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# Embodied responses in a guessing game: A continuum of emotional intensity

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Questo studio analitico-conversazionale esplora il modo in cui tre gruppi di studenti liceali di spagnolo come lingua straniera svolgono un compito chiamato "sciarada". In particolare, il presente contributo esamina come i partecipanti portano progressivamente a termine il compito attraverso l'uso di varie risorse semiotiche. Nella sciarada, ogni gruppo di studenti riceve un mazzo di cartoncini, ciascuno con una frase in spagnolo. Gli studenti, a turno, scelgono un cartoncino e ne mimano la frase, in modo da farla indovinare ai compagni. La ricerca qui presentata si concentra su come i partecipanti rispondono alle soluzioni proposte e, più in generale, all'interpretazione del compito adottata dai compagni. In particolare, l'analisi mostra come l'accettazione e il rifiuto delle ipotesi dei partecipanti e delle loro interpretazioni si realizzano con diverse configurazioni di risorse linguistiche, prosodiche e gestuali, configurazioni distribuite lungo un continuum di intensità emotiva. Questa ricerca contribuisce allo studio dell'insegnamento basato sui compiti (*task-based instruction*) nel campo dell'analisi della conversazione applicata all'insegnamento delle lingue seconde attraverso l'analisi del ruolo delle emozioni esibite dai partecipanti nella realizzazione di compiti intesi come attività (*tasks-as-activities*).

## **Parole chiave:**

analisi della conversazione, emozioni in interazione, multimodalità, progressività, sequenzialità, spagnolo L2.

## **Keywords:**

conversation analysis, emotions in interaction, multimodality, progressivity, sequentiality, L2 Spanish.

## **1. Introduction**

This ethnomethodological (EM; Garfinkel 1967), conversation analytic (CA; Sidnell & Stivers 2013) study explores how groups of students of Spanish as a foreign language (SFL) accomplish a task called "charade" in a year 9 class in Sweden. The students received a set of cards, each reproducing a sentence in Spanish. They were instructed to take turns in picking one card and miming the sentence written on it, so that their group members could guess it. The data show how students assess their group members' guesses and their interpretation of the game. Specifically, we focus on the students' response to the coparticipants' actions as they use a range of multimodal resources and occasionally produce embodied displays of emotions in order to progress

through the task.

At the theoretical and methodological level, this study is framed within EMCA research in the field of second language studies (also known as CA-SLA; see Kasper & Wagner 2011). Specifically, our study is in line with CA-SLA research on the implementation of task-based instruction, a pedagogical approach that aims to engage students in meaningful interaction in order to foster their second language (L2) skills (Long 2015). What characterizes this research strand is an interest for the endogenous organization of tasks-as-activities (Coughlan & Duff 1994) or tasks-in-progress (Breen 1989) versus tasks-as-workplans (see Seedhouse 2005: 533 on the "split personality" of tasks). In other words, the goal is to adopt an emic perspective (Markee 2013) and focus on what students actually do as they accomplish teacher-assigned tasks which are implemented on the basis of the students' interpretation of task instructions. Such interpretation is locally organized, situated, and co-constructed by the participants (Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler 2010; see also Kunitz 2015; Lee & Burch 2017; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler 2004; Mori 2002; Sert & Balaman 2018).

CA-SLA studies so far have explored the organization of and the resources for task accomplishment, as students navigate complex material ecologies (Kääntä & Piirainen-Marsh 2013; Musk 2016), manage epistemic issues (Balaman 2019; Kunitz 2018a; Kunitz & Skogmyr Marian 2017), and negotiate their rights to more or less agentic participation in the task-in-progress (Skogmyr Marian & Kunitz 2017). In all these studies multimodality takes center stage, in that task accomplishment is analyzed as it unfolds in specific material settings that provide students with different affordances for participation (e.g., determined by their spatial disposition, physical access to worksheets or keyboards, etc.). At the same time, detailed analyses of students' embodied behaviors (e.g., eye-gaze movements, hand-gestures, etc.) are provided as they are essential to the researchers' understanding of how the task is locally implemented *in situ*, in and through interaction.

The present study contributes to CA-SLA research on task-based instruction in two ways. First, while analyzing the multimodal (i.e., linguistic and embodied) resources that students mobilize in the accomplishment of a charade game, we focus on the role of embodied displays of emotion, which become manifest through facial expressions, more or less theatrical hand-gestures, and exaggerated prosody. To our knowledge, in fact, emotions are scarcely explored in CA-SLA research on L2 classroom interaction. Second, the study addresses the under-representation of interactions in Romance languages within the field of multimodal CA (Ursi & Piccoli, this issue) by working on an SFL classroom setting where participants engage in multilingual interaction with the use of L1 and L2 linguistic resources.

## 2. Emotions in interaction

Emotion is an "elusive concept" (Prior 2016a: 3) that is difficult to define, as it is subject to different discipline-specific understandings. In the field of the social sciences alone, emotions have been described as either intra-psychological or neurophysiological phenomena (see Prior 2016a) and have thus been studied from various perspectives, mostly in experimental settings.

Within EM and its affiliated disciplines of CA and discursive psychology (DP; te Molder & Potter 2005), emotion is respecified as a discursive production that is socially constituted and publicly displayed through the lamination (Goodwin 2013) of various semiotic resources, such as verbal/lexical, prosodic/phonetic and embodied, non-vocal resources, like body postures, gestures and facial expressions (see the contributions in Peräkylä & Sorjonen 2012). In these disciplines, emotion displays are understood as accomplishing (or contributing to the accomplishment of) social actions in interaction. Thus, emotion displays are to be interpreted and responded to by reference to the local interactional context. Empirical studies conducted in this area (e.g., Goodwin 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin 2000; Heath 1988; Hepburn & Potter 2012; Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori 2012; Selting 2010) illustrate how linguistic and embodied resources such as gestures, facial expressions and head movements are finely tuned to the sequential organization of the ongoing activity.

In traditional SLA, emotions have been mostly investigated from a cognitivist perspective as psychological states that are responsive to external factors and/or that have an impact on a learner's behavior (Prior 2016a). In this view, emotions are typically considered as individual (affective) variables that might influence the language learning process (see for example research on language anxiety: Horwitz 2001).

As a reaction to the predominantly cognitivist view adopted in the broader field and in line with the praxeological roots of their theoretical framework, CA-SLA researchers have recently started to focus on the "discursive construction and management of emotion" (Prior 2016a: 2) in multilingual interaction in a variety of settings, from ordinary conversation (e.g., Berger & Fasel Lauzon 2016) to institutional talk (e.g., Prior 2016b in research interviews), including pedagogical settings (see Cekaite 2016; Greer 2016). To our knowledge, however, there are to date only two studies that have looked at emotion displays in the L2 classroom (see Jacknick 2013 on laughter and Sert & Jacknick 2015 on smiles), while there are no studies that specifically analyze the role of emotion in the accomplishment of classroom tasks.

The present CA-SLA paper thus aims to add to the existing, yet scant, multimodal literature on emotion displays in the L2 classroom, with a specific focus on how emotion displays may constitute an interactional resource that students use to complete classroom tasks. In line with previous EM, CA and DP

research, this paper adopts a view of emotion as a highly organized social and discursive phenomenon that acquires its interactional import from its sequential placement in the unfolding interaction. Specifically, in our study we focus on the lamination of verbal, prosodic and gestural resources through which participants scaffold the progressivity of a game by indicating acceptance or rejection of a prior action. Acceptance and rejection are accomplished through embodied displays of different emotional intensity.

### 3. Data

The data consist of one hour of video and audio recordings of SFL interaction in a school located in a large Swedish urban area. Participants in the study were 15 students who were enrolled in 9th grade. All the students and their teacher were L1 speakers of Swedish. In this setting, we used three cameras to record the last lesson of the unit called "pharmacy", which addressed body-related lexical items (e.g., *cabeza*, 'head', etc.) and common formulas (*me duele la cabeza*, 'my head aches', etc.). The lesson was organized into four different group activities. For present purposes, we focus on one of these activities: the charade.

The class period started with the teacher announcing this activity and eliciting the rules of the game from the students themselves. Once satisfactory answers were obtained, the students were divided into small groups of three to four participants each. Each group received a set of cards, each one with a short sentence in Spanish written on it. The most frequent interpretation of the activity by the students was the following: a student picks a card from the pile, silently reads it and then starts miming it; the teammates try to guess the sentence, being guided step by step by the mime towards the correct solution.

### 4. Methodology

This study relies on multimodal CA as its theoretical and methodological framework (Mondada 2019). After a close observation of the video-recordings, instances of interest were selected and transcribed following CA conventions (Jefferson 2004). Relevant embodied actions are described in the transcripts (note that LH stands for 'left hand' and RH for 'right hand') and, in some cases, are illustrated through frame grabs. Pseudonyms replace the real names of the participants for anonymity purposes.

### 5. Analysis

In the analysis below we present four excerpts illustrating the rounds accomplished by three groups (Excerpt 1 by one group, Excerpts 2 and 4 by another group, and Excerpt 3 by a third group). The analysis is organized to



illustrate different practices along a continuum from minimum to greater reliance on embodied displays of emotional intensity.

Excerpt 1 shows an instance of smooth task accomplishment with the group quickly arriving at the correct solution. The target sentence is *¿Estás bien?* ('Are you fine?').

#### Excerpt 1 - *¿Estás bien?*

1 (5.3) ((Ebba grabs a card))  
 2 (0.8) ((Ebba reads))  
 3 (1.9) ((Ebba lowers forearms on the table and looks ahead))  
 4 (1.0) ((Ebba smiles, moves repeatedly RH, gazes ahead))  
 5 (0.5) ((Ebba lifts right thumb))  
 6 (0.3) ((Ebba turns to Bianca))  
 7 (0.8) ((Ebba repeatedly moves RH towards Bianca))  
 8 +((Ebba lifts her right thumb)) - FIG. 1



FIG. 1

9 BIANCA: +e::h=estás bien¿  
 +u::h=are you fine¿  
 10 \*(1.2)  
 11 \*((Ebba turns from Bianca to Charlie))  
 12 \*((Ebba gives card to Bianca)) - FIG. 2



FIG. 2

13 (0.4) ((Bianca starts grabbing card))  
 14 CHARLIE: ( )  
 15 +(0.5)  
 16 +((Bianca reads card))  
 17 +((Charlie smiles))  
 18 (0.8) ((Bianca puts card on the table))

In line 1 Ebba grabs a slip of paper with the sentence *¿estás bien?* ('are you fine?'), she reads it to herself (l. 2) and then starts smiling as she engages in mimicking the target sentence (ll. 4-7) with hand gestures that culminate with Ebba lifting her right thumb as she is looking at Bianca (l. 8; see Frame Grab 1), who swiftly provides the solution (l. 9). Acceptance of the solution is manifested through Ebba's embodied behaviors (ll. 10-12; see Frame Grab 2): she withdraws her gaze from Bianca as she turns to look at Charlie (l. 11); at the

same time, she gives the slip of paper to Bianca (l. 12). This last action might be taken to give Bianca the possibility of checking the correctness of the solution she has just proposed. Note that, throughout the miming activity until its completion Ebba keeps smiling; in other words, this action cannot be connected to her acceptance of the solution. The round is finally brought to a close with Bianca reading the card (l. 16) and putting it on the table (l. 18); Charlie accompanies these actions with a smile (l. 17).

Overall, in this excerpt the solution is found immediately, with no intermediate attempts. Acceptance is manifested in an embodied fashion, without any visible display of emotions.

In Excerpt 2 the participants engage in guessing the sentence *me duele la cabeza* ('my head aches'). As the analysis will show, they do not immediately arrive at a solution. The analysis specifically focuses on how the coparticipants' hypotheses are received by the mime in the unfolding interaction.

#### Excerpt 2 - *Te duele la cabeza*

1 +((Elsa reads a card))  
 2 OSCAR: +((singing))  
 3 +vamos a la playa [a mi me gus]ta=  
 4 ELSA: [ okay eh:,]  
 [ okay uhm:,]  
 5 OSCAR: +((singing))  
 6 +=bailar,  
 7 (0.2)  
 8 ALMA: +((looks at Elsa))  
 9 +°sí.°  
 +°yes.°  
 10 (1.0) ((Elsa puts the card on the table))  
 11 ELSA: +((Elsa lifts both hands))  
 12 +e::h  
 13 (0.5) ((Elsa points at Alma with both arms))  
 14 (1.3) ((Elsa taps her temples repeatedly))  
 15 ALMA: +((points at her head with LH; Elsa keeps tapping her temples))  
 16 +cabeza?  
 +head?  
 17 LUCAS: \*((looks at Oscar; Elsa keeps tapping))  
 18 \*cabeza,  
 \*head,  
 19 ♠(0.8) ((Elsa points at Alma with extended arms)) - FIG. 1



FIG. 1

20 +((Elsa leans towards Alma while pointing))  
 21 ALMA: +((points at herself with LH))  
 22 +mi cabe[za?]  
 + my he[ad?]  
 23 LUCAS: [tu ] +duelen cabez:a.  
 [you] +ache-PL hea:d.  
 [you] +hea:d ache.  
 24 +((Elsa nods and starts leaning back)) - FIG. 2



FIG. 2

25 ALMA: +((looks at Elsa and nods))  
 26 +sí:..  
 +yes:..  
 27 (1.6) ((Elsa rubs her eyes with both fists))  
 28 ALMA: +((points at herself))  
 29 +mi +cabe[za:,]  
 +my + he[a:d,]  
 30 +((Elsa draws index fingers down from eyes to chin))  
 31 OSCAR: [ e:]::h llorar?  
 [ e:]::h to cry?  
 32 (0.2) ((Elsa starts lifting her right fist to her temple))  
 33 +((Elsa rests right fist on her head))  
 34 LUCAS: + duele (la eh +la)=  
 +aches (the uh +the)=  
 35 +((Elsa rests RH palm on her head))  
 36 =cabe[za.]  
 = he[ad.]  
 37 ALMA: +[mi] duele::=  
 +[my] ache::s=  
 38 +((points at herself))  
 39 \*=mi cabe::( )  
 \*=my he::( )  
 40 \*((points at her neck))  
 41 ELSA: +((points at Alma with both index fingers)) - FIG. 3



FIG. 3

42 +sí.  
 +yes.  
 43 ALMA: sí.  
 yes.  
 44 (1.6) ((Elsa grabs her card and looks at it))



45 ELSA: te- [te due]le=  
           you- [you ach]es=  
           your- [your °h]ead°=  
 46 OSCAR: +[muy bien. ]  
           +[very good.]  
 47 +((claps))  
 48 ELSA: =la °c[abeza.° ]  
           =the °h[ead.° ]  
           = a[ches. ]  
 49 ALMA: +[te duel]e.  
           +[you ach]es.  
           +[your (he)ad] aches.  
 50 +((Alma points at herself and looks at Elsa))  
 51 +((Elsa puts card down))

The excerpt starts with Elsa reading a card (l. 1), as Oscar is jokingly singing a famous beach song (ll. 2-3 and 5-6). In overlap with Oscar, Elsa displays an orientation to the beginning of the miming activity with *okay*, followed by the hesitation token *ehm*: ('uhm'; l. 4). Another coparticipant, Alma, indicates her availability to engage in the activity with *sí*. ('yes', l. 9), delivered at low volume as she looks at Elsa (l. 8). Elsa then puts her card on the table (l. 10) and starts miming. Specifically, her first action consists of lifting her hands (l. 11) and then moving her arms towards Alma (l. 13). She then repeatedly taps her temples with both her index fingers (l. 14). As she keeps doing that, she also points at her head with her left hand (l. 15). It is at this point that Alma offers the first candidate solution with *cabeza?* ('head?', l. 16). Her solution is picked up and recycled by Lucas (l. 18).

A 0.8 second silence ensues, during which Elsa points at Alma with her arms extended (l. 19; see Frame Grab 1). She then simultaneously leans towards Alma as she keeps pointing at her (l. 20). With these actions Elsa is not discarding the solution that has just been offered; rather, she is building on it by suggesting that something else should be added. Specifically, she is aiming for the pronoun *me* ('me'). Her hint is immediately picked up by Alma who produces the solution *mi cabeza?* ('my head', l. 22). This solution is accepted by Elsa who nods and starts leaning back, thereby indicating her readiness to engage in the next part of the mime (l. 24; see Frame Grab 2). In response to Elsa's acceptance, Alma nods in Elsa's direction (l. 25) as she produces the acknowledgement token *sí*: ('yes', l. 26).

Note that, in the meantime, in partial overlap with Alma, Lucas provides a more elaborate hypothesis with *tu duelen cabezas*: ('you head ache', l. 23). His solution, which is grammatically inaccurate, is actually close to the sentence they have to guess. However, his turn goes completely unnoticed by his coparticipants who do not show any reaction towards his attempt.

The accepted solution so far is thus *mi cabeza* ('my head') produced by Alma in l. 22. In l. 27 Elsa moves to the next stage of the activity by rubbing her eyes with both fists; this action suggests crying. In response to this hint, Alma recycles

the hypothesis so far (*mi cabeza*., 'my head', l. 29) and does so with slightly rising intonation, thereby orienting to a forthcoming continuation of the turn. During the unfolding delivery of Alma's turn, Elsa reformulates her miming of the action of crying by moving her index fingers down her face (l. 30). Quite timely, Oscar produces a candidate solution with *llorar?* ('to cry', l. 31), which is neither explicitly accepted nor rejected. Instead, Elsa responds by producing a different gesture: she lifts her right fist to her right temple (l. 32). Her two previous gestures (ll. 27 and 30), in fact, were clearly interpretable as representing crying. With this new gesture, then, Elsa repairs her previous embodied hints. As she lays her fist on her head (l. 33), Lucas partially recycles the solution that he had proposed in line 23: *duele (la eh la) cabeza*. ('aches the uh the head', ll. 34 and 36). In the meantime, Elsa respecifies her mime by resting her palm on her head instead of her fist (l. 35). In slight overlap with Lucas's turn, Alma offers a new attempt with *mi duele:: mi cabe::( )* ('my aches my head:.', ll. 37-39). In the first part of her turn (*mi duele*., l. 37), Alma points at herself (l. 38), while she points at her neck (l. 40) as she delivers the second part of the turn (*mi cabe::( )*, l. 39). Elsa accepts this attempt by pointing at Alma with both her index fingers (l. 41; see Frame Grab 3) and saying *sí*. ('yes', l. 42) with downward intonation. Alma closes the sequence with another *sí*. ('yes', l. 43).

At this point, Elsa grabs her card from the table and looks at it, possibly reading it silently (l. 44); she then reads it aloud (ll. 45 and 48). As she does so, Oscar positively assesses this session of the game with *muy bien*. ('very good', l. 46) as he simultaneously claps (l. 47). Elsa also orients to the conclusion of this session by putting down her card (l. 51). Finally, in partial overlap with the delivery of the last part of Elsa's turn (l. 48), Alma repeats part of the solution with downward intonation: *te duele*. ('your (head) aches', l. 49). Note that in line 37-40 Alma had proposed the solution: *mi duele:: mi cabe::( )* ('my aches my head:.', l. 39). With the turn in l. 49 Alma therefore seems to acknowledge that the accurate formulation is *te duele* and not *mi duele* as previously stated. With this action the round is closed.

Overall, this excerpt has shown how the proposed solutions are managed. Specifically, we have seen that Elsa consistently ignores the solutions provided by Lucas and instead orients to the solutions offered by the other two coparticipants. If the proposed solution is incomplete (*cabeza?*, 'head', proposed by Alma in l. 15) or inaccurate (*llorar?*, 'to cry', proposed by Oscar in l. 32), Elsa does not reject it, but rather responds with additional (l. 19) or different (ll. 33-34) embodied hints that promote either further elaboration from the coparticipant or a completely different attempt.

On the other hand, if the proposed solution is correct, Elsa responds in two different ways: either by producing embodied actions only (see her nodding and leaning back in l. 25) or by laminating embodied actions with verbal resources (see her pointing gesture coupled with the token *sí*., 'yes.', in ll. 42-43). More

specifically, the lamination of verbal and embodied resources in the acceptance of the last solution, together with the visibility of Elsa's gesture, seems to add emphasis to her actions, which effectively close the round.

Excerpt 3 illustrates an instance in which the participants do not immediately arrive at a solution. The target sentence for this round is: *tengo mucha fiebre* (literally, 'I have a lot of fever'; that is, 'I have a high temperature'). Tentative solutions are provided after each hint and are accepted or rejected by Alice, the mime, with a layering of embodied and linguistic resources.

### Excerpt 3 - *Tengo mucha fiebre*

1 (3.2) ((Alice looks at her card))  
 2 (0.3) ((Alice lifts head to look at Lilly))  
 3 (0.5) ((Alice points repeatedly at herself with RH))  
 4 (1.2) ((Alice smiles while pointing at herself))  
 5 LILLY: e:h tú?  
 u:h you?  
 6 (0.5) ((Alice keeps pointing at herself repeatedly))  
 7 LILLY: +m:-  
 8 +((Alice stops smiling)) - FIG. 1  
 9 +((Alice stops moving RH while still pointing at herself))



FIG. 1

10 (0.3)  
 11 LILLY: +((points at herself))  
 12 +m:i\*:?  
 +m:e\*:?  
 13 \*((Alice turns to her card))  
 14 (0.8) ((Alice keeps looking at her card))  
 15 (0.1) ((Lilly starts looking sideways))  
 16 (0.5) ((Alice lifts head to look at Lilly))  
 17 LILLY: e+::h,  
 u+::h,  
 18 +((Alice starts frowning)) - FIG. 2

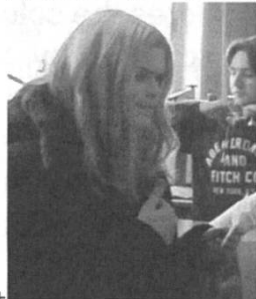


FIG. 2

19 (0.5) ((Alice looks at Lilly and keeps frowning))  
 20 LILLY: +((looks at Alice))  
 21 +yo?  
 I?  
 22 (0.8) ((Alice keeps frowning and looking at Lilly))

23 ALICE: +((moves RH from chest to the right)) - FIG. 3-4



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

24 +no:::, e:::::h,  
 +no:::, u:::::h,  
 25 (1.7) ((Alice points repeatedly at herself with both hands))  
 26 (1.4) ((Alice moves fists forward and then towards herself))  
 27 (0.4) ((Alice leans back and keeps looking at Lilly))  
 28 LILLY: tengo?  
 (I)have?  
 29 (0.1) ((Alice does not move))  
 30 ♠(0.7) ((Alice nods and smiles)) - FIG. 5



FIG. 5

31 LILLY: +ah,  
 +okay,  
 32 +((Alice looks down at her card))  
 33 (1.1) ((Alice keeps looking down at her card))  
 34 (2.3) ((Alice looks at Lilly and extends both arms laterally))  
 35 LILLY: gran:de. no?  
 bi:g. right?  
 36 (0.2) ((Alice starts waving hands up and down))  
 37 ALICE: no::.  
 no::.  
 38 +(0.8) ((Alice waves both hands up and down)) - FIG. 6



FIG. 6

39 MAJA: much+o!  
 a lo+t!  
 40 +((Alice turns to Maja))  
 41 (0.3)

42 +((Alice nods and lifts right thumb)) - FIG. 7



+ FIG. 7

43 LILLY: +mucho.

+a lot.

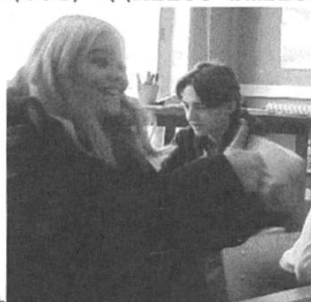
44 (1.0) ((Alice looks down at her card))

45 (1.1) ((Alice lifts RH to her forehead))

46 LILLY: fiebre.

fever.

47 +(0.4) ((Alice smiles, nods and lifts right thumb)) - FIG. 8



+ FIG. 8

48 ALICE: a:h(h) ha(h) ha(h) ha+=.hhh

49 +((shows Lilly the card))

50 LILLY: [vad bra.]

[great. ]

51 ALICE: [( )] ski(h) t1(h) ät(h) ta:,

ve(h) ry (h) ea(h) sy:,

52 (0.7) ((Alice lays card on the table))

The first hint is provided by Alice in lines 3-4, with Alice repeatedly pointing at herself. A tentative solution is offered by Lilly with *tu* ('you', l. 5). While initially pointing at herself (l. 6), Alice stops moving her hand and stops smiling as well (ll. 8-9, Frame Grab 1), which indicates that Lilly's solution is incorrect. After 0.3 seconds (l. 10), Lilly points at herself as she provides a new attempt with *m:i::?* ('me?', l. 11). Upon receiving Lilly's turn, Alice looks down at her card (ll. 13-14), possibly as a way of checking what is written on it. She then looks at Lilly (l. 16), who however has just started to look sideways (l. 15) and who soon engages in a word-search with the hesitation token *e::h* ('u::h', l. 17). In the meantime, Alice starts frowning (l. 18), an action which can be interpreted as an explicit rejection of Lilly's last attempt. Alice keeps frowning for another 0.5 seconds while looking at Lilly (l. 19), which possibly addresses the problematic nature of the current moment, since Lilly is not providing any new solution. Lilly, however, is not reciprocating Alice's eye-gaze at this time. She only redirects her gaze to look at Alice (l. 20) as soon as she starts producing her next attempt: *yo?* ('I?', l. 21). A verbal response is not immediately forthcoming (see the 0.8 second pause in l. 22). Instead, Alice keeps frowning and looking at Lilly (l. 22). She



then produces a hand-gesture that embodies the discarding of Lilly's solution (l. 23; see Frame Grabs 3-4), as she verbally delivers a stretched *no:::*, ('no', l. 24). Alice then quickly orients to the production of a new hint with the hesitation token *e:::.....h*, ('u:::.....h', l. 24). She then provides a set of hints, targeting the subject of the sentence first (as she points repeatedly at herself with both hands; see l. 25) and then the verb (as she moves her hands in a way that suggests the holding or possession of something; see l. 26). She then leans back and looks at Lilly (l. 27), thereby displaying that she is waiting for her next attempt. Indeed, Lilly produces *tengo?* ('I have', l. 28) which is enthusiastically accepted by Alice who nods and smiles (l. 30, Frame Grab 5); Lilly closes the sequence with *ah* ('okay', l. 31). Note that, so far, Lilly has guessed only the first word on Alice's card (*tengo*, 'I have').

At this point, Alice looks down at her card again (ll. 32-33) and proceeds to formulate the hint for the next word. She thus extends her arms laterally and holds them in such position as she keeps looking at Lilly (l. 34). In line 35 Lilly provides the first solution with *gran:de*. ('big'), followed by a confirmation request (*no?*, 'right'). In response, Alice explicitly rejects this attempt (l. 37) as she starts waving her hands up and down (ll. 36 and 38; see Frame Grab 6), in a way that suggests approximation to the target word. That is, Alice's verbal and embodied conduct indicates that the last solution is not acceptable but is not too far from the target. Maja then produces the solution *mucho!* ('a lot', l. 39). At the end of the delivery of Maja's turn, Alice turns towards her (ll. 40-41) and accepts the solution by nodding and lifting her right thumb up (l. 42; see Frame Grab 7). In the meantime, Lilly repeats the solution proposed by Maja (l. 43).

At this point, Alice looks down at her card (l. 44), thereby indicating that she is about to produce the next hint. She then lifts her right hand to her forehead (l. 45). The solution is immediately provided by Lilly with *fiebre*. ('fever', l. 46). In response, Alice nods and lifts her right thumb up (l. 47, Frame Grab 8), thereby indicating acceptance. The round is closed by Alice's laughter (l. 48) and by her action of showing the card to Lilly (l. 49). An assessment sequence follows, in Swedish (the participants' L1), with Lilly positively assessing their round (l. 50) and Alice commenting that it was very easy (l. 51). Note, therefore, the highly specialized use of the L1 (Kunitz 2018b) for actions that mark the end of the current round, which is definitively closed by Alice's action of laying the card on the table (l. 52).

In sum, this excerpt has shown how Alice, the mime, rejects or accepts the solution proposed by her coparticipants. Specifically, the first two rejections are accomplished in an embodied way, with Alice freezing her facial expression and her current gesture (ll. 8-9) and frowning (ll. 18-19). Note that, in these two cases, Alice simply rejects the proposed solutions without adding any further hint. In both instances, the rejection is interpreted by Lilly as requiring new attempts (ll. 12 and 21). The next two rejections are achieved with a lamination



of embodied and verbal resources. That is, in one case, Alice produces a gesture indicating that the proposed solution is to be discarded (l. 23) and accompanies such gesture with an elongated *no:::*, ('no', l. 24). In the second case, Alice straightforwardly rejects the proposed solution with *no::* ('no', l. 37), while the accompanying embodied gesture of waving her hands up and down (ll. 36 and 38) suggests that the solution is not too far from the target. Note that this is the only case when Alice's rejection is not at least slightly delayed. Put another way, in the other three rejections, we have seen silences (see ll. 6, 14 and 16, 22) ensuing right after the attempted solution and before any explicit display of rejection. Finally, acceptances are accomplished only with embodied actions, that combine nodding (ll. 30, 42, and 47) with smiling (ll. 30 and 47) and/or lifting her right thumb up (ll. 42 and 47).

In Excerpt 4 the focal sentence is *no nos duelen las piernas* ('our legs don't ache'). The selected mime is Oscar. However, instead of miming the target sentence, after some hesitation, Oscar reads aloud what is written on the card (l. 2).

#### Excerpt 4 - *No nos duelen las piernas*

1 +((Elsa looks at Oscar))  
 2 OSCAR: +e::h (0.9) no n+os =duelen las piernas.  
 +u::h (0.9) our +legs don't ache.  
 3 +((Alma looks at Oscar))  
 4 +((Elsa turns to Alma))  
 5 +(0.6)  
 6 +((Elsa looks at Oscar))  
 7 +((Alma looks at Elsa))  
 8 +((Oscar turns from Alma to Elsa))  
 9 \*(1.3)  
 10 \*(Alma and Lucas start looking at Oscar))  
 11 \*(Elsa keeps looking at Oscar))  
 12 ELSA: (DU FÅR) INTE=  
 (YOU ARE) NOT SUPPOSED=  
 13 +=LÄSA MENINGEN.  
 +=TO\* READ THE SENTENCE.  
 14 +((Elsa starts moving her hands towards her head))  
 15 \*(Alma starts covering her face with her hands)) - FIG. 1



FIG. 1

16 (Oscar vi ska göra charader!)

(Oscar we are playing charades!)

17 OSCAR: +((nods))

18 +°(okej.)°

+°(okay.)°

19 (0.3)

20 OSCAR: ( [ ] )

21 ELSA: [ha(h)h!]

22 (1.0) ((*Elsa rests her head on the table*))  
 23 (0.2) ((*Alma moves LH toward a card next to Oscar*))  
 24 ALMA: +okej.  
 +okay.  
 25 +((*Oscar turns his head to another table*))  
 26 (0.9) ((*Alma taps on selected card*))  
 27 LUCAS: +(då får man väl +ba berätta va de e) på svenska först.  
 +(then you have to +just tell what it is) in Swedish first.  
 28 +((*Elsa raises her head*))  
 29 (1.2)  
 30 ELSA: +((*turns to Lucas*))  
 31 +(jag har ingen aning.)  
 +(I have no idea.)  
 32 (0.7)

As Oscar starts delivering the sentence in Spanish, Alma turns to look at him (l. 3), thereby showing attentive listenership towards his developing turn. At the same time, Elsa withdraws her gaze from Oscar (see l. 1) and turns to Alma (l. 4). While Elsa does not express anything verbally, her change in gaze direction might be interpreted as a way of orienting to Oscar's emerging action as problematic and of checking Alma's reaction to the delivery of his turn.

After the completion of Oscar's turn, a 0.6 second silence ensues (l. 5), during which Elsa turns her gaze from Alma to Oscar (l. 6) while Alma turns her gaze from Oscar to Elsa (l. 7). At the same time, Oscar moves his eye-gaze from Alma to Elsa (l. 8), possibly as a way to indicate that he is done and that he is now expecting his coparticipants' response. Another long silence follows (l. 9), during which all coparticipants direct their gaze at Oscar (ll. 10-11). It is finally in ll. 12-13 that Elsa almost theatrically reproaches Oscar's action in Swedish with: (*DU FÅR INTE LÄSA MENINGEN*). ('(you are not supposed) to read the sentence'), which is delivered at high volume. The switch to the participants' L1 is an additional semiotic resource that contributes to the pathos of the action and heightens Elsa's affective stance.

As Elsa delivers her verbal reproach, she leans forward, rests her elbows on the table, and brings her hands to her head (l. 14). Clearly this embodied action accomplishes a rejection of Oscar's implementation of the game. Her dramatic embodied action is partially imitated by Alma who covers her face with her hands (l. 15; see also Frame Grab 1). Elsa then goes on to provide an account for her reproach: they are playing charades (l. 16); therefore, they should just mime the target sentence without reading it aloud. In response to Elsa's actions, Oscar simply acknowledges receipt of the reproach by nodding (l. 17) and seemingly saying *okej*. ('okay', l. 18) at low volume. What he says next is inaudible, so we cannot determine whether he eventually apologizes for misunderstanding the instructions and thereby invalidating the entire round. In line 21 Elsa produces the vocalization *ha(h)h!* which we take as an expression of frustrated disbelief; Elsa then ostensibly displays frustration by placing her head on the table (l. 22).

At this point, Alma produces the sequential boundary marker *okej*. ('okay', l. 24) and suggests how to solve the impasse: she orients to a card that is placed next to Oscar and moves it forward (see the action starting in l. 23), possibly in an attempt to bring it into Oscar's visual field. However, her action goes unnoticed, as Oscar moves his gaze from the card he is holding in his hands to another table (l. 25). After a 0.9 second pause (l. 26), Lucas suggests an alternative option: instead of reading aloud the target sentence in Spanish, they could at least explain the propositional content of the sentence in Swedish (l. 27). During the delivery of Lucas's turn, Elsa raises her head (l. 28) and turns to Lucas (l. 29) as she says that she has no idea (l. 31) whether that would be a viable option. The round then comes to a close.

In this last excerpt our focus shifts to the coparticipants' reactions to the mime's conduct. Indeed, Oscar's action of reading aloud the target sentence in Spanish nullifies the possibility of actually playing the guessing game. His action is initially met with silence and gaze behaviors (ll. 3-11) that seem to suggest the coparticipants' perplexity. An explicit reaction is then finally produced by Elsa in a very dramatic and theatrical way, with a turn delivered at high volume (ll. 12-13) and the embodied action of placing her hands on her head (l. 14): the combination of these actions conveys at the same time a reproach and the frustration caused by the seriousness of Oscar's infraction of the game rules.

## 6. Conclusion

In this EMCA study we have analyzed the multimodal resources that are mobilized by year 9 SFL students as they accept or reject their coparticipants' actions during the accomplishment of a task called "charade", with special attention to embodied displays of emotion. More specifically, we have examined the mime's responses to the guesses provided by the other students in the group and we have presented one instance in which the participants react to the mime's violation of the rules of the game. Overall, in our dataset, it seems that, if the solution is found right away, it is seamlessly accepted without any display of emotion. For example, in Excerpt 1 the correct solution is accepted through the embodied action of passing the card to the coparticipant who can then check the accuracy of her guess herself. On the other hand, when various attempts are made in order to arrive at the target sentence, then different practices are accomplished in order to promote the progressivity of the activity. Specifically, our analysis has illustrated two such practices: (a) no ostensible acceptance or rejection of a proposed solution, but elaboration or repair of prior gestures in order to aid the coparticipants in guessing the target solution (Excerpt 2); (b) acceptance or rejection of the solutions just proposed with embodied actions only or with a lamination of embodied and verbal resources along a continuum of emotional intensity (Excerpts 2, 3 and 4). Emotional displays occur in various moments of the unfolding round, most notably in Excerpts 3 and 4. In Excerpt 3

the mime uses her facial expressions to show acceptance or rejection of her coparticipants' guesses; specifically, she smiles, stops smiling and frowns in response to good or bad guesses. The maximum display of emotional intensity is manifested when the mime's action nullifies the possibility of playing the game (Excerpt 4); his action is met with theatrical gestures and a verbal reproach produced at high volume in L1 Swedish. Such dramatic reaction also conveys a moral sanction of the mime's action, which de facto affects his classmates' ability to implement and participate in the game. Overall, these data show how participants use laminated configurations of verbal, prosodic and gestural resources to scaffold the progressivity of the task as they engage in multilingual interaction.

At the theoretical and methodological level, this study contributes to research on task-based instruction within the field of CA-SLA by exploring the role of multimodal resources and, in particular, of displays of emotion in the achievement of tasks-as-activities in an SFL classroom. Through their linguistic and embodied behaviors the participants observably show their interpretation of the task and mark its progressivity. Our analysis of the displays of emotion manifested in the charade is in line with previous research findings in that such displays are finely tuned to the organization of the ongoing activity and are interpretable only in light of their specific sequential position in the unfolding interaction. Overall, this kind of research refines our understanding of how task-based instruction is achieved by the participants as mundane and observable activities in language classrooms.

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