

**RECONSIDERING THE USES OF A MINIMAL ‘NON-
LEXICAL’ RESPONSE TOKEN THROUGH ‘EMBODIMENT’:
A SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHER’S DEPLOYMENT OF
‘MM HM’ AS A THIRD-TURN RECEIPT**

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Abstract

Studies on L2 classroom interaction have placed more weight on the importance of substantial teacher talk (i.e., in the third turns of the IRFs), but what is noticeably lacking until now has been a systematic study of the teachers' uses of minimal response tokens (e.g., 'Mm', 'Mm hm', 'Uh huh', 'Okay', 'Yeah'). It seems that the uses of these tokens by L2 teachers and what they achieve in pedagogical settings have been ignored or highly undifferentiated. However, in the ethnomethodological tradition, each token has been found to be doing distinctive work (e.g., Beach, 1993; Gardner, 1997; Heritage, 1984; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982). Therefore, this study investigates the distinctive work achieved by 'Mm hm' in the L2 classroom, where pedagogy (i.e., the goal-oriented nature of interaction) plays an important role in shaping interaction (Seedhouse, 2004).

Although the research literature has revealed useful insights regarding the uses of minimal response tokens in talk-in-interaction, it is far from consistent in the way in which they are treated (Gardner, 2001), especially in relation to the uses of 'non-lexical' response tokens (e.g., 'Mm', 'Uh huh', 'Mm hm'), as it has been claimed that they lack semantic meaning (Gardner, 1997, 2001; Muller, 1996). According to Muller (1996), they acquire specific meanings not only by their sequential placement, but also by their prosodic shape, but what they do in talk-in-interaction still remains to be analysed as a 'contingent' achievement. Therefore, the present study investigates if a minimal 'non-lexical' response token (i.e., 'Mm hm'), which is a bilabial nasal consisting of two syllables (i.e., articulated with an aspiration in the second syllable, the 'h') (Gardner, 2001), acquires specific meanings as an 'embodied' achievement, where its sequential placement including timing (i.e., overlap, pause), prosodic shape, and a L2 teacher's embodied resources (e.g., gaze, nods, gestures, body posture) that go with it 'converge' to attribute these meanings to it (i.e., inform how it is interpreted/understood by students) in L2 classroom interaction. The study also investigates the uses of two tokens, 'Mm hm' and 'Yeah', by the teacher as consecutive response tokens to understand if and how the teacher is attributing different sequential relevancies to the students' prior turns through shifting from one token to another.

The data of the study, in the form of 15 hours of video-recordings, comes from a specific academic course on 'Contextual Grammar' in a department of English Language Teaching at a state university in Turkey. The participants are first-year teacher candidates of English and one female teacher. The data is transcribed using Jeffersonian conventions and analysed using multimodal CA.

The findings suggest that the sequential positioning of ‘Mm hm’, including its timing and prosodic shape help to disambiguate its use in the L2 classroom. The token is systematically articulated by the teacher as a third-turn-receipt with different prosodic shapes (e.g., a falling, a falling-rising, a rising-falling intonation contour) as distinctive responses to a) acknowledge the students’ second turn responses in turn-initial and turn-medial positions as a strong acknowledgment token and b) pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue (i.e., as a continuer). In addition, the following four distinct categories have been identified regarding the use of the token as a continuer in the data: a) to acknowledge the students’ intention to continue, b) to display an evaluative stance with the students’ answers within and during the turns, c) to confirm the students’ utterances at within-turn junctures, or d) to prompt the students to expand on their answers (i.e., open-up with their talk).

The findings also suggest that it is not only the sequential positioning of the token, including its timing and prosodic shape that help to disambiguate its use, but the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, gestures, body posture) the teacher draws upon also play an important role in ascribing specific meanings to it (i.e., informing how it is interpreted/understood by the students) in the L2 classroom. The analysis of the data also shows that ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ are used by the teacher in the third turns of the IRFs as distinctive responses to the students’ second turn answers, thereby suggesting that the fact that the teacher is orienting to the norms of the pedagogy has been reflected on her choice of the tokens.

This study not only has methodological implications, as it considers an even more fine-grained, multimodal analysis of the uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’), but it also has pedagogical implications for L2 teaching research and practice such as teachers’ embodied practices in teacher-fronted sequences, the effect of teachers’ language use and interaction on learner participation and hence on creating space for learning, and L2 classroom interactional competence (Walsh, 2011), as it describes the distinctive uses of the token by a L2 teacher and the roles it plays in shaping L2 classroom interaction.

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The List of Acronyms

CA: Conversation Analysis

CA-for-SLA: Conversation Analysis for Second Language Acquisition

CIC: Classroom Interactional Competence

CL: Corpus Linguistics

DA: Discourse Analysis

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

ELT: English Language Teaching

ESL: English as a Second Language

FPP: First-Pair-Part (of an adjacency pair)

IA: Interaction Analysis

IC: Interactional Competence

IRF: Initiation-Response-Feedback

L1: First Language

L2: Second Language

SPP: Second-Pair-Part (of an adjacency pair)

TCUs: Turn Construction Units

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the objectives, scope, research context, and methodology of the thesis. Firstly, the aim and scope of the thesis will be outlined in relation to the research questions. This will be followed by a brief summary of the research context. Then, the methodology of the thesis will be introduced. Lastly, the outline of the thesis will be presented.

1.1 The Aim and Scope of the Study

As a social approach, Conversation Analysis (CA) has been adopted in a wide range of studies to describe the “details of social actions” in natural encounters (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p.289). However, as Goodwin (1986, p. 205) states, “the primary source of data has typically come from the activities of speakers, and what is noticeably lacking is systematic studies of the activities of hearers”. This suggests that the investigation of listener behaviors has been given less attention in social interaction. Especially, what listeners do with minimal response tokens (e.g., ‘Mm’, ‘Mm hm’, ‘Yeah’) remains as highly unexplored. Similarly, while CA has also been applied to L2 classrooms to describe and examine language teaching and learning processes engendered through talk-and-other-conduct in interaction (e.g., prosody, gestures) (Schegloff, 2007), the roles that seemingly minor aspects of interaction like response tokens play in language teaching and learning processes in L2 classrooms have not been investigated in great detail.

Over years, cutting-edge research on this emerging field called Conversation Analysis for Second Language Acquisition (CA-for-SLA) (Markee & Kasper, 2004) has brought evidence for understanding a number of phenomena in relation to the teaching practices of L2 teachers. However, studies on L2 classroom interaction have placed more weight on the importance of substantial teacher talk in the third-turns of the IRFs (e.g., repetitions, positive assessments), but what is noticeably lacking until now has been a systematic study of the L2 teachers’ uses of minimal response tokens (e.g., ‘Mm’, ‘Mm hm’, ‘Uh huh’, ‘Okay’, ‘Yeah’) as third-turn receipts. It seems that the uses of these tokens by L2 teachers and what they achieve in pedagogical settings have been ignored, or they have been lumped together more or less as a homogenous group, namely teacher ‘backchannels’, ‘acknowledgment and listenership tokens’, or ‘reaction/response markers’. However, in the ethnomethodological tradition, each

has been found to be doing distinctive work (e.g., Beach, 1993; Gardner, 1997; Heritage, 1984a; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982). Thus, this is the first study in ‘Applied Linguistics’ and ‘Classroom Discourse Research’ that thoroughly investigates the distinctive work achieved by one of them (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) in the L2 classroom, where pedagogy (i.e., the goal-oriented nature of interaction) plays an important role in shaping interaction (Seedhouse, 2004).

Although detailed investigations of the deployment of various minimal response tokens in a wide range of contexts including academic lectures, advising sessions, therapy, as well as in ordinary conversation have been conducted in the CA tradition, the research literature is far from consistent in the way in which they are treated (Gardner, 2001), especially in relation to the uses of minimal ‘non-lexical’ response tokens (e.g., ‘Mm’, ‘Uh huh’, ‘Mm hm’), as it has been claimed that they lack semantic meaning (Gardner, 1997, 2001; Muller, 1996).

According to Muller (1996), they acquire specific meanings not only by their sequential placement, but also by their prosodic shape. However, to the best of my knowledge, no study thus far has explored them holistically, as ‘embodied’ achievements, despite the rising interest in the involvement of the body, embodied conduct, in research on social interaction in general and L2 classroom interaction in particular (i.e., ‘the embodied turn’: Nevile, 2015). Therefore, this is also the first study that thoroughly investigates the uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’), which is a bilabial nasal consisting of two syllables (i.e., articulated with an aspiration in the second syllable, the ‘h’) (Gardner, 2001), from a multi-modal, conversation-analytic perspective.

The study also investigates the uses of two tokens (i.e., ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’) within the sequences where they are employed in the L2 classroom and provides accounts for the variation. It is concluded in the Literature Review chapter that the use of ‘Mm hm’ along with the deployment of ‘Yeah’ and some other response tokens (e.g., ‘Okay’) has been examined to determine if there is a ‘systematicity’ to the occurrences of the tokens within the sequences where they are employed (e.g., Guthrie, 1997; Jefferson, 1984). However, these studies have presented some observations and classifications regarding the ordering of the tokens rather than providing accounts for variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens. Therefore, the current study also aims to understand if and how allowing for variance (i.e., shifting from ‘Mm hm’ to ‘Yeah’) attributes different sequential relevancies to prior turns in the L2 classroom.

Keeping these methodological and contextual research gaps in mind, the aim of the current study is firstly to understand the role of ‘embodiment’ in the employment of response tokens, ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in particular. Secondly, by focusing on the characteristic uses of such a small ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) by a L2 teacher in the L2 classroom interaction from a multi-modal perspective, the aim is to further understand L2 teachers’ embodied practices in teacher-fronted sequences and hence the effect of language use and interaction on learner involvement. In other words, as the study considers the role of other, non-vocal, conduct in these sequences, the aim is to shed further light on ‘the embodied turn’ in L2 classroom interaction. As such, the current study will firstly have methodological implications, as it considers an even more fine-grained, multimodal analysis of the uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’). It will also have pedagogical implications for L2 teaching research and practice such as teachers’ embodied practices in teacher-fronted sequences, the effect of teachers’ language use and interaction on learner involvement (i.e., participation) and hence creating space for learning, and L2 classroom interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh, 2011), as it describes the distinctive uses of the token by a L2 teacher and the roles it plays in shaping L2 classroom interaction.

The analyses draw on a close examination of the tokens’ sequential placement (i.e., what they follow and what they precede), their prosodic shape, and their timing (i.e., pause), as well as the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) drawn upon by a L2 teacher to answer the following questions:

1. What are the characteristic uses of ‘Mm hm’ by a L2 teacher as a third-turn receipt?
2. What are the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) drawn upon by a L2 teacher that contribute to the functional variability of ‘Mm hm’ (i.e., how it is treated and interpreted by the students)?
3. What kinds of sequential relevancies does the choice of a token create?

1.2 Research Context

The data for this thesis, in the form of 15 hours of video recordings, comes from a specific academic course on ‘Contextual Grammar II’ taught during the spring semesters of every academic year in the Division of English Language Teaching (ELT) at the Faculty of Education at Erciyes University in Turkey. Three hours of video recordings come from a classroom that was recorded in the spring term of 2013/14. Three hours of video recordings come from a classroom that was recorded in the spring term of 2014/15 with the same teacher, but different students. The rest of the recordings, 9 hours of video recordings, come from a

classroom that was recorded in the spring term of 2015/16 with the same teacher, but different students. To put it simply, 15 hours of video-recorded data come from three different classrooms with one teacher and the same course objectives, but different students and course books. The course, which has been designed for the first-year teacher candidates of English, is a three-hour seminar lectured on a weekly basis during the fall (as Contextual Grammar I) and spring (as Contextual Grammar II) semesters of every academic year in the division.

The teacher, who was born and raised in Turkey, is a lecturer in the department for five years. She had a PhD in ELT at a different state university in Turkey, and she has been teaching English at tertiary level for 7 years. The students (approximately 35 in each classroom) are first year teacher-candidates of English, who will be teaching English in primary or high schools after a four-year study in the division.

The recordings were collected with two digital cameras placed at the back and front of the classrooms. The cameras were set at the beginning of each session, one focused on the teacher and one focused on the students to capture all details of talk-and-other-conduct-in-interaction (e.g., prosody, gestures) (Schegloff, 2007). Three hours of the recordings that come from the classroom recorded in the spring term of the academic year 2014/15 were excluded from the study, as the camera placed at the back of the classroom turned out to be switched off during the interaction. Therefore, 12 classroom hours of video-recordings in total have been analysed for the current study.

1.3 Methodology

This study uses Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks et al, 1974) as a methodology by also applying a multi-modal approach (e.g., Goodwin, 1981) to the video-recorded data. The interaction that include the phenomena under investigation is transcribed in addition to various multi-semiotic resources enacted by the teacher including gaze, hand gestures, body movements and embodiment of classroom artefacts.

By highlighting the participants' use of multi-semiotic resources through adapting a multi-modal analytic approach, it is shown that language is seen not as an abstract set of potentialities but as situated action, organized in the temporal and sequential unfolding of its uses, mobilized with other multimodal resources such as glances, gestures, bodily postures and body movements (Mondada, 2008). In addition to that, this approach to interaction combines the temporally unfolding of the organization of talk with “the semiotic structure provided by the historically built material world, and the body as an unfolding locus for the

display of meaning and action” (Goodwin, 2000, p. 1517). In order to make the transcript representations of the data clearer to the readers, some screenshots of the teacher in which the teacher uses non-verbal behavior in relation to phenomena under investigation are included as part of the transcript, thereby presenting a frame-to-frame development of action.

Several reasons why this approach is taken for the study are noted throughout the Literature Review and Methodology chapters, challenging the adopted perspectives to study the phenomena being researched as well as comparing and contrasting it with the other methodologies used to study L2 classroom data. It is concluded in these chapters that only by adopting this approach, seemingly minor aspects of interaction like ‘non-lexical’ response tokens can be analysed as a ‘contingent’ achievement, where very micro-details of interaction (e.g., overlaps, pauses, prosodic changes, gaze, gestures, head nods) are at play. Therefore, a CA approach from a multi-modal perspective is taken to answer the research questions of the study.

1.4 Thesis Outline

In this chapter, an overview and purpose of the thesis have been provided in addition to the significance of the research for L2 classroom interaction. The following chapter will present a review of literature on the phenomena. Chapter 3 will present the methodology of the thesis and will explain the research design in general. In this chapter, detailed information on the participants, research context, and data collection procedures will be given in addition to issues on ethics. This will be followed by introducing CA as an approach and methodology to investigate naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. In the following sections of the chapter, issues related to transcriptions and building a collection will be discussed. The chapter will be closed by addressing how validity and reliability have been satisfied. In chapter 4, the analysis of the transcripts will be carried out by addressing each research question. Chapter 5 will bring together findings that came out of the analyses, and potential implications for L2 classroom research and teacher education will be discussed. The thesis will be completed with a conclusion chapter.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will explain the terminology and concepts used in the Analysis and Discussion chapters of the current study and review the relevant literature. It will also present the main arguments and analytical considerations of the study drawing on the previous research. The argument of this chapter is firstly that studies on L2 classroom interaction have placed more weight on the importance of substantial teacher talk (i.e., in the third turns of the IRFs), but what is noticeably lacking until now has been a systematic study of the L2 teachers' uses of minimal response tokens (e.g., 'Mm', 'Mm hm', 'Uh huh', 'Okay', 'Yeah'). It seems that the uses of these tokens by L2 teachers and what they achieve in pedagogical settings have been ignored or highly undifferentiated. However, in the ethnomethodological tradition, each token has been found to be doing distinctive work (e.g., Beach, 1993; Gardner, 1997; Heritage, 1984a; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982). Therefore, the current study investigates the distinctive work achieved by a minimal 'non-lexical' response token (i.e., 'Mm hm') in the L2 classroom, where pedagogy (i.e., the goal-oriented nature of interaction) plays an important role in shaping interaction (Seedhouse, 2004).

Secondly, the literature is far from consistent in the way in which these tokens are treated (Gardner, 2001), especially in relation to the uses of 'non-lexical' response tokens (e.g., 'Mm', 'Uh huh', 'Mm hm'), as it has been claimed that they lack semantic meaning (Gardner, 1997, 2001; Muller, 1996). According to Muller (1996), they acquire specific meanings not only by their sequential placement, but also by their prosodic shape, but what they do in talk-in-interaction still remains to be analysed as a 'contingent' achievement. Therefore, the main argument of the study is that 'non-lexical' response tokens (i.e., 'Mm hm' in this case) can only acquire specific meanings as an 'embodied' achievement, where their sequential placement including timing, prosodic shape, and recipients' (i.e., a L2 teacher in this case) non-verbal cues (e.g., gaze, nods, gestures, body posture) that go with them 'converge' to attribute these meanings to them in talk-in-interaction (i.e., L2 classroom interaction in this case).

The organisation of this chapter is as follows: The first section will present a review of the literature on the uses and treatments of a variety of response tokens with a particular focus on 'non-lexical' response tokens in the CA tradition and introduce the main arguments and analytical considerations of the current study. In the second section, the focus will be on the

use of response tokens as a continuer, with a particular focus on ‘Mm hm’. The third section will discuss the work on response tokens and ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in the L2 classroom and provide a discussion of a variety of subjects like teacher talk, learner involvement, and L2 learning opportunities as well as introducing the concept of (classroom) interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh, 2011). Lastly, the final section will focus on embodiment in the L2 classroom and raise some important issues based on the findings of the current study.

2.1 A Review of the Relevant Literature

In this section, firstly, a review of literature on the uses and treatments of a variety of response tokens in the CA tradition will be presented with a particular focus on ‘non-lexical’ response tokens. By so doing, this section will provide a better understanding of how response tokens, and ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in particular have been investigated so far in research literature and how ‘what they mean’ has been glossed and certain classifications have been made.

2.1.1 Early work on response tokens in the CA tradition

In research literature, the first term used for response tokens is ‘backchannels’ (Yngve, 1970). Duncan and Fiske (1977) also use the term ‘backchannel utterances’ for some tokens such as ‘Yeah’ and ‘Mm hm’ as well as repetitions and collaborative completions. On the other hand, Fishman (1983) uses the term ‘minimal responses’ for ‘Yeah’, ‘Umm’, and ‘Huh’. Bublitz (1988) chose to use ‘hearer signals’ by taking an action-oriented position (i.e., speech act theory).

Collecting response tokens under such umbrella terms has been seen problematic by many researchers in the ethnomethodological tradition, as the notion of ‘back-channelling’ includes every listener activity such as asking for clarification, confirmation, and other types of repair (Heritage, 1984a). Thus, Heritage notes that (p. 335):

“Although it has been almost traditional to treat “Oh” and related utterances (such as “Yes,” “Uh huh,” “Mm hm,” etc.) as an undifferentiated collection of “backchannels” or “signals of continued attention,” the observations presented in this chapter suggest that such treatments seriously underestimate the diversity and complexity of the tasks that these objects are used to accomplish”.

All of the work done so far has supported his argument. In the CA tradition, they have come in different shapes (e.g., Beach, 1993; Gardner, 1997; Goodwin, 1986; Heritage, 1984a; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982). Their meanings have been distinctively glossed and

paraphrased as ‘continuers’ (e.g., ‘Mm hm’, ‘Uh huh’), ‘acknowledgements’ (e.g., ‘Mm’, ‘Yeah’), ‘newsmarkers’ (e.g., the change-of-state token ‘Oh’, the idea-connector ‘Right’), ‘change-of-activity tokens’ (e.g., ‘Okay’, ‘Alright’), and ‘assessments’ (e.g., wow). Over years, it has been shown that this categorisation can even be violated and each can be quite multi-functional.

For the deployment of ‘Oh’, for example, the initial work by Jefferson (1978) suggests that the token is used at specific points in talk where listeners project a ‘sudden remembering’, whereas Heritage (1984a) argues that the token actually displays an epistemic shift, ‘I know something that I didn’t know before’, thereby being used in talk-in-interaction by listeners as a change-of-state token.

In terms of the deployment of ‘Okay’, the initial work by Schegloff and Sacks (1973) on pre-closings in telephone calls has identified some key ways in which ‘Okay’ is sequentially active. That is, the deployment of ‘Okay’s has been reported to emerge as devices initiating movement toward closure and/or as passing turns ‘en route to terminating phone calls’. A further analysis of the token by Beach (1993) suggests that ‘Okay’ usages are both “closure-relevant and continuative” (p. 341). That is, the researcher demonstrates the dual character of ‘Okay’ both as a means of simultaneously attending to prior turn and setting-up next-positioned matters (i.e., topics/activities).

A further type of response token is ‘Right’, two of the major uses of which have been reported as an epistemic confirmation token (i.e., with the sense of ‘that’s right’) and a change-of-activity or pre-closing token (i.e., when used in an ‘Alright/Okay’ environment) (Gardner, 2001). Similarly, McCarthy (2003) suggests that ‘Right’ typically marks “transactional or topical boundaries” (p. 48). However, the studies of Gardner (2005, 2007) violate this categorisation associated with the token by demonstrating that the token can acknowledge connections made by another speaker between related ideas, either in immediately prior utterances, or to earlier in an interaction, such as in re-topicalizing what a participant has said earlier.

From the studies reported above, it can be argued that the literature is still far from consistent regarding the ways response tokens have been treated and the ways in which these tokens have been subject to analysis. Zimmerman (1993) objects to any sort of coding and lumping without paying special attention to differences in their prosodic shape and intonation contours, and their sequential environment. For example, the term ‘acknowledgment’ appears to be used particularly for ‘Yeah’ and its variants such as ‘Yes’, ‘Yep’, which function to

display 'retrospective' receipt of the prior turn, thereby claiming understanding and agreement (Jefferson, 1993). However, this categorical classification has been violated by Gardner (2001), who has demonstrated that 'Yeah' can be doing 'continuer' work, depending on its sequential position, any silence that may surround it, and its prosodic shape (see also Drummond & Hopper, 1993c). Therefore, it can be claimed that, as Gardner (2001, p. 20) puts it, response tokens are "indeed more complex than most of the research has reported so far in the CA tradition".

This sub-section has presented the early work on the uses of some response tokens providing a discussion of what meanings they have so far been assigned to in the CA tradition. The next sub-section will present a review of literature on 'non-lexical' response tokens and introduce the main arguments and analytical considerations of the current study.

2.1.2 'Non-lexical' response tokens

In the previous section, some meanings glossed for some response tokens such as 'Right', 'Okay', 'Yeah' have been presented claiming that even though these tokens have been paid close attention in the CA tradition, the literature is not still quite consistent regarding the ways in which they are treated. When it comes to 'non-lexical' response tokens such as 'Hmm', 'Mm', 'Umm', 'Mhm', 'Uh huh', and 'Mm hm', as I see it now, the analyses done to reveal what they do in talk-in-interaction have even got more complicated, as these particles lack semantic meaning (Gardner, 1997, 2001; Muller, 1996). Despite this, they have also received considerable attention in research literature for years (e.g., Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Gardner, 1997, 1998, 2001; Goodwin, 1986; Guthrie, 1997; Jefferson, 1984; Mazeland, 1990; Muller, 1996; Schegloff, 1982; Ward, 2006). The researchers have tried to understand what they mean by focusing on what listeners do with them in talk-in-interaction and the reasons for such a variety of sound combinations.

By focusing on the roles these tokens have in storytelling in ordinary conversation and the ways people listen to stories, Sacks (1992a) coins the term, 'continuer' for some of these items (e.g., 'Uh huh') and notes that such tokens indicate to story tellers that their stories are listened to as they are being told, thereby suggesting that these tokens are "utterances recognising that the story is yet going on" (p. 766). Schegloff (1972, 1982, 1993) also uses this term providing a wider currency for utterances such as 'Uh huh', 'Mm hm', and 'Yeah'.

Some researchers have made subjective judgements adapting the 'Compositional Hypothesis', thus taking the view that the meaning of a non-lexical utterance is predictable from the

meaning of its component sounds. Ward (2006), for example, claims that as there are a large variety of sound combinations which convey different meanings, people tend to use such variety of sounds in talk-in-interaction. Basically, what the analysts, who adapt this approach, do is that they examine the entire set of tokens containing distinctive sounds such as /m/, /o/, /s/ and come up with the best potential meaning for them. They look for two sorts of information in order to determine the meanings of the tokens. Firstly, they look at the nearby utterances of the speaker and interlocutor (i.e., both before and after the token) and make inferences about how the speaker has meant it and how the listener has interpreted it. Secondly, they determine the best meaning from the way the token sounds in itself, which is based on native speaker intuitions. As such, the meaning of /m/ in ‘non-lexical’ sounds such as ‘Mm’, ‘Mhm’, ‘Mm hm’ has been described as follows in the Ward’s study (p. 13):

“Thought-worthy. People in conversation sometimes interact relatively superficially and sometimes at a deeper level. Deeper places in conversation sometimes involve the sharing of some emotion, but more often just the communication of something that requires thought. The speaker may mark something said by the other as meriting thought, or he may mark something that he himself has just said, or is trying to say, as involving or meriting thought. This may correlate with the intention or need to slow down the pace of the conversation in order to give time for this thought or contemplation. Note that deepness in this sense does not usually involve intellectually deep thinking, just that the conversation turns relatively deeper for a moment or two”.

Ward further criticises this approach saying that “the sound-meaning mappings are context-independent” (i.e., each sound bears the same meaning regardless of the context) (p. 16). As such, he has introduced a new term, namely the ‘Compositional Model’, taking the view that the meaning of a whole is the sum of the meanings of the component sounds. By so doing, he claims that one can explain why some of the combinations are implausible. That is, a non-lexical utterance can only contain sounds whose meanings are compatible. For example, /mo/ is less plausible, as one cannot mean that he is contemplating something (i.e., the meaning associated with /m/) and at the same time in a state of having just assimilated some new information (i.e., the meaning associated with /o/). Therefore, he suggests that this gives an improved model of intuitions about which non-lexical utterances can be used in conversation.

The model introduced by Ward, as I see it, assigns each component sound a meaning and function (e.g., if there is a syllabication of the token such as ‘Mm hm’, ‘Uh huh’, it acts as a ‘backchannel’ and if not, it is a disfluency marker), thereby considering ‘sound-meaning-function’ together and implying that these ‘non-lexical’ tokens exhibit sound symbolism and their meanings are compositional. However, as he also further states, the model doesn’t say anything about the role of a sound in a conversational context, as a specific sound can have

different meanings across contexts where it occurs. As such, to me, these ‘sound-meaning-function’ mappings are still intuitive. According to Schegloff (1993), they should be examined in the local sequential context in which they are used. Similarly, Muller (1996) takes the view that “given their size and their scant lexical content, they are highly indexical ‘contingent’ achievements” (p. 133). Therefore, only by adapting a CA approach, we can understand the various kinds of pragmatic force behind them. In addition, as also demonstrated by the current study, there are alternative ways to express any given meaning with prosody, which also justifies why CA is the most appropriate methodology to show how these sound combinations acquire specific meanings in talk-in-interaction.

Gardner (1997), for example, demonstrates how ‘contingent’ the achievement is in assigning specific meanings to one of these particles (i.e., ‘Mm’) in talk-in-interaction by using CA. By taking the view that what these tokens do in talk-in-interaction should be interpreted according to a) their placement within a sequence of talk (i.e., what they respond to, how they in turn are responded to by the next speaker), b) their prosodic shape (i.e., pitch height, amplitude), and c) their timing (e.g., overlap) and the silence that may surround them, he investigates the characteristic uses of ‘Mm’ and its speakership incipency (i.e., projecting further talk). He demonstrates that ‘Mm’ is systematically articulated with different prosodic shapes (i.e., a falling, a falling-rising, and a rise-falling intonation contour) as distinctive responses a) to acknowledge the problem-free receipt of the prior utterance, b) to project a need for further talk as a continuer, and c) to display a heightened involvement in the talk such as surprise or sympathy. As for the token’s ability to project further talk in talk-in-interaction, Gardner suggests that ‘Mm’ is rarely followed by same-speaker talk and when it is, its terminal pitch direction is falling, and the talk that follows is almost on a topic other than the topic of the talk to which it is oriented. That is, the token in such instances is topically disaligning, thereby conveying that “I have heard what you have said as part of the emerging sequence of actions, and I have nothing substantial to add to what you have just said” (p. 133). Based on this finding, he suggests that ‘Mm’ is a ‘weak’ acknowledgment token and less aligning and affirming token than ‘Yeah’, as same-speaker talk following ‘Yeah’ is usually, but not always, a continuation of the topic of the immediately prior turn.

Gardner’s study provides useful insights into our understanding of how a minimal ‘non-lexical’ token (i.e., ‘Mm’) acquires specific meanings indexically and locally by the precise sequential location in which it occurs and by its prosodic shape. In addition, Gardner’s study also shows how a single syllable token can also act as a listening device to acknowledge the prior turn (i.e., on the contrary to what Ward (2006) claims for the roles single syllable tokens

play in interaction), even though he claims it is a ‘weak’ acknowledgment in that same-speaker talk following ‘Mm’ is a non-continuation of the topic of the immediate prior turn. Similarly, in the data analysed for the current study, ‘Mm hm’, which is paraphrased as a ‘continuer’, is also used by the teacher as an acknowledgment token to display a ‘retrospective’ acknowledgement of the prior turns of the students. More importantly, it is observed to be used as a ‘strong’ acknowledgment token, as the same-speaker turn (i.e., the teacher) is a continuation of the topic of the immediate prior turns of the students.

This suggests that there has to be a change in the ways these small items are interpreted in interaction research. Especially, the study of Gardner shows some strong analytic considerations CA research should base a token-analysis on. However, the study, as all of the other studies reported so far, has overlooked the non-verbal aspect of interaction. Therefore, the main argument of the current study is that ‘non-lexical’ response tokens, ‘Mm hm’ in this case, can only acquire specific meanings as an ‘embodied’ achievement, where their sequential placement, prosodic shape, timing, and a recipient’s (i.e., a L2 teacher in this case) non-verbal cues (e.g., gaze, nods, gestures) that go with them ‘converge’ to attribute these meanings to them in talk-in-interaction (i.e., L2 classroom interaction in this case). As such, the current study revisits the ‘analytical considerations’ suggested by Gardner (2001, p. 21) by incorporating non-verbal phenomena (e.g., gaze, nods, gestures) into the analysis and investigates what ‘Mm hm’ does at a particular point in the talk (e.g., acknowledging the students’ second-turn responses as a ‘strong’ acknowledgment token, acknowledging the students’ intention to go on as a ‘continuer’, displaying an ‘assessment’, displaying a mitigated ‘disaffiliation’) by addressing the following questions, which inform the study’s research questions:

1. Does the token occur as ‘stand-alone’ in its turn, or is it followed by more substantial talk, and what effect does this have on the way in which the token is used and interpreted by the students?
2. If it is deployed as ‘stand-alone’, what is its ‘exact’ sequential placement? (e.g., is it deployed anywhere within the turn in overlap with the prior talk, or at the boundaries of TCUs?)
3. What is the significance of different types of silence (i.e., long and short) before and after the deployment of the token?
4. What effect do intonation and other prosodic features have on the way in which the token is meant or interpreted or understood by the students?
5. What are the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, and nods) that

- contribute to the token's functional variability (i.e., how it is treated and interpreted)?
6. Why has a different token rather than the same one been chosen by the teacher at a particular point in the talk (i.e., Variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens) (see Section 2.2.3)?

To sum up, in this section, the relevant literature on the uses and treatments of a variety of response tokens in the research literature has been presented with a particular focus on 'non-lexical' response tokens, and the main arguments and analytical considerations of the current study have been introduced. A discussion of the early work on 'non-lexical' response tokens has been presented by comparing and contrasting CA methodology with other research traditions at some point with an aim to argue that not adopting such an approach will only result in intuitive judgments on what 'non-lexical' response tokens do in interaction, thereby claiming that this seemingly minor aspect of interaction is contingent upon specific micro-details of interaction. The next section will focus on the continuer use of response tokens, 'Mm hm' in particular by providing the relevant literature and discussing a wide range of issues like conditions under which we find response tokens, mostly 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh', as a continuer and variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens.

2.2 Continuers, Units for Turn-Extension and Turn-Completion, and Variations in the Selection of Consecutive Response Tokens

In this section, firstly, a review of the relevant literature on the use of response tokens as a continuer will be provided, with a particular focus on 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh'. Then, the conditions under which we find response tokens, mostly 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh', as a continuer will be discussed. Finally, a discussion on variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens will be provided. By so doing, this section will provide a better understanding of how the phenomena being researched in the current study have been analysed in interaction research and how they are investigated in the current study.

2.2.1 Early work on the continuer use of response tokens

All of the observations made so far in research literature give us one famous paraphrase for the token, 'Mm hm', which is 'continuer' (e.g., Gardner, 2001; Jefferson, 1984; Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 1982). The term is also used by Schegloff (1982) for 'Uh huh'. The reason for two different sound combinations, according to Gardner (2001), stems from the varieties in English. Gardner suggests that 'Uh huh' is mostly seen in American English, whereas 'Mm hm' is mostly seen in British English. Despite this, they do the same work in conversation,

which is that they pass up the opportunity take a more substantial turn at talk, thereby giving the floor to the prior speaker to continue (Gardner, 2001). Even though there are no differences observed and noted between them, apart from the obvious articulatory ones, in their study, Drummond & Hopper (1993a) suggest that ‘Uh huh’ signals “a sort of midrange speakership incipency” between ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ (p. 165) (i.e., as also speculated by Jefferson (1984), there is a movement from ‘Mm hm’ to ‘Uh huh’ to ‘Yeah’ within lengthy tellings, and this might indicate the recipient’s perspective on the progress of a telling toward its conclusion and a shift in speakership), but they note that there is a very similar rate of speakership incipency between ‘Uh huh’ and ‘Mm hm’.

In the current study, the continuer deployed by the teacher is a bilabial nasal (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) articulated with an aspiration in the second syllable (i.e., the ‘h’). This observation is based on the video-recordings, where I could clearly see and hear whether or not the teacher’s lips are closed. In addition, I could clearly see and hear that the token consists of two syllables (i.e., there is a syllabification of the token). The literature suggests that the syllabification of a token indicates that it is used to take a turn, but not the floor (i.e., to pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thus giving the floor to the prior speaker to continue). Gardner (1997), for example, notes that ‘Mm hm’ in comparison to ‘Mm’ is typically used as a listening device to pass up an opportunity to speak handing the floor straight back to the prior speaker, which is similar to what Ward (2006, p. 33) claims for the roles of two syllable items in conversation such as ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’ (i.e., ‘Lack of anything to say’). However, as mentioned before, one of the findings of the current study violates this notion in that it shows that ‘Mm hm’ is also used by the teacher as a ‘strong’ acknowledgment token to display a ‘retrospective’ acknowledgement of the prior turns of the students. As such, the token doesn’t indicate ‘passive recipency’ (Jefferson, 1984) or ‘lack of anything to say’ (Ward, 2006) in the sense that the teacher passes up an opportunity to speak handing the floor straight back to the prior speaker. This issue will be discussed in the Discussion chapter based on the evidence and details in the data.

The most detailed analysis of the continuer, ‘Uh huh’ comes from Schegloff (1982), where he also uses the same term for ‘Mm hm’. In his substantial treatment of the token, he notes that (p. 81):

“Perhaps the most common usage of ‘Uh huh’, etc. (in environments other than after yes/no questions) is to exhibit on the part of its producer an understanding that an extended unit of talk is underway by another, and that is not yet, or may not yet be (even ought not yet be), complete. It takes the stance that the speaker of that extended

unit should continue talking, and in that continued talking should continue that extended unit”.

This quote from Schegloff reveals one interesting question, which is that ‘does the continuer then exhibit attention or understanding’? As mentioned before, Sacks (1992a) also coins the term, ‘continuer’ for the token, even though he assumes very little about the ways in which it is used when compared to Schegloff (1982). He notes in a lecture that “it is difficult to say ‘Uh huh’ exhibits understanding” (1992a, p. 746), but he also shares his observations about the token suggesting that it is overwhelmingly placed at grammatical completion points (i.e., at possible TRPs) (see Sacks et al., 1974). In addition, he also uses the same term, ‘continuer’ for ‘Mm hm’ (1992b, p. 410), noting that “it does at least this: It says: The story is not yet over, I know that” (1992b, p. 9).

Similarly, Schegloff takes the view that ‘Uh huh’ and ‘Mm hm’ don’t have a semantic component denoting ‘understanding’. However, Gardner (2001) claims that as these tokens are used at such points where there is an opportunity for recipients to do repair work, they at least indicate “a lack of any claims to problems of understanding in the talk” (p. 23). Muller (1996) interprets the work done by them based on what comes from Schegloff (1982) and suggests that this ‘understanding’ or ‘stance’ claimed by Schegloff (1982) has a ‘retrospective aspect’ in that they indicate the incompleteness of the unit as well as having a ‘prospective aspect’ in that they instruct to the speaker to go on and say more, but they “remain neutral as to the many other possible qualities of the continuation work in question” (p. 132). Thus, he notes that (p. 136):

“The unobtrusive weak tokens tend to be used prevalingly as neutral monitoring responses ..., displaying active listenership but acknowledging a recognition of the emergent speech object only and thus remaining limited to a ‘de dicto’ reading (‘Yes I hear you and follow what you are saying’).”

Based on this discussion, it will be appropriate to ask here whether they are capable of displaying a specific stance (i.e., agreement, disagreement, or assessment) in talk-in-interaction and if so, how exactly they do this. Muller (1996) highlights the importance of prosody in giving them their characters and suggests that “they are highly indexical contingent achievements and they acquire specific meaning locally, not only by their precise sequential placement, but also by the particular ‘fit’ they show in relation to the prosodic features of their immediate environment” (p. 133). He thus notes that (p. 136):

“By making acknowledgments ‘prosodically salient’, a recipient may then signal an understanding that goes beyond a display of ‘de dicto’ recognition (‘Yes I hear you and follow what you are saying’) and assume a more differentiated stance (e.g., a ‘de re’ recognition of the object, place, person or event) current speaker is talking about (‘Yes, I know what/whom you are talking about’), an affiliation with an evaluative judgement or with the appropriateness and truth of what has been said”.

This quote from Muller suggests that the prosodic salience gives the continuers a character in talk-in-interaction. Similarly, as will be seen in the Analysis chapter, the current study also suggests that prosody plays an important role in giving the continuer, ‘Mm hm’, a stance in the L2 classroom interaction. However, it is not only the prosodic feature of the continuer that sets it free from only conveying a ‘de dicto’ reading (Muller, 1996), but the recipient’s (i.e., the teacher) non-verbal projections (e.g., head nods) that go with it also contribute to its functional variability in this sense. As mentioned before, this is an issue which has been overlooked in research literature so far, but this study suggests that non-verbal phenomena cannot be ignored, especially if the focus of attention is on such a small, ‘unobtrusive’, ‘non-lexical’ response token.

Even though what continuers do in interaction have not been investigated from a multi-modal perspective, these items, ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’ in particular have been given special attention in research literature for many years. The researchers have tried to understand the sequential treatments of them together with assessments (e.g., Goodwin, 1986), their specific uses to particular institutional settings like therapy (e.g., Czyzewski, 1995; Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010; Muntigl & Zabala, 2008), and their use along with the deployment of other tokens (e.g., Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Gardner, 2001; Guthrie, 1997; Jefferson, 1984).

Goodwin (1986), for example, demonstrates that even though the continuer, ‘Uh huh’, and some assessment-like objects (e.g., Wow) occur roughly in the same environment (i.e., in the midst of extended talk by another speaker), the detailed analysis of their sequential placement reveals that they have a different sequential organisation and in fact are treated as different types of phenomena. His observations about ‘Uh huh’ are as follows: It doesn’t occur just anywhere within the turn, but rather at the boundaries of TCUs. More precisely, the recipient places it at such a point where s/he begins her response not after one unit is finished, but rather just before it reaches completion, specifically during the final syllable of what is recognisable as the final word of that unit. As such, it displays that one unit has been received and another is now awaited. Secondly, the speaker feels free to begin that next unit before the continuer itself has been completed, thereby treating it as a signal to continue. Therefore,

Goodwin argues that 'Uh huh' 'bridges the end of one unit and the beginning of a next', as also suggested by Schegloff (1982).

On the other hand, he shows that assessments have a different sequential organisation and are treated differently by the speaker. That is, rather than bridging two turn-constructive units, assessments in the midst of another's extended talk come to completion before a new unit is entered. Based on these findings, Goodwin (1986) suggests that recipients have at least two different ways of dealing with the talk that they hear: "They can attend to individual units as emerging elements of a larger structure that is not yet complete, while on the other they can assess what has been said without treating it as preliminary to something else" (p. 214).

A detailed analysis of the sequential placement of 'Uh huh' and assessment-like objects like 'Wow' in talk-in-interaction shows how their placement is in fact sequentially different and they are treated differently. While 'Uh huh' occurs at the boundaries of TCUs to bridge the TCUs, assessment-like objects such as 'Wow' in the midst of another's extended talk come to completion before a new unit is entered. Sacks (1992a, 1992b) also notes that 'Uh huh' is overwhelmingly placed at grammatical completion points (i.e., at possible TRPs) (see Sacks et al., 1974) and that it claims listening by 'anticipating the other's intention to go on', but he also notes that continuers can also 'direct the speakers to say more'. Similarly, Gardner (1997) suggests that through continuers, recipients can orient to turns that require further work for the felicitous outcome of the action of those turns, for example, some topical expansion or continuation, explication, or completion. Based on these suggestions, it can be argued that it is vital to describe the sequential placement of these items in interaction including their timing (e.g., overlap, pause).

Focusing on the precise timing of some tokens like 'Mm', 'Uh huh', 'Mm hm', 'Okay', and 'Yeah' used by the therapist, Muntigl and Zabala (2008) show that all of these tokens serve as 'continuers'. They argue that the reasons for calling them all continuers rather than acknowledgement tokens are predicated on the sequential environments in which they are realised (i.e., they are preceded by pauses). Specifically, they use the term 'expansion elicitors' for them, as they get the client to say more and suggest that a close investigation needs to look at the length of pauses coming before them. Similarly, Fitzgerald and Leudar (2010) demonstrate that when deployed at the end of a TCU (i.e., at a possible TRP where the client has come to a potential completion point and seems to be stopping), continuers such as 'Mm hm', 'Mm' can prompt, encourage, or direct the client to keep talking. On the other hand, when deployed in the flow of the client's speech (i.e., at a within-turn juncture), they

express the respect for the client's intention to go on. By examining the deployment of 'Mm hm' in psychotherapeutic intake interviews conducted in Polish, Czyzewski (1995) has also discovered one type of 'Mm hm' used by the therapist, which is followed by a lengthy pause before the patient speaks again (i.e., the analytical 'Mm hm'). She claims that this usage might be specific to therapy in that it encourages the client to open-up more.

The prosodic shape of continuers has also been found to play an important role in ascribing meanings to them in interaction. According to Muller (1996), their use is contingent upon not only their position in a sequence including their timing, but also on their prosodic features, especially pitch and intonation contour. In research literature, continuers, 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh' in particular have been reported to be typically articulated with a slightly rising terminal pitch contour to pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn (e.g., Gardner, 2001; Schegloff, 1982) in contrast to 'Oh', 'Yeah', 'Okay', and 'Mm', which have been observed to be typically articulated with a falling intonation contour to display a 'retrospective' acknowledgement (e.g., Beach, 1993; Gardner, 1997; Heritage, 1984a; Jefferson, 1993). This suggests that they are more 'prospective' than 'retrospective' in that they don't acknowledge the talk to which they are responding, but the incompleteness of it, thereby not intruding on the content of prior or subsequent talk, but "inviting speaker continuation by signalling receipt of prior information and nothing more" (Frankel, 1984, p. 158). As such, they don't indicate to current speakers recipients' opinion of their talk, but only function to direct them to go on and say more (ten Have, 1991). Similarly, Gardner (2001) also argues that they manage the trajectory of the talk without displaying any emotion, attitude, or feeling, yet he has demonstrated that a rise-falling intonational contour on the continuer use of 'Mm' displays heightened involvement in the talk.

In their study, however, Muntigl and Zabala (2008) shows that continuers such as 'Mm', 'Uh huh', 'Mm hm', 'Okay', and 'Yeah' can have varying intonation contours (e.g., with rising (?) and falling (.) terminal pitch). On the other hand, Czyzewski (1995) shows that the analytical 'Mm hm', which is followed by a lengthy pause before the patient speaks again, is uttered by the therapist with a fairly flat intonation contour to encourage the patient to open out with their talk.

The most detailed classification of continuers such as 'Mm hm' and 'Mm' based on their prosodic features comes from the study of Fitzgerald and Leudar (2010). The researchers observe three kinds of prosodic features on them. Classical continuers are used by therapist with a mid-volume tone, which indicates neutrality except to convey to the client that the

therapist is present and listening. Emphatic continuers are used by the therapist with a low-volume tone when the client is revealing feelings, which indicates that the therapist is resonating with the client's feelings. Channelling continuers are used by the therapist with a loud-volume (i.e., with a high pitch level and rising-falling intonation contour), which indicates a heightened involvement in the talk.

Based on these findings, there are some important points that need to be highlighted here. Firstly, these studies show that the sequential placement of continuers in interaction including their timing (e.g., pause) play a crucial role in ascribing specific meanings to them in talk-in-interaction. Similarly, as will be seen in the Analysis chapter, a detailed analysis on the sequential placement of 'Mm hm' and its timing shows that it is placed by the teacher at different points in the students' talk, and this conveys distinctive actions in the L2 classroom interaction.

Secondly, the findings coming from these studies also suggest that prosody plays an important role in ascribing meanings to continuers in interaction. Altering the prosodic shape of these items, one can turn them into important responses. Similarly, as will be seen in the Analysis chapter, 'Mm hm' takes different prosodic shapes as distinctive responses in the L2 classroom. However, as mentioned earlier, the analyses of the current study also demonstrate the importance of the teacher's non-verbal projections (e.g., gaze, head nods, hand gestures, body posture) in contributing to the token's functional variability at different points, which hasn't been addressed in any of the studies reported above. This issue will be demonstrated in the Analysis chapter and discussed in the Discussion chapter based on the evidence and details in the data. However, it should be made explicit here that the current study firstly contributes more broadly to interaction research by explicating the role of 'embodiment' in the employment of response tokens, a 'non-lexical' response token (i.e., a continuer, 'Mm hm') in particular.

This sub-section has presented a review of some studies on the continuer use of response tokens, 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh' in particular by providing some information about their sequential placement and prosodic features. Before providing a discussion on the use of continuers, 'Mm hm' in particular along with the deployment of other response tokens such as 'Okay', 'Yeah', and 'Right', the conditions under which one finds response tokens, mostly 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh', as a continuer will be provided in the next sub-section.

2.2.2 Interactional units and resources for turn-completion and turn-extension

As suggested by Jefferson (1973), as speakers, we are highly aware of ‘possible completion points’ in talk-in-interaction, thus knowing the ways in which we achieve turn-completion and turn-extension in conversation. Goodwin (1979, 1981) emphasises the importance of gaze and syntax in how speakers achieve turn-completion and turn-extension. Wilson and Zimmerman (1986) discuss the role of silence in the projectability of TRPs as well as suggesting that there are unit-types which are both smaller than and larger than a sentence. They argue that in “substantial unit-types” (i.e., the types of units which are smaller than a sentence), both intonation and sequential context mark an utterance as “intendedly complete” (p. 172). Lerner (1987, 1991, 1996), on the other hand, shows collaborative turn sequences (i.e., turn units produced by two or more speakers) as evidence for projectable completion points. Besides, Lerner (1996) discusses the role of compound TCUs in projecting the incompleteness of a turn (e.g., if x does this, y will do that).

In addition, Levelt (1989) suggests that by means of “turn-yielding cues”, which include prosodic, rhythmic, syntactic, and lexical cues, a speaker signals that his/her turn is over or that s/he wants to keep the floor even though s/he has just completed a unit, noting that “the projectivity of an utterance is probably multiply determined by its prosody, its syntax, and its meaning” (p. 34). Similarly, Ford and Thompson (1996) argue that prosody, syntax, and meaning all seem to be involved in projecting the end of a turn unit.

In research literature, the continuer use of response tokens, mostly ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’, rests on the observation that they are placed at such a point where a current speaker’s turn is somehow not complete. Guthrie (1997), for example, demonstrates how the recipients don’t interject ‘Mm hm’ just anywhere in the adviser’s turn in academic advising sessions, but at a point where the advisor’s turn might be considered syntactically complete (i.e., overlapping with the last word), even though the advisor’s turn isn’t designed to be complete at this point (i.e., intonationally).

In his substantial treatment of the continuer, ‘Uh huh’, Schegloff (1982) also notes that the continuer use of the token, ‘Uh huh’ rests on the observation that it is used to “pass the opportunity to do any sort of fuller turn at all, on the grounds that an extended unit is already in progress” (p. 87). He addresses the characterisation of TCUs and hence of TRPs drawing on the work of Sacks et al. (1974) and suggests some other ways in which multi-unit turns are achieved in talk-in-interaction. He thus points out that (p. 75-76):

1. The potential discourse speaker may indicate from the beginning of the turn an interest in producing a more-than-one-unit turn by using a ‘list-initiating marker’,

such as ‘first of all’, thereby projecting that more will follow and inviting recipients to hold off talking where they might otherwise start, so that the ‘post-first-units’ may have room to be produced.

2. A course of talk which will involve more than one TCU might be projected by the potential discourse speaker through ‘pre-pres’ (Schegloff, 1980) (e.g., can I ask you a question?) or ‘story prefaces’ (Sacks, 1974) (e.g., a funny thing happened). It is up to recipients to honour that projection and withhold talk which might otherwise start.
3. Speakers might employ methodological devices for achieving a multi-unit turn at positions other than the beginning of the turn in question (e.g., ‘rush-through’) (Schegloff, 1973).

In his paper, Schegloff further claims that a speaker might produce a one-unit turn at whose possible completion no co-participant starts a new turn and the current speaker starts a new turn, in case of this sort, the course of action which issues in a multi-unit turn is initiated by a recipient, not by an intending speaker of the multi-unit turn, thereby arguing that “not all multi-unit turns are the result of speaker-initiated methods designed to achieve them” (p. 76-77). This suggests that multi-unit turns can be initiated by recipients in interaction. Similarly, the analysis of the data in the current study also shows that some multi-unit turns are recipient-initiated (i.e., the teacher). This teacher-designed projection of more talk from the students might be indicating that the teacher is orienting to the norms of the pedagogy (i.e., for the sake of the pedagogical goal or other students). This issue will be demonstrated in the Analysis chapter and discussed in the Discussion chapter based on the evidence and details in the data.

This sub-section has presented the conditions under which we see response tokens, mostly ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’, as a continuer. The next sub-section will discuss the use of continuers, ‘Mm hm’ in particular along with the deployment of other response tokens such as ‘Yeah’, ‘Okay’, and ‘Right’.

2.2.3 Tokens-in-a-series: Variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens

According to Gardner (2001, p. 58), “it is one thing to describe the ways in which a token is used, and it is another to explain a speaker’s choice when a token is used with different tokens in a series, either as ‘a bunch of tokens in a single speaker turn’, or as ‘a series of single tokens in their turns responding to a series of turns by another speaker’”. The research literature presents interesting observations regarding the ordering of ‘Mm hm’ and some other

response tokens (e.g., ‘Okay’, ‘Right’, ‘Yeah’) produced by same recipients and describes the ‘systematicity’ to their occurrences within the sequences where they are deployed (e.g., Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Gardner, 2001; Guthrie, 1997; Jefferson, 1984).

Guthrie (1997), for example, demonstrates the systematicity to the occurrences of ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Okay’ within the sequences where they are used by a student in academic advising sessions. The researcher shows that the student tends to use ‘Mm hm’ as a continuer by interjecting the token at a point where the advisor’s turn might be considered complete, syntactically, even though the intonation indicates that the advisor hasn’t designed his turn to be complete at this point, whereas the student tends to use ‘Okay’ as an acknowledgment token by interjecting it at a point where the advisor’s turn has a greater sense of pragmatic completion. In other words, ‘Okay’ tends to appear more often following an utterance which has a greater sense of pragmatic completion than those places where ‘Mm hm’ is produced. As such, Guthrie suggests that ‘Mm hm’ comes in the less-complete slots and ‘Okay’ comes in the more-complete slots when they are deployed in a series as a series of single tokens in their turns responding to a series of turns by another speaker.

Gardner (2001), on the other hand, takes the view that the locality of interaction has an effect on the choices of response tokens by recipients, thereby suggesting that recipients are constantly making local choices about how to respond, and when this locality of interaction is taken into account, it is sometimes possible to indicate some reasons for particular choices at particular points in the talk. By looking at an dietetic interview that took place at a hospital in Australia, Gardner (2001) discusses variations in the client’s selection of some tokens within each phase of the interview (i.e., greetings and openings of the interview, information gathering phase, advice giving phase, wrap-up phase). He demonstrates that in the advice giving phase, the client sometimes shifts from ‘Mm hm’ to ‘Right’ within the sequences where the tokens are employed. The closer investigation reveals that while the client uses ‘Mm hm’ as a continuer to pass the floor back to the dietician, he uses ‘Right’ to claim that a connection between two or more ideas that have been mentioned has been recognized. Based on the findings, the researcher suggests that ‘Mm hm’ is more neutral handing back of the floor to the prior speaker, whereas ‘Right’ indicates a recognition of ‘epistemic dependency’ (see also Gardner, 2005, 2007).

By taking Sacks’ view, ‘there is order at all points’, Jefferson (1984) demonstrates the systematicity to the occurrences of ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ within the sequences where they are deployed. She argues that while ‘Yeah’ exhibits a preparedness to shift from reciprocity to

speakership, 'Mm hm' exhibits 'passive reciprocity'. That is, while 'Yeah' projects more talk, 'Mm hm' indicates that the co-participant is still in the midst of some talk and shall go on talking (i.e., a continuer). The findings of the studies of Drummond and Hopper (1993a, 1993b) also confirm what Jefferson (1984) suggests about the tokens. Using distributional analysis, Drummond and Hopper (1993a, 1993b) suggest that 'Yeah' is more likely to be followed by further talk and that it is more likely to signal speaker incipiency rather than passive reciprocity, more so than 'Uh huh' and 'Mm hm'. Some researchers, however, debate the relevance of combining two procedures from two research traditions (i.e., distributional analysis and conversation analysis) in relation to the analysis of the tokens, as they differ in the ways they view the same data (see Wieder, 1993a, 1993b; Zimmerman, 1993).

Zimmerman (1993), for example, argues that by using distributional analysis in their studies, Drummond and Hopper (1993a, 1993b) decontextualise the Jefferson's phenomenon, noting that "the reported distributional findings are at best, equivocal" (p. 180). That is, using the procedures of distributional analysis, which treats them as one class or function, the researchers fail at providing the necessary sensitivity to sequential context to fully address Jefferson's claim concerning speakership incipiency.

The research literature includes interesting observations regarding variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens by same recipients. However, apart from the work of Gardner (2001) on 'Mm hm' and 'Right', the studies described here don't provide reasons for these variations. Rather, they present some observations and classifications regarding the ordering of some tokens and the identification of the systematicity to their occurrences within the sequences where they are employed, not to mention some methodological issues in some of them in doing so (e.g., Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b). As such, we still don't know whether or how shifting from one token to another within a sequence shows a recipient's analysis of the prior turn.

In his substantial treatment of the continuer, 'Uh huh', Schegloff (1982) claims that 'Uh huh' and 'Yeah' essentially operate in the same way. The selection of one over another is to allow for variance, as if a recipient used four or five times the same token, s/he would indicate a disinterest. By allowing for variance, this could be avoided. However, Jefferson (1981a, 1981b) suggests that variation in the selection of consecutive response tokens stems from recipients' evaluations of the informativeness of prior turns. That is, by shifting from one token to another, recipients can "exhibit recognisably distinctive orientations to the intervening materials" (Jefferson, 1981b, p. 114). She also claims that using the same type would indicate that "the subsequent materials are inadequate to revised response" (p. 70).

Similarly, Mazeland (1990) claims that if a recipient used the same type to attend the talk, s/he would indicate that s/he treats the intervening materials as less informative (i.e., inconsequential), thus noting that “the selection of a different token instead of repeating the same one can exhibit the distinctive informativeness a recipient subscribes to the ongoing turn” (p. 255). This suggests that we need to understand if and how using different tokens rather than repeating the same ones by same recipients ascribes different sequential relevancies to the prior turns of speakers. Especially, in the L2 classroom, this is an important issue, as L2 teachers orient to the norms of the pedagogy to indicate the preferred or dispreferred nature of their evaluation of the second turns of students. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate to present some observations on this matter in the Analysis chapter of the current study.

To sum up, this section has discussed the continuer use of response tokens, ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’ in particular by providing the relevant literature as well as presenting a discussion on the issues like the conditions under which we find response tokens, mostly ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’, as a continuer and variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens. The next section will discuss the work on response tokens and ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in the L2 classroom and provide a discussion of a variety of subjects like teacher talk, learner involvement, and L2 learning opportunities as well as introducing the concept of (classroom) interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh, 2011).

2.3 Teacher Talk, Learner Involvement, and L2 Learning Opportunities

This section of the chapter will discuss a wide range of issues like teacher talk, learner participation, and L2 learning opportunities in the L2 classroom as well as discussing the concept of (classroom) interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh, 2011). The section will also review the literature on the uses of some response tokens and ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in pedagogical settings, in the L2 classroom in particular from different standpoints (e.g., DA, CA).

2.3.1 Teacher-fronted L2 talk-in- interaction

L2 classroom interaction has been investigated from different standpoints (e.g., DA, CA) over years in order to understand how teachers and learners of a L2 co-construct understanding, thereby constructing or obstructing learning. According to Walsh (2011), there are mainly three approaches to L2 classroom interaction: Interaction Analysis (IA), Discourse Analysis (DA), and Conversation Analysis (CA). The limitations of the first two approaches have

paved the way for adapting a conversation-analytic approach to L2 classroom interaction over years, which has contributed to our understanding of the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom (e.g., turn-taking and repair practices in L2 classroom talk-in-interaction). As space precludes a full discussion here, readers are recommended to see Seedhouse (2004), Walsh (2011), Markee (2000), and Sert (2015).

One of the important findings coming from the studies from a DA perspective is that classroom interaction can be explained by an IRF structure (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975): The teacher Initiates a turn, the student Responds, and the teacher Follows-up in the third-turn in some certain ways (e.g., repetition). Mehan (1979) terms the sequence as IRE (i.e., Initiation-Response-Evaluation). Although Seedhouse (2004) argues that L2 interaction cannot simply be explained only by the IRF sequences, L2 classroom studies from a CA perspective show that in teacher-fronted talk-in-interaction, the IRF cycle is still quite obvious. Over years, certain observations within the IRF framework have been documented by some researchers (e.g., Hellermann, 2003, 2005; Lee, 2007; Park, 2013; Waring, 2008).

Focusing on issues such as subsequent teacher responses (i.e., in the third-turns of the IRFs) to students, Lee (2007) demonstrates how L2 teachers come to terms with far more local and immediate contingencies than what is projected by blanket terms, namely evaluation, feedback, and follow-up. The researcher shows how the third-turn carries out the contingent task of responding to and acting on the prior turns of students while moving interaction forward. Using data from various L2 classrooms, Park (2013) investigates the roles of third-turn repeats. The researcher demonstrates that the role of repeats differs depending on the pedagogical focus of the interaction, specifically between meaning-and-fluency contexts and form-and-accuracy contexts (Seedhouse, 2004), suggesting that in classes where the goal is to help students produce language that is authentic and resembles real-time interaction, repeats in the third-turn may provide an effective tool for facilitating talk.

Hellermann (2003) also focuses on the third slot of the IRF exchange, where teachers make repetitive feedback moves following student responses. In his study, the examination of more than 25 hours of classroom discourse and more than 300 third-turn teacher feedback types shows that the teachers acknowledge the student responses by repeating lexical items, but the differential prosody of each repetition suggests that the teacher is also trying to accomplish some additional interactive work. In a different study, by focusing on the coordination of three-part sequences (IRFs) and syntactic practices within the context of their sound production, Hellermann (2005) shows how pedagogical activities are organized in co-

constructed activity segments. He demonstrates that syntactic practices including and-prefaced turns, designedly incomplete utterances (DIUs) (Koshik, 2002), and syntactic extensions are deployed within a prosodic frame and coordinated with a written document to produce these cohesive activity segments.

On the other hand, in a study, by focusing on the use of explicit positive assessment (i.e., very good) in the third-turns and its relevance to learning opportunities in ESL classrooms, Waring (2008) demonstrates that the use of explicit positive assessment within certain contexts can suppress the opportunities for voicing understanding problems or exploring alternative correct answers, thus suggesting that what is sequentially preferred may be pedagogically dispreferred.

It is obvious that cutting-edge research on this emerging field called Conversation Analysis for Second Language Acquisition (CA-for-SLA) (Markee & Kasper, 2004) has brought evidence for understanding a number of phenomena in relation to the teaching practices of L2 teachers. That is to say, all of the studies reported here contribute to our understanding of L2 teachers' teaching practices in L2 classrooms in some certain ways. However, studies on L2 classroom interaction have placed more weight on the importance of substantial teacher talk in the third-turns of the IRFs (e.g., repetitions, positive assessments), but what is noticeably lacking until now has been a systematic study of the L2 teachers' uses of minimal response tokens (e.g., 'Mm', 'Mm hm', 'Uh huh', 'Okay', 'Yeah') as third-turn receipts. It seems that the uses of these tokens by L2 teachers and what they achieve in pedagogical settings have been ignored, or they have been lumped together more or less as a homogenous group, namely teacher 'backchannels', 'acknowledgment and listenership tokens', or 'reaction/response markers'. However, in the ethnomethodological tradition, each has been found to be doing distinctive work (e.g., Beach, 1993; Gardner, 1997; Heritage, 1984a; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982). Therefore, the current study investigates the distinctive work achieved by a minimal 'non-lexical' response token (i.e., 'Mm hm') in the L2 classroom, where pedagogy (i.e., the goal-oriented nature of interaction) plays an important role in shaping interaction (Seedhouse, 2004). As such, it contributes to the growing L2 classroom interaction research by shedding further light on L2 teachers' practices in teacher-fronted sequences and hence the effect of language and interaction on learner involvement.

This sub-section has presented the review of some studies on the L2 classroom interaction providing a summary of what has been done so far in the L2 classroom, on the L2 classroom teacher talk in particular and pointed out a neglected phenomenon. The next sub-section will

discuss the functions attributed to the uses of some of response tokens and ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in pedagogical settings, by L2 teachers in particular in research literature from different standpoints.

2.3.2 Early work on response tokens in the L2 classroom

In the L2 classroom, studies which have sought to investigate the uses of some response tokens by L2 teachers have come from a CL and DA perspective. As well as investigating the frequencies and occurrences of some of these tokens using a CL approach, they have also explored the functions of them under an umbrella term, Discourse Markers (DMs), using a DA approach. However, not much attention has been paid to the investigation of the functions of DMs in L2 teachers’ talk, as also claimed by Castro (2009) and Dink and Wang (2015). The studies which have investigated the uses of DMs have come from a particular pedagogical setting, namely academic lectures (e.g., Chaudron & Richards, 1986; Flowerdew & Tauroza, 1995; Othman, 2010).

As the first two studies (i.e., Chaudron & Richards, 1986; Flowerdew & Tauroza, 1995) have investigated the effect of some response tokens on the comprehension of academic lectures from a quantitative perspective, I will focus on the study of Othman (2010), which demonstrates the ‘patterning’ of the ways discourse markers ‘Okay’, ‘Right’, and ‘Yeah’ are used in academic lectures by native speaker lecturers using a DA approach. Treating these markers as subtypes of the same category (i.e., as they act as interjections and response forms) (see Biber et al., 1999), the researcher suggests that the deployment of ‘Okay’ with a rising intonation contour marks a “progression or confirmation check”, whereas the deployment of ‘Right’ with a rising intonation contour functions on the information state structure, where its use marks a “sense of shared knowledge between the lecturer and the students” (p. 673). As for ‘Yeah’, the researcher notes that the token with a rising intonation contour is used to mark a progression check and seek confirmation or mutual agreement. Lastly, ‘Okay’ with a falling intonation contour has been reported to “relate to what has been said previously”, whereas ‘right’ with a falling intonation contour has been reported to indicate a “sense of forward reference that marks the lecturer’s readiness to move on without seeking any permission from the students if he could move on” (i.e., an assumed mutual agreement) (p. 676).

As mentioned earlier, studies which have explored the functions of DMs used by L2 teachers in the L2 classroom are quite rare. Using data from an EFL class, Castro (2009) investigates the prevailing functions of the DMs employed in classroom interaction by a non-native

teacher of English and five adult students of EFL using a DA approach. Based on the analysis of a 25-minute audio-recorded fragment of a session, the researcher finds that ‘Uh huh’, ‘Mhm’, and ‘Yeah’ are used by the teacher very frequently. In relation to the functions of ‘Mhm’ used by the teacher, Castro suggests that the DM is used as a ‘back-channel signal’ to provide permanent feedback to the students, thus signalling that “the message has been understood and confirming that communication is on course” (p. 73). As for ‘Yeah’, it has been reported that the token is used as a ‘reaction marker’ which has an interpersonal function of conveying agreement.

Yoshida (2008) has analysed interactional sequences in an EFL classroom focusing on ‘backchannel signals’, namely the teacher’s deployment of ‘Uh huh’ and reports that by using this verbal signal, the teacher indicates that the message has been received and implicitly suggests that “the student should continue to keep her turn” (p. 6). Based on the results of the studies reported here, it can be argued that a systematic account of these small items used by L2 teachers hasn’t been studied in great details yet. The studies from a DA perspective have categorised the uses of some of them by L2 teachers as ‘back-channel signals’ or ‘response/reaction markers’, thereby putting them into the category of ‘interpersonal functions of DMs’ of the function-based model offered by Brinton (1996). As such, we still don’t know the distinctive work each is doing in the L2 classroom. That is to say, we need studies from a CA perspective with strong analytical considerations in order to understand what these small items do when deployed by L2 teachers in the L2 classroom.

To the best of my knowledge, very few studies have attempted to explore some of these items by incorporating CA into their analyses in the L2 classroom. For example, by using a CL/CA approach, Shi (2015) investigates the use of ‘Okay’ as an embodied backchannel (i.e., the interplay of the backchannel and gestures) in an EFL class. In the analysis of 35-minute interaction from a meaning-and-fluency context (Seedhouse, 2004), the researcher focuses on how a teacher, who is a native speaker of English, and students use the embodied ‘Okay’ in the emerging interaction and the unfolding participation framework. Firstly, by using a CL approach, the researcher shows the occurrences of ‘Okay’ within its surrounding textual environment (i.e., the immediate lexical co-text of the utterance), thereby revealing certain contexts such as opening or closing a topic, showing instruction to students, and offering conversational support. To look more closely to the wider discursive context and check out how ‘Okay’ is framed, CA is adapted in the study. The researcher comes up with five functions of ‘Okay’ used by the teacher: Topic opening/shifting, encouragement, acceptance/agreement, hesitation, and turn-allocation. In order to investigate the interplay of

the backchannel and gestures, the researcher builds a multi-modal sub-corpus and gestures produced with the backchannel are coded. Combined functions have been reported as follows: Topic opening/shifting is likely to co-occur with the raise of eyebrows and frown, encouragement tends to co-occur with the raise of eyebrows and smiles, acceptance/agreement is more likely to occur with a nod and smile, hesitation is always accompanied by frown, and the teacher uses hand pointing and smile to allocate turns. Shi suggests that even though the coding system is not mature enough, it tells the interdependence of ‘Okay’ and gestures (i.e., the links between the different functions of ‘Okay’ and differences in gestures).

Even though some researchers have started to investigate what these minimal response tokens do in the L2 classroom talk by incorporating CA into their analyses, they lack some important analytical points. For example, there is no mention of the prosodic shape of the item researched in the study of Shi (2015). As such, we need studies from a CA perspective with strong analytical considerations in order to understand what these items do in the L2 classroom. Therefore, adapting a multimodal CA approach, the current study focuses on the details of “talk-and-other-conduct-in-interaction” (e.g., prosody, timing, gestures) (Schegloff, 2007) to ascribe meanings to one of these small items (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) in the L2 classroom talk. More precisely, it presents a token-analysis as an ‘embodied’ achievement, where its sequential placement, prosodic shape, timing, and non-verbal cues that go with it ‘converge’ to attribute meanings to it in the L2 classroom interaction. As such, the current study also contributes to the growing L2 classroom interaction research by shedding further light on ‘the embodied turn’ by considering the role of other, non-vocal, conduct in teacher-fronted sequences.

This sub-section has provided the review of some studies to show how some small tokens used in pedagogical settings, by L2 teachers in particular have been assigned meanings from different standpoints (e.g., from a DA perspective, from a CL/CA perspective). The focus in the next sub-section will be on creating space for L2 learning opportunities in the L2 classroom and the concept of (classroom) interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh, 2011).

2.3.3 Creating space for learning and (classroom) interactional competence

According to Pekarek Doehler (2010), “learning a language involves a continuous process of adaptation of patterns of language-use-for-action in response to locally emergent communicative needs” (p. 107), and this adaptation to communicative needs leads to competencies, the interactional competence (IC) of learners in particular. Young (2008, p.

101) defines IC as a “relationship between the participants’ employment of linguistic and interactional resources and the contexts in which they are employed”. On the other hand, Markee (2008) notes three basic components of IC, which are the formal system (e.g., pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar), the semiotic system (e.g., turn-taking, repair), and gaze and paralinguistic features.

L2 interactional competence has been investigated in a wide range of contexts including the L2 classroom by many researchers (e.g., Cekaite, 2007; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011), and one central finding is that ‘participation’ plays an important role in language learning. Therefore, in a conversation analytic study, learning in language classrooms is not seen as a cognitive, individual phenomenon, but a phenomenon that emerges from ‘participation’ in interaction, and it can be defined as a change in a socially-displayed cognitive state achieved on a turn-by-turn basis (Seedhouse & Walsh, 2010).

As mentioned in the previous sections, by using CA to investigate L2 teacher talk, such as teacher repetitions, assessments (e.g., Park, 2013; Waring, 2008) as well as the micro-details of interaction such as pauses, prosodic features of talk, and non-verbal resources drawn upon by teachers (e.g., Hellermann, 2003; Kääntä, 2010, 2012; Macbeth, 2004; Mortensen, 2012; Sert, 2011, 2013), many researchers have brought evidence for language learning-related phenomena in the L2 classroom interaction, thereby contributing to our understanding of what resources create learning opportunities, or hinder learning in L2 classrooms. For example, Walsh (2002) shows that direct error correction, content feedback, checking for confirmation, extended wait-time, and scaffolding might construct learning opportunities, while turn completion, teacher echo, and teacher interruptions may reduce learning potential. In addition, Walsh and Li (2013) demonstrate how teachers create space for learning through practices such as extended learner turns and increased planning time as well as demonstrating that they shape learner contributions through scaffolding, paraphrasing, and reiterating. As mentioned earlier, Waring (2008) shows that the use of explicit positive assessment in the third turn of the IRF within certain contexts can suppress the opportunities for voicing understanding problems or exploring alternative correct answers (see also Wong & Waring, 2009). As also mentioned earlier, using multi-modal CA, Sert (2011) illustrates that after a student’s CIK, the teachers use a number of interactional resources such as deictic gestures, embodied vocabulary explanations, translation, code-switching to further engage the unknowing student, thereby creating learning opportunities in the L2 classroom. Therefore, it can be claimed that developing an understanding of what facilitates learner involvement and hence L2 learning requires a set of skills (Sert, 2015). This is why Walsh (2011) has developed the idea of

classroom interactional competence (CIC), which is defined as “teachers’ and learners’ ability to use interaction as a tool for mediating and assisting learning” (p. 158).

Walsh’s idea of CIC includes maximising interactional space, shaping learner contributions (e.g., seeking clarification, scaffolding, modelling, repairing learner input), effective use of eliciting, instructional idiolect (i.e., a teacher’s speech habits), and interactional awareness. Over years, research conducted in different settings has uncovered more features of CIC, thereby contributing to the list. For example, Sert (2011) argues that successful interactional management of students’ CIK through the resources mentioned above is a teacher skill and hence an important part of CIC. In addition, Can Daskin (2015) argues that teachers’ translation to L1/L2 and their use of board are two essential components of CIC.

As the current study also aims to further understand L2 teachers’ practices in teacher-fronted sequences and hence the effect of interaction and language use on learner involvement, it has direct implications for CIC. However, it does so by focusing on the uses of a very small, ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) from a multimodal perspective. More precisely, I argue that research contributing to the Walsh’s idea of CIC has mainly provided insights from teachers’ (embodied) practices through substantial teacher talk (e.g., how L2 teachers shape learner contributions through translation), but no study thus far has provided insights from teachers’ (embodied) practices through seemingly minor aspects of interaction. As such, by describing how such a small, ‘non-lexical’ item is used by a L2 teacher from a multi-modal perspective, the findings coming from the current study shed light on how teachers create space for learning in teacher-fronted sequences through seemingly minor aspects of interaction.

To sum up, this section has reviewed the literature on response tokens and ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in the L2 classroom from different standpoints and provided a discussion of a variety of subjects like teacher talk, learner involvement, and L2 learning opportunities as well as introducing the concept of (classroom) interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh, 2011). The focus in the next section will be on embodiment in the L2 classroom.

2.4 Embodiment in the L2 Classroom

This section will firstly focus on the interactive work of embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, gestures, posture) used by teachers in the L2 classroom. Then, it will present information on the projection of preferred and dispreferred next-actions through embodied resources in ordinary conversation as well as looking at the case in the L2 classroom. Lastly,

it will discuss the potential role that the shape of a particular non-verbal resource, ‘head nods’, plays in displaying distinctive reciprocity in ordinary conversation as well as raising the issue in the L2 classroom.

2.4.1 Early work on the use of embodied resources in the L2 classroom

Human social interaction involves the intertwined cooperation of different modalities, and “different modalities work together to elaborate the semantic content of talk and to constitute coherent courses of action” (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005, p.1). Like in any form of human interaction, multiple semiotic resources play a crucial role in meaning making processes in the L2 classroom. That is to say, L2 classroom interaction is also a multimodal interaction “in which participants encounter a steady stream of meaningful facial expressions, gestures, body postures, head movements, words, grammatical constructions, and prosodic contours” (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005, p. 1).

Over years, an ‘embodied’ sense of L2 classroom interaction has been adapted by many researchers in the field, thus contributing to our understanding of how and what kinds of multiple semiotic resources are drawn upon by L2 teachers and learners to construct meaning in the L2 classroom. In this section, I will review some studies that have focused on multi-semiotic resources drawn upon by L2 teachers (e.g., Kääntä, 2010, 2012; Mortensen, 2012; Santos & Shandor, 2011; Sert, 2011, 2013, 2015) in the field as well as discussing the interactive work of teachers’ silence, and I will discuss their contributions to the field and link them to the main arguments and findings of the current study, but readers are recommended to see Mortensen (2008), Sert (2011, 2015), Sert and Walsh (2013) for a detailed analysis of multi-semiotic resources used also by L2 learners.

The literature has interesting observations on the roles that teacher gaze, head nods, gestures, and posture have in meaning-making processes. For example, Sert (2011, 2013, 2015) shows how the teacher forms an embodied epistemic status check (e.g., no idea?) through the change of posture (i.e., leaning towards the student) to elicit a response from the student. Mortensen (2012) shows how ‘hand to ear’ gesture performed by the teacher is understood as a hearing problem in EFL classrooms (see also Santos & Shandor (2011) for the use of the same gesture in ESL classrooms). He claims that this form of repair initiation (i.e., embodied repair in the absence of talk) gives the students a chance to produce the second pair part once more and “can be used for various pedagogical purposes including topicalising a turn and repeating a turn for the sake of the others” (p. 48).

In addition, Sert (2015) demonstrates how a L2 teacher synchronises a specific form of hand gesture (i.e., a rapid movement of the finger from left to right) in the third-turn move with the problematic part of the word, which is used inaccurately by the student in the response move, to make the feedback more specific for the learners. Sert (2011) and Sert and Walsh (2013) show that teachers may use embodied vocabulary explanations after CIK (i.e., claims of insufficient knowledge) (e.g., I don't know) to move the unknowing student from a state of insufficient knowledge to a state of understanding, thus demonstrating the importance of teacher hand gestures in L2 classroom interaction.

Gaze has also been observed to be doing important interactive work in the L2 classroom. Mortensen (2008) demonstrates the important role that gaze has in turn-allocation in L2 classrooms. He shows that by engaging in mutual gaze with the students, the teacher monitors the students' display of willingness to be selected as next speakers, thereby suggesting that reciprocal gaze is a relevant interactional job prior to the speaker selection. Kääntä (2010, 2012) also shows the important role teacher gaze plays in allocating turns to students and doing repair work in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classrooms in Finland. By coining the term 'embodied allocation', she also demonstrates the importance of the teachers' use of head nods and pointing gestures in allocating turns to the students.

In repair studies, teacher silence has been shown to be an interactional device which is interpreted by students as a repair initiator (e.g., Hellermann, 2003; Lee, 2008; Macbeth, 2004; McHoul, 1990), in that as it delays the third-turn response, it displays that the student response is problematic vis-à-vis the target response. However, Kääntä (2010) shows that the communicative work of teachers' silence after students' second turn responses can be supported by the work of their embodied actions, thereby displaying a visible intertwined cooperation of them in invoking repair from students. That is, she shows that it is not just silence per se that is interpreted by the students as marking a dispreference as instantiated through repair, but the teacher's continued gaze orientation towards the class or pedagogical artefact and frozen body posture at the TRP during the silence do interactive work in terms of helping the students understand the communicative work of silence.

The analysis in the current study also shows that pauses and non-verbal resources play an important role in the ways 'Mm hm' is used by the teacher and treated by the students. That is, the token's specific function at a specific point is embodied through teacher gaze orientation, gestures, posture, and head nods, and the 'timing' (i.e., pauses) of the token

affects the ways it is treated by the students. This issue will be demonstrated in the Analysis chapter and discussed in the Discussion chapter based on the evidence and details in the data.

Having discussed the interactive work of embodied resources used by teachers in the L2 classroom, the next sub-section will present the literature on the projection of preferred next-actions through embodied resources (e.g., hand gestures, body posture, head nods) in interaction in general and in the L2 classroom in particular.

2.4.2 The projection of preferred next-actions through embodiment

In talk-in-interaction, recipients display their affiliative or disaffiliative stance that they take towards current speakers' talk in some certain ways. In other words, there are some certain ways in which second pair parts project the affiliative or disaffiliative nature of their stance towards first pair parts in talk-in-interaction, thus displaying whether a preferred or dispreferred next-action is being produced. (e.g., Schegloff, 2007; ten Have, 1999; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Pomerantz, 1984). Besides, recipients can project the preferred or dispreferred nature of their next-actions in advance during current speakers' turns or at the TRPs (i.e., before producing them verbally) through embodied resources (e.g., Haddington, 2006; Heath, 1992; Stivers, 2008). In this section, I will firstly discuss the features of preferred and dispreferred nature of second pair parts at talk as well as discussing the recipients' projection of affiliative and disaffiliative next-actions through embodied resources (e.g., gaze shifts, head nods) during current speakers' turns or at the TRPs. Then, I will look at the case in the L2 classroom.

In talk-in-interaction, recipients construct their second pair parts in such ways that they project their disaffiliation or affiliation with first pair parts. In relation to preferred second turns, the research has shown that they are produced immediately right after first pair parts (e.g., Schegloff, 2007; Pomerantz, 1984). Pomerantz (1984), for example, shows that preferred second assessments are produced with little or no gap after first assessments. However, Schegloff, (2000) suggests that it is also common for preferred second turns such as acceptance of an invitation or agreement to be undertaken in overlap before the TRPs (i.e., in overlap with the last syllables or words of first turns). This, as I understand it, suggests that by being the co-participant of the turn, recipients indicate the degree of their affiliation. Similarly, Lerner (2002) suggests that participants' choral co-productions, where they co-produce part or all of a TCU more or less in unison, indicate the degree of a recipient's agreement (i.e., affiliation) with what is being said.

Dispreferred second turns, on the other hand, have different features that mark them as dispreferred. Schegloff (2007) suggests that in ordinary conversation, one beat of silence between the pairs is an unmarked feature of a regular transition space and any silence longer than this marks a dispreference. In addition, recipients can design their second turns in such ways that they postpone their actual responses. For example, in turn-initial positions, recipients use discourse markers as hedging devices, which delays the actual response and at the same time marks a dispreference (Schegloff, 2007). Another feature of dispreferred second turns is that they sometimes include various modifying or mitigating elements, which indicates the dispreferred nature of the responses indirectly (Schegloff, 2007). That is to say, dispreferred actions are ‘packaged’ so as to minimise the degree of disaffiliation and conflict (Seedhouse, 2004). One important observation about dispreferred second turns in ordinary conversation is that they include accounts or excuses regarding why recipients aren’t affiliating with first turns.

In addition, recipients sometimes indicate the preferred or dispreferred nature of their next-actions in advance during current speakers’ turns or at the TRPs (i.e., before producing them verbally) through embodied resources. Haddington (2006), for example, demonstrates how a cut-off gaze either during the current speaker’s turn or at the TRP projects the recipient’s disaffiliating stance. The recipient’s gaze shift at such points is intersubjective in that it projects his/her disagreeing stance towards the current speaker’s turn. Heath (1992), on the other hand, shows that the current speaker performs head nods and other gestures during the production of his/her turn, and this solicits a reciprocal gesture from the recipient. Heath suggests that the current speaker’s embodied resources not only invite a display of co-participation from the recipient, but they also elicit a particular stance from him/her. Therefore, it can be claimed that performing a reciprocal gesture is intersubjective in that the recipient displays in advance how s/he is going to respond to the current speaker’s talk in the pending turn. Similarly, Stivers (2008) demonstrates that in the mid-telling phase of storytelling, the recipient’s head nod occurs during the current speaker’s telling or at possible TRPs when the teller indicates his/her stance that s/he is taking towards the event being reported. The researcher claims that when a recipient nods at such points, s/he claims to have access to the teller’s stance, thereby at the same time displaying his/her preliminary affiliation with the teller’s position.

What has been reported here so far suggests that in ordinary conversation, recipients display their affiliative or disaffiliative stance that they take towards current speakers’ talk in some certain ways, thus displaying whether a preferred or dispreferred next-action is being

produced. Besides, they can even project the preferred or dispreferred nature of their next-actions during first turns or at the TRPs before producing them verbally through embodied resources like gaze shifts and head nods. The research in L2 classrooms has also shown that as in ordinary conversation, teachers' preferred third-turn actions are produced directly right after the second turns of students and silence between the second-turn and third-turn marks a dispreference (e.g., Hellermann, 2003; Macbeth, 2000, 2004; Margutti, 2004; McHoul, 1990; Lee, 2008), but see Kääntä (2010). In addition, teachers' dispreferred third-turn actions can be 'packaged' so as to minimise the degree of disaffiliation and conflict (Seedhouse, 2004). Seedhouse (2004), for example, demonstrates that teachers don't use an immediate bald and unmitigated 'No' as a reply to the second turns of students in L2 classrooms, but 'package' their dispreferred actions in such ways that they minimise the degree of disaffiliation. This, as I understand it, suggests that preferred and dispreferred turns in ordinary conversation and in L2 classrooms share the same characteristic features. What I ask here is then that as in ordinary conversation, do teachers also indicate in advance how they will evaluate the second turns of students before students' turns reach a completion and teachers produce their third turns? If so, how do they do this?

Kääntä (2010) suggests that as in ordinary conversation, in classroom interaction teachers have the possibility to display in advance during the current speaker's turn-of-action how they are going to respond to it. She argues that there is a 'third-turn action opportunity space', which extends from the student second turn response position through the transition space to the third-turn position, and in and through which "teachers can display not only how they evaluate student responses, but also how they accomplish repair actions on the responses when needed" (p. 196). By coining the term, 'embodied projection' (Kääntä, 2010, p. 58), which I also use in the current study, she shows how teachers foreshadow the emergence of repair by withholding the revealing of correct answers on a transparency during the student second turn responses and by a cut-off body movement at the TRP before producing their verbal TCUs, thus demonstrating how teachers project the dispreferred nature of their next-actions before producing their third-turns through the embodied resources. However, she assumes very little on the preferred nature of teacher evaluation before the third-turn is produced, presumably because she aims to reveal the sequential positions where teachers' repair actions are projected rather than positive evaluations. Yet, in some extracts she analysed for the study, it is inferred that the teacher's drawing on some embodied resources before producing the third-turn (e.g., the revealing of the correct answer on a transparency at

the same time as the student is producing the second turn) projects the preferred nature of the teacher's next-action.

The analysis of the data in the current study supports her findings in that the teacher displays in advance the dispreferred nature of her next-actions both during the students' second turns and at the TRPs during pauses through embodied resources (i.e., she projects embodied dispreferred next-actions) (Kääntä, 2010). However, it also shows that the teacher displays the positive nature of her evaluation through embodied resources at the same time as the students are producing their second turns, thereby projecting embodied preferred next-actions in the L2 classroom. This issue will be demonstrated in the Analysis chapter and discussed in the Discussion chapter based on the evidence and details in the data.

Having presented the characteristics of preferred and dispreferred turns in talk-in-interaction, in the L2 classroom interaction in particular as well as discussing the recipients' projection of affiliative and disaffiliative next-actions through embodied resources with a particular focus on the projection of preferred next-actions, the next sub-section will discuss the projection of distinctive reciprocity through differential 'head nods' in interaction in general and in the L2 classroom in particular.

2.4.3 The projection of distinctive reciprocity through differential 'head nods'

In his treatment of the token, 'Uh huh', Schegloff (1982) uses the term, continuer, not only for such vocalisations, but also for head nods and some gestures. Similarly, the term 'backchannels' is used for head nods in Yngve's (1970) study of turn-taking and conceptualised as the gestural expressions of the listener that don't signal his/her intention to assume the floor. Following Yngve, Duncan (1972) also regards listener head nods as 'backchannels', suggesting that they are the listener's spontaneous expressions used to 'backchannel' including those times when s/he wishes to avoid assuming the role of speaker. This suggests that, as I understand it, head nods also do a continuer work (i.e., they give the floor to the prior speakers to continue) together with or in the absence of such vocalisations. The question that should be asked here is then that 'do head nods display an affiliation with speakers' talk or solely a continuing reciprocity'?

By analysing the use of speaker head nods in extended talk by one participant (i.e., in the first pair part of adjacency pair), Aoki (2011) demonstrates that Japanese speakers employ nods in three different positions, in turn-final, at or in the vicinity of turn-internal prosodic unit boundaries, and in the midst of prosodic units, to mark the points where recipients'

differentiated actions are relevant, and such a move by speakers prompts recipient responses. Aoki suggests that speaker head nods are employed to regulate recipients' actions when speakers are facing recipients' disalignment with the ongoing activity. Heath (1992) also suggests that head nods can be affiliative by demonstrating how speakers use head nods at first position to elicit recipients' actions. Heath claims that they encourage recipients to respond in preferred ways and the recipients' use of reciprocal head nods or withdrawal of nods during speakers' turns projects their affiliation or disaffiliation with speakers' talk. Similarly, Stivers (2008) also suggests that recipients' nods at second position can be affiliative. The researcher shows that nods occur during current speakers' talk or at the TRPs when tellers project their stance towards the event being reported. As such, Stivers claims that they not only indicate recipients' access to tellers' stance, but also display recipients' preliminary affiliation with them. However, Goodwin (1986) claims that the use of head nods by recipients at second position displays their continued orientation to speakers' talk (see also Schegloff, 1982). This suggests that, as I understand it, the literature isn't consistent regarding if nods performed by recipients display a stance towards speakers' talk or solely a continuing reciprocity in ordinary conversation. What should be asked here is then that 'does the shape of a nod help to disambiguate the use of it on this matter'? That is, 'can different types of head nods be used to perform different actions in interaction, thereby displaying distinctive reciprocity'?

Drawing on the recordings of a social gathering convened for the purposes of playing board games and a mealtime conversation among students, Whitehead (2011) demonstrates that speakers' head nods at third position (i.e., following responses to questions in the course of 'minimal post-expansions') (Schegloff, 2007) in ordinary conversation can take different shapes, thereby performing different actions. That is, an expansive type of nod (i.e., more expansive in amplitude and duration) is used to register a prior utterance as news together with or in the absence of a verbal change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984a), whereas a less expansive type of nod is used to register the receipt of a prior utterance without treating it as news. Based on the findings of the study, Whitehead suggests that speakers adjust their nods at third position in such ways that they move from displaying simple receipt and acknowledgment of prior turns to displaying a distinctive reciprocity.

To me, the study suggests that performing distinct types of head nods together with or in the absence of verbal tokens is intersubjective in that it conveys different meanings (i.e., actions) in interaction. However, in L2 classrooms, the function of teachers' head nods, as I see it, is restricted to interactive work they do in allocating turns to students, together with the first pair

part of the IRF or after with verbal tokens (i.e., embodied allocation) (Kääntä, 2010, 2012), or in acknowledging the second turns of students in the third turns of the IRFs. With regards to the latter, no research has specifically examined the shape of teachers' head nods (e.g., one or multiple, rapid or slow, deep in their vertical trajectory or shallow, more or less expansive in duration and amplitude).

As the analysis of the data in the current study shows that 'Mm hm' is deployed by the teacher at different points in the students' talk and almost always accompanied by the teacher's head nods, the current study also closely investigates the shape of the teacher's nods (e.g., one or multiple, rapid or slow, deep in their vertical trajectory or shallow, more or less expansive in duration and amplitude) to see if the shape of the nod is also intersubjective in that it contributes to the function of the token at a particular point, thereby projecting distinctive reciprocity. This issue will be demonstrated in the Analysis chapter and discussed in the Discussion chapter based on the evidence and details in the data.

To sum up, this section has focused on the interactive work of embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, gestures, posture) used by teachers in the L2 classroom. It has also presented information on the characteristics of preferred and dispreferred turns as well as on the projection of preferred and dispreferred next-actions through embodied resources in ordinary conversation and in the L2 classroom. Lastly, it has discussed the potential role that the shape of a particular non-verbal resource, 'head nods', plays in displaying distinctive reciprocity in ordinary conversation as well as raising the issue in the L2 classroom.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the terminology and concepts that will be used throughout the Analysis and Discussion chapters of the study as well as introducing the main arguments and analytical considerations of the study drawing on the previous research. Firstly, the ways in which response tokens have been treated, especially with regards to the uses and treatments of 'non-lexical' response tokens (e.g., 'Mm', 'Uh huh', 'Mm hm'), have been discussed to pave the way for the justification of the research gap and hence of the methodology chosen for the study. Secondly, a wide range of issues like the continuer use of response tokens, 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh' in particular, the conditions under which we see response tokens, mostly 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh' as a continuer, and variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens have been discussed to provide a better understanding of what the analyses of the phenomena being investigated for the current study have been based on in interaction research

and how they are investigated in the current study. Then, a discussion on a wide range of issues like teacher talk, learner involvement, and the concept of CIC has been provided. Lastly, embodiment in the L2 classroom has been discussed and some important arguments have been raised.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will present the purpose and research questions of the study, data collection procedures, the research methodology, data analysis, validity and reliability as well as touching upon the ethical issues. The justifications for the research methodology will also be made throughout the chapter comparing and contrasting it with some other methodologies used to study L2 classroom data.

The organisation of this chapter is as follows: In 3.1, the purpose and research questions of the study will be explained, and the significance and contribution of the study will be emphasised. Section 3.2 will present the research context, information about the participants, and the data collection procedures. In 3.3, ethical considerations will be mentioned. Section 3.4 will introduce the research methodology, CA, and the reasons why it was deemed the most appropriate methodology for the study will be provided throughout the section. In 3.5, the issues about the data analysis process, transcription conventions, preparing a collection, and how the data is analysed will be explained. Finally, Section 3.6 will discuss the issues around validity and reliability.

3.1 The Purpose and Research Questions of the Study

The aim of this study is to investigate the characteristic uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) by a L2 teacher as a third-turn receipt in the L2 classroom interaction by using conversation analysis as well as adopting a multi-modal approach. The originality and significance of the study is based on a ‘contextual’ and ‘methodological’ gap in the literature. As already mentioned in the Literature Review chapter of the study, what is noticeably lacking within L2 classroom interaction studies has been a systematic study of the L2 teachers’ uses of minimal response tokens (e.g., ‘Mm’, ‘Mm hm’, ‘Uh huh’, ‘Okay’, ‘Yeah’). The uses of these tokens by L2 teachers and what they achieve in the L2 classroom have been ignored or highly undifferentiated, thereby being lumped together more or less as a homogenous group under an undifferentiated collection of ‘back-channel signals’ or ‘response/reaction markers’. However, as already discussed in the previous chapter, in the ethnomethodological tradition, each token has been found to be doing distinctive work (e.g., Beach, 1993; Gardner, 1997; Heritage, 1984a; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982). Therefore, the current study aims to reveal the distinctive work achieved by ‘Mm hm’ in the L2

classroom, where pedagogy (i.e., the goal-oriented nature of interaction) plays an important role in shaping interaction (Seedhouse, 2004).

Secondly, as also already discussed in the Literature Review chapter of the study, the literature isn't consistent regarding the ways in which 'non-lexical' response tokens (e.g., 'Mm hm', 'Mm') have been treated, as it has been claimed that they lack semantic meaning (Gardner, 1997, 2001; Muller, 1996). According to Muller (1996), they acquire specific meanings not only by their sequential placement, but also by their prosodic shape, but what they do in talk-in-interaction still remains to be analysed as a 'contingent' achievement. Therefore, the study aims to investigate if and how a semantically-empty token (i.e., 'Mm hm') acquires specific meanings as an 'embodied' achievement, where its sequential placement including timing, prosodic shape, and the teacher's non-verbal cues (e.g., gaze, nods, gestures, body posture) that go with it 'converge' to attribute these meanings to it in L2 classroom interaction.

The study also aims to understand the teacher's choice of two tokens (i.e., 'Mm hm' and 'Yeah') within the sequences where they are employed and provide reasons for the variation (i.e., variation in the selection of consecutive response tokens). As discussed in the Literature Review chapter of the study, the use of 'Mm hm' along with the deployment of 'Yeah' and some other tokens (e.g., 'Okay') has been examined to determine if there is a 'systematicity' to the occurrences of the tokens within the sequences where they are employed (e.g., Guthrie, 1997; Jefferson, 1984). That is to say, the studies have presented some observations and classifications regarding the ordering of the tokens rather than providing accounts for variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens, not to mention some methodological issues in some of them in doing so (e.g., Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b). For example, it has been noted that in these studies, distributional analysis has been used to determine if there is 'systematicity' to the occurrences of the tokens (i.e., 'Mm hm' and 'Yeah'), and this has triggered heated debate among some researchers (e.g., Zimmerman, 1993). Therefore, the current study aims to understand whether or how the teacher is attributing different sequential relevancies to the students' prior turns through shifting from one token to another by paying close attention to the micro-details of talk-and-other-conduct-in-interaction (Schegloff, 2007), thereby rejecting a 'quantitative' way of analysis (e.g., distributional analysis).

Keeping these methodological and contextual research gaps in mind, the aim of the current study is firstly to understand the role of 'embodiment' in the employment of response tokens,

‘non-lexical’ response tokens in particular. Secondly, by focusing on the characteristic uses of such a small item (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) by a L2 teacher in the L2 classroom interaction from a multi-modal perspective, the aim is to further understand L2 teachers’ embodied practices in teacher-fronted sequences and hence the effect of language use and interaction on learner involvement. In other words, as the study considers the role of other, non-vocal, conduct in these sequences, the aim is to shed further light on ‘the embodied turn’ in the L2 classroom interaction. As such, it is thought that the current study will not only have methodological implications, as it considers an even more fine-grained, multimodal analysis of the uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’), but it will also have pedagogical implications for L2 teaching research and practice such as teachers’ embodied practices in teacher-fronted sequences, the effect of teachers’ language use and interaction on learner involvement (i.e., participation) and hence creating space for learning, and L2 classroom interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh, 2011), as it describes the distinctive uses of the token by a L2 teacher and the roles it plays in shaping L2 classroom interaction.

A CA approach from a multi-modal perspective will be taken in the current study to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the characteristic uses of ‘Mm hm’ by a L2 teacher as a third-turn receipt?
2. What are the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) drawn upon by a L2 teacher that contribute to the functional variability of ‘Mm hm’ (i.e., how it is treated and interpreted by the students)?
3. What kinds of sequential relevancies does the choice of a token create?

The first research question will examine the characteristic uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher as a third-turn receipt by describing what the token does at a particular point in the L2 classroom interaction. In order to do so, it will closely examine the token’s sequential placement (i.e., what it follows and what it precedes), its prosodic shape, and its timing (i.e., pause, overlap). The second research question will examine the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) drawn upon by the teacher that contribute to how the token is treated and interpreted by the students. Lastly, the third research question will investigate the teacher’s use of the tokens (i.e., ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’) within the sequences where they are employed to understand if and how choosing one token rather than another ascribes different sequential relevancies to the prior turns of the students. Here, readers are recommended to see Sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.3 for a full discussion of the ‘analytical considerations’ of the study.

In this section, the purpose of the study has been explained and its significance/originality has been mentioned including the contextual and methodological gap it aims to fill and the contributions it will make. The research questions of the study have also been presented and how they will be answered has been explained. The next section will introduce the participants of the study, research context, and data collection procedures.

3.2 The Research Context, Participants, and Data Collection Procedures

3.2.1 The research context

The data for this study comes from the video-recordings of a specific academic course, namely Contextual Grammar taught as Contextual Grammar I during the fall semesters and Contextual Grammar II during the spring semesters of every academic year in the Division of English Language Teaching (ELT) at the Faculty of Education at a state university (i.e., Erciyes University) in Turkey. The course is designed for the first year teacher candidates of English who will be working as teachers of English in primary or high schools in Turkey after a four-year degree in ELT. This course is a three-hour seminar lectured on a weekly basis during the fall (as Contextual Grammar I) and spring (as Contextual Grammar II) semesters of every academic year in the division. As can be seen in the ECTS Course Catalogue (see Appendix A), by delivering the course, the institution aims to achieve the following goals: Contextual Grammar I aims to promote an understanding of the relation between English language structures and lexical items of the language as well as raising the students' awareness of these structures. Within the framework of a context, advanced language structures are analysed so as to establish relations between form and text type. Synthesizing these structures, students produce advanced level texts employing these structures. The course also emphasizes interactive activities such as group and pair work. As a continuation of Contextual Grammar I, Contextual Grammar II leads the students to have a critical perspective into the advanced level structures (e.g., word classes, elements of the sentences, types of sentences, sentence fragments) of different types of texts on a contextual level. Building upon analysis and synthesis, students evaluate the most problematic forms of English grammar with guidance using methods such as error analysis or discourse analysis. Besides presenting a descriptive review of the forms and function of advanced English grammar structure, this course encourages students to develop a critical stance toward the use of these structures in various contexts. The course also emphasizes interactive activities such as group and pair work.

The data for this thesis, in the form of 15 classroom hours of video-recordings, comes from this course lectured in the spring semesters (i.e., Contextual Grammar II) of the different academic years. A three-hour video-recording comes from a class which was recorded in the spring term of 2013/14. Another three-hour video-recording comes from a class which was recorded in the spring term of 2014/15 with the same teacher, but different students. The rest of the video-recordings, 9 hours, come from a class which was recorded over a three-week period in the spring term of 2015/16 with the same teacher, but different students. The three-hour video-recording that was recorded in the spring term of 2014/15 was not included in the analysis of the study, as the camera placed at the back of the classroom turned out to be switched off during the interaction. Since the study also aims to explore the non-verbal cues the teacher performs in talk-in-interaction, it was deemed appropriate not to use the three-hour recording from that class. Therefore, 12 classroom hours of video-recordings (i.e., 45 minutes each) in total have been analysed in the study.

The interaction video-taped for three hours in the spring term of 2013/14 consists of the teacher's doing three types of activities. Firstly, before introducing the specific grammar item (i.e., present continuous tense) in this session, the teacher revises the grammar structure (i.e., simple present tense) covered in the previous week through some 'grammar-related activities', in which she asks some examples from the students. Secondly, she introduces some vocabulary items and asks the students to do some 'vocabulary-related activities' regarding the use of collocations pertaining to 'communicating' and 'criticising people' from a course-book entitled 'English Collocations in Use (Advanced)' (McCarthy & O'Dell, 2008). For example, a typical interaction is as follows: The teacher reads some of the sentences in which the collocations are bolded in a text from the book after a teacher-led discussion of the text and asks the students to come up with the right definitions of them from a list of definitions. Lastly, she asks the students to produce writings, in which they are required to use the vocabulary and grammar items introduced and revised in the session accurately to write a consistent essay, and then she asks the students to provide feedback on each other's writings in groups. Afterwards, she does some 'content-related activities', in which she asks the students to voice their feedback in terms of the writings' grammatical and lexical accuracy.

The interaction video-taped for nine hours in the spring term of 2015/16 consists of the teacher's covering three grammar items in three different sessions from a course-book entitled 'Focus on Grammar 5 (Advanced): An Integrated Skills Approach' (Maurer, 2006). In the first session, she covers 'modal verbs', in the second session, she covers 'gerunds', and in the third session, she covers 'definite and indefinite articles'. A typical interaction in the sessions

is as follows: The teacher always starts the lesson with a revision of the previous week where she asks some questions about a text from the book the students have worked on and in which they have explored the grammar item of the week. She asks the students to say the details about the usages of the grammar items that they have covered and sometimes lets them look at their books to remember the details. When it is time to introduce a new item, the interaction is led through the course-book. Every unit in the book starts with a text where the students and teacher explore the grammar item of the unit in context (i.e., 'Grammar in Context'). In order to do so, the teacher asks the students to read the text of the week and asks them to explain the usages of the grammar items after discussing the text through comprehension questions. Also, every unit has a 'Grammar Presentation' and 'Grammar Notes' section where the teacher asks the students to elaborate on the explanations, find examples from the texts, and provide their own examples accordingly. The teacher sometimes writes some sentences on the board and asks the students to explain the usages of the grammar items in the sentences. Afterwards, the students and teacher proceed to do some 'grammar-related activities' (i.e., 'Discover the Grammar'), where the students are required to do some fill-in-the-gaps activities, answer multiple-choice questions and so on to practice the target items.

As the current study investigates the phenomena in the data collected from the first-year ELT classrooms, one can argue that the organisation of interaction in these classes show variations compared to the organisation of interaction observed and noted in other L2 classrooms (e.g., EFL, ESL). That is to say, the interaction in ELT classrooms can be claimed to reveal some organisational differences, as the institutional aim is to teach the teacher candidates of English how to teach English rather than teach them English. However, I argue that even though students are trained to develop necessary skills for teaching in the division, teaching and practicing the language (i.e., English) still play an important role in ELT classrooms. In addition, as mentioned in details above, the course video-recorded for the study is a grammar course, where the students are required to learn and practice the patterns of the language. Therefore, I argue that the classroom chosen for the study is also a L2 classroom, but, as I see it, the shape of interaction in the classroom is two-folded: It takes a form of ensuring that the students can use the language appropriately, and it takes a form of ensuring that they can explain or elaborate on the uses of specific language patterns (i.e., vis-à-vis the pedagogical artefact or the teacher's pedagogical agenda), presumably with an aim to improve their skills in explaining and hence in teaching. Yet, both forms of interaction create a similar interactional site where the teacher assesses the second turns of the students vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda which is, most of the time, guided by the pedagogical artefacts (i.e., the

course books). That is to say, the organisation of the interaction is expected to be highly structured as IRF and in the f-move, it is expected that the teacher assesses either the accuracy of the language patterns, or the appropriacy of the propositional information vis-à-vis the ongoing activity. As such, it can be claimed that the classroom chosen for the study is a L2 classroom, where only one type of L2 classroom micro-context (i.e., ‘form-and-accuracy’: Seedhouse, 2004) is observed. However, to be more precise, based on the extracts analysed for the study, the pedagogical focus is rarely on the accuracy of linguistic forms (i.e., on the strings of language patterns) as noted in ‘form-and-accuracy’ contexts (Seedhouse, 2004), but it is most of the time on the factual accuracy of the students’ statements vis-à-vis the ongoing activity. Space precludes a discussion of the three-way view of context in the L2 classroom, L2 micro-contexts in particular, but readers are recommended to see Seedhouse (2004) for a full discussion.

It should also be noted here that orienting to the course books and the nature of the activities described above might gain interactional relevance in what the teacher accomplishes in the f-moves through the deployment of the token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) and in providing reasons for the token variation (i.e., the case for ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’). Based on the evidence and the details in the data, this will be demonstrated in the Analysis chapter and discussed in the Discussion chapter.

This sub-section has introduced the research context. The next one will provide information about the participants of the study.

3.2.2 The participants

As already mentioned in the previous sub-section, the participants of this study are first-year teacher candidates of English from the department of ELT at a state university in Turkey, who will be teaching English in primary or high schools in Turkey after a four-year study in the division of ELT in the Faculty of Education. The first-year classes at the institution are divided in two sections to ensure an interactive learning/teaching environment and have manageable size of students. The video-recordings for the current study were taken from only one of the sections in all above-mentioned academic years, as firstly, the same teacher lectured in both sections using the same materials and secondly, some students didn’t want to be video-recorded (see Section 3.3 for a detailed discussion). In the recordings taken from the class during the 2013/14 academic year, there are 32 students and only 5 of them are male. In the recordings taken from the class videotaped over a three-week period during the 2015/16 academic year, there are 34 students and only 3 of them are male. Therefore, in both classes,

there is female majority. If the evidence and the details in the data show that the gender has some effect on the organisation of interaction, this will be addressed in the Discussion chapter.

The age of the students range from 18 to 23 in both classes and they are all speakers of Turkish. As such, they speak English as a L2. The proficiency level of the students is determined by the English preparatory program at Erciyes University in the School of Foreign Languages (EU YDYO) which administers a proficiency test to all incoming students at the very beginning of the academic years. If the students score 60 or above out of 100 on the test, they gain right to start studying at their own departments. EÜ YDYO basic English department divides the learners who cannot achieve this score into four main classes, A, B, C, and D, according to the results of the proficiency test. Intermediate level learners are placed in A classes, pre-intermediate level learners are placed in B classes. C and D classes consist of the learners who are at beginner or elementary levels of English. Therefore, it can be claimed that the participants in the current study scored 60 or above out of 100 on the test and gained right to start studying at their own departments. As such, the students have the same proficiency level in English (i.e., High Intermediate/Advanced).

There is only one teacher video-taped for this study, who was also born and raised in Turkey. She is a second language teacher in the department for five years. She had a PhD in ELT at a different state university in Turkey and she has been teaching English at tertiary level for more than 7 years. One can argue here that drawing generalizations based on particular discourse phenomena by relying on only one teacher can be problematic, but this is not considered as a validity problem, as CA methodology “enables researchers to draw detailed and focused conclusions on a given interaction and the main aim is to describe the actions achieved by any limited participants in a multi-party talk” (Sert & Walsh, 2013, p. 547). In addition, the current study has no intention to conduct comparative analysis among teachers in relation to phenomena under investigation. Lastly, it can be claimed that as the current study has a qualitative research design and is a case study in that it only deals with one teacher, it has “the potential for rich contextualization that can shed light on the complexities of the second language learning process” (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 172).

In this sub-section, the participants of the study have been introduced. The next sub-section will provide information about the data collection procedures.

3.2.3 The data collection procedures

The aim of the study is to investigate the characteristic uses of ‘Mm hm’ as a third-turn receipt and its use along with the deployment of ‘Yeah’ in the L2 classroom from a conversation-analytic, multi-modal perspective. As such, the study examines the tokens by focusing on the micro-details of talk-and-other-conduct-in-interaction (i.e., not only ‘conversation’ and ‘speech’, but also ‘inter- and intra- turn pauses’ and ‘non-verbal cues’ such as gestures and bodily movements) (Schegloff, 2007). Therefore, the best way of collecting data for the study is to video-record some L2 classrooms.

The first recordings, in the form of three classroom hours of video-recordings, were taken from a class in the spring term of the academic year 2013/14. The second recordings, in the form of three classroom hours of video-recordings, were taken from a class in the spring term of the academic year 2014/15. The rest of the recordings, in the form of nine classroom hours of video-recordings, were taken from a class over a three-week period in the spring term of the academic year 2015/16. Therefore, the 15 hours of video-recordings come from 3 different classrooms with the same teacher and same course objectives, but different students and different course-books.

The recordings were collected with two digital cameras placed at the back and front of the classrooms. The cameras were set at the beginning of each session, one focused on the teacher and one focused on the students to capture all details of talk-and-other-conduct-in-interaction. As mentioned before, the recordings from the spring term of the academic year 2014/15 were excluded from the study, as the camera placed at the back of the classroom turned out to be switched off during the interaction. Therefore, 12 classroom hours of video-recordings in total have been analysed in the study. This can be considered more than adequate for a CA-based classroom research, as a total of between five and ten lessons has generally been considered a reasonable database to be able to generalise and draw conclusions (Seedhouse, 2004).

3.3 Ethical Considerations

As the study uses video-recordings as the data, this requires a researcher to pay special attention to certain sensitivities in relation to ethics in research. Firstly, it should be noted that the institution where the researcher collected the data is the home institution of the researcher, which provides the funding with the researcher during his studies at Newcastle University. As such, the teacher who was asked to participate in this research is a colleague of the researcher. In order to gain access to the classrooms, the researcher and the teacher contacted the Department of ELT in every spring term of the academic years and after getting permission

for recording the classrooms, the teacher and student consent forms and information sheets were given to the teacher and the students.

The teacher agreed that her video-stills (i.e., screenshots) can be used for research purposes in this research as long as an anonymised name or a pseudonym is provided for the transcripts whereas some of the students didn't agree on this. Even though they were assured that their screen shots wouldn't be used in this research, as the study focuses on the teacher, thinking that they would be video-recorded against their will, they were moved to the other section (i.e., Section B) and some students from Section B, who volunteered to cover the week's session in Section A being video-recorded, were moved to Section A. Consequently, the data collection is on voluntary basis and both the teacher and students agreed with the data collection and signed the documents. All of the participants were assured that their names would be replaced by some pseudonyms. As such, to ensure confidentiality, the names of the teacher and students were referred to as T for the teacher and S1, S2 and so on for the students. When the students' names were mentioned in the lessons, pseudonyms were used for the real ones.

This section has presented information about ethics and the issue of anonymity. In the following section, the research methodology of the study, namely CA will be introduced.

3.4 Research Methodology

In this section, the methodological position (i.e., CA) taken by this study will be presented. Firstly, a brief description of the methodology of CA along with its principles and aims will be introduced. The key interactional structures of CA will be presented. The reason why CA is deemed the most appropriate methodology for the study will sometimes be justified by comparing and contrasting it with some other methodologies that are used to study L2 classroom data.

3.4.1 The principles and aims of CA

As mentioned earlier, CA methodology will be employed in this study. More specifically, as I adopt this approach to describe and examine the phenomena in a specific institutional setting (i.e., L2 classroom), it can be claimed that it is 'applied CA' (Richards & Seedhouse, 2005; ten Have, 2007). Observing and describing the "details of social actions" in natural encounters (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p.289), CA aims to reveal and explain the procedures that speakers take to understand and interpret each other (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). As a rigorous approach to study talk-and-other-conduct-in-interaction (Schegloff, 2007), CA was inspired

by ‘ethnomethodology (EM)’, which comprises philosophical underpinnings of it. EM, which studies the methods that people (i.e., ethno) use to produce and interpret social interaction, was developed by Howard Garfinkel (1967), whose work was initially influenced by the work of Erving Goffman (1967). Basically, EM aims to explain how people make their understandings and interpretations available to one another by orienting to each other in order to accomplish social goals in society. It should be noted here that what people do in CA research today and what they do in EM research is quite different in terms of using different modes of investigation and paying attention to different objects for analysis, but the former grew out of the latter and both of them see social norms as shared presuppositions that people display obvious orientation to and act in accordance with, thereby treating it as ‘accountable’ when they are not acting in accordance with (Kasper, 2009). Space precludes a full account of EM here, readers are recommended to see Heritage (1984b), ten Have (2007), and Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998) for a more detailed consideration.

Having started with the research by Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson in the 1970s, CA’s groundbreaking theoretical assumptions were revealed by the analysis of the lectures of Sacks given in the late 1960s. These assumptions have been supported by a lot of empirical analyses over years, thereby remaining central to CA. The first observation is that “talk amounts to action” (Schegloff, 1991, p.46). It basically means that when we ‘say’ something, we actually ‘do’ something. Therefore, people are performing a specific action each time they say something (e.g., requesting, inviting, and declining an invitation and so on).

The observations over years have also supported the claim regarding the second assumption that there is “order at all points” in interaction (Sacks, 1984, p.22). This assumption has created heated debates between researchers that adopt Chomskyan way of understanding talk in interaction, which claims that it is arbitrary and there is no order in talk (see Chomsky 1957, 1965), and those who take the view that there is order in talk and this can be subject to analysis. The notion basically means that there are noticeably organized sets of practices that are available to participants in interaction and analysts, such as taking a turn at talk or giving it (i.e., turn-taking), co-construction of sequences in talk (i.e., sequence organization), and coping with misunderstandings or trouble in talk (i.e., repair) (Sidnell, 2010). These interactional phenomena of CA will be presented in detail in the following paragraphs.

The last observation is that people establish mutual understanding (i.e., intersubjectivity) and display it throughout the talk. This means that in interaction people have ability to decide

whether a question is asked and therefore they provide an answer to it, thereby interpreting the prior turn as a question. Here, it is crucial to emphasize that by using CA, analysts actually use an ‘emic’ approach, which means that they focus on the understandings of participants and their own interpretations of each other. Therefore, analysts demonstrate and describe what is happening for participants in ‘that interaction at that time’ by using the ‘next-turn-proof procedure’. It should be made more explicit at this point that CA does not claim to be able to establish the cognitive state of individuals in isolation, but it is able to portray and explicate the progress of intersubjectivity or socially distributed cognition (Seedhouse, 2009). It does so by “identifying ways in which participants themselves orient to, display, and make sense of one another’s cognitive states” (Drew, 1995, p.79). To illustrate this, I will focus on lines 19 and 20 in Extract 13 analysed in the Analysis chapter. In line 20, S3 displays an understanding of T’s turn in line 19 (i.e., projecting more talk). How do we know what the understanding is S3 has displayed and if it is correct or not? We know this by normative reference to the interactional organisations (e.g., turn-taking). The evidence is that firstly, S3 contributes new information to the previous turn in line 20, and T’s turn in line 21 confirms that S3’s turn in line 20 displays a correct understanding of T’s turn in line 19. As such, it can be claimed that T and S3 are displaying to each other, to the rest of the participants, and to the analysts their understanding of each other’s turns by reference to the organisation of turn-taking, and evidence in relation to socially distributed cognition is available.

Before going into details about the methodology, how the principles of CA are taken into consideration for the current study will be addressed by focusing on what Seedhouse (2004) has suggested. According to him, the principles of CA are as follows (p. 14-15):

- There is order at all points in interaction.
- Contributions to interaction are context-shaped and context-renewing.
- No order of detail can be dismissed a priori as disorderly, accidental, or irrelevant.
- Analysis is bottom-up and data-driven.

The first principle suggests that talk in interaction is systematically organised and deeply ordered. This is Sacks’ original assumption (i.e., there is ‘order at all points’ in interaction), which has been supported by a lot of empirical analyses over years. By adopting CA, the current study also aims to describe how a ‘messy-looking’ ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) acquires specific meanings in an institutional setting (i.e., in a L2 classroom), thus investigating whether it is capable of ‘orderliness’ in L2 classroom interaction, on the contrary to the belief that its occurrence is habitual and random in talk-in-interaction.

Therefore, opposing the Chomskyan understanding of naturally occurring talk, which claims that it is arbitrary, the current study chooses CA as a methodology to draw conclusions from naturally-occurring interaction (i.e., genuine L2 classrooms), thereby rejecting to work on the idealised competence of speakers or the competence of participants in experimental contexts (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

The second principle suggests that contributions to interaction can only be understood by reference to the sequential environment in which they occur and in which the participants design them to occur. More precisely, in L2 classroom talk, the teacher and students make sense of each other's turns and they design/make their contributions to interaction based on what they understand from each other's contributions. This is about intersubjectivity and Garfinkel's principle of indexicality. By adopting an 'emic' approach, in the current study, I describe what is happening for the participants in 'that interaction at that time' by using the 'next-turn-proof procedure'. As such, claims about the phenomena being investigated are made based on the understandings of the participants and their own interpretations of each other. If I had adopted a DA approach in the study, the claims about the phenomena being investigated would have been made based on the interpretations and categorisations of the researcher, as a researcher who adopts DA approaches relies on the coding of data with pre-determined categories and imposes these ideas and categories onto the data rather than looking at the data from the participants' point of view, thereby missing or overlooking participant-relevant aspects of interaction (Wooffitt, 2005). As such, the analysis of the token, 'Mm hm', would have been presented under such umbrella terms, 'discourse marker', 'back channel', or 'reaction/response token', thereby failing to understand and describe how it is oriented to and treated as a distinctive item by the participants when compared to other such small items which it is lumped together with.

The third principle suggests that CA has a detailed transcription system and no detail in interaction can be ignored or considered to be irrelevant to the analysis. In other words, it is important that the transcripts should be as detailed as possible to capture the detailed and multi-faceted aspects of talk, including timing (i.e., the length of pauses), how words are uttered, intonation, stress, speed, and any verbal and non-verbal aspect of interaction so that analysts cannot dismiss any order of detail of talk as insignificant. This is especially very important for a study like this, as it firstly conducts a very micro-analysis to understand the characteristic uses of such a minimal 'non-lexical' response token. As such, another reason for choosing CA for the methodology of this thesis over discourse analytic approaches is based upon the fact that only adopting CA, one can investigate the token being researched as a

‘contingent’ achievement, where very micro-details of talk-in-interaction (e.g., overlaps, pauses, prosodic changes, gaze, head nods) are at play.

As for the last principle, it suggests that adopting a CA approach, one’s interpretations should not be affected by prior theories or assumptions. Rather, it should be data-driven. While doing the analysis in this study, no assumptions have been made regarding any background or contextual details unless there is evidence in the details of the interaction that the participants themselves are orienting to.

3.4.2 The key interactional structures of CA

As mentioned before, the interactional phenomena of CA have been identified by the empirically-grounded observations of CA researchers and are at the heart of CA (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). They are basically interactional organisations that interactants rely on in any kind of interaction in order to produce and interpret social actions. Taking turns at talk is about the organisation of switching from one speaker to the next in the talk (Sacks et al, 1974). One or many Turn Constructional Units (TCUs) can be seen in a single turn at talk. A single TCU equals to one single action (e.g., uttering ‘oh’ as a TCU in a single turn might mean that a participant has received new information, thereby implying ‘change of state’ in knowing) (Heritage, 1984a). The completion of a TCU creates a Transition Relevance Place (TRP), which provides a space for another speaker to take a turn. Empirical observations in CA research have revealed that there are three possible options that participants select when a TCU has been completed (Sacks et al, 1974). First, the current speaker continues with holding the floor by producing more TCUs. Second, the current speaker might give a turn to the participant that he selects and nominates in his TCU. Third, someone might jump in and take the turn by self-selecting.

Sequence organisation is also one of the above-mentioned EM principles of CA, which claims that there is ‘accountability’ in any kind of interaction. This notion means that when participants are asked a question, they provide an answer, thereby ‘one thing leading to another’ or to put it simply, certain actions are followed by others (ten Have, 2007, p.130).

For example, an acceptance or decline should occur after an offer. This formulation is called ‘adjacency pair’, which consists of a first pair part (FFP) (e.g., an offer) and a second pair part (SPP) (e.g., an acceptance or decline). Here, we can also talk about the issue of preference. If an offer is accepted, it is a preferred response, whereas if it is declined, it is a dispreferred response. Adjacency pairs, of course, can be expanded, or other pairs can be inserted. Readers

are recommended to see Schegloff (2007) for a more detailed discussion of sequence organisation.

Lastly, repair is about the troubles that participants experience regarding speaking, hearing or understanding (Schegloff, 1979). In order to establish mutual understanding in any conversation, all breakdowns and misunderstandings are repaired by participants (Seedhouse, 2004). This can be done through self-initiation (i.e., self-initiated self-repair or self-initiated other-repair) or other-initiation (i.e., other-initiated self-repair or other-initiated other-repair).

It is widely accepted that CA research has always been interested in revealing interactional patterns that occur in ordinary/mundane conversation to examine how the social world is enacted (Drew & Heritage, 1992). However, the investigation of institutional contexts within CA has been drawn attention in the early 1990s and when the interaction in institutional settings have been analyzed, it has been compared to the mundane interaction and as a result, systematic differences regarding the CA interactional phenomena have been observed. For example, turn-taking organisation in a L2 classroom setting has been observed to be different than the one in ordinary conversation (i.e., in classroom talk, it is mostly the teacher who decides who to speak). Repair organisation has also been found to be completely different. That is, in mundane conversation, people mostly perform self-initiated self-repair, but in classroom talk, it is mostly the teacher who initiates repair (i.e., other-initiated self-repair) or who provides the correct answer (i.e., other-initiated other-repair) (Seedhouse, 2004). In addition, the choice of what is repairable in classroom interaction has been found to be completely different when compared to that of ordinary conversation (Seedhouse, 2004). Furthermore, the issue of preference works differently in L2 classrooms, as it is a L2 teacher's pedagogical agenda guided by the pedagogical goal that determines a preferred or dispreferred action. Therefore, it can be claimed that applying CA to institutional settings (i.e., applied CA) has revealed that institutions have their "interactional fingerprints" (Heritage, 2004, p.125), which means that particular types of activities within institutions 'shape' the organisation of the talk. However, it should be noted that the participants' talk sequentially unfolds in institutional settings as it does in ordinary conversation. The observed systematic differences stem from the goal-oriented nature of institutional talk (Seedhouse, 2004). As such, it can be claimed that the current study also uncovers the 'reflexivity' between the talk-in-interaction and the institutional goal in relation to the phenomena being investigated with an aim to inform the future practice of professional practitioners, as institutional CA studies have this potential to "describe interaction leading to informed action" (Richards, 2005, p.5).

In my analysis, the students' turns were investigated closely by paying special attention to TCUs/TRPs. The teacher's turn-taking and repair practices and preference organisation were also carefully examined to show the L2 classroom micro-contexts (Seedhouse, 2004). As already mentioned, the data only revealed one micro-context, namely 'form-and-accuracy'. As such, it should be noted here that the analysis uncovered the 'reflexivity' between the talk-in-interaction and the institutional goal in relation to the phenomena being investigated only from one micro-context. This issue will be addressed in details in the Discussion chapter of the thesis and also as a limitation of the study. Another point regarding the context is that the analysis might show different findings regarding the phenomena being investigated when compared to the findings of other studies in different institutional settings (e.g., therapy). This will also be addressed in the Discussion chapter of the thesis.

The previous two sub-sections have summarised the principles and aims of CA and the interactional phenomena of CA explaining how they are related to the current study. The next sub-section will focus on the rationale for choosing CA as the research methodology of the study.

3.4.3 The rationale for the research methodology

Several reasons why CA was chosen as the research methodology for the study have been implied throughout this chapter and the Literature Review chapter of this thesis, challenging the adopted perspectives to study the phenomena being researched (e.g., the compositional hypothesis/model, distributional analysis) as well as comparing and contrasting it with the other methodologies used to study L2 classroom data (e.g., CL, DA). However, it should be highlighted once more that one of the main reasons why CA was deemed the most appropriate methodology for the current thesis is based on the fact that only applying a CA approach, one can perform a sequential analysis and show that one turn can do more than one action (Schegloff, 2007). Also, only applying a CA approach, one can show how the details of talk-in-interaction such as timing (e.g., pauses, overlaps) and prosody (e.g., contour) uncover the characteristic uses of a semantically-empty token in talk-in-interaction. In addition, only adopting a multi-modal perspective along with CA, one can show how non-verbal messages contribute the functional variability of it in talk-in-interaction. On the other hand, DA and CL approaches are not designed to show the details of talk-in-interaction such as overlaps, pauses, prosodic changes, or non-verbal-projections as multi-modal CA enables, as can be seen in Extract 8 in the Analysis chapter, where one can see in line 26 that the prolongation of the token, 'Mm hm', and the teacher's performing a full expansive up-and-down type of nod

contribute to its function as an assessment-like continuer. As such, by only using multi-modal CA, one can investigate the phenomenon being researched as a ‘contingent’ achievement, where very micro-details of talk-in-interaction (e.g., overlaps, pauses, prosodic changes, gaze, gestures, head nods) are at play, and describe the pragmatic force behind its specific usages. Furthermore, only by adopting a CA approach, one can understand the sequential relevancies the tokens attribute to the prior turns in talk-in-interaction and provide accounts for variations. Using the procedures of distributional analysis, one cannot provide the necessary sensitivity to ‘sequentiality’ to fully understand variations in the selection of consecutive response tokens. More importantly, as an analysis won’t be based on the ‘next-turn-proof’ procedure, one cannot answer the essential question, “why that now?” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 299) or “why that, in that way, right now?” (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 16), which conversation analysts ask at all stages of CA analysis.

However, there are certain limitations of adopting a CA approach in a given study. Firstly, observer’s paradox (Labov, 1972) may affect the quality of the data collected for a CA study. Basically, this means that the participants of a study may change their natural behaviors, as they are aware of the fact that they are being observed. In order to decrease observer’s paradox in the current study, the cameras were set before the students came, so they were not obviously faced with the fact that they were being recorded. In addition, to allow the teacher and students to behave as naturally as possible, the researcher was not present in the classrooms during the recordings. Yet, it cannot be denied that the cameras placed at the back and front of the classrooms might have influenced the observation.

Secondly, its handling with little data in a given study is seen as a disadvantage of CA, as this can diminish the reliability of a study. In other words, it is claimed that as CA focuses on a relatively small amount of data, it doesn’t have the potential to have generalizable findings. However, Seedhouse (2004) argues that as CA offers findings that explain the patterns and norms in talk thanks to its capacity to study the data in great detail (i.e., it offers fine-grained details from the data), it has the potential to have generalizable findings. Five to ten hours of data is seen as adequate for L2 classroom studies in CA (Seedhouse, 2004), and this study analysed 12 hours of data. However, it cannot be denied that reliability could have been increased in the current study by including different L2 classroom micro-contexts (e.g., ‘meaning-and-fluency: Seedhouse, 2004), as there are huge amounts of other data from these contexts that can be analysed to describe variations, if any, with regards to the phenomena being researched at micro-level. It should also be noted here that the current study has not been designed to aim at describing variations in what kinds of functions the token, ‘Mm hm’,

is used in the three courses, where the students are different. However, it cannot be denied that having several teachers would have increased reliability in the current study. As mentioned before, the students are different in the three courses, yet as will be seen in the Analysis chapter, they treat the tokens in similar manners. This, as I understand it, shows that the tokens are interactionally relevant for different students.

Lastly, it is claimed that the findings of a CA study cannot be generalised to other contexts (e.g., from L2 classroom talk to meeting talk) (Walsh et al., 2011). This suggests that findings coming from a particular context in CA cannot be used to make assumptions about other contexts. However, Levinson (1992) suggests that interaction is rationally organised in relation to social goals. As such, a CA study may provide some aspects of a generalizable description of the interactional organization of a setting (Seedhouse, 2005). In addition, Seedhouse (2005) suggests that in a given CA study, individual instances are analysed and the machinery that produces these instances is revealed. Therefore, it can be claimed that CA findings are generalizable in that CA assumes the basic underlying organization of talk and actions are similar. As such, even though the current study presents observations from only one L2 classroom micro-context (i.e., ‘form-and-accuracy’: Seedhouse, 2004), the underlying organization, which is explained in the Analysis chapter, is expected to be similar in different contexts. In addition, the findings of the current study can offer insights into other similar institutional contexts.

3.5 Data Analysis

3.5.1 Transcription

Transcription is a powerful tool used to understand and analyse the recordings (Heritage, 1984b). However, the transcripts cannot reflect all of the details of a particular context, as what to transcribe is determined by the transcriber. Even though they are only the representations of the real data, they allow analysts to see and provide the complex nature of interaction in an easily usable and static format (Liddicoat, 2007). According to Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998), the transcription is at the core of the analysis, as it becomes the orthographic representation of the data, the recordings, thus becoming the basis of the analysis.

It is crucial to have a consistent transcription system in a study to overcome potential reliability problems, as researchers’ own theoretical stance or approach to the core data might influence any transcription. As such, as a standardized transcription, Gail Jefferson’s widely known set of transcription conventions have been used by many CA researchers. The data of the current study is also transcribed using Jeffersonian conventions adapted from Atkinson

and Heritage (1984) (see Appendix B), but in order to reflect some visual information, a consistent system has also been developed. In the transcription, any temporal verbal aspect like pauses and overlaps, prosodic aspects like pitch, stress, prolongation, pace of talk, cut offs are represented followed by any aspect of non-verbal behavior. For the analytic purposes of the study, | sign was used to mark the onset and ending of a non-verbal action (e.g., head nods, pointing, gaze shifts), and # sign was used for the screenshots to show the exact location of the images in the transcripts. In addition, ↓ or ↑ (underline, bold) sign was used to mark the type of a head nod performed by the teacher (more arrows=more expansive nods). It should be noted here that close examination of the teacher's head nods in the data has revealed that the nods take four distinct forms: A full rapid up-and-down (i.e., ↑↓), a full expansive up-and-down (i.e., ↑↑ ↓↓) or down-and-up nod (i.e., ↓↓ ↑↑), a rapid down nod (i.e., ↓), and an expansive down nod (i.e., ↓↓). In a full rapid up-and-down nod, the head is raised and lowered back to a point that is slightly below its original position immediately. In a full expansive up-and-down nod, the head is first raised and lowered back to a point that is slightly below the original position, but the head movement is stretched, resulting in a somewhat slower head movement than that of a full rapid up-and-down nod (i.e., more expansive in duration and amplitude). In a full expansive down-and-up nod, on the other hand, the head is first lowered and raised back to a point that is slightly above the original position, and the head movement is again stretched. In a rapid down nod, the head is lowered with a quick movement and raised back to its original position. In an expansive down nod, the head is lowered and raised back to its original position, but the head movement is stretched, resulting in a somewhat slower head movement than that of a rapid down nod (i.e., more expansive in duration and amplitude).

It should also be noted here that some screenshots taken from a free, readily available open-source software, *Praat*, were also used where necessary to show the visual display of the pitch contour of 'Mm hm' in the extracts analysed for the thesis. Also, a coding system has been developed for the extracts, as can be seen below:

Extract 1_5.7 (07:04-07:25) (Could have done)

In this coding system, the first number is the number of the extract in the collection. The following number (here 5) is the number of the clip where the extract is taken from, as the recordings came in several clips. This number is included in the coding system, as it makes it easier for the researcher to find the clip where the extract occurs. The next number (here 7)

means that it is the 7th extract in that clip. The numbers in parenthesis show when the extract starts and ends. Finally, the words in parenthesis explain the content of the extract.

3.5.2 Data analysis procedures

This sub-section will explain how the collection was built and the analysis was carried out in this thesis. After collecting the data for the study, the following steps were taken for the analysis:

- Watching the whole data set several times with an unmotivated look,
- Locating a particular phenomenon (i.e., the deployment of ‘Mm hm’),
- Transcribing some of the bits where the phenomenon occurs (less detailed transcriptions),
- Initial observations on the sequential placement of the token and its timing (i.e., overlap, pause),
- Adding some more details to the transcripts (e.g., the prosodic features of the token, nonverbal phenomena),
- Examining the whole data set and locating all of the occurrences of the token,
- Transcribing the bits where the token occurs and comparing them to the initial observations to see if it is randomly deployed, or it is capable of ‘orderliness’,
- Building a collection and carrying out detailed analysis.

While watching the whole data set several times, it was observed that ‘Mm hm’ is deployed numerous times by the teacher. At first, it seemed that the token is randomly deployed by the teacher and its deployment is habitual. However, the initial, less detailed transcripts showed that its sequential positioning and timing are different. It was also realised that the prosodic shape of the token changes depending on the sequential position in which it occurs and the teacher performs some forms of non-verbal cues in conjunction with deploying it. As such, firstly, *Praat* was used to add the prosodic features of the token to the transcripts and then, the teacher’s non-verbal cues (e.g., head nods, pointing gestures) that go with the token were included. After examining the whole data set to locate all of the occurrences of ‘Mm hm’, the transcripts were produced. They were compared to the initial transcripts to see if the token is deployed randomly, or it is capable of ‘orderliness’ in the data. It was observed that there are lots of similarities between these transcripts and the initial ones in terms of the token’s sequential placement (i.e., what comes before and after), prosodic features, and the teacher’s non-verbal cues that accompany it.

The transcription of the bits where the token occurs in the whole data set generated a total of 71 extracts, 19 of which were included in this thesis. The token was deployed by the teacher 193 times in total and 151 times as a third-turn receipt. The token was also found to be used to allocate turns to the students (mostly together with a nod and pointing gesture) (i.e., embodied allocation) (Kääntä, 2010, 2012), but it was deemed appropriate to focus on the uses of the token as a third-turn receipt, as space precludes an inclusion and discussion of all of the uses of the token in this thesis.

The issue regarding how the judgments of the students' utterances in terms of being (in) complete were made in the analysis of the data in the current study should also be made explicit at this point. Recall that the token (i.e., 'Mm hm') itself and similar vocalisations (e.g., 'Uh huh') have been reported to be placed at points where turns are somehow incomplete (see 2.2.2). In my analysis, I judged an utterance to be syntactically incomplete based on a 'projected upcoming predicate', as in CA literature, syntactic completion is claimed to be calculated in terms of its relation with a previous predicate if one is available (Ford & Thompson, 1996; Sacks et al., 1974). As for the intonational incompleteness, I judged an utterance to be intonationally incomplete if I didn't hear a clear final intonation, indicated by a period or question mark. Lastly, I judged an utterance to be pragmatically incomplete if it wasn't articulated with a final contour and interpreted as a complete 'conversational action' within its specific sequential context. Therefore, pragmatic completion includes the feature of intonational completion, but it is judged differently from syntactic completion, as 'pragmatic completion' "relies on interactional context rather than merely information recoverability" (Ford and Thompson, 1996, p. 150). However, the fact that an utterance is intonationally complete doesn't necessarily mean that it is also pragmatically complete, as "there are points of intonational completion which are not also points of pragmatic completion" (Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 150), as can be seen below:

```

1   S1:  one of the students says e:r our e:r sound is e:m
2 →   |more real?
      |S1 hand gestures
3   T:   |Mm hm,
      |((↓))T nodding
4   S1:  the other says e:r |(reverse it).
      |S1 hand gestures

```

As can be seen in this short version of Extract 10 analysed in 4.1.2.3, the student's turn in line 2 is articulated with a clear final intonation as indicated by a question mark, which shows that the turn is intonationally and syntactically complete. However, the turn projects that a multi-unit turn, which will involve more than one TCU, is in progress, as it begins with a display of that projection through a 'list-initiating marker' (Schegloff, 1982) or a 'story preface' (Sacks, 1974) (i.e., one of the students says e:r our e:r sound is e:m more real?). As such, the student continues to provide the rest of the response in line 4 (i.e., the other says e:r |(reverse it) .). Therefore, it can be claimed that the turn in line 2 isn't pragmatically complete even though it is intonationally and syntactically.

In addition, in their paper, Ford and Thompson (1996) do not discuss the role of non-verbal resources (e.g., gestures, head nods, body shifts) in projecting turn-completion or turn-extension. However, in research literature, gaze (Goodwin, 1979, 1981) and some other embodied resources (e.g., head nods, hand gestures) used by current speakers as an indication of turn-completion have been noted. For example, Streeck (2009) demonstrates that a specific form of hand gesture (i.e., open-hand gesture) can be used as an indication of turn-completion, and this can also solicit a response from the recipient at the TRP. On the other hand, Tiittula (1985, as cited in Kääntä, 2010) shows that head nods can function as turn-completion signals as well as demonstrating the use of other non-verbal cues in this sense (e.g., leaning back in one's chair, ceasing to move one's hands). This suggests that the role that these resources play in turn-extension and turn-completion cannot be dismissed. As such, in the current study, the roles that the embodied resources play in projecting a turn's continuation or completion have been taken into consideration. In addition, it should also be noted here that the terms, 'at a within-turn juncture' (e.g., Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010) and 'within the turn' (e.g., Goodwin, 1986), will be used interchangeably in the study to refer to the points where 'slots' are opened by the current speakers (i.e., the students) and filled by the recipient (i.e., the teacher) during the turn construction. To illustrate this, I will focus on lines 15, 16, and 17 in Extract 6 analysed in the Analysis chapter. In line 15, S1 produces her turn, and in line 16, T deploys 'Mm hm' at a point where S1's turn is incomplete (e.g., S1's turn is articulated with a slightly rising intonation contour and S1 holds the floor for speakership with a contrast marker (i.e., [bʊt) in line 17 produced in overlap with the second syllable of the token). As such, T deploys the token at a within-turn juncture or within the turn.

In the whole data set, some other minimal response tokens (e.g., 'Okay', 'Right', 'Yeah') were also found to be used by the teacher, but it isn't possible to provide observations for each token in a single study. In addition, in some sequences, it was observed that 'Mm hm'

and various response tokens (e.g., ‘Okay’, ‘Right’, ‘Yeah’) are used by the teacher as consecutive response tokens. However, in 25 of 71 extracts, ‘Mm hm’ was found to be used with ‘Yeah’ in a series as ‘a series of single tokens in their turns responding to a series of turns by another speaker’ (i.e., as consecutive response tokens) (Gardner, 2001). That is to say, ‘Yeah’ was observed to occur more frequently in the same environment with ‘Mm hm’ than other tokens. As such, out of 19 extracts analysed for the thesis, four of them will present some observations on the teacher’s uses of ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ as consecutive response tokens and provide accounts for the variation (i.e., variation in the selection of consecutive response tokens) as well as describing if there is a systematicity to the occurrences of these two tokens within the sequences where they are employed in the L2 classroom as that observed in ordinary talk (e.g., Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Jefferson, 1984, 1993).

The previous two sub-sections have explained the transcription, data analysis process, preparation of the collection for this thesis, and how the data was analysed in the thesis has been summarised. The issues around validity and reliability will be explained in the next section.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

In CA research, internal validity refers to the credibility of a study’s findings (Seedhouse, 2004). That is, a researcher “cannot make any claims beyond what is demonstrated by the interactional detail” (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 255). This relates to the emic perspective of CA, which means that participants’ interpretations of each other is evidenced through their own understandings and orientations to each other’s turns. This suggests that claims are only ‘valid’ when they are made through ‘next turn proof procedure’. As such, the internal validity of any given CA study can be tested by other analysts through the examination of the data. In this thesis, internal validity is present in that how the uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher are oriented to and treated by the students are shown by ‘next turn proof procedure’. In addition, the researcher presented the data accompanied by the transcription in MARG (Micro Analytic Research Group), which is a data session group meeting where researchers studying CA present their data in the School of ECLS (Education, Communication and Language Sciences) at Newcastle University. The initial analysis of the data was also presented in Newcastle University ECLS postgraduate conference in 2015, and the findings were presented at ICOP-L2 2017 conference in Neuchatel, Switzerland.

As for reliability in CA research, the clarity of the recordings and the accuracy of a transcription determine the reliability of a CA study in terms of the veracity of analytic

claims. As mentioned before, since CA uses recordings as data and transcripts as a representation of the data, analysts may end up with having this paradoxical issue of determining what to transcribe and the (im) possibility of reflecting all the details of an event. Therefore, considering that any given CA study is published with only transcripts, the accuracy of transcripts and how the details of an event are presented in them are vital. According to Seedhouse (2004), a study becomes replicable when the transcripts of the data are shared with readers, as they can check the accuracy of the analysis. For this thesis, an accurate and consistent transcription has been developed, as already explained in the previous section, and presenting the transcripts in MARG and conferences, I got feedback and confirmation from other CA researchers on the quality of the transcription.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methodology of this thesis. Firstly, in 3.1, the purpose and the research questions of the study have been explained. This has been followed by 3.2, where the information on the research context and participants of the study has been given. The section has also presented the data collection procedures. In 3.3, the issues about the ethical considerations of the study have been explained. In 3.4, the research methodology, CA, has been introduced, and the justifications for the research methodology have been made. After that, in 3.5, the transcription, data analysis process, preparation of the collection for this thesis have been explained, and how the data was analysed in the thesis has been summarised. Finally, in 3.6, the issues around validity and reliability have been addressed.

Chapter 4. Analysis

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study in relation to the research questions. It demonstrates the characteristic uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher as a third-turn receipt providing a description of its sequential placement (i.e., what it follows and what it precedes), its prosodic shape, and its timing (i.e., pause, overlap) as well as providing a description of any non-verbal phenomena (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) that have been identified to contribute to its functional variability. In addition, this chapter also shows the analysis of some extracts in which the teacher uses the tokens, ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’, as consecutive response tokens providing some observations regarding if and how there is ‘systematicity’ to the occurrences of the tokens within the sequences where they are employed in the L2 classroom as well as demonstrating if and how the teacher is attributing different sequential relevancies to the prior turns of the students, thereby providing reasons for the token variation.

The organisation of this chapter is as follows: The first section will be a single token analysis section, where the characteristic uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher as a third-turn receipt will be presented. The second section will be a multiple token analysis section, where the analysis of the teacher’s uses of the tokens, ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’, as consecutive response tokens will be presented.

4.1 The Uses of ‘Mm hm’ as a Third-Turn Receipt

This section presents the characteristic uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher as a third-turn receipt providing a description of its sequential placement (i.e., what it follows and what it precedes), its prosodic shape, and its timing (i.e., pause, overlap) as well as providing a description of any non-verbal phenomena (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) that have been identified to contribute to its functional variability. As such, the first and second research questions of the study will be addressed.

The analysis of the data shows that ‘Mm hm’ is systematically articulated by the teacher in the third turns of the IRF sequences with different prosodic shapes (e.g., a falling, a falling-rising, a rising-falling intonation contour) as distinctive responses to a) acknowledge the students’ second turn responses in turn-initial and turn-medial positions as a strong

acknowledgment token and b) pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue (i.e., as a continuer).

Firstly, the analysis of the characteristic uses of the token as a strong acknowledgment token will be presented in 4.1.1. This will be followed by the analysis of the characteristic uses of the token as a continuer in 4.1.2. The section will end with the summary of the uses of the token by the teacher as a third-turn receipt.

4.1.1 'Mm hm' as a strong acknowledgment token

The analysis of the data shows that 'Mm hm' appears overwhelmingly at the beginning and middle of the teacher's third turns (i.e., as turn-initial and turn-medial) of the IRF sequences with a falling intonation contour accompanied by a head nod to acknowledge the student's second turn responses, and the token always precedes the following two types of moves of the teacher as minimal post expansions, which function to close the IRF sequences (Schegloff, 2007): The teacher either provides a repetition, reformulation, or an elaboration of the students' second turn responses, or she uses 'framing moves' (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) to indicate that one sequence has ended and another is beginning, thereby acknowledging the students' second turn responses as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

In Extract 1 below, 'Mm hm' is deployed in turn-initial position in the third turn of the IRF as a strong acknowledgment token, and it is a preface to the teacher's repetition of the student's second turn response (i.e., 'Mm hm' prefaced repetition). In this extract, the teacher asks the students to come up with some examples regarding the use of 'could have done' in its second meaning (i.e., I had an opportunity, but I missed it), after they agree that its meaning changes depending on the context.

Extract 1_5.3 (07:04-07:25) (Could have done)

1 T: yeah, any other?
2 | (0.7)
 | T gaze towards class
3 T: examples?
4 | (1.8)
 | T gaze towards class

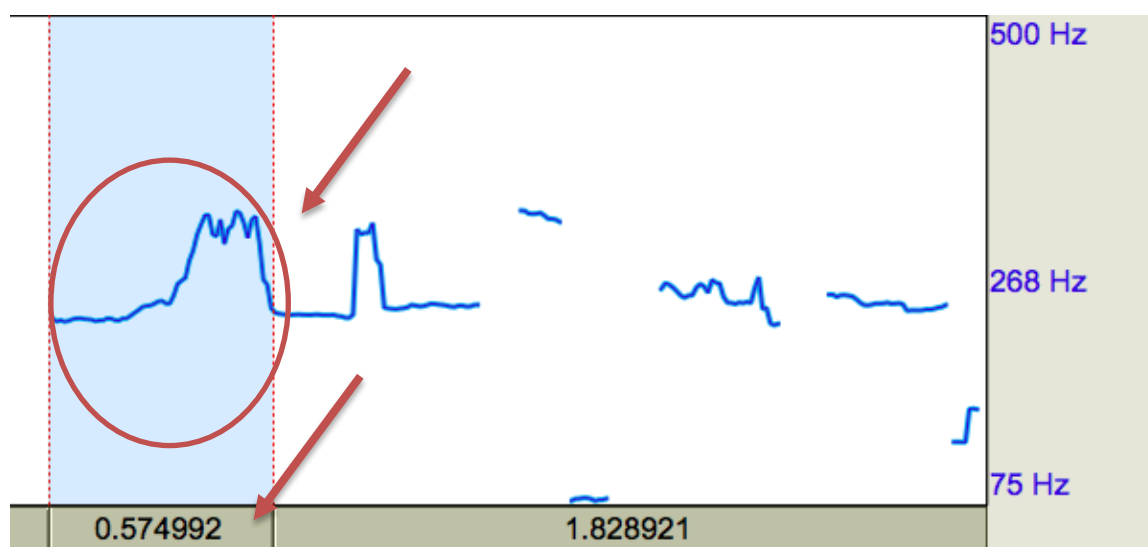
5 T: think about examples. (.) could ha:ve done.
6 | (1.9)
| S2 raising hand
7 T: |Mm hm,
| T nodding and pointing at S2
8 S2: i 'could' have /tʃuzən/ another section of study,
9 | but i did n't choose (one).
10 Ss: [huh huh huh]
11 → T: |Mm: hm:.| i [could have] /tʃozən/ another section,
| ↓↓ ↑↑
12 Ss: [huh huh huh]
13 T: another field .h subject of study, but you are here.
14 are you happy?

In this extract, the teacher asks for some more examples from different students. In line 7, she gives the turn to a bidding student (i.e., S2) through deploying 'Mm hm' in conjunction with performing a hand gesture (i.e., pointing at S2) and a head nod (i.e., embodied allocation) (Kääntä, 2010, 2012). After the student provides the second pair part of the adjacency pair in line 8, the teacher acknowledges the answer in line 11 (i.e., in the third turn of the IRF) as correct by firstly deploying the token in turn-initial position with a falling intonation contour (i.e., |Mm: hm:.) and performing a full expansive (i.e., more expansive in duration and amplitude) down-and-up head nod (i.e., ↓↓ ↑↑) and then repeating the student's second turn response (i.e., 'Mm hm' prefaced repetition), thereby using the token as a strong acknowledgment token. It should also be noted here that the student mispronounces a word (i.e., /tʃuzən/) in line 8, yet the teacher treats the response as correct in line 11. Therefore, it can be argued that even though the teacher performs an embedded correction of the mispronounced item in line 11, this is done as a 'by the way occurrence' (Schegloff, 1987).

The reason for characterising the use of 'Mm hm' as a strong acknowledgment token in line 11 is predicated on the sequential environment in which it is realised and its prosodic shape (i.e., it is a long glissando with a falling intonation contour) (see Figure 1), which shows that

the token is deployed immediately following the student's second turn response (i.e., at a possible TRP). That is, the student's second turn is pragmatically, syntactically, and intonationally complete (Ford & Thompson, 1996). It can also be argued that as the teacher provides a repetition of the response as prefaced by the token as a minimal post expansion, she takes over speakership and does not display passive reciprocity in the sense that she passes an opportunity to take a fuller turn (Jefferson, 1984), thereby acknowledging the problem-free acceptance of the immediate prior turn with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

Figure 1. The visual display of the pitch contour of 'Mm hm' in Extract 1



As can be seen in Figure 1, 'Mm hm' (i.e., as circled) is deployed by the teacher with a falling intonation contour, and the token is a long glissando (i.e., there is a prolongation of the token). That is to say, the teacher's articulation of the token as a strong acknowledgment token is noticeably longer (i.e., 0.574992) than her articulation of the token as a continuer (e.g., see Figure 2).

The use of the token as a strong acknowledgment token also appears at the middle of the teacher's third turns (i.e., as turn-medial). It is observed in the data that the teacher's deployment of the token as a strong acknowledgment token in turn-medial positions always occurs in a specific environment (i.e., a repair sequence), where the teacher initiates repair and confirms the peer-completed repair by firstly repeating the correct answer and then deploying 'Mm hm'. The token in turn-medial position also precedes the teacher's repetition, reformulation, or elaboration.

Extract 2 below demonstrates a repair sequence where the teacher initiates repair and deploys the token in turn-medial position as a strong acknowledgment token in the third of the IRF following a peer-completed repair. The token deployed in turn-medial position is prefaced by the teacher's repetition of the correct answer, and it precedes the teacher's elaboration. Before the extract, the teacher and students agree that gerunds and gerund phrases can act as subjects, objects, and complements. In the extract below, the teacher asks the students to decide if the –ing word in one of the sentences is a gerund or not, and if so, what it acts as.

Extract 2_16.14 (24:14–24:34) (Cross generational friendships)

10 S1: [er: it is object.
 11 S2: no:=
 12 S3: =complement.
 13 | (0.6)
 | T gaze towards class
 14 T: what- what is it? |[cross generational] friendships are=
 | T gaze shift down at her book
 15 S3: [object complement]
 16 T: =worth |pursuing?
 | T gaze shift towards class
 17 S4: sub [ject.
 18 S5: [subject complement.
 19 → T: |it is subject complement.| Mm: hm:. |what is worth
 | it | it | | T gaze shift down at her
 T gaze shift towards S5 book
 20 pursuing, cross genera- generational |friendships_ so:
 | T gaze shift towards class
 21 | (0.4)
 | T gaze shift down at her book
 22 T: |number six?
 | T gaze shift towards class

Before the extract, the teacher asks for a volunteer to provide an analysis for one of the sentences. In line 10, S1 provides her analysis of the sentence in question, and two students (i.e., S2 and S3) self-select and display their disagreement with the answer in a latch in lines 11 and 12. S2 does that with a direct 'No' (i.e., $n\text{o} :=$), and S3 suggests that it is not object, but object complement. Following a 0.6-second silence in line 13, which marks a dispreference (Schegloff, 2007), the teacher initiates repair by firstly repeating the question and then reading the sentence from the book, which displays that the so-far-given answers are not correct vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda, and as such, the students should provide a correct analysis of the gerund in the sentence. Two students (S4 and S5) self-select and provide their candidate answers in lines 17 and 18. In line 19, the teacher shifts her gaze towards S5 and acknowledges the answer in line 18 as correct by firstly repeating the answer and performing a full expansive up-and-down head nod (i.e., $\uparrow\uparrow \downarrow\downarrow$) and then deploying the token with a falling intonation contour (i.e., $\underline{Mm} : \underline{hm} : .$). The teacher also provides an elaboration of the answer as preceded by the token in line 19 (i.e., the token is used in turn-medial position), which shows that the teacher provides an account for why the answer of S5 is the correct one.

Firstly, in this extract, it can be claimed that the teacher deploys the token with a falling intonation contour (i.e., it is also a long glissando) as a strong acknowledgment token at such a point in line 19, as it can be seen that the token is deployed immediately following the student's second turn response (i.e., at a possible TRP). That is, the student's second turn is pragmatically, syntactically, and intonationally complete (Ford & Thompson, 1996). It can also be argued that the teacher takes over speakership by providing an elaboration of the response as preceded by the token as a minimal post expansion, thereby acknowledging the problem-free acceptance of the immediate prior turn with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

As can be seen in the extracts above, the teacher deploys 'Mm hm' as a strong acknowledgment token in the third turns of the IRF sequences, and the teacher's minimal post expansions in the third turns contain a repetition (i.e., in Extract 1) or an elaboration (i.e., in Extract 2) of the students' second turn responses as preceded by the token. The analysis of the data also shows that the token is used by the teacher as a strong acknowledgement token in turn-initial and turn-medial positions, but it doesn't precede the teacher's repetition, reformulation, or elaboration of the students' prior turns. That is, the teacher deploys the token in turn-initial and turn-medial positions in the third turns of the IRF sequences to project a retrospective acknowledgment, but she doesn't always provide a repetition,

reformulation, or an elaboration of the students' second turns as preceded by the token. Rather, she uses 'framing moves' as preceded by the token as minimal post expansions to indicate that one sequence has ended and another is beginning, thereby acknowledging the problem-free acceptance of the immediate prior turns of the students with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. The use of the token prior to the teacher's framing moves without any repetition, reformulation, or elaboration is very rare in the data. The teacher almost always provides a repetition, reformulation, or elaboration of the responses as prefaced by the token in turn-initial position and as preceded by the token in turn-medial position to acknowledge the students' second-turns with the sense of 'correct', and she uses a 'framing move' after her repetition, reformulation, or elaboration of the students' second turns (see Extract 2, line 22).

Extract 3 below demonstrates that 'Mm hm' is deployed in turn-initial position in the third of the IRF as a strong acknowledgment token, and the teacher uses a 'framing move' as prefaced by the token as a minimal post expansion, thereby indicating that one sequence has ended and another is beginning as well as acknowledging the student's second turn response as acceptable with the sense of 'correct'. Before the extract, the students read a text and discuss it through several teacher-led questions. After covering the 'grammar notes' section of the book about 'modals to express degrees of certainty', where the teacher explains the usage of some modals, the teacher asks the students to work on the 'discover the grammar' section of the book, where they need to choose the right paraphrased versions of the modals in the sentences that come from the reading text.

Extract 3_5.17 (23:32-23:46) (How could the voyage have happened?)

1 T: .hh what about four?
| T gaze shift down at her book

2 | (0.3)
| T gaze shift towards class and Ss raising their hands

3 T: |yeah,
| T pointing at S1

4 S1: |how could the voyage have happened?
| S1 and T gaze shift down at their books

5 | (0.2)
| T and S1 looking down at their books

6 S1: |b .h I'd like an ex- |explanation of .h how| the voyage
| T and S1 looking down |↑↑ | ↓↓ |
at their books T gaze towards her book

7 was possible.

8 → T: |Mm: hm: . |so: it is easy. [right?] number five?
|T gaze down |T gaze shift towards class
at her book

9 Ss: [yes.]

In the extract, the teacher asks for a volunteer to provide an answer for the fourth sentence in line 1. Following a 0.3-second silence in line 2, during which the students are bidding for a turn by raising their hands, the teacher allocates the turn to S1 by deploying a different acknowledgment token (i.e., |y^eah,) in conjunction with pointing at the student (i.e., embodied allocation) (Kääntä, 2010, 2012) . The student firstly reads the sentence from the book in line 4, and following a 0.2-second silence in line 5, she provides the answer by choosing option b. The teacher acknowledges the answer in line 8 as correct by deploying the token with a falling intonation contour (i.e., it is also a long glissando) (i.e., |M_m: h_m: .) in turn-initial position as a strong acknowledgment token. However, she doesn't provide a repetition or elaboration of the answer as prefaced by the token. Rather, she uses a 'framing move' as prefaced by the token as a minimal post expansion in line 8 (i.e., |so: it is easy.) to indicate that one sequence has ended and another is beginning, thereby acknowledging the student's second turn response as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. It should also be noted here that the teacher performs a full expansive up-and-down nod (i.e., ↑↑ ↓↓) in line 6 at the same time as the student is producing her second turn response. As such, it can be claimed that the teacher projects an embodied preferred next-action at the same time as the turn is being produced.

The token is also used as a strong acknowledgment token at the middle of the teacher's third turns (i.e., as turn-medial) as a prior to the teacher's 'framing moves'. Extract 4 below demonstrates a repair sequence, where the teacher initiates repair and confirms a peer-completed repair by firstly repeating the correct answer and then deploying 'Mm hm', and the teacher uses a 'framing move' as preceded by the token as a minimal post expansion, thereby indicating that one sequence has ended and another is beginning as well as acknowledging the student's second turn response as acceptable with the sense of 'correct'. Before the extract,

the teacher and students agree that gerunds and gerund phrases can act as subjects, objects, and complements. In the extract below, the teacher asks the students to decide if the –ing words in the sentences are gerunds or not, and if so, what they act as.

Extract 4_16.16 (24:45-25:08) (Object of preposition)

7 T: |ye:s? .h [what kind of
|T gaze towards S1

8 S1: [°object complement°.

9 S2: [interest in?]

10 S3: [subject complement.]

11 T: |interest in?
|T gaze shift towards S2

12 S4: [object.

13 S5: [object of preposition.

14 → T: |object of preposition.| Mm: hm:. |number eight?
| 11 | 11 | |T gaze shift towards her book
T gaze shift towards S5 and then class

Before the extract, the teacher asks for a volunteer to provide an analysis for one of the sentences. Upon getting an incomplete answer from one of the students (i.e., S1), the teacher indicates that student should also say what the –ing word in the sentence acts as in line 7. S1 provides her answer (i.e., the type of the gerund) in the following line in overlap with the teacher’s question. In lines 9 and 10, two students (i.e., S2 and S3) self-select and display their disagreement with the response in an overlap. S2 does that by focusing on a phrase that precedes the gerund in the sentence (i.e., [interest in?]) and S3 provides a different analysis suggesting that it is not object complement, but subject complement. In line 11, the teacher shifts her gaze towards S2 and repeats what the student has said in line 9 with a rising pitch (i.e., |interest in?) to indicate that it is the clue to decide the type of the gerund in the sentence, thereby initiating repair. Two students (S4 and S5) self-select and provide their candidate answers in lines 12 and 13 in an overlap. In line 14, the teacher shifts her gaze towards S5 and acknowledges the answer in line 13 as correct by firstly repeating the answer and performing two full rapid up-and-down nods and then deploying the token with a falling

intonation contour (i.e., it is also a long glissando) (i.e., Mm: hm: .). She doesn't provide a repetition or elaboration of the answer as preceded by the token. Rather, she uses a 'framing move' as preceded by the token (i.e., the token is used in turn-medial position) as a minimal post expansion in line 14 (i.e., `number eight?`) to indicate that one sequence has ended and another is beginning, thereby acknowledging the student's second turn response as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

As can be seen in the extracts, the teacher's minimal post expansions can contain 'framing moves' and the token in turn-initial and turn-medial positions, and the teacher doesn't always need to provide an account for why the answer is correct (i.e., elaboration) or repeat the answer (i.e., repetition) as preceded by the token in order to acknowledge the students' second-turn responses. (i.e., notice that she performs a repetition as a preface to the token in line 14 in Extract 4, but it can be argued that the repetition is for the selection of the correct answer, as two candidate answers by two different students are given in an overlap). She displays that she can acknowledge the problem-free acceptance of the students' second turn responses with the sense of 'correct' through 'Mm hm' preceded 'framing moves'.

Lastly, it is also a common observation in the data that the teacher deploys the token in turn-initial and turn-medial positions of the third turns of the IRFs as a strong acknowledgment token, but through 'Mm hm' preceded reformulations or repetitions, she initiates further elicitation, which can be claimed to be the extensions of the IRF sequences, as the aim of the teacher is to construct 'cohesive activity segments' (Hellermann, 2005) or 'topically-related sets' (Mehan, 1979) (i.e., cohesive series of consecutive three-part sequences). As such, 'Mm hm' as a strong acknowledgment token also acts as a bridge between two or more IRF sequences.

Extract 5 below demonstrates a multi-sequence topically-related set, where the teacher uses 'Mm hm' in turn-medial position following a peer-completed repair for a retrospective acknowledgment and initiates a further question to construct a topically-related set. Before the extract, the teacher starts the lesson by revising what they have covered in the previous lesson. During the revision, the teacher notices that some of the students don't agree on the details of the generic use of 'definite and indefinite articles' with nouns and adjectives. Therefore, the teacher asks the students to have a look at the 'Grammar Notes' section of the unit in order for them to remember the details.

Extract 5_21.3 (02:56-03:28) (What should you do then?)

1 T: do we have an (implication) like is it- it is used only
2 with .hh definite or indefinite [article?
3 S1: [no:
4 T: do we have an (implication) like that?
5 Ss: |no:
|Some of the students shaking their heads
6 T: no, it can be .h plural too. right? |without any article.
|Some of the students
nodding
7 (.)
8 T: or: it can |be:?
|T leaning forward
9 S2: singular
10 T: singular or:?
11 S3: em: article=
12 S4: =with the
13 |(0.5)
|T gaze towards class
14 T: yeah, |the generic meaning .h may: be created by nouns or
|T hand gestures
15 it may be created by using:?
16 S5: adjective=
17 → T: |=↑ADJECTives.| Mm hm. if you are creating a generic
|↑| |↑|
T gaze shift towards S5
18 meaning by usi:ng [adjectives,] what should you do then?
19 S5: [yes.]

In this extract, from line 1 to 6, the teacher and students agree that a generic meaning can also be created by using only plural nouns without the definite or indefinite articles. In line 8, the teacher asks a further question which is produced with a sound stretch and rising pitch (i.e., or: it can |be:?), thereby projecting a collaborative completion by the students (i.e., a

DIU) (Koshik, 2002). In line 9, S2 self-selects and provides a candidate answer. Even though the teacher accepts the answer through a repetition in line 10, she initiates repair with a connector produced again with a sound stretch and rising pitch (i.e., *or: ?*), which shows that the response given in line 9 is not necessarily incorrect, but is not the exact answer on the pedagogical agenda of the teacher (Sert, 2015). Upon initiating repair, two students (i.e., S3 and S4) self-select and provide their candidate answers in lines 11 and 12, which are followed by a 0.5-second silence in line 13. Despite the deployment of an acknowledgment token (i.e., *yeah,*) in line 13, the silence in line 12 can be claimed to be marking dispreference (Schegloff, 2007), as the teacher does not orient to the responses and continues the line of questioning using the same syntactic and prosodic practice, thereby initiating repair again in lines 14 and 15 in the form of a DIU. However, this time she modifies her turn and provides a specific prompt (i.e., *nouns*) using English grammatical system to elicit the answer bid (i.e., eliciting through a ‘modified template structure’) (see Hellermann, 2005), which can also be claimed to be serving as ‘cluing’ (McHoul, 1990). In line 16, S5 self-selects and completes the repair by providing the correct word. This latches with the teacher’s heightened repetition of the word (i.e., *↑ADJECTIVES.*) as a preface to the token (i.e., *Mm hm.*) in line 17, which shows that the teacher accepts the answer in line 16 as correct (i.e., also notice that she performs two full rapid up-and-down nods). The token precedes the teacher’s reformulation of the response, and the reformulation is done in such a way that it paves the way for a further topically-related question (i.e., a compound TCU) (Lerner, 1996).

Firstly, in this extract, it can be claimed that the teacher deploys the token in turn-medial position as a strong acknowledgment token to acknowledge the peer-completed repair as correct, as it is placed at a possible TRP and the teacher takes over speakership with an aligned continuation of the response in the form of reformulation. It can also be claimed that the teacher’s reformulation paves the way for an extended IRF sequence, where the teacher and students co-construct a topically-related set. As such, it can be claimed that ‘Mm hm’ as a strong acknowledgment token also acts as a bridge between two IRF sequences.

The extracts analysed in this section have demonstrated the uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher as a strong acknowledgment token. The reasons for characterising the uses of the token in all of the extracts as a strong acknowledgment token are as follows: The first reason for calling it a strong acknowledgment token is predicated on the sequential environment in which it is realised. That is, the token is deployed for a retrospective acknowledgment immediately following the students’ second turn responses (i.e., at possible TRPs), and the turns are pragmatically, syntactically, and intonationally complete (Ford & Thompson, 1996). The

projection is also indicated by the prosodic shape of the token (i.e., it is almost always a long glissando (occasionally not) (e.g., in Extract 5) with a falling intonation contour) and embodied through the teacher's head nods (i.e., full expansive up-and-down or down-and-up nods (occasionally multiple full rapid up-and-down nods) (e.g., Extracts 4, 5). Notice also that when the token is deployed as turn-medial, head nods precede the token (e.g., see Extracts 2, 4, and 5).

Another reason for calling it a strong acknowledgment token is that there is almost always a teacher aligned continuation of the students' second turn responses (i.e., the same-speaker turn (i.e., the teacher) is a continuation of the topic of the immediate prior turns of the students) in the forms of repetitions (Extract 1), elaborations (Extract 2), reformulations (see Extract 10), and in some cases further elicitions through reformulations (see Extract 5), or 'framing moves' (Extracts 3, 4), which shows that the teacher takes over speakership and does not display passive reciprocity in the sense that she passes an opportunity to take a fuller turn (Jefferson, 1984), thereby acknowledging the problem-free acceptance of the immediate prior turns with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

This section has demonstrated the characteristic uses of the token by the teacher as a strong acknowledgment token. In the next section, the uses of the token as a continuer will be demonstrated.

4.1.2 'Mm hm' as a continuer

In the previous section, it has been demonstrated that the teacher deploys 'Mm hm' with a falling intonation contour together with full expansive up-and-down or down-and-up nods (occasionally multiple full rapid up-and-down nods) as a strong acknowledgment token following the students' second turns which are complete (i.e., at possible TRPs) and takes over speakership immediately after the deployment of the token (i.e., the same-speaker turn (i.e., the teacher) is a continuation of the topic of the immediate prior turns of the students). As such, it has been claimed that the teacher displays a 'retrospective' acknowledgment by acknowledging the students' second turn responses as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

The analysis of the data also shows that 'Mm hm' can have a 'prospective' aspect as well as having a 'retrospective' aspect when deployed as a continuer in the second language classroom. That is, the token is used by the teacher to pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue. The following four distinct

categories have been identified regarding the use of the token as a continuer in the data: It is used by the teacher to a) acknowledge the students' intention to continue, b) display an evaluative stance with the students' answers within and during the turns, c) confirm the students' utterances at within-turn junctures, or d) prompt the students to expand on their answers (i.e., open-up with their talk). In this section, the analysis of the characteristic uses of the token as a continuer will be presented by describing its sequential placement including timing (i.e., overlap, pauses), prosodic shape, and embodied resources that accompany it including the shape of the teacher's head nods.

4.1.2.1 'Mm hm' as a bridging continuer

The analysis of the data shows that the token is mostly used by the teacher as a bridging continuer by being interjected at points where the students' second turns are syntactically, intonationally, and pragmatically (i.e., informationally) incomplete (Ford & Thompson, 1996). That is, when deployed by the teacher at within-turn junctures (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010), or within the turns (Goodwin, 1986), the token acts as a bridging continuer, as it rests on the observation that because a multi-unit turn is already in progress, the teacher passes an opportunity to do a fuller turn (Schegloff, 1982) at such points, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue, and the teacher provides the evaluation of the students' second-turns vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda later at points where they are complete.

Extract 6 below demonstrates that the teacher uses 'Mm hm' as a bridging continuer. As will be seen, this is done through the teacher's interjecting the token at points where the student's turns are incomplete. Before the extract, the teacher asks the students to read a text. After listening to the text twice, the teacher asks the students some comprehension questions, and after summarising the main points, the teacher and the students explore the usage of the 'modals' in the text. In order to do so, the teacher asks the students to find the sentences in which the modals are used, and after reading the sentences, she asks the students to explain the usage of them.

Extract 6_4.12 (16:49-17:35) (Two different possibilities)

9 T: =different possibilities here. the first one
10 is ;must have been, .hh and the- the second one is,
11 | (0.2)
| T gaze shift down at her book

12 T: couldn't †have been.
13 | (0.3)
|T gaze shift towards class
14 T: what kind of a message do we get from this usage?
15 S1: |(there is a) er: almost certainty,
|T gaze shift towards S1
16 → T: |Mm [hm, |
| ↓ |
17 S1: [but one of these is positive,
18 → T: |Mm [hm, |
| ↓ |
19 S1: [certainty. the other is |negative certainty.
|S1 leaning back
20 T: |yeah. we have |er: different em: let's say levels of
|T gaze shift towards class
21 certainty here.

Before the extract, the teacher reads the sentence in which two modals (i.e., ‘must have been’ and ‘couldn’t have been’) are used from the book and asks the students to explain the usage of them. In line 15, S1 self-selects and provides the second pair part of the adjacency pair. The teacher deploys the token in line 16 with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm [hm,) in conjunction with performing a rapid down head nod (i.e., ↓) as a bridging continuer to give the floor to the student to continue by interjecting it at a point where the student’s turn is incomplete (e.g., the student’s turn is articulated with a slightly rising intonation contour and S1 holds the floor for speakership with a contrast marker (i.e., [but) in line 17 produced in overlap with the second syllable of the token), thereby acknowledging that a multi-unit turn is on the way. In line 17, S1 provides the rest of the response, and the turn can be claimed to be incomplete again (e.g., S1’s beginning of the turn in line 19 is the syntactic continuation of the turn in line 17, the turn is articulated with a slightly rising intonation contour, and the turn in line 19 is produced in overlap with the second syllable of the token, which shows that S1 holds the floor for speakership). As such, the teacher deploys the token with a falling-rising

intonation contour (i.e., |Mm [hm,) accompanied by a rapid down head nod (i.e., ↓) as a bridging continuer again in line 18 to give the floor to the student to continue. The student provides the rest of the response in line 19, and this time, the turn can be claimed to be complete (e.g., the turn is articulated with a falling intonation contour, S1 leans back on her chair). The teacher deploys a different acknowledgment token (i.e., |yeah.) in line 20 in conjunction with shifting her gaze from the student to the class and takes over speakership by providing a reformulation of the student's second turn response, which displays that the teacher acknowledges the response as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

It has been claimed that the use of the token as a bridging continuer doesn't occur just anywhere within the turn, but rather at the boundaries of turn-constructive units (Goodwin, 1986; Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 1982). That is, the recipient tracks the course of talk by placing the token not after one unit is finished, but rather just before it reaches completion. However, from the extract analysed above, it can be argued that the token doesn't occur just before one unit reaches completion, but after it reaches completion, and the student continues to provide the next unit before the token is completed (i.e., the token doesn't latch or overlap with the previous unit, but the next unit). As such, it can be claimed that by interjecting the token at such points then, the teacher is displaying that a unit has been understood and the speaker can continue to produce the next ones, thereby using the token as a signal for the student to continue to say the next units of her turn. It can also be argued that the teacher doesn't interject the token just anywhere within the turn, but after the student articulates the previous units with a slightly rising intonation contour, which displays that the student intends to continue, and the continuer does rise (i.e., it takes the prosodic shape of its environment) (see Figure 2) and functions to confirm this incompleteness (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010).

Figure 2. The visual display of the pitch contour of 'Mm hms' in Extract 6

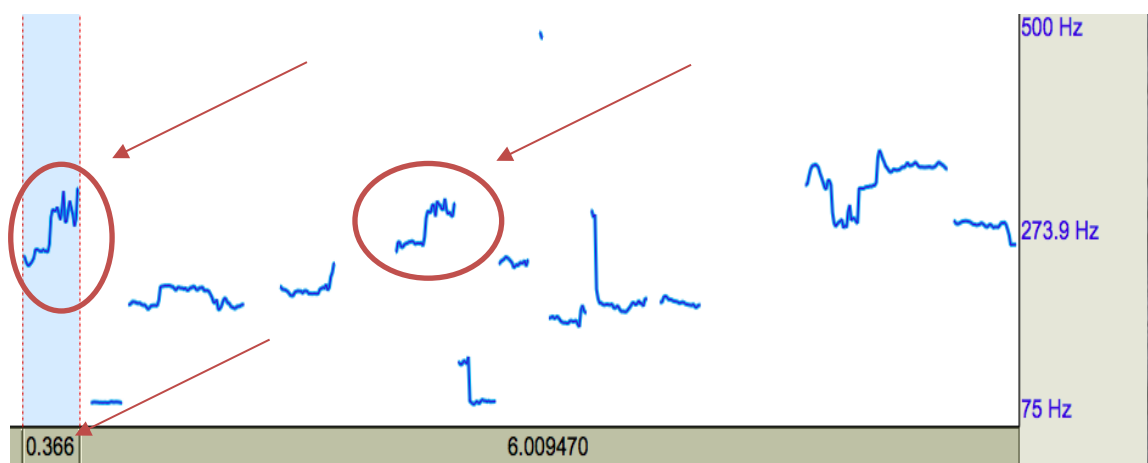


Figure 2 shows the deployment of ‘Mm hms’ (i.e., as circled) by the teacher in lines 16 and 18. As can be seen in the figure, the teacher deploys the token with a falling-rising intonation contour, and the articulation of the token as a bridging continuer is noticeably shorter (i.e., 0.366) than its articulation as a strong acknowledgment token (see Figure 1).

It should also be noted that attending to each individual unit of a student’s turn through the deployment of the token and a nod doesn’t necessarily mean that the teacher projects an acknowledgment (i.e., assessment) of the turn in advance (i.e., manifesting an ‘embodied preferred next-action’), even though this holds true for the extract analysed above, where it can be seen that the teacher’s evaluation move (i.e., the evaluation/feedback move of the IRE/F) acknowledges the turn (i.e., when the turn is complete) in line 20 as acceptable with the sense of ‘correct’ vis-à-vis the pedagogical agenda of the teacher. However, it is argued in this paper that the use of the token as a bridging continuer doesn’t display the teacher’s opinion of the students’ answers and it only functions to signal that the speakers can continue to provide the next units of their turns, as the data shows that the teacher sometimes initiates repairs in the evaluation moves, thereby treating the turns (i.e., whose individual units have been attended through the deployment of the token and a nod) as incorrect. As such, the teacher’s deployment of ‘Mm hm’ as a bridging continuer doesn’t assess what the student is saying, but only acknowledges the student’s intention to continue.

Extract 7 below, for example, demonstrates that the teacher deploys ‘Mm hm’ as a bridging continuer at a within-turn juncture to pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speaker to continue, and by taking the floor immediately after the student’s complete turn, the teacher initiates repair, which shows that the teacher doesn’t acknowledge the student’s turn (i.e., although she attends an individual unit of the turn at a within-turn juncture by deploying the token and performing a nod) as acceptable with the sense of ‘correct’ vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. Before the extract, the teacher starts the lesson with a revision of the previous lesson and tells the students to use their course books to remember what they have covered the week before. In the extract, the teacher asks some questions to the students regarding a reading text they have read and discussed the previous week.

Extract 7_4.2 (02:28-02:58) (Was it like that?)

47 T: =yeah. |there were some differences between these two
|T gaze shift towards class
48 cultures. .h what happened? |who went to where:?
|T hand gestures
49 (0.9)
50 S2: er jape [nese
51 T: [who were the people?
52 |(0.7)
|T gaze shift towards S2, T nodding
53 S2: japanese people,
54 → T: |Mm [hm, |
| | |
55 S2: [er: went to the .h american people (home).
56 (0.8)
57 → T: [|was] it like that?
|T gaze shift towards class, T hand gestures
58 S?: [no]
59 Ss: vis- vice [versa
60 T: |[the other vice- |the- the other way around
|T hand gestures |T hand gestures
61 er japanese er people were the host, and american people
62 were the: visitors. and they went to
63 er: visit their friends japanese friends. .h where were
64 they?

The extract begins with the teacher's further initiation in line 48 (i.e., the initiation move of the extended IRF sequence), after acknowledging one of the student's answer as correct through the deployment of an acknowledgment token (i.e., =yeah.) and repeating the answer in line 47. Following a 0.9-second silence in line 49, S2 self-selects and attempts to provide the second pair part of the adjacency pair in overlap with the teacher's pre-emptive reformulation (i.e., after-first-turn silence in initiating pre-emptive reformulation/repetition) (Schegloff, 2007) produced in line 51. Following a 0.7-second silence in line 52, during which the teacher allocates the turn to S2 by shifting her gaze and performing a head nod,

(i.e., upon finding the willing student who establishes reciprocity for incipient speakership) (Mortensen, 2012), S2 provides her response, and in line 54, the teacher deploys the token with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm [hm,) accompanied by a rapid down head nod (i.e., ↓) as a bridging continuer to attend a unit of the turn which is not yet complete (e.g., the student's turn is articulated with a slightly rising intonation contour, the beginning of the turn in line 55 is the syntactic continuation of the turn in line 53, and the student holds the floor for speakership with a filler (i.e., [eɪ:]) produced in overlap with the second syllable of the token). As such, the continuer works as a signal for the student to continue to say the next unit of the turn. In line 55, the student continues to provide the rest of her response, and the turn can be claimed to be complete (e.g., the turn is articulated with a falling intonation contour). Following a 0.8-second silence in line 56, which marks a dispreference (Schegloff, 2007), the teacher initiates repair, thereby treating the turn as incorrect vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. Therefore, in this extract, the teacher uses the token with a falling-rising intonation contour accompanied by a nod as a bridging continuer at such a point in line 54 to acknowledge that a unit has been understood and the speaker can continue to provide the next unit of her turn, thereby giving the floor to the speaker to continue, and she evaluates the turn later at a point where it is complete.

Then, from the extracts analysed above, it can be claimed that the teacher deploys the token at within-turn junctures as a listening device to acknowledge the students' intention to continue by attending to individual units (Goodwin, 1986). That is, the teacher deploys the token as a bridging continuer to bridge the units in the flow of speech, thereby claiming listening by anticipating the students' intention to go on (Sacks, 1992a). As such, the teacher's use of the token as a bridging continuer doesn't indicate the teacher's opinion of the students' answers and its only function is to direct the students to continue to say the next unit/s of their turns. The projection is also indicated by the prosodic shape of the token (i.e., the token does rise, but has a mid-volume tone, which indicates neutrality except to convey to the students that the teacher is present and listening) (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010) and embodied through the type of the nod (i.e., one rapid down nod), which might be displaying that 'go ahead and continue to say the next unit of the turn' (i.e., in contrast to the acknowledging nod (i.e., a full rapid or slow (more or less expansive) up-and-down or down-and-up nod) observed in the data) (see Section 4.1.1). Therefore, it can be claimed that the token has both a 'prospective' aspect in that it gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue in the flow of the speech (i.e., it instructs the students to continue to say the next units of their turns) as well as having a

‘retrospective’ aspect in that it indicates to the students the incompleteness of the unit, but it remains ‘neutral’ towards the talk (Muller, 1996).

In this section, the characteristics of the token as a bridging continuer have been demonstrated. The analysis of the data also reveals that the teacher uses the token as an assessment-like continuer in the second language classroom. The characteristics of the token as an assessment-like continuer will be presented in the next section.

4.1.2.2 ‘Mm hm’ as an assessment-like continuer

In the previous section, it has been demonstrated that the teacher uses the token with a falling-rising intonation contour accompanied by a rapid down nod as a bridging continuer to attend to the individual units of the students’ turns that are not yet complete. For example, it is placed by the teacher after one unit is articulated with a slightly rising intonation contour, which shows that the students intend to go on, and the deployment of the token at such a point acknowledges the incompleteness of the turns. Therefore, it has been claimed that the continuer functions as a signal for the students to continue to say the next unit/s of their turns without displaying the teacher’s opinion of the students’ answers. However, the question that should be asked here is that ‘can the token also indicate to the students the teacher’s opinion of their answers?’ In other words, ‘is the token also capable of indicating more than ‘a mere monitoring stance’ (i.e., a claim for listening) in the L2 classroom talk-in-interaction?’ If so, how does it do this?

The analysis of the data shows that the token sometimes displays more than a ‘mere monitoring stance’ by being placed at different points in the students’ turns and articulated with a marked prosody. More importantly, it shows that it is not only the different sequential placement of the token and a shift in its prosodic shape that set it free from only conveying a ‘de dicto’ reading (Muller, 1996), but some forms of non-verbal cues (e.g., hand gestures, body posture) and more interestingly, a shift in the shape of a non-verbal resource (i.e., head nod) the teacher draws upon also contribute to its functional variability in this sense. As such, the teacher uses the token as an assessment-like continuer in that she passes up an opportunity to take a fuller turn (i.e., she gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue) and at the same time displays a heightened alignment with the students’ answers (i.e., assessment), thereby projecting an ‘embodied preferred next-action’ in the L2 classroom.

In this section, firstly, I will demonstrate how the token displays an ‘embodied evaluative stance’ when used as a bridging continuer (i.e., at within-turn junctures). Then, I will show

how the teacher indicates that projection by also placing the token at a different point in the students' turns.

Extract 8 below demonstrates that the teacher's use of the token as a bridging continuer displays more than 'a claim for listening' while attending the individual unit of a student's turn (i.e., it indicates the teacher's opinion of the student's answer), and the projection is not only indicated by a shift in its prosodic shape, but it is also embodied through a different type of head nod performed by the teacher. Before the extract, the teacher starts the class with a revision of the previous week by asking the students if they remember the 'modals' that they have learned. After eliciting some of the modal verbs from the students, she writes three of them (i.e., 'had to', 'be supposed to', and 'are/be to') on the board and asks the students what the difference is in their usages.

Extract 8_4.4 (04:41-05:39) (Had to/be to/be supposed to)

16 T: |Mm: hm:. it is strong expectation. |but we have one more
|T gaze shift from S1 towards the board |T circles 'are/be to' on the
board

17 thing?

18 Ss: formal.=

19 S2: =formal [situation.

20 S3: [(inaudible).

21 S?: formal situation.=

22 T: |=yeah,
|T performing hand gestures to indicate that one speaker should speak at a time

23 |(0.5)
|S3 raising hand and T pointing at S3

24 S3: er if the situation is obligation but you want to be

25 kind,

26 → T: |Mm: [hm:, |
|tt |ll |
#3.1 ---> 3.2 ---> 3.3



Figure 3

27 S3: [you can use this [(function).
 28 T: [|ye:ah. I want to give this
 |T gaze shift from S3 to the board
 29 obligation, I want to give this (.) |strong obligation,
 |T circles 'had to' on the board
 30 |hm? I want to say that you have to. hm? |but I want to
 |T gaze shift towards class | T draws an arrow to
 the circle of 'are/be to'
 on the board
 31 be polite. (.) |so: I can use be to.
 |T gaze shift towards class

In the extract, the teacher treats one of the students' answer as not being the 'one' on her pedagogical agenda, thereby initiating repair in line 16. In line 23, the teacher allocates the turn to a different student (i.e., S3). S3 provides her response in lines 24 and 25, and the turn in line 25 is incomplete. Firstly, as the turn includes a compound TCU (Lerner, 1996), it projects that a multi-unit turn is in progress. Secondly, as the turn is articulated with a slightly rising intonation contour, it projects that the student intends to continue. Therefore, it can be claimed that the teacher deploys the token in line 26 with a falling-rising intonation contour accompanied by a head nod as a bridging continuer to acknowledge the incompleteness (i.e., at a within-turn juncture). However, it can also be argued here that the teacher indicates more than 'a claim for listening' while attending the individual unit of the student's turn. That is, she indicates her opinion of the student's answer displaying a heightened alignment (i.e., assessment). The evidence for this is as follows: Firstly, the continuer is a long glissando (i.e., |Mm: [hm: ,). That is to say, the prosodic shape of the token described in Extracts 6 and 7

above has a mid-volume tone to indicate neutrality, which is also indicated by the short articulation of the token as can be seen in Figure 2, but the token here is noticeably longer (i.e., there is a prolongation of the token) (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. The visual display of the pitch contour of ‘Mm hm’ in Extract 8

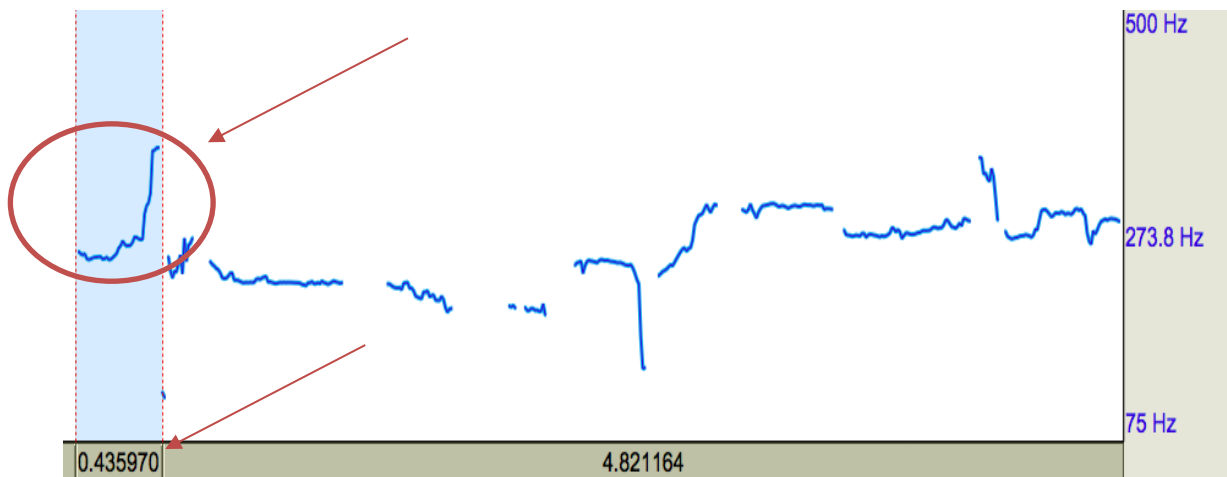


Figure 4 shows the deployment of ‘Mm hm’ (i.e., as circled) by the teacher in line 26. As can be seen in the figure, the token is deployed with a falling-rising intonation contour, and the articulation of the token is noticeably longer (i.e., 0.435970) than its articulation as a bridging continuer (see Figure 2).

Secondly, as can be seen in Figure 3, the token is accompanied by a full expansive up-and-down type of nod (i.e., more expansive in amplitude and duration) (i.e., $\uparrow\uparrow \downarrow\downarrow$), which shows that the teacher is acknowledging the answer as the preferred one. As such, it can be claimed that the teacher projects an ‘embodied preferred next-action’ at a within-turn juncture, thereby using the token as an assessment-like continuer. In line 27, S3 completes her turn, and the teacher deploys an acknowledgment token with a rising-falling intonation contour (i.e., $[\uparrow ye: ah.]$) and provides a reformulation of the student’s answer in line 28, thereby acknowledging the answer as acceptable with the sense of ‘correct’.

From the extract analysed above, it can be claimed that the teacher displays a heightened alignment (i.e., assessment) with the student’s answer at the same time as bridging the units of the student’s turn, and the projection is not only indicated by a shift in the token’s prosodic shape, but it is also embodied through a different type of head nod. As such, the token is used as an assessment-like continuer to give the floor to the prior speaker to continue and at the same time display an evaluative stance (i.e., assessment), thereby projecting an ‘embodied preferred next-action’ at a within-turn juncture. The analysis of the data also shows that the

teacher uses the token to display an assessment at the same time as the turns are being produced in the L2 classroom. That is to say, the teacher uses the token to assess ‘what is being said’ during ‘it is being said’, thereby using the token as an assessment-like continuer again.

Extract 9 below demonstrates that the token displays an evaluative stance when placed at a different point in a student’s turn (i.e., in overlap with the talk), articulated with a marked prosody, and accompanied by some forms of non-verbal cues including the teacher’s nod, thereby projecting an ‘embodied preferred next action’ at the same time as the student is producing her turn. The extract is the continuation of Extract 5 above, where the teacher and students agree that adjectives are used to create a generic meaning. Upon the teacher’s acknowledgment of the student’s response in line 17 in Extract 5, the teacher goes into an extended IRF sequence, where the teacher and students agree that the definite article is used with adjectives to give a generic meaning (see line 18 in Extract 5, where the teacher initiates a further question). In the extract below, the teacher asks the students to come up with an example to show the use of an adjective to give a generic meaning.

Extract 9_21.4 (03:46-04:20) (The rich don’t like wasting their money)

1 T: can you come up with an example for it?
2 | (0.8)
| T gaze towards class
3 S?: with adjective?
4 T: yeah. with adjective.
5 | (3.2)
| S1 raising hand
6 T: | Mm hm,
| T pointing at S1
7 S1: the turkish people are (easygoing).
8 T: we should ha:ve an adjective.
9 | (0.9)
| S2 raising hand

10 T: |Mm hm,
|T pointing at S2

11 S2: em: the rich [don't like] er wasting=

12 → T: [|↑Mm hm. |]
|↑ ↓ |
|T walking towards S2, pointing at S2
#5.1 ---> 5.2 ---> 5.3



Figure 5

13 S2: =their money.

14 T: |Mm: hm:.||the rich don't like wa:sting their
|↑↑ ↓↓ ||T gaze shift towards the class

15 money. so: this is an adjective, rich is an ad-
16 adjective, and by using the it becomes a [generic]=
17 S?: [generic]
18 T: =meaning.

The extract begins with the teacher's asking for an example in line 1. Following a 0.8-second silence in line 2, one of the students self-selects and initiates repair in the form of a confirmation check, which is confirmed by the teacher in the following line. It should be noted that this is a post-first insert expansion sequence that aims to clarify the teacher's question (Schegloff, 2007). Following a 3.2-second silence in line 5, during which S1 bids for a turn by raising her hand, the teacher allocates the turn to S1 by deploying 'Mm hm' in

conjunction with performing a hand gesture (i.e., pointing at S1) (i.e., embodied allocation) (Kääntä, 2010, 2012). S1 provides the second part of the adjacency pair in line 7, which is subjected to repair by the teacher in line 8. As such, the turn is treated as a dispreferred answer. Following a 0.9-second silence in line 9, during which a different student (i.e., S2) bids for a turn by raising her hand, the teacher allocates the turn to S2 in line 10. S2 provides the response in line 11, and the teacher deploys the token in line 12 with a rising-falling intonation contour (i.e., [| ↑Mm hm.]) in conjunction with performing a full rapid up-and-down head nod (i.e., ↑ ↓), changing her body position (i.e., walking towards S2), and pointing at S2 (Figure 5). In line 13, the student completes her turn, and the teacher acknowledges the answer in line 14 as acceptable with the sense of ‘correct’ vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda by using the same token with a falling intonation contour in conjunction with performing a full expansive up-and-down nod (i.e., ↑↑ ↓↓) (see 4.1.1 for the use of the token as a strong acknowledgment token), and she takes over the speakership by repeating the answer and elaborating on it, possibly for the sake of other students (Walsh & O’Keeffe, 2007).

Firstly, it can be seen that the teacher deploys the token with a rising-falling intonation contour in line 12 (see Figure 6) in overlap with the student’s turn in line 11 and performs a full rapid up-and-down head nod, changes her body position (i.e., walking towards S2), and points at S2, which shows that the teacher displays a heightened alignment with the answer, thereby displaying an assessment. That is to say, the teacher manifests an ‘embodied preferred next action’ by using the token with a marked prosody in conjunction with performing some forms of non-verbal cues at such a point (i.e., at the same time as the student is producing her turn).

Figure 6. The visual display of the pitch contour of ‘Mm hm’ in Extract 9

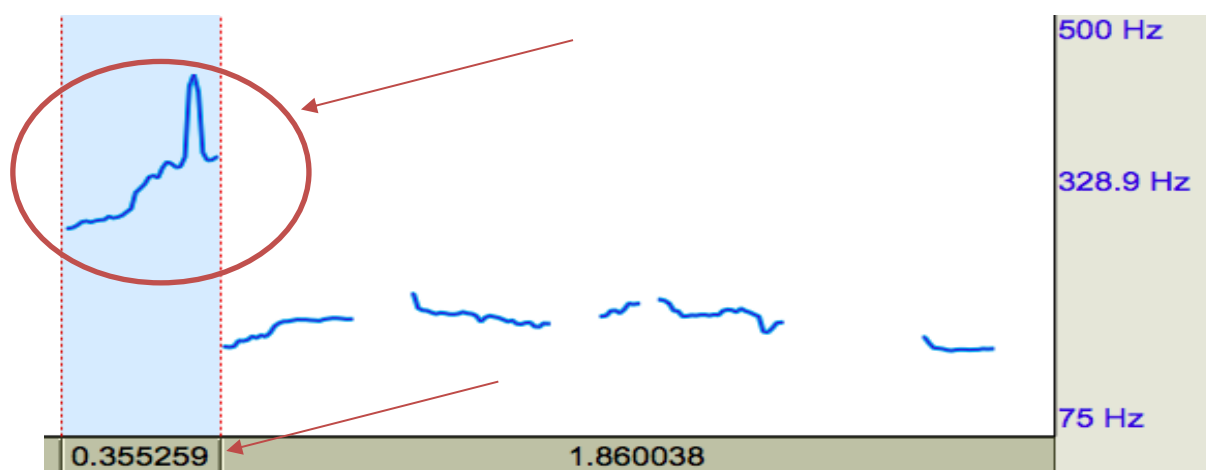


Figure 6 shows the deployment of ‘Mm hm’ (i.e., as circled) by the teacher in line 12. As can be seen in the figure, the token is deployed with a rising-falling intonation contour, and the articulation of the token is noticeably shorter (i.e., 0.355259) than its articulation as a strong acknowledgment token (see Figure 1).

Secondly, it can be argued here that the teacher uses the token to assess the student’s answer without treating it as an emerging element of a larger structure (Goodwin, 1986). More precisely, it is not a student intended multi-unit turn that is being acknowledged by the token, but it is the assessment of ‘what is being said’ at the same time as ‘it is being said’. Therefore, the teacher uses the token to assess ‘what is being said’ without treating it as a preliminary to something else.

Lastly, it can be argued that the token doesn’t occur just anywhere within the turn, but right after the student’s deployment of ‘a key word’ articulated with a marked prosody (i.e., e_m : the rich=) that might be marking a preference (i.e., projecting an exact match with the answer on the pedagogical agenda of the teacher). Therefore, it can be claimed that the teacher uses the token at such a point to acknowledge this preference/match.

From the extracts analysed in this section, then it can be claimed that the teacher can indicate her opinion of the students’ answers, either deploying the token at within-turn junctures, or deploying it during the turns in overlap with the students’ talk. With regards to the former, the projection is not only indicated by a shift in the token’s prosodic shape, but it is also embodied through a noticeably different type of head nod. As for the latter, the projection is not only indicated by the different sequential placement of the token, but it is also indicated by a shift in its prosodic shape and embodied through some forms of non-verbal resources the teacher draws upon. In either way, it can be claimed that the teacher indicates to the students more than ‘a claim for listening’ (i.e., she displays an heightened alignment and hence an evaluative stance), thereby using the token as an assessment-like continuer, through which she not only gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue, but she also projects ‘embodied preferred next-actions’. As such, it can be claimed that the token has both a ‘prospective’ aspect in that it gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue in the flow of speech as well as having a ‘retrospective’ aspect in that it indicates the incompleteness of the unit, but it doesn’t remain ‘neutral’ towards the talk (i.e., it displays a ‘stance’) (i.e., assessment).

The analysis of the data also shows that the teacher uses the token as a confirmation-like continuer, which is both ‘retrospective’ in that it confirms the students’ prior turns with the sense of ‘correct’, and ‘prospective’ in that it gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue.

In the next section, the characteristics of the token as a confirmation-like continuer will be presented.

4.1.2.3 'Mm hm' as a confirmation-like continuer

The analysis of the data also shows that the token is used by the teacher for the confirmation of the so-far-turns of the students with the sense of 'correct', but this is initiated by the students through a specific epistemic confirmation check (i.e., a 'try-marked' utterance) (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). That is, the token is deployed by the teacher as an epistemic confirmation token (Gardner, 2007), but this time the students' immediately prior turns invite some sort of reaction from the teacher in addition to the continuer (Schegloff, 1982).

Extract 10 below demonstrates that the teacher deploys the token as a confirmation-like continuer, which confirms the student's 'try-marked' utterance, but at the same time gives the floor to the student to continue. Before the extract, the teacher introduces a listening activity that is about a discussion in a biology class. Before assigning the task of the activity to the students, in which the students are required to choose one of the multiple sentences vis-à-vis the listening text, the teacher asks some comprehension questions to the students about the text.

Extract 10_6.3 (07:56-08:31) (Which one is the real one?)

1 T: a:nd the:n they have another question. .hh which one is
2 the real sound? the one that you hear? .h or: the one
3 that i hear? (0.2) which one is the real one? .h
4 according to the .h listening?
5 S1: one of the students says e:r our e:r sound is e:m
6 |more real?
|S1 hand gestures
7 → T: |Mm hm, |
| | |
8 S1: the other says e:r |(reverse it).
|S1 hand gestures

9 T: |Mm: hm:.| [one says] that one that we hear, .h when we=
|↑↑ | ↓↓ |
10 S?: [()]
11 T: =are- when we are talking is a ;real one. and the other
12 one says that no, (.) the one that the other people hear,
13 (0.2) is the real one.

The extract begins with the teacher's second question about the listening text. In the first four lines, the teacher initiates the first pair part of the extended IRF sequence by asking her question as well as elaborating on it in the same turn. In line 5, S1 self-selects and provides the second pair part of the adjacency pair, where it can be seen that there are some fillers (i.e., e:r, e:m), which function as hesitation markers. As such, S1 finishes her utterance with a rising intonation contour (i.e., more real?) in line 6 (i.e., a 'try-marked' utterance) (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979) as well as performing a hand gesture, which shows that the appropriacy of the utterance vis-à-vis the on-going activity is subjected to the teacher's evaluation. The teacher confirms the student's try-marked utterance in line 7 by deploying the token with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm hm,) in conjunction with performing a rapid down head nod (i.e., ↓). Upon receiving the confirmation, S1 provides the rest of the response in line 8, where it can be seen once more that there is a hesitation marker (i.e., e:r) before the utterance (i.e., the (reverse it) .) and it is accompanied by a hand gesture. However, as it is articulated with a falling intonation contour, it can be claimed that the turn is now complete.

It can be argued here that the student's turn in lines 5 and 6 projects that a multi-unit turn, which will involve more than one TCU, is in progress, as it begins with a display of that projection through a 'list-initiating marker' (Schegloff, 1982) or a 'story preface' (Sacks, 1974) (i.e., one of the students says e:r our e:r sound is e:m more real?). As such, even though the turn is syntactically and intonationally complete (e.g., the turn is articulated with a clear final intonation as indicated by a question mark, the student performs hand gestures), it is pragmatically incomplete (Ford & Thompson, 1996). Notice that the student continues to provide the rest of the response in line 8 (i.e., the other says e:r | (reverse it) .), after receiving the confirmation from the teacher. Therefore, the teacher's confirmation through the token at such a point does two things as

Schegloff (2007) suggests (i.e., one turn may have more than one function): Firstly, it confirms the student's turn in line 5 as an epistemic confirmation token, and secondly, it gives the floor to the student to continue to say the next unit of her turn. In line 9, the teacher acknowledges the turn as correct and complete by using the same token with a falling intonation contour (see 4.1.1 for the use of the token as a strong acknowledgment token) in conjunction with performing a full expansive up-and-down nod as a preface to her reformulation of the student's response.

From the extract analysed above, it can be claimed that the token is 'prospective' in that it gives the floor to the student to continue to say the next unit of her turn. It can also be argued that it is also 'retrospective' in that it confirms the student's try-marked utterance as an epistemic confirmation token. Therefore, the token used in the extract is classified as a confirmation-like continuer. The reason for calling the token a continuer here is that the token is deployed at a point where a multi-unit turn is projected by the student (i.e., one of the students says se:r our e:r sound is e:m more real?). As such, the teacher takes a turn at such a point, but doesn't hold the floor. In addition, the projection is also indicated by the prosodic shape of the token (i.e., the token does rise indicating that the floor is the student's) and embodied through the type of the nod (i.e., one rapid down nod), which might be displaying that 'go ahead and continue to say the next unit of the turn' (i.e., in contrast to the acknowledging nod (i.e., a full rapid or slow (more or less expansive) up-and-down or down-and-up nod) observed in the data).

From the extracts analysed so far in this section of the chapter (i.e., 4.1.2), the characteristic uses of the token in the flow of the students' talk have been demonstrated describing its sequential placement including timing (e.g., overlap), prosodic shape, and embodied resources that accompany it including the shape of the teacher's head nods. That is, it has been demonstrated that a projection of continuation is indicated by the students as the current speakers, and as a consequence of this, by using the token, the teacher honours that projection and doesn't take a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers. The analysis of the data also shows that the token is also deployed by the teacher at points where the second turns of the students are complete. As such, this results in 'recipient-initiated multi-unit turns'. In the next section, the characteristics of the token in this sense will be presented by again describing its sequential placement including timing (e.g., pauses before and after the token), prosodic shape, and embodied resources that accompany it including the shape of the teacher's head nods.

4.1.2.4 'Mm hm' as an expansion elicitor

The analysis of the data shows that the token is also deployed by the teacher at points where the second turns of the students are complete, and when the token is deployed by the teacher at such points, the students continue to say more by expanding on their answers. More precisely, as the teacher takes a turn, but not the floor at such points, the students re-take the floor and expand on their answers (i.e., open-up with their talk). As such, the deployment of the token at 'possible' and 'late' TRPs (i.e., after short pauses) prompts the students to continue to say more.

Extract 11 below demonstrates that the teacher uses the token at a point where the student's turn is complete (i.e., at a possible TRP), and the student re-takes the floor and continues to say more by expanding on her answer. Before the extract, the teacher and students agree on the details of 'gerunds' by reading a text and exploring the grammar item in the text. After assigning some tasks to the students about the usage of the grammar item (i.e., a task to decide the -ing words in the sentences are gerunds or not), the teacher writes two sentences on the board and asks the students if the sentences are different (i.e., the -ing words in the sentences are gerunds or not).

Extract 11_17.15 (30:02-31:12) (I have another question for you)

17 T: |yes.
|T pointing at S2

18 S2: er: in the first sentence, e:m >walking on the beach is
19 one of my favourite activities< er: walking on the beach
20 is subject,
21 T: |Mm |hm, |
| |↓ |

22 S2: [of the sentence. but the- the second sentence e:m
23 it em: it dif- e:m indicates the |time difference.
|S2 leaning back, gaze
shift down towards the book

24 → T: |Mm |hm, |
| |↓ |
| T gaze towards S2

25 S2: |er: when we were walking |on the beach,| she told the
|S2 gaze shift towards T |↑↑ |↓↓|

26 [whole story.

27 S3: [|like an adverb.
|T gaze shift towards S3

28 T: |Mm: hm:.| |so: we should be careful about them.
|↑↑ |↓↓| |T gaze shift towards the board and then towards class

Before the extract, the teacher asks the students what the difference is between the sentences that she has written on the board. She gives the turn to a bidding student (i.e., S2) in line 17. From line 18 to 20, S2 provides the second pair part of the adjacency pair, and in line 21, the token is deployed by the teacher with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., $\underline{Mm} \ [hm,)$ accompanied by a rapid down head nod (i.e., \downarrow) as a bridging continuer (see 4.1.2.1 for the use of the token as a bridging continuer). In lines 22 and 23, S2 continues to provide the rest of her response, and the turn is complete (e.g., it is articulated with a falling intonation contour, S2 leans back on her chair and shifts her gaze from the teacher down towards her book). In line 24, the teacher deploys the token with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., $\underline{Mm} \ hm,)$ and performs a rapid down head nod (i.e., \downarrow) in conjunction with gazing towards the student. Interestingly, S2 re-takes the floor in line 25 through a filler (i.e., $e_r:$) and expands on her answer by providing an elaboration of it. In line 27, S3 displays her affiliation with the S2's response in an overlap, thereby being a co-participant of the turn. It should also be noted here that the teacher manifests an 'embodied preferred next action' by performing a full expansive up-and-down head nod (i.e., $\uparrow\uparrow \ \downarrow\downarrow$) in line 25 at the same time as S2 is producing her expansion. In line 28, as a preface to a 'framing move', the teacher deploys the token in turn-initial position with a falling intonation contour (i.e., notice that it is also a long glissando) in conjunction with performing a full expansive up-and-down head nod (i.e., $\uparrow\uparrow \ \downarrow\downarrow$) as a strong acknowledgment token to acknowledge both students' responses as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda (see 4.1.1 for the use of the token as a strong acknowledgment token).

First of all, it can be argued that the student's turn in line 23 is complete, and by deploying the token at such a point in line 24, the teacher takes a turn, but not the floor, thereby projecting more talk from the student. This projection is also indicated by the deployment of the token with a rising intonation contour (i.e., it indicates that the floor is the student's) and embodied

through the teacher's gazing towards the student and the type of the nod she draws upon (i.e., one rapid down nod), which might be supporting the projection, displaying that 'go ahead and say more' (i.e., in contrast to the acknowledging nod (i.e., a full rapid or slow (more or less expansive) up-and-down or down-and-up nod) observed in the data). Interestingly, this is similarly how it is treated by the student, as she re-takes the floor in line 25 and expands on her answer. Therefore, it can be claimed that when the token is deployed by the teacher at such a point where the student's turn is complete (i.e., at a possible TRP), it projects more talk from the student, and as a consequence of this, the student continues to say more on the topic, thereby expanding on her answer by providing an elaboration of it.

Extract 12 below also demonstrates how the deployment of the token at possible TRPs (i.e., following the student's second turns which are complete) is oriented to by the student as an expansion elicitor, but as the student fails to provide more talk, the teacher treats the turns as having failed to answer the question satisfactorily (i.e., fully) and reissues the question following a short pause after the deployment of the token. Yet, the token deployed at such points (i.e., before short pauses) is designed to project more talk from the student, and the projection is also indicated by the deployment of the token with a rising intonation contour and embodied through the type of the nod and the teacher's gaze holds towards the student.

Before the extract, the teacher starts the lesson with a revision of the previous week and asks the students what they remember about the previous week. Upon one of the students' saying that they have covered 'the passives', specifically the stative passives and passives to report opinions and ideas, the teacher initiates the extended IRF sequence by asking her question and tells the students that they can look at their books.

Extract 12_14.1 (01:45-02:22) (The passives)

6 T: |what do you remember about them?
|T gaze towards class

7 | (1.6)
|T gaze towards class, Ss looking down at their books

8 T: †yes. you- you can find the answers from the book. it's
9 okay.
10 (0.3)

11 T: just as a kind of reminder.
12 | (0.7)
|T gaze towards class, S2 raising hand

13 T: | Mm hm,
 | T nodding and pointing at S2
 14 S2: | in stative passives er there is no action.
 | T gaze towards S2, S2 gaze towards T
 15 → T: | Mm hm, |
 | | ↓ |
 | T gaze towards S2
 16 | (0.4)
 | T gaze towards S2, S2 gaze shift down towards her book
 17 S2: | a:nd
 | S2 gaze towards the book
 18 | (0.3)
 | T gaze towards S2, S2 looking down at her book
 19 S2: | it's like an er adjective.
 | S2 gaze shift towards T
 20 → T: | Mm hm, |
 | | ↓ |
 | T gaze towards S2
 21 | (0.3)
 | T gaze towards S2, S2 gaze shift down towards her book
 22 S2: | a:nd
 | T gaze towards S2, S2 gaze towards her book
 23 | (0.6)
 | T gaze towards S2, S2 gaze towards her book
 24 T: | yeah. they bec- they act like an adjective. yes. what
 | T gaze towards S2 and then towards class
 25 else do you remember about it?

In this extract, in line 6, the teacher asks the students what they remember about the stative passives and passives to report opinions and ideas. In line 13, she gives the turn to a bidding student (i.e., S2) by deploying ‘Mm hm’ in conjunction with performing a head nod and pointing at the student (i.e., embodied allocation) (Kääntä, 2010, 2012). In line 14, S2 gives

her answer, and the turn is complete (e.g., the turn is articulated with a falling intonation contour). The teacher deploys the token with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., | Mm hm,) together with a rapid down head nod (i.e., ↓) in line 15. As the student shifts her gaze down towards her book during a 0.4-second silence in line 16 and attempts to re-take the floor through a connector (i.e., | a : nd) in line 17, it can be claimed that the token is oriented to by the student as an expansion elicitor, thereby projecting more talk from the student. The projection is also embodied through the teacher's gaze hold towards the student in line 16 and the type of the nod that she performs in line 15. Following a 0.3-second silence in line 18, during which the student is presumably looking for an additional answer from the related section of the book, S2 gives her answer in line 19, and the turn is complete (e.g., the turn is articulated with a falling intonation contour). The teacher deploys the token with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., | Mm hm,) together with a rapid down head nod (i.e., ↓) in line 20 again. As the student shifts her gaze down towards her book during a 0.3-second silence in line 21 and attempts to re-take the floor through a connector (i.e., | a : nd) in line 22, it can be claimed that the token is once more oriented to by the student as an expansion elicitor, thereby projecting more talk from the student. The projection is again embodied through the teacher's gaze hold towards the student in line 21 and the type of the nod that she performs in line 20. Following a 0.6-second silence in line 23, during which the student is presumably still looking for an additional answer from the book, the teacher re-issues the question in line 24.

From this extract, it can be claimed that the deployment of the token at possible TRPs (i.e., following the student's second turns which are complete) is oriented to by the student as an expansion elicitor, but as the student fails to provide more talk, the teacher treats the turns as having failed to answer the question satisfactorily (i.e., fully). That is to say, although the responses are formally type-matched (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) and type-conforming (Raymond, 2003), by reissuing the question following a short pause after the deployment of the token, the teacher treats the turns as having failed to answer the question satisfactorily (i.e., fully) (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). However, the token deployed at such points (i.e., before short pauses) is designed to project more talk from the student, and the projection is also indicated by the deployment of the token with a rising intonation contour and embodied through the type of the nods and the teacher's gaze holds towards the student.

The extracts analysed above have demonstrated that the deployment of the token at possible TRPs with a rising intonation contour together with the teacher's gazing towards the students and performing a different type of nod projects more talk from the students, thereby prompting the students to continue to say more on the topic. In the following extract, I will

demonstrate how the different timing of the token (i.e., after a short pause) deployed with a rising intonation contour together with the teacher's head nod and gaze hold towards the student also projects more talk from her, thereby prompting the student to continue to say more.

Extract 13 below demonstrates that the deployment of the token at a 'late' TRP (i.e., after a short pause) with a rising intonation contour together with the teacher's head nod and gaze hold towards the student projects more talk from her, thereby prompting the student to continue to say more. Before the extract, the teacher and students explore the grammar item (i.e., 'modals') in a reading text, and the teacher explains the usage of the grammar item from the 'grammar notes' section of the book by reading the notes and elaborating on them. In the extract, the teacher asks a question to the students about a note in the section.

Extract 13_5.1 (01:22-02:04) (What is contracting?)

14 T: | [Mm: hm:.] |but we have one more thing.
 | 11 ↑↑ | | T gaze shift towards S3, T pointing at S3

15 S3: negative form of must [is used] for=

16 T: | [Mm hm.] |
 | ↑ ↓ | | T pointing at S3
 # 7.1 ---> 7.2 ---> 7.3



Figure 7

17 S3: =prohibition.
 18 | (0.4)
 | T gaze towards S3

19 → T: | Mm hm, |
 | ↓ |

also indicated by the deployment of the token with a rising intonation contour and embodied through the type of the nod (i.e., one rapid down nod), which might be supporting the projection in that it displays that ‘go ahead and say more’ (i.e., in contrast to the acknowledging nod (i.e., one full rapid or slow (more or less expansive) up-and-down or down-and-up nod) observed in the data).

Lastly, in the data, it has been observed in two extracts that the teacher draws upon a specific form of hand gesture (i.e., finger counting with a pen) when she deploys the token. It is deemed appropriate to present the analysis of one of the extracts here to show if and how this embodied resource is used by the teacher together with the token to project more talk from the students in the L2 classroom.

Extract 14 below demonstrates that the teacher deploys the token with a marked prosody and performs ‘finger counting’ with a pen as well as performing a specific type of head nod (i.e., full expansive nod) several times to project more talk from the student. Before the extract, the teacher starts the lesson with a revision of the previous lesson and asks the students to use their course books to remember what they have covered the week before. In the extract, the teacher asks some questions to the students regarding a reading text they have read and discussed the previous week.

Extract 14_4.3 (02:09-02:35) (Japanese and American cultures)

1 T: |a:nd what HAPpened?
 |T gaze towards class and tapping on her fingers with a pen

2 (2.3)

3 T: [|what] HAPpened?
 |T gaze towards class and tapping on her fingers with the pen

4 S1: [e:r]

5 | (0.9)
 |T gaze shift towards S1, T nodding

6 S1: >there are some |differences| between< e:r |Japanese and
 |ll |tt| |T tapping on her
 T pointing at S1 finger with the pen

7 american cultures,

8 → T: |Mm: hm:, =|
 |ll tt|
 |T tapping on her finger with the pen
 # 8.1 ----> 8.2 ----> 8.3

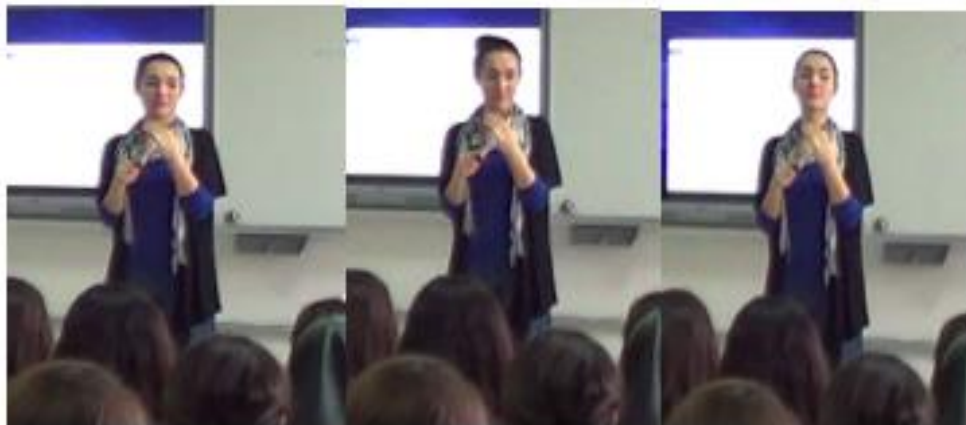


Figure 8

9 S1: =er for example e:r |/dinin/ manne- e:r eating manners,
 |T tapping on her finger with the pen

10 → T: |Mm: [hm:, |
 |tt ll|
 |T finger counting with the pen
 #9.1 ----> 9.2----> 9.3



Figure 9

11 S1: [and giving gifts to each other,

12 → T: |Mm: hm:, |
 |tt ll|
 |T finger counting with the pen
 #10.1 ----> 10.2 ----> 10.3



Figure 10

- 13 S1: a:nd |e:r \$like that\$.=
- |S1 gaze shift down at her book and then towards T
- 14 T: |=yeah. there were some differences between these two
- |T gaze shift towards class
- 15 cultures. .h what happened? |who went to where:?
- |T hand gestures

Before the extract, the teacher and students agree that the text is about Japanese and American cultures. The extract begins with the teacher's second initiation of the extended IRF sequence in line 1. During 0.9-second silence in line 5, the teacher shifts her gaze towards S1 and selects the student as the next speaker via a head nod. S1 provides her response in lines 6 and 7. It should be noted here that the teacher manifests an 'embodied preferred next action' by performing a full expansive down-and-up head nod (i.e., ↓↓ ↑↑), pointing at S1, and tapping on her finger with a pen at the same time as the student is producing her response in line 6. Firstly, it can be argued here that a course of talk, which will involve more than one TCU, is projected by S1, as the turn begins with a display of that projection through a 'pre-pre' (Schegloff, 2007) or 'story preface' (Sacks, 1974) (i.e., >there are some differences between<). In addition, the turn is articulated in line 7 with a slightly rising intonation contour and the student holds the floor for speakership through a filler (i.e., =er) in line 9 produced in latch with the deployment of the token. As such, the turn in line 7 is incomplete. Therefore, by deploying the token with a falling-rising intonation contour at such a point in line 8, the teacher acknowledges that she is ready for a multi-unit turn intended by the student (i.e., as the current speaker) (Schegloff, 1982). It can also be argued here that by using the token as a long glissando (i.e., |Mm: hm: , =) and performing a full expansive

down-and-up head nod (i.e., $\downarrow\downarrow \uparrow\uparrow$), the teacher displays a heightened alignment with the response (i.e., assessment). In line 9, the student provides the rest of her response, and the turn is incomplete again (e.g., the turn is articulated with a slightly rising intonation contour and the student holds the floor for speakership in line 11 with a connector (i.e., [and] produced in overlap with the second syllable of the token). As such, the token is deployed by the teacher with a falling-rising intonation contour at such a point in line 10 again to acknowledge the student's intention to go on, and as it is a long glissando (i.e., | \underline{Mm} : [\underline{hm} : ,) and accompanied by a full expansive up-and-down head nod (i.e., $\uparrow\uparrow \downarrow\downarrow$), the teacher projects a heightened alignment with the response (i.e., assessment). In line 11, the student provides the rest of the response, and the turn is again articulated with a slightly rising intonation contour. As such, the token is deployed by the teacher with a falling-rising intonation contour at such a point in line 12 again to acknowledge the student's intention to go on, and as it is a long glissando (i.e., | \underline{Mm} : \underline{hm} : ,) and accompanied by a full expansive up-and-down head nod (i.e., $\uparrow\uparrow \downarrow\downarrow$), the teacher projects a heightened alignment with the response (i.e., assessment).

In this extract, firstly, it can be argued that when the sequential placement of the token is concerned, it functions as a bridging continuer, which is used to acknowledge the incompleteness of the turn whose units are marked with a slightly rising intonation contour. In addition, it can be argued that the teacher displays a heightened alignment with the student's answers (i.e., assessment), as the token is a long glissando and accompanied by a full expansive type of nod. Therefore, it can be claimed that the teacher projects 'embodied preferred next-actions' at within-turn junctures.

However, it can be seen that the token deployed at such points is accompanied by a specific form of hand gesture (i.e., finger counting with a pen) (see Figures 8, 9, and 10) aside from the nods, which might have been drawn upon by the teacher to acknowledge the so-far-given responses as the preferred ones, but at the same time project more talk from the student, thereby keeping the student speaking on the topic. This is how it is treated by the student, as the student adds a unit to her turn (i.e., see line 13) to verbally display that this is all she can say on the topic and there is no more to come. As such, it can be claimed that the deployment of the token and embodied resources the teacher draws upon including the prosodic shape of the token stimulate the student to say more, thereby being treated by the student as a projection of continuation. I will go a little bit further here and claim that by reissuing the question in line 14 (i.e., notice that it is the same question asked by the teacher in line 1), the

teacher treats the turns as having failed to answer the question satisfactorily (i.e., fully) (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Therefore, I argue that through the deployment of the token together with the embodied resources described in the extract above, the teacher, I prefer to say, ‘milks’ the student to get more information vis-à-vis the on-going activity, thereby keeping the student speaking in a way appropriate to her pedagogical agenda. As a matter of fact, by deploying the token at different points (e.g., at the TRPs, after short pauses) and performing a variety of embodied resources (e.g., gaze holds, finger countings) described in the extracts analysed in this sub-section, the teacher projects more talk from the students. As such, as the multi-unit turns are recipient-initiated (i.e., the teacher), the teacher might be orienting to the norms of the pedagogy for the sake of the pedagogical goal or other students in the classroom. This issue will be addressed in the Discussion chapter of the study and implications will be made for the participants’ CIC (Walsh, 2011).

This section has demonstrated that when the token is deployed at ‘possible’ or ‘late’ TRPs, it projects more talk from the students, and the projection is also indicated by the deployment of the token with a rising intonation contour and embodied through the type of the teacher’s head nods and gaze holds towards the students. In addition, in one extract, it has been demonstrated how a different embodied resource (i.e., finger counting with a pen) that accompanies the token including the prosodic shape of it contributes to its functional variability in this sense in the L2 classroom. The next section will summarise the findings reported in Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, hence in 4.1.

4.1.3 Section Conclusion

In this section of the chapter, the ways in which ‘Mm hm’ is used by the teacher as a third-turn receipt in the L2 classroom have been demonstrated by providing a description of its sequential placement (i.e., what it follows and what it precedes), its prosodic shape, and its timing (i.e., pause, overlap) as well as providing a description of any non-verbal phenomena (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) that have been identified to contribute to its functional variability.

In the first sub-section (i.e., 4.1.1), it has been demonstrated that when the token is deployed by the teacher with a falling intonation contour (mostly as a long glissando) at possible TRPs (i.e., following the students’ second turns which are complete) in turn-initial and turn-medial positions and immediately followed by further teacher talk (e.g., repetition, reformulation, elaboration, framing moves), it acts as a strong acknowledgment token, thereby projecting a ‘retrospective’ acknowledgment of the students’ second turn responses (i.e., together with full

expansive up-and-down or down-and-up nods (occasionally multiple full rapid up-and-down nods).

Sub-section 4.1.2, on the other hand, has shown that the token can have a 'prospective' aspect as well as having a 'retrospective' aspect when deployed as a continuer in the L2 classroom. Firstly, it has shown the uses of the token in the flow of the students' talk. For example, it has demonstrated that the token with a falling-rising intonation contour acts as a bridging continuer acknowledging the incompleteness of the second turns of the students, thereby also instructing to them to say the next units of their turns. As such, it has claimed that the token bridges the units of the students' turns and doesn't display the teacher's opinion of the students' answers as indicated by the type of the nod the teacher performs (i.e., one rapid down nod) and the prosodic shape of the token (i.e., it has a short articulation and mid-volume tone). However, in this sub-section, it has also been shown that when it is deployed with a marked prosody (i.e., as a long glissando) and accompanied by a full expansive type of nod, it does display the teacher's opinion of the students' answers, thereby projecting an 'embodied preferred next action' at a within-turn juncture. In addition, it has been demonstrated that the different sequential placement of the token (i.e., in overlap with the students' talk) also indicates the teacher's opinion of the students' answers, but it has been shown that it is not only the different sequential placement of the token that sets it free from only conveying a 'de dicto' reading, but the prosodic shape of the token (i.e., rising-falling intonation contour) and some forms of non-verbal cues the teacher draws upon (e.g., pointing at the students, a full rapid up-and-down head nod) also help to disambiguate the use of it in this sense. The sub-section has also demonstrated the use of the token with a falling-rising intonation contour as a confirmation-like continuer, which confirms the student's try-marked utterances and at the same time gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue to say the next units of their turns.

Sub-section 4.1.2 has also shown the uses of the token as 'stand-alone' by the teacher at points where the second turns of the students are complete. For example, it has shown that the deployment of the token with a rising intonation contour at 'possible' and 'late' TRPs (i.e., following short pauses) prompts the students to expand on their answers. More importantly, it has shown that the projection is embodied through the teacher's gaze holds towards the students and type of the nod she performs (i.e., one rapid down nod). In addition, it has demonstrated how a different embodied resource (i.e., finger counting with a pen) that accompanies the token including the prosodic shape of it (i.e., the token is deployed as a long glissando with a falling-rising intonation contour) contributes to its functional variability in this sense in the L2 classroom.

To sum up, this section of the chapter has demonstrated that it is not only the sequential positioning of the token including timing and prosodic shape of it that disambiguate the use of it, but the non-verbal projections the teacher draws upon also play an important role in determining the functional variability of the token in the second language classroom.

4.2 Some Observations on the Uses of ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ as Consecutive Response Tokens

In the previous section, the ways in which ‘Mm hm’ is used by the teacher as a third turn receipt have been demonstrated by providing a description of its sequential placement (i.e., what it follows and what it precedes), its prosodic shape, and its timing (i.e., pause, overlap) as well as providing a description of any non-verbal phenomena (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) that have been identified to contribute to its functional variability. In this section, some observations will be presented regarding the teacher’s uses of the tokens (i.e., ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’) as consecutive response tokens in the L2 classroom. Therefore, as a multiple token analysis section, this section will address the third research question of the study.

To begin with, the analysis of the data shows that the teacher uses ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ interchangeably as a strong acknowledgment token in the third turns of the IRFs in order to acknowledge the students’ second turn responses as acceptable with the sense of ‘correct’. More precisely, the teacher uses ‘Mm hms’ as a continuer to pass the opportunity to do a fuller turn (i.e., the teacher displays a recipient role), but acknowledges the students’ second turns, when they are complete, by using either of the tokens in the evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs and providing a repetition, elaboration, or reformulation of the answers and sometimes further initiations (i.e., as prefaced by either of the tokens) (see Extracts 6 and 10). As such, the teacher uses either of the tokens as a preface to further talk, thereby being an incipient speaker (i.e., the teacher moves out of a recipient role). Therefore, the reciprocity/speakership distinction (Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Jefferson, 1984, 1993) (i.e., ‘Yeah’ shows a greater degree of speakership incipency (i.e., probability that its speaker is moving out of a recipient role and projecting further speaking) in comparison to ‘Mm hm’, or in other words, ‘Mm hm’ shows a low degree of speakership incipency) does not seem to hold in the second language classroom.

However, the analysis of the data reveals some different patterns recognised to the tokens’ arrangement in the second language classroom. In this section, some observations will be presented to demonstrate if and how the teacher is attributing different sequential relevancies

to the students' prior turns through shifting from one token to another, thereby providing accounts for the variation.

4.2.1 The acknowledgement of 'in/sufficient' information

The analysis of the data shows that the tokens are used by the teacher in the evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs as distinctive responses to the students' second turn answers to acknowledge them as 'in/sufficient', thereby marking an informational 'in/completeness' vis-à-vis the pedagogical agenda of the teacher.

Extract 15 below demonstrates that the teacher uses the tokens in the evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs to acknowledge the students' second turns; however, 'Mm hm' is used to acknowledge one of the students' turn as 'insufficient', and 'Yeah' is used to acknowledge a different student's turn as complementarily 'sufficient', thereby marking an informational 'in/completeness' vis-à-vis the pedagogical agenda of the teacher. Before the extract, the teacher starts the class with a revision of the previous week by asking the students if they remember the 'modals' that they have learned. After eliciting some of the modal verbs from the students, she writes three of them (i.e., 'had to', 'be supposed to', and 'are/be to') on the board and asks the students what the difference is in their usages.

Extract 15_4.4 (04:41-05:39) (Had to/be to/be supposed to)

1 T: what is the difference?
2 | (0.7)
| T gaze towards class
3 T: what kind of a meaning difference do we have? .h what
4 kind of a (.) context |e:r we created in the previous
| S1 raising hand
5 | session?
| T pointing at S1
6 S1: had to e:r obligation in the past,
7 T: | Mm hm, =|
| | ↓ |
8 S1: =but supposed to and e:r are

9 (0.6)

10 T: [to

11 S1: [or be to e:r is- are used to e:r expectation,

12 T: |Mm |hm, |
| |↓ |

13 S1: [but e:r be to e:r are used to (.) er strong-

14 S?: expecta [tion.

15 S1: [for strong e:r expectations.

16 → T: |Mm: hm:. it is strong expectation. |but we have one more
|T gaze shift from S1 towards the board |T circles 'are/be to' on the
board

17 thing?

18 Ss: formal.=

19 S2: =formal [situation.

20 S3: [(inaudible).

21 S?: formal situation.=

22 T: |=yeah,
|T performing hand gestures to indicate that one speaker should speak at a time

23 |(0.5)
|S3 raising hand and T pointing at S3

24 S3: er if the situation is obligation but you want to be

25 kind,

26 T: |Mm: |hm:, |
|↑↑ |↓↓|

27 S3: [you can use this [(function).

28 → T: [|ye:ah. I want to give this
|T gaze shift from S3 to the board

29 obligation, I want to give this (.) |strong obligation,
|T circles 'had to' on the board

30 |hm? I want to say that you have to. hm? |but I want to
 |T gaze shift towards class | T draws an arrow to
 the circle of 'are/be to'
 on the board

31 be| polite. (.) |so: I can use be to.
 |T gaze shift towards class

In the extract, the teacher initiates the first pair part of the adjacency pair in line 1. Following a 0.7-second silence in line 2, which works as a self-projected repair initiator (i.e., after-first-turn silence in initiating pre-emptive reformulation/repetition) (Schegloff, 2007), she reformulates her question and allocates the turn to S1 by pointing at the student in line 5. S1 provides the second pair part of the adjacency pair in line 6, and the teacher deploys 'Mm hm' with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm hm, =) accompanied by a rapid down head nod in line 7 as a bridging continuer. In lines 8 and 11, the student provides the rest of her answer, and the teacher deploys 'Mm hm' with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm [hm,) accompanied by the same type of nod in line 12 again as a bridging continuer (see 4.1.2.1 for the use of the token as a bridging continuer). In line 15, the student completes her turn, and the teacher deploys the token in line 16 with a falling intonation contour (i.e., |Mm: hm: .) as a long glissando in conjunction with shifting her gaze from the student to the board as a preface to her partial repetition of the student's second turn response and initiates repair in the same turn in conjunction with drawing a circle to 'are/be to' on the board. Firstly, it can be argued here that the teacher treats S1's turn as partially acceptable (i.e., 'insufficient'), as in line 16, she displays that she is not satisfied with the answer regarding one of the grammar items (i.e., 'are/be to') written on the board by drawing a circle to it, thereby initiating repair whose trouble source is marked. As such, it can be claimed that the teacher goes into a non-minimal post-expansion (Schegloff, 2007) in the evaluation move of the IRE/F. It can also be argued that this is done in a mitigated way, as it is prefaced by an action of agreement and approval (i.e., the teacher uses 'Mm hm' in a positive and affirmative way as an acknowledgment token in line 16) (Seedhouse, 2004). In line 23, the teacher allocates the turn to a different student (i.e., S3). S3 provides her response in lines 24 and 25, and the teacher deploys 'Mm hm' in line 26 as an assessment-like continuer (see Extract 8 in 4.1.2.2 for the use of the token as an assessment-like continuer). In line 27, S3 completes her turn, and the teacher deploys 'Yeah' with a rising-falling intonation contour (i.e., [| ↑ye: ah.) as an acknowledgment token in conjunction with shifting her gaze from S3 to the board in line 28.

In the following lines, as prefaced by the token, the teacher repeats some bits from the both students' second turn responses, which are highlighted with a circle in line 29 and an arrow in line 30. It can be argued here that by repeating some bits from both students' responses, the teacher displays that the S1's response is acknowledged as acceptable in terms of one of the grammar items (i.e., 'had to') and the S2's response is acknowledged as acceptable in terms of the other (i.e., 'be to') (i.e., the S1's turn is not treated as 'sufficient' regarding 'be to' by the teacher in line 16), thereby using the tokens in a series as distinctive responses to the students' second turns to acknowledge one of the students' turn as being 'insufficient' and the other as being complementarily 'sufficient'. As such, the tokens mark an informational 'in/completeness' vis-à-vis the pedagogical agenda of the teacher.

From the extract analysed above, it can be claimed that the tokens are used as distinctive responses by the teacher to acknowledge the students' second turns as 'in/sufficient', thereby marking an informational 'in/completeness' vis-à-vis the teacher's pedagogical agenda. The analysis of the data also shows that the teacher's choice of the tokens follows the same pattern when she treats the students' second turn answers as not being the 'ones' on her pedagogical agenda. As such, 'insufficiency' refers to any information provided by the students which is 'partially sufficient' vis-à-vis the pedagogical agenda of the teacher, thereby requiring 'additional information' from the other students, or 'fully insufficient' vis-à-vis the pedagogical agenda of the teacher, thereby requiring 'different information' from the other students.

Extract 16 below demonstrates that the teacher uses 'Mm hm' to acknowledge one of the students' turn as 'fully insufficient', and 'Yeah' to acknowledge a different student's turn as 'sufficient', thereby marking an informational 'in/completeness' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. Before the extract, the teacher and students explore the grammar item (i.e., 'modals') in a reading text, and the teacher explains the usage of the grammar item from the 'grammar notes' section of the book by reading the notes and elaborating on them. In the extract, the teacher asks a question to the students about a note in the section.

Extract 16_5.1 (01:22-02:04) (What is contracting?)

1 T: and we have a note here. what does it say?

2 | (0.6)

| T and Ss looking down at their books

The extract begins with the teacher's question in line 1. Following a 0.6-second silence in line 2, S1 self-selects and provides the second pair part of the adjacency pair, and the teacher initiates repair in lines 4 and 5 in the forms of clarification requests. Following a 0.5-second silence in line 6, S2 self-selects and provides her response, and as the turn is incomplete, 'Mm hm' is used in line 8 with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm [hm,) accompanied by a rapid down head nod by the teacher as a bridging continuer (see 4.1.2.1 for the use of the token as a bridging continuer). In lines 9 and 10, S2 completes her turn. However, the teacher shifts her gaze from the student to the book in line 10 at the same time as the student nears completion, thereby projecting repair (i.e., she projects an 'embodied dispreferred next-action' at the same time as the student is producing her second turn response) (Kääntä, 2010). This is similarly how it is treated by S3, as the student establishes reciprocity for incipient speakership in line 11. However, S2 re-takes the floor and expands on her answer in line 12, which shows that when the teacher withholds speaking at a possible TRP in conjunction with shifting her gaze from the student to the book, the student continues to say more, thereby treating this as a 'dispreference'. As such, the student pursues a 'preference' by expanding on her answer. The teacher deploys the token in line 14 with a falling intonation contour (i.e., |Mm: hm: .) in conjunction with performing a full down-and-up head nod to acknowledge the student's answer, but initiates repair at the same time as allocating the turn to S3, possibly upon realising that S3 establishes reciprocity for speakership again in line 13. As such, the teacher goes into a non-minimal post-expansion (Schegloff, 2007) in the evaluation move of the IRE/F. Firstly, it can be argued here that the teacher treats the S2's answer as 'fully insufficient', thereby displaying that the answer given by S2 is not the 'one' on her pedagogical agenda, as the teacher doesn't provide a repetition of the student's answer (i.e., in Extract 15 above, it has been claimed that the student's answer is treated by the teacher in line 16 as 'partially sufficient', as the teacher provides a partial repetition of the response). It can also be argued that this is done in a mitigated way, as the teacher uses 'Mm hm' in a positive and affirmative way as an acknowledgment token in line 14, which displays an action of agreement and approval (Seedhouse, 2004). In line 15, S3 provides her response, and the teacher deploys 'Mm hm' in line 16 with a rising-falling intonation contour (i.e., |↑Mm [hm.) in conjunction with performing a rapid full up-and-down head nod and pointing at the student as an assessment-like continuer (see Extract 9 in 4.1.2.2 for the use of the token as an assessment-like continuer). S3 completes her turn in line 17. Following a 0-4 second silence in line 18, the teacher deploys 'Mm hm' with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm hm,) accompanied by a rapid down head nod as an expansion elicitor to prompt the student to

expand on her answer (see Extract 13 in 4.1.2.4 for the use of the token as an expansion elicitor). Following the student's turn in line 20, the teacher deploys 'Yeah' with a rising-falling intonation contour (i.e., [| ↑ye : ah .) as an acknowledgment token as a preface to her repetition of the student's answer, thereby acknowledging the answer as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

From the extracts analysed above, then it can be claimed that the teacher uses 'Mm hm' to acknowledge the first students' answers as 'fully insufficient' or 'partially sufficient' and 'Yeah' to acknowledge the second students' answers as 'sufficient', thereby marking an informational in/completeness vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. In order to do so, the teacher goes into non-minimal post expansions through a specific structure (i.e., 'Mm hm' prefaced 'but we have one more thing') in the first evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs, thereby initiating repairs.

When the teacher's choice of the tokens is concerned, it can be claimed that the teacher might be using 'Mm hm' in the first evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs in both extracts as a methodological device to display a mitigated disaffiliation (i.e., as it is deployed by the teacher in a positive and affirmative way for a retrospective acknowledgment in both extracts), thereby 'packaging' her dispreferred action so as to minimise the degree of affiliation and conflict (i.e., in contrast to using a bald and an unmitigated 'No' as a response to the first students' second turns) (Seedhouse, 2004). It can also be claimed that by shifting from 'Mm hm' to 'Yeah' at such points, the teacher displays that she provides a stronger affirmatory response, thereby indicating an even steeper/upgraded response where she conveys more affect (Gerhardt & Beyerle, 1997).

As the teacher uses 'Yeah' as an upgraded token to 'Mm hm' in the third turns of the IRFs to display more affect in acknowledging the students' second turns, she also uses 'Yeah' as an upgraded token to 'Mm hm' to display more affect in projecting more talk from the students when they appear to stop. In the next section, the use of the token as an upgraded continuer to 'Mm hm' will be demonstrated.

4.2.2 In the pursuit of more talk: The management of 'informational incompleteness'

In the previous section, it has been demonstrated that the tokens are used as distinctive responses to acknowledge the students' second turns as 'in/sufficient', thereby marking an informational 'in/completeness' vis-à-vis the pedagogical agenda of the teacher. As such, it

has been claimed that the teacher conveys more affect in acknowledging the second turns of the students by shifting from 'Mm hm' to 'Yeah' in the evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs.

The analysis of the data also shows that the teacher uses 'Yeah' to display more affect in projecting a need for further talk from the students when they appear to stop. As such, 'Yeah' is used by the teacher as an upgraded continuer to 'Mm hm' to invite the students to say more.

Extract 17 below demonstrates that the teacher shifts from 'Mm hm' to 'Yeah' to display more affect in projecting a need for further talk from the student. Before the extract, the teacher asks one of the students to provide two sentences (i.e., one to show the use of the definite article to say when an item was invented and another to show the use of indefinite article to say an item's characteristics) from a task. In the extract, the teacher acknowledges the student's answer as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' in the evaluation move of the IRE/F and asks the class to explain the usage of two different articles in the sentences.

Extract 17_21.12 (16:03-17:05) (A/the wheel)

1 T: |Mm: hm:.| very good. .h |the wheel was invented five
||| |↑↑| |T gaze down at her book
2 thousand to six thousand years ago, .h |it is
|T gaze towards class
3 invention one, .h |a wheel is a circular device that
|T gaze down at her book
4 turns around the central point. .h |here in the first
|T gaze towards class
5 one we use the, .h in the second one we use a. .h what
6 is the difference? (.) that makes us .h use two different
7 articles in these two usages.
8 |(1.2)
|T gaze towards class
9 T: one is definite article, the other one is indefinite.=

10 S1: |^oMm hm,^o
|T gaze shift towards S1, S1 looking down at her book

11 | (0.9)
|T gaze towards class

12 T: what is the difference?

13 | (1.7)
| T gaze towards class

14 S2: when [we]say the wheel,

15 S3: [sss:]

16 T: |Mm [hm,
|T gaze shift towards S2, T nodding ((1))

17 S2: [|e:r
|S2 gaze towards T

18 | (0.7)
|T gaze towards S2

19 S2: |it (inaudible) |e:r
|S2 gaze towards T |S2 hand gesture

20 | (0.5)
|T gaze towards S2

21 S2: |(inaudible) each other?
|S2 gaze towards T, S2 hand gestures

22 T: |Mm hm, | type [(inaudible)
| 1 |
|T gaze towards S2

23 S2: [(inaudible)

24 → T: |Mm hm,
| 1 |
|T gaze towards S2

25 | (0.8)
|T gaze towards S2, S2 gaze down

26 → T: |yeah?
|T gaze towards S2

27 S2: |em when we say a wheel, |we er [talk about] one=
|S2 looking down |S2 gaze towards T

28 S4: [like definition]

29 S2: =of them.

30 T: |hm:
|T gaze shift down at her book

31 S4: |like definiti[ons].
|S4 gaze towards T

32 T: [|both are [generic.] so we cannot=
|T gaze shift towards S2

33 S3: [(inaudible)|]

34 T: =talk about one of them. .h |both are generic.
|S3 raising hand

In the extract, the teacher acknowledges a student's second turn response as correct in line 1 by deploying 'Mm hm' as a strong acknowledgment token (see 4.1.1 for the use of the token as a strong acknowledgment token). She initiates the first pair part of the extended IRE/F sequence by asking a further question in line 5. Following a 1.7-second silence in line 13, S2 self-selects and provides the second pair part of the adjacency pair, and the teacher deploys 'Mm hm' with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm |hm,) accompanied by a rapid down head nod in line 16 as a bridging continuer (see 4.1.2.1 for the use of the token as a bridging continuer). Following the turn in line 19, where S2 deploys a filler (i.e., |e:r), which works as a hesitation marker as well as displaying that the student holds the floor for speakership, S2 completes her turn with a rising intonation contour (i.e., |(inaudible) each other?) as well as performing a hand gesture in line 21. This invites some sort of reaction from the teacher (i.e., a 'try-marked' utterance) (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979), thereby projecting that the appropriacy of the utterance is subjected to the teacher's evaluation. The teacher deploys 'Mm hm' with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm |hm,) in conjunction with performing a rapid down head nod as a preface to further talk in line 22. As such, the teacher not only takes a turn, but she also holds the floor immediately following the use of the token at such a point for a retrospective confirmation (i.e., as an epistemic confirmation token) (Gardner, 2007). In line 23, although what the student is saying is not clear (i.e., as it is produced in overlap with the teacher's talk), it can be argued that the student re-takes the floor to say more. The student's turn in line 23 is oriented to by the teacher

through the use of ‘Mm hm’ with a falling-rising intonation contour (i.e., |Mm hm,) accompanied by a rapid down head nod again in line 24. However, the student doesn’t continue to say more, and the teacher deploys ‘Yeah’ in line 26 with a rising intonation contour (i.e., |yeah?) in conjunction with holding her gaze towards S2 following a 0.8-second silence. Interestingly, upon the deployment of a different token in line 26, S2 re-takes the floor, but the turn is treated as complete-but-incorrect by the teacher in lines 30 (i.e., where the teacher projects a repair initiation through the deployment of a surprise indicator (i.e., |hm:), which displays that the information just provided by the student runs counter to the teacher’s expectations (i.e., the receipt of unanticipated information) (Gerhardt & Beyerle, 1997) and shifting her gaze from the student to the book) and 32 (i.e., where the teacher initiates repair).

Firstly, it can be argued here that by deploying ‘Mm hm’ in line 24, the teacher takes a turn, but not the floor, thereby giving the floor to the student to continue. When the student appears to stop at such a point, the teacher invites the student to say more through a different token (i.e., ‘Yeah’), thereby, I prefer to say, conveying more affect in projecting a need for further talk from the student. The projection is also indicated by the prosodic shape of the token (i.e., the token has a rising pitch contour) and embodied through the teacher’s gaze hold. Therefore, it can be claimed that the teacher’s use of ‘Yeah’ with a rising intonation contour at such a point in conjunction with a gaze hold functions as an upgraded continuer to prompt the student to say more.

Secondly, it can be argued that as the student’s so-far-turns provide an explanation for only one of the sentences (i.e., the wheel), the teacher deploys ‘Yeah’ at such a point to display an incipient disinterest and that she is in the pursuit of an answer for the second sentence (i.e., a wheel), thereby treating the student’s so-far-turns as acceptable, but not complete (i.e., informationally) vis-à-vis the initiating action (i.e., the pedagogical goal). Therefore, it can be claimed that by orienting to the norms of the pedagogy, the teacher manages an ‘informational incompleteness’ vis-à-vis the initiating action (i.e., pedagogical goal) by using ‘Yeah’ as a stronger token, thereby displaying that she is in the pursuit of more talk. This issue will be addressed in the Discussion chapter of the study and implications will be made for the participants’ CIC (Walsh, 2011).

In the extract analysed above, it has been demonstrated that the teacher deploys ‘Yeah’ as an upgraded continuer to convey more affect in projecting a need for more talk from the student, thereby managing an ‘informational incompleteness’ vis-à-vis the initiating action (i.e.,

pedagogical goal). Lastly, in the next section, I will demonstrate if and how ‘Mm hm’ is treated as a weaker, less committed, less affirming token than ‘Yeah’ by the students when it is delayed (i.e., ‘Mm hm’ following long silences).

4.2.3 ‘Stand-alone’ ‘Mm hm’ and contiguous silence: ‘Mm hm’ as a weak acknowledgment token

The analysis of the data shows that when ‘Mm hm’ is delayed (i.e., ‘Mm hm’ following long silences), it is treated by the students as not being ‘enough’ for acknowledgment, thereby displaying a low involvement/alignment with the students’ answers.

Extract 18 below demonstrates that ‘Mm hm’ is deployed by the teacher at a very ‘late’ TRP (i.e., following a long pause) in an affirming way to acknowledge the answers given by two students, but it is treated as a weak acknowledgment token by one of the students in the class. Before the extract, the teacher asks the students to read two texts. After a teacher-led discussion of the texts, the teacher reads some of the sentences in which the collocations are bolded and asks students to provide the definitions of them. The bolded words have their definitions under the texts, except one, which is ‘mindless violence’. Thus, in the extract, the teacher reads the sentence, in which ‘mindless violence’ is bolded, from the book and asks students to come up with a definition for it.

Extract 18_8.10 (08:12-08:42) (Mindless violence)

24 T: |he is more interested in mindless |violence?
|T and Ss looking down at their books |T gaze towards class

25 | (2.7)
|T gaze towards class and Ss looking down at their books

26 S?: (inaudible)=

27 S1: =°argument°

28 | (1.2)
|T holding gaze towards class, T frozen body
#11.1 ---> 11.2 ---> 11.3



Figure 11

29 S2: (into the) /argjumants/.
 30 | (1.4)
 | T holding gaze towards class, T frozen body
 #12.1 ---> 12.2 ---> 12.3



Figure 12

31 → T: | Mm: hm: . |
 | ll tt |
 32 | (0.8)
 | T holding gaze towards class, T frozen body
 #13.1 ---> 13.2 ---> 13.3



Figure 13

33 → T: |Mm hm. |
 | 11 |
 34 | (0.2)
 |T holding gaze towards class
 35 T: |he is [not careful about
 |T gaze towards class, T stepping back
 36 S3: [|er they are- they are (tend)
 |T gaze shift towards S3
 37 to er: (violence). cruelty.
 38 → T: |tʃe:ah. | |he has a tendency, (he has a) er you know
 | 11 | |T gaze shift towards class
 39 er you cannot explain his .h tendency to violence. he is
 40 ready to er: be in a kind of fight .h whenever he can
 41 |a:nd
 |T gaze shift down at her book

In the extract, the teacher reads the sentence from the book in line 24. Following a 2.7-second silence in line 25, during which the teacher is looking for a willing speaker and the students are looking down at their books, two students self-select and provide their answers in lines 26 and 27 in a lurch. These two responses are followed by a 1.2-second silence in line 28, during which the teacher holds her gaze towards the class with a motionless body (see Figure 11). It can be argued here that the silence and the teacher's gaze hold towards the class together with the motionless body mark a dispreferred answer, thereby projecting an invitation for other students to give different answers (i.e., repair) (Kääntä, 2010). In line 29, S2 self-selects and

provides a response, thereby possibly treating the silence and the embodied resources performed by the teacher in line 28 as repair initiation. Following a 1.4-second silence in line 30, during which the teacher performs a motionless body and holds her gaze towards the class keeping silent again (see Figure 12), she deploys ‘Mm hm’ with a falling intonation contour as a long glissando (i.e., |Mm: hm: .) in conjunction with performing a full expansive down-and-up head nod (i.e., ↓↓ ↑↑), but does not take the floor and holds her gaze towards the class together with performing a motionless body again during a 0.8-second silence in line 32 (see Figure 13). It can be argued here that the teacher projects that the responses provided by the students are not necessarily incorrect, but not the ‘one’ on her pedagogical agenda. In line 33, the teacher deploys the token with a falling intonation contour (i.e., |Mm hm.) in conjunction with performing an expansive down head nod (i.e., ↓↓) again and this time decides to take the floor after a 0.2-second silence to give the answer on her pedagogical agenda. However, this is interrupted by S3 in line 36, where S3 self-selects and provides a different answer. The teacher acknowledges the answer as correct by deploying ‘Yeah’ with a marked prosody (i.e., ↑ye: ah.) and an expansive down head nod (i.e., ↓↓) and takes the floor to elaborate on the answer.

First of all, it can be argued in this extract that the students’ turns in lines 27 and 29 are complete, and even though the teacher acknowledges the answers as acceptable by using ‘Mm hms’ in an affirming way, her silences and embodied resources immediately after the answers and the deployment of the tokens project that she is not willing to accept them as such, thereby projecting different answers from the students.

Secondly, it can be argued that the teacher deploys ‘Mm hm’s in lines 31 and 33 as an acknowledgment token, as they are deployed in an affirming way. This projection is also embodied through the type of the nods. However, as they are deployed at very ‘late’ TRPs (i.e., following long silences) and not a preface to further talk from the teacher, they are treated as a ‘weak’ acknowledgment token. That is to say, the teacher’s deployment of the token as ‘stand-alone’ at very ‘late’ TRPs projects an unwillingness to treat the answers as acceptable, and this projection is also embodied through her non-verbal messages (e.g., her gaze holds towards the class, performing a motionless body) before and after the deployment of the token. Interestingly, this is similarly how it is interpreted by one of the students (i.e., S3), as the student jumps in and provides a different answer in line 36. Therefore, it can be claimed that when the token is deployed as ‘stand alone’ at very ‘late’ TRPs, it is treated as not being ‘enough’ for acknowledgment.

It can also be argued that the teacher shifts from 'Mm hm' to 'Yeah' in line 38, where she uses 'Yeah' as a strong acknowledgment token (i.e., as she deploys the token at a 'possible' TRP and takes the floor to elaborate on the answer) to acknowledge the S3's answer as acceptable. Therefore, it can be claimed that 'Mm hm' used by the teacher at such points are treated as a weaker, less committed, and less affirming token than 'Yeah'. The fact that the teacher is orienting to the norms of the pedagogy for the sake of the pedagogical goal might have been reflected on her choice of the tokens at such points.

However, it should be noted that this doesn't necessarily mean that 'Mm hm' should always be accompanied by further talk from the teacher in order to act as an acknowledgment token (i.e., in the sense that it is treated as being enough for acknowledgment). The analysis of the data also shows that the teacher uses the token as 'stand-alone' to accept the student's second turn answers as correct, and it is treated as being 'enough' for acknowledgment by the students.

Extract 19 demonstrates that the students treat 'Mm hm' as being 'enough' for acknowledgment when it is deployed by the teacher as 'stand-alone'. Before the extract, the teacher tells the students that they will work on affirmative and interrogative sentences and asks the students to complete the blanks in a reading text by using the 'modal verbs' and words in brackets in the past or present form. After the students are done with the task, the teacher asks some comprehension questions regarding the text. When the time comes for giving the answers for the task (i.e., using the 'modal verbs' in brackets accordingly), the teacher asks one of the students to start reading the text and stop before the blanks, so other students can shout the answers out.

Extract 19_5.11 (15:09-15:26) (World review)

1 S1: |mi- might have brought an end to their flourishing
|Ss and T gaze down at their books and S1 reading
2 culture. .h (drought) were (fair) are certain present day
3 native americans really .h the descendants of the
4 (anasazi) or?
5 | (0.4)
|T and Ss gaze down at their books

6 Ss: |could they actually have disappeared.
|Ss gaze down at their books and then towards T

7 T: → |Mm: hm: . |
| ↓↓ |
|T gaze down at her book

8 S1: |next (let's) turn our attention to atlantis. .h the
|Ss and T gaze down at their books and S1 reading

In the extract, S1 continues reading and stops before the blank in line 4. Following a 0.4-second silence in line 5, the students shout the answer out and they shift their gaze from their books to the teacher, which displays that the appropriacy of the answer vis-à-vis the on-going activity is subjected to the teacher's evaluation. In line 7, the teacher acknowledges the answer as acceptable with the sense of 'correct' by deploying the token with a falling intonation contour (i.e., |Mm: hm: .) accompanied by an expansive down head nod (i.e., ↓↓). Upon the teacher's acknowledgment of the answer, S1 continues reading in line 8, which shows that even though the teacher deploys the token as 'stand-alone' in line 7, it is treated as being 'enough' for acknowledgment by the students.

From the extracts analysed above, it can be claimed that when deployed as 'stand-alone' by the teacher at 'possible' TRPs, 'Mm hm' is treated by the students as being 'enough' for acknowledgment. However, when deployed as 'stand-alone' at very 'late' TRPs (i.e., following long silences), 'Mm hm' is treated as not being 'enough' for acknowledgment. Recall also that when deployed as 'stand-alone' at 'late' TRPs (i.e., following short silences), 'Mm hm' is treated as an expansion elicitor. Therefore, it can be claimed that the timing of the token plays an important role in determining the functional variability of it in the second language classroom.

4.2.4 Section conclusion

This section has demonstrated the uses of the tokens, 'Mm hm' and 'Yeah', by the teacher as consecutive response tokens providing some observations regarding if and how the teacher is ascribing different sequential relevancies to the prior turns of the students by shifting from one token to another, thereby providing accounts for the token variation. It has firstly shown that the reciprocity/speakership distinction does not seem to hold in the second language classroom, as the teacher uses either of the tokens as a preface to further talk, thereby being an

incipient speaker (i.e., the teacher moves out of a recipient role). However, it has demonstrated that the tokens are used by the teacher in the evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs as distinctive responses to the students' second turn answers (i.e., 'Yeah' is used as an upgraded token to 'Mm hm' in the third turns of the IRFs to display more affect in acknowledging the students' second turns). In addition, it has shown that 'Yeah' is used as an upgraded continuer to 'Mm hm' to convey more affect in projecting a need for more talk from the students when they appear to stop. Lastly, it has demonstrated that the delayed 'Mm hm' is treated as a weaker, less committed, and less affirming token than 'Yeah'. Therefore, the section has suggested that the fact that the teacher is orienting to the norms of the pedagogy might have been reflected on her choice of the tokens.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, firstly, it has been demonstrated that in the L2 classroom, 'Mm hm' is systematically articulated by the teacher as a third-turn-receipt with different prosodic shapes (e.g., a falling, a falling-rising, a rising-falling intonation contour) as distinctive responses to a) acknowledge the students' second turn responses in turn-initial and turn-medial positions as a strong acknowledgment token and b) pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue (i.e., as a continuer). The following four distinct categories have been identified regarding the use of the token as a continuer in the data: a) to acknowledge the students' intention to continue, b) to display an evaluative stance with the students' answers within and during the turns, c) to confirm the students' utterances at within-turn junctures, or d) to prompt the students to expand on their answers (i.e., open-up with their talk). It has been suggested that the token's sequential placement, timing, prosodic shape, and the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, gestures, body posture) the teacher draws upon 'converge' to attribute these meanings to it in the L2 classroom. Then, it has been demonstrated that 'Mm hm' and 'Yeah' are used by the teacher in the third turns of the IRFs as distinctive responses to the students' second turn answers. That is, 'Yeah' is used as an upgraded token to 'Mm hm' in the third turns of the IRFs to display more affect in acknowledging the students' second turns and as an upgraded continuer to 'Mm hm' to convey more affect in projecting a need for more talk from the students when they appear to stop. Having analysed the findings in this chapter, the next chapter will discuss and synthesize these findings.

Chapter 5. Discussion

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings will be discussed in accordance with the research questions and relevant literature presented in the Literature Review chapter of this thesis. The chapter will also argue for methodological and pedagogical implications in relation to the phenomena being investigated in this thesis.

In the Analysis chapter of this thesis, the characteristic uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token, ‘Mm hm’, by a L2 teacher as a third-turn receipt have been analysed. The findings suggest that the sequential positioning of ‘Mm hm’, including its timing and prosodic shape help to disambiguate its use in the L2 classroom. The token is systematically articulated by the teacher as a third-turn-receipt with different prosodic shapes (e.g., a falling, a falling-rising, a rising-falling intonation contour) as distinctive responses to a) acknowledge the students’ second turn responses in turn-initial and turn-medial positions as a strong acknowledgment token and b) pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue (i.e., as a continuer). In addition, the following four distinct categories have been identified regarding the use of the token as a continuer in the data: a) to acknowledge the students’ intention to continue, b) to display an evaluative stance with the students’ answers within and during the turns, c) to confirm the students’ utterances at within-turn junctures, or d) to prompt the students to expand on their answers (i.e., open-up with their talk). The findings also suggest that it is not only the sequential positioning of the token, including its timing and prosodic shape that help to disambiguate its use, but the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, gestures, body posture) the teacher draws upon also play an important role in ascribing specific meanings to it in the L2 classroom.

In the Analysis chapter, the uses of two tokens, ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’, by the teacher as consecutive response tokens have also been analysed to identify if there is a ‘systematicity’ to the occurrences of the tokens within the sequences where they are employed in the L2 classroom as that observed in ordinary talk (see Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Jefferson, 1984, 1993) and to understand if and how the teacher is attributing different sequential relevancies to the students’ prior turns through shifting from one token to another. The findings suggest that the reciprocity/speakership distinction (Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Jefferson, 1984, 1993) (i.e., ‘Yeah’ shows a greater degree of speakership incipency (probability that its speaker is moving out of a recipient role and projecting further

speaking) in comparison to ‘Mm hm’) doesn’t seem to hold in the second language classroom, but ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ are used by the teacher in the third turns of the IRFs as distinctive responses to the students’ second turn answers. That is, ‘Yeah’ is used as an upgraded token to ‘Mm hm’ in the third turns of the IRFs to display more affect in acknowledging the students’ second turns. In addition, ‘Yeah’ is used as an upgraded continuer to ‘Mm hm’ to convey more affect in projecting a need for more talk from the students when they appear to stop. These findings suggest that the fact that the teacher is orienting to the norms of the pedagogy has been reflected on her choice of the tokens.

The findings of this thesis contribute to the understanding of how such a small, ‘unobtrusive’ ‘non-lexical’ response token, which lacks semantic meaning, can play a big role in shaping entire interaction in the L2 classroom by acquiring its meanings as an ‘embodied’ achievement, where its sequential placement including timing (i.e., overlap, pause), prosodic shape, and a L2 teacher’s embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, gestures, body posture) that go with it ‘converge’ to attribute these meanings to it. As such, the current study highlights the importance and need of considering a fine-grained, multi-modal CA analysis in ascribing specific meanings to minimal ‘non-lexical’ response tokens and calls for similar studies which describe the characteristic uses of such tokens in interaction in general and in L2 classroom interaction in particular by considering an analysis in the same sense.

The organisation of this chapter is as follows: In 5.1, the findings on the uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher as a third-turn receipt in the L2 classroom will be synthesised by discussing the token’s sequential placement (i.e., what it follows and what it precedes), its prosodic shape, its timing (i.e., pause, overlap), and the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) drawn upon by the teacher that contribute to its functional variability. Then, in 5.2, a discussion on teacher talk, learning, and the deployment of ‘Mm hm’ in the L2 classroom will be provided. This will be followed by a discussion of the findings on the uses of ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ by the teacher as consecutive response tokens in the L2 classroom. In 5.4 and 5.5, some issues like the teacher’s projection of preferred next-actions through embodiment and the differential use of a particular non-verbal resource she draws upon (i.e., head nods) in projecting distinctive reciprocity in the L2 classroom will be discussed. Finally, in 5.6 and 5.7, some methodological and pedagogical implications of this study for interaction research in general and L2 classroom research in particular will be mentioned.

5.1 The Uses of ‘Mm hm’ as a Third-Turn Receipt

This section answers the first and second research questions which aim to find out the characteristic uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher as a third-turn receipt by closely examining the token’s sequential placement (i.e., what it follows and what it precedes), its prosodic shape, its timing (i.e., pause, overlap), and the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) drawn upon by the teacher that contribute to its functional variability. As such, in the following paragraphs, the findings regarding the ways in which ‘Mm hm’ is used by the teacher as a third-turn receipt will be discussed and synthesised. Firstly, the characteristic uses of the token as a strong acknowledgment token will be discussed, and then the characteristic uses of the token as a continuer will be presented.

5.1.1 From ‘continuer’ to ‘strong acknowledgment token’

As discussed in the Literature Review, all of the observations made so far in the research literature in relation to ‘Mm hm’ give us one famous paraphrase for the token, which is ‘continuer’ (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 1982). The token is called a ‘continuer’, as its usage rests on the observation that it is placed at such a point in talk where a current speaker’s turn is somehow not complete. As such, it is used as a listening device to pass up an opportunity to speak handing the floor straight back to the prior speaker (Gardner, 1997), thereby indicating ‘passive reciprocity’ (Jefferson, 1984). This projection, according to Ward (2006), is also indicated by the syllabification of the token, which displays ‘lack of anything to say’.

On the contrary to what the literature suggests, the findings of the current study show that in the L2 classroom, ‘Mm hm’ is used as a strong acknowledgment token to display a ‘retrospective’ acknowledgment of the students’ second turn responses with the sense of ‘correct’. As such, the token does not indicate ‘passive reciprocity’ (Jefferson, 1984) or ‘lack of anything to say’ (Ward, 2006) in the sense that the teacher passes up an opportunity to speak handing the floor straight back to the prior speaker. The reason for calling ‘Mm hm’ a strong acknowledgment token in all of the extracts analysed in 4.1.1 is predicated on the fact that the token is deployed immediately after the students’ second turn responses (i.e., at possible TRPs) and its prosodic shape (i.e., it is almost always a long glissando (but see Extract 5) with a falling intonation contour). In addition, it is predicated on the fact that the token precedes brief or substantial teacher talk, which shows that the teacher takes over speakership (i.e., she doesn’t pass an opportunity to take a fuller turn), thereby acknowledging

the problem-free acceptance of the immediate prior turns with the sense of ‘correct’ vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda.

In this section, I will illustrate the sequential positions of ‘Mm hm’ as a strong acknowledgment token, as in contrast to the findings of the previous research, the findings of the current study show that the token is also used overwhelmingly as a strong acknowledgment token in the L2 classroom. There are two different sequential positions realised for ‘Mm hm’ as a strong acknowledgment token, each of which will be explored in the following paragraphs.

The first sequential position realised is as follows: the teacher deploys ‘Mm hm’ in turn-initial position as a third-turn receipt, and the token is always a preface to substantial (i.e., there is an expansion provided by the teacher in the form of a repetition, reformulation, or an elaboration) or brief teacher talk (i.e., the teacher doesn’t provide an expansion, but uses ‘framing moves’) as a minimal post-expansion, which functions to close the IRF sequences (Schegloff, 2007). This can be exemplified using a simplified version of Extracts 1 and 3 analysed in 4.1.1, as can be seen below:

Type 1

1	T:	Initiation
2	S:	Response
3 →	T:	‘Mm hm’ + Substantial (Repetition/Reformulation/Elaboration) Or Brief Talk (Framing Move)

As can be seen in Extracts 1 and 3 analysed in 4.1.1, the teacher deploys ‘Mm hm’ as turn-initial in the third-turns of the IRFs for a ‘retrospective’ acknowledgment of the students’ second turn responses, and she provides a repetition, reformulation, or an elaboration of the responses, or she uses ‘framing moves’ (e.g., it is easy, the next one, number five) (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) as prefaced by the token to indicate that one sequence has ended and another is beginning, thereby acknowledging the responses as acceptable with the sense of ‘correct’ vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. Similarly, Type 2 below also shows that ‘Mm hm’ acts as a strong acknowledgment token, even though the sequential position of the token is different.

The findings of the current study also highlight some important points, which can be linked to the institutional nature of the L2 classroom. Firstly, the deployment of ‘Mm hm’ as a strong acknowledgment token in the L2 classroom could be related to the fact that all learner talk is potentially subject to teacher evaluation, and because of the dual nature of L2 classroom interaction, when teachers display acknowledgment, it is generally the content of the learner utterance which they are approving, whereas the language form may require repair, as can be seen in Extract 1. In this extract, in line 8, the student mispronounces a word, yet the teacher treats the response as correct in line 11. However, the teacher performs an embedded correction of the mispronounced item in the same line. As such, it can be claimed that content is prioritised over form. That is to say, it is the content that is mostly acknowledged, as when L2 form is at stake, it is subject to repair.

Secondly, in contrast to the findings of the previous research on ‘Mm hm’, the use of the token as ‘stand-alone’ in the L2 classroom doesn’t solely indicate a ‘continuation’ (i.e., in the sense that it gives the floor to the prior speaker to continue, remaining ‘neutral’ towards the talk). That is to say, when deployed as ‘stand-alone’ at possible TRPs in the L2 classroom, ‘Mm hm’ sometimes projects an acknowledgment of the students’ second turn responses with the sense of ‘correct’ in addition to the continuer work. Extract 19 analysed in the previous chapter, for example, shows that the teacher deploys ‘Mm hm’ as ‘stand-alone’ at the possible TRP to accept the answer given by the students in chorus as ‘correct’, and upon the deployment of the token, the student continues with reading the text. Recall that before the extract, the teacher asks one of the students to start reading a text and stop before the blanks, so other students can shout the answers out. As such, the fact that the reader continues with reading the text immediately after the deployment of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher suggests that the token is treated as an ‘acknowledgment token’ as well as a ‘continuer’. It can also be argued here that this specific use of the token can be linked to the institutionality of the setting, in which there are normative expectations regarding the roles of the teacher and students and the epistemic rights and expectations related to this. As for the reason why ‘Mm hm’ is deployed as ‘stand-alone’ by the teacher at such a point, it can be claimed that the nature of the activity and hence the locality of interaction might have gained interactional relevance in what the teacher accomplishes in the f-move through the deployment of the token. More precisely, the teacher might have used ‘Mm hm’ as ‘stand-alone’ at such a point instead of a lengthy elaborated turn to achieve communicative economy (Huq & Amir, 2015; McCarthy, 2003).

To sum up, the discussion in this sub-section suggests that in contrast to the findings of the previous research on the uses of ‘Mm hm’ in ordinary talk, the token is used as an acknowledgment token in the L2 classroom. Specifically, it acts as a ‘strong acknowledgment token’, as it raises the possibility of further talk, which indicates that the same-speaker turn (i.e., the teacher’s turn) is a continuation of the topic of the immediate prior turns of the students. The next sub-section will discuss and synthesise the findings on the uses of the token as a ‘continuer’ in the L2 classroom.

5.1.2 The multi-vocality of ‘Mm hm’ as a ‘continuer’

As discussed in the Literature Review, the findings of the previous research on two-syllabled tokens such as ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’ suggest that these tokens are used as a ‘continuer’ in talk in the sense that their speakers pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to prior speakers to continue (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010; Goodwin, 1986; Guthrie, 1997; Jefferson, 1984; Muller, 1996; Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 1982). Similarly, the findings of the current study suggest that ‘Mm hm’ is also used as a ‘continuer’ in the L2 classroom. However, as demonstrated in the Analysis chapter, the use of the token as a ‘continuer’ in the L2 classroom comes in many shapes, and this is contingent upon not only its sequential placement, prosodic shape, and timing, but also on the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, hand gestures, body posture) drawn upon by the teacher.

The findings suggest that ‘Mm hm’ is used as a ‘continuer’ in the L2 classroom to a) acknowledge the students’ intention to continue, b) display an evaluative stance with the students’ answers within and during the turns, c) confirm the students’ utterances at within-turn junctures, and d) prompt the students to expand on their answers (i.e., open-up with their talk). In this sub-section, the findings on the uses of the token as a ‘continuer’ in the L2 classroom will be discussed in relation to the relevant literature.

A. Bridging the units of turns

The analysis of the data firstly shows that ‘Mm hm’ is mostly used by the teacher as a bridging continuer in the L2 classroom by being interjected at points where the students’ second turns are syntactically, intonationally, and pragmatically (i.e., informationally) incomplete (Ford & Thompson, 1996). That is, when deployed by the teacher at within-turn junctures (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010), or within the turns (Goodwin, 1986), the token acts as a bridging continuer, as it rests on the observation that because a multi-unit turn is already in progress, the teacher passes an opportunity to do a fuller turn (Schegloff, 1982) at such points, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue. What is described here is the kind of

usage that is mostly associated with the tokens, ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’, in the research literature (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010; Goodwin, 1986; Guthrie, 1997; Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 1982). However, the findings of the current study suggest that the sequential placement of the token as a bridging continuer is slightly different than as that observed and noted in the research literature.

Sacks’ (1992a) initial observations on the continuer usage of ‘Uh huh’ suggest that the token is overwhelmingly placed at grammatical completion points (i.e., at possible TRPs) (see Sacks et al., 1974). On a more detailed study on the sequential placements of assessment-like objects such as *wow* and the continuer, ‘Uh huh’, Goodwin (1986) suggests that the continuer, ‘Uh huh’, doesn’t occur just anywhere within the turn, but rather at the boundaries of TCUs. More precisely, the recipient places it at such a point where s/he begins her response not after one unit is finished, but rather just before it reaches completion, specifically during the final syllable of what is recognisable as the final word of that unit. Similarly, the findings of the study of Guthrie (1997) suggest that in academic advising sessions, the recipients don’t interject ‘Mm hm’ just anywhere in the adviser’s turn, but at a point where the advisor’s turn might be considered syntactically complete (i.e., overlapping with the last word), even though the advisor’s turn isn’t designed to be complete at this point (i.e., intonationally). However, the findings of the current study suggest that ‘Mm hm’ doesn’t occur just before one unit reaches completion, but after it reaches completion, and the students continue to provide the next units before the token is completed (i.e., the token doesn’t latch or overlap with the previous units, but the next units), as can be seen below:

```
53   S2:  japanese people,  
54 →T:  |Mm  [hm,  
        |((↓))T nodding  
55   S2:  [er: went to the .h american people (home) .
```

As can be seen in this short version of Extract 7 analysed in 4.1.2.1, ‘Mm hm’ doesn’t occur just before one unit reaches completion, but after it reaches completion, and the student continues to provide the next unit before the token is completed. As such, by deploying the token at such a point, the teacher might be displaying that a unit has been understood and the speaker can continue to produce the next one, thereby using the token as a signal for the student to continue to say the next unit of her turn. In other words, the teacher’s deployment of ‘Mm hm’ as a bridging continuer doesn’t assess what the student is saying, but only

acknowledges the student's intention to continue, as the teacher doesn't interject the token just anywhere within the turn, but after the student articulates the previous unit with a slightly rising intonation contour, which displays that the student intends to continue, and the continuer does rise (i.e., it takes the prosodic shape of its environment) and functions to confirm this incompleteness (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010). Therefore, despite this slightly different sequential placement of 'Mm hm' observed in the current study, it wouldn't be wrong to say that the token 'bridges the end of one unit and the beginning of a next' (Goodwin, 1986), thereby functioning as a bridging continuer in the L2 classroom as that observed and noted in the research literature.

As also discussed in the Literature Review, the research literature suggests that 'Mm hm' and 'Uh huh' are typically articulated with a slightly rising terminal pitch contour when deployed as a bridging continuer (Gardner, 2001; Schegloff, 1982). As such, they don't intrude on the content of prior or subsequent talk, but invite speaker continuation by signalling receipt of prior information and nothing more (Frankel, 1984). In other words, they don't indicate to current speakers recipients' opinion of their talk, but only function to direct them to go on and say more without displaying any emotion, attitude, or feeling (Gardner, 2001; ten Have, 1991). The findings of the current study also support the findings coming from the previous research in that when deployed as a bridging continuer in the L2 classroom, 'Mm hm' does rise (i.e., fall-rise), which indicates that the teacher passes up an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue, and has a mid-volume tone, which indicates neutrality except to convey to the students that the teacher is present and listening (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010). As such, it doesn't indicate the teacher's opinion of the students' answers, but only functions to direct the students to continue to say the next unit/s of their turns. This projection is also embodied through the type of the nod performed by the teacher (i.e., one rapid down nod), which might be displaying only that 'go ahead and continue to say the next unit of the turn'. Therefore, as that observed in ordinary talk, when deployed as a bridging continuer in the L2 classroom, 'Mm hm' has both a 'prospective' aspect in that it gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue in the flow of speech (i.e., it instructs to the students to continue to say the next units of their turns) as well as having a 'retrospective' aspect in that it indicates to the students the incompleteness of the units, but it remains 'neutral' towards the talk (Muller, 1996).

B. Displaying assessment within/during turns

In the previous part, it has been discussed that when deployed as a bridging continuer, ‘Mm hm’ functions as a signal for the students to continue to say the next unit/s of their turns without displaying the teacher’s opinion of the answers as indicated by the sequential placement and prosodic shape of the token. As such, it has been suggested that the findings support the ‘understanding’ or ‘stance’ attributed to the tokens, ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Uh huh’, in ordinary talk by Muller (1996), Sacks (1992a, 1992b), and Schegloff (1982). That is to say, as in ordinary talk, in the L2 classroom, by deploying ‘Mm hm’ as a bridging continuer, the teacher remains limited to ‘de dicto’ reading (‘Yes I hear you and follow what you are saying’) (Muller, 1996). However, as demonstrated in the Analysis chapter of this thesis, the findings also suggest that in the L2 classroom, ‘Mm hm’ sometimes displays more than a ‘mere monitoring stance’ (Muller, 1996) as indicated by a shift in its prosodic shape (e.g., it does fall-rise as a long glissando (see Extract 8), it does rise-fall (see Extract 9)).

As discussed in the Literature Review chapter of this thesis, the importance of prosody in giving ‘semantically-empty’ tokens their characters in talk has been highlighted and demonstrated by some researchers (Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010; Gardner, 1997; Muller, 1996). For example, Gardner (1997) has demonstrated that a rise-falling intonational contour on ‘Mm’ displays heightened involvement in the talk. Similarly, Fitzgerald and Leudar (2010) have shown that the deployment of ‘Mm’ and ‘Mm hm’ with a loud-volume tone by the therapist indicates heightened involvement in the talk. Muller (1996) suggests that by making these tokens ‘prosodically salient’, recipients may signal an understanding that goes beyond a display of ‘de dicto’ recognition and assume a more differentiated stance. As such, the findings of the current study support the findings coming from the previous research in that as in ordinary talk, ‘Mm hm’ is capable of displaying a specific stance (i.e., assessment) in the L2 classroom as indicated by a shift in its prosodic shape. However, the findings also suggest that it is not only prosody that sets the token free from only conveying a ‘de dicto’ reading in the L2 classroom, but the placement of the token at a different point in the talk and some forms of non-verbal cues (e.g., hand gestures, body posture, head nods) the teacher draws upon also contribute to its functional variability in this sense.

For example, in Extract 8, it has been suggested that the use of ‘Mm hm’ as a bridging continuer displays more than ‘a claim for listening’ (i.e., assessment) while attending the individual unit of the student’s turn (i.e., within the turn), and the projection is not only indicated by a shift in its prosodic shape (i.e., there is a prolongation of the token), but it is also embodied through a different type of head nod performed by the teacher (i.e., a full expansive up-and-down type of nod). On the other hand, in Extract 9, it has been suggested

that ‘Mm hm’ displays an assessment when placed at a different point in the student’s turn (i.e., in overlap with the talk), as can be seen below:

```
11  S2:  em: the rich      [don't like] er wasting=  
12 → T:  [|↑Mm hm.  ]  
        |((↑ ↓)) T nodding, walking towards S2, pointing at S2  
13  S2:  =their money.
```

As can be seen in this short version of Extract 9 analysed in 4.1.2.2, ‘Mm hm’ displays an assessment of the talk at the same time as the talk is being produced. That is to say, the teacher uses the token to assess ‘what is being said’ during ‘it is being said’. In addition, the projection is also indicated by the prosodic shape of the token (i.e., it does rise-fall) and embodied through the teacher’s performing a full rapid up-and-down head nod, changing her body position (i.e., walking towards the student), and pointing at the student. As for the reason why ‘Mm hm’ is placed at such a point in the talk, it can be argued that as the token occurs right after the student’s deployment of ‘a key word’ articulated with a marked prosody (i.e., em: the rich=) that might be marking a preference (i.e., projecting an exact match with the answer on the pedagogical agenda of the teacher), the teacher might have used the token at such a point to acknowledge this preference/match. In either way, ‘Mm hm’ indicates to the students more than ‘a claim for listening’ (i.e., it displays heightened involvement in the talk), thereby functioning as an assessment-like continuer, which gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue as well as projecting ‘embodied preferred next-actions’ within and during the students’ second turns.

Based on these findings, it wouldn’t be wrong to say that as in ordinary talk, in the L2 classroom, ‘Mm hm’ has both a ‘prospective’ aspect in that it gives the floor to the prior speakers to continue in the flow of speech as well as having a ‘retrospective’ aspect in that it indicates the incompleteness of the units, but it doesn’t remain ‘neutral’ towards the talk (i.e., it displays an assessment). However, it is not only the different sequential placement of the token and its prosodic shape that give it this stance in the L2 classroom, but the non-verbal phenomena (i.e., head nods, body posture, hand gestures) that go with it also contribute to its functional variability in this sense.

C. Confirming so-far-turns at within-turn junctures

The analysis of the data also shows that ‘Mm hm’ is used in the L2 classroom for the confirmation of the so-far-turns of the students with the sense of ‘correct’, but this is initiated by the students through the ‘try-marked’ utterances (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979), as can be seen below:

```

5      S1:  one of the students says e:r our e:r sound is e:m
6          |more real?
          |S1 hand gestures
7 → T:   |Mm hm,
          |((↓))T nodding
8      S1:  the other says e:r |(reverse it)|.
          |S1 hand gestures

```

In this short version of Extract 10 analysed in 4.1.2.3, in line 6, the referential description is produced with an upward intonational contour and is followed by a ‘slot’ which the referring speaker (i.e., the student) leaves open for the recipient (i.e., the teacher) to insert a token of ‘recognition’ (Muller, 1996). The teacher uses ‘Mm hm’ at such a point to confirm the student’s ‘try-marked’ utterance as an epistemic confirmation token. In relation to ‘try-markers’, Muller (1996) suggests that the token solicited in this way can be an explicit ‘Yes’, whereas Sacks and Schegloff (1979) suggest that the token solicited in this way can also be an ‘Uh huh’, or even a simple nod can perform the same function. In this extract, one can see that the appropriateness of the selection of a lexical item is proposed to the teacher as an ‘acknowledgeable’ (Muller, 1996), and the teacher chooses to acknowledge this by using ‘Mm hm’ as a token of ‘recognition’ together with a rapid down nod over an explicit ‘Yes’, or a simple nod.

The fact that the teacher chooses to use ‘Mm hm’ together with a rapid down nod over other ways of indicating a ‘recognition’ at such a point might be suggesting that the teacher ‘explicitly’ honours a projection of ‘continuation’ by using a token of ‘continuation’, as the student’s turn projects a multi-unit turn (i.e., it begins with a display of that projection through a ‘list-initiating marker’ (Schegloff, 1982) or a ‘story preface’ (Sacks, 1974) (i.e., one of the students says e:r our e:r sound is e:m more real?)). As such, even though the turn is syntactically and intonationally complete (e.g., the turn is articulated with a clear final intonation as indicated by a question mark, the student performs hand gestures), it is pragmatically (i.e., informationally) incomplete (Ford & Thompson, 1996).

Notice that the student continues to provide the rest of the response in line 8 (i.e., the other says e:r | (reverse it) .) after receiving the confirmation from the teacher. Therefore, ‘Mm hm’ does two things at such a point: Firstly, it confirms the student’s turn as an epistemic confirmation token, and secondly, it gives the floor to the student to continue to say the next unit of her turn. That is to say, the token has a ‘prospective’ aspect in that it gives the floor to the student to continue to say the next unit of her turn as well as having a ‘retrospective’ aspect in that it confirms the student’s try-marked utterance as an epistemic confirmation token. As such, the token used at such a point is classified as a confirmation-like continuer. In addition, as already discussed in the Analysis chapter of this thesis, the continuer work is also indicated by the prosodic shape of the token (i.e., the token does rise indicating that the floor is the student’s) and embodied through the type of the nod (i.e., one rapid down nod), which might be displaying that ‘go ahead and continue to say the next unit of the turn’.

D. Projecting more talk

Sacks (1992b) suggests that continuers claim listening by ‘anticipating the other’s intention to go on’, but they can also ‘direct the speakers to say more’. Similarly, Gardner (1997) suggests that through continuers, recipients can orient to turns that require further work for the felicitous outcome of the action of those turns, for example, some topical expansion or continuation, explication, or completion. As discussed in the Literature Review chapter of this thesis, some studies have demonstrated that it is the precise ‘timing’ of continuers that affects the ways in which they are treated by current speakers. In solution-focused therapy, Fitzgerald and Leudar (2010) have demonstrated that when deployed at the end of a TCU (i.e., at a possible TRP where the client has come to a potential completion point and seems to be stopping), continuers such as ‘Mm hm’, ‘Mm’ can prompt, encourage, or direct the client to keep talking. Similarly, using the term, ‘continuer’ for a large variety of tokens such as ‘Mm’, ‘Uh huh’, ‘Mm hm’, ‘Okay’, and ‘Yeah’ used by the therapist, Muntigl and Zabala (2008) have demonstrated that they serve as ‘expansion elicitors’ to get the client to say more when they are preceded by pauses. Czyzewski (1995) has also shown that ‘Mm hm’ encourages the client to open-up more in psychotherapeutic intake interviews when it is followed by a lengthy pause before the patient speaks again.

The findings coming from the current study support the findings coming from these studies in that as that observed in therapy, in the L2 classroom, the precise ‘timing’ of ‘Mm hm’ in the talk is vital to decide if it is designed to acknowledge the students’ intention to continue, or it is designed to prompt, direct, or encourage them to say more. As already demonstrated in the

Analysis chapter, when ‘Mm hm’ is deployed at ‘possible’ (see Extract 11) and ‘late’ TRPs (i.e., after short pauses) (see Extract 13), the students continue to say more by expanding on their answers (i.e., open-up with their talk). However, the findings of the current study also highlight that it is not only the precise ‘timing’ of the token and its prosodic shape that help to disambiguate its use in this sense, but the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods) drawn upon by the teacher also play a big role in contributing to its use as an ‘expansion elicitor’.

For example, in Extract 13, it has been demonstrated that the teacher’s deployment of ‘Mm hm’ as ‘stand-alone’ with a rising intonation contour at a ‘late’ TRP (i.e., after a short pause) projects more talk from the student. However, it is not only the timing of the token and its prosodic shape that prompt the student to say more on the topic, but the teacher’s gaze hold and the type of nod she performs (i.e., one rapid down nod) contribute to this projection of continuation from the student. Furthermore, in one extract (i.e., Extract 14), it has been demonstrated how a different embodied resource (i.e., finger counting with a pen) that accompanies the token contributes to its functional variability in this sense in the L2 classroom.

In addition, the findings of the current study also suggest that the length of pauses before and after ‘Mm hm’ plays a crucial role in how the token is treated by the students in the L2 classroom. As already demonstrated in the Analysis chapter, when ‘Mm hm’ is deployed by the teacher at very ‘late’ TRPs (i.e., following long pauses), it is treated as not being ‘enough’ for acknowledgment (see Extract 18). Similarly, it is not only the fact that the token is deployed after a longish pause that indicates to the students the ‘unwillingness’ of the teacher to accept the answers as correct, but the projection is also embodied through the teacher’s non-verbal messages (i.e., her gaze holds towards the class, performing a motionless body) before and after the deployment of the token. As discussed in the Literature Review chapter, in L2 classroom repair studies, teacher silence has been shown to be an interactional device which is interpreted by students as a repair initiator (e.g., Hellermann, 2003; Lee, 2008; Macbeth, 2004; McHoul, 1990) in that as it delays the third turn response, it displays that the student response is problematic vis-à-vis the target response. However, Kääntä (2010) has shown that it is not just silence per se that is interpreted by the students as marking a dispreference as instantiated through repair, but the teacher’s continued gaze orientation towards the class or pedagogical artefact and frozen body posture at the TRP during the silence do interactive work in terms of helping the students understand the communicative work of silence. Therefore, the findings coming from the current study support her findings in that it is not only the fact that the token is delayed and followed by long silences (i.e.,

contiguous silence) indicates an ‘unwillingness’ from the teacher to treat the answers as acceptable, thereby projecting a different or additional answer from the students, but the teacher’s continued gaze orientation towards the class and frozen body posture (i.e., motionless body) during the silences help the students understand the communicative work of them.

Based on these findings, it can be claimed that the teacher’s deployment of ‘Mm hm’ at different points (e.g., at the TRPs, after short pauses, after long pauses) in the talk together with a variety of embodied resources (e.g., gaze holds, head nods) results in ‘recipient-initiated multi-unit turns’ (i.e., the teacher-initiated multi-unit turns). That is to say, by using the token at such points, the teacher projects more talk from the students (i.e., she prompts the students to say more) rather than acknowledging the students’ intention to continue. This might be showing that the teacher is orienting to the norms of the pedagogy for the sake of the pedagogical goal or other students in the classroom. Therefore, it can be suggested that in the L2 classroom, ‘Mm hm’ is used by the teacher as a methodological tool to ensure the students speak in a way appropriate to the pedagogy, and the strategic use of the token at such points by the teacher and the students’ provision of more talk are indicators of interactional competence (IC) (Markee, 2008; Pekarek Doehler, 2010; Young, 2008) and hence CIC (Walsh, 2011).

5.2 Teacher Talk, Learning, and the Deployment of ‘Mm hm’ in the L2 Classroom

In order to further understand L2 teachers’ embodied practices in teacher-fronted sequences, the current study has focused on a L2 teacher’s uses of a ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) as a minimal response token in the L2 classroom interaction from a multi-modal perspective and demonstrated how it shapes the entire interaction in the L2 classroom by acquiring specific meanings as an ‘embodied’ achievement, where its sequential placement including timing (i.e., overlap, pause), prosodic shape, and embodied resources (e.g., gaze, nods, gestures, body posture) that go with it ‘converge’ to attribute these meanings to it.

As discussed in the Literature Review, by using CA to investigate the aspects of L2 teacher talk such as teacher repetitions, assessments (e.g., Park, 2013; Waring, 2008) as well as the micro-details of interaction such as pauses, prosodic features of talk, and non-verbal resources drawn upon by teachers (e.g., Hellermann, 2003; Kääntä, 2010, 2012; Macbeth, 2004; Mortensen, 2012; Sert, 2011, 2013), many researchers have brought evidence for language learning-related phenomena in the L2 classroom interaction, thereby contributing to our understanding of what resources create learning opportunities, or hinder learning.

Waring (2008), for example, shows that the use of explicit positive assessment in the third turn of the IRF within certain contexts can suppress the opportunities for voicing understanding problems or exploring alternative correct answers (see also Wong & Waring, 2009). This, as I understand it, suggests that teachers' using some words like 'fine', 'good', or expressions like 'that's right', 'very good' in the third turn of the IRF closes down the interaction, thereby not keeping the channel open for further involvement and hence further L2 learning opportunities.

The current study, on the other hand, has focused on a L2 teacher's uses of a minimal 'non-lexical' response token (i.e., 'Mm hm') as a third-turn receipt and demonstrated that it is mostly used as a 'continuer' at different points in the IRF to give the floor back to the learners. As demonstrated in the Analysis chapter, the teacher does so by either honouring a projection of continuation intended by the learners (i.e., acknowledging the students' intention to go on), or projecting more talk from them (i.e., prompting the students to say more). Either way, the token is used by the teacher as a powerful methodological tool to keep the channel open for participation (i.e., in contrast to using words like right, good, fine in the third turns of the IRF to close down the interaction), thereby facilitating further learner involvement and hence creating further L2 learning opportunities. Therefore, its use as a 'continuer' in the L2 classroom interaction is another feature of L2 teacher CIC (Walsh, 2011). It should be made more explicit at this point that these findings highlight an important issue in relation to the concept of CIC. As discussed earlier, research contributing to the Walsh's idea of CIC (i.e., maximising interactional space, shaping learner contributions (e.g., seeking clarification, scaffolding, modelling, repairing learner input), effective use of eliciting, instructional idiolect (i.e., a teacher's speech habits), and interactional awareness) has mainly provided insights from teachers' (embodied) practices through substantial teacher talk (e.g., how L2 teachers shape learner contributions through translation), but by describing how such a small, 'non-lexical' item is used by a L2 teacher from a multi-modal perspective, the findings coming from the current study show that seemingly minor aspects of interaction also play a crucial role in teachers' teaching practices and hence learning in the L2 classroom, which is that teachers can create space for learning in teacher-fronted sequences by maximising interactional space and eliciting effectively through the use of such small, 'non-lexical' response tokens.

5.3 'Mm hm' and 'Yeah' as Consecutive Response Tokens in the L2 Classroom

This section answers the third research question which aims to investigate the uses of two tokens, 'Mm hm' and 'Yeah', by the teacher as consecutive response tokens in the L2

classroom. More precisely, it aims to find out if there is a ‘systematicity’ to the occurrences of the tokens within the sequences where they are employed in the L2 classroom as that observed in ordinary talk (Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Jefferson, 1984, 1993) and if and how the teacher is attributing different sequential relevancies to the students’ prior turns through shifting from one token to another.

The analysis of the data shows that the teacher uses ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ interchangeably as a strong acknowledgment token in the third turns of the IRFs in order to acknowledge the students’ second turn responses as acceptable with the sense of ‘correct’. More precisely, the teacher uses ‘Mm hms’ as a continuer to pass the opportunity to do a fuller turn (i.e., the teacher displays a recipient role), but acknowledges the students’ second turns, when they are complete, by using either of the tokens in the evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs and providing a repetition, elaboration, or reformulation of the answers and sometimes further initiations (i.e., as prefaced by either of the tokens) (see Extracts 6 and 10). As such, the teacher uses either of the tokens as a preface to further talk, thereby being an incipient speaker (i.e., the teacher moves out of a recipient role). Therefore, the findings suggest that the reciprocity/speakership distinction (Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Jefferson, 1984, 1993) (i.e., ‘Yeah’ shows a greater degree of speakership incipency (probability that its speaker is moving out of a recipient role and projecting further speaking) in comparison to ‘Mm hm’) doesn’t seem to hold in the second language classroom.

Gardner (2001) argues that recipients are constantly making local choices about how to respond, and when this locality of interaction is taken into account, it is sometimes possible to indicate some reasons for particular choices at particular points in the talk, thereby suggesting that the locality of interaction has an effect on the choices of response tokens by recipients. As demonstrated in the Analysis chapter, the analysis of the data reveals some patterns recognised to the tokens’ arrangement in the L2 classroom, and similarly, the findings suggest that the teacher is constantly making local choices about how to respond. That is to say, the locality of interaction has an effect on the teacher’s choices of the tokens at particular points in the talk.

For example, in Extracts 15 and 16 (also 18), it has been demonstrated that the teacher uses ‘Yeah’ as an upgraded token to ‘Mm hm’ in the third turns of the IRFs to display more affect in acknowledging the students’ second turns. More precisely, the teacher uses ‘Mm hm’ to acknowledge the first students’ answers as ‘fully insufficient’ or ‘partially sufficient’ and ‘Yeah’ to acknowledge the second students’ answers as ‘sufficient’, thereby marking an

informational in/completeness vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. When the teacher's choice of the tokens at such points is concerned, it can be argued that the teacher might be using 'Mm hm' in the first evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs in both extracts as a methodological device to display a mitigated disaffiliation (i.e., as it is deployed by the teacher in a positive and affirmative way for a retrospective acknowledgment in both extracts). In other words, the teacher 'packages' her dispreferred action so as to minimise the degree of affiliation and conflict (i.e., in contrast to using a bald and an unmitigated 'No' as a response to the first students' second turns) (Seedhouse, 2004). On the other hand, she might be using 'Yeah' in the second evaluation moves of the IRE/Fs to convey more affect in accepting the answers as fully sufficient vis-à-vis her pedagogical agenda. As such, it can be argued that the teacher displays recognisably distinctive orientations to the prior turns of the students by shifting from 'Mm hm' to 'Yeah' at particular points in the talk, and this variation stems from the teacher's evaluation of the informativeness of the prior turns of the students vis-à-vis the pedagogy (Jefferson, 1981a, 1981b; Mazeland, 1990). That is to say, the fact that the teacher orients to the norms of the pedagogy for the sake of the pedagogical goal or other students in the classroom has been reflected on her choice of the tokens at such points in the talk.

As also demonstrated in the Analysis chapter, as the teacher uses 'Yeah' as an upgraded token to 'Mm hm' in the third turns of the IRFs to display more affect in acknowledging the students' second turns, she also uses 'Yeah' as an upgraded continuer to 'Mm hm' to display more affect in projecting more talk from the students when they appear to stop (see Extract 17). When the teacher's choice of the tokens at such points is concerned, it can be argued that the teacher manages the informational incompleteness vis-à-vis the pedagogical goal by shifting to 'Yeah' as a stronger 'continuer', thereby enhancing the projection that she is in the pursuit of more talk from the students. It can be once more argued here that this stems from the teacher's evaluation of the informativeness of the prior turns of the students orienting to the norms of the pedagogy for the sake of the pedagogical goal and other students in the classroom. That is to say, the teacher uses 'Yeah' at such points (i.e., following 'Mm hm' + lengthy pauses) to make it clear that the so-far-turns are not complete (i.e., informationally) vis-à-vis the pedagogy (i.e., the pedagogical goal) and the students should produce more talk. As such, it can be once more argued that by using a stronger token (i.e., upgrading her token choice from 'Mm hm' to 'Yeah'), the teacher scaffolds the students to produce more talk, thereby facilitating further involvement and hence further L2 learning opportunities. Therefore, it can be suggested that the strategic use of 'Yeah' at such points by the teacher

and the students' provision of more talk are indicators of interactional competence (IC) (Markee, 2008; Pekarek Doehler, 2010; Young, 2008) and hence CIC (Walsh, 2011).

5.4 The Projection of Preferred Next-Actions through Embodiment in the L2 Classroom

In the Literature Review chapter of this thesis, it has been discussed that preferred and dispreferred turns in ordinary conversation and in L2 classrooms share the same characteristic features. As in ordinary conversation, in L2 classrooms, teachers' preferred third turn actions are produced directly right after the second turns of students and silence between the second turn and third turn marks a dispreference (e.g., Hellermann, 2003; Macbeth, 2000, 2004; Margutti, 2004; McHoul, 1990; Lee, 2008), but see Kääntä (2010). In addition, as in ordinary conversation, teachers' dispreferred third turn actions can be 'packaged' so as to minimise the degree of disaffiliation and conflict (Seedhouse, 2004).

It has also been discussed that as in ordinary conversation, in L2 classrooms, teachers can also indicate in advance how they will evaluate the second turns of students before students' turns reach a completion and teachers produce their third turns (e.g., Kääntä, 2010). The findings coming from the study of Kääntä (2010) have suggested that teachers foreshadow the emergence of repair by withholding the revealing of correct answers on a transparency during the student second turn responses and by a cut-off body movement at the TRP before producing their verbal TCUs, thus demonstrating how teachers project the dispreferred nature of their next-actions before producing their third turns through embodied resources. The findings coming from the current study support her findings in that the teacher displays in advance the dispreferred nature of her next-actions both during the students' second turns (e.g., by shifting her gaze from the student to the book) (see line 10 in Extract 16) and at the TRPs during pauses (e.g., by performing a frozen body posture and holding her gaze towards the class) (see Extract 18). However, the data analysed for the current study also show that the teacher displays in advance within the students' second turns that she will acknowledge the second turns of students as correct vis-à-vis their pedagogical agenda before producing her third turn, thereby projecting preferred next-actions at the same time as the turns are being produced. As she does this in the absence of talk by solely drawing on non-verbal resources like head nods and hand gestures (see line 6 in Extract 3 and line 25 in Extract 11), she also displays the preferred nature of the students' second turns by deploying the token analysed for the current study (i.e., 'Mm hm') within and during the student's second turns and drawing on multiple semiotic resources (e.g., a shift in prosody and body posture, hand gestures, head nods) (see line 12 in Extract 9). As such, she projects 'embodied preferred next-actions' in the

L2 classroom. Therefore, based on these findings, it can be suggested that in L2 classrooms, teachers can also display the positive nature of their evaluation at the same time as students are producing their second turns.

5.5 The Projection of Distinctive Reciprocity through Differential ‘Head Nods’ in the L2 Classroom

As discussed in the Literature Review chapter, according to some researchers, head nods performed by recipients in interaction can display continuing reciprocity together with or in the absence of verbal vocalisations (Duncan, 1972; Goodwin, 1986; Schegloff, 1982), whereas according to some, by drawing on this particular non-verbal resource at different positions in interaction, recipients can also project their affiliation with speakers (Heath, 1992; Stivers, 2008). As such, the literature isn’t consistent regarding if head nods performed by recipients display a particular stance towards speakers’ talk or solely continuing reciprocity in ordinary conversation. What should be asked here is then that ‘does the shape of a nod help to disambiguate the use of it on this matter?’ More precisely, ‘can different types of head nods be used to perform different actions in interaction, thereby displaying distinctive reciprocity?’

The study of Whitehead (2011) has demonstrated that speakers’ head nods at third position (i.e., following responses to questions in the course of ‘minimal post-expansions’) (Schegloff, 2007) can take different shapes, thereby performing different actions. That is, an expansive type of nod (i.e., more expansive in amplitude and duration) is used to register a prior utterance as news together with or in the absence of a verbal change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984a), whereas a less expansive type of nod is used to register the receipt of a prior utterance without treating it as news. As such, the findings coming from his study suggest that in ordinary conversation, speakers adjust their nods at third position in such ways that they move from displaying simple receipt and acknowledgment of prior turns to displaying a distinctive reciprocity. Therefore, it can be claimed that performing distinct types of head nods together with or in the absence of verbal tokens is intersubjective in that it conveys different meanings (i.e., actions) in interaction.

In L2 classrooms, the function of teachers’ head nods is restricted to interactive work they do in allocating turns to students, together with the first pair part of the IRF or after with verbal tokens (i.e., embodied allocation) (Kääntä, 2010, 2012), or in acknowledging the second turns of students in the third turns of the IRFs. With regards to the latter, no research has specifically examined the potential role that the shape of teachers’ head nods (e.g., one or multiple, rapid or slow, deep in their vertical trajectory or shallow, more or less expansive in

duration and amplitude) plays in displaying distinctive reciprocity. However, the findings coming from the current study contribute to the research literature in this sense, as they suggest that as in ordinary conversation, in L2 classrooms, teachers can adjust their nods at third position in such ways that they move from displaying simple receipt (i.e., continuing reciprocity) to displaying distinctive reciprocity (i.e., assessment).

As demonstrated in the Analysis chapter, the data analysed for the current study show that ‘Mm hm’ is almost always accompanied by the teacher’s head nods. However, as the sequential placement, timing, and prosodic shape of the token change depending on what communicative work the teacher wants to convey at that point, so does the shape of the nods. For example, when the token is deployed as a strong acknowledgment token, the teacher draws upon full expansive up-and-down or down-and-up nods (occasionally multiple full rapid up-and-down nods) (e.g., Extracts 4, 5). When it is deployed as a bridging continuer or an expansion elicitor, the teacher performs a rapid down nod (see Extracts 6 and 13), which might be contributing to the functional variability of the token displaying ‘go ahead and say more’. However, when the token is deployed as an assessment-like continuer, the teacher draws upon a full expansive type of nod (i.e., more expansive in amplitude and duration) (see Extract 8) or a full rapid up-and-down nod (see Extract 9), which might be contributing to the functional variability of the token displaying that the teacher is acknowledging the second turns of the students as ‘correct’ in addition to the continuer work, thereby projecting ‘embodied preferred next-actions’ within and during the turns. As such, the shape of the teacher’s nods is intersubjective in that it contributes to the function of the token at a particular point (e.g., displaying assessment, displaying continuing reciprocity, or projecting a continuation from the students), thereby projecting distinctive reciprocity. Therefore, based on these findings, it can be suggested that as in ordinary conversation, teachers can display distinctive reciprocity through differential ‘head nods’ in L2 classrooms.

5.6 What do ‘Non-Lexical’ Response Tokens do?

As discussed in the Literature Review chapter, although the research literature has revealed useful insights regarding the uses of minimal response tokens in interaction, it is far from consistent in the way in which they are treated (Gardner, 2001), especially in relation to the uses of ‘non-lexical’ response tokens (e.g., ‘Mm’, ‘Uh huh’, ‘Mm hm’), as it has been claimed that they lack semantic meaning (Gardner, 1997, 2001; Muller, 1996). Yet, they have received considerable attention for many years (e.g., Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, 1993b; Gardner, 1997, 1998, 2001; Goodwin, 1986; Guthrie, 1997; Jefferson, 1984; Mazeland, 1990; Muller,

1996; Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 1982; Ward, 2006). Ward (2006) has suggested that the meaning of a non-lexical utterance is predictable from the meaning of its component sounds. However, Schegloff (1993) has strongly argued that they should be examined in the local sequential context in which they are used. Muller (1996), on the other hand, has argued that they acquire specific meanings not only by their sequential placement, but also by their prosodic shape, but what they do in interaction still remains to be analysed as a ‘contingent’ achievement.

By using multi-modal CA, the current study has investigated if a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) acquires specific meanings as an ‘embodied’ achievement, where its sequential placement including timing (i.e., overlap, pause), prosodic shape, and a L2 teacher’s embodied resources (e.g., gaze, nods, gestures, body posture) that go with it ‘converge’ to attribute these meanings to it in the L2 classroom interaction. The study has showed that ‘Mm hm’ indeed acquires its meanings as an ‘embodiment’ achievement, suggesting that it is not only the sequential positioning of the token, including its timing and prosodic shape that help to disambiguate its use, but the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, gestures, body posture) drawn upon by the teacher also play an important role in ascribing specific meanings to it in the L2 classroom. For example, it has been demonstrated in Extract 8 that the use of ‘Mm hm’ as a bridging continuer displays more than ‘a claim for listening’ (i.e., assessment) while attending the individual unit of a student’s turn (i.e., at a within-turn juncture), and the projection is not only indicated by a shift in its prosodic shape (i.e., there is a prolongation of the token), but it is also embodied through a full expansive up-and-down type of nod (i.e., more expansive in amplitude and duration).

Therefore, the current study highlights the importance and need of considering a fine-grained, multi-modal CA analysis in ascribing specific meanings to minimal ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in interaction and calls for similar studies which describe the characteristic uses of such tokens in interaction in general and in L2 classroom interaction in particular by taking into account the ‘analytical considerations’ revisited in Section 2.1.4.

5.7 Implications for L2 Classroom Research, Practice, and Teacher Education

By focusing on the characteristic uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) by a L2 teacher from a multi-modal perspective, the current study has shed further light on the L2 teachers’ embodied practices in teacher-fronted sequences.

The findings firstly suggest that such minimal vocalisations can be used by teachers at different points in the IRF as a powerful methodological tool to perform distinctive actions. Therefore, the analysis conducted in the current study firstly highlights the dynamic and reflexive use of the IRF sequence in L2 classroom interaction and provides further evidence that the IRF sequence can be constructed differently in different L2 classroom contexts (Hellermann, 2003, 2005; Kääntä, 2010; Seedhouse, 2004).

Secondly, as mentioned earlier, the analysis conducted in the current study shows that ‘Mm hm’ is mostly used as a ‘continuer’ in the L2 classroom to hand the floor back to the students. As such, it can be suggested that its use by teachers facilitates learner involvement by keeping the channel open for participation, thereby creating L2 learning opportunities (i.e., in contrast to using words like right, good, fine in the third turns of the IRF to close down the interaction). Therefore, its use as a ‘continuer’ in the L2 classroom interaction is another feature of L2 teacher CIC (Walsh, 2011). As such, the findings coming from the study have direct implications for L2 teacher training. That is, L2 teachers should be made aware that what they do in the f-move is crucial in terms of learners’ L2 learning development, and the deployment of ‘Mm hm’ in the f-move (i.e., as a continuer) could facilitate this development by maximising interactional space and eliciting effectively, thereby keeping the participation going and hence creating more opportunities for learning.

In addition, the analysis conducted in the current study has demonstrated that it is not only the different sequential placement of the token in the IRF that conveys distinctive actions, but the prosodic features of the token and embodied resources (e.g., head nods) that go with it also contribute to its functional variability in the L2 classroom. As such, the findings of the current study can be used in teacher education to increase the teachers’ awareness of the importance of prosody and the role of other, non-vocal, conduct in teacher-fronted sequences. In addition, the findings can also be used to increase their awareness of how such ‘unobtrusive’ vocalisations can also be used as a methodologically powerful tool in these sequences to facilitate further involvement and hence create further L2 learning opportunities.

Last but not least, the current study offers a starting point for the differentiation of such vocalisations used by teachers in the L2 classroom and the understanding of what each achieves in pedagogical settings. As discussed in the Literature Review, the uses of such vocalisations by L2 teachers and what they achieve in pedagogical settings have been ignored or highly undifferentiated, thereby being lumped together more or less as a homogenous group. As such, the current study offers a starting point for the examination of the distinctive

work achieved by different vocalisations and roles they play in shaping interaction in the L2 classroom, and subsequently, opportunities for L2 learning.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings and analysis in the Analysis chapter in relation to the research questions and relevant literature. Firstly, in 5.1, the findings on the uses of ‘Mm hm’ by the teacher as a third-turn receipt in the L2 classroom has been synthesised by discussing the token’s sequential placement (i.e., what it follows and what it precedes), its prosodic shape, its timing (i.e., pause, overlap), and the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, posture, gestures, head nods) drawn upon by the teacher that contribute to its functional variability. Then, in 5.2, a discussion on teacher talk, learning, and the deployment of ‘Mm hm’ has been provided. This is followed by 5.3, where a discussion on the findings about the uses of ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ by the teacher as consecutive response tokens in the L2 classroom has been presented. In 5.4 and 5.5, some issues like the teacher’s projection of preferred next-actions through embodiment and her projection of distinctive reciprocity through differential ‘head nods’ in the L2 classroom have been discussed. Finally, in 5.6 and 5.7, some methodological and pedagogical implications of this study for interaction research in general and L2 classroom research in particular have been mentioned.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1 Summary of the Thesis

The present study has investigated if a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) acquires specific meanings as an ‘embodied’ achievement in L2 classroom interaction, where its sequential placement including timing (i.e., overlap, pause), prosodic shape, and a L2 teacher’s embodied resources (e.g., gaze, nods, gestures, body posture) that go with it ‘converge’ to attribute these meanings to it (i.e., inform how it is interpreted/understood by students). The study has also investigated the uses of two tokens, ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’, by the teacher as consecutive response tokens in order to understand if and how the teacher is attributing different sequential relevancies to the students’ prior turns through shifting from one token to another.

The data of the study, in the form of 15 hours of video-recordings, has been taken from a specific academic course on ‘Contextual Grammar’ in a department of English Language Teaching at a state university in Turkey. The participants are first-year teacher candidates of English and one female teacher. The data has been transcribed using Jeffersonian conventions and analysed using multimodal CA.

The analysis of the data has shown that the sequential positioning of ‘Mm hm’, including its timing and prosodic shape help to disambiguate its use in the L2 classroom. The token is systematically articulated by the teacher as a third-turn-receipt with different prosodic shapes (e.g., a falling, a falling-rising, a rising-falling intonation contour) as distinctive responses to a) acknowledge the students’ second turn responses in turn-initial and turn-medial positions as a strong acknowledgment token and b) pass an opportunity to do a fuller turn, thereby giving the floor to the prior speakers to continue (i.e., as a continuer). In addition, the following four distinct categories have been identified regarding the use of the token as a continuer in the data: a) to acknowledge the students’ intention to continue, b) to display an evaluative stance with the students’ answers within and during the turns, c) to confirm the students’ utterances at within-turn junctures, or d) to prompt the students to expand on their answers (i.e., open-up with their talk). The analysis has also demonstrated that it is not only the sequential positioning of the token, including its timing and prosodic shape that help to disambiguate its use, but the embodied resources (e.g., gaze, head nods, gestures, body posture) the teacher draws upon also play an important role in ascribing specific meanings to it (i.e., informing how it is treated and interpreted by the students) in the L2 classroom.

The findings on the uses of ‘Mm hm’ and ‘Yeah’ by the teacher as consecutive response tokens have showed that the tokens are used by the teacher in the third turns of the IRFs as distinctive responses to the students’ second turn answers, thereby suggesting that the fact that the teacher is orienting to the norms of the pedagogy has been reflected on her choice of the tokens.

Based on these findings, one of the significant contributions of the current study is that it contributes more broadly to the growing body of interaction research on response tokens, ‘non-lexical’ response tokens in particular by showing the role of other, non-vocal, conduct in contributing to their functional variability (i.e., how they are treated and interpreted by interactants). Another significant contribution of the study is that it contributes to the growing body of L2 classroom interaction research on teacher-fronted sequences by showing how seemingly minor aspects of interaction, ‘non-lexical’ response tokens, can also be used by teachers as a powerful methodological tool to facilitate learner involvement, thereby creating L2 learning opportunities as well as demonstrating the role of other, non-vocal, conduct in doing so.

In the next sections, the limitations of the study will be acknowledged and some suggestions for future studies will be provided.

6.2 Limitations

As mentioned earlier, the current study presents observations from only one L2 classroom micro-context (i.e., ‘form-and-accuracy’: Seedhouse, 2004). Even though this should not have any effect on the generalizability of the findings (see Section 3.4.3), it cannot be denied that reliability could have been increased in the current study by including different L2 classroom micro-contexts (e.g., ‘meaning-and-fluency’: Seedhouse, 2004), as there are huge amounts of other data from these contexts that can be analysed to describe variations, if any, with regards to the phenomena being researched at micro-level. As such, the current study fails at finding and describing variations, if any, with regards to the phenomena being researched at micro-level (i.e., in different micro-contexts).

As also mentioned earlier, since CA uses recordings as data and transcripts as a representation of the data, the accuracy of transcripts and how the details of an event are presented in them are vital. As might have been realised, in some of the extracts, what the participants are saying couldn’t be captured, even though two professional cameras have been used to record the interaction for this research. As such, one important limitation of this study is technical,

which is the lack of individual microphones or audio-recorders that could have helped to capture every single detail.

6.3 Directions for Future Studies

The current study has mainly investigated the characteristic uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’) in the L2 classroom from a multi-modal perspective and has shown that it acquires its meanings as an ‘embodied’ achievement. However, there are some important points that should be reflected on and proposed as future work. Firstly, as discussed earlier, the findings suggest that on the contrary to what the literature suggests, ‘Mm hm’ is used in turn-initial and turn-medial positions as an acknowledgment token in the data analysed for the current study to acknowledge the students’ second turn responses with the sense of ‘correct’. Specifically, it acts as a ‘strong acknowledgment token’, as it raises the possibility of further talk, brief or substantial, which indicates that the same-speaker turn (i.e., the teacher’s turn) is a continuation of the topic of the immediate prior turns of the students. As such, it doesn’t indicate ‘passive reciprocity’ (Jefferson, 1984) or ‘lack of anything to say’ (Ward, 2006) in the sense that the teacher passes up an opportunity to speak handing the floor straight back to the prior speaker. However, it is really difficult to answer the question, ‘why is it also used as an acknowledgment token, specifically as a strong acknowledgment token in the data’, or ‘is this use specific to L2 classroom interaction’? This specific use of the token might be linked to the teacher’s individual way of speaking, her own idiolect (i.e., as a L1 Turkish speaker), or the type of L2 classroom investigated for the current study (i.e., L2 classroom teacher training). As such, the findings of the current study should be used as a springboard to further research on the phenomenon in other L2 classroom interactions as well as in other interactional contexts.

Secondly, it is vital to understand how similar vocalisations used by teachers shape interaction in the L2 classroom as well as to understand what kinds of sequential relevancies variations in the teachers’ choices of consecutive response tokens ascribe to the prior turns of students. In addition, it is vital to understand if and how different L2 classroom micro-contexts (Seedhouse, 2004) have an effect on the ways such vocalisations are used and their deployment along with other response tokens (e.g., ‘Yeah’, ‘Okay’, ‘Right’). That is to say, it is important to describe variations, if any, with regards to the phenomena being researched at micro-level (i.e., in different micro-contexts). Also, as mentioned before, this study offers a starting point for the differentiation of such vocalisations used by teachers in the L2 classroom and the understanding of what each achieves in pedagogical settings, especially in

L2 classrooms. As such, more studies are needed in L2 classroom settings to understand the distinctive work achieved by different vocalisations and roles they play in shaping interaction, and subsequently, opportunities for learning.

Furthermore, the uses of such vocalisations by learners in the L2 classroom should also be studied in order to understand how L2 learners use them and what communicative work they do for teachers in the L2 classroom interaction.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first comprehensive study that takes a multimodal approach in order to incorporate non-verbal resources into the analysis of the uses of a minimal ‘non-lexical’ response token (i.e., ‘Mm hm’). As mentioned earlier, similar vocalisations including the token itself have been subject to analysis in different institutional settings including therapy (e.g., Czyzewski, 1995; Fitzgerald & Leudar, 2010; Muntigl & Zabala, 2008), academic advising sessions (e.g., Guthrie, 1997), as well as in mundane talk (e.g., Gardner, 1997, 2001; Jefferson, 1984; Muller, 1996; Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 1982). Therefore, thanks to the video-recording technology, researchers who are particularly interested in understanding what such vocalisations do in interaction can implement a multimodal analysis on the uses of them in different contexts.

In addition, it is important to understand how ‘universal’ the phenomenon is. As such, more research is needed in different languages in order to understand whether it is something found across other languages.

Last but not least, as this study also adds to the growing body of work on multimodal aspects of interactions, research in other contexts should take care to ensure that the entire multimodal gestalt, body, objects, talk, prosody, are considered, so we can further develop our understanding of how interaction, even in its seemingly minor aspects like ‘non-lexical’ response tokens, is complex and contingent.

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Appendices

Appendix A

ECTS Course Catalogue

Description of Individual Course Units

Course Code	Course Name	Program	Course Content
FIRST YEAR			
YOP 101	Contextual Grammar I	BA	This course aims to promote understanding the relation between language structures and lexical items as well as raising awareness about the attribution of meaning by means of these structures. Within the framework of a context, advanced language structures are analysed so as to establish relations between form and text type. Synthesizing these structures, students produce advanced level texts employing these structures. The course also emphasizes interactive activities such as group and pair work.
YOP 102	Contextual Grammar II	BA	This course is a continuation of Contextual Grammar I. This course leads students to have a critical perspective into the advanced level structures (e.g. word classes, elements of the sentence, types of sentence, sentence fragments etc.) of different types of texts on a contextual level. Building upon analysis and synthesis, students evaluate the most problematic forms of English grammar with guidance in their function and usage using methods such as error analysis or discourse analysis. Besides presenting a descriptive review of the forms and function of advanced English grammar structure, this course encourages students to develop a critical stance toward the use of these structures in various contexts. The course also emphasizes interactive activities such as group and pair work.

Appendix B

Jeffersonian Transcription Conventions

Adapted from Atkinson & Heritage (1984)

Sequential and timing elements of the interaction:

[Beginning point of simultaneous speaking (of two or more people)
]	End point of simultaneous speaking
=	Talk by two speakers which is contiguous (i.e. not overlapping, but with no hearable pause in between)
OR	continuation of the same turn by the same speaker even though the turn is separated in the transcript
(0.2)	The time (in tenths of a second) between utterances
(.)	A micro-pause (one tenth of a second or less)

Paralinguistic elements of interaction:

wo:rd	Sound extension of a word (more colons = longer stretches)
word.	Fall in tone (not necessarily the end of a sentence)
word,	Continuing intonation (not necessarily between clauses)
wor-	An abrupt stop in articulation
word?	Rising inflection (not necessarily a question)
word <u> </u>	(underline) Emphasised word, part of word or sound
WOrd	Capital letters indicate that the speaker spoke the capitalized portion of the utterance at a higher volume than the speaker's normal volume.
word↑	Rising intonation
word↓	Falling intonation
°word°	Talk that is quieter than surrounding talk
hh	Audible out-breaths
.hh	Audible in-breaths
w(hh)ord	Laughter within a word
>word<	Talk that is spoken faster than surrounding talk
<word>	Talk that is spoken slower than surrounding talk
\$word\$	Talk uttered in a 'smile voice'

Other transcription conventions:

(word)	Approximations of what is heard
((comment))	Analyst's notes
S?	Unidentified student
SS	More than one student altogether
	Marks the onset of a non-verbal action (e.g. shift of gaze, pointing)
/word/	Mispronounced word
↓ or ↑	(underline, bold) Marks the type of a head nod (more arrows=more expansive nods)