the earlier extracts. Teppo does not raise his gaze from his plate at any point during the extract, which further displays his talk as siding with Kaisa’s trajectory of action rather than initiating a new instruction. In other words, Teppo begins his translatory turn with a keyword that introduces what is not available in the embodied action; only later on does he verbally match the turn to the physical object with deictic means.

Returning to the theme of formulating and invoking an interactional setting (see §2.2.2), these minimal renditions from past talk rely heavily on the OLS’s preliminary access to the interactional context. The speakers rely either on some level of the OLS recipient’s understanding of the ongoing talk or of the embodied trajectory of action. A note to make here is that the reliance on the recipient’s access is not merely based on her competence in the language being used but on her locally enacted access to the stretch of interaction, often made public through embodied conduct. For instance, the OLS can have nodded intensively (ex. 4.11) or participated in the embodied activity (ex. 4.12), thereby already showing a particular understanding of the action. The phrasal format makes the translatory turns highly dependent on these ongoing trajectories, a dependence that the OLS recipient can perceive as well. The verbal remedy of the understandability of past talk is then entrusted to the keywords alone. Let us now summarize the findings of this chapter.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has examined translatory turns that are constructed on the basis of turn-initial keywords, without an explicit verbal frame for marking the turns as relaying past talk. In such turns, the speaker goes directly into rephrasing some content from past talk. The prior action can be maintained as approximately the same type of action in the translatory turn,

such as telling a story, or it can be considerably altered. Nonetheless, in all cases, a key component from past talk is relayed in or near the beginning of the turn, and it serves as the basis for the unfolding of further talk. In contrast to the establishment of a clear beginning, it is typical for "interactional translation" (see Wilton 2009) that the end of translatory talk does not have a clear boundary with other, subsequent talk, but dissolves into it.

The first analytic subchapter (§4.2) examined the *detachment* of phrasal beginnings of translatory turns for the task of *try-marking*. By first delivering only the detached turn-initial component, the speaker invites the recipient to produce some minimal feedback before the speaker continues. In this way, the recipient can display her understanding of the initial element. This does not necessarily concern the recipient's recognition of who or what is mentioned as such, but her sufficient recognition of the initial element as a starting point for rebuilding a telling (such as the introduction of a protagonist). By giving the speaker the permission to continue, the recipients also contribute to the progress of the mediating activity. This practice actually reveals how translatory tellings resemble any longer telling in that they involve organizing the roles of the teller and recipient. However, translatory tellings are special in that they are linked to an earlier telling in another language as their source, and in that they are recipient-designed for mediatory purposes.

The detachment of the initial elements can be accomplished with syntactic means together with other turn-constructive features, such as prosodic design, pragmatic incompleteness, and pauses. The analysis of detachment was not limited to actual cases of syntactic left-dislocation (LD), in which the initial item is co-indexed with resumptive elements, but also included prosodically detached cases that build on the initial element without co-indexical mentions. It was demonstrated that the way the detached part is structurally linked to the following utterances varies from case to case.

As a contrasting case, subchapter (§4.3) examined translatory turns in which syntactic detachment is accompanied by *prosodic latching*. The speaker moves past the initial item without waiting for recipient acknowledgment at this point. The role of the keywords in these cases differs somewhat from the fully detached cases. The keyword does not set up a starting point for a re-telling about itself, but instead it works as a bridge to further matters or initiates a detour by adding something, such as additional background information. The prosodically continuous delivery of the detachment with the rest of the turn places less emphasis on the initial element, which is in line with the actions that follow, as they invite the recipient to react to something later in the translatory stretch of talk.

In *fronting* (§4.4), the initial keywords are syntactically and otherwise integrated with the rest of the turn. In most cases, the speaker takes up the last element from the prior, translatable talk to begin the translatory turn. In these cases, the initial element does not establish a starting point to be collaboratively negotiated nor does it begin multi-unit trajectories of adding or bridging to further matters. Instead, the keyword is embedded in a single-unit turn that in itself conveys an action. It is typical that the import of the prior action (as also its structural composition) is considerably transformed in the translatory talk. These changes can favor the progression of the activity towards something that the OLS participant can actively engage in and contribute to.

At the same time, fronted keywords manage relations to prior talk as a source. The fronting casts the turn-initial items as being in contrast with something in the prior talk or

otherwise inferentially related to it – this invites the recipient to look for the source in the prior other-language talk. This linking can also involve building an opposition between in-group and out-group members that further maps the talk in relation to the changes in the participation framework at the moment of mediating. The fronted cases are more often self-translations, whereas the detached ones more often recount another’s prior talk. Furthermore, detaching tends to be used to begin longer tellings, whereas the fronting occurs more often in single-unit assertions, in which the speaker paraphrases what she herself just said, while presenting its import for the new recipient differently from the earlier talk.

In the *free-standing* phrasal keywords that were examined in (§4.5), the speaker does not rebuild a starting point nor does she add information or change what is being conveyed, but recapitulates a key point in the past talk. These most minimal translatory utterances occur in environments where the recipient has already been oriented to as a recipient and where she has participated in an embodied manner beyond simply gazing at the speaker, but has typically not taken a turn. The free-standing phrasal format makes the turn strongly dependent on prior talk. By producing such a translatory turn, the speaker relies on the recipient’s access to the past and ongoing interaction at some level of understanding. Correspondingly, the dependence of the phrasal design on the interactional context guides the recipient to rely on her own interpretation of the talk thus far.

To generalize with respect to some of the differences and similarities in the translatory practices examined in this chapter, it can be said that the detached cases “begin with a beginning” in that they rebuild a starting point for a telling (§4.2) or take up the past talk more freely, adding details or using it as a stepping stone in moving forward in the conversation (§4.3). In short, the speakers begin the relaying of past talk by establishing another “beginning,” although this is nested in the prior telling. By comparison, the fronted (§4.4) and independent (§4.5) keywords tend to present the past talk from the viewpoint of the end result, as in casting the prior discussion in a new light or recapitulating its main outcome. In this sense, they could both be said to “begin from the end.”

One can then point to tendencies in more prospective versus retrospective orientations in the translatory talk launched with keywords. By beginning from the end (but also with the prosodic latching in overcoming syntactic detachment), the translating speakers can accomplish moving forward in the larger activity, orienting more to progressing in the interaction than returning to prior entities of talk. This is in contrast to the cases where speakers rebuild another starting point for an action, thereby orienting to some prior entity (such as a story, joke or description) to be translated as a whole before the conversation moves in new directions. However, all the keyword uses examined here involve to some extent both sides of the coin, looking back and moving forward.

Whereas with quotative elements (ch. 3), translating speakers readjust the relaying of prior talk to the interactional circumstances in one way or another, here the circumstances allow the speakers to go straight into redoing the past action – or transforming it for local purposes – without adding a framing that would position the translatory turn in relation to what is being mediated. Instead, positioning work is accomplished by the organization of the translated material itself. The initial keywords forward the matters talked about for the recipient in a transparent fashion, often with a great deal of content packaged in the phrasal element. To borrow Jefferson’s (1978) term, these turn-initial phrasal elements indicate a

”trigger” for the current turn in prior talk. In other words, the turn-initial keywords point back to the prior other-language talk as an antecedent of the current action. The turn’s design can thus contribute to displaying it as translating the prior talk, and moreover, the translatory tellings can claim their own tellability based on this connection.

In terms of what mobilizes mediating at a given moment, the cases examined in this chapter do not exhibit patterns as clearly as those discussed in chapter 3. It appears that these mobilizing factors do not stand out as clearly because the turns are more smoothly embedded in the ongoing activities. In general, the disjunction between the past or ongoing action and the translatory talk in these cases is not as big as in the previous chapter. For instance, the mediating activity is not as often associated with the OLS participant’s sudden shift of gaze towards the speaker as a sign of reciprocity, or the opposite, an embodied withdrawal from the conversation.

Furthermore, when compared to cases with quotative elements, translatory turns with turn-initial keywords occur less often in overlap, and they are less often preceded by long gaps or understanding checks. For the most part they are produced quite smoothly as next turns after talk in the other language, successfully timed with regard to ongoing sequences and turn-taking in the multiparty situation. This means that they involve less visible negotiation of the need for mediation and of the timing and fittedness of the translatory turns. It could be said that the group of participants appears more aligned in their orientation towards the ongoing activity, which allows launching the translatory turns and redoing actions in them in a more straightforward manner. Even in cases where a previous exclusion of the OLS from the conversation becomes underlined, the mediating speaker treats it as a property of the conversation that is accountable in itself, and from which the talk can smoothly unfold into inclusion of that participant (see ex. 4.9 *Wrongly spoken*).

The translatory turns with turn-initial keywords also display similarities with the cases involving quotative elements. They can mediate similar aspects of the interaction, such as map onto the local linguistic asymmetry divisions of in/out-group membership. Some cases also involve references to the source speaker. As was emphasized in (§2.2.2), the distinction between an explicit description of the current interaction and invoking its contextual aspects in other ways is not straightforward. The examples here demonstrate that the choice of keywords in itself characterizes the current interaction in a range of ways. When participants use associative person reference, name nationalities, or introduce ”exotic” items such as berries or birch whisks to relay the past talk, this is also a means of ”glossing” aspects of the interactive situation. The selection of keywords reflects the mediator’s interpretation of the prior talk as well as the renewed context in terms of how that talk can be mediated to meet the participants’ local needs. Thus the turns also display an understanding of the co-participants’ knowledge, access and stances with regard to matters in and beyond the speech situation. However, it is not part of the action in these turns to specifically display for the recipient *that* the turn is offering an interpretation of the situation, as occurs when they provide formulations of prior acts of speaking (see §2.2.2 and ch. 3).

The next chapter brings us to translatory turns that are different from both the quotative framing and keywords. If the cases with keywords were rather smoothly tied in the conversation as redos, the cases in the subsequent chapter are even less marked as distinctive mediatory moves in the conversation.

5 Plain, continuous design of translatory turns

A crucial task in mediating prior talk is to provide sufficient cues for the recipient about where the current talk originates, and to manage and manipulate how the current talk relates as action to the action that is being mediated. This is achieved in specific ways with the range of translatory practices. Employing the resources of turn design examined thus far, the speakers make an interactional effort to fit the translatory turn to the past and ongoing talk and action. Using quotative elements, on the one hand, and keywords, on the other, the speakers approach the prior conversation from different angles (as in explaining or re-telling something), adjusted for the perspective of the new recipient.

The different ways of portraying the content of past turns thus display the speakers' orientations to the social nuances of the mediated action and its reception. There is no clear cut distinction between clarifying the mere "content" of past turns and the broader coordination of the situation in bilingual mediating, as the understanding of a specific language and the opportunities to participate in socially coherent, accountable ways in a given multilingual situation are intertwined in various ways. Hence, the exact way in which past talk is represented in the other language is not simply a response to what content the mediator assumes that the recipient cannot understand. Rather, it is motivated by which aspects of the OLS participant's (lack of) access to the interaction the speaker focuses on when mediating. The orientation to her access varies in a situated way throughout the interaction, according to particular sequences and courses of action, and to how this access is made publicly visible.

In the current chapter, we turn to examine translatory utterances that seem not to be making the same kind of interactional effort as in the data examined in the previous chapters. In the following examples, the speakers relay prior utterances in the other language without making use of the types of turn design examined thus far (additional framing or keywords), which were previously shown to ensure the fittedness of the translatory talk in its position, relating it to a prior speaker's talk. Instead, the translatory turns here are designed as continuous with prior talk. The beginnings of the turns involve deictic expressions, such as anaphoric pronouns (and "zeros"). There is no detaching or fronting of elements towards the beginning but, instead, the turns begin with a "canonical" S(pron)VX word order in both Finnish and Portuguese. An example of this type of turn in Finnish is an extract where participants are engaged in a long discussion about a carpet on the floor. The speaker points at the carpet and relays to an OLS what a prior speaker said about it: *se on aito* 'it is authentic.' An example in Portuguese, which will be analyzed below, is a case where Sanna points in the direction of her father, who is setting up a barbecue, and rephrases her prior Finnish comment about this action (for analysis, see ex. 5.1 below):

nyt alkaa grillimestarin taidonnäyte (0.2) sinne on turha yrittää mennä osallistumaa
'now begins the grill master's masterpiece (0.2) it is useless to go and try to participate'

→ *não é uma coisa participativa essa*
'(it) is not a participatory thing that (one)'

In the latter turn in Portuguese, Sanna does not verbally explain or specify what she refers to. Clearly she does not orient to the same type of interactional task as, for instance, with the keywords in chapter 4. The choice of reference form here indicates a symmetric indexical ground; the speaker does not address any break of referential chains between the talk in different languages but relies on the recipient's ability to infer what is being discussed. This raises the question of whether the working mechanisms of such translatory turns are somehow different from the previous cases examined. It will be suggested that in the example case, the participants' joint attention to the physical environment and the ongoing course of action provide a sufficient number of cues for the recipient to perceive how the language-switching turn relates to the situation – and that the speaker relies on this accessibility when producing translatory talk for the current recipient.

Thus, in the extracts in this chapter, the mediating speakers are in fact not orienting to the same types of tasks for adjusting and fitting their talk, as were seen earlier. This is because the circumstances allow the speaker to rely on the intelligibility and fittedness of the language-switching turn for the recipient without further means of framing or linking. The study identifies these circumstances as consisting of the OLS's access to and earlier involvement in the ongoing activity, of certain types of sequential continuity, and of the mediator's own relatively high commitment to the mediated content. The plainly designed translatory turns could also be regarded as instances of a "relaxed" need to mark a source for the current turn, and accordingly, the speaker's position as a mediator.

This chapter examines two environments that contain translatory turns designed as plainly continuous with the prior talk. In the first environment, the translatory turns cover talk about embodied, visually accessible focal activities and objects (§5.1). In the second environment, the translatory turns cover talk that extends courses of action involving the OLS, and during which there may have been earlier translation or other switching of languages (§5.2). Both types of translatory turns are mostly single TCUs. Especially cases in the latter section can be rather difficult to distinguish from other code-switched recycling of prior talk. They overlap with the use of a switch of language as a resource in delivering a second attempt (compare Auer 1984b, 1995), as a distinction from resolving a problem of understanding the language. If the ongoing conversation is multilingual and to some extent mutually accessible, and there is no clear marking of a source in the prior talk, the utterances that redo prior talk do not as obviously take up prior talk to render it intelligible for someone. In fact, many of these cases are either self-translations or have other indications of the mediating speaker's high level of personal commitment to what she repeats from the prior talk. This commitment can spring generally from social identities and epistemic territories or can be created locally just moments before the translatory turn, for instance, when the speaker has just displayed agreement with the prior talk.

Pertaining to the issue of the relative unmarkedness of the turns as translating and the speakers' own commitment to the mediated action, this section introduces a new theme in the study: translatory activities are not always distinguishable from clearly non-translatory talk. Instead of trying to define what is and what is not translation, it seems more reasonable to view language-switching turns as possessing properties of both regular recycling of prior talk, and of what is straightforwardly recognizable as translation (see also Kolehmainen et al. 2015). This chapter explores some of that grey area.

5.1 Talk about visibly available, focal objects

The physical setting of an interaction is not simply a material reality but a socially organized dynamic environment (see C. Goodwin 1981, 2000, 2003, Heath 1984, Hanks 1990, 2005, Hindmarsh & Heath 2000, Mondada 2007, 2009a, Streeck et al. 2011, Nevile et al. 2014). Participants coordinate their bodies in relation to the physical space and material objects to establish joint attention and a shared *interactional space* (Mondada 2007, 2009a, 2016); this can precede talking and have consequences for the temporality and content of talk. Participants' audio-visual access to the physical environment can also provide affordances for the management of their asymmetric linguistic access to the conversation.

In the cases presented in this section, the talk that is translated is somehow responsive to the physical environment. The talk comments on something that the participants have voluntarily directed their embodied attention to or something that imposes itself on the interaction. Thus, the elements that the translatory talk concerns are already somewhat accessible for the OLS recipient and incorporated in the shared interactional space – despite the participants' asymmetric access to the talk that concerns them. Consequently, these cases are different from when a speaker introduces an object in the physical environment to the discussion to introduce a new topic (as in ex. 2.2 in §2.3.2). Instead, the talk about the object is fitted to an already existing orientation to the presence and a recognition of those elements in the interaction.

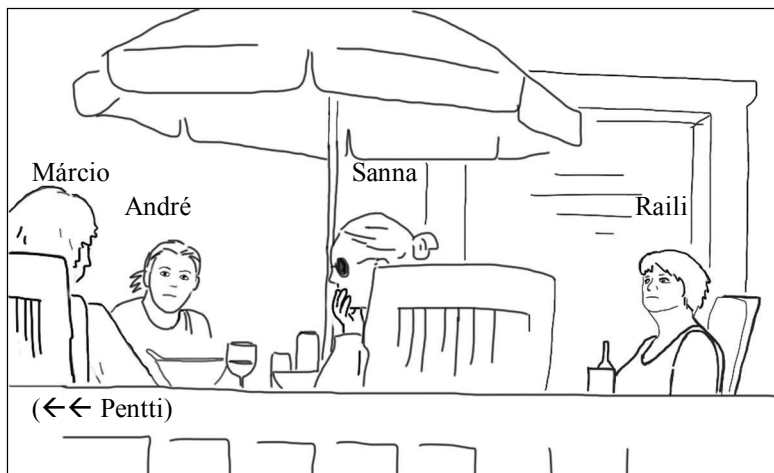
This is one of the environments where translatory turns begin with plain, continuous design. What seems to occasion this is that the embodied establishment of focal objects in the interaction makes them evocable and identifiable with pronominal and zero elements (as in Monzoni & Laury 2015). By referring to the objects with pronominal elements or by not using overt reference, the speakers are treating them as sufficiently accessible and recognizable for the OLS recipient (that is, as if she can know what is meant). These cases are therefore different from the cases examined in chapter 4 in which present objects were introduced as exotic and unrecognizable and the translating speakers took up the task of explaining what they are (see, for example, “blueberry” in ex. 4.8).

In the following example, Pentti walks onto the scene pulling behind him a portable grill. He is setting up a barbecue, and moving the grill makes a loud clattering sound. This attracts the attention of the others, who are seated on a terrace. In Frame #1, André (P/f-), Sanna (F/P) and Raili (F) turn to look at Pentti (F) (on the left, outside of picture frame). Sanna comments humorously on the upcoming barbecue performance.

(5.1) Grill master.FI (Kesä_C 8.22)

01 Sanna: **F#1** nyt alkaa grillimestarin
now begin.3SG grill.master.GEN
now begins the grill master's

F#1: Sanna, Raili and André turn their gaze towards a loud noise coming from the left. The noise is caused by Pentti who is walking onto the scene from the left side of the image, pulling forth a portable grill.

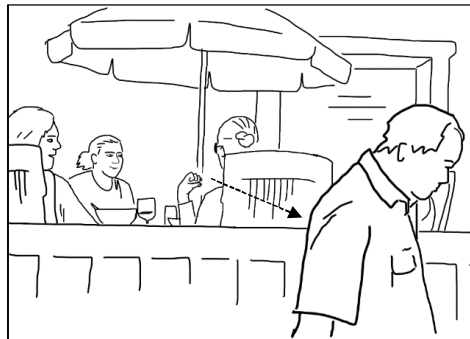


- 02 Márcio: *s(h)•im(h) hehe,*
yes he he
André •SMILES, CRANES HIS NECK TO SEE PENTTI-->
- 03 Sanna: *t_aidonnäyte;*
masterpiece
- 04 (0.2)
- 05 Sanna: *sinne on turha yrittää mennä;•*
there.to be.3SG useless try.INF go.INF
it is useless to go and try to
André ---->•
- 06 Raili: *joo ei[::?*
yeah no::
- 07 Sanna: [*osallistumaa.=*
participate.INF.ILL
participate
- 08 Raili: */ei ku[kaa:=°kukaan ei/°.*
not anybody=nobody
- 09 Sanna:→ [*+#não #é F#2 uma coisa particita-*
NEG be.3SG ART thing particita-
(it) is not a particita-
#...#POINTS----->
- 10 **F#3 *participativa esse.***
participatory DEM2
participatory thing that (one)

F#2



F#3



- 10 • (1.0) #
André • BLANK FACE-->
Sanna --> #
- 11 Sanna: *é uma::*
 (it) is a
- 12 Raili: *tsh•hehe*
André ->• FROWNS, TILTS HEAD TO SIDE-->
- 13 Sanna: um *solo*.•
 a solo
André ---->•
- 14 Márcio: [*é*.
 yes
- 15 André: [*aah* [*sim*.
 aah yes
- 16 Sanna: [*pro(-) no (.) o churrasco*.
 for in the barbecue
- 17 André: *enten[di*.
 (I) got it
- 18 Sanna: [*é melhor ficar aqui*.
 it's better to stay here
- 19 André: *tá*.
 okay
- 20 Raili: *pri#va[te# (expert)*.

In Frame #2, Pentti has arrived. Sanna points at him while providing André with a translation (l. 9–10) of the last part of her previous comment (l. 5, 7). Sanna's turn is directed at André by gaze and by language choice. Sanna does not explicate which activity she is talking about either at the beginning of the turn or in the extrapositioned demonstrative reference (*esse* DEM2). Instead, she identifies Pentti's ongoing activity by pointing in Pentti's direction, behind her back; she relies on André's perception of the situation. André's

attention to the focal activity is publicly visible, as he has been gazing at Pentti and also smiling during Sanna's first comment, simultaneously with Márcio's laughter (l. 2). He has also seen and smiled at Raili's enactment of Pentti, in which she depicts Pentti's imagined refusal of anybody's help with the barbecue (Frame#2). We may note that this is another example of a case where affectively salient talk and action is mediated. However, the mediating speaker does not take the affect as the scope of her representation of the ongoing situation (for example, by formulating Raili's or her own stance towards Pentti's behavior). Instead, she redoes her comment and thus treats the "affect" expressed in it as affiliate-able for André as such.

In Finnish (l. 3), Sanna has commented that it is 'useless to go and try to participate.' In the Portuguese version (l. 9–10) of her statement, Sanna slightly alters her original comment, now saying that 'it is not a participatory thing.' André has apparent difficulties in understanding what exactly Sanna is trying to convey, and Sanna responds to his confusion by reformulating her description (l. 11->). However, the problem concerns the description 'participatory' rather than understanding the object that Sanna is describing or the amusing aspects of the loud and solemn preparations for the barbecue performance.

When activities and objects that are sensorially perceivable in the environment become the interactional focus of attention, the participants' embodied orientation to them can render this focus public and shareable even to the OLS participant. This participant may not understand the first verbal observations or comments made about those objects, but she can observe and join the others' orientations to some extent, enabled by the visual availability and recognizability of the objects and events. It appears that this accessibility together with the continuity of the ongoing activity provide a context that the translating speaker can take as shared by the OLS as well.

Moreover, owing to the coordination of the talk and the physical environment, the connection of the language-alternating turn to the prior talk is inferrable for the OLS even when the speaker does not verbally mark this relation. In the current extract, Sanna has first commented on the visible activity, and Raili has responded to this by gesturing while gazing in the same direction. Immediately afterwards, Sanna points at the same focal activity while turning to gaze at André, and switches to Portuguese. That is, the focus of the conversation is maintained multimodally during the talk in the two languages. A joint focus of attention has been established, even though the specific meaning of Sanna's and Raili's contributions is not fully available to André before the translation. This allows the translatory turn to begin without re-introducing elements from prior talk, such as keywords (ch. 4), and without readjusting the past action by means such as added framing (ch. 3). Instead, the speaker can rely on the accessibility of the ongoing courses of action.

As demonstrated in the next section, the availability of ongoing activities can also be based on the continuity of sequential trajectories in which the OLS has been involved, and which have involved earlier language switching.

5.2 Talk within extended sequences

In the previous case, the mediating speaker began by invoking an accessible, focal object of attention in the physical environment. In contrast, in the cases analyzed in this subchapter the mediating speaker talks about matters that are outside of the speech situation. In these examples, the recipient of the translatory talk does not have sensorial access to the objects under discussion, but there are other conditions that allow the mediating speaker to treat them as accessible and sufficiently recognizable to the recipient. The talk to be translated occurs within courses of action in which the OLS has been involved, either as an initiating speaker or as a recipient. The initial sequences of action have been continued among the other participants through sequence-expansion or more loosely built extensions, and during this talk, both of the languages may have been used.

In the case of post-expanded sequences, speakers do not close the sequence in the second position but make a further move after it, for example when they initiate repair, or when they produce a newsmark or another type of first pair part in this position. This makes relevant at least one more second-pair part turn before the sequence can be closed (Schegloff 2007a: 148–168). A more loose type of sequence extension can occur, for instance, when participants proffer further topical talk at a point of potential closing. As sequences become post-expanded and extended, their structuring may become less determinate (Schegloff 2007a: 181). The accumulation of the translatable talk within such sequences (that have involved the OLS) has consequences for the translatory talk. In the previous chapters (3 and 4), translatory talk was more clearly performed as a distinct translatory move, but here it is more organically intertwined with the ongoing stretch of conversation. However, the talk that expands and extends ongoing actions does not create tightly determined sequential slots for the translatory turns. Despite the translatory turn's continuity with the ongoing trajectories of action, it is not actually sequentially projected, and does not have a ready-made sequential slot to fill (notice the difference to §3.1.1, where a third party effectuated the post-expansion of a sequence by initiating repair). Moreover, in these cases, the mediating speaker is in a position where there is not much contradiction between her own stance or role in the conversation and the utterance she redelivers for the OLS. It is suggested that these features make the translatory turn relatively free from additional positioning work.

In the first extract, Márcio (P/f) has initiated talk about the benefits of renting instead of owning an apartment. He has taken as an example Sanna's (F/P) friend Mari, whom Raili (F) also knows. Raili explains the difference in expenses between owning and renting, and Sanna relays some of that talk to Márcio (her husband). At the first lines of transcript, Márcio is expressing his opinion in Portuguese, when Raili interrupts him by self-selecting to continue her contribution to the discussion (l. 5).

(5.2) Square meters.FI (Kesä_B 14.50)

01 Márcio: *assim.= (é) o apartamento é dela?*
so (I mean)= the apartment is her own

02 (0.8)

03 Sanna: *mm,*

04 Márcio: *ela paga quinhe[ntos pau por mês?*
she pays five grand per month

05 Raili: *[nii< ja sit lämmitys. .hh*
oh and then the heating

06 Márcio: *ni[i,*
yes

07 Raili: *[että tehäm maksatte vain .hh*
so you pay only

08 *läm- siitä mitä [te kulutat]te [omilla*
heat- what you consume with own

09 Sanna: *[sähköstä;] [mm;*
electricity

10 Raili: *lampuilla.*
lamps

11 Márcio: *aí [aí[aí? .hhfh*
then then then

12 Sanna: *[ni[i,*
yes

13 Raili: *[ja näin taloud- mutta talol lämmitys .hh*
and like this eco- but the heating of the apartment

14 *koko t- koko talon kustannukset jaetaan niiden .hh*
the expenses of the whole building are divided

15 Márcio: *n:i,*
yes

16 Raili: *osakkaide[n kesken.*
between the shareholders

17 Sanna: *[ni;*
yes

18 *(0.6)*

19 Raili: *.hh et< #ayy# ku Maril on kaksio niin*
so because Mari has a one-bedroom apartment so

20 *se vastaa siit e- nii viidest kuudestkyymenest*
she is responsible for the fifty sixty

21 *neliöst sen talom me#noi[sta#.*
square meters of the expenses for the building

22 Márcio: *[mm-m,*

- 23 Sanna: *nii-i,*
yes
- 24 Raili: *et se on se*
so it is by the
- 25 *neliömäärä[m mykaa.*
amount of square meters
- 26 Sanna:→ *[.mt ela paga [pe[los::]*
3SG pay.3SG PREP+ART
.mt she pays according to
- 27 Márcio: *[(#-#)*
- 28 Raili: *[niinku teil]läki*
like you
- 29 *[on.*
have it
- 30 Sanna: *[metroquadrados [sobre;*
square meters for
- 31 Márcio: *[e pelo aque[cimento?*
and for the heating
- 32 Sanna: *[aí (acaise-)*
then heati-
- 33 *[aque↑cimento.=*
heating
- 34 Raili: *[joo.*
yes
- 35 Sanna: *=a gente só paga? (0.6) pela luz que a gente #o::# hhm*
we only pay for the electricity that we

At line 5, Raili interrupts Márcio's Portuguese turn as Márcio was about to return to his earlier claims regarding the benefits of renting as opposed to owning an apartment. Raili lists the expenses of owning an apartment, extending a discussion that began with Márcio's initial mention (in Finnish) of what Mari pays for her apartment. After Raili's lengthy stretch of talk, Sanna mediates some of it for Márcio (l. 26–30). The translatory turn thus covers talk that has extended a sequence which Márcio himself began by presenting Mari's apartment as an example.

Sanna begins to relay her mother's talk about Mari by using a simple pronominal reference to her. The person discussed is not present, and therefore the turn-initial pronominal reference is not comparable to cases where the speaker refers to a prior speaker (as in ch. 3). The pronominal reference in those cases relates to the organization of the mediatory constellation, and to presenting the quoted talk in the name of the referred-to participant. The current case could, instead, be compared to extract 4.7 (ch. 4), where a reference to 'Tero and Mia' was re-introduced with a detached proper name reference in the turn-initial position. With the pronominal design in the current case, Sanna treats the

- 10 Sauli: liian •°kuuma°. •
too yes
•SHAKES HEAD•
- 11 Antti: niin [se pitää talavehtia.
yes it must overwinter
- 12 Gaia: [ei:?
no
- 13 Gaia: *Campos do Jordão [é bem (ameno)].*
Campos do Jordão is quite temperate
- 14 Antti: [ei se menehy ku se pitää talaveh[tia.
it doesn't succeed because it needs to overwinter
- 15 Sauli: [(niin)
yes
- 16 Antti: joo [se pitää] talavi huilata.
yes it must rest (during) the winter
- 17 Sauli: [.snff]
- 18 Toni: [◊↑mmm.]
◊TILTS HEAD BACK, THEN NODS-->
- 19 (1.0)◊
Toni --->◊
- 20 Toni:→ ***precisa descansar durante inverno.***
need.3SG rest.INF during winter
(it) must rest during the winter
- 21 (0.6)
- 22 Sauli: *tem que*<(0.2)•
it needs to
•GESTURES W FINGERS•
- 23 Gaia: #m↑m::.#
#RAISES EYEBROWS AND CHIN#
- 24 Sauli: *talvez lá na x x.*
perhaps there in the [place at mountains]
- 25 Gaia: *fazendinha.*
(at a) farm

From line 1 to 6, Gaia announces her wish to plant birch trees. Her turn also makes relevant for the others to determine, as “experts” on Finnish birch trees, whether her plan is feasible. Through word searches, the expression for ‘birch’ in Finnish is found (*koivu*) (l. 5–6), and after this, Antti receipts Gaia’s talk with the particle *joo* (l. 7). This response does not yet exhaust the sequence. Instead of directly aligning or disaligning with Gaia’s wish, Antti proceeds to wonder to himself whether it would be possible to grow the tree in Brazil (l. 9). Antti initiates a *non-minimal post-expansion* (Schegloff 2007a: 148–149) where he expands

the sequence with another first pair part (*kasvaaskohan täälä koivu* ‘I wonder...’). As he sees Sauli shake his head as a sign of rejection, Antti ultimately provides a candidate answer by suggesting the climate is too hot (l. 9). The heat is a factor that leads the participants to reject Gaia’s plan.

At lines 12–13, Gaia produces a counter-argument by saying that the locale is temperate, and therefore not too hot for the tree. She says the latter part (l. 13) in Portuguese, directing her words at Sauli, which makes her remark unintelligible for Antti. No one reacts to this turn, as Antti continues his own reasoning that the tree needs to overwinter (l. 14, 16). Toni’s turn at line 18 displays a realization of the correctness of this conclusion. After a one-second pause, Toni rephrases the point about overwintering to Gaia in Portuguese (l. 20). In other words, Toni translates talk that he himself has agreed with and that goes against Gaia’s idea of growing birch trees in Brazil. What he mediates is responsive to Gaia’s initial proposal but it is not produced within an adjacency pair structure. Toni’s mediation comes only after talk that has continued the initial sequence and involved discussion in both languages, including his own participation. In this case, expanding the sequence involves disagreement with Gaia’s idea in the base sequence, whereas in the previous example, the extended talk was more supportive of Márcio’s initiative.

On the one hand, sequential continuity, and one might even say topical continuity, provides grounds for Toni to rely on Gaia’s access to the conversation when producing the resaying without further tying work. On the other hand, Toni’s earlier agreement with the achieved conclusion allows him to repeat it from his own viewpoint. This differs from what was observed in other cases of translating accounts. A comparison can be made with extract 3.4 (ch. 3), in which Toni translated Antti’s rejection of food to Gaia by saying ‘he said he has too much meat here.’ Thus framing Antti’s past talk, Toni was adjusting the potentially rude earlier action and positioning himself only as a reporter of that talk, avoiding accounting for the rejection himself. In the current case, Toni’s turn does not involve any framing that would adjust the resaying in relation to past turns. The adjacent position of the turn after Antti’s talk makes it interpretable against that talk, but the design of the turn does not involve any extra work of fitting the turn in relation to it. It appears that no quotative framing is needed because Toni can commit to the account as such. Moreover, no explication of what the account concerns (birch) is needed because Gaia is already involved in the bilingual stretch of conversation about it. The way Toni ties his turn to this sequence, relying on established reference, shows that he considers it to be accessible for Gaia.

Correspondingly, Toni’s turn comes close to a regular recycling of prior talk. This turn does seem to remedy a lack of sufficient uptake by Gaia concerning the rejection of her plan. However, in terms of comprehension problems, Toni’s turn deals with the vague conception of trees “resting” during the winter. This is not strictly a problem of understanding an expression in Finnish, but of understanding the biology of trees in cold climates.

How should we then understand the switch of language itself in terms of relating Toni’s turn to the prior talk? Gaia has had some difficulty in initiating the sequence in Finnish, and she does not respond any longer to Antti’s talk in that language, despite his several attempts (l. 11, 14, 16). The lack of response is treated by Toni as a moment to engage in linguistic mediating. Indeed, Gaia receives his turn as new information, or at least in some way

informing her process of understanding (l. 23), which indicates that she did not fully comprehend the past discussion. However, as Toni's turn does not contain additional cues for how he positions himself with regard to the past action, the exact facilitating function, or scope of mediation, in the turn is less evident. The turn comes to resemble a code-switched repetition or a pursuit of response where language alternation is used as a resource for conveying a second attempt (Auer 1984a, Zentella 1997). In this light, the turn does not necessarily facilitate the recipient's understanding of the other language but makes use of the language switch in producing a second attempt in delivering a dispreferred action.

It is challenging to define the limits of these phenomena, that is, what a "translatory" turn in interaction is as opposed to a "code-switched repetition" as a response pursuit. This would require resolving whether the switch of language is the purpose of the turn (rendering talk available in the other language) or the means for achieving a second attempt. In my understanding, complexity emerges from, on the one hand, the essence of translation as a semiotic process (handling signs in particular ways), and on the other hand, its association with the particular social action of facilitating understanding. One question that arises is whether translation necessarily responds to a need to facilitate the recipients' understanding. Based on the current data, it does not have to be so. Moreover, determining the facilitating aspect may be tricky. In some cases it may be easier to determine that using another language is not oriented to facilitating the understanding of prior talk, for instance, when a speaker repeats a negative response in closing a sequence. In this short excerpt, Pirkko repeats three times a disconfirming response to a question about whether her acquaintance's adult son used to work as a pilot:

(5.4) Pilot.BR (Syntymäpäivät_A 05.06)

Pirkko: *só trabalhou como mecânico ou técnico (.) piloto não.*
 he only worked as a mechanic or technician (.) not a pilot
 (1.0)
len†täjä ei.
 pilot not
 (0.9)
pi†loto não.
 pilot not

(topic changes)

Pirkko's repetitions work to close the sequence, and none of the participants treat the repetition as dealing with the understanding of her talk (see Harjunpää & Mäkilähde 2016: 177–178). However, in most cases the difference between handling a problem of understanding the language and other problems of uptake is more obscure. Both what is normally understood as oral "translation" and regular pursuits of response or other recycling of past utterances may deal with the reception of a past action as a whole, and involve a switch of language to deal with it. Although there is some pressure to distinguish these as empirical phenomena, it is also not a simple or self-evident matter. Jakobson (1959), whose work has influenced much later thinking on the reflexive properties of language (for example, Silverstein 1993), conceived of translation not only as interlingual but as occurring within a language and also between modalities (see also §6.2.1). In addition, current

professional translation and interpreting are gaining new, intermodal forms (for example, see Tiittula & Hirvonen 2016). The semiotic nature of translating is thus not limited to interlingual operations, nor are similar turns in different languages always conceivable as translation. The border between these instances is somewhat blurry.

The present study does not suggest any definite solution for the problem of distinguishing translation and other types of language-switching repetition or recycling. However, it draws attention to the speakers' publicly visible orientations to these matters in relaying past talk. Speakers have at their disposal specific means for construing ties to prior turns in the other language, and when these are not employed, speakers show less evidently that their talk is relaying past talk and how it relates to that talk as action. In the current chapter, two main environments have been shown for this less evident marking: it occurs in contexts where there is a high degree of availability of the ongoing, extended activities for the OLS either through embodied access or sequential continuity. Both of these environments also involve indications of that the mediating speaker is personally committed to what she delivers. These translatory turns involve fewer "mediating operations" in three senses: They do less evident marking of a source, less adjusting of the past action in the resaying, and less remedying of the recipient's access and involvement in the prior interaction. Many of these instances are self-translations and they occur without a clear indication of a problem of understanding or access. Moreover, the turns are usually addressed to a recipient who has some skill in the translated-to language, and the stretches of conversation have already involved some language alternation. The fact that the conversation unfolds in the two languages appears to enable treating the local instance of interaction as having less of a boundary between talk in one language or the other. This shows that even in translatory talk, the "opaqueness" and asymmetry of the language constellation is in part a locally negotiated phenomenon (Kurhila 2006, Mondada 2012).

The plainest resayings are, then, less clearly marked as mediating or translating the interaction.³⁶ This conclusion may appear to contradict conceptions according to which translation means producing text or utterances in the most similar or equivalent way possible in the situation to correspond to a source. However, the apparent contradiction disappears when one takes into consideration the processes through which translatory talk emerges in everyday conversation. It is not simply something that occurs between a speaker and an addressed recipient, but is part of complex negotiations over the involvement of the OLS participants in the interaction and of their status in the ongoing sequences of action. The recontextualization done in translatory turns shows the translating speakers' orientation to the access and involvement of the recipient in the interaction, and to representing the prior talk and action for her in its most action-relevant features.

³⁶ Levinson (1988: 199–201) analyzes a case of spirit possession in a Tamil Nadu temple, where a priest speaks to a possessed woman and tries to determine whether what she is shouting (the name of a god) comes from the woman herself or from the possessing spirit that the priest is trying to banish. Levinson makes the point that when a message that is relayed is not in any way formulated or marked as relayed, the recipient cannot assume that the message has, in fact, come from a source (that is, that there is "some prior separate speech in which the relayer was informed by the source of what he was to say"). In Levinson's example, this poses a practical problem for the priest. In principle, the recipient of translatory talk can face a similar problem.

These orientations guide the rephrasing of the content of past turns. For most environments of translatory talk in everyday conversation, this process does not yield a situation where a full, similar repetition of a past utterance would suffice. Instead, modifications are needed to embed the translatory turns in their interactional environment and in order to implement particular actions with these turns. By comparison, the most similar designs in rephrasing past utterances do the least contextualizing work in terms of fitting them to the current conversational context. This means that in order to translate with a "similar" design, the context must allow it to be done this way, by using the same turn-constructive elements as in the prior talk.³⁷ It was demonstrated that in the cases presented in this chapter, there is less need for adjustment both in terms of the nature of the action being redone and its sequential positioning. At the same time, these same conditions entail that what the mediating speaker delivers is actually close to what she could produce as an independent agent, who relays prior talk for her own purposes. This type of phenomenon already approaches what could be regarded as regular recycling of past talk in the other language. (I will return to this theme in §6.1.1 below.)

In terms of sequential structures, the translatory turns in the current chapter are rather loosely built on the prior talk, and they are relatively free of sequential constraints for delivering a "repetition." As a consequence, the translating speakers do not need to specifically mark their turns as occupying a particular sequential slot. The opposite will be shown in the next chapter with translatory turns that are produced within the limits of adjacency pair structures. In those cases, the speakers may do a lot of positioning work to occupy slots within the sequences. This also occurs in self-translation and when the OLS has been fully involved in the ongoing activity, which shows that the speaker's full commitment to the action she translates or the recipient's involvement in the activities do not *as such* entail that prior talk can be repeated with a continuous, plain design. Instead, this is undertaken differently in different sequential environments. Marking a source for a resaying is not only a matter of distancing between the voices of actual individuals but also a sequentially organized phenomenon of marking degrees of agency within talk.

³⁷ It appears to me that in professional, institutional settings of interpreting, the official guidelines for the organization of the interpreting situation and the activity itself (§2.1) contribute to the very purpose of creating and supporting such a context, that is, to creating interactional circumstances that allow the relaying of prior talk in the most similar fashion possible. An example of the challenges to be dealt with is that the interpreted parties may address each other in the third person, or even address the interpreter instead by saying "can you ask her...", which legitimates/forces the interpreter to modify the action when relaying it to the other party (e.g., Wadensjö 1998, Baraldi & Gavioli 2014).

6 Mediation within question–answer sequences

Questions are actions that make it conditionally relevant for a recipient to provide an answer. Different types of questions, or more precisely, requests for information or confirmation, further delimit the type of response that is expected (see, for example, de Ruiter 2012, Stivers & Rossano 2010). These features make question–answer sequences an advantageous context for investigating translatory talk. Translatory turns expand these sequences before the delivery of a second pair part (a response), and thus need to orient to the conditional relevancies created in the question in order to enable the response to satisfy them (but see §6.2.3 for post-expansions). This makes it possible to examine how specific sequential projections are mediated in the translatory talk. Furthermore, the embeddedness of the translatory turns in adjacency pairs sets concrete boundaries for analyzing how maintaining similarity and making modifications, as parts of the translatory process, influence the outcome of the interaction. With questions, it is also possible to examine how the status of the “non-understanding” party as an addressee is negotiated and how it is handled in the mediating activity.

The circumstances for providing a translatory turn are different from the previous chapters, where translatory turns were mostly provided for other-than-designated recipients of the original talk, and in many cases, the translations targeted talk from already completed sequences. The translatory turns made it relevant for the OLS to provide some sort of feedback, but the latter was relatively free to either minimally receipt or more elaborately contribute to the discussion. In the current chapter, the focus is on translatable actions that make relevant a particular type of response (an answer) by the OLS. This conditional relevance creates pressure for rendering that action intelligible for her. As for the mediator, it means that she needs to step in at a moment when the turn has been (potentially) allocated to another participant. It will be shown that the questions can also involve aspects that condition the mediator’s entry.

A further new feature in mediating question–answer sequences is that if the original questioner also receives a translation of the OLS’s answer, then the questioner has a sequentially provided opportunity to observe and control how the OLS has understood her past action. This does not occur when translation is provided for a peripheral participant on the side of some main talk (cf. chs. 3 and 4). When embedding their turns within adjacency pairs, the translating speakers employ some of the same designs as in the previous sections, such as fronting, phrasal formats, and finally, reportive framing. The interactional motivation and import of these designs is examined here within a more limited sequential scope, and is shown to corroborate the earlier findings.

The first point of interest is how the OLS becomes the addressed recipient of the questions in the first place. This chapter examines cases in which the original question is addressed to the OLS, inviting her to respond, but also cases in which questions that do not address the OLS nevertheless become forwarded to her. That is, the move into mediating may be invited by the original question or may become oriented to only in the translatory turn itself. All the mediated questions remedy or anticipate some type of problem with regard to responding, but they are organized as different types of resayings in different participation frameworks. The examples contain both other- and self-translation.

Let us consider example (6.1), in which Raili designs a question about André’s visit to Finland by referring to him in the third person. While asking, Raili is walking past André. In F#1, Raili is walking towards the left, and André is sitting on the right.

(6.1) A year ago.FI (Kesä_E 5.50)

01 Raili: **F#1** oliks se nii että (.) André oli *täälä (.) **F#2**
 be.3SG.PST.Q.CLI DEM3 so et(tä) [name] be.3SG.PST here
 was it so that André was here

André

*LIFTS GAZE TWD RAILI-->

F#1

F#2



02 #vuos sitte.
 year ago
 a year ago
 Daniel #MAKING NOISE IN THE BACKGROUND-->>

03 (1.0)

04 André: 1mitä?
 what

05 Raili: [(vuos sitte;)
 a year ago

06 Sanna:→ [ano pas*\sa:do\ >você tava< aqui?
 year pass.PPC 2SG be.PST here
 last year were you here

André -->*G>SANNA

Because of referring to André in the third person, Raili can be heard as talking about him and not to him. However, after Raili utters his name, André looks up and thereby displays attention to Raili’s talk and its relevance for him. By initiating repair (l. 4) he acts as a recipient, which makes Raili, as well as Sanna, rephrase parts of the question. André is not established as a recipient from the beginning of Raili’s question but rather in the course of the unfolding sequence. Both Raili and Sanna reaffirm his participant status by clarifying the question for him. After Sanna’s translation (l. 6), André provides a response (see full analysis in ex. 6.4). This case shows that a questioner may seek information to which the OLS has primary epistemic rights but not ask this person directly. Even if questions are not

addressed directly *to* the other-language-speakers, they can be designed *for* them as recipients.

In an asymmetric language constellation, questions often do not reach their final recipients in a straightforward manner. This is related to the asymmetric language constellation, as speakers may not have the proper linguistic means to address someone directly, or they may anticipate the other's difficulty in understanding their question. To examine how this all works, the present study considers addressivity in a broader sense than strictly addressing by limiting the set of possible respondents to one participant. The questioners make someone's participation as a next or a next-to-next speaker relevant in a manner that is sensitive to the contingencies of the asymmetric language constellation. The questioners may invite the OLS to act as a recipient through a combination of evoking her epistemic domain, referring to her in the third person, and gazing at her (during at least part of the turn).

These indirect means of approaching the OLS are different from *targeting* as discussed in Goffman (1981: 93) and Levinson (1988: 210–221). Targeting in their sense involves addressing someone as a “surrogate” recipient to convey an implied message for another person who is present as an overhearer (this is also referred to as *linear* and *lateral* address in Clark & Carlson 1982 and Günthner 1996, and as *signifying* in Morgan 1996). By contrast, indirectly addressed turns that become mediated cannot be said to convey these kinds of implied messages. Instead, they allow for either the OLS to respond, or for another participant to act as a mediator. Participants deal with the indirectness of the initial address by disambiguating in later turns who is the recipient of the question. The current chapter examines questions with both indirect and direct means of approaching the OLS. These tend to occur in different sequential environments, which also create distinct circumstances for the mediating speaker to deliver a resaying for the end recipient.

With regard to the design of translatory turns, embedding the translatory turn in an adjacency pair is different from when a translating speaker is reporting a completed sequence or initiating a re-telling. In the case of the adjacency pair, translating speakers harness the sequential structure for incorporating the prior speaker's talk in their own turn (cf. C. Goodwin 2007). The speaker may take up a sequential slot in an incomplete sequence in place of the original speaker, that is, coming in to provide a repair solution (l. 6 in the extract above). For Bolden (2012, 2013), in such cases the repair solution speaker joins the *party* of the first-turn speaker. Bolden suggests that the preference for self-repair, according to which the trouble-source speaker herself should provide the repair solution (Schegloff et al. 1977), can in this case be understood as holding for a party instead of an individual speaker. As a result, the translating speaker is not seen as violating the preference for self-repair but instead, her linguistic expertise allows her to join the sequence of action as a spokesperson for the prior speaker and to form a party with her (see §2.2.1).

The original speaker and the translating speaker come to form a collective of speakers, in which the actions of two participants become somewhat fused (that is, both contribute to a particular action), but at the same time, this configuration is achieved through a fragmentation of the speaker role (cf. Enfield 2013). This chapter discusses what means in the design of translatory turns achieve such a distribution of discursive agency. The analyses concern how speakers come to occupy a position as a second speaker within the action of

asking. That is, in addition to the position of the translatory turn within the adjacency pair, the turns are investigated from the point of view of how exactly their design in this position displays another speaker's talk as a source – and when it does not do so. Establishing a tie to another's talk through turn design organizes a distribution of speakership in which one is doing translation of the other's talk. This process of tying occurs within particular sequences, and thus the distribution of speakership is also sensitive to the unfolding of sequential structures within the multiparty framework.

The opening of mediated question–answer sequences occurs in three types of trajectories, which are analyzed in (§6.1). First, in configurations where the original question does not address the OLS, the question becomes mediated as an independent action by the translating speaker (§6.1.1). The translatory turn is designed as a self-contained turn instead of a second attempt, thus lacking a design that would publicly mark it as translatory talk. Second, questioners may ask about the OLS and refer to her in the third person as a form of indirect addressing (§6.1.2). As a third alternative, speakers take advantage of the OLS's discourse identity as the prior speaker in posing her a follow-up question. Cases with such direct addressing are analyzed in (§6.1.3). The ways of opening the question–answer sequence create different participation frameworks, and thus also varying circumstances for delivering the translatory turn and for displaying it as a redoing of a past action.

Section (§6.2) examines the closing of question–answer sequences. The closing can occur either through a direct response by the OLS, or through a translation of her response. This section involves discussions of similarity and divergence in the translations of answers, examining some sequential motivations for transformations in translatory turns (§6.2.1), and furthermore, potential ways of segmenting the translation of lengthy answers (§6.2.2). The subsections also outline some more general issues of coherence in translating answers. Moreover, the last section (§6.2.3) analyzes the tensions between the participants' epistemic domains and their limited access to the conversation. It presents cases where translating of the question is undertaken in retrospect, reopening an already completed sequence. For this readjusting, the speakers rely on reportive framing, which was first discussed in chapter 3.

As in the previous chapters, with regard to questions and answers, it becomes clear that the occurrence of translation rests upon the negotiation of the OLS's involvement in the current (inter)action. In question–answer sequences, the issues of involvement occur within a more limited environment, within adjacency pairs. I examine how questions reach their final recipients and how the mediator orients to the original recipient design of the questions when translating them.

6.1 Opening the sequence

In a multiparty, asymmetric multilingual interaction, turn-taking and recipient selection may be complicated by the co-interactants' asymmetric access to opportunities to participate. The data contain very few instances of speakers asking something directly (as in addressing them with the 2p pronoun and gaze, see Lerner 2003) from a co-participant who does not

share a common language. In principle this would be possible since the bilingual participants could be recruited as mediators. Nevertheless, speakers seem to avoid approaching co-participants directly in a language that they are not likely to understand. As was discussed in the previous chapters, most of the talk that is translated is not initially addressed to the OLS. To investigate how questions become translated, it is then relevant to observe the different types of solutions speakers employ to pose a question to potentially “non-understanding” parties. In addition, related to this, what happens when questions are not addressed to the OLS but nevertheless become translated to them as questions?

6.1.1 Consultation with a previously non-addressed party

This section continues the themes that were introduced in chapter 5 by investigating translatory turns that are not clearly marked as having a source in the prior talk. In the current data from everyday conversation, translating is rarely established as a consistent mediating mode in which one person would act as an intermediary during extended stretches of conversation. In other words, the mediating activities intertwine with and shade off into various other types of conversational moves. The discussion in chapter 5 examined translatory turns with plain, continuous design, where the speaker relied on the recipient’s capacity to infer the language-switching turn’s relationship to the prior talk without particular means of marking it within the turn. It was suggested that certain situational factors allow the translating speaker to treat the situation as being sufficiently accessible to the OLS, permitting her to design the translatory talk as continuous with the ongoing sequence of action. One of these features was that the translating speakers were in a position to personally commit to that talk. Some questions were then raised concerning the borders between translation and other types of recycling of past talk.

The translatory turns in this chapter are likewise not designed to indicate a source in the prior talk, but the motivation for this design is more clearly related to the mediator’s independent position. The speaker does not produce the turn to be publicly recognizable as having a source in the prior talk because she is, in fact, acting as an independent agent. The original questions in this section are reproduced in another language by the mediator in order to obtain some information that she herself needs so that she can respond to the question. I refer to this as a *consultation* with a third party. The translated question initiates a type of insert sequence, as the speaker produces it to accomplish business that has to be taken care of before producing the second pair part in the base sequence. Yet this does not occur between the speaker and the addressed recipient, but in another participation framework, between a first respondent and a third party. The question thus instantiates another first occasion of asking about the same matter without displaying a link to the base sequence. The autonomous position of the resaying speaker is reflected in the design of the question, which is constructed without a clear display of “resaying” a first question.

Let us consider the following example where Antti (F) asks about the possibility of paying with a Visa card, and Toni (F/P) turns to the waitress and restaurant owner Cintia (P) to seek this information.

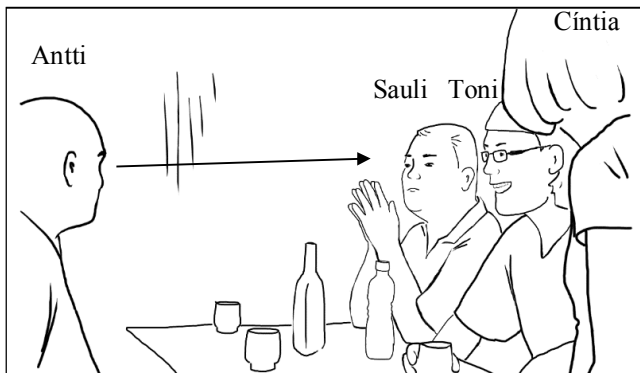
(6.2) Visa card.BR (Ravintola_A 26.20)

01 Antti: *käyköhän täällä visakortti.
 be.usable.3SG.Q.CLI here [name].card
 ((I wonder)) does a Visa card work here
 *G>SAULI

02 (0.4)

03 Toni: (.hh) F#1#
 Sauli #NODS-->

F#1



04 Toni: F#2^dá pra:≠ (.) pagar com cartão visa a|qui,
 be.possible.IMPS pay.INF PREP card [name] here
 is it possible to pay with Visa card here
 ^G>CÍNTIA
 Sauli ---->≠

F#2



05 Cíntia: com certe_∅za.
 of course
 Toni ∅NODS-->

06 Toni: ^mmh (.) joo.
 yes
 ^G>ANTTI

position in relation to the first action of asking. That is, by relying on the prior question turn, the speakers publicly display themselves as second speakers (see Sacks 1995: I 151). By comparison, in consultations the speakers do not display compliance with the subsequent position. On the contrary, they design their turns to be hearable as first, self-contained occasions of asking.

In the research literature, the display of secondness or firstness of a turn has been more often discussed in speakers' responses to actions initiated by others (rather than in the relaying of actions). The secondness of a turn can be indicated by features such as pronominal tying, and in general by structurally building on prior turns as firsts. With these means, speakers can mark their turns as continuing an ongoing trajectory of action that was initiated in those first turns (cf. ch. 5, see also Fox 1987). As an alternative to going along with the other's action in second position, speakers can use situated methods to resist the secondness of their turn. For this, speakers can employ means of relating to prior talk that are not subsequent but on the contrary, first-mention formats. Goodwin & Goodwin (1987) and M. H. Goodwin (1990) show how speakers use format tying, recycling interlocutors' full turns, to counter their action. As another example, Heritage & Raymond (2005) discuss issues of firstness and secondness with regard to second assessments. When speakers produce second assessments, they may deliver them as if they were firsts instead of merely going along with the prior one. By doing this, the second speaker reclaims a first-position assessment slot in order to convey primary epistemic rights to assessing something. Using "fully sentential" and "full-form" design in the second position contributes to disregarding the firstness of a prior saying and claiming speakership as a "first author" (ibid. 18, 29) (see also Stivers 2005, Thompson et al. 2015: 139–199).

Although Toni's turn in ex. 6.2 is redoing another's talk instead of responding to it, it can also be regarded as resisting the implications of being delivered as a second version. The design of the resaying of the question disregards the prior question to some extent through its full design. It conveys autonomous speakership instead of transmitting Antti's words. That is, the resaying does not display the speaker as a relayer of someone else's words. The speaker rather appropriates what someone said by reusing it. This is in contrast with resayings that display a secondary position by being tied to their sources in ways that have been discussed in the previous sections, with the reportive framings and keywords.

Despite its self-contained design, translatory consultation does actually achieve an expansion of the base sequence. Expansions within a sequence can be divided into post-first expansions, which work to clarify the first pair part, and to forward looking pre-second, which orient to establishing the resources necessary to implement the pending second pair part. According to Schegloff (2007: 106), conference passes as insert expansions are a particular kind of pre-second: they are "conditioned not on the sequence type in progress but on the partitioning of the co-present participants relative to that sequence." In the same vein, the full question design in a translatory "pass" demonstrates a specific partitioning of the asymmetric participant constellation with regard to the ongoing action. By redoing the question as a self-standing action, the speaker orients to the OLS as not having access to the prior instance of asking.

A similar phenomenon can occur in self-translation. In the following extract, a question is addressed to Sanna, and in order to answer it she consults a Brazilian guest, André.

(6.3) Distance.FI (Kesä_E 19.54)

- 01 Raili: mikä se matka on siitä (0.4) São Paulo
how long is the distance from São Paulo
- 02 #e# Salvadoriin. (0.2) kuinka (.) monta
to Salvador how many
- 03 (1.0)
- 04 Sanna: Salvadoriin.
to Salvador
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 Raili: niin Sal- se Salvadori missä sä olit.
yes Sal- the Salvador where you ((2SG)) were
- 07 (1.8)
- 08 Raili: se kaupunki.
the city
- 09 Sanna: nii (.) no se oj joku< oisko se=
yes well it's approximately< could it be
- 10 → † **quantos quilómetros é do**
how.many.PL kilometer.PL be.3SG PREP+ART
how many kilometers is it from
- 11 **de São Pa[ulo] pra Salvador, =dois mil?**
PREP [name] PREP [name] two thousand
from São Paulo to Salvador two thousand
- 12 André: [a↓am.
- 13 (1.4)
- 14 André: não s- quanto cê †sabe; (.) eu não sei.
I do- how many do you know I don't know
- 15 Márcio: #não sei# [mas é pelo menos dois mil,]
I don't know but it is at least two thousand
- 16 Sanna: [eu acho que do Rio] é
I think that from Rio it's
- 17 *mais ou menos dois ↓mil é tipo como se fosse*
more or less two thousand it's like if it was
- 18 *da:qui pra Lapônia lá em bem cima.*
from here to Lapland there all the way up
- 19 (0.4)
- 20 André: m-hm?

- 21 Sanna: se oj jotain samav verran ku su- täält
it is about the same as Fi- from here in
- 22 Helsingist tonne (.) jonnekki #Iisalmee#.
Helsinki to somewhere like Iisalmi
- 23 (4.0)
- 24 Raili: [ei sen enempää.
not more than that
- 25 Sanna: [p_{ar}ituhatta kilsaa.
a couple of thousands of kilometers

For the consultations with third parties, it is characteristic that when the mediating speaker is herself the addressed recipient, she first begins to answer but then turns to consult other participants. Here, Sanna begins to respond to her mother's question at line 9, and only then forwards it to Márcio and André. As in the earlier case, the question is forwarded to participants who can be said to have particular epistemic access to the matter asked about but who were not addressed in the question. The mediator then redoes the question as an unknowing participant, and her way of redoing the question is then in line with her own knowledge status with regard to the request for information.

Sanna's turn at lines 10–11 nevertheless mediates the interaction in the sense that it allows the Brazilians to answer a question about the geography of Brazil even though they were not addressed. Nevertheless, the mediatory turn does not construe the situation publicly as having a source in Raili's talk, but as the mediator's own inquiry. Hence, Sanna's redoing of the question is in accordance with the framework of the original question, as it was not addressed to André or Márcio but to herself. This demonstrates how redoing questions is sensitive to the participation framework of the initial asking, not only to the speaker's interpretation of what the OLS might not have understood in the prior talk. Nonetheless, this way of mediating is not an automatic consequence of the non-addressed status of the OLS. The next subchapter will demonstrate some of the subtle negotiations that are involved in how questions reach potentially non-understanding participants.

The speakers here redo a prior action in another language to appropriate that prior action as their own action, without making a special effort to position themselves as resaying it. To borrow Garfinkel's (1967: 31–34, Heritage 1984a: 124) apt wording, they are producing a question "for another first time." The question is intelligible as an independent first doing even though it derives from the previous question. These cases again raise the question of what it is to translate in comparison to recycling prior talk in multilingual multiparty conversation. Questions are forwarded in monolingual interaction as well. During multilingual interaction, the switch of language to address a new recipient is motivated by their language preference, so the switch itself does not yet indicate an orientation to facilitating. In addition, in the particular environment of redoing a prior action, a switch of language may be a resource used to deliver a second attempt instead of a way to facilitate the understanding of talk in the other language. Code-switching studies have examined code-switched redos of first-pair-parts (*non-first-firsts* in Auer 1984b, 1995) as occasions of marking second attempts of some first action. It has been suggested that the

switch in language may manage tasks similar to those monolingual speakers handle through their use of prosody, word choice, and other means to mark a turn as a second attempt (Zentella 1997: 96, see also Gumperz 1982: 98; Auer 1984b, 1998: 5). However, the exact status of redos of past talk is also organized by the grammatical, prosodic and overall design of the utterance, as becomes clear in later work by the same authors (Gumperz's commentary on Auer 1984b, also Auer 1992, Gumperz 1992, and Local, Auer & Drew 2010). The differentiation of resayings (as second tries instead of new first occurrences) also applies to language-switching resayings. This will be shown in more detail in the following subchapters on the design of second sayings in other types of question sequences. All in all, it seems that to achieve the most precise picture of code-switched resayings, it is necessary to further examine the situated organization of firstness and secondness as different layerings of agency in those actions.

This section has examined one empirical difference between the practices of forwarding questions as evidenced in monolingual talk (the passes by Jefferson & Schenkein 1978) and the translatory "consultations" in the current data. In these consultations, the speaker orients to the language asymmetry and the recipient's previous non-involved status in the course of action. These language-switched resayings do not display a link to the first saying for the recipient. Their full question design indicates that the speaker does not presume the recipient's access to a first instance of asking. In this way, the speaker aligns with the prior participation framework, where no involvement of the OLS was projected. The prior configuration of participation and her own knowledge status provide the basis for the mediating speaker to occupy a position as an independent agent who requests or confirms information with this particular recipient.

6.1.2 Indirectly addressed topic-initiating questions

In her study on professional interpreting in the courtroom, Wadensjö (1998: 271) observes: "Primary parties may, more or less occasionally, simply find it unnatural to address their counterpart directly when they assume that this person (but not the interpreter) is incapable of understanding what they say." Wadensjö describes a highly institutional setting in which it is settled that an interpreter is present and translates between the primary parties. When mediating is not expected to occur constantly, as in everyday conversation, it is not surprising if the speakers find it even more inappropriate to address someone in a language they are assumed either to not understand fully, or at all. This was already demonstrated in the previous section, where the questioners addressed another, easily available recipient instead of the OLS, although the latter was expected to be the more knowledgeable participant. This section investigates the unfolding of sequences where speakers ask about the OLS, but instead of directly addressing her, refer to her in the third person.

In addressing a co-participant, a speaker limits the group of recipients to one or more designated individuals. Addressing may involve a range of multimodal resources, most centrally gaze, and reliance on links to prior action making evident that the speaker is addressing the prior speaker. Speakers may also refer to the recipient as a means of

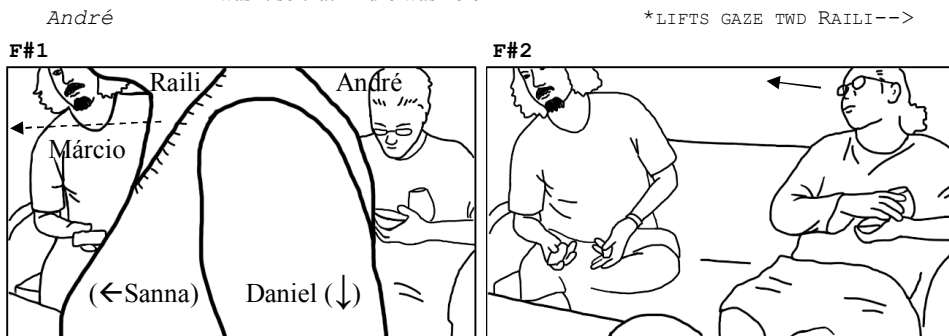
addressing (for example, see Lerner 1996b, 2003, Seppänen 1998, 2003, 2005). In general, reference to co-present participants requires interlocutors to attend to a number of contextual resources in order to interpret the particular interactional import of the act of referring. This applies even to the most evident recipient indicator, *you*, because knowing who is meant by it requires attending to a combination of several resources, especially gaze and prior speakership (Lerner 1996b).

Third-person reference has been traditionally viewed as a non-participant category (see Seppänen 1998: 25–29, 2005, Laitinen 2005). Moreover, using 3p reference to co-present participants has often been considered as excluding the referred-to participant from the set of possible next speakers (for example, see Lerner 2003: 182). However, several studies also argue that referring to a co-participant in the third person during conversation can accomplish a range of activities (C. Goodwin 1984, Schegloff 1996b: 447–449, Seppänen 1998, 2005). The act of referring and the choice of reference form modify the status of both the referred-to participant and other co-participants. Specifically, forms of third-person reference can work to invite the referred-to party to consider whether they are being invited to participate, while at the same time leaving it open who will take the next turn (Schegloff 1996b: 448, Seppänen 2005, 1998, Sacks 1995 I: 573). This is what occurs in the current examples. The questions with 3p reference are treated as making relevant the referred-to participant’s response, but they also allow a mediator to step in and translate the question for her. Inviting the OLS’s participation through the use of a 3p reference (such as *André* in ex. 6.1 above) is regarded in this study as a method of indirect addressing.

The first three examples are sequences of asking questions between Raili (F) and André (P/f-), who is visiting Raili’s home with Raili’s daughter, Sanna (F/P), and her husband, Márcio (P/f). All three extracts feature Raili asking about André by using his proper name, but the sequences unfold in different ways. The first example is the same exchange that was introduced in a shorter form as example 6.1. Raili enters the room where André is looking at his cell phone, seated on a couch next to Márcio. Sanna is seated in the area of the room to where Raili is walking.

(6.4) A year ago.FI (Kesä_E 5.50)

01 Raili: **F#1** oliks se ni että (.) André oli *täälä (.) **F#2**
 be.3.PST.Q.CLI DEM3 so et(tä) [name] be.3SG.PST here
 was it so that André was here



02 vu[os sitte.
a year ago

03 Daniel: [bä bä bä bä bä ((CONTINUES BABBLING DURING REST OF EXTRACT))

04 André: ↑mitä?
what

05 Raili: [(vuos sitte)
a year ago

06 Sanna: → [*ano pas\sa:do\ *>você tava< aqui?*
year pass.PPC 2SG be.PST here
last year were you here

André -->*G>SANNA-->

07 (0.2)

08 Sanna: [*nessa mesma época.**
at the same time of year

09 Raili: [*one years ago.*

André -->*G AWAY-->

10 (1.6)

11 André: eääm (2.0) *viimeinen:: (.) vuota?
the last year
-->*G>RAILI-->>

12 Raili: olik_s se kesää.
was it summer

13 André: ei kesää.
no summer

14 (0.4)

15 Andre: ää

16 Márcio: syksyllä.
in the fall

17 André: syksyllä:: ja::,
in the fall and

In addition to André, both of his hosts (Sanna and Márcio) have access to the information that is needed to answer Raili's question (see, for example, l. 16). By referring to André by his first name, Raili allows for the possibility that Sanna might answer and continue to talk about André in the third person. This is even more possible because at that moment, Raili is facing Sanna while walking towards her in order to sit in a chair next to her. However, after a pause (l. 3), André takes the turn and initiates repair by asking *mitä* 'what.' Sanna's son, Daniel, is at the same time speaking and calling out to his mother loudly, so there is

also a potential problem in hearing. Nevertheless, the repair initiation is responded to by changing the language.

According to Drew (1997), open-class repair initiators, such as *what* in English, mark problems of a sequential nature, a lack of fit between the turn and its sequential context (Haakana 2011 for Finnish). It seems that here such a problem arises from the initial ambiguity of André's participant status. When Raili begins to speak, André is occupied with his cell phone. Raili does not ensure his availability as a recipient by waiting to catch his gaze (C. Goodwin 1981, Rossano 2011). Moreover, she refers to him in the third person. Thus, at the beginning of Raili's turn, André's recipient status has not been clearly established. André most likely responds to hearing his name as a summons. By first shifting his gaze to Raili, and then initiating repair in Finnish, he displays some access to the turn and its relevance for him. In this case, approaching the OLS involves the issue of getting his attention, whereas in the later extracts, it is more clearly a matter of addressing *per se*.

In the conversation analytic literature it has been pointed out that the choice of person reference can be functional in various ways for the particular action that is ongoing when the reference occurs. Managing such additional tasks has been described as "doing something more than referring" (Schegloff 1996b, Lerner 1996b, 2003, Stivers 2007). Even though ways of referring to people who are present in the speech situation has been mentioned as an area of interest in this regard, the focus of the CA literature has been on referring to persons (and places) that are not part of the speech situation (Sacks & Schegloff 1979, Schegloff 1996b, Enfield & Stivers 2007). However, several researchers have also demonstrated that being referred to changes the participant's status. As Hanks (2005: 193) remarks, "to be the object of reference is to be thrust into a position."

As was already pointed out, third-person reference to a co-participant does not always mean that this participant is excluded from the set of possible next speakers. Third-person reference to a co-participant can be used in indirect targeting (Levinson 1988: 210–212) or in implementing a decentered participant frame (Hanks 1990: 225–227), which convey some meaning that a direct addressing of this participant would not achieve. In her study on reference to co-participants in Finnish conversations, Seppänen (1998, 2005) suggests that 3p reference to co-participants can be understood as a means of offering them particular participant roles (1998: 126). She demonstrates how forms of demonstrative reference to co-participants indicate the speaker's orientations to them as discourse participants. Furthermore, she discusses possible motives for pronominal reference as opposed to proper name reference to a co-participant and shows that proper name reference in first pair parts can project a response from the referred-to participant; using a name accomplishes something in mobilizing the response that a pronoun would not achieve as efficiently (ibid. 1998: 94–107).³⁸ It appears that in the asymmetric data, the use of proper names is related to their transparency in comparison to pronouns. That is, initiating talk about the co-participant by name makes the initiative public to this participant even if she has otherwise only a limited access to what is said in the given language. This works to attract the co-

³⁸ Third-person reference to a next speaker (that is, not a vocative) is also discussed by Sacks (1992 I: 573), and it occurs in the above-mentioned studies by Levinson (ibid.) and Hanks (ibid.).

participant's attention to the other-language talk and invites her to become involved in it by allowing her to know that she is being talked about.

Indirect methods of approaching the OLS relate to the larger issue of the epistemic configuration of asking questions, or more precisely, making *requests for information* or *confirmation* in an asymmetric situation. Stivers & Rossano (2010) suggest that "questions" can be decomposed into features that together represent the institutionalization of mobilizing an answer from the recipient. The authors suggest that besides consisting of lexico-morphosyntax and prosody, the response-mobilizing features of a turn also include recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry and gaze towards the recipient. Across action types, combinations of these features put different levels of pressure on providing a response. When a speaker refers to a co-participant in inquiring about her or him (as in 'was it so that André was here last year'), the speaker becomes displayed as an unknowing participant in relation to the referred-to person. When this referred-to person is present, then the condition of recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry to mobilize a response is met, even though the person is not directly addressed.

Local orientations to knowledge can be rather complex in the asymmetric language constellation because the participants do not always have direct access to the talk that touches upon their epistemic domain. If they do not (and are not expected to) hear or understand the talk, it can be questioned whether the talk then publicly offers them any particular epistemic status. However, in this situation, statuses are also established through *other's* orientations, most prominently through a mediation of the question to the referred-to participant. Even if the participant was not directly addressed as the recipient, the others may perceive the epistemic asymmetry and consider it to make a contribution by the OLS now relevant. Moreover, the proper-name reference may be perceivable for the OLS despite her limited understanding of the talk in a way that pronominal reference would not. Proper-name reference may attract her (visible) attention and therefore put pressure on the mediator to render it intelligible for that participant – instead of, for example, answering herself. At the same time, talking *about* this person implies a lack of direct means to address her, which also invites mediation. In the current example, Raili's gaze is not visible, as she merely passes by the camera, but typically the questioner's gaze shifts between the mediator and referred-to party. This further indicates the openness of next-speaker selection.

Let us now turn to the design of Sanna's translatory turn. André has initiated repair on Raili's turn, but Sanna intervenes to provide a repair solution. Linguistic expertise provides Sanna license to take a turn as a third party, in place of the original speaker (cf. Bolden 2012, Müller 1989: 724). At lines 5 and 6, Raili and Sanna simultaneously display their different understanding of the problem by offering different solutions to it. Raili repeats only the time reference in Finnish. Sanna begins by providing a time reference in Portuguese (l. 6 *ano passado* 'last year') and continues with more comprehensive facilitating. This turn is marked as asking through the rising intonation in *>você tava< aqui?* 'were you here' (Morães 1998: 183–187). At line 9, Raili provides another temporal noun phrase in English. Raili and Sanna vacillate between orientations to what their recipient does not have access to, to a single item in a certain language, or to the whole question. Even though they orient to "saying the same thing" as in the original question, they accomplish it differently.

Schegloff (2004) has investigated the modification of turns in which speakers are resaying talk from a prior turn (see §2.3.1). The speakers modify what was said by omitting and adding elements in the resaying. A case in point is Raili's turn at line 5, where she provides a modified version of the trouble source as a solution to the open-class repair initiation (ibid: 95–99, 127). As in Schegloff's study, the elements that the speaker dispenses with vary from turn-initial discourse markers to central grammatical constituents that occurred in the prior utterance. The resulting design signals to the recipient how the turn relates to prior talk as a second saying (see also Oh 2005, Rauniomaa 2008: 81–96, Local et al. 2010). In addition to resaying a speaker's own prior turn, this design can also operate on another's talk.

Even though Sanna formulates her turn at line 6 as a question, she also marks it as not her independent question but as a second doing of Raili's question. Raili has indicated some prior knowledge on the matter by beginning the question with 'was it so that,' but Sanna dispenses with this framing in the resaying (*ano passado você...* 'last year [were] you...'). In Brazilian Portuguese, temporal adjuncts in this position have been said to have discourse-organizing functions in relation to prior utterances, such as marking focus or contrast (see, for example, Pontes 1987: 18, Conceição de Paiva 2008). Here, Sanna launches the resaying by using the last element of Raili's turn. This is fronted similarly to what was shown in (§4.4). This design makes it visible for the recipient that she is operating on the prior turn instead of making an independent question: here, the design works to position her turn as a second saying. Through the modification, Sanna preserves and transforms structures from Raili's prior turn to construct an action that relates to it in a specific way (cf. C. Goodwin 2007, 2013).

When the absence of the referred-to participant's answer becomes interactionally problematic, this indicates that she is not treated as a non-participant but as a recipient. It also suggests that speaking about a participant in the third person is not treated as a reference that would exclude her. It rather brings forth the asymmetric participant constellation and the complexities in approaching an OLS participant with a question. In example (6.4), as in most cases of initial indirect addressing, the 3p reference in the original question is changed into the 2p in the resaying, demonstrating that this participant is now treated as the addressed recipient. The same change occurs in the following case of self-translation, at another moment of the recording.

(6.5) Brother.FI (Kesä_B 31.40)

```
01 Raili: + on+ko:*^ (.)+ <Andrélla sis*kojah; (0.4) #tai veli#.
          be/have.Q [name].ALL sister.PL.PAR or brother
          does André have sisters or a brother
          +G>A+>G>M/S----+G>A----->
          Sanna *G>R-----*DOWN AT PLATE
          André ^G>R----->

02 (0.6)

03 Raili:→ have you sister; (0.4) °or° ^brother.
          André ----->^G>DOWN-->
```

04 André: eeh ^veli. (0.2) uk[si veli.=
brother one brother
-->^G>RAILI

05 Raili: [veli.
brother

06 Raili: =yksi veli.
one brother

07 André: [k(-).

08 Sanna: [mm-m,

09 Pentti: oe- on[ko vanhempi kun sinä vai nuorempi.
i- is (he) older than you or younger

10 André: [vähän.
(it's not many)

Raili's question is part of her initiative to become better acquainted with their guest. Again, Raili refers to André by his proper name (l. 1). During the turn, she quickly glances in Sanna's and/or Márcio's direction, as if checking their availability to engage in the conversation. Sanna quickly reciprocates Raili's gaze, and then returns to look at her plate. Even though there is gap of 0.6 seconds, Sanna does not step in to mediate. A response is expected from André, as Raili is looking at him (they have mutual gaze) and no one else takes the turn. At this point (l. 3) Raili translates her own question, using English as a lingua franca (see Firth 1996). As the sequence is on hold between her and André, her turn serves as a pursuit of response. In the translatory turn, she maintains most of the same constituents from the question, but changes the proper name into the 2p pronoun *you*.

The redoing in this example maintains a composition rather similar to the original question. Raili's turn can even be understood as copying the structure of the habitative question in Finnish (copula.Q + possessor) into English instead of using a more idiomatic question design with an auxiliary verb ('do you have' or 'have you got'). This is probably due to the speaker's unfamiliarity with English syntactic structure. This example then raises the question whether during self-translation, the mere positioning of a turn as adjacent to the speaker's own first pair part, in the transition space, achieves its display as a redoing without further modifications. Raili is addressing André's apparent problem to understand her prior turn, which provides a sequential slot for her to redo the prior turn. Moreover, Raili does not need to signal taking up another person's voice; instead, she is taking up her own prior turn. However, her turn does involve a change from the 3p to directly addressing the recipient in the 2p, which indicates a change in her positioning. This change is also perceivable for the recipient. Even though there is no need to tie to another's talk, but instead to one's own prior other-language turn, the deictic change in combination with the use of a lingua franca (which in itself demonstrates an orientation to the language issue) displays a move into mediation.

Multiple participants can occasionally collaborate to provide a translation (see Traverso 2012), as in the next extract. As was stated earlier, in most cases the 3p reference is replaced by a 2p in the resaying, indicating the repositioning of the recipient. The next example is an

exception in that the speakers continue to talk about the referred-to participant in the 3p while they negotiate a correct translation. In this extract, Sanna's (F/P) mother, Raili (F), inquires about André's (P, f-) current visit. Everyone is seated around a table.

(6.6) For how long.FI (Kesä_B 2.47)

- 01 Raili: +kauanko* +m- (0.4) +André ov viiä Suomessa?
 long.Q [name] be.3SG still [name].INE
 how long will André still be staying in Finland
 +G>ANDRÉ³⁹--+G>SANNA----+G>ANDRÉ-->
 André *G>RAILI----->
- 02 (1.8)+(0.2)*
 Raili -->+G>SANNA/MÁRCIO
 André -->*G>MÁRCIO
- 03 Márcio: #m+m[m#
- 04 Sanna: [quer tra[du↑zir agora.
 (do you) want to translate now
- 05 André: [hm?
- 06 Márcio:→ **quanto tempo que ele tá aqui.**
 how.much time que 3SG be.3SG here
 (for) how long (is it) that he has been here
- 07 (0.6)
- 08 Sanna: vai fic#ar ai#nda.
 is still going to stay
- 09 Márcio: °vai ficar.°
 is going to stay
- 10 (0.6)
- 11 André: minä takaise (0.2) .hh Bra↑si:lia (0.6) .mth ääm päivänä:,
 I back Brazil on day

As in the other cases discussed in this section, addressing the recipient by name is related to the sequence-initiating as well as the topic-initiating property of the question. Raili is introducing a new topic that concerns the co-participant who is referred to. The reference therefore serves a double function: it introduces a new referent and addresses the person that the question concerns (see Schegloff 1996b and Lerner 1996b: 292 for double functions of person reference). In fact, the reference might even serve a triple function: referring, indirectly addressing, and inviting a possible mediator to participate – especially when accompanied by a glance to the possible mediator. Here, Raili refers to André by his name, while gazing at him (l. 1). She also glances at Sanna, first during the self-repair in her

³⁹ Raili is not facing the camera, but the direction of her gaze has been estimated on the basis of head movements.

question and second, after the subsequent two-second silence (l. 2). That is, Raili orients to Sanna's presence already while posing her question to André, and again when André does not respond to the question. Through her gaze, she is making Sanna's participation in the course of events potentially relevant.

Sanna recruits Márcio for the task of translating by proposing that he do it (l. 4), prompting him to train his Finnish skills. Márcio responds (l. 6) by reproducing Raili's question in Portuguese. He does a "reading" of the question as a response to Sanna, maintaining the reference to André in the third person instead of re-directing the turn directly to him. Nevertheless, the turn is followed by André's response later – he waits until the sequence between Sanna and Márcio is over to take a turn.

Márcio's reformulation of the question in Portuguese involves a clefted interrogative, consisting of a question word followed by *que* and a predication (a "reduced," clefted interrogative, Braga, Kato & Miotto 2009, Oushiro 2011). In the literature, this structure has been referred to as a *que*-construction (Oliveira & Braga 1997, Braga 2009). Notice that this construction is not limited to interrogatives. It is a specific type of cleft structure that has no expletive pronoun or copula. Whereas these elements are part of canonical cleft constructions, in the variant in question, the *que* is the sole clefting element that segments the utterance into two parts. It has been suggested that the *que* marks focus on the initial item, and that the construction as a whole (that is, the whole family of cleft constructions it is part of) typically reiterates linguistic material from the previous discursive sequence (Braga 2009: 192). The clefted interrogative has been claimed to be most "natural" for Brazilian Portuguese (Miotto & Lobo 2016: 278). However, as the studies on this interrogative have predominantly adopted methods that do not examine the interactional context of the questions, they do not reveal whether the *que*-construction is typically back-linking in the interrogative use as well. This does appear to be plausible, as questions often specify and elaborate on prior talk (Schegloff 1984: 38, Thompson et al. 2015: 20).

In this case, the turn-initial expression of time in the translatory turn can be said to be copied from the source turn, in which *kauanko* 'for how long' was the first item as part of a default question design. Yet in most of the translatory turns analyzed, the turn-initial design cannot be said to be copied from the design of the source turn. In those cases, the turn-initial design is therefore more distinguishable as a resource for the translatory turn alone. That is, turn-initial designs such as fronting can be viewed with more certainty as having a role in organizing the translation. The current case is somewhat different anyway because of the notable set-up for translating with the 'do you want to translate now.' This puts pressure on Márcio to relay the prior question (and possibly the whole utterance) correctly, highlighting the recruited mediator's proper understanding of the translatable talk. As a result of the negotiation of its correctness, André receives the question through three different speakers who participate in the asking.

Copied or not, the beginning of Márcio's turn selects an item from Raili's talk that projects the type of answer to be provided. The *quanto tempo* 'how long' is clefted towards the beginning, followed by the scope of what the question applies to, *ele tá aqui* 'he has been here.' We have seen this in previous examples: the element that the recipient should

affirm/confirm/provide occurs in the turn-initial position in the mediatory turn. Reformulated questions can begin with (or consist only of) the elements that define the type of answer that the source speaker has sought. As for the overall reuse of elements from Raili's question, Márcio replaces the names *André* and *Suomessa* 'in Finland' by the less explicit pronominal expressions *ele* 'he' and *aqui* 'here,' thus anaphorically tying to the original question. This further indicates that Márcio is not clarifying those elements but dealing with the somewhat complex expression of time. This is the most central aspect in the question from the viewpoint of providing a suitable answer.

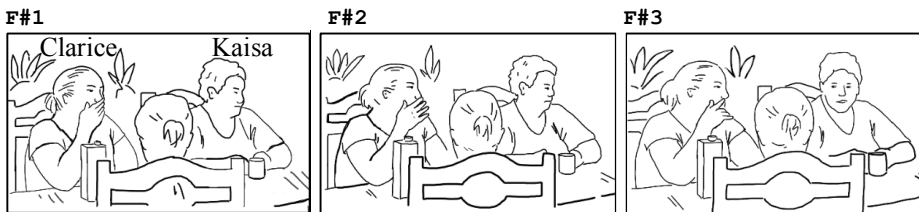
The translation is therefore designed to enable the recipient to produce an answer that conforms to the question. However, it can be noted that in responding, André does not actually provide the quantity of time he still has in Finland but the time of his departure (cf. Stivers & Hayashi 2010). This observation anticipates a point that will be discussed later on with regard to translating answers (§6.2): the fact that questions unfold through various speakers and point towards prior sources has consequences for the sequential tying of answers (and their translations). Answers and their translations can accommodate more towards one or the other of the sequential trajectories unfolding in different languages. Here it appears that the others' negotiation that revolves around the question creates a distance to André's reply that allows him to build his responsive action more independently.

In the following example, it is much less clear that the questioner is targeting the OLS and not speaking about her. However, the translating speaker orients to the action as forming a triadic participation framework. So Kaisa (F/P) mediates Clarice's (P) question about Leena's (F/P-) baby. Leena is slowly walking around and rocking the baby in her arms a few meters away from the speakers (unfortunately, whether she is facing the others is not visible).

(6.7) Breast milk.BR (Sauna_D 05.55)

01 Clarice: #°a **F#1** me (**F#2**) nina #**F#3** mama o quê# †peito #[m-°
 ART girl feed.3SG ART what breast
 the girl takes what, breast
 #.....#P>LEENA/BABY----#,,,,,,#...->

02 Kaisa: [ahn?



03 Clarice: #a meni (F#4)na# F#5 dela mama o quê (.) l↑eite
 ART girl PREP+3SG.F feed.3SG ART what milk
 what does her girl take, milk
 #P>LEENA/BABY---#

F#4



F#5



(Leena and the baby)

04 mama↑deira p↑eito que que é;=
 feeding.bottle breast what que be.3SG
 feeding bottle breast what is it

05 Kaisa:→ =↑tis+siäks se syö #vai::#
 breast.PAR.Q.CLI DEM3 eat.3SG or
 ((is)) breast ((what)) she takes or
 Clarice +G>LEENA-->

06 Leena: ◊°mm°◊
 ◊NODS-◊

07 Kaisa: *+peito.
 breast
 ->*HEAD AND G>CLARICE
 Clarice ->+G>KAISA

08 # (0.4) #
 Clarice #NODS--#

09 (5.6)

10 Kaisa: mas é muito pequeninino meu #deus do céu#,
 but good god (she) is so small

Clarice covers her mouth with her hand while she inquires about the baby girl's feeding (l. 1). Kaisa does not hear her at first, and Clarice reformulates the question (l. 3), now referring to "her" baby girl instead of speaking directly about the baby. Clarice uses her index finger and head to point at Leena and the baby for the second time (l. 3) and at the same time, Clarice's hand is covering her mouth (F#4). During *a menina* 'the girl' at the beginning of this turn, Clarice glances in the direction she is pointing, and then looks at Kaisa (F#5). Clarice's gaze towards Kaisa, her bodily posture and quiet voice all signal a withdrawal into a dyadic exchange with Kaisa rather than a targeting of Leena. However, from the moment when Clarice utters the word *a menina* (l. 3), Kaisa steadily gazes at Leena (F#5) during Clarice's question and sustains her gaze until she forwards Leena's answer to Clarice (l. 7), whereas Clarice sustains her gaze towards Leena only after the onset of Kaisa's translatory turn (from l. 5 to 7).

Kaisa's resaying (l. 5 *tissiäks se syö*) presents breast feeding as the expected answer to be confirmed; the object is fronted and the question clitic is attached to the noun instead of

the verb (compare to *syöks se tissiä* ‘does she take breast [milk]’). In other words, the noun is placed in focus (ISK §1690). The answer option that Kaisa anticipates might be either her own conjecture, or stem from the formulation of Clarice’s question. This extract resembles the independent questions by the mediator that were discussed in (§6.1.1), as Clarice’s question is addressed to Kaisa, and Kaisa consults Leena in order to answer Clarice. However, as the question concerns Leena and her baby, it also enables treating her as the targeted recipient. Kaisa’s sustained gaze towards Leena (l. 3–7) instead of the questioner works to engage her in the conversation by making visible an orientation to her.

Finally, the design of Kaisa’s resaying presents the question as having been derived from the ongoing conversation with Clarice. The placement of the noun in turn-initial position, which indicates that it is not new, but rather contrastive/focused with regard to something prior, implies for the recipient that the turn has a relation to earlier talk. The particular contextual circumstances enable Kaisa to use pronominal tying. By referring to the baby with a pronoun (l. 5 *se* DEM3), she orients to the baby already being the focus of Leena’s attention. Using the locally subsequent reference form (Schegloff 1996b: 481) in this position also contributes to the secondness of the turn by not introducing a new referent with a fuller name. After Kaisa’s resaying, Leena joins the others at the table, and they continue discussing children.

6.1.3 Directly addressed follow-up questions

The need to render the interaction intelligible for participants who do not fully understand the language currently spoken is not omnirelevant but depends on the local establishment of the relevance of the matters talked about for those participants. If a participant has knowledge or personal experience concerning the matter discussed, or if she shows interest in being involved, the prior talk may be regarded as worthy of translating for her. These relevances are negotiated within activities that are potentially open for multiple recipients (such as storytelling) as well as with questions that concern the OLS, in particular.

In comparison to the various types of negotiations of relevance examined in earlier chapters, when a speaker poses a follow-up question to the OLS, there is no questioning of whether the matter talked about concerns this participant. An inquiry delivered as a follow-up question targets some information that the questioner has just obtained from the interlocutor. By virtue of requesting further information, the question suggests that the floor is being yielded to the prior speaker whose talk is being revisited. This makes her the only eligible respondent, which means that the participant has been *tacitly addressed* as the next speaker (Lerner 2003: 190). Some of the questions in the current database are tacitly addressed to the OLS; others involve second-person reference as a recipient indicator.

With follow-up questions, the mediating activity therefore occurs in an environment where the OLS is already fully involved in the ongoing course of action, and she has been designated as the recipient. When the mediator now produces a translatory turn, she can make use of the status, or discourse identity (C. Goodwin 1987, Lerner 1996b, 2003), of the recipient as the prior speaker, and build the translatory turn on the structures of the sequence in progress. This is what occurs in the next example, when Sanna (F/P) mediates Raili’s (F)

question to André (P/f-). The discussion continues directly from extract 6.4. In the first few lines, André and Márcio are responding to Raili's earlier inquiry about when André visited Finland for the last time.

(6.8) Ticket.FI (Kesä_E 6.10)

- 01 Márcio: syksyllä.
in the fall
- 02 André: syksyllä:: [ja::,
in the fall and
- 03 Raili: [aah (0.2) niin no [↑melkein vuosi.
aah so yeah almost a year
- 04 André: [lokakuussa.
in October
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 André: joo.
yes
- 07 Raili: nii. elikkä vähä vaille.
yes so a little less ((than a year))
- 08 (8.0) (SANNA TALKS WITH HER SON DANIEL)
- 09 Raili: kuinka +paljon se (.) maksaa se matka sielt
how much DEM3 cost.3SG DEM3 trip DEM3.LOC.from
how much does it cost the trip from
+ANDRÉ RAISES HIS HEAD AND TURNS GAZE>RAILI
- 10 Brasiliasta tänne (0.2) edestakasi.
[name].ELA DEM1.LOC.to back.and.forth
Brazil to here and back
- 11 (1.0)
- 12 Sanna: →.mt quanto é pas|sagem,
how.much be.3SG ticket
how much is ticket
- 13 André: aam. (0.6) hh tuhat (2.0) kaksisataa. (0.6) euroa.
ahn, (one) thousand two hundred euros

All Raili's co-participants travel between the two countries, and they are knowledgeable concerning the ticket prices. However, as André was the last person to discuss his visits to Finland, he is the likely recipient of Raili's (l. 9–10) further question about the travel (see Lerner 2003: 190). Unfortunately, Raili's gaze is not visible on the video. She is seated further away, and the visual access of Raili and Sanna to each other is impeded by Márcio, who sits in a rocking chair between them. When there is no response (gap at l. 11), Sanna repeats the question. She merely says *quanto é passagem* 'how much is ticket,' without mentioning again the roundtrip or specifying the destinations. Her turn relies on the prior

saying as shared with respect to its recipient selection and in assuming the knowledge of which tickets are being talked about.

In addition to the blunt wording, the resaying has a “downgraded” prosody. Local et al. (2010: 143) examine the prosodic design of turns in which a speaker redelivers a turn that was for some reason not taken up by a recipient. For cases where the speaker is retrieving a prior turn, they suggest that prosodic downgrading is a reference to the first attempt to deliver the turn. The prosodic design makes the existence of a first saying relevant for the interpretation of the current turn. In a similar manner, the prosody of Sanna’s turn marks it not as posing an entirely new question to André, but rather, as delivering a second saying of Raili’s question. With this design, Sanna’s turn achieves a decoding of the question without being in conflict with her own access to the information on ticket prices. In accordance with this participation framework, André maintains Raili as the questioner instead of Sanna, as is indicated by his choice of responding in Finnish (see Auer 1984a).

The working mechanism of tying to past utterances (*tying techniques*, Sacks 1995: I 716–747) is that the tying devices invoke a search by the hearer to determine what is being tied to. In translatory turns, tying techniques can contribute to displaying a source in prior talk. Yet the regular means of tying, that is, ones that indicate continuity with prior talk (such as locating an item in prior talk through an anaphoric reference), may be neither efficient nor always possible because the speaker cannot assume the recipient’s access to prior mentions. Pronominal tying devices do sometimes occur in tying to a prior saying, as occurred in some cases in the previous section (§6.1.2) and in chapter 5, but they are not a primary means of relating to past talk, as demonstrated by many examples in this study. The speakers use other turn-initial tying techniques that appear oriented to crossing the “language barrier,” such as introducing key lexical elements in turn-initial position to display an operation on prior talk (see ch. 4). Moreover, prosody can work as a cue that transcends the language boundary in a given stretch of conversation and provides an index of the turn’s relation to prior talk.

The translatory turns in this section consist of concise redosings that resemble the independent phrasal recapitulations that were examined earlier in §4.5. The latter were delivered when recapitulating aspects of a telling that was treated as somewhat accessible for the OLS, but also within instructions, in which case the phrasal format managed a redoing of an initiating action. In a similar manner, phrasal formats are used here to redo the first pair parts of initiating actions. These are follow-up questions that handle the OLS as involved in the prior action. It is suggested that the phrasal format itself is one of the tying devices that contribute to displaying the other-language talk as a source. A selective repetition of elements in a second saying can display that the speaker is doing something similar to what occurred in a prior turn, as evidenced by studies on “dispensability” (Schegloff 2004, Oh 2005). The phrasal format occurs especially in mediation of sequences of action that are high on the scale of accessibility and that involve the OLS in a socially unproblematic way.

In the following extract, Gaia (P/f) first announces to the others that she is “Indian,” referring to her indigenous descent. After some turns of collective searching for the correct term in Finnish, Antti (F) asks a specifying question (l. 7). Antti’s son, Toni (F/P), delivers the translatory turn in the form of an interrogative noun phrase.

(6.9) Tribe.BR (Ravintola_B 26.50)

- 01 Gaia: minä olen intia. (0.4) india.
I am intia indian
- 02 Cíntia: índ[ia].
indian
- 03 Toni: [intia][ani].
indian
- 04 Antti: [↑intiaaani. (.) ai[↑jaa,
indian oh really
- 05 Cíntia: [↑índia e uma paulista]. *hehef*
indian and a paulista⁴⁰
- 06 Sauli: mheh
- 07 Antti: jaa. ↑minkä heimon intiaaani <olet>.
PRT what.GEN tribe.GEN indian be.2SG
oh, you are an indian of what tribe
- 08 (0.6) ((ANTTI, SAULI AND TONI LOOKING AT GAIA))
- 09 Toni: → qua- qual tribo.
wh- which tribe
wh- which tribe
- 10 (1.0)
- 11 Gaia: eem (0.4) tupi caiabi.
- 12 (0.4)
- 13 Antti: °tupi°.
- 14 Toni: tupi caiabi.
- 15 Antti: joo.
right

Antti's follow-up question is addressed to Gaia directly as attested to by his leaning towards her, his gaze at her, and his use of the second-person marker in the verb *ole-t* (be.2SG). Nonetheless, some additional work to approach a recipient who does not fully share linguistic resources is perceivable in the prosodically and syntactically overcorrect delivery of the turn, as it seems oriented to enhancing the clarity of the turn. Moreover, the absence of a subject pronoun results in a more standard-like Finnish, which can be heard here as foreigner-talk.

Gaia does not immediately answer the question (see l. 8), and Toni comes in to produce a noun phrase that consists of an interrogative word *qual* 'which,' and *tribo* 'tribe' (l. 9). As Toni has been a recipient of Gaia's general announcement, in principle, he could have posed

⁴⁰ paulista=a native of the state of São Paulo in Brazil

the question himself. However, Toni's turn must be interpreted as one that orients to the conditional relevance that was created by Antti's question. It is unlikely that Toni would simply disregard a first pair part that projected an answer from Gaia (l. 7). Antti's turn was clearly directed at her by gaze and a 2p reference, and as previously mentioned, it was even distinctly articulated. Coming in a proximate position after it, Toni's turn is heard as dealing with the lack of response to Antti's first pair part (Schegloff 2007a: 15).

When Toni delivers the resaying (l. 9), he uses the sequential position after Antti's follow-up question as well as Gaia's established position as the recipient of that turn. Toni does not reproduce the whole question, but delivers a partial resaying in the form of a noun phrase. A resaying in a phrasal format is not self-contained in delivering the action of asking, which is contrary to questions such as the ones examined in (§6.1.1) (or Antti's turn at l. 7). By being implicit in various aspects, the turn becomes pragmatically and semantically dependent on the context. Yet despite being dependent, the turn does not need to be regarded as lacking something. On the contrary, producing a turn in a phrasal format is one means of using sequential position as a resource for relating the current turn to the action in a prior turn (Mazeland 2013: 489, see also Schegloff 1996a, 2004, Helasvuo 2001, Ford et al 2013: 26–40, C. Goodwin 2007, 2013). By delivering the resaying with an interrogative phrasal design after a turn that is lacking a response, the mediating speaker can tie his turn as a second saying of the prior question.

The lack of response in this example, as well as in the prior example reveals an interactional problem without specifying the trouble source in the prior turn. Indeed, the partial redoing of a question does not seem to point to a specific, linguistic trouble-item in the prior talk. Nonetheless, it also does not repeat the whole turn. Despite dispensing with various elements from the prior saying, such resayings contain a sufficient number of response-mobilizing features (see Stivers & Rossano 2010) to function as second sayings of questions. Instead of merely repairing, the turns provide concise second versions of the prior questions. They summarize, or encapsulate, the key elements from prior talk in a manner that appears to be typical of mundane translatory practices.

In the next extract, Raili (F) again interviews André (P/f-) concerning his experiences with Finland. The extract includes two instances of translation that will be analyzed. The first (l. 14–15) is a special case of a turn-final reporting clause. The second (l. 21) is a self-translation. The first half is analyzed here (part *a*) before analyzing the other half of the extract (part *b*).

(6.10a) The best thing.FI (Kesä_4.35)

- 01 Raili: a(h)i se o[li eka kerta.
oh it was the first time
- 02 Sanna: [niithäl oli l- iso ryhmä.
they were (in fact) a big group
- 03 (0.8)
- 04 Raili: .hh a(h)i #m# mut [mä luulin e] Manu
oh but I thought th- Manu

- 05 Sanna: [>niit oli joku< viis.]
they were like five
- 06 Raili: #e# tää on ollu< aikasemmin tää (.) Andr[é].
this had been before this André
- 07 Sanna: [ei.
no
- 08 André: mm-m;
- 09 Sanna: .ng (sh)e oli sillo eka kertaa< (.) (ja s't)
he was then for the first time and then
- 10 niit oli viel muutama muuki.
there were a few others
- 11 (0.4)
- 12 Raili: ja sitte sä ihast#ui#t Suo#meen#.#-->
and then you fell for Finland
Sanna #CRANES HER NECK
TO SEE ANDRÉ'S FACE
- 13 (1.0) ((RAILI AND ANDRÉ GAZING AT EACH OTHER))
- 14 Sanna:→ *>cê se< #encantou com Fi#n*↑lândia
you fell for Finland
--->#
André *G>SANNA-----*G>RAILI-->>
- 15 e1[°a pergun[ta°#.
she asks
- 16 André: [joo. [joo;
yes yes
- 17 (.) °joo,°
yes

With the question at line 12, Raili follows up on earlier talk about André's first visit to Finland. André and Márcio (Sanna's husband) visited Finland together some years earlier, but Raili was under the impression that André had visited Finland already before that occasion. During lines 1–10 Sanna and Raili clarify this misunderstanding. During this exchange, Raili uses the demonstrative pronoun *tää* (DEM1) to refer to André (l. 4, 6). Speakers of Finnish have been reported to use *tä(m)ä* as a reference to co-participants who are prior speakers at a moment of change in action, recipiency, and/or perspective (Seppänen 1998: 59–71). Here, Raili refers to André as the prior speaker in a turn where she verbalizes her change of state with regard to the information about André's first visit. This occurs in a discussion with Sanna, who furthermore refers to André as *se* (DEM3), attributing to him a non-participant status (Seppänen 1998). However, as the next move, Raili addresses André directly. She produces a candidate understanding of André's experience, addressing him with the 2p singular pronoun *sä* (l. 12). At the end of Raili's turn, Sanna cranes her neck

forward, apparently to observe André's facial expression (they are sitting side-by-side), but André continues to gaze at Raili. After a 1.0 second gap, Sanna engages in translating.

Sanna produces a full clausal question (l. 14), and subsequently, adds a verbal framing to it in a quieter voice (l. 15). This is the only instance in the data with a quotative framing in turn-final position. It appears that the framing is added in order to disambiguate the action because the immediately prior talk has concerned the OLS from another perspective, and moreover, because the translatory turn itself does not involve turn-design features that would display it as a resaying in this position.

For one, this is related to the question type. Raili produces a declarative utterance that is hearable as a B-event statement (Labov & Fanshel 1977, Stivers & Rossano 2010): The speaker asserts something about a knowing recipient from an unknowing status, which allows the utterance to mobilize a response from the recipient. Whereas Raili links her turn (*ja sitte* 'and then') to the talk for which she offers a candidate understanding, Sanna's translatory turn does not, but dispenses with these elements (Schegloff 2004). Sanna maintains a declarative format (*cê ce encantou com Finlândia* 'you fell for Finland'⁴¹) in the translatory turn, including the expression of the subject (2SG) and the complement of the verb (name of country). In fact, it would be difficult to form a polar question by redoing fewer of the earlier turn components (in comparison to, say, summarizing a content question with a few key elements together with a question word, as in ex. 6.9). As a result, Sanna's turn is a full declarative utterance. Her formulation of the 'asking' in the end adjusts the action by making it clear that this turn is a second saying of Raili's question for André.

An issue related to this is the addressee marking in the translatory turn, and the indexical origo of this deictic reference (see Hanks 1990, 2005). In the basic configuration for a second-person reference, the point of view from which the deictic reference is made is the current speaker, "I" talking to "you." In translatory talk, the current speaker's addressing of the recipient is layered with the source speaker's approach to the same participant. I am not suggesting that the deictic reference in the translatory turn is actually decentered (Hanks 1990: 205) from the moment of uttering as in direct reported speech. Nonetheless, the translating speaker's reference to the recipient in the 2p delivers a prior speaker's action towards this participant. Therefore it is not purely the current speaker's act of addressing the recipient here-and-now. In this sense, there are two layers in the act of addressing.

In the previous section (§6.1.2), translatory turns also involved 2p addressing. In those cases, the addressing achieved a change from the indirect approach with the 3p in the original question to direct addressing in the relayed action. The change in the way of referring to this person (at least when changing from a transparent proper name reference to a 2SG pronoun) is a cue for the recipient to interpret the 2p address in light of the earlier action, as a reaction to its outcome. The change of the person reference thus serves as one of the cues for the recipient to interpret the subsequent turn (and the addressing of "you") as mediating the prior action. By comparison, the current example has fewer cues for

⁴¹ In Brazilian Portuguese, polar questions are marked as interrogative only by prosody (Morães 1998, see also Mito & Lobo 2016). Sanna's turn contains a slight pitch rise towards the end of the delivery of the question that could be heard as interrogative prosody, but the rise does not become utterance-final, as Sanna moves directly into the quotative.

At first glance, Raili's turn (l. 21) appears to be simply pursuing a response that is lacking. However, other, alternative motives are also plausible for repeating the question in this case. During the earlier part of the extract, Sanna translated Raili's question. As mediation was just needed, Raili might anticipate problems in understanding with the second question as well (l. 18). She did not wait long for Sanna to intervene. The translatory turn in line 21 may thus be interpreted as adapting to other local cues concerning André's language competence and not only to the lack of uptake after the first-pair-part.

Another possible motive for redoing the question is the overlapping talk. While Raili is producing the second question, André is still responding to the first question with a chain of *joo* particles. Raili may repeat the question to ensure that it is heard from the outset. Even if the turn is produced to overcome the overlap, the orientation to language issues is still demonstrated by the fact that Raili again relies on English as a lingua franca and thus displays the interpretation that André might not have understood the Finnish turn. Yet English is not the preferred language for either of them. André resorts to English to provide an answer, but Márcio and Sanna quickly furnish the Finnish expression *hijajaisuus*, displaying that English was used only as a temporary solution (notice also l. 30, which indicates that Raili has not understood the English expression, and, moreover, has misheard the Finnish translation). The point is that possible interactional motives for producing a translatory turn at this moment can be found in how André has participated immediately before, not only in his lack of response as indicating his problem of understanding Finnish.

During her translatory turn, Raili clarifies the prior question by changing the pro-adverb to a place name (*tääl* 'here' -> *in Finland*) and changing the predicative adjective *parasta* into a more transparent expression *the best thing* (which is also more idiomatic in English). Raili is adapting to the local contingencies: prior reliance on translation, overlapping talk, lack of response, and complexity of the prior utterance. The resulting turn (l. 21), which consists of a noun phrase with a subsequent locative modifier, would not be intelligible as "asking" without the previous Finnish turn (l. 18) as its context. Instead of repeating the whole question, Raili renders items in English to be interpreted against the background of the prior interrogative turn. This design signals to the recipient that there is a prior turn that this turn builds on (cf. Schegloff 2004, Oh 2005, Sacks 1995 I: 722). In this position, Raili's turn is hearable as pursuing an answer. The phrasal format also projects that the kind of information requested is a 'thing,' and this is what André provides, the NP *silence*.

The examples of opening sequences of asking reveal that the mediation of questions is finely attuned to the recipient's status, access, and involvement in the ongoing sequence of action. During translatory turns, the participants become re-positioned with regard to each other through methods of referring to co-participants, designing questions, and positioning actions as first versus second doings.

The next section moves a step further in examining question-answer sequences that involve mediation by analyzing the mediation of answers.

6.2 Closing the sequence

Once a question has been mediated to the recipient, a slot has been created for her to provide an answer. Relevant observations on translating their answers can be made on the basis of what has occurred in the example cases thus far. In some of the cases, mainly those in section (§6.1.1), but also those in the last extract of (§6.1.2) (see ex. 6.10b), the recipient answers in the language of the translation, and the answer is translated back to the questioner. The structure of the sequence is, accordingly, *question(L1)–translation(L2)–answer(L2)–translation(L1)*. In contrast, some cases in section (§6.1.2) (see ex. 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6) exemplify a situation in which the answer is produced in the language of the original question and no translation of the second pair part is needed – which is possible if the end recipient has sufficient competence in that language to answer. The structure of the sequence becomes *question(L1)–translation(L2)–answer(L1)*. Consequently, the occurrence of a translation of a first-pair-part does not yet determine whether it will initiate a whole translatory insert sequence, or whether it comes to work as a response pursuit that will be directly followed by an answer to the original questioner. This section examines some of the local negotiations of language choice as well as the negotiations that lead up to either translating an answer, or not doing so.

When the questioner and OLS have sufficient shared linguistic resources and when the questioner has addressed her directly (§6.1.3) or through indirect means (§6.1.2), the OLS can often respond directly to the original questioner instead of the mediator. For this reason, relatively few translations of answers are found among those cases. Mediating answers is more frequent in the translatory question–answer sequences as consultations, in which the original question does not address the OLS but someone else (§6.1.1). In this case, there is no push (or even entitlement) for the OLS to respond to the original questioner, but rather to the mediator (even though the answerer could, in principle, compensate for not speaking the original questioner’s language by using embodied resources such as nodding to respond to her).

The first subsection (§6.2.1) discusses what relations the various mediated responses establish, on the one hand, with the original response, and on the other hand, with the main sequence. The second subsection (§6.2.2) examines how translating speakers segment the translation of an answer into multiple units, and how this can influence the unfolding of the mediating activity. Furthermore, this section provides a more detailed discussion of the multimodal aspects of bilingual mediating. The third analytic section (§6.2.3) investigates sequences in which translation of a question and an answer is provided in a different sequential context: after an already completed sequence, in a post hoc manner. In this context, mediating speakers use reporting clauses to frame their turns. Accordingly, the analysis returns to the themes discussed at the beginning of the study (§3.1).

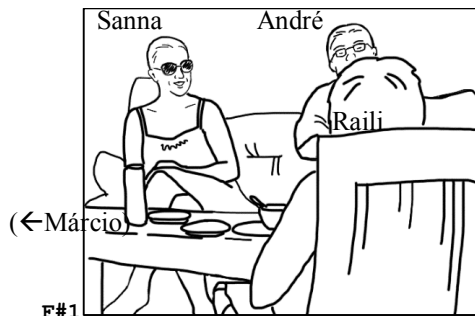
6.2.1 Transformation of answers motivated by their sequential embedding

When a question as a first pair part has been translated, it is probable that an answer will also reach the questioner before the mediating is complete. In a sense, it could be expected that because of this “sequential glue,” a translated answer might acquire its intelligibility simply by virtue of fulfilling the expectation for a second pair part. However, the translating of answers in the data is actually rarely undertaken as a straightforward repeating of the answer, even if it is only a single-unit confirmation response. This is because translations of answers are affected by the projected sequential trajectories that emanate from two different turns, the original question and the translated question. The mediated responses that do manage with this type of simple repeating are most often clarifications of single expressions, not turns that mediate the whole responsive action. These clarifications are produced as reactions to indications of problems in understanding a given response, as in the extract that was analyzed above as example 6.10 and which is now repeated here.

Raili (F) uses English to facilitate her own question for André (P/f), but when André responds in English, a clarification of his response is needed.

(6.11) Silence.FI (Kesä_B 4.45)

- 01 Raili: mi[kä tääl om parasta.
what is best here
- 02 André: [°joo°,
yes
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 Raili: *the best thing; (0.3) in Finl[and.*
- 05 André: [.hhhh
- 06 Márcio: eh=
- 07 André: =aaaäh (.) *the ↑silencehh.+*
Sanna +G>RAILI-->>
- 08 • (1.2) • (0.2) **F#1**
André • **DRAWS A HORIZONTAL LINE IN THE AIR** •



- 09 Márcio: → **hil+jais** [(-)
 silen-
 André -->+G>MÁRCIO-->
- 10 André: [the silence.
- 11 Sanna: → [**hil+jaisuus**.
 silence
 André -->+G>SANNA-->
- 12 (1.6)
- 13 Raili: [↑kirjallisuus.
 literature
- 14 André: [como que é?
 how is it
- 15 (0.2)
- 16 Sanna: <hiljai>suus.
 silence

As the earlier analysis (ex. 6.10b) demonstrated, Raili has various possible motivations for clarifying her prior turn. These include an earlier reliance on translation, overlapping talk, and/or a lack of response. Raili handles the situation as a problem in understanding the language, as she uses English as a lingua franca in her second attempt. André provides an answer, *silence*, in the same language and therefore aligns with Raili's language choice. Nonetheless, Márcio (P/f) and Sanna (F/P) translate André's answer into Finnish (*hiljaisuus*). They use English as a temporary communicative solution, but that does not ultimately guarantee understandability for Raili.

Because André responds directly to Raili in the same language that she used, translating his answer is not an expected next action. That occurs only when Raili fails to produce any sign of having understood the response, and when she gazes at André without speaking (l. 8). The others translate André's answer after they have monitored Raili's understanding of the particular lexical item, not within a translatory insert sequence. Raili subsequently also encounters problems in receiving the Finnish translation, as she first hears it as *kirjallisuus* 'literature' (l. 13).

A simple, single-unit answer then becomes repeated for the original questioner in a word-for-word manner. However, this is not a typical case to require translation because the original answer was produced in the same language that the questioner used. In fact, it will be demonstrated throughout the following analyses that, more typically, answers are modified within the turns that mediate them, and that these transformations are an essential part of embedding the translations in their sequential context. For example, one environment worth mentioning is when the original question has been modified in the translation to the extent that the projected answer type is changed (as from a request for information to a request for confirmation). When this occurs, the possible influence of the question's modifications on the main sequence is usually eliminated in the translation of the answer by again transforming the type of answer (such as changing it from a confirmation to providing

information). This makes the translated answer successfully fit the base sequence, and it cancels the effect of having asked something different in redoing the question. Later cases will show that these types of changes may also create fertile ground for misunderstanding (ex. 6.15). However, let us first consider the following extract.

Kaisa (F/P) mediates a wh-question that Clarice (P) asks about Leena (F/p--) and her baby, transforming it into a request for confirmation. The answer contains a confirmation that is again transformed into a content response. This case was analyzed above as example 6.7 (for images, see the earlier analysis).

(6.12) Breast milk.BR (Sauna_D 05.55)

- 01 Clarice: °a menina mama o quê ↑peito [m-°
 ART girl feed.3SG ART what breast
 the girl takes what, breast
- 02 Kaisa: [ahn?
- 03 Clarice: a menina d_ela mama o quê (.) l_eite
 ART girl PREP+3SG feed.3SG ART what milk
 what does her girl take, milk
- 04 mama↑d_eira p_reito que que é;=
 feeding.bottle breast what que be.3SG
 feeding bottle breast what is it
- 05 Kaisa: =↑t_issiäks se syö #vai::#
 breast.PAR.Q.CLI DEM3 eat.3SG or
 ((is)) breast ((what)) she takes or
- 06 Leena: ◊°mm°◊
 ◊NODS-◊
- 07 Kaisa:→ *+peito.
 breast
 Kaisa *HEAD AND G>CLARICE
 Clarice +G>KAISA
- 08 # (0.4) #
 Clarice #NODS--#
- 09 (5.6)
- 10 Kaisa: mas é muito pequenin_ino meu #d_eus do c_eu#,
 but good god (she) is so small

The change that has occurred in the question type during the translation affects the means of mediating the response. Clarice's question (l. 1, 3–4) is an information question, but Kaisa forwards it to Leena in the form of a polar question, presenting only one candidate answer (*tissi* 'breast'), to be confirmed (l. 5). Leena confirms this by producing a very quiet response token, °mm°, and nodding (l. 6). When Kaisa returns to the main sequence, she delivers the answer in a single NP (l. 7). This is suitable as a response to Clarice's question, which includes *peito* 'breast' as one of the candidate alternatives. As a consequence, Kaisa

transforms information that she received as a mere polarity item (confirmation) into a lexical form, naming one of the earlier alternatives in Clarice's question as the answer. In other words, she renders an explicit interpretation of Leena's confirmation by spelling out the answer. This means that the lexical content of the mediated answer is not recycled from the Leena's answer turn, but from Clarice's and her own talk.

The fact that mediated responses differ in their design from the original response to a great extent raises questions as to whether, or in what sense, they repeat or translate the first answer at all. Instead of rendering another's talk, the turns can be considered to be the speaker's independent provision of information that she has just received from the other-language speaker. It is challenging to analytically distinguish between these two processes (also Müller 1989: 722; however, see the discussion in §5.2 and §6.1.1). In studies of multilingual interaction, significant transformations have sometimes been interpreted as grounds for excluding these utterances from "actual" translation and viewing them as pseudo-translation (for example, see Auer 1984a: 52, 88–92). However, there are reasons both in the general semiotic nature of translation (see §2.1) and in the situated organization of translatory interaction to consider that a translatory process occurs in mediating the answer even if the speaker does not formally copy the content of the answer given.

If we consider the current case as intermodal translation, then Kaisa can be regarded as having translated Leena's *mm* and nod into words (see also Ikeda 2007).⁴² In any case, the change of the question type in the initiation of the translatory sequence here makes the interaction evolve so that an action conveyed by a nod and a sound object is represented by using a noun phrase. From the perspective of the ongoing action, a level of similarity is maintained between the responses, even though they may differ in their lexical content. Relaying Leena's embodied confirmation as a simple 'yes' would not even be possible as a response to Clarice's inquiry. As can be seen, maintaining coherence within the larger sequence guides the particular design of the turn in which Kaisa delivers the response based on Leena's confirmation.

An interactional motivation for this type of translatory relationship may be formulated as follows: Instead of orienting to the rendition of lexically equivalent expressions, the speakers orient to providing the polarity of the confirmation/affirmation or the central requested piece of information in a form that fits the main sequence. The speakers forward what they have received as information by embedding and transforming that information within the larger sequential structure. It seems plausible to state that the speakers translate actions rather than specific linguistic expressions. Transformations that are necessary in the translatory talk occur within the limitations set by the sequential structuring of those actions. The mediated answer that returns to the main sequence is directed both towards redelivering the prior answer and towards being fitted as a response to the original question. Sometimes these two do not result in one but in two different types of response tokens.

In the following extract, the original response and the mediated response consist of different echo responses that are both typical in Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese. Cíntia

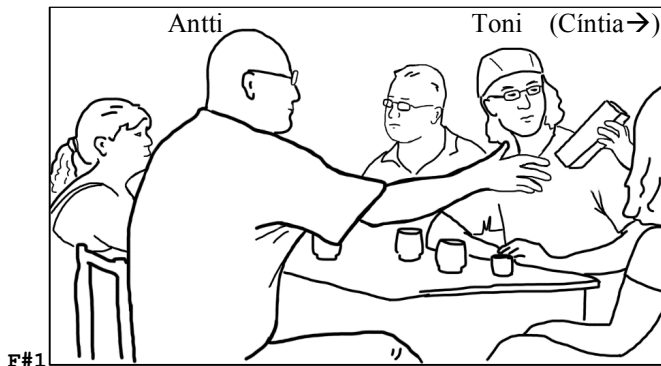
⁴² For a theoretical orientation, see Jakobson (1959). See also Holz-Mänttari's (cited in Nord 1997: 17) theory of translatory action (cf. §2.1) that involves pictures, sounds, and body movements. (For a discussion on multimodal translation in Finnish, see Tiittula & Hirvonen 2015).

(P) approaches the table with a package of coffee in her hand. First Toni (F/P) and then Antti (F) begin to inspect it.

(6.13) Brazilian coffee.BR (Ravintola_B 33.54)

(Gaia's and Sauli's parallel discussion about coffee from l. 1 to l. 6 is omitted.)

- 01 Cíntia: *ô o ca/fé é es/se.* ((BRINGS COFFEE PACKAGE TO SHOW))
see the coffee is this one
- 02 Toni: (0.4)+(1.0)
+G>PACKAGE-->
- 03 Toni: nmm.+
-->+G>ANTTI-->
- 04 ≠(0.6)
≠....->
- 05 Toni: #täss_oli sit+ tämmöstä erikoisvahvaa.
here was this kind of extra strong
->#P>PACKAGE IN CÍNTIA'S HAND-->
---->+G>PACKAGE-->
- 06 Sauli: mm-m, •
Antti •...>
- 07 Antti: (eh)
- 08 (1.4)
- 09 Cíntia: é. ((HANDING OVER THE PACKAGE, EXACT TIMING NOT AVAILABLE))
yes/right
- 10 •(0.6) •+(0.4)
Antti ->•SETS EYEGLASSES•REACHES HAND-->
- 11 Cíntia: **F#1** *esse ca•fé é o- é até agora é o mel+hor que eu acho.*
this coffee is t- until now it's the best I find
Antti -->•TAKES PACKAGE
Toni ---->+G>GAIA-->



12 Toni ≠(0.2)+(0.2)
 ---->+G>ANTTI
 ≠NODS

13 Antti: [°onk- °
 is

14 Toni: [hänem mielest tää on niinku parasta< <erikois>vahvaa.=
 in her opinion this is the best extra strong

15 Antti: =*•onks >tää on sitte< Brasiliasta vai.
 be.Q this be.3SG PRT [name].ELA or
 is, this is from Brazil then or
 *G>TONI----->
 • POINTS AT/TOUCHES THE PACKAGE-->

16 Toni (0.2)≠(0.2)≠
 ≠SMALL NOD≠

17 Toni: é b- (.) +café bra*sileiro né?
 be.3SG coffee brazilian TAG
 (it) is b- Brazilian coffee, isn't (it)
 +HEAD/GAZE>CÍNTIA-->
 Antti -->*G>CÍNTIA-->

18 Cíntia: +bra*sileiro.
 Brazilian
 Toni ->+TURNS HEAD/GAZE>ANTTI
 Antti ->*G>PACKAGE

19 Toni:→ [on.
 be.3SG
 yes⁴³

20 Antti: [Melita. ((READS FROM THE PACKAGE))
 Melita

21 (0.6)

22 Toni: jo[o.

23 Cíntia: [Meli•ta. (0.2) esse tá forte.
 Melita that's strong
 Antti -->•

The point of interest here is the sequence between lines 15–19, but to understand the events, it is first necessary to consider the larger context. The participants have been talking about the brand of the coffee that they drink. Cíntia has retrieved the coffee package from the kitchen, announcing that ‘the coffee is this one’ (l. 1). Toni links Cíntia’s action and the information that he himself reads aloud from the package by saying to Antti that ‘this’ is ‘extra strong’ (l. 5). This invites Antti to participate in inspecting the coffee for himself. He

⁴³ Verb repeat answers in Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese are rendered as ‘yes’ in the translation line of the transcript in order to maintain a default answer format (which would be ‘yes’ in English). For a similar choice in translation, see Sorjonen 2001a for Finnish, and Guimarães 2007 for Portuguese.

puts his glasses on and then reaches for the package that Cíntia is showing to the group. Once he has the item in hand, he is about to initiate a question (l. 13, *onk-* [be.3SG.Q]), but in overlap, Toni produces a translatory turn where he reports Cíntia's assessment of the coffee brand. Reacting to this, Antti transforms his question to fit Toni's intervening turn, now designing a request for confirmation of an inference based on that turn: *onks -> tää on sitte Brasiliasta vai* 'is -> this is from Brazil then or'). The particle *sitte* indicates that the speaker is making an inference from prior talk (Halonen 2005, Raevaara 1993, 2006, ISK §1208).

Toni begins to respond, but then changes to passing on the question to Cíntia. This resembles the mediator's independent questions examined in (§6.1.1). However, in this extract, Antti and Cíntia are already in direct interaction with each other through the embodied means of handing over the coffee package. This makes the local circumstances of Toni's translatory action different from the independent "consultations" where the translatory turns constitute questions independently of the immediate prior action. In the current context, the embodied aspects create continuity for the trajectory of action from Cíntia's passing of the coffee packet to Antti's question pertaining to it while holding it. Some hesitation is visible in Toni's turn; he is about to ask *é b-* 'is (it) B(razilian)'' with no explicit reference to the coffee and, accordingly, relying on the context for an established joint focus (cf. §5.1). However, then he inserts the 'coffee': *é b- café brasileiro né* (note that in Portuguese the noun comes before the adjective, in contrast to the order of constituents in the English transcript line [ADJ+NOUN]). This self-repair introduces a lexical classification of an item that has been referred to pronominally in the prior turns. Thus, at the beginning of the turn, Toni seems to orient to the physically available situation that has coffee as the focus of attention, but by adding *café*, he shifts to treating the Portuguese speaker as not having access to the prior mention. Toni's question becomes a full, self-contained question, similar to independently constructed questions. This is an example of how the speaker navigates between limitations that are induced by the asymmetric participation framework, reliance on the continuity of action trajectories, and affordances for intelligibility provided by embodied interaction.

Let us now turn to examine how Toni ties the response to Antti's question. Both Cíntia and Toni respond by repeating an element from the question. In both Finnish and Portuguese, these *echo responses* can be used as an alternative to particle responses when responding to polar question (Sorjonen 1996, 2001a, 2001b, Hakulinen 2001b, Guimarães 2007, Enfield et al. forthcoming). Cíntia confirms to Toni that the coffee is Brazilian with a repeat of the adjective *brasileiro* 'Brazilian' (l. 18). Toni forwards this to Antti in Finnish as a repetitive answer as well (l. 19), but instead of relaying an adjective, he recycles the copular verb *on* (be.3SG) 'is' from Antti's question: (l. 15) Q: *onks tää on sitte Brasiliasta vai* 'is this **is** then from Brazil or' -> (l. 19) A: *on* be.3SG ("**is**"). In this way, Toni ties the translatory turn to the main sequence. By contrast, if Toni were to forward the answer to Antti by maintaining the adjective format (*brasileiro* 'Brazilian') from Cíntia's turn, the type of predication would change from the one in the main sequence. Antti has inquired whether the coffee is "from Brazil," whereas Toni asks Cíntia whether the coffee is "Brazilian." Nonetheless, when the response is delivered with the copular verb, this difference does not surface in the response; it confirms the origin of the coffee either way.

In other words, the difference between source talk and the translatory turn in this case is manageable within the selection of elements to repeat in an echo response, while maintaining coherence with the main sequence.

Regarding the embodied aspects of the responses, Toni begins to turn his head towards Antti right at the onset of Cíntia's answer (l. 18). This indicates that he has gathered the answer before hearing the lexical content (unfortunately, Cíntia is not within the view of the camera, and whether or not she nods at that moment is not visible, but it seems likely). Antti seems to have grasped Cíntia's response already at this point as well, because during the response, he turns to look at the package and says the brand name, *Melita*. For Cíntia, Toni's immediate turning away during the response can also indicate that the question is part of a larger course of action with Antti, which Toni is now returning to.

A direct contact between Antti and Cíntia – the two participants without a shared language – is established through embodied means when Cíntia brings the packet and Antti reaches out to take it. Another direct contact occurs when Antti gazes towards Cíntia during Toni's mediatory turn (l. 17–18). A third occasion of contact, which is an initial form of actual conversation between them, occurs when Antti reads aloud the brand name *Melita* (l. 20) from the package and Cíntia repeats it (l. 23). Antti and Cíntia do not achieve a specific, shared standpoint with regard to the object, but they do establish a joint focus of attention and establish stances towards it from their different viewpoints.

Even though mediated answers may differ from the originals to the extent that they call into question their nature as translations of linguistic content, there are structural contingencies that motivate doing the mediating in that particular way. The changes work to maintain the coherence of the larger sequence and for the understandability of the turn for the recipient. To make this point clearer, the following extract demonstrates what can happen when a mediated answer repeats elements of the other-language answer without the transformations needed for coherence with the main sequence.

Simo (F/p-) asks a question to which Clarice (P), the housekeeper of Kaisa and Teppo (both F/P) has primary epistemic access. At the moment, Clarice is in a room next to the patio where the others are, and Kaisa passes the question on to her by speaking loudly enough to be heard further away (l. 5). Kaisa consults Clarice as a third party in order to respond to Simo's question, and accordingly, Kaisa does not design her turn as a second occasion of asking but as an independent action (see §6.1.1). The mediated answer is repeated rather straightforwardly from Clarice's response, but Kaisa has modified the question itself to the extent that the coherence of the main sequence is lost when the answer is translated. The result is a misunderstanding.

(6.14) Bus strike.BR (Sauna_A 20.11)

(Leena's simultaneous turns to her son have been omitted.)

01 Simo: liikkuuks hän bussilla.
does she take the bus

02 Kaisa: /joo-o/,
yes

- 03 Simo: mites t- onks täällä bussit nyt ajossa. (.) Sorocabassa.
 how.CLI be.3.Q here bus.PL now run.INE [name].INE
 what about are the buses here now running in Sorocaba
- 04 Teppo: kyl ne=
 yes they
- 05 Kaisa: =a:::h OS ÔNIBUS ESTÃO DE GREVE H/OJE OU/ NÃO.
 ART.PL bus be.3PL PREP strike today or NEG
 aaah are the buses on strike today or not
 ((TO CLARICE IN ANOTHER ROOM))
- 06 (0.6)
- 07 Kaisa: Clarice.
- 08 Clarice: hoje não ta/va nã/o. (.) só sei an₁te_{ontem} (pois).
 today NEG be.3SG.PST NEG only know.1SG day.before.yesterday PRT
 today were not (I) only know of the day before yesterday
- 09 Kaisa:→ **toissapäivänä oli?**
 day.before.yesterday.ESS be.3.PST
 the day before yesterday (they) were
- 10 (0.2)
- 11 Simo: aam (.) Limeirassa on (.) ollu se lakko.
 uhm in Limeira there has been the strike
- 12 (0.6)
- 13 Simo: kai se on n- ollu täälläki.
 assumably it has been here too
- 14 Teppo: [on.
 yes
- 15 Kaisa: [o:li yks päivä vaan.
 yes just for one day
- 16 Simo: ai yks päivä vaan.
 oh just for one day

Simo asks whether the buses are running in the town where his family is visiting Kaisa and Teppo. When passing the question on to Clarice, Kaisa asks whether the buses are on strike. She is asking something slightly different, including adding the presupposition that the buses have been on strike, which Simo did not explicitly say. Clarice responds that the buses were on strike only the day before yesterday. Kaisa then relays this last element from Clarice's turn in Finnish (l. 9 *toissapäivänä oli* 'the day before yesterday [they] were'). As the turn ties to Simo's question by repeating the copular verb, Kaisa comes to express that the buses were "running the day before yesterday." The confusion becomes obvious in Simo's turns in lines 11 and 13: he first hesitates and then explicitly asks about the strike.

Auer (2005: 25) points out that participants may 'lose' coherence after internal expansions and disattend the projection that occurred before the expansion. This occurs in

translatory sequences as well. Kaisa's turn at line 9 is geared towards repeating the prior answer turn, but also towards tailoring it as a response to the original question. This explains the logic of misunderstanding in the extract. In her study on interpreting yes/no questions in a court trial, Wadensjö (2010: 23) has made similar observations of crossing sequential projections. In her cases, matching a translated answer to the original yes/no question seems to be in conflict with an orientation to representing all aspects of the defendant's answer.

When reviewing these types of examples, it becomes easier to discern what is achieved and how in the cases that do maintain coherence between sequences in two languages. This occurs in the majority of question–answer sequences in the data. To mediate questions and answers successfully requires embedding the language-switching turns in the larger sequence. Speakers usually design the resaying of answers to fit the original question. This may entail the risk of losing essential aspects of the translated talk, but at the same time, maintaining sequential coherence is a high priority. This is one of the motivators for modifying the response in the other language. That is, transformations in the forwarded answers are a manifestation of the positional sensitivity of the translatory turns with regard to the larger sequence. As was demonstrated in the examples, these transformations can be motivated by the need to smooth out the effect of changes made in delivering the original question. These changes, for their part, appear to spring from participation structures: In the examples, the speakers consult the OLS as relatively independent agents, and therefore design the question based on their own knowledge status instead of adhering to what was expressed in the original question. This may entail departures from the original question, which are then handled in returning to the main sequence by reshaping the forwarded answer.

6.2.2 Segmentation in relaying clausal answers

The previous section discussed possible interactional motivations for the transformation of mere confirmations or affirmations of polar questions into something different in mediating the response. This section brings up a further type of complexity in mediating answers: What happens when the question is a content question (wh-question) that has received a lengthy response? In such instance, phrasal turn formats can be used for segmenting lengthy translatory responses. They inhabit the answer slot and simultaneously project and/or allow continuation to be built on them. Sometimes this works and the translated phrasal response engages the recipient for a longer translation. On other occasions, however, the recipient may treat the information as being complete and take the moment to begin something new, trumping the continuation as a consequence. Cases like this illustrate some of the challenges in establishing a continuous mode of interpretation for a longer stretch of talk. The present subsection then examines the role of phrasal design as a form of segmentation for multi-unit translatory talk in answers, and consequently, as a resource for establishing a continued translatory mode – as well as the challenges related to it. In the next extract, for instance, the speaker is about to continue a translation after an initial phrasal beginning, but in overlap, the recipient initiates talk on a related topic, which results in conflicting interactional trajectories.

Gaia (P/f) is asking Toni (F/P) about traditional Finnish food. In this example, the translation of the answer is not addressed back to Gaia, but to Cíntia (P) as the audience. Gaia herself has just displayed her knowledge of Finnish food by mentioning *siskonmakkarakeitto*, a traditional soup made with pork sausage. Her project with the question is to recruit Toni to introduce more traditional Finnish foods to Cíntia. Gaia makes an open palm gesture towards Toni, which according to Kendon & Versante (2003: 126) may be used when the speaker presents something as an exemplar to be inspected. Gaia's question appears to invite Toni to provide exemplars of the “cultural” topic for Cíntia (P) as audience.

(6.15) Traditional food.BR (Ravintola_A 13.37)

- 01 Gaia: #qual qual a- #a:: comida tradição da Finlân*dia. (0.2)
 INT INT ART food tradition PREP+ART [name]
 what what the traditional food of Finland
 #OPEN PALM UP TOWARDS TONI#
 Toni >>G>GAIA-----*G>DOWN->
- 02 Finlândia tem a comida própria as[*sim*.
 [name] have.3SG ART food own ADJ
 does Finland have that kind of an own food
- 03 Toni: [m:ikäs ois, (.)
 what.CLI be.COND
 what would be
- 04 ^suo+ma^lainen perinneruoka.*
 finnish tradition.food
 a Finnish traditional food
 --->*G>ANTTI
 Antti ^G>TONI-^ (OTHERWISE GAZE DOWN AT PLATE, EATS)
 Gaia +G>ANTTI--->
- 05 (1.6)
- 06 Antti: ai (.) no (.) hernekeitto on semmonen ainaki millä+ (.)
 oh PRT pea.soup be.3SG DEM3.ADJ at.least.ADV REL.PRON
 oh well pea soup is one at least with what
 Gaia ---->+G>DOWN
- 07 ^Suomi om pelastettu sillo[n,
 [name] be.3SG save.PPC ADV
 Finland has been saved then
 ^G>SAULI
- 08 Toni: [mm, (.) so[ta-aikaan.
 war.time
 during war time
- 09 Sauli: [mm-m?
- 10 Antti: so[tiie aikaan.
 war.PL time
 during wars

- 11 Sauli: mm-m?=
 12 Toni:→ =*sopa *de ervilha*.
 soup PREP pea
 pea soup
 *HEAD/GAZE>CÍNTIA-->
 13 (0.4)
 14 Cíntia: *sopa de er*vil[ha*.
 pea soup
 Toni --->*G>DOWN
 15 Gaia: [mhm?
 16 Toni: [*ele falou [que: o povo<*]
 he said that the people
 17 Cíntia: [↑e ↑e na Finlâ]ndia existe
 and and in Finland does there exist
 18 *um pão chamado kōhva↑puush[ti,*
 a bread called kōrvapuusti (=cinnamon roll)

Antti delivers ‘pea soup’ as the answer with the justification that it is something important in the history of Finland. Toni’s translation of the answer at line 12 omits these considerations and merely provides the NP *sopa de ervilha* ‘pea soup.’ The subsequent gap of 0.4 seconds and Cíntia’s full repetition of the answer at line 13 instead of mere receipt indicate that the answer is expected to receive further elaboration. During the phrasal turn (l. 11), Toni has looked at Cíntia, as if to wait for her acknowledgement, but towards the end of Cíntia’s uptake turn (l. 13), he withdraws his gaze and looks down. His withdrawal of gaze may indicate to Cíntia that Toni is not going to take the next turn. (Even though Toni could also be taking a “non-speaker position” related to mediating, similar to what was discussed in ex. 4.2.) Toni continues his translation by reporting *ele falou que* ‘he said that’ (l. 16). That is, he produces a description of the act of speaking in a situation where the translation has already begun, in this way re-establishing Antti as the source speaker. However, in overlap with this turn, Cíntia initiates a stepwise topic transition (l. 17).

This stretch of conversation is followed by overlapping talk and numerous attempts by Toni to continue to talk about the pea soup. All this indicates that the initial NP *sopa de ervilha* (l. 12) does not achieve the projection of continuation for the translatory talk. In fact, it does not involve production features that might clearly project more to come. This suggests that the speaker does not clearly design the beginning of the translation as something to be continued, but instead as thus far complete. The initial NP allows for alternative next actions: at line 14 Cíntia produces a news receipt, and at line 15 Gaia confirms, displaying her expertise. The NP makes some sort of further contribution relevant, but leaves it open as to what is to follow. Toni’s translatory turn also allows Cíntia to pick up from where Toni has left off and initiate a stepwise transition to her own matter of interest. This extract, along with the following one, demonstrates that moving into a continued translatory mode is really an interactional achievement that is collaborative and multimodal (see also Merlino 2012).

With regard to responses to wh-questions in general, Fox and Thompson (2010) argue for English conversation that phrasal responses are “the optimal no-trouble response for furthering the project initiated by the question.” Phrasal responses are symbiotic, “specifically fitted to the lexico-grammar of wh-questions,” whereas clausal responses relate to troubles with the question or sequence. By contrast, “telling questions” unproblematically invite multi-unit responses (Thompson et al. 2015). For the case analyzed here, the wh-question works as proffer to discuss a matter that is unfamiliar but newsworthy for the one receiving the new information. The question invites some sort of telling, and indeed, the original response by the epistemic authority is just that. By comparison, the turn in which the response is translated begins with a phrasal unit which is potentially complete, although later on, the translatory talk is continued.

One interactional motivation for “reducing” longer tellings to these phrasal units in the translation of the answer appears to be that the phrasal format makes evident the turn’s embeddedness in a main sequence. In the current extract, the conversation continues in Finnish from line 3 to line 11, but when Toni says ‘pea soup’ in Portuguese, the language-switching turn becomes tied to the earlier Portuguese question. If Toni had produced a more elaborate telling at this point (such as “pea soup saved Finland during the war”), its status as relaying Antti’s answer would not have been as clear. That is, producing the answer first in a phrasal format may indicate for the recipient that the speaker is returning to the main sequence after having engaged in a stretch of talk in the other language. It should be noted that this return is not a resumption of earlier talk nor is it disjunctive in relation to the immediately prior other-language talk (see §2.3.2). Instead, the phrasal turn is embedded in the base sequence while creating a link to the intervening other-language turns.

The single phrases are open to negotiation. They resemble the turn-initial NPs that were used in the retellings in chapter 4, but the different sequential environment as a response to a question entails somewhat different tasks for the phrasal turn in comparison to rebuilding a telling. The phrasal elements discussed in chapter 4 would not have served as potentially complete turns (cf. ex. 4.6 Three cakes), unlike the ones in the position of a response. The potentially complete NP response invites an acknowledgement from the recipient. The initial phrase is grammatically flexible, as it can occur alone but can also be used as material for constructing a longer turn, without having to produce everything in one, long utterance. Depending on what occurs next, the phrase may become a starting point for a longer translation (for example, see ex. 6.17 lines 17–21). When delivering the phrase, a speaker can use further multimodal means to project continuation and acquire the space for continuing the translation, but the recipient can also make a move that changes the course of action. The cases involve extensive negotiation on whether the answer is pragmatically complete or whether it will be continued by further translatory talk. The phrasal format works, nevertheless, as a link to the base sequence after an intervening sequence. This mutability of phrasal turns as building material for subsequent translatory turns is one example of how phrasal design can be functional in organizing translatory talk.

The complexity of how forwarded responses relate to their originals indicates that mediating speakers are not necessarily or only oriented to copying a specific item as such, but to other aspects in terms of ties to larger activities and complex participation frameworks, including various ways of recipient-designing the turn. The amount of

transformation makes it easy for the mediated response turns to lead to other than translatory continuations. This can also partly explain why continuous translatory interactive frameworks (as in a series of mediated question–answer sequences following each other) are so rare in the current data from everyday conversation.

6.2.3 *Post hoc* translation of questions with reportive framing

In the previous chapters, it was suggested that the relevance of a translation at a certain moment is dependent on negotiations of the local relevance of the OLS's involvement in the interaction. Thus far, in chapter 6, we have examined how this relevance is established within the adjacency pair structure of a question and its response, that is, before an answer is settled. When the OLS has been addressed, she can demonstrate the relevance of mediating the prior, initiating action to herself by initiating repair, and alternatively, her lack of response can invite mediation. Moreover, the consultations examined in (§6.1.1) demonstrated that even when the OLS has not been addressed in the original question, orientations to her epistemic authority on the matter asked about can motivate mediating the question for her, allowing her to provide the answer. Yet on other occasions, translation of questions occurs only when the question has already been answered by someone else. The translatory turn still targets the question, but it does so in retrospect. These post hoc translatory turns are the focus of this final analytic section.

The relevance of some talk for the OLS touches upon the issue of what these participants are expected to know and what their position is with regard to that knowledge. Accordingly, engaging in mediating reveals the mediating speakers' judgement of epistemic domains (Heritage & Raymond 2005, Stivers & Rossano 2010, Heritage 2012). For one, providing a translation can show that its recipient is treated as an unknowing participant, such as in retelling stories or shorter informings for her. Through the telling, the recipient can also be cast into various roles, such as a family member, guest or visitor from another country who can be introduced to “cultural” phenomena. In fact, one of the ways that a telling can be rendered translate-able (see footnote 20 in §3.4) for a specific participant is to enhance the culturally exotic aspects of the matter talked about. In the opposite case, the recipient can be treated as a knowing participant who has epistemic authority in the matter talked about. As an example, when questions are forwarded to the OLS, she is then given an opportunity to put her epistemic authority into practice (§6.1).

Although epistemic configurations are one of the central features that determine whether a turn becomes interpreted as a question and mobilizes an answer (Labov & Fanschel 1977, Stivers & Rossano 2010, Heritage 2012), chapter 6 shows that questions may not reach the most knowledgeable participant straightforwardly due to the asymmetric language constellation. Asking questions directly from a participant with whom one does not share a language may actually be avoided. Alternatively, speakers can employ indirect methods of approaching the OLS. Following from these issues, tensions can arise in determining who has access to the ongoing talk and whose response the question makes relevant. Epistemic status is an important “mobilizer” for mediating the questions. In fact, the data do not

involve translations of requests for information or confirmation that would not make relevant a response by the recipient of the translation. That is, questions are not translated only to keep the OLS on track about what is happening.⁴⁴

The epistemic configurations create pressure for mediating the epistemically relevant talk to the OLS, because excluding her from the particular stretch of conversation entails the risk of ignoring her epistemic authority. In other words, if the participants do not translate something that belongs to the OLS's domain, they run the risk of violating what Lerner (1996a: 316) calls the conversational maxim to "speak for yourself." It should be remembered, however, that most of the time participants tolerate a situation in which not everyone understands the conversation. The members' perception of the situation as normally tolerable or as mediation-relevant is a matter of local interactional negotiation.

This section examines further the consequences that arise when the epistemic domains or personal territories evoked in a question turn cannot be directly "defended" or reacted to by the potential recipients owing to their limited access to the conversation. When a participant does not understand that she, or something that concerns her, is being asked about, how are their epistemic rights realized in the conversation? This appears to be a source of tension in multilingual asymmetric interactions, and it is something that mediating speakers orient to. The matter was discussed in (§6.1) with regard to questions that become translated, as well as concerning the repair initiated by the OLS as a third party in (§3.1.1).

In the cases in this section, translation occurs not immediately after a question but after it has already been answered by someone else, and the sequence is already potentially complete. The OLS has not been addressed in the original question even though it concerns something in her epistemic domain. The retrospective translation of the question reopens the matter inquired about for the inspection of this participant. That is, the mediating speakers orient only retrospectively to the OLS's role as epistemic authority, remedying her right to respond. A competing answer provided by the OLS may challenge the information provided in someone else's first answer, but it does not necessarily do so. In these post hoc translatory turns, the speakers deliver question to the OLS by framing the resaying of the question with a reporting clause. This contributes to readjusting the past action and its implications for the current recipient. Such cases bring us back to the theme of the readjusting accomplished with reportive framing, which was first discussed in chapter 3.

In the first extract, Cíntia (P), the restaurant owner, asks whether a Finnish guest, Antti (F) has liked the food. Cíntia refers to him with the third-person pronoun *ele* 'he.' First, Toni (F/P) and Gaia (P/f) answer the question. Then Gaia begins urging Cíntia to pose the question directly to Antti in Portuguese (l. 6).

(6.16) Bean sauce.BR (Ravintola_A 7.40)

01 Cíntia: e: *ele gostou do feijão?*
3SG like.3SG.PST PREP+ART bean.sauce
did he like the bean sauce
((GAZE NOT VISIBLE))

⁴⁴ A case that could be regarded as an exception is ex. 3.7 Jabuticaba ('Ricardo asked if...'). However, that question is immediately followed by an explanation, and furthermore, it has been intended as a joke.

02 (0.8)

03 Gaia: *mm-m?*

04 Toni: *e[le gosta muito.*
he likes (it) a lot

05 Cíntia: [*meh*]

06 Gaia: *pergunta para ele. (.) gostou do feijão;*
ask.IMP PREP 3SG like.3SG.PST PREP+ART bean.sauce
ask him, did (you) like the bean sauce

07 (1.2)

08 Sauli: [*meh*]

09 Gaia: [*fala para ele.*
say to him

10 (2.2)

11 Gaia: [*hän kys-*
she ask-

12 Cíntia: [*não vai entender.*
(he) won't understand

13 (0.2)

14 Gaia: → **hän kys^oy^o sinulle.** †(1.2) ***<pidätkö papuja>**.
3SG ask.3SG you.ALL like.2SG.Q bean.PL.PAR
she asks to you like beans
†.....†POINTS>CÍNTIA† †P>CÍNTIA-----†
Antti *G FROM TABLE>GAIA-->

15 * (0.2) † (0.4) † (0.6)
Gaia †P>CÍNTIA†
Antti ->*(GAZE SHIFTS BETWEEN GAIA, TONI AND SAULI)-->

16 (1.2)

17 Sauli: *köh köh*

18 (1.0)

19 Gaia: *gostou mikä se on [gostou,*
liked what is it liked

20 Antti: [siin ov vielä.
there is still some left

21 (0.3)

22 Antti: †hyvi*ä papuja joo.
good beans yes
->*G>CÍNTIA-->>

23 Sauli: *köh*

- 24 Cíntia: [(>gostou<;)
liked
- 25 Gaia: [nm-n,
uhm
- 26 (.)
- 27 Gaia: nmh,
- 28 Antti: hyvi[ä om <PAvut •j[Oo>.
good are beans yes
•LEANS TOWARDS CÍNTIA, STARTS SMILING
- 29 Cíntia: [bom né.
good isn't it

Toni and Gaia respond to Cíntia's inquiry about Antti's opinion. During the exchange from line 1 to 4, Antti is thus talked about in the third person without this mobilizing mediation (in contrast to the cases in §6.1.2). However, the alternative option of addressing the question to Antti himself is introduced by Gaia almost immediately, at line 6. In her directive to Cíntia, Gaia uses reported speech: *pergunta para ele. (.) gostou do feijão* 'ask him, did (you) like the feijão.' In the introductory part Cíntia is Gaia's recipient (*pergunta* ask.2SG.IMP), but in the quoted part, Cíntia is the imagined speaker talking to Antti ('did [you] like the feijão'). Gaia embeds another participation framework within the one created in the introductory part (see Hanks 1990: 199–205). In the later framework, Cíntia and Antti are in direct contact with each other.

During the translatory turn at line 14, Gaia reproduces the same configuration, now talking to Antti. She reports in simple Finnish that Cíntia is posing a question to him: *hän kys^oy^o sinulle, pidätkö papuja* 'she asks to you, do you like beans.' Gaia is not only reporting Cíntia's action but she is actually making it happen by reconstructing Cíntia's question as having been addressed to Antti. The speaker uses direct reported speech, or what is here in a rather literal sense *constructed dialogue* (Tannen 1989), to prompt an interactional exchange. Gaia also points at Cíntia several times, indicating to Antti who posed the question. First, Antti interprets Gaia's atypically formatted question (glossed here as 'like beans'), as an offer to take more food, but he later displays a renewed understanding of the action by producing an assessment as a response (l. 22, 28).

This extract demonstrates, on the one hand, the ambiguity in question design with a 3p reference to the talked-about participant, and on the other hand, the normative organization of the right to speak for oneself. The original question design makes possible two interpretations of who can engage as a recipient, but this does not mean that both of these alternatives are accepted by the participants. Gaia's intervention is a means to repartition the framework and to handle the issue of epistemic territories. In the end, the owner of the stance asked about responds to the question. Translating by reporting the question can thus be seen to remedy Antti's rights as a participant to speak for himself.

However, it is also relevant to consider the local and momentary nature of participation frameworks and statuses in the multilingual, multiparty constellation. The exchange in Portuguese (l. 1–4) occurs between the Portuguese speakers only. Among them, Toni is

arguably the participant with the most authority to talk about Antti's experiences, since he is Antti's son and his host in Brazil. Thus, the others' responses cannot be simply regarded as violations of Antti's right to speak for himself. Rather, Gaia's translation reorganizes the situation by attempting to engage Antti in the conversation and thus make his contribution relevant through establishing a new configuration.

Gaia's translatory turn with reportive framing occurs when a sequential slot adjacent to the translatable first-pair-part has already passed. Thus, a division of labor also exists between framed and unframed translatory turns in the specific environment of questions and answers. On the basis of the examples, it can be concluded that the minimal ways of translating questions (phrasal formats and otherwise minimal repetitions) make use of the sequential slot within the adjacency pair. By comparison, additional framing can be used if the question occupies a position that retrospectively revisits a prior sequence of action. This supports the claims made earlier regarding the adjusting work of reportive framing.

A final remark about the above extract concerns how an embodied, direct contact is achieved across a language barrier. This only occurs between Cíntia and Antti after all the reporting. Antti leans towards Cíntia (l. 28) while he says in a slightly raised voice and with a smile *hyviä om <PAvut jOo>* 'good are the beans yes,' and Cíntia smiles back. As a result of Gaia's initiative in mediating, both Antti and Cíntia now know what the other one is doing even though they might not know what was actually said. It is not uncommon that after a translatory sequence, the mediated parties exchange a gaze, smile, or an explicit gesture, such as a mutual nod. This is a way to close the activity and acknowledge that the participants have arrived at some level of intersubjective understanding in a momentary interactional relationship between one participant and the other despite the lack of a shared language.

The final example is from a moment that occurs soon after the previous extract. Gaia (P/f) tells Cíntia (P) that Antti (F) has a farm in Finland. Cíntia asks what is raised on farms in Finland, and Gaia responds *vaca* 'cow(s).' Later on, Toni reports the question to Antti.

(6.17) Dairy farm.BR (Ravintola_ 8.26)

- 01 Gaia: *ele tem fazenda lá na* (0.4) *Finlândia.*
 he has a farm there in Finland
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 Cíntia: *é:.*
 (does he)
- 04 (1.0)
- 05 Cíntia: *mas na Finlândia fazenda cria o quê.*
 but in Finland farms raise what
- 06 (0.8)
- 07 Gaia: *vaca?*
 cows

08 Cíntia: †*vaca*.
cows

09 Gaia †(0.2) †
‡NODS--‡

10 (0.8)

11 Toni:→ (hän) kysy et mitä; (.) suomalaisella maatilalla yleensä (.)
(she) asked what on a Finnish farm usually

12 minkälaisii ^eläimiä;
what kinds of animals
^G>ANTTI-->

13 (1.4)

14 Antti: no lehemä ei enää p:alijo oo kato; (0.8)
well cows there aren't so many anymore you see

15 niin lehemätilat vähenee kaike aikaa
dairy farms are getting fewer and fewer all the time

16 että [niitä,
that they

17 Toni: [^*poucas vacas agora*;
few cows now
-->^G>CÍNTIA---->

18 (0.4)^(0.2)
Toni -->^G>AWAY-->

19 Cíntia: é.

20 Toni: (eles) estão ti^rando (as) (.)
they are giving up the
-->^G>CÍNTIA---->

21 (as fazendas) de (.) de vaca mesmo.^
(farming) of of cows actually
---->^HEAD/G>ANTTI->>
((MEDIATING CONTINUES FOR A FEW TURNS))

Gaia and Cíntia are talking about Antti, who is sitting right next to them. The sequence unfolds between the Portuguese speakers before reaching completion at line 9, where Gaia confirms Cíntia's news receipt. Toni engages in translating the question only at line 11 and thus opens up the question for Antti. In this case, the OLS provides an answer that contradicts the answer that was provided earlier. Although cows have not been mentioned in Finnish, this is a logical point of departure as he has himself been involved in dairy farming. The reportive framing in the past tense treats the action as already completed (see §3.1.3), but offers a place to provide a different response to it. It achieves a slot for the translatory turn where the sequential circumstances do not engender one. The turn is formally a report of Cíntia's past talk, but it is interpreted by Antti as a request for information. With the framing, Toni is able to avoid adopting a position regarding his

knowledgeability on the information being requested – which perhaps he would also be able to provide. The framing adjusts the action of asking in terms of its sequential fitting, of the OLS's involvement in it, and of the mediator's own position so that what the mediator utters is not in conflict with his regular participant role and epistemic status.

In the cases examined here, the co-participant whom the question concerns does not have an opportunity to react to it due to the opaque language constellation, and due to the absence of verbal or embodied cues of addressivity that would be available beyond the language barrier. This participant's epistemic status with regard to the matter inquired about becomes only subsequently acknowledged by the other participants when they provide a translation. In doing so, they locally attribute to this participant a knowledgeable position and authority on the matter talked about. Post hoc translating of questions is, then, one way of dealing with the tensions between participants' rights to understand and contribute to talk that concerns them, and their limited access to the ongoing conversation.

6.3 Summary

Questions invite responsive actions from certain recipients by being addressed to them and by invoking epistemic asymmetry. These properties make question–answer sequences a special environment for organizing mediation in a multiparty, multilingual conversation. The first critical aspect is related to the addressing of questions in multiparty constellations, that is, whose response a question makes conditionally relevant.

This chapter began by examining the opening of question–answer sequences, and in more detail, the methods that questioners adopt to navigate the asymmetric participation framework in the action of asking. First, they may ask about matters that concern the epistemic domain of the OLS without directing the question to them in any manner (§6.1.1). The mediator may forward these questions to the OLS as her own inquiry. Second, questioners may approach the OLS indirectly by asking about them in the third person (§6.1.2). During these questions, speakers gaze at the OLS during parts of the turn, but they also gaze at the person who then becomes the mediator. Gaze as a means of addressing makes the reference to the co-participant interpretable as inviting their active participation, but the shifting gaze also anticipates a potential need to translate. When this participant engages in mediating the prior question, she changes the design of the turn to address the OLS in the second person (with ex. 6.6 as an exception). The translating speaker thus disambiguates who is supposed to provide the requested information, but at the same time confirms that the original turn has made relevant responsive action by two participants: by the mediator and the one who provides the answer. As a third alternative, questioners may also use the opportunity to address the OLS directly as the prior speaker (§6.1.3). When the initial questioner builds their turn as a follow-up to the OLS's prior talk, the sequential context provides for circumstances in which the questioner does not have to engage the OLS in a completely new activity but can rely on their earlier participation. In this case, the translating speaker maintains recipient selection and the resayings are more minimal.

When a speaker refers to a co-participant by her proper name, the speaker offers her a position in the participation framework in a linguistically transparent manner. In several cases, the proper name works as a summons that captures the attention of the OLS. By comparison, pronominal reference leaves the relation of the question to this person more opaque. Even in this case, however, the translating speakers can treat the constellation as a triadic one through their bodily orientation, and furthermore, by indicating a relation to the prior question through the design of their translatory turn. The translatory turns are then not only designed to cover for the OLS's understanding of the linguistic content of a turn but to organize how the question reaches the OLS as a recipient. At times, problems in language-specific understanding appear to be intertwined with problems of hearing and, moreover, with problems in attracting the recipient's attention. This shows the delicate balance between the OLS's involvement and their limited access to the conversation. Being involved in an action entails more of a basis for perceiving and understanding the subsequent interaction, whereas being in a peripheral position or not attending to the talk at all may require more effort for this participant to catch up with what is going on in the interaction in the other language.

Question-answer sequences provide a structurally restricted environment for delivering a translatory turn as a resaying of the prior question. However, through the way of designing this turn, the translating speaker either can align with the subsequent, second-saying position or can occupy a more independent position. The chapter began by investigating *consultations with a third party* (§6.1.1), where the resayings were constructed as independent, new occasions of asking. In these cases, the speaker mediates the question in order to obtain information that will allow her to respond to the question herself. In fact, the speaker is in this sense aligning with the participation framework offered during the initial question, when someone other than the OLS (possibly the mediator herself) was addressed, even though the question concerned something in the OLS's epistemic domain.

In the two other types of questions examined, *indirectly addressed topic-initiating questions* (§6.2.2) and *directly addressed follow-up questions* (§6.2.3) the mediator designs the translatory questions as second sayings. They work either as pursuits of response, or become their own full sequences, after which the answer is also translated. These turns remedy a problem in understanding the initial first pair part. However, it was suggested that the selection of elements in the redoing achieves more than treat the repeated parts as not understood by the recipient. The translated questions are delivered in concise formats that dispense with many elements in the original question, exhibiting designs familiar from the earlier chapters, such as fronting and phrasal formats. The former occurs more in the translations of indirectly addressed, topic-initiating questions. That is, also when it occurs in a question environment, fronting seems related to changing the implications of the past action with regard to the current recipient – recall that indirectly addressed questions are the ones where the speaker disambiguates the addressee. The phrasal format seems again related to the high degree of involvement and accessibility of the past action for the OLS, as it occurs in the follow-up questions. These designs also work to display the turns as second attempts that have their source in the prior other-language turn. That is, the turn design contributes to organizing the participation framework and the distribution of discursive agency in translating.

As for the translation of answers (§6.2), it was demonstrated that transformations are a crucial operation in embedding translatory turns in their sequential context. Translated answers have two sequential hosts, the responsive turn that they put forward and the original question. The mediated answers can orient to the projections emanating from both of them. This motivates transformations in the translatory turns that may include changing the mode (for example, from a nod to a noun phrase). At times the tying procedures may lead to incoherent links between turns and to misunderstanding.

Finally, the co-participants may be sometimes simply talked *about*, meaning that others are momentarily entitled to respond to a question that concerns the OLS (§6.2.3). However, translation may still occur retrospectively after the sequence and thus remedy the OLS's right to speak for herself. Defining the local relevance of some talk for a participant can involve a subtle negotiation of their involvement and epistemic domains. Although mediating speakers mostly align with how the OLS was treated in the original question, they can also manipulate the participation framework by upgrading the OLS to an addressed recipient, but also by responding on their behalf.

This chapter has examined several trajectories of action in which questions that concern the OLS in one way or another come to be mediated for her. The original question turns may invite her participation, but they also invite collective attention to the unfolding of the sequence and enable different trajectories that may lead to translation. The findings on the participants' orientation to the establishment of the OLS's reciprocity support the claim made in this study that the organization of translating in everyday conversation rests in some of its central aspects on negotiations of the OLS's involvement in the active participation framework.

7 Discussion and conclusions

This has been a study on the interactive organization of translatory interaction. The study set out to examine the interactional motivations for bilingual mediation at given moments and the speakers' ways of indicating another voice in their utterances. Moreover, it was inquired what kinds of actions that translatory talk accomplishes in relation to the prior talk that it mediates. Finally, it was asked how the particular design of translatory turns is organized in relation to their environment, that is, how translatory talk is fitted to it and at the same time shapes the unfolding of the interactions.

Translatory talk is a phenomenon of asymmetric, multilingual interaction, but it is also an example of the general dialogicity of language. Others' voices are present in all language use (Bakhtin 1981, Linell 2009). They are present in the very words people use and in how they coordinate their talk in interaction with others. The classic Goffmanian decomposition of the speaker role (§2.2.1) is an example of how one speaker may incorporate the voices of several agents in a single utterance. In the data, this was evident in utterances where the speaker reports prior talk with complex morpho-syntactic means, such as reporting clauses. Within reporting clauses, the speakers' degree of agency in what they say is encoded in the quotative structuring of the utterance. However, when one turns from an individual speaker's utterances to look at the general unfolding of talk, it becomes increasingly clear that people constantly reuse, decompose and transform material that has been provided by others in their own actions (C. Goodwin 2007, 2013, Enfield 2013).

This co-operative organization of action occurs in conversation when speakers tailor their talk syntactically and grammatically to others' prior turns (Anward 2005, Auer 2014, Du Bois 2014, Laury 2005b, Raymond 2003, Sacks 1995: I 716–747). Fitting to others' turns-at-talk is also an underlying demonstration of one's understanding of that prior talk and action (Moerman & Sacks 1988). Another means of publicly building on past talk is to repeat linguistic material from it. The balance between fitting, on the one hand, and repeating (or recycling) another's talk, on the other, has been associated with the organization of the participants' mutual alignment and their relative epistemic rights in conversation (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, 1992, M. H. Goodwin 1990, Heritage & Raymond 2005, Stivers 2005). By means of fitting to prior talk, speakers can display that they accept and go along with the projections and positions offered in it. Alternatively, speakers can design their turns to resist the social implications and positions offered to them in prior talk. As an example, when speakers agree with another's prior assessment, they can claim primary epistemic rights from a second-speaker position by repeating the prior turn as a full, self-contained assessment (Heritage & Raymond *ibid.*). Examples such as this show that speakers do not "own" what they say in any inherent way; rather, the ownership of expressed words, ideas, and actions is locally constituted (Sacks et al. 1974, Sacks 1995 I: 150–153, 523–534, Anward 2005, Enfield 2013, also Vatanen 2014: 233–234).

How participants position themselves in relation to their interlocutors by means of fitting their utterances relative to another's talk and recycling from it is thus a common theme for both monolingual and translatory interaction. In a sense, the current study has examined translatory talk as an instance of recycling, or repeating, prior talk. However, both of these terms are somewhat inaccurate in this context, as they suggest that the speaker is copying

elements from prior talk, when the switch to resources of another language actually entails that the speaker cannot directly copy prior expressions. Thus, it may be more suitable to speak in terms of an interactional “substrate” (C. Goodwin 2013) in prior turns that speakers draw from when they produce translatory talk. The speakers can reuse and transform the elements and structural composition of the prior talk and action they mediate, and they can employ those prior courses of action as a resource in delivering translatory talk as locally relevant and intelligible for the recipient.

When speakers relay prior talk, they can incorporate bits and pieces from it in their utterances with additional framing (ch. 3) or use these bits and pieces for building other types of ties to the prior conversation (as in ch. 4). The former involves the use of various quotative elements, whereas the latter can involve turn design to achieve backlinking (ch. 4) or design that makes the turn structurally symbiotic with a prior speaker’s initiating turn (for example, see §6.1.3). Connections to prior talk as a source can thus be displayed in translatory talk both by formulating the prior act of speaking and by embedding one’s turn in the others’ immediately prior actions in particular ways (cf. C. Goodwin 2007). In the latter case, the mediator can design a turn to match how a first speaker might redo her own prior talk (especially §6.1.3). In fact, designing it in this way is the actual means of occupying a slot in the sequence and thus positioning one’s turn as a relaying of the prior turn (cf. Bolden 2013). This way of displaying that the speaker is “saying the same thing” as a prior speaker is organized on sequential grounds, by occupying a specific sequential position (within a sequence or relative to a prior sequence), whereas with quotative framing, this is accomplished by the framing expressions. As demonstrated in the analyses, the framings also appear to have their characteristic (sequential) environments, such as reportive framing being used to revisit an already completed question–answer sequence.

The design of a translatory turn is a locus for organizing the degree of the utterer’s flexibility and accountability in relaying a prior action. These are not only orientations that an individual participant expresses but a matter of the distribution of action within interactional sequences. Even in cases of self-translation, the resayings are organized in relation to the turn’s position in relation to ongoing sequences of action – not simply on the basis of whether the speaker is the same individual as the prior speaker. In both other- and self-translation, the speaker can design the translatory turn to inhabit a second saying position in an ongoing sequence, or can take distance from a prior action by reporting it. In other words, the link to prior talk as a source is organized relative to the discourse identities of the speakers – what their role in the action was then, and what their role in the action is now – not only to the participants as individual persons (see Zimmerman 1998). This explains why the practices of relaying prior talk appear to be largely similar in other- and self-translation. The dependence on locally emerging positions within action is also one facet of the “fluid” identity (§2.1) of the mediator, as she adapts to these positions when reusing and transforming substrate from the prior turns.

In the following, I summarize the findings of the study and discuss further how they inform the questions posed at the beginning of the thesis. The findings shed light on the interactional motivations for bilingual mediation in everyday conversation, on speakers’ situated methods for representing past talk and action in translatory turns, and on identifiable patterns in how translatory turns reflect and shape their interactional environment.

7.1 Summary of results

Let us begin by outlining some general main theses for translatory interaction that can be formulated as a result of this study. With regard to translatory interaction in everyday conversation, the present study concludes that:

- Translatory talk in everyday conversation involves multimodal negotiations of *participation*.
- Engaging in bilingual mediating for co-participants involves a negotiation of the local *relevance* of a particular stretch of talk and action for those participants. While this can mobilize mediation, it can also render the use of an exclusive language acceptable at times. Participants' evaluation of this relevance can be based on local, fleeting signs of (dis)engagement but also on more enduring social statuses, such as epistemic domains.
- Bilingual mediating is *responsive* to changes in the participation framework. Accordingly, its specific instances are not motivated by a general need to keep participants integrated, nor only by displayed problems in understanding.
- *Transformations* in relation to the source talk and action are highly functional in the successful delivery of translatory talk.

With regard to the design of translatory turns, the present study generally confirms that:

- The design of translatory utterances is predominantly motivated by their embedding in sequences of action within particular participation frameworks (rather than adhering to similar content), and reflexively organized with regard to their environment.
- The continuum of resources from quotative framing to practices of embedding the translated material in its sequential environment is indicative of the diverse tasks accomplished by translatory talk.
- The turn-initial position in translatory utterances is a central locus for the organization of the mediating activities and for the indication of distributed speakership.
- The turn-initial designs identified in this study contribute to indicating that the prior talk in another language is a source for the current utterance.

In more detail, this study has identified several interactional environments and uses of translatory talk. Through the translatory practices, speakers manage the situated interactional tasks that are involved in bilingual mediating. The summary of findings concerning these practices below responds to the research question (see ch. 1) of what occasions bilingual mediating at given moments of the interaction, how speakers indicate another voice in their translatory turns, and what types of actions they implement in the translatory talk.

The main features of each set of cases examined are visualized below in tables, followed by a brief discussion. The uppermost section in the tables represents the type of talk that is mediated. If some particular aspect in the prior talk repeatedly appears to invite the mediating activity, then it is indicated in that box. Otherwise only general features of the

prior talk are mentioned (such as telling or topical talk). The recipient status of the OLS during the original talk (which applies to most cases in the respective sections) is also marked here. “R-“ means that the final recipient of the translatory turn was not oriented to as a recipient in the original talk by verbal or embodied means. “R~” means the original talk had potential for being understood as orienting to her (for example, talk could be perceived as related to earlier talk in which the OLS was involved, or talk includes a third person mention of the OLS). Finally, “R+” means that she was clearly oriented to as a recipient. The middle sections show what appears to mobilize mediation in each set of cases. These features are presented in relation to the designs that the speakers then employ in mediating the prior talk, which is indicated in the bottom section.

The study began by investigating cases where speakers use quotative elements to frame their translatory turns. The findings concerning these cases are summarized in table 1.

Table 1. Translatory talk with quotative elements

3.1.1	3.1.2	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5
Laughter, conflict, indirectly concerns OLS	Laughter, conflict, indirectly concerns OLS	Telling, topical talk	Telling, explicit (affective) stance	Telling, metalinguistic talk	Talk about oneself
R- / R~	R- / R~	R-	R-	R-	R-
Reception indicates problems	OLS initiates repair	Signs of OLS's (dis)engagement			
Reporting clause		Topic formulation	Generalization	Explanation with <i>ettü/que</i>	Assertion with “logophoric” 3p pron.

The investigation of reporting clauses supports the results from research on institutional contexts of interpreting in that reporting is typically used in turns where speakers mediate actions that are in some way problematic. When the OLS participant initiates repair on the prior talk as a third, non-addressed party, that talk has typically concerned her in an indirect way and involved laughter or another type of affect. These together may evoke suspicion or curiosity concerning what was said, which the OLS displays by initiating repair on the others’ discussion (§3.1.1). The translating speaker displays an orientation to these problems for example by mitigating the significance of the past talk in the translatory turn that she offers as a repair solution. In doing so, the speaker also mitigates the problem of having excluded the OLS from that talk. In the cases that do not involve other-initiated repair (§3.1.2), the uptake of prior talk otherwise indicates some type of inherent problematicity. However, this does not have to be a problem for the OLS herself – she has not necessarily shown any particular interest in that talk. Nonetheless, regardless of whose uptake has indicated problems with the prior talk, the situation unfolds through translatory talk as a

means of creating new opportunities for an uptake. The two groups of cases together show that translating not only targets actual problems of understanding but also issues of acceptability and fittedness of actions.

However, I would still be hesitant to suggest a direct correlation between problematic talk and the use of reported speech in relaying it. First, based on everyday observation and on some of the data, it seems that reporting is also used to relay talk that is not socially problematic (as in continuing to translate a lengthy response, ex. 6.17 Pea soup). Second, the examples attest to the fact that the problematic actions actually create structural circumstances that would make simple repetition of past talk an implausible option. Reportive framing can be used to adjust the relaying of prior talk for the conditions that the unfolding of the problematic source talk creates. Nonetheless, for this same reason, the problematic nature of the action as such is not necessarily what invites the reportive framing (which would then be used to distance the translating speaker from the problematic action, see §3.1). A further motive for its use is that relaying dispreferred or misaligning actions may require further bridging work because the translating speaker needs to accommodate her turn to sequential circumstances typical to the unfolding of these types of actions, such as delays and post-expanding elaborations (Schegloff 2007a: 58–81). As a result, the translatory turn can end up occurring at a distance from the source talk. Readjusting the slot for translatory talk appears to be the common task in the problematic as well as not-so problematic actions relayed by reportive framing.

In translatory turns with other types of quotative framing, speakers formulate different aspects of the prior talk and action. They are for the most part invited by embodied negotiations of the OLS participant's engagement in the conversation, not so much by explicit prompts to translate (such as other-initiated repair). Topic formulations (§3.2) occur after talk that has not concerned the OLS, and they also treat her as previously excluded from it. The formulations may include features that invite the OLS to continue the discussion, but depending on the recipient-attentive and membership-categorical aspects in how the topic is represented, they may also close the discussion. It was suggested that one of the features that can invite the recipient to contribute to the discussion is the expression of stances; it provides something that the recipient can personally relate to. The cases of generalization (§3.3), for their part, adopt the expression of stance in the prior talk as the target of mediating from the start. They represent the expressed stance not as a momentary event but as more general characteristics of the speakers or of the social group they represent.

A rather different move to mediation occurs in translatory turns with the turn-initial voicing particles *että* and *que* (§3.4). They pave the way for explaining complex facts or events. In some instances, this concerns metalinguistic puns. In other cases, speakers engage in recounting the climax or high point of a prior telling, and they increase its intelligibility by first providing some background information. Instead of making generalizations or abstractions, the speakers deliver concrete details from the prior talk that are necessary for the recipient's understanding of the point of what was said.

The last subchapter (§3.5) dealt with sequences involving one speaker who has engaged in talking about herself, as in self-presentation or other disclosure of activities or biographic details. In the extracts that were examined, the talk regarding self is an extended activity or

occurs within one, as in the case where Clarice comments on her ongoing multimodal project of measuring the doorway (ex. 3.21). The mediator relays the prior speaker's self-disclosure simply by asserting something about that participant in the third person. It was suggested that the talk about self occurs within an activity context and participation framework where the turn-initial third-person reference can be understood "logophorically," as empathizing with the speaker's perspective as the person whose talk is being relayed. In these cases, the participants jointly orient to another's self-centered interactional project. This joint orientation is also seen in how the exchanges tend to develop into short (but potentially continuous) instances of consecutive and whispered interpreting.

In all the instances of quotative framing, the translating speaker is to some extent making her role visible in composing, or authoring, the translatory utterance. The translatory turns target different aspects of the past talk through portraying it, for instance, as a topical entity, a generalizable stance, or an explainable. These are all adjustments that the current speaker makes in relation to the past talk, and ones that make her control of it visible to the recipient. These other framings are different from reporting clauses in that the speaker does not represent the past talk as an immediate prior act of speaking but through its other import as communicative action. The speaker's fingerprint on another's talk is least explicit when she marks another voice only through the "logophoric" use of the third-person reference. This is already close to how speakers relate a resaying to prior talk through the shaping of the relayed content itself, rather than through additional framing (ch. 4). However, it was suggested that the third-person reference to the speaker is not simply a modified repetition of the content of another's talk about herself, but is a quotative element that reflects the self-centered participant constellation of the ongoing activity.

How translating speakers frame their talk and what they select to recycle from it thus portrays different properties of the past talk and action as the target, or scope, of the mediating activity. By making these adjustments, the mediators display their interpretation of the surrounding social action, of the reasons why the situation is in need of mediating, and of how it can be remedied. Particular adjustments can be accomplished by verbalizing the positioning of the prior speaker, the mediating speaker herself, and the new recipient with regard to the past action (as in who said what about whom) in the quotative framing.

The subsequent group of mediated tellings, which begin with turn-initial keywords (ch. 4), do not constitute as clearly distinct categories either in terms of the type of talk that becomes mediated or concerning the way it is translated. The perceivable motivations for mediation vary, but most often it appears to be invited by the OLS's embodied displays of engagement in the interaction. The differences in the translatory turns are related, on the one hand, to different ways of handling the translatable package of talk (multi-unit versus single turn). On the other hand, the turns convey different types of actions in relation to the source talk in terms of what implications the elements relayed from prior talk have for the current recipient. A shared design feature within this group is that they all import elements from the prior talk in the other language as turn-initial (or independent) lexical keywords. These keywords introduce content from the past talk for the OLS in a transparent fashion. At the same time, the structural properties of these turns contribute to positioning them relative to the prior other-language talk, that is, indicating it as the relevant conversational context for the current recipient despite her limited access to its content. The

organization of the translated material within the turns thus contributes to displaying a source for this talk in the prior, other-language talk, and accordingly, displaying it as a translation.

Table 2. Translatory talk with turn-initial keywords

4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5
Telling, topical talk R-	Telling, topical talk R-	Telling, topical talk R-	Telling, topical talk R~
Signs of OLS's (dis)engagement, OLS initiates repair, Earlier established relevance of talk for OLS/expectancy of translation			
↓	↓	↓	↓
Detachment as try- marking	Detachment (latched)	Fronting	Phrasal

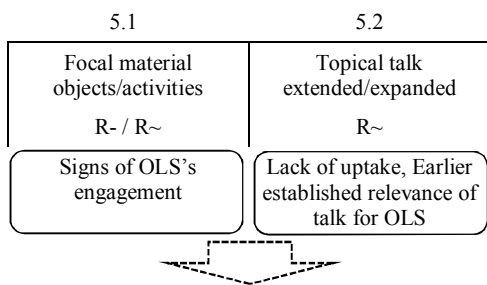
The mediating speakers use the detachment of turn-initial elements with pauses (with or without syntactic detachment) to try-mark their translatory utterances (§4.1). Try-marking allows the speaker and recipient to establish a starting point for a translatory telling in collaboration. Because the speakers relay prior talk by rebuilding a starting point for a telling, they could be said to “begin with a beginning.” The delivery of a telling is somewhat different when speakers overcome the syntactic detachment with prosodic latching (§4.2). When the speakers through-produce their turns in this way, they do not offer a slot for recipient acknowledgement after the initial element. Instead, they may introduce a detour (insert additional content while moving into more precise redelivery of past talk) or build a stepping-stone to the discussion of some further point. Both types of detachment are still used to organize multi-unit stretches of translatory talk.

By comparison, the fronting of keywords (§4.3) into a pre-verbal position towards the beginning of the turn occurs in single-unit translatory turns. The original talk has typically also been a single turn (as in ‘he knows more about berry picking,’ ex. 4.10). The speaker begins the translatory turn by relaying a key element from the prior talk, which has often been the final element in it (-> ‘but berry picking you know more about’). This “beginning from the end” can contribute to transforming the action so that what is said in the translatory turn invites a significantly different interactional involvement of the recipient as compared to the position attributed to her during the source talk. Although the OLS participant does not have access to the concrete modifications that the speaker makes in representing the prior talk, the end result influences her opportunities to produce next action. In the example mentioned, the new recipient is invited to talk about berries, whereas in the original turn, the same thing was said as part of explaining his earlier behavior. The keywords can also involve membership categorization, which further reflects the renewed treatment of the participants (see ex. 4.9 Wrongly spoken). These turns invite a more personally involved reciprocity than what is made relevant by tellings of rather general interest.

Less personally committed uptake of the OLS is usually invited, for instance, in the cases examined in subchapter (§4.4). These translatory turns are delivered as unattached phrasal units. They can occur after or on the side of some main activity to recapitulate its main points, but they can also be nested in initiating actions, such as brief instructions. By delivering only a phrasal recapitulation of prior talk, the speaker leaves much of it dependent on the recipient's understanding of what has been talked about, and relies on relatively high accessibility of the situation for her. The translating speaker takes up only some main point from the prior talk and makes no special adjustment of the implications of the past talk for the current recipient (see, for example 4.11 Patent).

Chapter 5 presented another, different set of cases where mediators rely on the OLS's access to the situation. This occurs when they mediate talk about activities that have been physically and/or sequentially established as a joint focus of attention. In these cases, the OLS participant's access to the ongoing activity seems to allow the delivery of translatory turns for her with a continuous design. The design of these turns is plain in the sense that it does not make use of any evident links to establish a relation to a source in prior talk.

Table 3. Translatory talk with plain, continuous design



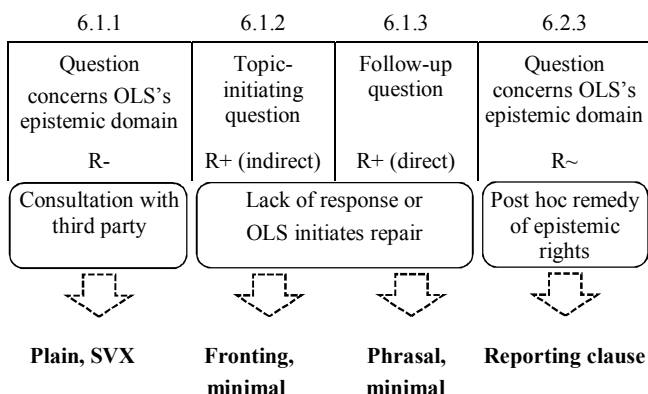
Plain, continuous S(pron)VX

In the first set of cases (§5.1), the original talk concerns material objects and/or events that have imposed themselves on the joint attentional sphere of the OLS and other interactants. For instance, physical activities can produce a loud noise or objects may be palpated and inspected by someone, which occasions also the other participants' orientation to them as focal objects. In the second group of cases (§5.2), the original talk expands or extends a sequence in which the OLS has been in some way involved. She can even have initiated the discussion. The talk has then unfolded between other participants, possibly in a language that is not fully intelligible for the OLS. The translatory turns in these situations continue the ongoing courses of action so that the turn is not clearly a mediatory move but could also be regarded as the mediating speaker's own contribution to the course of action. It was suggested that relaying the prior talk without clearly marking the relation to it reflects the accessibility and continuity of the activity as well as the speaker's (locally established) high level of commitment to what she utters in the translatory turn. This blurring of the speaker's participant status is enhanced by the fact that many of the cases in this section are instances of self-translation. As for other-translation, the speaker may have expressed agreement with

the prior talk just before. The examples then led to a more general discussion of the relationship of recycling past talk in (the same or) another language and “translating.”

Finally, translatory talk was examined within question–answer sequences (ch. 6). This chapter demonstrated how the turn designs examined in the earlier sections are put in use when the activity of mediating occurs within the structural limitations of an adjacency pair.

Table 4. Translatory talk within question–answer sequences



The organization of the sequences of asking and answering illustrates the manifold ways that participants handle the distribution of knowledge and the limited availability of the OLS as a recipient in the asymmetric language constellation. All the questions that become mediated in the data concern matters within the epistemic domain of the OLS participant. However, they do not necessarily orient to her as a recipient, or they may only do this indirectly. How the speaker translates the question is calibrated with those original configurations of reciprocity: First, questions may address the mediator herself or someone else (but not the OLS), and the mediator may then forward them to the OLS as her own initiative (§6.1.1). These “consultations” with the OLS as a third party are designed as self-standing, full-fledged actions of asking; they do not display their relation to the prior talk in their design.

Second, questions may be directed to the OLS indirectly (§6.1.2). In these cases, the questioner initiates a topic that concerns the OLS, and the question contains a reference to her in the third person, at times with a proper name (as in ex. 6.4 Last year). This entails a negotiation of who will take the next turn, and of what was not understood (or heard). When the mediator takes the turn and translates, she switches to addressing the OLS directly in the second person. These translatory turns are minimally designed as second attempts of asking, and sometimes they also occur with a heavy turn-initial element that resembles the fronting (and clefting) of keywords. Accordingly, the occurrence of fronting here coincides with what was said about fronting in chapter (§4.3) – it relates to readjusting the recipient’s position with regard to prior action. In the context of questions, turn-initial key elements also have a central task in projecting the type of answer being sought.

The third type of questions examined were follow-up questions (§6.1.3). These involve the original questioner relying on the OLS's prior speakership to tacitly designate her as the recipient (as in 'how much does it cost, the trip from...' in ex. 6.8). Follow-up questions are the only question environment in the data where the OLS participant is treated as a fully available recipient, and where she is unambiguously addressed. The translating speaker relies on this framework by occupying a second saying slot in the sequence. She does this by producing a minimal, often phrasal translatory turn that is nested in the prior first pair part. These unattached phrasal units then depend on the ongoing action as being highly accessible to the OLS, as they did in the cases in (§4.4) as well.

The sections up to this point primarily addressed the issue of translatory turns that are first turns in a stretch of translatory talk. Section (§6.2) extended the analysis to mediated answers as the projected outcome of questions. Answers were examined from the viewpoint of their sequential embedding as second pair-parts (§6.2.1). The translation of answers is inclined towards maintaining the information that was provided in the source talk (original answer) and, at the same time, to tying back to the base sequence (original question). Maintaining coherence in the return to the larger sequence may require transforming the relayed answer. As an example, if the question has changed on the way from an information question to a polar question, it may be necessary to change back from mere confirmation to verbalizing the requested piece of information for the original questioner. Sequential constraints may then motivate transformations in translatory talk, but these may also result in creating conflicting trajectories and misunderstanding.

In addition to the role of transformation in single-unit answers, the discussion dealt with the segmentation of multi-unit responses (§6.2.2). Speakers can segment their translatory talk when they relay responses to "telling questions" (Thompson et al. 2015). These questions have invited a longer telling as a response. However, when translating these responses, speakers can first deliver only an unattached phrasal unit (such as 'pea soup' in ex. 6.15). This element occupies the slot for delivering an answer, and at the same time, it creates a turn space that allows the OLS recipient to influence the possible continuation of the translatory talk. Thus, although the detached phrasal beginnings here occur in a different sequential position from the ones examined in (§4.1), they have the same feature of creating an interactive space in which the continuation of the translatory talk can be collaboratively built. This might lead to relaying the rest of the lengthy response, depending on what the OLS does next. However, in the context of responses, recipients tend to easily take the conversation into another direction at this point. The extracts in this section also demonstrate some of the multimodal negotiation of how speakers achieve either the continuation of translation versus transfer to a next speaker (cf. Merlino 2012).

The final section (§6.2.3) examined cases where a question that concerns the epistemic domain of the OLS participant has been already answered by someone else. The question is then translated for the OLS only afterwards. The mediator thereby offers the previously unaddressed OLS participant another opportunity to speak for herself as the epistemic authority. These translatory turns are again framed with reporting clauses. Accordingly, the *post hoc* translation of questions is another environment (cf. §3.1) where speakers employ reporting clauses to deal with the uptake of prior action and readjust the positioning of the participants relative to the action that they mediate.

7.2 Reflexive organization of translatory talk

Let us now discuss the differences, overlaps, and divisions of labor between the translatory practices and their implications for our understanding of translatory interaction. This section returns to the research questions concerning what motivates mediating and how the translatory talk reflects and shapes its interactional environment. The summary of the findings above shows a network of dimensions that translatory turns are sensitive to in their design. To generalize these empirical findings, I suggest that the design of translatory turns in the current data from everyday conversation is organized with regard to three main interactional features: *the recipient's local access and involvement in the interaction*, *the scope of the mediating activity*, and *sequential placement*.

These features are intertwined with the question of what motivates mediating at a given moment, so let us begin the discussion from this aspect of the interactions. As can be attested in the parts of the tables above that indicate the recipient's prior involvement as a participant (R-, R~, R+), in most instances of mediation, the OLS has not been directly involved in the prior discussion that is later mediated for her. All the different groups of cases share some of the main factors that appear to mobilize mediation, as these features belong to the general process in which the OLS participant becomes locally ratified as an active participant in the interaction. Although more prominent in some sets of cases, a general feature across the data is that embodied signs of engagement as well as withdrawal of the OLS from the interaction can invite a potential mediator to make an effort towards integrating this participant. The OLS might gaze towards the speaker, and her facial expressions, such as raising the eyebrows and smiling, may indicate her willingness to join in as a recipient. The opposite, embodied withdrawal (signs of disengagement, such as looking down and away) and/or engaging in subsidiary activities (such as drinking) also appear able to mobilize mediating to this participant. That is, the mediating speaker can step in to enable the attempted entry of co-participants and/or prevent them from slipping away. But we can delve even further back into the conversation to find shared features in terms of what, on the one hand, seems to draw the attention of the "non-understanding" party in the ongoing talk, and on the other hand, at what moments is her non-involvement treated as an issue.

Especially laughter and other kinds of displays of affect are often present during moments when someone engages in mediating the conversation. It was suggested that this is because affective salience may, first of all, attract the attention of the OLS participant, as it is understandable and affiliate-able on some level across the languages. Affect is implicative of the social importance of the current events, which may arouse a party's interest who is observing the situation from a peripheral position. Even without a clear display of interest by the OLS, affective content may put pressure on the others to clarify for her what is going on. For instance, at moments when others engage in collective laughter, the OLS's (lack of) involvement may be oriented to as indicating the need for mediation.

When socially problematic, conflictual tones arise in the ongoing interaction, there may also be a moral push to enable the co-participant to know what is going on. This also enables her to take a position relative to the others' affect. It should be emphasized, however, that these features do not necessarily invite mediating directly but through how they engender

reasons to monitor the OLS's local conduct, which may then be reacted to by the mediator. That is, the relevance of the ongoing discussion for her is still negotiated. The embodied and verbal displays of attention by the OLS index her current involvement and potential interest (or may simply remind the others of her presence), which the mediating speaker may then respond to by rendering the earlier discussion intelligible for her.

Thus, this study sheds new light on the conception of translating in everyday situations as "opening up" the participation framework (see, for example, Kolehmainen et al. 2015: 383). Here it is characteristic that the mediators do not actually initiate the integration of co-participants, but in fact, they respond to changes that are already happening in the participation framework. In addition, they may follow projections from earlier moments in the larger courses of action. Acts of mediation that occur without apparent displays of understanding problems or other sequential motivations have sometimes been explained as the expression of the linguistic identities of the multilingual speakers who act as mediators (as in Del Torto 2008). However, the present study points out that the apparently unmotivated translations may be preceded by subtle embodied negotiations that make mediation at that moment interactionally relevant (also Greer 2008).

In Goffman's (1981) terms, the verbal and embodied negotiations of the participant status of the OLS could be referred to as a process of *ratifying* her reciprocity. Ratified participants are fully engaged members of the participation framework, whereas non-ratified participants are those who have visual and/or embodied access to the situation but lack the social legitimation of participation, remaining as bystanders or overhearers. In an asymmetric language constellation, language choice may limit the group of possible ratified participants to those who can interact in that language. However, those who do not belong to this set of participants are nevertheless co-present and socially engaged in the gathering – they are not full outsiders but peripheral participants who can, at suitable moments, become more involved in the interaction. The level of their participation can be observed, manipulated, and collaboratively negotiated in relation to a language medium that enables their fuller involvement as ratified participants in the conversation (see also Linell 2009: 103–105).

The only environment where the original speakers clearly direct their talk to the OLS and where this talk projects a particular type of next action from her was in some of the question–answer sequences. These sequential environments made it possible to examine how talk is addressed to the OLS as a recipient, that is, to study the trajectories through which speakers approach a recipient who is not normally available – a matter that results in complex ways from the existence of the language barrier. The central issue here was how questioners relate to the OLS in asking questions that concern matters within her epistemic domain: whether they refer to or address this person with a pronoun or by proper name, whether they gaze at her, and how the recipient and the mediator display their orientations to this positioning. The original questions may not be addressed to the OLS at all, or they may be addressed in an indirect way (in this case they also implicate the potential relevance of the mediator's participation), or they may be addressed directly, based on the OLS's role as a prior speaker. The summary of results above explained how the translating speakers then orient to the earlier configurations of reciprocity while mediating the questions, such as by producing self-standing questions versus marked second sayings.

The speakers' various ways of translating questions demonstrate ways in which they calibrate the move towards mediation with evaluations of the *earlier access and involvement* of the OLS participant in the interaction. These can be manifested in the participant's reaction to the others' embodied and verbal orientations to her, to signs of affect in the ongoing interaction, or to other features in the ongoing courses of action that she can potentially perceive and make inferences about, notwithstanding the language choice. It could be said that when a person has audio-visual access to an interactional event and to features that stand out in it, she is engaged at a preliminary level of participation. From this "stand-by" status, the participant can move to the next level, which entails becoming involved in the conversation. This step does not occur automatically; having access to some interactional event as such does not have to be pursued further. For instance, an overhearer (Goffman 1981: 131–138) can listen to a conversation but not attempt to get involved in it. Becoming involved in some interaction is the actualization of one's access to this particular event. This stepwise process becomes visible in the current data. We have seen that integrating a participant may be treated as necessary if there are indications of her desire to join, or the relevance of her participation comes up in other ways, and at the same time something indicates that she suffers from a lack of further access to the conversation. This may appear obvious as a motivation for translating, but in fact, the interactions examined here involve complex negotiations about the involvement of the OLS as well as about when and what is to be mediated, what has and has not been understood, and how the situation should be resolved. The move towards integrating a co-participant reflects the mediating speaker's understanding of that participant's earlier status and access to the interactional event. These also guide the shaping and content of the translatory talk.

When participants determine the relevance of the ongoing discussion to others for all practical purposes (and its implications for the need of mediation), they are orienting to coherence between participant statuses and the current language choice as enabling versus hindering participation. Language choices are negotiated not only at the level of language identities or preferences but at the level of participation in situated actions. Talk that concerns only a subgroup of participants can be conducted in their in-group language without integrating the others, but sooner or later the conversation will change to involve the others as well (see, for example, Traverso 2004).

These shifts as well as the emerging opportunities for participation are realized within the sequential organization of the interaction. Accordingly, the coherence between participation frameworks and language choice is an example of the participants' local, and sequential, management of what Gumperz (1982: 66) called *we-codes* and *they-codes*. Orientation to momentary and more permanent in-group languages (the "we-codes") comes up when mediating speakers present the other-language discussion to the previously uninvolved participant through membership categorization. Translatory talk may display the speaker's interpretation of whether the recipient will be able to share a given worldview, such as talk about playing music (ex. 3.19), or stories about blunders in using Finnish or Portuguese as a second language (ex. 4.9). By distinguishing "we" and "they" (here it is more accurate to say "we" and "you") the mediating speakers also verbalize asymmetric participation in the current stretches of conversation. Moreover, these categorizations can be used to legitimize situated, exclusive language choices. The coherence and accountability

of language choice in relation to participant statuses surface both in the categories formulated (“we,” “you,” nationalities, etc.) and in the fine-grained embodied organization of the participants’ involvement in local courses of action. Orientations to the coherence of language choices were particularly prominent in topic formulations (§3.2).

What do the range of translatory practices then achieve in terms of action and the OLS’s participation in the interaction? It was said above that engaging in mediation entails that the participants collectively ratify the OLS as a recipient. However, this is only a beginning for the mediating. Let us now proceed to discuss the more specific *scope of the mediating activity*. How the OLS recipient might now participate in the interaction is organized in a more detailed manner during the translatory talk. The representation of the prior talk and action in translatory turns reflects the mediating speaker’s interpretation of the situated motivation for mediating, and the interactional implications of the talk to be mediated. The speaker takes into consideration whether the OLS has been addressed as a recipient in the original talk, how the prior talk might be relevant for the current recipient now, and consequently, what points are to be relayed from that prior talk, and how they should be delivered. These become determined endogenously within the ongoing sequence of action and its organization, as the mediator relays elements from prior talk that are most relevant for the current action.

By different scopes of the mediating activity I refer to what aspects in the prior interaction the translatory turn covers, thereby revealing the speaker’s orientations to the local motives for mediation. Speakers can render prior talk intelligible at different levels of detail or abstraction, and by doing this handle varying interactional issues. What the mediator selects as the specific target for the mediating is tailored to the angle from which the OLS approaches the ongoing conversation, and this is partly determined by the mediator’s interpretation of what kind of perception and understanding the OLS might already have about the current exchange. As discussed above, although participants can invite mediating by displaying problems of understanding, for the most part, mediating is undertaken as a response to subtle negotiations of the willingness and relevance of the OLS’s participation. This does not directly depend on their language competence, although the competences attributed to the recipient can of course influence how something is mediated for her. For instance, in phrasal recapitulations of longer tellings, the speaker appears to assume the recipient’s preliminary understanding of the other-language talk (ex. 4.11 Patent). But most importantly, the OLS has also made this understanding locally and publicly visible through continuous bodily engagement as a recipient.

One example of how the earlier involvement of the OLS is reflected in the scope of the mediating activity can be found in the variety of translatory turns provided as repair solutions. They are delivered either as reports of the past talk or as simple redos, partly depending on whether the OLS has been an outsider or an actual addressee of the repairable talk. The examples of reportive framing in (§3.1) included cases where the mediating speaker responds to the other-initiation of repair by the OLS as a third party by mitigating the impression that the others were laughing at her. In addition, when mediating another’s account-giving, the speaker could make it clear that she is mediating the other’s account-giving and not producing an account herself. The scope of the mediating is then broader than a simple clarification of the content of the prior talk or expressions that were not

understood. Reportive framing enables the speaker to adjust the prior action and distribute responsibility for it in a manner that would not be possible by simply repeating the prior utterance in the new position. A mere repetition would portray very differently the mediating speaker's stance towards the content of what she delivers. By contrast, if the OLS has been directly or indirectly addressed in a question, the translatory turns offered as solutions are designed as concise second attempts, thereby relying on the ongoing trajectory of action rather than adjusting the past action. Furthermore, through the selection of pronominal and lexical forms in these second sayings, speakers can choose particular aspects of the prior talk to clarify (and likewise, to regard as common ground). These selections then influence what kind of response is projected.

The other types of framing portray the prior talk in terms of topics, generalizable communicative behavior, explainables, and another's extended talk about herself as something to orient to. These deal with the OLS's participant status differently. As an example, topic formulations treat the OLS as a previously excluded participant, whereas when delivering another's talk about herself, the speaker treats the OLS more as an on-looker who could, for instance, be given whispered interpreting on the side of the main conversation. The group of keyword-initial turns, for their part, have more clearly the prior action of telling in their scope. In the detached cases, the speakers deliver tellings as elaborate, multi-unit retellings, beginning with transparently introduced key elements. The speakers can also adopt more specific scopes of mediating when they build different retellings, make assertions, and provide very short recapitulations based on prior talk. In these cases, expectations of the potential need for mediation may be created at earlier moments in the course of the ongoing action, before the actual mediation. In other words, although the OLS is not addressed directly by the talk right before mediation, she might have been oriented to as a recipient earlier during the same larger activity. When the larger sequence comes to a close, this may be a suitable moment to turn to the OLS and render to her some part of the telling. Even in this case, the OLS herself typically evokes this as a moment for mediation by her embodied signs of reciprocity (ex. 4.11).

With regard to questions, it was demonstrated that the action of asking involves a major negotiation of the status of the OLS as an addressee versus as a talked-about participant. The mediator orients to these configurations by producing rather different acts of asking in the translatory talk that cover different aspects of the prior action. Speakers can create entirely new occasions of asking (§6.1.1) and thus mediate the recipient's access to the prior action of asking as a whole, or remedy problems in responding by producing regular insert expansions (§6.1.2, §6.1.3). The influence of the OLS's previous involvement in larger sequences was also discussed with regard to plain, continuous translatory designs in chapter 5. In these examples, the OLS has such previous involvement or evident audio-visual access to the ongoing activity that it allows the mediating speaker to begin her turn without remedying the recipient's access to the situation as such or securing referential coherence (as she could achieve by re-introducing elements from prior talk lexically). These different examples show that translatory turns are calibrated with (and reflexively organize) the status of involvement of the OLS in the interaction. In brief, translating speakers handle the targets of understanding to be mediated not as linguistic items but as a range of aspects in prior interaction that can be made intelligible through language. These concern particular

dimensions of specific actions, but also the more lasting social figure of the original speaker, which her actions are taken to reveal. Translatory talk does not always mitigate differences, but may also highlight conflicts and argumentative positions (cf. de Stefani et al. 2000).

Finally, these two interactional aspects (the scope of the mediating activity as well as the issue of access and involvement) are managed in relation to the *sequential placement* of the translatory talk. To take the organization of questions and answers as an example, mediating can engender at least three types of insert sequences. Questions in which the OLS is indirectly or directly addressed as a recipient provide the mediating speaker with a sequential slot to deliver her turn as a second saying of a first action implemented by a prior speaker (cf. Bolden 2012). This enables a sequentially organized decomposition of the speaker role. The translatory turn can be followed either by a direct response to the original speaker (if language competences allow this and the respondent aligns with the prior language choice), or by a two-part sequence that leads to translating the answer as well. When the OLS is not treated as a recipient at all, the sequences unfold as another type of sequence expansion, a consultation with a third party. The design of the translatory turn is fitted to the limitations and affordances provided by these sequential environments. In comparison, when translatory talk occurs only after a past sequential whole, the speaker may need to create a slot for the turn by other means. In translating question–answer sequences in a *post hoc* manner, the speakers make use of reporting clauses to reopen the already completed sequence of asking, remedying the OLS’s rights to respond. This corroborates the finding in (§3.1) that reportive framings accomplish readjusting a slot for a translatory turn when an occasion for the simple redoing of a prior action is not provided by the unfolding of the ongoing action.

Turn-initial keywords, for their part, can be used to establish links to prior other-language talk both when nested in the sequential structure of adjacency pairs (§6.1.2, §6.1.3) and in retellings (ch. 4). The latter involve mechanisms of backlinking that intersect with earlier findings on the functions of the structures examined (such as detachment, fronting), as well as with what Jefferson (1978) discusses in terms of displaying a trigger in a prior sequence of telling for an upcoming telling (see §4.1). Moreover, the composition of the translatory turn as re-establishing a beginning (especially the practice of try-marking, see §4.2) reflects its scope as reproducing a larger unit of telling. The embodied signs of (dis)engagement of the OLS indicate some type of orientation to the prior talk, and the translatory turn (together with other multimodal cues) is able to invoke that stretch of other-language talk as the relevant context, and to invite the recipient to interpret the turn as translating that prior talk.

The analyses illustrate that through the design of translatory turns, speakers handle tasks that also generally guide the shape of beginnings of turns-at-talk (Deppermann 2013, see §2.3.1); mediating speakers ground their talk within already established joint orientations, deal with the uptake of prior turns and the projections created therein, and project properties of the translatory turn in progress. For this, they employ resources from delivering a formulation of others’ talk and action to operating with the position and composition of the relayed material: both construe ties to the prior speech event that is partially inaccessible for the current recipient. Using these means, speakers reflexively organize their translatory

talk in relation to a range of features in their interactional environment, and to the other participants' locally displayed interpretations of the situation.

7.3 Turn design and structures of participation

This study has demonstrated how participants make the ongoing situation (and their actions of mediating it) intelligible, on the one hand, by formulating descriptions and characterizations of it, and on the other hand, by employing rather minimal bits and pieces of talk that are tied to the unfolding of the interaction. Let us now discuss what these practices tell about the role of the translating speaker as a mediator, how this position is organized through turn-constructive means, and the co-participants' responses to mediation. The discussion also broaches some methodological considerations.

It has been examined how an indication of another's voice in translatory talk is organized in the environment of everyday conversation, in specific sequences of action and conversational structures. The rendering of a prior speaker's talk intelligible for someone is locally invited (mobilized and made relevant) and organized as situated means of recycling and fitting talk with co-participants' talk and actions. Among the ways of delivering translatory talk, reporting another's talk within a single utterance can be contrasted with sequential practices of fitting and recycling substrate from prior talk, with both accomplishing the situated organization of "interactive footing" (C. Goodwin 2007). The distribution of discursive agency in both ways of delivering translatory talk is sequentially, temporally, and multimodally organized; it emerges as a product of the unfolding of the conversation. These local circumstances condition the use of the particular resources to map the distribution of speakership (and more broadly, agency) within turns and sequences in the mediating activity. It follows that speakers' means of translating are not necessarily best understood as available "translation strategies" in the sense that speakers would choose from a set of techniques to be applied to translating as a distinct action. Instead, systematicity in the speakers' translatory practices is based on the organizational principles of situated interactional phenomena, and they intertwine with many regular conversational practices. This, of course, does not imply that lay bilingual speakers could not as well adopt intentional, specialized skills and strategies when translating.

When engaging in mediating, the speakers may not only shift seamlessly between mediating and a regular participant role (Merlino & Mondada 2014) but actually accommodate the mediating activity to their regular participant status. In some examples, this was discussed in terms of a possible conflict between the speaker's position and the talk she was relaying, which motivated different framings (for example, see §3.1.2). As for self-translation, it was observed that the speaker could also use framing to attribute responsibility for the past talk in strategic ways (§3.1.1). At other moments, mediating speakers can identify with a prior speaker's trajectory of action and commit to the talk they are relaying, as in the consultations with a third party (§6.1.1) and extended sequences (§5.2). This appears to allow them to deliver the translatory turn without a clear marking of a source.

That is, acting as a “mediator” may involve incumbency of various more specific discourse identities as the speaker adapts to the position of recycling past talk within the ongoing action. An analyst can attempt to determine when this emerges as something different from mediating or translating, but the most interesting approach to me is to examine the various possible manifestations of this organization. Acting as a mediator is not necessarily a distinct role that the speakers adopt to attempt to neutralize their personal involvement (as might be expected in professional contexts) but it is achieved as degrees of agency within situated courses of action, in which speakers regulate their larger social identities, epistemic domains, and existing relationships with the co-participants.

In certain sequential contexts, such as initiating actions that project a response from the OLS, the translating speaker can incorporate another voice in her utterance simply by positioning the turn as a second saying of the initiating action. The distribution of speakership is then lodged within the sequential structure. By contrast, when speakers adopt more elaborate ways of marking another’s voice, sequential slots for “saying the same thing” in a reduced form are typically not available owing to both social and structural circumstances. These circumstances may invite reportive framing as a means of indicating reduced responsibility for the words quoted (Goffman 1974, 1981). However, by choosing to not merely repeat the prior talk, the speaker is also positioning herself within the current speech situation. She exercises a form of agency by anticipating the reactions of others to what she utters (see Enfield 2009). That is, she orients to what it means for the relationship between her and the current recipient that she utters certain types of things here and now, at the same time also anticipating the recipient’s understanding and possible sanctioning of the source speaker’s conduct. By framing, speakers then position themselves differently from what was described as “nesting” with a prior turn. For instance, when a mediator provides a repair solution in place of the original speaker by translating another’s talk, she can be considered as a consociate (or to form a collective/party) with the prior speaker (Bolden 2012, 2013, see §2.2.1, §6.1.3). However, even in these turns, speakers manage an active positioning in relation to the prior speaker. That is, there is a division of participation structure within a party that is composed of more than one individual (cf. Lerner 1993).

In comparison to framings and marked second sayings, in translatory turns that are constructed most plainly and similarly to the prior talk, the speakers appear to be appropriating for themselves what the prior speaker has said. By appropriating, I mean that although the talk is recycled, the speaker can produce it as something that she now owns as a stance, news, and so on. Thus, no conflict arises between the speaker’s current position and the social implications that relaying this utterance from past talk has between her and the current recipient. One example of this are cases where the talk that is later translated has extended the ongoing sequences and activities (ch. 5). Other examples of this are relayed questions as consultations with a third party (§6.1.1). Both are “unmarked” with respect to having a source, but for different interactional motives. The translatory turns within extended activities are displayed as continuous with the ongoing activity, whereas the consultations with a third party initiate self-standing instances of asking. Both positions can be considered to relax the need to specifically mark a source in the prior talk.

The relation between other-translation and self-translation would be an interesting matter to analyze in more detail. It was shown that the possibility to produce “unmarked”

translatory turns seems to be related to the speaker's commitment to what she utters, but this is not simply because the same person is the original and mediating speaker – it is motivated by the positioning of the turn within a sequence of action. Self-translating speakers also quote themselves and produce concise second attempts. In doing so, they position the translatory turn in relation to a prior turn and, further, these designs reflect changes in how the speaker directs her talk to different sets of recipients. In one of the examples (3.14), Sanna changes from explaining odd Brazilian eating habits to her Finnish parents to marveling at them with the Brazilians. In short, the mediating speaker's position is shaped relative to the particular implications that saying this or that thing has between her and the current recipient.

It has been demonstrated in the study that repetitions of past turns with a similar and plain design appear not to be the most prototypical translatory turns in everyday conversation. This presents an apparent contradiction to professional interpreting, where the aim would be rather to provide as close as possible renditions of the prior talk. However, this feature of everyday bilingual mediation was explained on the basis of how these activities emerge in the unfolding of conversation. Mediating follows negotiations of the OLS's participation in the interaction, and it is often directed to a person who was not involved in the original stretch of interaction. Consequently, these translatory turns occur in environments of action that are rather different from the stretches of talk that they mediate. These renewed environments will often not allow for a full repetition of a past utterance, such as maintaining a similar structure of turn design, word order and types of reference. Instead, translatory talk is modified to reflexively organize its position in the new environment and participation framework. The ways of representing prior talk can be as varied as their situated purposes, but as the current study demonstrates, there is systematicity in their organization.

The present investigation of turn design has concerned both practices of formulating past talk and reliance on the contextual setting for linking a current utterance to other-language talk through what can be called tying techniques. Tying means here that through the composition and position of the translatory turn, speakers relate their current talk in particular ways to past, other-language talk. Specific ways of reorganizing the relayed material in the turn were understood as belonging to the set of techniques that speakers may employ to indicate links to past talk. This included both rebuilding a starting point for a retelling sequence (reminiscent of the 'triggers' in Jefferson 1978, see ch. 4) and the use of second sayings, delivered as symbiotic with the prior turn that implemented an initiating action. Grammatical structures were thus examined in terms of their use for the specific task of relaying past talk. These findings largely align with earlier research on the interactional uses of these structures and indeed contribute to their study by identifying their use in specific environments where the prior talk is somewhat inaccessible for the recipient. The investigation thus highlights the indexical nature of these grammatical resources by revealing their potential for invoking local conversational contexts that are asymmetrically accessible for the participants.

Regarding the range of quotative elements, it was shown that they add layers to the prior action by advising the recipient how to interpret it. Both the fully elaborated reports as well as the concise resayings and the other resources along the continuum are adjusted in

particular ways to the ongoing situation. To put it simply, translatory turns done minimally rely more on the context as shared, whereas fuller formulations exhibit more of an 'instanced fixing' (Heritage & Watson 1980: 250) of how the turn is to be understood in its position. Both are involved in the multimodal organization of the structures of participation in translatory interaction.

All of the examined data are multiparty interactions. In addition to the translating speaker, the recipient, and the source speaker (if not self-translation) there may be other bilingual participants present who can understand both the original conversation and its translation. At times they (attempt to) participate in collective translation (such as Sanna's husband in extracts 4.2, 4.4 and 6.6) or encourage others to engage in conversations that make translation necessary (such as Gaia prompting the introduction of Finnish food in ex. 6.15 or urging Cíntia to pose a question directly to Antti in ex. 6.16). The bilingual co-participants can also correct translations provided by others, although the data contains only a few instances of this that were not included in the study.

Throughout the data, translatory talk tends to remain as single stretches of talk (single turns or multiple chained units) that do not lead to translating anything back to the first speaker (except for those question-answer sequences in which also the answer becomes translated). One rationale for this is that mediation often occurs at the closing of larger units in the conversation, and this position does not make continuing the discussion relevant. Moreover, often it happens that the translatory talk occurs in a dyadic sequence between the translating speaker and the OLS recipient, and when the conversation continues, it happens either between these two or among the ones who took part in the conversation before the mediating, or these conversations may occur in parallel. That is, the conversations naturally follow the new language choice in the sense that it delimits the group of participants who can have access and an easy entry in the discussion. Establishing a continuous "interpreting mode" (see §2.1) instead would require breaking these trajectories that naturally follow the language choice, and actively prompting a switch back to the language of the earlier discussion (see §3.5 and §6.2.2 for management of the continuation of translating). When there are several bilingual co-participants present, it may occur that they switch to the language of the translation and continue on-topic in their subsequent turns, thereby allowing the former OLS participant to have further access to the interaction. However, in general the other co-present bilinguals were not very often found to display specific orientations to the others' translating.

Reflecting on methodological choices, the present study emphasized less the multilingual and multicultural themes that arise in the data. Although investigating those aspects more thoroughly would undoubtedly enrich the study, the main goal has been to appreciate the minute interactional organization of the situation without viewing it through the lens of multilingualism as something particular and distinct. As has been pointed out by several researchers (see, for example, Auer 2007), on a global scale multilingualism is the norm and monolingualism the exception. If we want to study interaction, the use of several languages in the data should not be a stumbling block.

The empirical findings in this study are based on the analysis of recognizable clusters of interactional features during mediation, supported by comparisons between different ways to mediate and the various environments they occur in. The constellations of people,

language repertoires, and activities involve so many variables that it makes each case a little different from the others. Due to the nature of the data and the phenomena being studied (trajectories of action unfolding between multiple, asymmetrically involved participants), it has been challenging to arrive at collections of instances where the interactional moves in a sequence work similarly. Therefore, the groups of extracts analyzed in each section may involve rather different sequential trajectories, not always forming strict sets of phenomena in the sense of conversation analytic collections. Nonetheless, in my estimate, this approach that departs from the design of translatory utterances and examines them in a range of environments, has proven fruitful. It has made it possible to identify basic orientations of the participants in the mediating activity and a number of ways in which the representation of prior talk and action in another language is sensitive to its interactional environment.

Another methodological challenge in examining how speakers make activities understandable by oral translation is that the reactions of the recipients of the translatory turns do not necessarily display this understanding clearly. Many conversation analytic studies base their emic approach on analyzing the recipient's next action and the first speaker's reception of this next action as evidence for what type of action this has been for the participants' themselves. In the case of mediating activities, there is no next action that would obviously mark the prior turn as a "translation." This relates to a more general issue in the study, namely, that translation in conversation is perhaps not best understood as a distinct social action in the conversation analytic understanding of social actions, but rather as a mode of delivering actions (cf. Müller 1989). In the translatory mode, speakers reuse and transform substrate from prior talk in another language and calibrate in various ways their agency with regard to the relayed content. This can yield a systematic adoption of the position of a relatively neutral intermediary or rather of a highly involved 'partner in crime', up to appropriating another's words into one's own action. These all represent the prior action in different ways for the recipient, and the recipient responds accordingly.

An adequate response to an action that has been delivered through translation is to respond to that action, such as answer a question or produce a newsmark or an evaluative assessment after a telling. The recipients direct these turns either to the translating speaker, or to the original speaker. In fact, both may be relevant ways to receive translatory talk on different occasions. Therefore, on the basis of their next actions, it cannot always be claimed with certainty that participants have understood something as mediated. There were some cases where the recipient clearly acknowledged the translatory talk as clarification of past talk, as in example 5.1 (*entendi* 'I got it'). However, in this extract the mediating activity was somewhat overdone and the recipient was rather signaling that the speaker did not have to continue her mediating activity any further. Generally, the recipients of translatory talk tend to receipt it as new information through receipt tokens, perhaps with a high pitch onset implying that they have understood something at that moment.

In the same vein, the successfulness of the mediating activities can be primarily determined on the basis of locally adequate participation, not necessarily in terms of an overall goal of inviting the OLS to actively participate in the conversation (this may not have been the goal of the mediator in the first place). If someone asks a question that concerns the OLS participant, then it means that a substantial contribution to the interaction by her has been made relevant. If translating achieves this, then it has been successful.

However, if the OLS is part of an audience consisting of several participants, such as an audience for storytelling, then she does not necessarily need to contribute anything very elaborate in order to provide a sufficient response. In this case, mediating can be effective in the sense of enabling access to what goes on in the interaction, but it does not necessarily mean an attempt to further integrate the OLS participant in the conversation by prompting her to speak. In some cases, translatory talk is done specifically as non-inviting, closing the topic (as in some topic formulations). The effort towards further integration of the OLS varies from one context to another, reflecting the negotiation of the local relevance of the stretch of talk for the OLS. The analyses have identified some features in translatory talk that do appear to prompt a more substantial contribution to the conversation by the OLS. Examples of this include overtly expressed stances in the translatory talk (§3.2, §3.3) and elements that make the matter talked about personally involving for the recipient (§4.4). Both of these offer the OLS something to relate to. Moreover, both cases suggest that accommodating the translated matter to the recipient's epistemic domain – not only in terms of bridging gaps of knowledge, but in terms of acknowledging her interests and expertise – may increase the potential of the translatory talk to invite the recipient to participate more fully in the conversation. A point of further investigation would be to examine in more depth the specific instances in which the mediator prompts the OLS participant's active contribution to the conversation, and how the OLS recipient responds to this.

7.4 On intersubjectivity in asymmetric, multilingual interaction

Returning to the theme of understanding that was introduced at the beginning of this study, it has been pointed out that in regular conversations people do not have to use “follow up tests,” “surprise quizzes,” or other means of checking each other's understanding (Moerman & Sacks 1988), nor do speakers use many overt claims of understanding of prior talk and action; instead they demonstrate this tacitly through their actions (for example, see Schegloff 2007a, Heritage 2007). However, in the asymmetric multilingual interactions examined here, understanding checks and claims of both lack and success of understanding (‘did you understand,’ ‘that one I didn't understand,’ ‘I got it’) do occur in conjunction with mediating activities. This explicit talk about understanding is an example of how participants strike a balance between progressivity and intersubjectivity, which have been regarded as basic orientations in the unfolding of conversation (Heritage *ibid.*). That is, participants shift between contributing to the smooth turn-by-turn progression of the interaction and securing a sufficient mutual understanding that enables the interaction to continue in a coherent fashion (Schegloff 1992, Heritage 2007, Markaki et al. 2013 for multilingual interaction). In this view, the more fundamental notion of intersubjectivity as a precondition for human sociality (see Duranti 2010) has been applied to studying the conversational mechanisms through which participants coordinate degrees of mutual experience and understanding in an interactional event.

When this type of mutual coordination requires more effort, it usually means that the progression of the interaction is momentarily delayed or slowed down, as when participants engage in repair. This topic was discussed by Sacks and Schegloff (1979) with respect to speakers' orientations to the preference for 'minimization' (roughly, avoiding to make too much interactional effort) and 'recipient design' (taking into consideration the particular recipient in delivering the turn) in producing recognitional person reference. Observing the practice of try-marking, they remark that although try-marking engenders additional effort in the form of another sequence for securing the recognition of the person reference, speakers still begin by offering minimal forms for the recipient's ratification and only expand them if they are shown to be insufficient. The try-marking practice is therefore evidence for the participant's preference for less interactional effort ('minimization'), which is relaxed in step-by-step manner in favor of securing intelligibility for the recipient ('recipient design'). The observations by Sacks and Schegloff specifically concern person reference, but we have seen that try-marking is used more broadly in translatory turns to collaboratively establish an intelligible starting point for the mediating activity, at the same time securing referential common ground with lexical means (§4.2). This is an efficient means for the translating speaker to handle the recipient's lack of access to the prior talk while progressing in the retelling.

Although the balancing act between progressivity and the challenge of mutual intelligibility is a collective achievement, the participants in asymmetric interactions may assume varying amounts of responsibility for their maintenance. It has been suggested for second-language interaction and other types of asymmetric exchanges that "experts" (such as native-language speakers) may assume more responsibility for securing understanding because they have more resources for it (for example, see Bolden 2012, 2014, Kurhila 2006, Lilja 2012). At the same time, native speakers may avoid the outright exposing of language asymmetries in their talk and place more emphasis on the smooth progression of the interaction. They may let insignificant mistakes or problems pass, or address them tacitly (see, for example, Kurhila 2006, Markaki et al. 2013). "Language experts" can closely monitor others for minute signs of possible emerging comprehension problems that may be disclosed by the others' lack of reaction or delay in responding. In doing so, they anticipate the situation by checking on and facilitating understanding before any major problem actually occurs (as in Lilja 2012: 580–581). That is, speakers may engage in maintenance activities to secure mutual understanding before someone would become obliged to initiate repair at a sequential completion point as the "last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation" (Schegloff 1992). Where could we then find the *first* structurally provided opportunities to manage mutual understanding in conversation?

An examination of multimodality in interaction reveals that social action in conversation can begin before speech, that is, before the onset of conversational structure (as in verbal utterances). With regard to translatory turns in the data that are not invited by repair or understanding checks, handling the OLS participant's understanding of the situation begins from a process of ratifying their local participation. This is when the participants negotiate their mutual orientation to the necessity of making something further intelligible for the participant. These mutual orientations could be said to operate rather concretely at a level of intersubjectivity that consists of the *possibility* of understanding (Duranti 2010: 21–22).

Furthermore, in the actual talk, much of the handling of the intelligibility of the past and ongoing action occurs towards the very beginning of the translatory turns (see §2.3.1). In fact, one of these turn-initial practices is try-marking, the same phenomenon that Sacks and Schegloff (1979) discussed as structural means to secure mutual understanding while beginning an action. In the asymmetric situation, this is one method to secure referential coherence as well as to organize the action of mediating in itself.

As demonstrated in the present study, the recipients' displayed earlier access and involvement in the interaction can make relevant different scopes of the mediating activity. The negotiation of the OLS's participation in the prior and ongoing activities provides both affordances for, and restrictions on how to promote further intelligibility of the interaction between the participants. And crucially, this process occurs between not only the speaker and the recipient but among the whole set of participants in the mediated stretch of interaction. The management of understanding through translatory practices in these interactions thus not only concerns specific linguistic content but the participants' mutual, aligning orientations to participation. The intelligibility of the interaction does not lie in fixed meanings but is managed for all practical purposes to allow for a meaningful social encounter despite the interlocutors' restricted opportunities for full mutual engagement.

Furthermore, mediating activities are not only hitches in the progression of the conversation, but they promote the exchange of different perspectives and viewpoints, which can also enrich the local conversation and possible outcomes of the interaction (Mori 2003, Bolden 2014). For instance, the cultural differences that speakers consider in translating are also a potentially rich topic for further discussion and a means for the participants to become acquainted with each other, to find points of contact and matters to collectively laugh at. Translating can also be used to solve problems in the uptake of actions that do not directly spring from the language asymmetry, and in this way, it can be used to harness the multiplicity of interlocutors as an interactional resource. Engaging in mediation may highlight differences and gaps in knowledge, backgrounds, and viewpoints between the participants. Their highlighting is, nevertheless, also a way to grasp these matters and learn to live with them. This creation of new perspectives in translating can also entail novel cultural forms (Cronin 2006).

In order for people to understand and become fully understood by each other, they need to rely on the assumption that it is possible for them to adopt each other's viewpoints, even if this interchangeability of standpoints is an ideal rather than a reality (Schutz 1962: 11–13). In other words, the ideal of interchangeable viewpoints is the basis of shared experience and understanding; if another person were in my shoes, she would be able to perceive the situation somewhat similarly. It then appears promising that through encountering and coordinating mutual differences, participants in asymmetric multilingual interactions have the possibility to expand their experienced horizons of simultaneously existing, diverse but intelligible ways of inhabiting the world. Yet, even knowing the same language or having very similar backgrounds does not guarantee mutual intelligibility during interaction. Understanding must be negotiated and achieved, and the process involves various stages, including the willingness to engage in it. In an asymmetric, multilingual interaction, participants can display in a socially coherent way that they are present and ready for further involvement despite not understanding the language or the content of the ongoing talk.

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APPENDIX 1. TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

Symbols in the transcription line

.	falling intonation
;	slightly falling intonation
,	level intonation
?	rising intonation
↑	rise in pitch in next syllable
↓	fall in pitch in next syllable
/speak/	stretch of talk in a higher pitch
\speak\	stretch of talk in a lower pitch
speak	emphasis
>speak<	faster pace than in the surrounding talk
<speak>	slower pace than in the surrounding talk
°speak°	quiet talk
SPEAK	loud talk
sp-	word cut off
spea:k	sound lengthening
#speak#	creaky voice
£speak£	smiley voice
.h	audible inhalation
h	audible exhalation
he he	laughter
sp(h) eak	laughter within talk
[beginning of overlap
]	end of overlap
=	no gap between two adjacent items
(.)	micropause (less than 0.2 seconds)
(0.6)	pause in seconds
(speak)	item in doubt
(-)	item not heard
(())	comment by transcriber
→speak	focus line

Symbols in the translation line

(item)	item that is not overly expressed in the original talk but that belongs grammatically to the English expression used as equivalent
((item))	items added for the sake of clarity

Transcription of gaze and embodiment, adapted from Mondada (2014c)

NODS	embodied behavior and gaze (in small caps)
G>	direction of gaze
E>	direction of pointing
, •	Gaze () and gesture (•) by same participant
+, ≠	Gaze (+) and gesture (≠) by same participant
^, ◇	Gaze (^) and gesture (◇) by same participant

Timing and descriptions of embodied actions are indicated with different symbols for each participant and synchronized with correspondent stretches of talk.

Simplified:

Individual shifts in embodied actions are indicated with one symbol.

Full:

Trajectories of embodied action are delimited between two identical symbols.

*--->
---->*

The action described continues across subsequent lines
until the same symbol is reached.

>>

The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.

--->>

The action described continues after the excerpt's end.

Phases within trajectories:

. . . .

Action's preparation

Action's apex is reached and maintained.

, , , ,

Action's retraction

F#1 Point when still image (reproduced as line drawing) is taken

APPENDIX 2. GLOSSING SYMBOLS

Case endings

INE	inessive ('in')
ELA	elative ('out of')
ILL	illative ('into')
ADE	adessive ('on')
ABL	ablative ('from')
ALL	allative ('to')
GEN	genitive
PAR	partitive
ESS	essive

Verbal elements

1SG	1st person singular ('I')
2SG	2nd person singular ('you')
3SG	3rd person singular ('she', 'he')
1PL	1st person plural ('we')
2PL	2nd person plural ('you')
3PL	3rd person plural ('they')
IMP	imperative
IMPS	impersonal
INF	infinitive
PPC	past participle
PST	past tense
PASS	passive
GER	gerund
COND	conditional
AUX	auxiliary verb

Other abbreviations

ART	article
CLI	clitic
COMP	complementizer
DEM1, 2, 3	demonstratives
ADV	adverbial
LOC	location
NEG	negation
SG	singular
PL	plural
PREP	preposition
PRT	particle
PREP+ART	collision of prepositions and articles (in Portuguese, e.g., <i>de+o=do</i>)
REL.PRON	relative pronoun