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Language brokering and differentiated opportunities for participation

Mediação linguística (language brokering) e oportunidades diferenciadas de participação

RESUMO / ABSTRACT

In a multilingual situation where some participants do not speak or understand one of the languages used, the participants need to strike a balance between the language choice and the restrictions it creates for opportunities to participate in the interaction. In this conversation analytic study, I examine how participants manage differentiated opportunities for participation in asymmetrically multilingual interactions during instances of language brokering, and the extent to which brokering draws the recipient into the conversation. Focusing on cases without verbal initiations of repair or requests for brokering, the paper argues that participants' embodied displays of reciprocity toward a main speaker, whose talk they

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Language brokering;
Peripheral participation;
Gaze

cannot (fully) understand, as well as embodied displays of disengagement from the conversation, can serve to "recruit" linguistic assistance. The analyses demonstrate how the design of the brokering turns conveys the broker's orientations to the recipient's participation status, and how it can warrant their further focal or peripheral participation. The study thereby demonstrates how participants multimodally negotiate forms of participation and their accountability. Although language brokering is done only occasionally and includes great variation in terms of how prior talk is translated, the ways of brokering are not random but result from an interactional organization of social action and participation.

Em uma situação multilíngue em que pelo menos uma pessoa não fala ou entende um dos idiomas usados, os participantes precisam encontrar um equilíbrio entre a escolha do idioma e as restrições que essa escolha gera para as oportunidades de participar na interação. Neste estudo, desenvolvido pela perspectiva da Análise da Conversa, examinamos como os participantes gerenciam as oportunidades diferenciadas de participação em interações assimetricamente multilíngues durante instâncias de mediação linguística (*language brokering*) e até que ponto os turnos de mediação atraem o destinatário para a conversa. Debruçando-se sobre casos que não apresentam iniciação verbal de reparo ou pedidos de mediação, o artigo argumenta que as exibições corporificadas de orientação de determinado participante para um falante principal, cuja

Palavras-chave:

Mediação linguística
(*language brokering*);
Participação periférica;
Olhar

fala aquele não consegue (suficientemente) compreender, bem como as exibições corporificadas de desengajamento da conversa, podem servir para angariar assistência linguística. As análises demonstram como o desenho dos turnos de mediação indica as orientações do mediador para o status de participação do ouvinte e como os turnos podem justificar sua subsequente participação focal ou periférica. O estudo, portanto, demonstra como os participantes negociam multimodalmente formas de participação e sua legitimação. Embora a mediação linguística seja feita apenas ocasionalmente e inclua grande variação em termos de como partes de uma conversa anterior são traduzidas, as formas de mediação não são aleatórias, mas resultam de uma organização interacional de ação e participação.

1. Introduction

A conversation between participants who are bilingual in the same languages can fluently unfold in either or both of these languages (Auer, 1998). When non-bilingual participants are present, however, the language choice can restrict participation (e.g. Mondada, 2004; Traverso, 2004) in ways that lead to a momentary exclusion of some parties from the conversation. If there are two or more participants who know only one of the languages – say, one speaks Brazilian Portuguese and the other one Finnish – it is almost inevitable that, in some moments, both languages will be used, which temporarily prevents one of the participants from full access to the conversation. In this paper, I examine how the participants strike a balance between the language choice and the opportunities for participation by means of *language brokering*.

The most studied form of language brokering, from which the term also originates, is interpretation and translation conducted by children of immigrant families to their parents or peers (see Antonini et al., 2017). Qualitative studies in this area have relied on methods such as questionnaires and interviews (e.g. psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic studies). By comparison, the existing conversation analytic studies on language brokering mostly concern interactions between adults. They focus on practices that may not strictly fall in the category of “interpreting,” including speakers using their linguistic expertise to respond on behalf of another in repair sequences (Bolden, 2012; Greer, 2015), switching to a co-present party’s language to enable their participation (Skårup, 2004), or handling territories of knowledge in medical interpreting (Raymond, 2014). Conversation analytic studies on multilingual workplaces have used terms such as *ad hoc* interpreting (Traverso, 2012) and oral translation (de Stefani et al., 2000; Merlino, 2014). Translation and other means of brokering often intertwine, and it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between them. The terminological variation also reflects the fact that the phenomenon of *non-professional interpreting and translation* has only recently become more widely acknowledged and is now recognized as an interdisciplinary field of study (Antonini et al., 2017, Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva, 2012).

In multilingual everyday interactions, brokering (or non-professional, *ad hoc* interpreting) typically occurs in an occasional fashion and in ways that may not correspond to the basic principles of interpreting, such as accuracy. Speakers can also translate their own talk. These activities lie somewhere between the extreme ends on the continuum of “translatory modes” identified by Müller (1989), which vary from a fully interpreted dialogue to only translating individual words. How do the participants then coordinate when to engage in brokering? In this paper, I approach this question from a multimodal conversation analytic perspective.

I examine the participants’ embodied conduct prior to instances of brokering in order to understand how the pro-

vision of “linguistic assistance” is coordinated multimodally and how it intertwines with changes in the participation framework. In particular, the study aims to demonstrate how gaze and related bodily conduct toward the main speaker may serve to display the non-understanding party’s engagement and/or disengagement as a recipient and prompt another participant to engage in brokering to this party. The phenomenon is explored further by examining how the brokering turns respond to these displays: they convey the broker’s analysis of the recipient’s status as a participant in the past or ongoing conversation, and may warrant or not their further involvement in it. With these verbal and bodily resources, the participants negotiate whether the recipients of brokering are actually drawn into the conversation or rather remain in its periphery. My intention is not to strengthen preconceptions about code-switching speakers intentionally excluding non-bilinguals. On the contrary, the study sheds light on how participants mutually negotiate the local relevance of language choices, including the legitimacy of these choices leading to somebody’s more restricted, peripheral participation.

2. Language brokering as a means to negotiate locally relevant participation

Goffman’s (1981) seminal discussion of the participation framework established that the hearers of talk are not involved as interactional participants in equal or constant ways. In addition to what he called *ratified* participants – the main addressed recipient and possible non-addressed recipients – there can be *unratified* participants, including bystanders, overhearers, and eavesdroppers. This categorization illustrates the “structurally differentiated possibilities” that utterances create for reciprocity, “establishing the participation framework in which the speaker will be guiding his delivery” (Goffman, 1981, p. 137). Later conversation analytic and interactional linguistic work has extensively elaborated the understanding of participation, defined by Goodwin (2007, p. 24) as encompassing the variety of ways in which parties demonstrate to each other their understanding of ongoing events, and in doing this, contribute to their progression.

Although the participants with limited linguistic access to the conversation in the data are ratified participants in the larger interaction, orientations to their relevant involvement – and consequently, to the need of brokering – vary across stretches of conversation. The participants’ degree of involvement in the original conversation naturally affects the expectations for enabling their further access to it. When the conversation keeps unfolding in one language, some participants may gradually end up in a role resembling what Goffman called bystanders, participants without official status in the ongoing activity. This, again, may decrease the local relevance of facilitating their participation in individual sequences. The participants may

themselves demonstrate their peripheral status, for instance, by avoiding to display lack of understanding. Yet, they can also monitor the interaction for a moment of (re-)entry, more or less subtly displaying their attention to it.

In instances of brokering, the participants' status concerning a past or ongoing conversation is actively negotiated. Their embodied displays of (dis)engagement with particular stretches of talk can index to others that their limited understanding has become locally consequential in a way that makes relevant to remedy it. In some of the cases to be examined, the recipient of brokering has not been oriented to as a recipient of the original action that is subsequently brokered to them, and the brokering remedies their overall access to the conversation. In other cases, the recipient has been at least minimally involved in the earlier activity, and the brokering remedies a more particular issue of understanding as a way to prevent the participant from "dropping out". A language broker is, to some extent, a gatekeeper for another participant's access to participation.

Brokering has been defined as an inherently inclusive activity that can be used to draw non-comprehending participants back into conversations (Greer, 2008; Skårup, 2004). However, the possibility of the recipient of brokering becoming more involved depends on various factors, including whether the brokering turn offers the recipient enough to build on in their next action. Especially when the non-understanding party has not been oriented to as a recipient of the original action, the broker needs to redesign it for this particular recipient. Sometimes engaging in brokering leads to two simultaneous but separate conversations (see Egbert, 1997) in different languages. On other occasions, brokering is limited to temporarily switching the language and letting the recipient know, in concise form, what the conversation is about, to which they might respond only briefly. In other words, the recipients of brokering do not necessarily become involved in the original conversation. These phenomena reveal the nuances of language brokering as a means to facilitate participation. Brokering does not necessarily aim at the recipient's full immersion in the interaction, but may actually serve to keep the recipient in the periphery of the participation framework in the conversational activity that it mediates.

"Peripheral" participation is an illustrative concept for analyzing the participation frameworks characteristic of brokering. According to Greer and Ogawa (2021, p. 75), "peripherality involves monitoring the talk for a slot where one could or should become more active," and "is comprised of differing extents of reciprocity and availability." The authors examine second language interactions at the hairdresser's, where the hairdresser's assistant acts as a broker. The assistant is an unaddressed (peripheral) recipient who shifts between remaining aside and joining in as a facilitator between the hairdresser and the client. In the present study, however, the broker has been involved in the earlier interaction either as a speaker or as an active recipient. It is not the broker but the recipient of the brokering

whose peripheral participation is in question.

Speakers are generally sensitive to recipients' divergent states of knowledge when designing and addressing their turns in interactions with multiple participants (Goodwin, 1979, 1987, 2010). Similarly, brokers' orientations to the recipient's linguistic access intertwine with considerations of their previous knowledge and relevant membership categories. Greer and Ogawa (2021) point out that a participant constellation in second language interaction may shift as a result of topic development and end up excluding a participant. The present study makes a related point in showing how brokers portray certain "topics" as including or excluding the recipient of brokering. This draws on the analysis by Pillet-Shore (2010) of previous-activity formulations (*we were just [verb] ing...*) to newcomers joining interaction. The formulations can contain arriver-involving, arriver-attentive components that work to include the newcomer and prompt further discussion (e.g. in a teacher-parent meeting, the teacher says to the parent arriving later that they are discussing his son's grades), whereas utterances lacking these components close the sequence (e.g. the speaker announces having been engaged in a card game limited to two players). In a similar vein, the broker may portray the past or ongoing conversation in a recipient-involving or non-involving manner, at the same time presenting this as a legitimate and accountable participant constellation.

The way participants manage the brokering can be understood as "recruiting" linguistic assistance. Kendrick and Drew (2016) have introduced the term recruitment to cover the variety of ways in which assistance is sought and provided in interaction without necessarily being verbally requested or offered. Visible bodily actions that expose trouble can provide an occasion for another to give assistance. Similarly, brokers anticipate others' needs for "linguistic assistance" based on embodied conduct.

In previous studies, gaze direction has been examined as a broker's means to direct talk to a particular recipient, ascribing them a differing linguistic identity (Greer, 2008). Participants also appeal to others for linguistic assistance by verbally initiating word searches and repair in combination with gazing at a bilingual participant (Bolden, 2012; Greer, 2013, 2015; Mondada, 2004, p. 31). This conduct achieves a shift in the participation framework by drawing in a linguistic consociate or a third party instead of the original participants of the sequence. That is, these studies mostly concern the broker gazing at the recipient or the recipient's gaze appealing to the broker.

Regarding the non-understanding party's gaze toward a main speaker (not the broker), Skårup (2004, p. 54–55) suggests with some reservation that mere display of attention by this participant to an ongoing conversation can prompt a broker to switch to their language. Moreover, the study by Greer (2008) shows that a participant's verbal displays of comprehension (e.g. minimal uptake) can, paradoxically, prompt somebody to translate for them. These findings indicate that a participant's embodied and vocal display of

attending to a speaker (claiming understanding or not) can work as a “reminder” of their divergent language preference and invite brokering. The current study pursues this observation further by examining how gazing and turning towards a speaker may invite either that same speaker or a third party to engage in facilitating interaction to the benefit of the gazing party. In these cases, language alternation and brokering connect with what was already found by Heath (1984): gaze and postural shifts directed toward a co-participant can display availability as a recipient and prompt the other to speak (see Pillet-shore 2010, p. 167 on newcomers, and Kidwell, 1997, for verbal claims to reciprocity).

In addition, the current study extends the analysis to signs of interactional disengagement in order to entertain the possibility that embodied withdrawal from a stretch of conversation can as well occasion brokering. In addition to gaze, body posture and movement (e.g. Schegloff, 1998; Mondada, 2009), degrees of involvement in interaction are organized through orientations toward material objects. One possible indication of withdrawal is drinking, which other studies have examined as a way to progressively disengage from a speaker role (Lauerier, 2008; Walker, 2012). In line with Kendrick and Drew’s view on recruitment of assistance, the participants’ verbal and embodied conduct can indicate trouble and create opportunities for others to provide linguistic assistance. Observing the unfolding of such conduct prior to brokering sheds light on how participants multimodally coordinate linguistic assistance in multilingual everyday interactions, and how this coordination occasions different ways of brokering and participating.

I start by introducing the data and method in section 3. Section 4 examines brokering preceded by the recipient gazing toward the speaker, and section 5 moves to cases involving a more complex interplay between embodied signs of engagement and disengagement prior to brokering. The findings are discussed in section 6.

3. Data and method

The study is based on over 50 hours of mundane bilingual interactions in Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese, video recorded in 2009 and 2012 in Brazil and Finland. From the

larger data set, nine hours from four different settings were selected as the main data on the basis that they involve most brokering. In these recordings, at least four participants are present: spouses, family, and friends at a party, in a restaurant, or sitting and talking at home. In addition to the party context, the other recordings also involve a host–visitor constellation, such as somebody visiting family or friends in their new home country. The participants’ language skills in Portuguese and Finnish vary from competence in only one of these languages to knowing a few expressions also in the other, up to fluent bilingualism. I examine brokering both by third parties and as self-translation. I focus on embodied coordination of brokering without anybody verbally asking for it, therefore excluding cases in which participants verbally initiate repair (see Bolden, 2012) or otherwise explicitly request or comment on translating (Traverso, 2012). The data are transcribed according to the conventions developed by Jefferson (2004) for talk and Mondada (2019) for multimodal analysis. Finnish turns are transcribed in italicized bold font, and Portuguese turns in roman bold.

All participants have given their written consent for the data collection, and the study complies with the ethical principles of research with human participants as outlined in the Finnish national guidelines on the ethical principles of research (TENK).

4. Gaze towards the speaker prompts brokering

The first two excerpts illustrate gaze conduct preceding brokering in two different types of participant constellations and sequential contexts. In both cases, Finnish talk is brokered to a Portuguese-speaking participant, and it results in the smooth inclusion of the recipient in the interaction.

Excerpt (1) is from a large party, at which some guests are standing on an outside terrace. Two bilinguals, Kyllikki and Pirkko, are talking about a nearby house in Finnish. Carla, who does not speak any Finnish, is standing about one meter away from them. At the beginning of the excerpt, Carla is not paying any attention to Kyllikki and Pirkko. She turns towards them soon after her gaze happens to catch the camera.

(1) Mansion (PPv_1B_festa12_26.07)

- 01 PIR: *viel paljo töit+ä.*
still a lot of work
car +glances away from terrace->
- 02 (0.4) • (0.3) + (0.3) • (0.2) + (0.6) +
kyl •nods-----•
car ->+gaze down--+at camera+...->
- 03 KYL: # *siin ei +työt lopu väh(iin) he # [he he*
that work will not run out he he he

04 PIR:

car
fig #fig.1

->+head/gaze towards Kyl (/Pir)->>
#fig.2

[joo;
yes

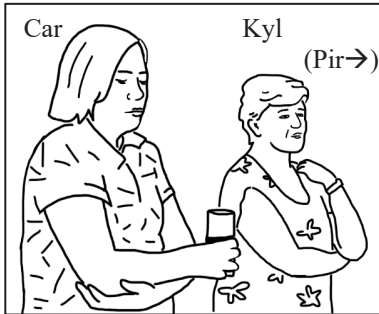


Fig.1



Fig.2 Carla turns to Pirkko/Kyllikki

05 (0.7)

06 PIR:→ (muito) trabalho lá es*sa(h) (0.1)*•(0.4) #casarão né?

much work ADV DEM
a lot of work there that

mansion TAG
mansion huh

kyl

*.....*gazes at Carla-->>

•shifts posture->

car

#tilts head up

07 (0.3)

08 CAR: #ãr•rãm,
uhum

car #nods-->

kyl ->•whole body turned towards Car-->

09 PIR: (incenti#va:r;)+
(inaugurate)

car ->#nods--+

10 (0.5)

11 KYL: esse dá ↓muito trabalho. (s-)
that gives a lot of work (-)

12 CAR: é?
is it so

13 (2.6)

14 CAR: mas tá quase acabando.
but it's almost finishing

15 (2.2)

16 KYL: [↑aa n-↑
oh n-

17 PIR: [↑nã::o acabando casarão nunca.
no finishing (the) mansion never

Prior to the excerpt, Carla has been standing nearby, holding her drink, and at times interacting with other guests passing by. It may well be that her turning to gaze toward the Finnish speakers (l. 3–4) is not initially an attempt to join the conversation but a reaction to her noticing that she is directly facing the camera (l. 2). In any case, Pirkko orients to her as a new recipient by engaging in brokering the conversation to her in Portuguese (l. 6, 9). Pirkko is not visible in the recording, but it is likely that she sees Carla turning towards them and reciprocates her gaze, which Kyllikki then follows. Pirkko is standing almost opposite Carla, in a position to easily perceive her bodily conduct, while Kyllikki is standing parallel to Carla, facing Pirkko (Fig. 1). During Pirkko's turn in Portuguese (l. 6), Kyllikki turns her gaze and whole body towards Carla, now conveying full orientation to her as a conversational partner (Kendon, 1990, p. 209–238). Kyllikki also joins the brokering at line 11.

Pirkko begins to broker at line 6 by recapitulating “keywords” of the prior discussion in a complex noun phrase (*muito*) *trabalho lá essa(h)...casarão* ‘a lot of work there that... mansion’ (on how phrasal translatory utterances tie to the source talk, see Harjunpää 2017, p. 136–184). The turn is designed as arriver-involving in that it touches on something that Carla as a local resident has epistemic access to, and provides enough detail for her to comment on (Pillet-Shore 2010, p. 155–158). Pirkko also appeals to Carla's previous knowledge of the topic by using the turn-final tag (*né*). Carla

responds by nodding and producing a verbal continuer (*ãrrãm*), which displays her sufficient recognition and understanding of the matter talked about, and signals to the speaker that she can go on. Pirkko continues with an incomplete and barely audible turn at line 9. Kyllikki then rephrases (l. 11) Pirkko's earlier talk, and Carla responds with more substantial uptake (l. 12, 14). She displays further knowledge of the house by requesting confirmation for her assumption that the renovation is almost finished. The others respond humorously by alluding to the never-ending maintenance work, all three now engaged in conversation.

In **Excerpt (2)**, recorded in Finland, the brokering deals with the recipient's understanding of particular talk instead of overall access to the conversation. The interaction takes place at the home of Pentti and Raili, who do not speak any Portuguese. Pentti is sitting on an outside terrace with Márcio, his Brazilian son-in-law, and Márcio's friend André, who is visiting from Brazil. Pentti has been telling a story in Finnish about how his uncle, who worked in the plane industry, witnessed a plane crash. Márcio knows enough Finnish to understand most of what Pentti says, whereas André knows only a little bit of Finnish. The excerpt begins when Pentti adds that he has saved a newspaper article with a picture of the accident. Meanwhile, Pentti's spouse Raili arrives at the table to bring some cups from the kitchen, and soon Márcio engages in retelling the story to André in Portuguese.

(2) Plane (Kesä_F 32.30)

- 01 **PEN:** *ja meidä- meill_ov fvanha (.) suomen kuvalehti*
 and ou- we have an old ((name of news magazine))
 rai >>enters, walks twd the table-->
 and >>gazes at Pen
- 02 *missä on kuva siitä ku sef .hh kone on*
 with a picture of when the .hh plane is
- 03 *siellä et [sii•tä +näkyv +vä◇hä. •*
 there ((in the water)) partly visible
- 04 **MÁR:** [*fɔ:hof,*
 ooh
 and •small nods-----•
 már +gaze twd Rai/away->
 rai -->#puts cups on the table->>
 pen ◇gaze down at table->
- 05 (0.7)

06 ? : .snffhh

07 # (0.2) + (0.2) #

már ->+gazes at And-->

fig #fig.3 #fig.4

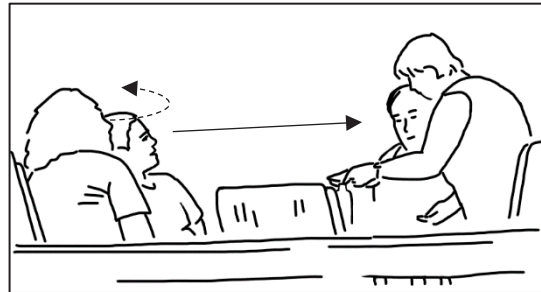
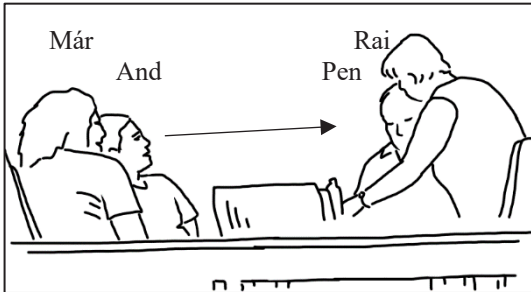


Fig.3 André continues to gaze at Pentti

Fig.4 Márcio turns to André

08 MÁR: **cê en*tendeu?***

2SG understand.3SG.PST

did you understand

and ->*.....*gazes at Már->

09 (0.4)

10 AND: .mt ◊não n-◊

no

pen ->◊.....◊gazes at And->

11 MÁR:→ **±◊que o tio dele trabalhava nu::m**

that his uncle used to work in

pen ±leans twd Már/And->

->◊at Már->

(13 lines omitted: Márcio continues telling)

25 MÁR: **e o [tio dele tava falando p'o amigo'ssim**

and his uncle was saying to the friend like

26 AND: **[(concurso)**

competition

27 MÁR: **+•↑o::lha tá vendo ±aquele avião ali +fui eu que fi::z◊•**

look do you see that plane there it's me who made it

+shakes pointing hand in air-----+points at himself->

pen ±smiles->>

->◊at And->

and •smiles-----•nods

28 **>não sei o quê◊ ◊+só q(h)'aquela avião +veio as+sim**

I don't know what but the plane came like this

+.....+flat hands->

pen ->◊at Már

29 (0.2) + [P◊RRS* [HH

30 PEN: [**kjeh[kj•ehhteh**

- 31 AND: [rs rs rs rs rs .hh .ghh um no outro.
 he he he he he .ghh one into another
- már ->+hands collide
 pen ->◇gaze at And
 and ->*gaze at Pen
 •nods
- pen ->↑leans back
- 32 MÁR: um ↑no outro.
 one into another

During the telling, Pentti has been gazing mostly at Márcio, who then displays appreciation of the telling by an exclamation of astonishment (*oho* l. 4). André also gazes at Pentti and nods every now and then, which shows that he is following the telling on some level, but he does not display any particular understanding of it.

Márcio and Pentti mutually disengage from the story telling when Raili arrives: Pentti looks down at the cups that Raili places on the table, and Márcio looks away (l. 4). André, however, sits motionless with a concentrated facial expression and keeps gazing at Pentti for about one second (Fig.3) (cf. Oloff, 2018, for freeze display of understanding problems in multilingual interaction). That is, he does not orient to a closing of the activity by turning away like the others but as if extends his recipient actions with regard to the prior talk by sustaining his embodied attention to the speaker past the sequence. Márcio then turns to André (Fig.4), from this position able to witness André's bodily conduct, and explicitly asks in Portuguese whether he understood (l. 8). After André disconfirms, Márcio engages in brokering by delivering a brief version of the story to him.

Márcio starts the brokering turn with the complementizer *que*, which speakers can use in turn-initial positions to introduce explanatory translations (Harjunpää, 2017, p. 109). Then he goes on to describe the incident. Pentti clearly perceives that his earlier talk is being translated despite not understanding Portuguese. When André says 'no', Pentti glances at him (l. 10), leans closer, and then gazes at Márcio during most of the retelling. When Márcio delivers the climax of the story by gesturing and verbal enactment (largely similar to Pentti's gesturing prior to the excerpt, therefore possibly recognizable to him), Pentti joins by smiling and laughing (l. 27–30). André is now also laughing. The two establish mutual eye gaze, and André nods at Pentti (l. 31). After this, Pentti finally returns to lean back on his chair. Pentti and André bodily manage the uptake of the storytelling between each other, thereby acknowledging each other's roles as the original teller and the recipient of the brokered version. The brokering draws André into the conversation in the sense that all participants treat another telling of the story as locally relevant and participate in it.

This section has dealt with how a participant's embodied conduct toward the speaker prompts brokering. In (1), the

recipient of brokering (Carla) is a previously uninvolved party who becomes integrated in the conversation as a newcomer, yet, treated as knowledgeable of the matter talked about. In (2), the recipient (André) has been actively following the telling, and he understands some Finnish or is at least attempting to. Gaze and bodily orientation toward the main speaker come to be interpreted as indexing availability as a recipient or a more specific problem of understanding (in André's case), and this is treated as an opportunity to promote the gazing party's further participation in the interaction by brokering. The situation before brokering is in neither case specifically "excluding". Moreover, the matters talked about are presented as something the recipients can relate to, and their further involvement in the conversation expands the joint activity.

In the cases to be examined in the next section, there is more at stake in terms of the language choice restricting participation. After examining a case where a participant's display of reciprocity is first rejected and only later followed by brokering (5.1), we move on to cases involving more gradual shifts between the recipient's engagement and disengagement from the interaction (5.2).

5. Moments of restricted participation

Some stretches of conversation in an asymmetrically multilingual speech situation can be legitimately limited to speakers of a certain language (e.g. Mondada, 2004). Even obvious attempts to join such stretches of conversation are not always welcomed – the relevance of participation needs to be collaboratively established. The resources for negotiating the non-understanding party's involvement in the conversation include gaze direction and other bodily conduct, and the subsequent brokering turns often more or less overtly comment on the grounds of the recipient's participation in the current conversation.

5.1. Brokering after initial rejection of reciprocity

In the following excerpt, brokering occurs only after a participant's attempt to act as a recipient has once been rejected. The interaction takes place in Brazil at a

birthday party, in which most of the guests are bilingual. One of the few participants who do not speak any Finnish is Beatriz. She is talking with Liisa and some other participants about Portuguese dialects when she gets interrupted by Pirkko's overlapping talk. Pirkko invites the Finns and Finnish descendants to recall funny stories about language blunders caused by the cross-lin-

guistic influence of Finnish, their native language, on their Portuguese (although it is not said explicitly, this is what 'really bad' and 'nice' at l. 7–8 point to). Pirkko addresses Liisa as a potential teller regarding "Finnish language" (l. 1–3). It should be noted that this is a slip of the tongue, as later on (not shown) Pirkko corrects that she meant speaking erroneously in Portuguese.

(3) Wrongly spoken (Syntymäpäivät_B 5.46)

01 BEA: **mas a pronúncia [de (-) é muito [(-)**
but the pronunciation of (-) is very (-)

02 PIR: [↑**Liisa.** [você]:: **◇lembra umas, #**
Liisa do you remember some
bea ◇...◇leans fwd past Lau->
fig #fig.5

03 ◇(0.7) ((other conversations quiet down))
bea ->◇leans back, past Lau, to see Pir-->

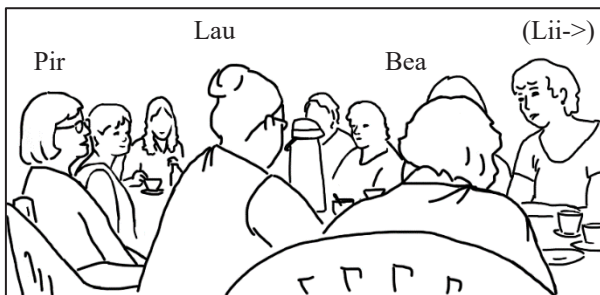


Fig. 5 Beatriz leans forward

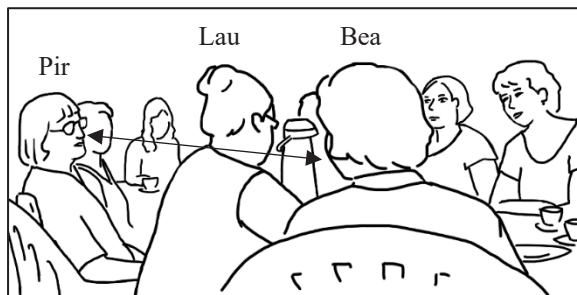


Fig. 6 Beatriz leans backward; mutual gaze with Pirkko

04 PIR: **niin suomen kielen;*= #**
like of Finnish language
fig *gazes at Bea->
#Fig.6

05 =>°**tô falando (ele)<°*◇**
I'm speaking (him)
bea ->*returns to gaze twd Lii->
->◇returns to gaze at table->

06 BEA: **>a◇h.<°**
->◇

07 PIR: **é que:: (0.4) m m oikée huono:< tai semmonen**
(I mean) really bad or like

08 **kiva: äe: väärin: puhuttu suomen kielellä.**
nice incorrectly speak.PPC finnish.GEN language
nice uh wrongly spoken in Finnish language

09 (0.7)

- 10 PIR: *panna tonne (0.2) ylös paperille.*
to put there down to paper
- (omitted: 5 lines of talk in Finnish about remembering the incidents)
- 16 PIR: =>siinä e-< [>oikei< ↑jokaisella varmaa on
there u- really everybody probably has
- 17 TUU: [e- ehheh
- 18 PIR: *semmosia kokemuksia ku vaam ↑muis[taa.*
those kinds of experiences if ((one)) just remembers
- 19 ?: [mm. (.) m[m.
- 20 LII: [mm-m.
- 21 PIR: → *fíngua finlan^dês+ fala(n)do erra+do
language Finnish speak.PC incorrect
Finnish language spoken incorrectly
pir ->*gazes at Bea--->
luc ^gazes at Pir
bea +.....+gazes at Pir->>
- 22 •vä- •*vocês # •'tão •cheio de •ouv•ir.f•
2PL be.3PL full PREP hear.INF
you are fed up with/full of hearing
pir •....•palm up twd Bea•twd Luc•.....•....•Luc--
-->*gazes at Luciana->>
fig #fig.7

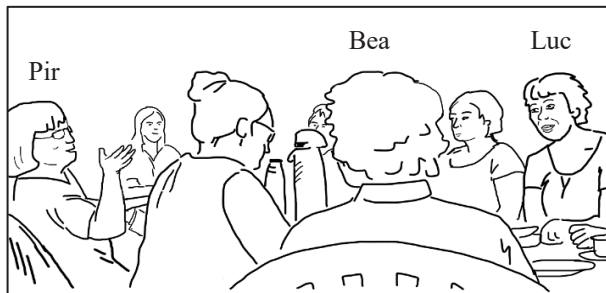


Fig. 7 Pirkko's gesturing toward Beatriz and Luciana

Since Pirkko starts her turn in Portuguese (l. 2, switching to Finnish only at l. 4), it is not inferable to others from the beginning that the activity would be relevantly restricted to the Finnish speakers. Beatriz cranes her neck to see Pirkko past Laura, who is sitting between them, leaning first forward (Fig.5) and then backward (Fig.6). Her action does not merely indicate availability as a recipient but conveys insufficient visual access to the talking, thus claiming her status as a recipient. The visual display of trouble resembles the display of hearing problems as an embodied initiation of repair: instead of actually dealing with sensory access, it can serve to reorganize mutual engagement between

speaker and recipient (Mortensen, 2016).

Pirkko acknowledges Beatriz's demonstration of reciprocity by reciprocating her gaze but then formulates her action as 'speaking' something or to someone (the end of the turn is unclear) (l. 5). She does this in a quiet voice, as byplay (Goffman, 1981) to the larger conversation. Pirkko thereby rejects Beatriz's attempt to participate in the ongoing discussion, which would require using Portuguese. Her turn implies that the excluding language choice (Finnish, from l. 4) is relevant because of the particular selection of recipients. In response, Beatriz withdraws her gaze and produces a change-of-stake token (l. 6) that resembles the

use of *aa* in Finnish to display revised understanding of an earlier wrong impression (Koivisto, 2015). Here, Beatriz revises her understanding of her status as a recipient.

Later on, in lines 21–22, Pirkko nevertheless brokers the conversation to Beatriz. She relays some “keywords” in a complex noun phrase involving a participial modifier, *língua finlandês fala(n)do errado* ‘Finnish language spoken incorrectly’, and continues by saying that the Portuguese-speakers must be tired of hearing such flawed language use (notice that Pirkko actually means mistakes in Portuguese instead of Finnish, as mentioned prior to the excerpt). She addresses Beatriz and Luciana as recipients of this turn verbally (*vocês* 2_{PL}) and bodily, by gazing and pointing with an open palm towards both of them (l. 22, Fig. 7). In contrast to the earlier exclusion of Beatriz, Pirkko now portrays the language blunders as something that the Portuguese speakers can relate to – not based on personal experience but on observing the language use of the Finns. Pirkko’s expanding of the opportunities for participation serves to gain new recipients to her initiative, which has so far failed to elicit any actual stories.

The design of Pirkko’s brokering turn orients to the shift of recipients: By jokingly formulating the recipients’ non-interested stance (*cheio de ouvir* ‘fed up with/tired of hearing’), Pirkko portrays their different perspective on the matter talked about and also accounts for their earlier exclusion from this “dull” topic. At the same time, she smoothly shifts the talk from cross-linguistic matters to more general non-standard language use, which also the Portuguese-speakers are able to evaluate. (Beatriz’s later comment on the others’ language use, which de-

velops into a complex sequence due to the earlier slip of the tongue, is omitted due to reasons of space.) The case illustrates how negotiations of relevant participation and its accountability in an ongoing activity can become imprinted on the brokering activity and its design.

The next section examines more subtle and gradual shifts in the linguistically different party’s involvement in the interaction, and the interplay between active reciprocity and disengagement from the conversation prior to brokering.

5.2. Gradual shifts of involvement

The non-understanding party’s displays of availability as a recipient may alternate with displays of disengagement from the conversation prior to brokering. In some cases, the party turning to gaze at the speaker has first been disengaged from the conversation for some time, and in other cases, only signs of disengagement precede brokering. Brokers appear to take embodied withdrawal as an indication of the recipient’s lack of understanding and/or of them being left out, and respond to these displays through their ways of brokering.

Excerpt (4) is recorded in a restaurant in Brazil. Antti, the only participant who does not speak Portuguese, is in Brazil to visit his son Toni. They are having lunch with Gaia and Sauli who are friends of Cíntia, the restaurant owner. Cíntia, who does not speak any Finnish, has sat down for a chat. She and Toni are both musicians, and they have been engaged in a lengthy discussion about local music venues.

(4) Musicians (Restaurante_A 37.10)

- 01 CÍN: é o pointzinho da galera:: jovem.
it's the hub for young folks
 ant >>“blank” face, gaze front/down->
- 02 (0.6)
- 03 GAI: [é.
yes
- 04 CÍN: [a↑lí é o:: canal.
that's the channel
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 GAI: é. #
yes

fig #fig.8

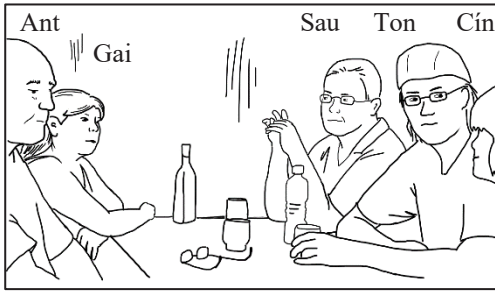


Fig. 8 Antti gazing down

- 07 CÍN: **alí é.**
there ((it)) is
- 08 (1.2)
- 09 GAI: **e e ↑lá o+:: filho *da Marina to↑ca lá,**
and and there Marina's son plays there
ant ->+gazes twd Sau/table, readjusts body->
ton *gazes at Gai->
- 10 (0.3)
- 11 ANT: **krhm**
- 12 CÍN: **↑to+ca.**
does he ((play))
ant ->+gazes at Gai->
- 13 **◇(1.6) *# (0.2)**
gai ◇deep nod->
ton ->*gazes at Ant->
fig #Fig.9

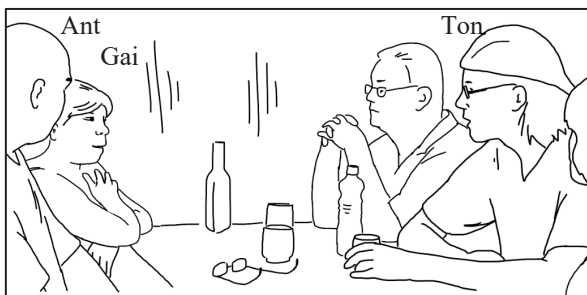


Fig. 9 Antti gazing at Gaia; Toni gazing at Antti

- 14 TON:→ **n-◇ täs puhutaan+ (.) niinko (.) m- missä**
here it's being talked like w- where
gai ->◇
ant -->+gazes at Ton->
- 15 →**muusikot soittaa täällä ja,**
musicians play here and

- 16 ANT: [mh.
- 17 TON: →[mikä o hyvä paikka. (.) baari ja s[(-)*
what is a good place bar and (-)
- 18 ANT: [joo.
yes
->*..->
- 19 (0.8)
- 20 ANT: •kr krhm•
ton*grabs water bottle-->>
- 21 TON: dá pra (.) re*ceber +mais uma água com gas.
is it possible to get one more sparkling water
->*gazes at Cín->>
ant +gazes at Cín->>

Antti has been sitting at the table with a blank expression on his face, gaze wandering or directed forward, and not reacting much to the ongoing interaction (Fig. 8). During line 9, he glances in the direction of Sauli, a bilingual participant, and then turns to gaze at the prior speaker, Gaia (l. 12). It is possible to identify features that may have drawn Antti's attention to the conversation at this point. Prior to the shift in his bodily orientation, the previous activity has been fading out, as there are only minimal turns, gaps and silence (l. 2–8). Then Gaia and Cíntia produce two turns with high onset prosody (l. 9, 12), which Antti might witness as a cue of something new beginning. Antti turns to gaze at Gaia right on time to see her emphatic, deep nod (l. 13) towards Cíntia. Toni, who is in a position to perceive Antti looking at Gaia's gesturing, turns to gaze at Antti (Fig. 9) and engages in brokering for him.

In formulating the topic in Finnish, Toni names the membership category ('musicians'), category-bound activities ('play') and locations ('good place'), which are relevant for the prior set of participants (musicians and locals) but non-involving for Antti (cf. Pillet-Shore, 2010). They both orient to closing the sequence: Antti responds with a single *joo* 'yes', which has been in previous studies shown to treat an informing as backgrounded, associated with topic hold and attrition (Sorjonen, 2001, p. 209–267). Toni quickly turns away and requests Cíntia to bring another bottle of

water (l. 17->). That is, after lengthy disengagement from the conversation, Antti's gazing toward Gaia is followed by brokering, but Antti does not become integrated in the topical talk. The brokering turn portrays the topic as relevantly restricted to the earlier set of participants, its design does not build grounds for the recipient's further involvement, and both parties orient to closing the activity.

Also in the next excerpt, brokering occurs at the closing of a larger activity, during which the recipient has been visibly disengaged from the interaction. Closing environments can be used as natural slots for brokering, as the conversational floor is liberated, and they provide the last sequential opportunity to deal with the understanding of the prior activity. Even in these opportune environments, brokering appears to be locally occasioned by embodied conduct, for instance, by the non-understanding party's gaze shift toward the current speaker, as in (4), or by other reminders of their presence, as in the next excerpt, when Antti raises his glass to take the last sip of his drink (5).

Prior to the beginning of **Excerpt (5)**, Gaia has told a joke that mocks the Portuguese. Now she is recalling an embarrassing moment in which she told this joke in the presence of a Portuguese person. Gaia is a native Brazilian Portuguese speaker who knows some Finnish, being married to Sauli, a Finn who lives in Brazil. During Gaia's telling in Portuguese, Antti is glancing around, and then checks his cell phone.

(5) Jokes (Restaurante_B 00.10)

- 01 GAI: fe tinha •hos•pedef português• lá? • (0.6) e eu
and there was a Portuguese guest there and me
ton >>smiling and gazing at Gai->>
ant*gazes at Gai---•,,,,,•down->>

- 28 GAI: [não tem bigode. ((to Toni))
doesn't have lip hair ("mustache")
- 29 SAU: hehe yks(h)inkertas(h)ina.
he he simple
- 30 ANT: ehhehheh .hh #joo se ov vähä, .hh .mt joka maassa
ehhehheh .hh yes it's a bit .hh .tsk in every country
gai #gazes at Ant for the first time->>
- 31 on vähä sillai; .hhh
it's a bit like that .hhh

During Gaia's telling (including the omitted lines), Antti gradually disengages from the interaction. Antti shifts between brief glances at the other participants and the surrounding restaurant area, self-grooming, and orientation to material objects, and he does not join the others' smiling and laughter. In line 21, talk about the joke-telling event is finally coming to a close, and Gaia's spouse Sauli turns to gaze into the distance, right past Antti. He is now in a position to notice Antti first briefly glancing at Gaia, then up on the wall, and towards his drink (l. 22–23). When Antti is about to raise his nearly empty glass (l. 23), Sauli gazes toward it (Fig.10), then directly at Antti, and engages in brokering for him (l. 24).

Sauli's brokering thereby coincides with two events: the closing of the larger activity, and Antti's actions entering his area of vision. Preparing to drink shows that Antti is not preparing to talk (Hoey, 2018). In the closing environment, this indicates that he is passing opportunities to show any appreciation of the extended humorous talk, unlike the others. In this way, drinking can work as a reminder of his peripheral status and invite brokering.

Sauli does not translate the joke or the talk that followed it, but explains its context and import by making a generalization (*tääl kerrotaan paljo portugalilaisista vitsejä* 'here people tell a lot of jokes about the Portuguese') that accounts for the local occasion (Deppermann, 2011, p. 124). It works almost like an announcement of an upcoming joke, but instead of delivering one, Sauli goes on to characterize the joking in enough detail for Antti to comment on it on the basis of his general world knowledge (l. 30–31). After the excerpt, Antti becomes a full-fledged participant, as he begins to tell about similar humor between Swedes and Norwegians. In contrast to the non-involving formulation in **Excerpt (4)**, here the broker transforms the topic in favor of involving the (earlier disengaged) new recipient.

In the last excerpt, a speaker disengages from active participation. With some help from the others in finding the Finnish words, Gaia has introduced in Finnish her idea to grow birch trees, the national tree of Finland, in Brazil. The others reject her idea, saying that the climate is too hot for the tree to survive. The excerpt contains two instances of Toni brokering for Gaia (l. 9 & 11, and l. 19).

(6) Birch whisks (Restaurante_A 22.10)

- 01 SAU: mas esse não sobrevive aqui. ((to Gaia))
but that doesn't survive here
- 02 (0.9)
- 03 ANT: +◇se o[n ◇Suomesta ^tuotava ja pistettävä pakastearkkkuun.
it must be brought from Finland and put in the chest freezer
- 04 SAU: [é ◇quente dema^is.
it's too hot
ant +gazes at Gai->
gai ◇.....◇open vertical palm up twd Sau->
^g from Sau to Ant->
- 05 TON: mmhe[he^he*

06 SAU: [mm^heh
 gai ->^head and gaze down (through a nod)->
 ton *gaze from plate to Ant->

07 GAI: mhy ◊hä* hä+ ◊
 -->◊collapses fingers◊holds arm still->
 ant ->+
 ton ->*gazes at Gai->

08 SAU: .snff#h #
 #turns away
 fig #Fig.11

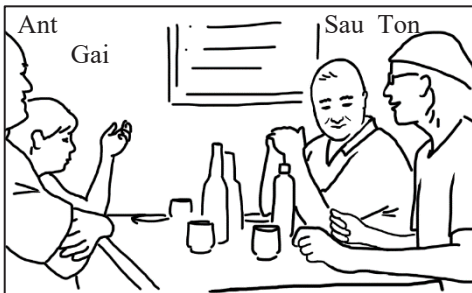


Fig. 11 Gaia gazing down, arm still; Toni gazing at Gaia

09 TON:→ tem q^ue (.) [tem que trazer] da Finlândia
 ((one)) must must bring from Finland

10 ANT: [sillaihan ne,]
 that's how they
 gai ->^gazes at Ton->

11 TON:→ e [colocar no] congelador;
 and put in the freezer

12 GAI [é::,]
 yeah

13 GAI: nm^m-mn,
 ->^gaze down->

14 ANT: sillaihan *ne säi◊^lyttää; (0.2) ^monetki (0.4)
 that's how they store many people ((store))
 gai ->◊closes palm, forming a fist->
 -->^to distance---^at Ant->
 ton ->*gazes at Ant->

15 saunavihtoja että ne .h •kesällä tekee niin
 birch whisks that they .h in the summer make
 ton •nods->

16 vihta aikaan ja sitte pistää^ pakas◊te*ark[kuu. •
 during the season and then put in the chest freezer
 gai ->^gazes down->
 -->◊grasping glass->
 ton ->*gazes at Gai
 ->•

17 SAU:

fig

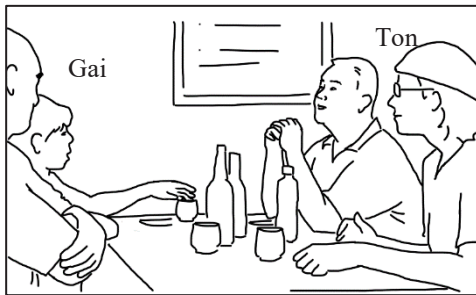


Fig. 12 Gaia grasping her drink; Toni gazing at her

[j↑o#o. (.)

yes

#Fig.12

18 *se oli mun< mun isän=*
that was my my father's

19 TON:→ =aa; •(.)^*essas* (.) >*esses< ne◇gócios pra◇*
oh DEM.PL DEM.PL thing.PL PREP
oh those those things for
•"whisking" on his back->

gai ^gaze at Ton->>

->◇drinks---◇nods, puts glass down

20 SAU: *i↑sä teki;• ((schisming of conversation Ant/Sau, Ton/Gai))*
father made

ton ----->•

21 TON: *va- dá ↑dá pra trazer da Finlândia e*
((one)) can can bring from Finland and

22 *depois colocar no congelador e depois usar;*
then put in the freezer and then use

23 GAI: *é?•*
is it so

ton •nods->

24 (1.2)•

ton ->•

25 GAI: *ó Toni quan- traz para mim quando você for?*
hey Toni whe- bring for me when you go

In line 1, Sauli argues against Gaia's idea. Gaia is about to respond, launching her action with an open palm-up gesture towards him, when Antti and Sauli start talking simultaneously with her gesturing. Sauli continues his earlier reasoning (l. 4), and Antti suggests in a joking tone that they should bring the tree from Finland and put it in a chest freezer (l. 3). Gaia is, then, a recipient of two overlapping turns treat her idea as rejected. She freezes the palm gesture and glances at Antti before gazing down (l. 6), while both Sauli and Toni receive Antti's humorous suggestion with

laughter. Even if Gaia did not catch the details, the laughter is available as a cue that Antti said something amusing. Gaia joins by producing some laughter particles, yet, with minimal enthusiasm and gazing down (l. 6–7). She also relaxes the frozen palm up gesture by collapsing her fingers (Fig.11), manifesting her gradual withdrawal from incipient speakership. Gaia continues to gaze down with her head lowered until lines 9–10 when Toni brokers for her.

Toni orients to Gaia's conduct as a display of her lack of understanding by translating Antti's comment to her.

By comparison, Gaia's spouse Sauli withdraws his gaze, in mutual disengagement. In fact, Sauli turns his head completely away from Gaia just prior to Toni's brokering (Fig. 11), and his bodily conduct gives the impression that he is averting attention from signs of awkwardness given off by Gaia's actions. Toni and Sauli thereby respond in alternative ways to the transpiring trouble. Gaia's slightly mumbled uptake (l. 13) of Toni's Portuguese turn conceals rather than displays her current understanding and stance.

Meanwhile, Antti continues talking to Sauli about how to store birch whisks (to be used in Finnish sauna) by freezing them (l. 14–16). Midway through this turn, Gaia glances at Antti, but then turns away again and prepares to grasp her drinking glass. Toni follows Gaia with his gaze as she turns away and grasps the glass (l. 16), and he engages in brokering for Gaia for the second time (l. 19). The timing of the brokering resembles that in **Excerpt 5**, as it coincides with the recipient grasping their drink after extended displays of disengagement. Yet, its sequential placing is different, as Toni engages in brokering in the middle of Sauli's ongoing turn. This implies an orientation to securing Gaia's understanding before the conversation moves to further matters.

Even though Toni displayed his own understanding of Antti's turn earlier by repeatedly nodding (l. 15–16), he begins to translate it with a change-of-state token (*aa*), which, then, appears targeted at Gaia. The turn offers her a revised interpretation (see Koivisto, 2015) of the birch discussion: it did not concern storing trees in chest freezers, which would be absurd, but only the sauna whisks made from the branches of the tree. Toni thus treats Gaia as not having understood this aspect, and his own earlier translation as misleading. Gaia now receives the idea of storing birch as new and useful information (l. 23, 25), which displays her renewed understanding. Meanwhile, Sauli and Antti continue to talk in Finnish, in overlap with the brokering sequence (talk by Antti and Sauli has been omitted from the transcript from l. 20). Gaia does not become integrated in their discussion but only in the separate conversation with the broker.

In this excerpt, linguistic assistance is provided as a remedy to the recipient's increasing difficulty of contributing with limited resources in a complex context of action. Although Gaia does not make any repair initiatives, her increasing withdrawal from speakership and downplayed responses to Antti's talk are available for Toni as signs of trouble. By brokering, he offers Gaia further opportunities for responsive action, and the further specification (l. 19, 21–22) finally achieves to re-engage Gaia as a speaker, although only on the side of the Finnish conversation.

As a final note, Gaia's incipient action has been intercepted by the talk that is later brokered for her. Likewise, in **Excerpt 3**, Beatriz's talk was interrupted by Pirkko's initiative. These cases point at the many ways in which language-based access to conversational agency is tied to how the sequential context otherwise shapes opportunities for participation, offering or restricting them.

6. Discussion

This article has explored the multimodal coordination of when, what, and how prior talk is brokered for a non-understanding participant. The participant's gaze and related bodily conduct can indicate both availability as a recipient and disengagement from the conversation. They bring up two intertwined aspects of peripheral participation that may invite brokering: being ready to participate but lacking enough access and resources to do so, and increasingly withdrawing from the interaction due to lacking these. Brokers respond in nuanced ways to both of these aspects.

The paper has aimed at demonstrating how potential recipient's gaze conduct, such as gaze shift or extended gaze toward the main speaker, can invite language brokering. It was shown that the gaze shift can be part of a trajectory that involves earlier disengaging conduct (gazing around, motionless blank face, lowering the head, self-grooming, orienting toward material objects and the surrounding environment). Based on two cases in which engaging in brokering coincides with the broker seeing the disengaged party in the process of grasping their drink, it was furthermore suggested that disengaging conduct itself in some sequential contexts can invite brokering. Turning to one's drink can be a final resort in a situation of being left out or losing the track of the conversation, as it is a parallel, legitimate activity that enables the drinker to remove themselves briefly from being "on hold" as a participant. At the same time, it is available as a cue for potential brokers for the need of remedying that party's opportunities to participate. The disengaged participants also appear to express some awkwardness in ways that the others can perceive (and respond to), although this is hard to make visible in the transcripts and screenshots/line drawings.

These findings were expanded by exploring how the way brokers provide linguistic assistance reflexively orients to the recipients' local participation status, and how it shapes their opportunities for further involvement. The brokers' orientations to the recipients' membership in and knowledge of the matters being discussed may offer them (or not) resources to build further conversation. The cases provide evidence of a reciprocal orientation to the linguistically different party's participant status: In the cases in which the recipient of brokering has displayed engagement only, brokering leads to their integration in the larger conversation, and this happens without much recontextualization of the prior action in the way it is brokered (Ex. 1, 2). All parties treat the recipient's participation as locally relevant and the asymmetric situation as unproblematic. By comparison, in the cases that contain also or only signs of disengagement, the ways brokers provide linguistic assistance construct the recipients' "outsider" status: brokers portray the recipients' non-involvement in the prior conversation as accountable (Ex. 3, 4) and/or redesign the prior action for them as new recipients (Ex. 3, 5). Both the brokers and the recipients thus attest to the recipients' unratified status

in the prior activity. Whether brokering leads to increased involvement or to maintaining the recipient's peripheral status also depends on how other present participants position themselves with regard to the brokering.

Earlier studies have discussed translation and code-switching as means of repairing previous language choices (Gafaranga, 2000; Greer, 2008). The present analyses show another side of the coin by showing that translations may also explain and account for language choices. Although the brokers remedy the recipient's access to the interaction by switching to their language and mediating to them some aspect of the prior conversation, at the same time the brokers may make the claim, more or less implicitly, that the content of the prior talk has legitimately restricted participation to the speakers of the other language. In other words, the brokers demonstrably orient to language choice as an element of recipient design and to what Auer (see 1998) has termed participant-related code switching. The local language choices are not only connected to linguistic identities but they organize various types of activities and expert and membership roles (Mondada, 2004, 2012).

Peripheral participation status can be understood as a status maintained by mutual conduct and thereby distinct from one-sided "marginalization" of a party (Hindmarsh, 2010, p. 228). The examined asymmetrically multilingual interactions are at times on the verge of marginalizing one party. The brokers seem to recognize these moments and remedy them by facilitating either focal or more peripheral, yet, accountable

and mutually negotiated forms of participation.

Brokering can lead to sustaining peripheral participation in the sense that its recipient does not become integrated in the line of activity that the brokering concerns. This may happen because the brokering sequence closes the prior activity (instead of continuing it), or because the brokering develops into a separate line of conversation from the one that it mediates (as in Ex. 6). Alternatively, brokering can expand and continue the activity. In some cases, the original speakers also display recognition that what they said earlier is now being translated, and position themselves as overhearing principals (Goffman, 1981) (Ex. 2). The unfolding of local sequences and activities opens up different opportunities for participation and for trajectories of brokering, for instance, when produced at the closure of an activity vs. in overlap with one.

In the process of recontextualizing the prior action when brokering it to someone (e.g. redesigning it to a previously uninvolved participant), the brokers may end up extensively modifying the action. This type of recipient design is a major reason why interpreted utterances in everyday conversations often deviate so much from the source talk, in comparison to more systematic modes of interpreting. That is, although language brokering is done occasionally and the ways of translating prior talk may vary considerably, these practices are not random but result from a methodical interactional organization of action and participation.

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APPENDIX

Summary of transcription conventions

Talk (for more detail, see Jefferson 2004)

Intonation

.	falling
;	slightly falling
,	level
?	rising
↑/↓	rise/fall in pitch

Other

spea <u>k</u>	emphasis
>spea <u>k</u> <	fast pace
<spea <u>k</u> >	slow pace
°spea <u>k</u> °	quiet
SPEA <u>K</u>	loud
sp-	word cut off
spea:k	sound lengthening
£spea <u>k</u> £	smiley voice
.h/h	audible inhalation/exhalation
sp(h)ea <u>k</u>	laughter within talk
[]	beginning and end of overlap
=	no gap between two adjacent items
(.)	micropause (<0.2 sec)
(0.6)	pause in seconds
(speak)/(-)	uncertain item/not heard

Gloss and translation

SMALL CAPS	morphological gloss, see https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php
((item))	item that clarifies translation

Embodied action (for full conventions, see Mondada 2019)

**;	++	Description of embodied action delimited between identical symbols; timing in relation to talk indicated by corresponding symbols on lines of talk.
-->		Action continues across subsequent lines until next identical symbol (-->*).
>>		Action begins before (>>) or continues after (-->>) the excerpt.
....		Action's preparation;
---		apex;
'''		retraction.
fig; #		screen shot (/line drawing) and its timing