"Well if we're wrong it's your fault": Negotiating participation in the EFL classroom

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This micro-longitudinal conversation analytic study investigates how a group of 7th grade students in Sweden negotiates participation frameworks in EFL group work. The analysis follows the changes in participation of one student, Emma, during a collaborative vocabulary quiz used to test a homework assignment. At first, Emma's participation in the task is limited and her contributions are questioned by the group members. As the activity progresses, though, Emma increasingly volunteers relevant answers and her coparticipants progressively orient to her as a knowledgeable and legitimate participant. We document the interactional means by which the students in the group enable and restrain participation in the task, and we relate these to the local physical/spatial and organizational affordances of the institutional setting. The study demonstrates how the right to active participation is negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis in and through interaction in the embodied ecology of the language classroom.

1. Introduction

In the institutional setting of language classrooms, collaborative group tasks in which students share a common goal are a frequent pedagogical practice and, as such, constitute an ecologically valid object of study (see for example: Foster & Skehan 1999; Ortega 1999). Prior research in task-based language teaching (TBTL), second language acquisition (SLA), and education in general (Cohen 1994; Council of Europe 2011; Donato 1994; Gass & Mackey 2006; Johnson & Johnson 1999; Long & Porter 1985; Mackey & Polio 2009; Storch 2005, 2008; Swain & Lapkin 2001; Truong & Storch 2007) has shown that collaborative group tasks lead to: (1) more speaking time in the second language; (2) more symmetrical interactional patterns; (3) collaboration and co-construction of knowledge, and (4) increased student autonomy. These elements, in turn, seem to have a positive effect on the students' learning process. In this ethnomethodological, conversation-analytic (EMCA) paper, however, we take a praxeological approach (e.g. Mondada 2016) that is agnostic in terms of the potential linguistic, social, and motivational benefits of specific features of task design. Instead we focus on how group tasks are collaboratively interpreted and interactionally achieved as situated activities on a moment-by-moment basis in the classroom (Kunitz & Skogmyr Marian 2017). Specifically, we track the embodied actions-in-conversation (Schegloff 2007) through which a group of 7th grade EFL students achieves and manages participation in a group task designed to test vocabulary knowledge. Our micro-longitudinal study focuses, in particular, on one student's observable
participation behaviors and shifting participatory roles over a short period of time. This student's active participation in the task increases considerably, albeit not in a linear fashion, under the course of approximately 15 minutes. At the methodological level, our emic approach to data analysis shows what kind of elements might be oriented to and "embodied" into relevance by the participants as they do participation in multiparty institutional settings. Specifically, our analysis will show that the students' level of agency, their epistemic positioning, and the material (physical/spatial) and organizational affordances of the local contextual configurations (Goodwin 2000) are all intertwined in the co-construction of emergent participatory frameworks in the institutional ecology of the classroom. During group work students may take more or less agentive roles that may be warranted or limited by physical/spatial affordances (e.g., proximity to the focal worksheet) and organizational concerns (e.g., the need to make class instruction progress by moving to the next task). At the same time, participation may go hand in hand with the students' epistemic positioning: when engaged in group work, students not only use and display their own subject-relevant competences, but also calibrate their epistemic rights and obligations in relation to their peers' knowledge claims. Finally, our findings have some pedagogical implications concerning the student and teacher management of classroom group work.

2. Literature review

Our work is inspired by three main lines of research within EMCA; that is, research on: (1) participation in multiparty, cooperative environments (Evnitskaya & Berger 2017; Goodwin 2013; Goodwin & Goodwin 2004; Hazel & Mortensen 2017); (2) task-as-workplan versus task-as-activity (Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler 2010; Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Seedhouse 2005)1; and (3) participants' management of epistemic positioning in the classroom (Jakonen & Morton 2015; Melander 2012; Mori & Hasegawa 2009; Sahlström 2011; Sert 2013; Sert & Walsh 2013).

First, research on participation in multiparty, cooperative environments (see point 1 above) adopts a micro-analytical social-behavioral perspective that is inspired by Goodwin and Goodwin's (2004: 22) view of participation as "actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk". This emic perspective on participation focuses on the interactants' embodied orientations to their coparticipants' displays of engagement or disengagement. More specifically, in goal-oriented multiparty activities, participation in the ongoing course of action is achieved through the

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1 The discussion on the discrepancy between tasks-as-work-plans and tasks-as-activities started in the SLA field. See for example: Coughlan and Duff (1994).
co-construction of a shared attention focus that is at the root of collaborative work. Therefore, tracking participation frameworks also involves monitoring the interactants' shifting attention foci during the unfolding accomplishment of the ongoing activity. It is indeed through the interactants’ embodied displays of attentiveness (or lack thereof) that their willingness (or unwillingness) to participate observably emerges (Evnitskaya & Berger 2017; Mortensen 2008; Sert 2013, 2015).

Second, our study is in line with EMCA research that explores how tasks as planned by the teacher are interpreted and implemented by students as situated activities in the classroom (see point 2 above). Findings in this area highlight the situated, interactional, and dynamic nature of classroom activities that often implicate large discrepancies between a teacher's planning and the students' *in situ* task accomplishment (see e.g. Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler 2010; Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Mori 2002; Seedhouse 2004, 2005). Such research is in line with studies on planning as a situated activity, which treat work-plans and instructions as underspecified projections of potential courses of action (Suchman 2007). Research of this kind can be fruitfully employed for teacher training purposes, to prepare teachers for the unpredictability of what might (or might not) happen in the classroom.

The third area that is relevant to our study is research on the management of epistemic rights in the classroom and in other instructional settings (see point 3 above). Indeed, knowledge claims and knowledge displays are a core component of the activities conducted in such institutional settings. Much research in this field has focused on student-teacher interactions (e.g. Koole 2010, 2012; Sert 2013; Sert & Walsh 2013). The studies on peer interactions (Balaman & Sert 2017; Jakonen & Morton 2015; Mori & Hasegawa 2009) show how students continuously monitor each other's epistemic statuses and positionings and draw on each other's knowledge to complete educational tasks in the classroom and online.

Melander (2012) further suggests that it is possible to study participants' learning trajectories through their displays of epistemic positions. More specifically, the author traces the learning trajectory of a six-year-old girl who, together with a group of peers, engages in writing and learning Japanese signs and words in a Swedish pre-school. Throughout the 30-minute-long recording, the girl's local epistemic identity changes from "unknowing" to "knowing". Such process is afforded by constant negotiations of the participants' epistemic positions in the peer group, and physical reconfigurations (e.g., allowing or denying access to material resources).

Taken together, the literature on participation, task-based group work, and the management of epistemic identities in peer interactions points to the importance of empirically investigating how students achieve emergent participatory frameworks and, through these, accomplish group activities in the language classroom. Such literature has focused either on the resources that
are emergently used to achieve participation and task completion, or on longitudinal learning trajectories. The present study combines these approaches by following a student's participation trajectory over time, while also taking into account the situated emergent affordances that hinder or foster participation on a moment-by-moment basis during group work. At the same time, the present study also intends to make a methodological contribution to the field, in that it shows how to conduct a praxeological analysis of evolving participation frameworks in goal-oriented institutional interactions in a systematic and participant-relevant manner.

3. The present study

In what follows, we present the methodological approach of the study (Section 3.1) and then describe the setting and the data that is the object of our analysis (Section 3.2).

3.1 Methodological approach

The analytical procedures adopted in the study are similar to the ones used in the EMCA studies discussed above. That is, we focus on the observable embodied classroom behaviors through which the participants display to each other their practical reasoning (Lindwall & Lymer 2005) and their epistemic stances, statuses, and responsibilities (Heritage 2013; Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig 2011) in order to investigate how the participants, through talk and embodied actions (gestures, eye gaze patterns, artifact use etc.), establish an observable local educational order (Hester & Francis 2000) in the institutional ecology of classroom group work. Specifically, our analytical procedure is inspired by Markee's (2008, 2011) Learning Behavior Tracking (LBT) methodology for studying learning behaviors longitudinally in an emic manner. This methodology implies tracking the occurrence of a learning object in the participants' interactions and analyzing the participants' evolving orientations to such learning object. Instead of tracking learning objects and behaviors, however, we focus on the interactants' evolving participation behaviors during a particular classroom task. In doing so, we aim to monitor the array of emic resources through which interactants achieve (or constrain) participation micro-longitudinally; that is, over a relatively short period of time (see Greer 2016). Our analysis will show that, in the material ecology of the classroom, students achieve emergent and shifting participatory frameworks through the unfolding interplay of epistemic positions, agency, and material and organizational affordances of local contextual configurations (Goodwin 2000, 2013).

The study relies on video recordings of four 7th grade students working on a collaborative task designed to test vocabulary knowledge in a Swedish EFL
classroom. The analysis focuses specifically on the change in participation of one student, Emma, throughout the task accomplishment. Emma was chosen as the focal participant of the analysis because we observed that her participation changed considerably from the beginning of the task to the end, going from a marginal to a leading role (see overview of the task development in Section 4). We therefore wished to further investigate the events and actions leading to this dramatic change. To do this, we document in detail the resources that Emma and her coparticipants orient to and employ to configure and reconfigure participatory frameworks as they accomplish the task. That is, we identify the verbal and embodied means by which Emma and her coparticipants position themselves as more or less knowledgeable and take more or less agentive roles in accomplishing the task. At the same time, we also monitor how these actions are affected by emerging physical configurations (that limit or facilitate access to the joint worksheet, for example) and by the unfolding organization of the classroom instruction.

Overall, the present study contributes to the existing literature on participation in multiparty settings by analyzing how such participation is co-constructed at the micro-level in the institutional environment of the language classroom. The study also exemplifies methodologically how this type of praxeological analysis can contribute to the literature on L2 group work in general. Lastly, our findings lead to some pedagogical implications, which we discuss in the final section of the paper.

3.2 Setting and data

The data were collected in a 7th grade junior high school class in Sweden. The participants were around 13 years old. In the analysis we concentrate on one small group of students: Tim, Emma, Oscar, and Hanna2 (from left to right in Figure 1). The focal participant here is Emma.

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2 All names are pseudonyms; Tim's face is blurred because of limited consent.
The analysis focuses on a picture-naming task that was assigned as a quiz testing classroom-related vocabulary (henceforth, the vocabulary quiz). The targeted vocabulary items, all listed in the homework sheet, were to be studied at home. During the vocabulary quiz, the students were instructed to work in groups of four. Each group received one worksheet, which consisted of a drawing of a classroom with 28 numbered classroom items, such as teacher, pupil, desk, pen, and pencil. The drawing was identical to the drawing on the original homework sheet\(^3\). The students were asked to write the names of as many items as possible below the drawing. Figure 2 displays the answers given by the targeted group of students after the teacher's correction, illustrating also that the group received 27 points out of 28.

The interaction has been transcribed following Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions, with some minor modifications. Idiomatic translations of utterances in Swedish appear below the original talk, in italics. Italics are also used to describe embodied actions. A plus (+) sign marks the co-occurrence of talk and embodied actions. Especially relevant embodied actions are

\(^3\) Unfortunately, because of copyright issues we cannot display the original artifact.
illustrated through Frame Grabs; the time when the Frame Grab is captured is marked with a hashtag (#) sign in the line of talk.

4. Analysis

After examining the vocabulary quiz activity in its entirety, we have selected three excerpts that represent what we consider key moments for the participation trajectory of the focal participant. Figure 3 illustrates the unfolding of the task and indicates the timing of the three excerpts included in the analysis. These excerpts occur at three different phases of the vocabulary quiz: (a) during the main part of the task work (Excerpt 1); (b) during the teacher’s instructions to a second activity – a speaking game (Excerpt 2); and (c) after the start of the speaking game (Excerpt 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Instructions for vocabulary quiz</td>
<td>Instructions not understood by Emma; clarified by Hanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vocabulary quiz</td>
<td>Hanna leads group work; Emma monitors and occasionally contributes to the discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Instructions for speaking game</td>
<td>Teacher interrupts group work to introduce the next task, a speaking game; some groups continue to engage in vocabulary quiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Vocabulary quiz + Speaking game</td>
<td>Schism in the focal group, with participants working either on the vocabulary quiz or on the speaking game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. End of vocabulary quiz</td>
<td>Schism continues. Emma leads the vocabulary quiz work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Overview of the task

At the beginning, Emma displays difficulties with understanding the task instructions provided orally, in English, by the teacher. Hanna clarifies the instructions for Emma and subsequently takes a leading role in the accomplishment of the task. That is, Hanna self-selects as the writer for the group, she maintains the group worksheet in front of her, completes several vocabulary items on her own, and only occasionally refers to her coparticipants for help. Emma's participation is marginal at the beginning. She monitors the task work, and occasionally contributes to the discussion of some vocabulary items. As the task unfolds, however, Emma becomes increasingly involved and agentive in the task. Toward the end, Emma takes a leading role in the completion of the task, both by providing answers orally and by writing them down.

In what follows, we analyze the three excerpts mentioned above. These excerpts represent important turning points for Emma's participation in the task work. In our data-driven, emic, praxeological account of the interactants' emerging accomplishment of participation frameworks, we examine: (1) the
spatial configurations of the group and other organizational aspects (such as the timing of task instructions) that contributed to the emergence of specific participation frameworks and to the shift from one participation framework to another; and (2) the embodied actions that reconfigure the participation frameworks and achieve Emma's more active role in the task completion. Specifically, we analyze the actions through which Emma increases her involvement in the task work and the actions through which her coparticipants enable or restrain Emma's participation (including their responses to Emma's active involvement).

4.1 Emma's first display of strong epistemic stance and agency

Excerpt 1 takes place after the participants have engaged in the identification of the items *pen* and *pencil*, which proved problematic. This discussion eventually leads Hanna to write *pencil* for item 7 on the worksheet, and *pen* for item 8. Since before the beginning of the excerpt, Emma has been leaning to her right, away from Hanna and the worksheet, with her chin resting in her hand, thereby physically distancing herself from the worksheet and displaying disengagement from the ongoing activity. As Hanna identifies item 8 and advances the task to item 9, Emma gazes alternately at Hanna and at the worksheet (not shown here), thus showing some level of engagement. Such engagement, however, is temporary, as indicated by Emma's shift in eye-gaze: in lines 2 and 4 of Excerpt 1.1 she looks at the small toy with which she has been playing since before the excerpt (Frame Grab 1). That is, Emma again physically displays disalignment with the ongoing activity and does not achieve the "collaboratively sustained framework of mutual orientation" (Goodwin & Goodwin 2012: 275) that is essential to conduct group work; in other words, Emma displays unwillingness to participate (see Sert 2013, 2015).

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4 Because of its length, Excerpt 1 has been divided into three parts.
Excerpt 1.1

1. HANNA: nine +is:::.  
   +Emma looks at toy  
2. +#(0.9)  
3. +Emma plays with toy on desk, looking down

HANNA: [eu:::h.   ]
TIM: [can't we o::]ther- ((modulated voice))

HANNA: +writes approx. two letters  
   +[e:ra:: ]
TIM: +[other peo]ple help too ell[er? ] ((modulated voice))
   o[r? ]
EMMA: ["hal][lå:,°]
   [°hel][lo:,°]

HANNA: [  hh] +eh.
TIM: +other peo]ple help too ell[er? ] ((modulated voice))
   o[r? ]
EMMA: +[other peo]ple help too ell[er? ] ((modulated voice))
   o[r? ]

EMMA: [+hal][lå:,°]
   [+hel][lo:,°]

HANNA: [e det] här eraser;  
   [is  ] this eraser;
EMMA: +#>kolla kolla kolla kolla:.<  
   +#>look look look look:.<

HANNA: [e det] här eraser;  
   [is  ] this eraser;
EMMA: +#>kolla kolla kolla kolla:.<  
   +#>look look look look:.<
   +turns worksheet toward herself

OSCAR: +a,  
   +yeah,  
   +starts leaning forward, looking at worksheet

HANNA looks at worksheet
As Hanna displays uncertainty in identifying item 9 (eraser) and in writing the word (see the elongated is::... in line 1, the 0.9 second pause in line 3, the vocalization eu::h in line 5, the incomplete verbal and written production of the word in lines 7 and 8), Tim jokingly (see modulated voice) suggests that the other group members collaborate as well (lines 6 and 9). While still looking down, at the end of Tim's turn in line 9, Emma says hallå: ("hello:.", line 10), possibly in response to Tim's invitation. She then looks up (line 12) and seems to orient to the identification of an item, although it is impossible to determine which item is the focus of her attention since she abandons her turn (eh d. det är- det är e-, "uh d. it's- it's e-", line 14). She stops playing with the toy, however, and raises her body posture while looking at the worksheet (line 15), thus embodiedly displaying a stronger engagement in the joint activity. While Hanna provides the relevant word (eraser, line 17) and then questions its accuracy (line 20), Emma leans forward toward the worksheet (line 18) and turns it toward herself (line 22; Frame Grab 2), as she produces a series of directives (lines 19 and 21) with which she invites her coparticipants to look at the worksheet. Oscar and Hanna indeed relevantly respond to Emma's directives and direct their gaze to the worksheet (lines 24-26; see also Oscar's responsive a, "yeah", in line 23), while Tim bends down under his desk to pick up a paper sheet (see the beginning of his action in line 18). It seems thus that, albeit initially embodiedly distancing herself from the task by leaning away and playing with a toy (see e.g. lines 2 and 4), Emma has been quietly monitoring the task development and, at a moment where her coparticipants display uncertainty (Hanna) and explicitly invite collaboration (Tim), she decides to intervene.
After having mobilized the group's attention, Emma announces that the items should be ordered the other way around on the worksheet (line 27, Excerpt 1.2). Specifically, she points at the words *pencil* (line 31) and *pen* (line 34) and claims that they have been interchanged (lines 30 and 33). With these actions, which clearly perform an exposed correction of the answers previously provided by her coparticipants, Emma openly challenges Hanna's epistemic authority, since it was Hanna who had ultimately written the words as they currently appear on the worksheet. While Emma is performing such actions, in a rather competitive overlap, Tim again explicitly suggests a change in the participation framework, by proposing that they let Emma and Oscar participate (lines 28-29 and 32). The timing of his proposal (which effectively competes with Emma's participation in the ongoing activity), together with the modulated voice quality of his turn, might however suggest that his proposal is not serious.
Hanna responds to Emma's challenge by holding up a pencil and asking Emma to confirm that the object that she is holding is a pen (*det här är väl en pen?*, approx. "this is a pen right?", lines 35-36; Frame Grab 3). By doing so, Hanna visibly demonstrates the grounds (i.e., the physical object she is holding) that account for what she wrote (i.e., *pen*), while orienting to Emma as a possibly knowledgeable participant who could confirm Hanna's practical reasoning. With her turn, however, Hanna also seems to resist Emma's challenge. That is, instead of providing a straightforward acceptance of Emma's reversed identification of the two items, Hanna insists on the grounds that led her to identify item 8 as a *pen*. Moreover, Hanna's turn projects an affirmative response and thus a confirmation of Hanna's knowledge claims.

Before answering Hanna, Emma looks down at the worksheet (line 38). She rejects Hanna's reasoning with a straightforward *no* (line 39). Tim aligns with Emma's rejection by identifying the item as a pencil (line 40). In overlap with Tim, Emma immediately provides an account for her rejection: she remembers the order of the items when she read them on the homework sheet (lines 39 and 42). As she invokes her prior learning experience, Emma points to the two words on the worksheet and looks up at Hanna (line 41). In her account, then, Emma adopts a different line of reasoning. That is, instead of matching real-world objects with their names in English (following Hanna and Tim's line of reasoning), Emma invokes her memorization of the word order in the homework sheet as the grounds for providing accurate answers in the vocabulary quiz.

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5 As mentioned in Section 3.2 above, the drawing with classroom items in the vocabulary quiz is identical to that in the homework sheet, with an identical numbering of the items.
Excerpt 1.3

42 EMMA: =+när jag läste det.
...when I read it.
/+Hanna turns worksheet toward herself and takes eraser

44 OSCAR: °whatta?°
/+turns to Emma

46 +(0.3)
/+Hanna starts erasing “pen” and “pencil”

48 OSCAR: +smiles
+a:ha:, .hh [hhe hhe ]
+h:ha:, .hh [hhe hhe ]

50 EMMA: [>jag läste det innan<]
[>I read it before<]

51 [>jag kommer ihåg att det var den<]
[>i remember that is was that<]

52 TIM: [EY EY EY EY EY]

53 EMMA: +>ordningen.<
+/order.<
/+Tim pulls out Emma's worksheet from under book

55 HANNA: [>då ( )]<
[>then ( )]<

56 TIM: [+vi har fusk ] här.
+[we have cheating] here.
/+looks at Hanna

58 (0.2)

>but< [i put it underneath] right.

60 OSCAR: [det e ju fusk! ]
[that’s cheating! ]

61 +(0.7)
/+Emma covers homework sheet with book and pen case

62 TIM: .h +shshshshsh
/+looks at Hanna, makes hushing sign, smiles

64

65 HANNA: [+heh hah, ]

66 EMMA: [+jag hade lagt] den så:. man ser inte den.
+[i had put ] it like that:. you can’t see it.
/+Tim laughs silently

67 (0.5)

68 HANNA: +hh ◦okay.◦
/+starts writing

69 TIM: +shshshsh
/+makes hushing sign; smiles

71

73 HANNA: ◦asså om vi har fel e det ditt fel ◦[emma. ]
◦well if we are wrong it’s your fault ◦[emma. ]

74 OSCAR: [ja:a, ]
[ye:es,]

75 EMMA: M[:EH! hhh ]
B[:UT! hhh ]

76 OSCAR: [det är det.]
[it is. ]
In response to Emma's account, Hanna turns the worksheet toward herself, grabs an eraser (line 43, Excerpt 1.3) and starts erasing the words pen and pencil (line 47; see Figure 4, in which the deletion of pencil for item 7 is clearly visible). By doing so, Hanna accepts Emma's correction of the previously ratified solution, which is supported by two different lines of reasoning: Emma's memorization of the items and Tim's recognition of the material object that Hanna was holding as a pencil. Oscar, however, turns to Emma (line 45) and initiates repair (whatta?, line 44) on Emma's account. Then, as he smiles (line 48), he produces a:ha:, ("o:h:;"), immediately followed by laughter tokens (line 49); with the actions of smiling and laughing Oscar may further indicate his orientation to the problematic nature of Emma's account (for the use of smiles and laughter in the face of interactional trouble, see Petitjean & González Martínez 2015; Sert & Jacknick 2015). Indeed, his actions are interpreted by Emma as a possible challenge to her account, which she then repeats (lines 50-51 and 53). She thus insists in invoking her prior learning experience as a relevant support to her claims of epistemic primacy.

At this point, however, Tim launches an accusation sequence against Emma: he summons his coparticipants' attention with a loud EY EY EY EY EY (line 52), as he pulls out Emma's homework sheet, which is complete with all the answers and lies covered by a book and a pen case on her desk (line 54). Tim then, in overlap with Hanna's inaudible turn in line 55, announces that there is evidence of cheating, and looks at Hanna (lines 56-57). Oscar aligns with Tim's accusation against Emma (line 60), as Emma rejects it by specifying that she had put the homework sheet underneath the other objects (line 59); that is, she has no visible access to the correct answers. Emma then puts back the homework sheet under the book and pen case (line 62). In line 63, Tim invites hush as he looks at Hanna (line 64). Hanna and Tim start laughing (lines 65 and 67), as Emma continues her self-defense by reinstating that she had covered the sheet so that it was not possible to see it (line 66).

After a short pause (line 68), Hanna starts writing and says okay with a smiley voice (line 69). Whereas Hanna's verbal action may refer both to Emma's identification of the items pen and pencil and to her self-defense against the cheating accusations, the action of writing displays acceptance of Emma's solution to the item identification problem (see Figure 4 for the final version of items 7 and 8, which reflects Emma's correction). Hanna adds, however, that if they are wrong, it is Emma's fault (line 73). Hanna therefore holds Emma accountable for her solution, even though Hanna's statement is mitigated by the smiley voice with which she produces her turn. Oscar aligns with Hanna
(ja:a, det är det., "yea:h, it is.", lines 74, 76), whereby Emma responds with a loud protest: M:EH! ("B:UT!", line 75).

To sum up, six observations about Emma can be made in relation to Excerpt 1. That is: 1) Emma takes the floor when the current activity seems to be temporarily stalling due to a coparticipant's uncertainty and when another coparticipant invites the participation of others (whether jokingly or not); 2) she interrupts the progressivity of the task in order to mobilize her coparticipants' attention to items that had already been ratified in writing and at a point where the participants had already focused on the next item; 3) she challenges a coparticipant's item identification and thereby the coparticipant's epistemic authority; 4) she straightforwardly rejects a coparticipant's grounds for an answer; 5) she invokes her own epistemic authority and legitimate participation in providing accurate answers on the basis of a prior learning experience; and 6) she resists her coparticipants' (possibly joking) cheating accusations and invocations of accountability.

It thus seems that Emma monitors the ongoing activity and intervenes at a time when the affordances for participation are quite felicitous, in that Hanna has just displayed uncertainty and Tim explicitly suggests more collaboration in the task completion. At the same time, since Emma is physically distanced from the worksheet and is initially disengaged from the task, she needs to accomplish considerable embodied and verbal interactional work to mobilize her coparticipants' attention and to have access to the actual task. Emma then displays strong agency and epistemic positioning by shifting the coparticipants' focus of attention and challenging a previously ratified solution on the basis of her own homework learning experience. Her coparticipants, though, show resistance to Emma's knowledge claims. If they de facto accept Emma's alternative solution, they nevertheless display resistance to Emma's epistemic authority and increased participation by accusing her of cheating and by holding her responsible for any errors. These socially dispreferred actions are however done jokingly, perhaps to maintain social solidarity in the group (see Sert & Jacknick 2015).

4.2 Hanna's solicitation of help from Emma during speaking game instructions

The second excerpt takes place as the teacher introduces the next activity, a speaking game called "the talk-about-game", which the groups are supposed to do once they have finished the vocabulary quiz. Shortly before this, Emma took part for the first time as a writer in the vocabulary quiz by completing the spelling of items 11-13. Hanna nevertheless serves as the effective leader of the task and, at the start of Excerpt 2, she has the worksheet in front of her. In lines 3, 8, and 11, the teacher starts giving the instructions for the speaking game.
Excerpt 2

1. HANNA: +looks down at worksheet
2. +e::[:h]
3. TEACH: [so] we’re going to [warm up a bit now.]
4. HANNA: [without:::
5. (0.2)
6. TIM: [( )]
7. HANNA: [even][thinking.]
8. TEACH: [and we’re going] to do [the]
9. TIM: [( )]
10. (.)
11. TEACH: talkabout +[game.]
12. HANNA: +(v)ard e: [linearade papper?
13. +[(wh)a:t i:]. linear papers?
14. +looks up
15. +(3.3)
16. +Hanna looks down; starts writing
17. +Teacher holds hand in “stop sign” shape, then shows game board
18. (0.3)
19. TIM: +what?*
20. TEACH: +you have to have some little thing to move around with.
21. HANNA: +“hur skriver man #linearade papper?”
22. +“how do you write #linear papers?”
23. +stops writing; leans slightly toward Emma; Emma looks forward
24. (0.4)
25. HANNA: +“emma.”
26. +leans toward and looks at Emma
27. (0.9)
28. HANNA: +“emma”
29. +Emma looks at Hanna and nods
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30 TEACH: +shows starting point on game board
31 +and you [start here everyo:ne,]
32 HANNA: [+linjerade [papper?+]  
33 TIM: [+linear [papers?+]  
34 TIM: +**( )**  
35 +Tim looks toward teacher; Emma looks up; thinking face

HANNA: [+linjerade [papper?]]

36 HANNA? [+**( )**]
37 TEACH: [and then] +you
38 +Emma looks down and reaches hand toward Hanna
39 throw the] die and
40 EMMA: [+**( )**]

41 TEACH: [see where you end up.]
42 HANNA: [+hur fan stavade man?+]  
43 [how the hell was it spelled?]
44 TEACH: +Hanna hands pencil and worksheet to Emma
45 HANNA: [+if you get three, [you end up here where it]
46 TEACH: says talk about your (1.2) old school for one minute.
47 +1.0)
48 +Emma takes out an eraser from pen case

(23 lines omitted: Emma erases something, then starts writing)

72 +Hanna looks at Emma; Emma still writes
73 FRIDA: +[or do you]
74 TEACH: +[no you’re] going to [sit in (the) group.]
75 HANNA: [+okej du kan ] skriva resten
76 emma du som är så duktig.
emma you who are so good/skillful.

Figure 5: Emma’s writing of items 16 and 17.

In partial overlap with the teacher’s turn in line 11, Hanna, who has been looking down at the worksheet (line 1) and has seemingly been talking to herself (lines 2, 4 and 7), looks up and asks (v)a:d e: linjerade papper? (“(wh)a:t i:s linear papers?”, lines 12-13). It is impossible to determine whether
Hanna is looking specifically at one coparticipant, thereby selecting him/her as next speaker. In any case, she does not wait for a response from her coparticipants: she immediately turns her gaze down to the worksheet and starts writing (line 15). At the same time, the teacher holds her hand up in the shape of a stop sign to hush the students and shows them the board of the next task, i.e. the speaking game (lines 16-17). As the teacher instructs the students to move their tokens on the game board (lines 20-21), Hanna stops writing, leans with her torso slightly toward Emma (line 23; Frame Grab 1) and directs a question to her in low volume: *hur skriver man linjerade papper?* ("how do you write linear papers?", line 22). The question is formulated in Swedish and addresses a writing problem with the word *linjerade papper*; however, since the task consists in identifying the accurate English words corresponding to the selected items, we take Hanna's question as targeting her lack of knowledge of the English word for Swedish *linjerade papper* and of the spelling of this English word. Emma, though, displays no observable sign of having noticed Hanna's question; instead, she maintains her gaze directed at the teacher (line 23; Frame Grab 1) and seems to orient to the teacher's instructions. Finally, at Hanna's second summons in line 28 (see first summons in line 25), Emma directs her gaze to Hanna and nods (line 29; Frame Grab 2). As indicated by the coparticipants' gazes in Frame Grab 2 (line 29) and Frame Grab 3 (line 35), Tim and Oscar orient to the teacher, as they have done throughout most of the excerpt. Tim's inaudible turns in lines 33-34 do not seem to be directed to any of his coparticipants.

In partial overlap with the teacher's instructions (line 31), Hanna directs *linjerade papper?* ("linear papers", line 32) with a question intonation to Emma. Emma responds with a thinking face (line 35; Frame Grab 3), thereby showing uncertainty in producing an answer. Then, as the teacher continues with the game instructions (lines 37, 39 and 41), Emma looks down, reaches her hand toward Hanna (line 38) and utters something short and inaudible (line 40). Although it is not possible to determine what her verbal action does, it is clear that, with her hand movement, Emma requests access to the pencil and the worksheet. Overall, Emma's actions suggest that she now has the answer to Hanna's question and is ready to comply with Hanna's request for help by writing the accurate spelling of the targeted words. Hanna then explicitly reformulates the question as a spelling problem (line 42) and hands the pencil and worksheet to Emma (line 43). Hanna's turn in line 45 (typ samma ( ), "kinda the same ( )") seems to provide a hint to Emma by suggesting that the English word is similar to its Swedish equivalent.

From now on, Hanna will orient to the teacher's instructions (line 46). Emma, on the other hand, opens her pen case and takes out an eraser (line 48); she erases something on the worksheet, possibly Hanna's candidate translation of *linear papers*; finally, she starts writing (see omitted lines). As the teacher completes her clarifications of the task instructions, Hanna looks at Emma,
who is still writing (line 72), and grants Emma permission to complete the quiz based on her displayed skills as a writer/speller (okej du kan skriva resten emma du som är så duktig, "okay you can write the rest emma you who are so good/skillful", lines 75-76). However, Emma hands the worksheet back to Hanna, after writing linear papers and squared papers (Figure 5).

In Excerpt 2, Emma's active participation in the task is solicited by a coparticipant. In fact, Hanna goes through considerable interactional work to mobilize Emma's attention and help, instead of turning to the other coparticipants who are physically closer and therefore more accessible than Emma. Emma is thus oriented to by Hanna as a knowledgeable coparticipant who might effectively and competently contribute to the completion of the task. In the end, Hanna even verbally upgrades Emma's role as the appointed writer of the group for the remainder of the quiz. It seems therefore that Emma's prior knowledge displays (see her challenge to the answer provided by her coparticipants in Excerpt 1 and her contribution to the task by completing the spelling of three words prior to Excerpt 2) have given her an upgraded epistemic status in the group. In contrast to Excerpt 1, where Emma had to accomplish a number of first actions in order to actively participate in the task, here Emma's participation is responsive to Hanna's invitation. Nevertheless, Emma is quite agentive, in that she reaches for the pencil and the worksheet, thereby displaying her interpretation of Hanna's request as a request to write the words on the worksheet, rather than to spell the words aloud. Note also that Emma's interpretation might be related to the fact that the teacher is still engaged in providing instructions for the speaking game: spelling words aloud would be difficult in this context.

Emma's changed epistemic position and participation in the task in Excerpt 2 may also be related to its timing. The excerpt takes place relatively late in the vocabulary quiz, at a time when Emma has already demonstrated her strong epistemic status in providing relevant help in the task. At the same time, these events also take place as the teacher has shifted focus to the next activity, the speaking game. In fact, besides Hanna, who has the vocabulary quiz worksheet in front of her when the teacher initiates her instructions for the speaking game, the remaining group members attend to the teacher as she explains the game. There is thus limited competition from Emma's coparticipants when Hanna produces a request for help. Once the game instructions are clear, Hanna puts Emma in charge of the vocabulary quiz, while Hanna self-selects as the first player of the speaking game as soon as the teacher hands over the game board to the group. It then appears that, in terms of the overall organization of the activity, the timing of this episode offers affordances for participation that are different from the ones provided before, when all the participants focused on the vocabulary quiz.
4.3  Emma’s continued display of epistemic authority and agency

After Excerpt 2, Emma rejects Hanna’s invitation to continue writing and returns the worksheet to Hanna. Hanna identifies and writes down the name of one item without consulting her coparticipants. Then, after self-selecting as the first player in the speaking game, she hands over the vocabulary quiz worksheet to Tim. As Tim encounters some difficulties with items 20 and 22, Emma helps identifying these items and Tim writes them down. Excerpt 3 picks up the talk as Emma, while leaning her upper body toward Tim and the worksheet, orients to the identification of item 23 (lines 1-2; Frame Grab 1). Hanna and Oscar, in the meantime, are engaged in playing the speaking game (see lines 4-5).

Excerpt 3

1 EMMA: +#vad e det sen då tjutre:¿
   +#what’s next then twenty-three:¿
   +leans over toward Tim and worksheet

2 +FG1
3 +det e s: sta:-
   +it’s s: sta:-
   +Oscar moves token on the board game

4 HANNA: ne:j motha-fucka::=
   no: motha-fucka::=
   +Hanna reaches out and throws die to Tim

5 EMMA: =+det å:r (.) p/e/[n/ʃ/.
   =+it i:s (.) p/e/[n/ʃ/.
   OSCAR: [>det e tim.<]
   [>it’s tim.<]

6 EMMA:  [>pun/ʃ/.[er.<]

7 OSCAR:  [<ti] [+m!>]

8 TIM:       [+ pu]n/[ʃ/.

9 EMMA:       +Tim starts writing

10 TIM:       whade:::

11 HANNA:     tim +spela!=
   tim +play!=
   +Tim stops writing; keeps pencil over worksheet; looks down

12 EMMA:       +reaches out and takes pencil from Tim’s hand

14 OSCAR:       [<tim!>]

15 HANNA:     tim +spela!=
   tim +play!=
   +Tim stops writing; keeps pencil over worksheet; looks down

16 EMMA:       +reaches out and takes pencil from Tim’s hand

18 OSCAR:       [<tim!>]

19 OSCAR:       [<tim!>]

20 TIM:       whade:::

21 HANNA:     tim +spela!=
   tim +play!=
   +Tim stops writing; keeps pencil over worksheet; looks down

23 EMMA:       +reaches out and takes pencil from Tim’s hand

[Image 142x413 to 372x527]
EMMA: +Emma takes worksheet from Tim
+titta här. [kolla.] +look here. [look.]


TIM: +a:: okay let me play. +yea::h okay let me play.
+takes up the die

+\(0.5\) +Tim throws the die; Emma gets ready to write

+\(0.3\) +Emma draws a line over “-er” in “puncher”

Figure 6: Emma's correction of Tim's writing

Immediately after orienting to item 23 (line 1) Emma starts identifying it, but cuts off what we take as the word stapler (det e s: sta:-, "it's s: sta:-", line 3), which is item number 24. She then self-repairs and identifies item number 23 as p\(e/n\)/ (line 7); i.e., the word punch pronounced with Swedish-like phonetics. In line 9, Emma repeats the word and repairs her pronunciation of the vowel by pronouncing it as /\(ʌ\)/. Meanwhile, Hanna and Oscar try to engage Tim in the speaking game (lines 6, 8, and 11). However, Tim keeps orienting to the quiz. So, in partial overlap with Emma’s turn in line 9, he says pun//er. (line 10), which is then repaired by Emma with the recast pun/// (line 12). Tim starts writing (line 13), but stops (line 16) as Hanna invites him to play the game (line 15). At this point, Emma reaches out and takes Tim's pencil from his hand (line 17), as she does an exposed correction directed at Tim's writing by saying nej inte puncher. ("no: not puncher", line 18). She then takes the worksheet from Tim (line 20) and directs him to look (line 21). But Tim, further solicited by Oscar (line 19) and Hanna (line 22), finally joins them in playing the speaking game. As Tim orients to the game (lines 23-24), Emma gets ready to ratify her oral correction in writing (line 26; Frame Grab 2), which she does by drawing a line over –er in puncher (line 28). Figure 6 shows Emma’s written correction.

To sum up, in Excerpt 3 Emma: 1) advances the activity by introducing the next item on the list; 2) identifies the name of the item; 3) self-repairs her own
pronunciation of the word; 4) orally corrects (first through a recast and then through an exposed correction) her coparticipants' incorrect answer without any display of uncertainty; 5) claims physical access to the worksheet and pencil without prior offer or request for help from the coparticipants; and 6) ratifies in writing her oral correction. In other words, with her embodied actions Emma demonstrates both strong agency and strong epistemic stance. In terms of the coparticipants' responses to Emma's displays of agency and knowledge, the analysis has illustrated that, when Emma claims physical access to the worksheet to correct Tim's writing, Tim grants Emma's active participation without resistance. The other participants do not ostensibly attend to any of Emma's corrective actions.

As for the organizational affordances for participation, similarly to Excerpt 2 when Hanna requested help from Emma while the other coparticipants were orienting to the teacher's instructions, here Hanna and Oscar, later joined by Tim, are engaged in another task, thereby leaving Emma in charge of completing the vocabulary quiz. The affordances for participation offered to Emma here are therefore greater than in the cases where all participants orient to the vocabulary quiz. In other words, Emma does not have to compete for her rights to knowledgeably participate in the task (unlike what occurred in Excerpt 1). Moreover, the physical affordances for participation are also different in Excerpt 3 from before. Specifically, the writer is now Tim, who is sitting next to Emma. This change in participatory roles results in a decreased physical distance between Emma and the worksheet as compared to the phase when Hanna had the worksheet. The physical proximity gives Emma the possibility to better see the items on the picture and the writer's actions, and to correct the writer's errors.

4.4 Completion of the task

After correcting Tim's writing of punch, Emma, without consulting the coparticipants, identifies and writes down the remaining five items in the vocabulary quiz. Once she is done writing, she engages in the speaking game. Tim briefly looks at the worksheet before putting it away, after which he also orients to the game.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In this study, we have investigated the in situ achievement of an EFL group task from a micro-longitudinal EMCA perspective. In contrast to prior research within the fields of TBLT, SLA, and education (e.g. Cohen 1994; Council of Europe 2011; Donato 1994; Gass & Mackey 2006; Johnson & Johnson 1999; Long & Porter 1985; Mackey & Polio 2009; Storch 2005, 2008; Swain & Lapkin 2001; Truong & Storch 2007), we have not focused on the linguistic, social or motivational benefits that the completion of the targeted task might have
brought. Instead, we have analyzed the participation frameworks that emerged from the students' talk-in-interaction throughout the task accomplishment. In line with our goal of demonstrating how it is methodologically possible to track emergent participatory frameworks longitudinally through an emic, social-behavioral perspective, this section discusses the main points of the analysis with a particular focus on the analytical procedures used in the study.

Inspired by conversation analytic work on learning behaviors and trajectories (Markee 2008, 2011; Melander 2012), our study has tracked the participation trajectory of a focal participant as it unfolded throughout a specific classroom activity. The empirical and emic analysis of the data has shown that participation frameworks are constituted in situ through the lamination of various elements in shifting contextual configurations (Goodwin 2000). More specifically, such elements are: (1) the participants' epistemic stances and their orientations to such stances (see also Melander 2012); (2) the embodied actions through which the focal participant achieves different levels of participation and engagement with the task; (3) the embodied actions through which Emma's coparticipants enable and constrain her participation; and (4) the physical/spatial and organizational configurations of the institutional context to which the participants orient.

As we have seen in the analysis, Emma achieves active participation through a variety of actions. That is, she interrupts the ongoing activity by summoning the coparticipants and redirecting their attention to a previously ratified answer (Excerpt 1); she challenges a coparticipant's answer and gives grounds for her rejection of it (Excerpt 1); she complies with a coparticipant's request for help (Excerpt 2); she advances the activity by topicalizing the next item and identifying it without being prompted (Excerpt 3); she takes physical control of the task artifacts (Excerpt 3); and she corrects a coparticipant's answers orally and in writing (Excerpt 3).

With these actions, Emma has displayed various degrees of agency and epistemic authority. In both Excerpt 1 and 3, Emma's actions consist primarily of sequence-initiating actions. That is, in correcting a coparticipant's answer and challenging her epistemic authority (Excerpt 1) and in introducing an item, claiming physical access to the worksheet and correcting orally and in writing her coparticipant's answer (Excerpt 3), Emma produces first actions that display great initiative and thus strong agency. In Excerpt 2, on the other hand, Emma achieves participation upon Hanna's request for help; that is, Emma's engagement with the task is solicited by a coparticipant and is responsive to such solicitation. By volunteering to write, Emma nevertheless displays agency in advancing the progressivity of the task.

In line with Mori and Hasegawa (2009) and Jakonen and Morton (2015), we have argued that Emma's coparticipants (and Hanna in particular) may have monitored Emma's epistemic positioning throughout her involvement with the task-so-far. Specifically, in Excerpt 1, Emma observably demonstrates that she
has studied the vocabulary items that were assigned as homework and that she can contribute effectively to the task; so, in Excerpt 2, Hanna treats Emma as a potentially knowledgeable participant and solicits her help to solve a task problem. There is thus an interplay between Emma's early displays of agency and knowledge and her later involvement as a legitimate participant in the task, whose participatory role is increasingly recognized by her coparticipants.

Indeed, the coparticipants' stance toward Emma's role in the task changes over time. In Excerpt 1 the coparticipants question Emma's legitimate participation through (joking) accusations and invocations of accountability as well as resistance against her correction of a previously ratified solution. In Excerpt 2, on the other hand, Emma's participation is solicited and she is appointed as the writer of the group, while in Excerpt 3 Emma's initiative is uncontested. As mentioned above, the change in the coparticipants' responses to Emma's active involvement and their attempt at soliciting her participation may be explained in part by Emma's emerging displays of knowledge. However, the evolving local physical and organizational affordances of the institutional ecology of the classroom also play a role. Specifically, the teacher's management of the lesson, including her decision to provide the instructions for the second task while some groups were still working on the first one, created a schism in the targeted group, with two students (Hanna and Oscar) immediately orienting to the new task, while the other two (Emma and Tim) kept trying to complete the first one. Furthermore, the spatial configurations of the shifting participation frameworks affected visual and physical access to the worksheet.

More in detail, in Excerpt 1 Emma is physically distanced from the shared worksheet, since it lies in front of Hanna who is sitting across from Emma. At the same time, all the participants are focusing on the vocabulary quiz, a task in which Emma has been participating only marginally at first. Consequently, Emma needs to accomplish considerable interactional embodied work (repeated summons, leaning etc.) to gain physical access to the worksheet and to more actively contribute to the task work as a legitimate participant. In contrast, in Excerpt 2 Emma's participation is not only solicited by Hanna; there is also limited room for the coparticipants to intervene and compete for the floor because of the teacher's ongoing instructions for the speaking game. As mentioned above, the instructions project a new course of action and effectively divert the attention of some participants from the ongoing task. Finally, in Excerpt 3, the physical and organizational configurations are largely different from before. Emma's active participation appears facilitated by the fact that the worksheet is now in front of Tim, who is sitting next to her. Moreover, the participants orient to different attention foci; that is, the board of the speaking game and the worksheet of the vocabulary quiz. The lack of participants' responses to Emma's actions can be observably interpreted in light of this attentional and interactional schism.
In sum, the analysis has illustrated the interplay between the interactional means through which students display agency and negotiate epistemic positions and statuses, and the spatial/physical and organizational affordances that are locally constituted in the institutional context of the classroom. More precisely, it is the lamination of all these elements that shapes the evolving participation frameworks during group work. Methodologically speaking, the interplay of these resources has emically emerged from the data. That is, in line with our EMCA approach, we did not set out to demonstrate the existence of such interplay. Nevertheless, in providing some insights on the spatial constellations of group work, on the overall organization of classroom activities, and on their impact on the students' task engagement, our findings suggest that the spatial and physical configurations of the participants and the timing of different classroom activities are integral to the interactional architecture of the language classroom and are likely to be relevant for the analysis of evolving participation frameworks. As such, they should not be overlooked in multimodal classroom-based research.

5.1 Pedagogical implications

Our study, albeit limited in its scope to a single case, also suggests some pedagogical implications that aim to foster students' active participation. First, to allow for more varied participation configurations and to foster equal participation from all students, teachers may want to take different measures to control and alternate the distribution of task roles in group work. This could happen through, for example, teacher-assigned leader roles whereby students alternate leading roles within the same group. Seating arrangements can also be changed regularly within the same groups to avoid that spatial configurations of the classroom systematically restrain participation. Changing groups so that students can work with other classmates may finally help avoiding "fossilized" participation configurations.

Second, our findings underline the importance for teachers to reflect critically on how they time and give instructions for different classroom activities. Here, the teacher chose to introduce the next activity to the whole class without waiting for all groups to complete the first task. As seen in the analysis, this resulted in a schism in our focal group, which eventually led to only one student completing the task on behalf of the whole group. As an alternative, the teacher could have given the instructions for the second task to one group at a time, as soon as each group had finished the first activity.

Third, it seems that a possible way to enhance individual students' affordances for participation in group work is to teach them how to effectively support their knowledge claims about task matters, as Emma does in Excerpt 1. More specifically, in learning how to provide grounds for opinions and epistemic claims (in either the L1 or the L2), instead of merely stating their position,
students may be better equipped to increase the legitimacy of their active involvement and enhance their individual rights to participate in the accomplishment of the task.

Ultimately, our theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical observations in this paper converge in a view of group task participation as being dynamically co-constructed through the interactive work (vocal, embodied) of active agents in a situated ecology of material and organizational resources that are afforded by the institutional setting of the classroom. Such co-construction is observable and scrutinizable through micro-level (longitudinal) analysis. The findings of such analysis contribute to our understanding of the organization of participation in classroom tasks and may relevantly be used for teacher-training purposes.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Appendix: transcription conventions

[ ] Point of overlap onset
] End of overlap
= No break or gap
(0.2) Pause of two tenths of a second
(1.0) Pause of one second
(.) Pause of approximately ten milliseconds
_ (Underlining): Marked stress/emphasis
:: Sound elongation (one colon equals ten milliseconds)
↑ High pitch
↓ Low pitch
! Strong emphasis, falling intonation
. Falling intonation
, Low-rising intonation, suggesting continuation
¿ Slightly rising intonation
? Rising intonation
- Abrupt cut-off
CAP Talk in especially loud volume
SMALL CAP Talk in loud volume
lower case Normal conversational volume
*utterance* Lower volume than surrounding talk
**utterance** Whisper
.hhh In-drawn breath
hhh Hearable aspiration or laughter token
(h) Laughter token within words
>word< Speeded up delivery
<word> Slowed down delivery
( ) Unintelligible talk
((comment)) Verbal description of actions or voice quality
/symbol/ Phonetic transcription (IPA)
→ Dashed arrow in Frame Grab indicates eye gaze direction
Italics English translations of Swedish talk / description of embodied actions
+ Indicates the start of embodied actions in relation to talk
# Indicates the timing of a Frame Grab in relation to talk