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# Locally Justifying Face Mask Removal in L2 Read-Aloud Sessions

Haruka Kikuchi

## 1 Introduction

During the COVID-19 pandemic, in June 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) announced the necessity of wearing face masks. This significantly affected the style of routine communication, creating a new normal, which was particularly notable in Japan. Although the Japanese government lifted face mask requirements in March 2023 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare), mask-wearing remained dominant as of April 2023, including among children, whose education has been notably affected by the COVID-19 pandemic.

In elementary schools, it is reported that cancellation of in-person classes, social distancing, reduced group work, and face mask requirements negatively impacted children's school life (Charney et al., 2020). Particularly, one of those concerns included children's language development, which necessitates peer conversation (Charney et al., 2020). Wearing face masks is considered to impair speech and emotion perception (Nobrega et al., 2020) and sounds and pronunciation (Fiorella et al., 2021). While some studies claimed wearing face masks hinders communication partially (Güneş, 2021) others revealed that it had no effect on language development or assessment (Coniam, 2005; Mitsven et al., 2022). As wearing masks is no longer mandatory, it indicates that teachers and students should flexibly decide on the necessity of face masks based on situational needs for health management and emerging communicative difficulties.

A pedagogical situation that may require this decision is pronunciation teaching in foreign language classrooms and demonstrating mouth movements (Nguyen, 2020). However, as decision-making regarding wearing face masks is a new phenomenon for classroom participants, research on how such decisions are made in the local situation of the classroom is lacking. This study examines actual teacher-student interaction in a one-on-one read-aloud session using conversation analysis (CA) to investigate how situational needs to remove face masks emerge and are handled by classroom participants. It aims to identify how face mask-wearing negotiations can be designed for pedagogical benefit of reading instruction.

The article reviews the literature on early reading education. Second, the notion of *deontic* (Stevanovic, 2013), which was used in the analysis, is introduced. Subsequently, the research questions, methodology, data, and participants are described, followed by the analysis of data. Finally, the article concludes with a discussion on justifying face mask removal in certain contexts and suggests further research on reading education in different contexts.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Teaching How to Read

Early literacy significantly affects children's school readiness (Snow, 2006); therefore, reading instruction, particularly teaching young children how to read print letters, has gained the attention of researchers and practitioners (Freebody & Freiberg, 2001). Conversation analytic studies that explored the construct of teaching reading in parent-child and teacher-student interactions are reviewed below.

Heap (1991) and Freebody and Freiberg (2001) define reading not as an individual, internal action by the reader but rather a contextually situated practice accomplished by the coordinated and negotiated actions of the participants. Their research casts a critical perspective toward the view that considers reading a measurable, clearly definable phenomenon separated from the surrounding contexts. Therefore, when reading is treated as an “object-in-itself” (p. 104), which Heap (1991) refers to as objectivism, implications for reading instructional methods become theorized idealization separate from the interactional nature of reading activities (Freebody & Freiberg, 2001). This led Heap (1991) to conclude that the quality of teachers’ reading instruction and error correction should be judged based on the moment-by-moment flow of activities.

In addition, using data of father-daughter read-aloud exchanges at home and a first grade classroom reading activity, Freebody and Freiberg (2001) note that participants follow the social actions that frame them into learner-expert relationships and visualize their interactional responsibilities and rights (e.g., the father asks for the correct pronunciation, while the daughter orients to sounding out letters). Comparing one-on-one interaction at home with multiparty classroom interaction, Freebody and Freiberg claim that one-on-one interaction identifies fewer talk-management troubles and characterizes shared familiarity with learners’ local interests, interactional preferences, and knowledge base. Moreover, it displays greater orientation to reading accuracy, whereas multiparty classroom interaction focuses on adhering to culturally developed classroom norms.

These studies provide essential insights on instructional decision-making to facilitate teaching reading in specific situations and the impact of participants’ interactional responsibilities and rights on these decisions, providing the background to investigate the issue of face mask wearing. The concept of *deontics* (Stevanovic, 2013) which is introduced in the following section helps clarify the matters of interactional responsibilities and rights claimed by the participants when accomplishing social actions, including pedagogical decision-making.

## 2.2 Deontics in Talk-In-Interaction

According to Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2012), it is a mundane business for participants of talk to orient to the authority of others or themselves, particularly responsibility and rights, in everyday decision-making. Stevanovic (2013) argues that *deontics* reflects the asymmetrical power distribution among participants, deployed to accomplish social actions or determine the future course of action. In achieving social actions, participants may claim or orient to *deontic rights* possessed by themselves or their interlocutors. *Deontic rights* are defined as a participant’s potential ability that can be exercised in a specific domain of actions in relation to other participants. Relative to the notions of deontic rights are *deontic stance* and *status*. When a participant designs a conversation turn that claims the strength of their deontic rights, they are displaying their *deontic stance*. Consider the example of a teacher in the classroom handling students’ noise. The teacher can claim stronger deontic rights by saying, “Listen up!” or weaker rights by saying, “Could you please pay attention?” The claimed deontic rights, in other words, deontic stance, indicate where the participants (here, the teacher) are located on the deontic gradient in relation to the others at the moment of producing the turn (Stevanovic, 2013). However, conversation participants may not always verbally display their deontic stance. Instead, they may accomplish social actions assuming that

other participants are aware of their deontic rights (Stevanovic, 2013). Regardless of whether these rights are claimed, the rights of a participant in a certain domain of actions are referred to as *deontic status*. When making a request, a participant with a deontic status, that is, an authoritative person, may not have to design a conversation turn to claim strong deontic rights, as deontic status itself “increases the probability of others’ cooperation” (Stevanovic, 2013, p. 27).

Previous classroom studies have observed how teachers orient to the students’ deontics and employ alternative references to display the expected course of action (Ishino & Okada, 2017) as well as the way students claim their deontic stances when negotiating and determining the rules of ongoing activities (Nasi, 2022). This study also investigates how a student’s deontic status, oriented by the teacher, becomes the resource for the decision-making of mask removal and a certain form of reading instruction.

### 3 Research Objective and Question

So far it has been demonstrated the contingent nature of reading instruction and rights and responsibilities (deontics) of the participants enacted in classroom interaction. This study examines the effect of participants’ orientation to each other’s and their own deontic status and stance on decision-making regarding instructional style for reading during the COVID-19 pandemic. It aims to demonstrate how specific pedagogical goals can be efficiently pursued by justifying mask removal in the classroom.

Therefore, the following research question is posed:

What teacher and student interactional orientations justify removing face masks in a one-on-one read-aloud session?

As Heap (1991) claims, the employment of a specific pedagogical or social decision can only be revealed by illuminating the moment-by-moment interaction of the classroom participants. Below, therefore, introduces the methodology of conversation analysis which focuses on the contingent flow of the interactional characteristics organized to accomplish certain social actions, as well as the data and the participants of the study.

### 4 The study

#### 4.1 Data and Participants

Data were obtained from a one-on-one read-aloud session conducted at an English immersion afterschool in Japan. The session was recorded with a smartphone placed in front of them. The focal student, with the pseudonym Ryota, was seven years old and had progressed to the intermediate class approximately three weeks prior to the session. Beginner, intermediate, and upper intermediate classes targeted different levels of phonic sounds: the beginner class dealt with three-letter words with short vowels (e.g., cat, hum), the intermediate class handled long vowels and silent E (e.g., cake, kite), and the upper intermediate class focused on three-letter consonant blends (e.g., splash, three). In the data, the teacher discusses the “th” sound as upper intermediate level.

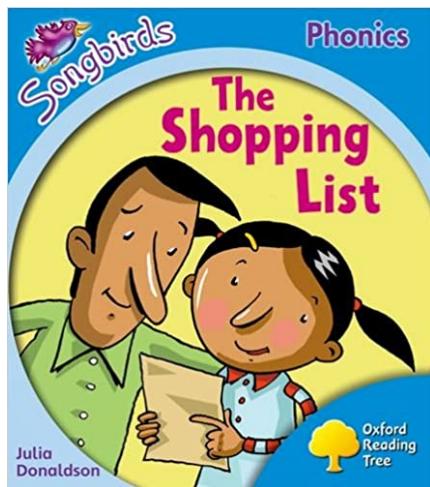
The students in one-on-one read-aloud sessions worked on the *Songbirds* series of books designed by the Oxford Reading Tree, written and illustrated by Julia Donaldson. Each book highlighted different phonetic sounds by repeatedly using them. “The Shopping List” (Figure 1) targets words that end with

consonant clusters. The school used a reading progress chart (Figure 2), which is an assessment system to evaluate students' reading based on phonetic correctness and fluency on a scale of 20%, 40%, 60%, 80%, and 100%, for the read-aloud sessions. The students were allowed to proceed to the next book only after they received 100% from one of the teachers. The books were classified from Stage 1 (purple) to Stage 6 (out of the chart), with "The Shopping List" belonging to Stage 3.

**Figure 1**

*The front cover of 'The Shopping List'*

*Note. The girl on the right is Yasmin; Dad is on the left.*



**Figure 2**

*Reading progress chart for read-aloud sessions*

No.	Title	20%	40%	60%	80%	100%	Teacher's sign
1	Top Cat	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
2	Sam's Pot	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
3	Bob Bug	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/33
4	Dig, Dig, Dig!	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/33
5	Zak and the Vet	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
6	Mum Bug's Bag	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
7	The Odd Pet	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
8	Miss, Miss!	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
9	This and That	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/33
10	Fish and Chips	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/33
11	Singing Dad	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
12	Doctor Duck	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
13	The Big Match	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	7/44
14	The Shopping List	☆	☆				
15	Gran is Cross						
16	The Trunk and the Skunk						
17	The Scrap Rocket						
18	Splash and Squelch						

#### 4.2 Methodology

Conversation analysis is a distinct analytical methodology based on the assumption that everyday ordinary interaction is a profoundly organized and systematized phenomenon (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). It endeavors to discover detailed orderliness in routine language use and human interaction including

classrooms, that are attended to and shared by social members as a method of accomplishing, reasoning, and understanding social actions in situ (Stivers & Sidnell, 2012). CA is a naturalistic science of human interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). What clearly differentiates CA from other discourse analytic methodologies is its aim to rule out any predetermined frameworks developed from analysts' perspectives in investigating conversation (Seedhouse, 2004). CA considers the participants' perspectives in ongoing conversations based on their way of designing conversation turns, such as responses to prior turns and orientation to specific interactional features, that is, the orderliness they are attending to (Seedhouse, 2004). By firmly excluding the analysts' perspectives or beliefs of the participants obtained through interviews, CA describes and displays natural talk-in-interaction.

One of the keys to revealing the participants' orientation to each other and the surrounding world is focusing on their categorization work, referred to as Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA; Stokoe, 2012). Stokoe (2012) states that MCA involves describing specific members of a group by certain attributes, such as, "He is a student." Often, these descriptions are accompanied by descriptions of category-bound activities, which are activities associated with the category in use (e.g., submitting homework, listening to the teacher, etc.). This has implications when participants' (for instance, students') activities contradict the category-bound activities (e.g., not listening to the teacher), indicating problematic behavior. The participants' orientation to such categories reveals reasons for conduct or language use (Stokoe, 2012). This reveals participants' perspectives on the world and use of categories as a resource to continue the ongoing conversation and accomplish actions (Bushnell, 2014; Stokoe, 2012).

## 5 Analysis

Three successive exchanges between the teacher and Ryota during one-on-one read-aloud sessions are examined. A conventional method of teaching pronunciation is to show teachers' mouth movements (Nguyen, 2020). Although the participants generally wore face masks during the sessions, the recordings captured a moment when the custom was temporarily suspended by the teacher to instruct reading. From CA perspective, wearing face masks during these sessions was considered a custom based on the participants' orientation to wearing face masks as common, with no visual display of objection (ten Have, 2007). MCA suggests that disregarding customs or morals has implications (Hester, 2000). Following customs may categorize people as sensible, having common sense, or ordinary, whereas deviation from customs can result in categorizations, such as *senseless*. Therefore, this study considers the act of removing face masks in the classroom as having the potential risk of a negative categorization. The analysis below illustrates how such risks are justifiable for the local purpose of pronunciation teaching. In other words, the extracts display the new normality in the era of COVID-19 to legalize a potentially risky social action.

### 5.1 Extract 1: Grounding reason for face mask removal

Ryota is reading aloud "The Shopping List." The interaction below shows the reading of page four, which has the following sentences:

*Yasmin and Dad went to a big shop. They got in the lift.*

Ryota holds the book slightly above his lap (partly out of the camera). When he produces a six-second pause as he faces the next word, "they" (line 50), the teacher assesses the target word to be beyond

his class level (line 54, note that Ryota belongs to the intermediate class). The analysis highlights the teacher's procedures to establish the pronunciation of the "th" sound as the pedagogical aim of the moment and grounds the reason to remove her face mask for the newly established aim in relation to Ryota's lack of *deontic status* (Stevanovic, 2013).

(Extract 1: recorded on June 16<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 18:39, duration 17 seconds)

(Ryota=R or *r*, Teacher=T or *t*)

```

46 R: yasmin and dad? (0.3) went (.) to
      r: >>gaze at the book           -->
      t: >>gaze at the book           -->
47   (.) a: big (0.7) shop?
      r:                         -->
      t:                         -->
48   (.)
      r: -->
      t: -->
49 T: &↓mm↑hh&
      t: &nods--&
50   (6.0)
      r: -->
      t: -->
51 T: ah: ryota
      r: -->
      t: -->
52   * (0.4) +           + (0.6) +
      t: *points at book           -->
      r: gaze from line 42-->+ +gaze at T+
      t: -->
53 T: +#TEE AITCH(0.3) +* %
      r: +gaze at book -->+
      t: -->*
      t: gaze from line 42-->%
fig.#2

```

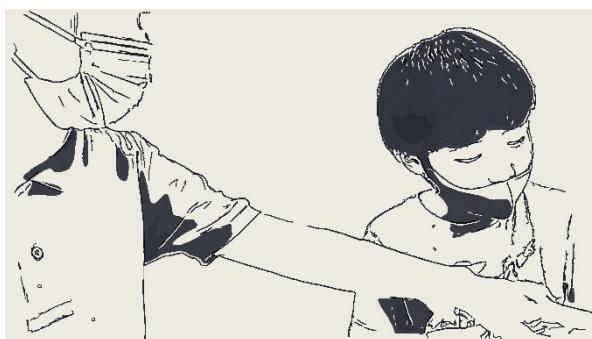


fig.2

```

54   %is upper intermediate level.
      t: %gaze at R           -->
55   & (1.0) &
      r: &nods &
      t: -->>

```

In lines 46–47, Ryota reads the first sentence with multiple pauses ("yasmin and dad? (0.3) went (.) to (.) a: big (0.7) shop?"). He also produces "dad" with a rising intonation, which can be oriented as seeking confirmation (Heritage, 2012). However, as he proceeds to the subsequent word, "went," only after a 0.3-second pause (line 46), and, more importantly, as the teacher does not show any attempts for correction in this line, his reading of the first sentence is oriented as rather smooth. Therefore, he produces

“shop” with another rising intonation at the end of the sentence (“a big shop??”; line 47), at which point the teacher acknowledges, thus encourages Ryota’s further reading with a falling-rising intonation of “↓mm↑hh” (line 49; Girgin & Brandt, 2019).

Line 50 marks a long six-second pause while Ryota gazes continuously at the book. This pause is oriented by the teacher as Ryota’s implicit *claim of insufficient knowledge* (CIK; Sert, 2015), indicating a trouble regarding the initial word of the next sentence, “they.” In line 51, the teacher produces a Japanese change of state token “ah” (Endo, 2018) and addresses Ryota by name. Ryota responds by temporarily shifting his gaze to the teacher (line 52). From line 52, although the camera did not capture the details of the teacher’s pointing gesture, she is likely drawing Ryota’s orientation toward the word “they,” particularly the “th” portion. She continues to explain that the combination of the two letters (“TEE AITCH”; line 53) “is upper intermediate level” (line 54), and thus beyond his class level. This is acknowledged by Ryota via nodding (line 55).

“TEE AITCH” (line 53) is formulated as an appropriate pedagogical goal for Ryota, and the teacher orients to the absence of his deontic status regarding the target sound and categorizes him as an unknowing student to justify her pronunciation teaching through the removal of the face mask, observed in Extract 2. Facing Ryota’s long silence that marks his CIK (line 50), the teacher engages in her first pedagogical and categorical work within this extract (lines 53–54). First, she establishes “TEE AITCH” as the target letters, disregarding “e” and “y.” Second, by articulating the two letters as a single group using the singular verb “is” (line 54), rather than separate letters (for example, “TEE and AITCH”), she describes that the target sound should be understood as constructed using the set of letters. Third, by categorizing “TEE AITCH” as upper intermediate level, she attributes the responsibility of knowing how to read “th” exclusively to upper intermediate or higher-level students, thereby excluding Ryota, who belongs to the intermediate class. Thus, the teacher orients Ryota as lacking deontic status regarding this specific issue and not responsible for his CIK. With this deontic status, Ryota’s categorization has automatically shifted from an unmarked state to *an unknowing student* who requires instruction (Bilmes, 2019; Prior, 2016). Ryota nods and accepts the teacher’s categorization (line 55). Therefore, their exchange has established “th” as a new pedagogical goal while simultaneously grounding a shared reason for the unknowing student to learn the phonetic sound in subsequent exchanges.

Extract 2 depicts the teacher’s removal of the face mask and subsequent pronunciation instruction. It illustrates how the unknowing category established in Extract 1 determines the teacher’s teaching strategy, which necessitates and justifies her risky social action.

## 5.2 Extract 2: Removing the face mask

(Extract 2: recorded on June 16<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 18:39, duration 8 seconds)

56 T: can you make \*#like this?\* (0.2)  
t: \*slides mask down\*  
t: >>gaze at R -->  
fig. #2

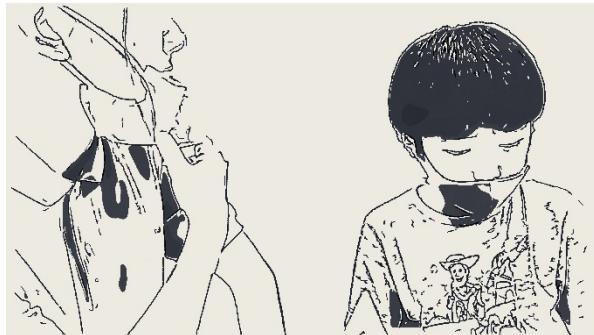


fig.2

57 T: +nn \*#/ð/#(0.3)#/ð/#+\*  
r: +gaze at T +  
t: \*points at mouth \*  
t: -->  
fig. #3 #4 #5 #6



fig.3



fig.4



fig.5



fig.6

58 \* (1.3) \*  
t: \*slides mask up\*  
t: -->  
59 T: okay? & (0.3) & >so< you say THEY  
r: &nods &  
t: -->

In lines 56–57, the teacher slides her face mask off to show Ryota her mouth movements of the /ð/ sound, as conventionally done in classrooms (Nguyen, 2020). She requests Ryota to formulate the same mouth shape as she does (“can you make like this?”; line 57). She demonstrates the /ð/ sound twice by placing her tongue between the front and bottom teeth (Figures 3 and 5) and placing her tongue slightly back in her mouth to make some space for the air to go through (Figures 4 and 6). Subsequently, the teacher replaces her face mask (line 58) and deploys a confirmation check (“okay?”; line 59), to which Ryota nods.

The teacher articulates the whole word with an emphasis (“>so< you can say THEY”; line 59).

From line 56, the teacher’s action to remove the face mask emerges as a result of the just-created *unknowing* categorization of Ryota. In lines 56–57, the teacher requests Ryota to imitate her mouth movements. Comparing this imitation request by asking, “What does your mouth look like when you say TH?” as a *display question*, which assumes the answer to be previously learned knowledge (Walsh, 2013). Conversely, the request on line 56 introduces the target pronunciation as new knowledge, suggesting that the request is based on Ryota’s lack of deontic status and *unknowing* categorization. The following confirmation check inquires whether Ryota successfully understood the “th” mouth movement as new knowledge. Subsequently, the teacher calls for imitation again by asking Ryota to repeat the whole target word “they,” retaining Ryota’s *unknowing* categorization by sustaining “they” as new knowledge. Therefore, the removal of the face mask, request for imitation, and vocabulary repetition are introduced as a specific way of teaching new pronunciation knowledge attributed to Ryota’s local *unknowing* categorization, which derives from the teacher’s orientation to his lack of deontic status. The risk of removing the face mask is justified by categorizing the “th” pronunciation as new knowledge that must be instructed to an *unknowing* student using imitation and repetition.

In the final extract, Ryota deviates from the *unknowing* category by uttering the word successfully according to the teacher’s instruction (line 59).

### 5.3 Extract 3: Deviation from the *unknowing* category

Along with the *unknowing* category which is deployed for the local pedagogical aim in Extract 2, Extract 3 illustrates that the slightly shifted, knowledgeable categorization of Ryota moves the reading forward, indicating the alternating nature of *unknowing* and *knowing* categories in one-on-one instruction.

(Extract 3: recorded on June 16<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 18:39, duration 7 seconds)

(Student 2=S2/s2)

59 T: okay? & (0.3) & >so< you say THEY  
r: &nods &  
t: >>gaze at R -->  
60 (0.6)  
t: -->  
61 R: the +y?=br/>r: +gaze at book-->  
t: -->  
62 T: =¥↓mm↑hh%¥  
t: gaze from line 54 -->%  
r: -->  
s2: ¥taps T’s shoulder ¥  
63 &(0.2)  
t: &looks back to S2-->  
r: -->  
64 T: >oh< yes?= ((to S2))  
t: -->  
r: -->  
65 R: = <they [got& %in] the (0.6) °lift°>  
t: -->& %gaze at book -->  
r: -->  
66 S2: [あのさ:]  
anosa  
hey

67 T: &yes&  
t: &nods to R&  
t: -->>  
r: -->>

After the teacher's imitation request (line 59), Ryota demonstrates the modeled pronunciation using a rising intonation ("they?"; line 61). This receives confirmation from the teacher in a falling-rising intonation; thus, Ryota's pronunciation is positively assessed, and he is encouraged to continue reading. Simultaneously, S2 taps the teacher's shoulder and draws her attention from line 63 to 65, until Ryota restarts his reading. Ryota produces the correct pronunciation of "they" and ends the sentence with a slight pause in the middle ("they got in the (0.6) <sup>°lift°</sup>"; line 65). The teacher positively evaluates his reading ("yes"; line 67), which marks the end of the page's reading.

When Ryota utters the target word in a questioning intonation, he gradually departs from the unknowing category. His repetition in line 61 receives the teacher's confirmation ("↓mm↑hh"; line 62), which mobilizes his further reading, beginning with a successfully uttered target word ("they got in the lift"; line 65), separate from the teacher's imitation/repetition request. Ryota displays understanding and performs his learning of the target sound. While imitation and repetition requests were related to his unknowing categorization, after Ryota's independent reading (line 65) is assessed positively ("yes"; line 67), the teacher abandons the unknowing orientation and evaluates his reading as before he encountered the problem ("↓mm↑hh"; line 49). This positive feedback acknowledges his reading of the whole sentence beyond the "th" sound. At this moment, Ryota is charged with a more knowledgeable categorization than previously. As it is an unmarked categorization that does not receive the teacher's correction, it encourages Ryota to proceed with reading.

This analysis demonstrated the alternation of a student's unknowing and knowing categories based on specific instructional needs during a one-on-one read-aloud sessions. Unknowing categories were assigned based on Ryota's CIK and subsequent instruction by the teacher. Furthermore, the association between face mask removal and Ryota's unknowing category illustrated how the participants engaged in the interactional practice of teaching and learning of a new sound. Conversely, knowing categories (although less knowing than the teacher) were deployed when Ryota's reading was assessed sufficiently positively to continue reading.

## 6. Conclusions

This study examined a teacher's decision-making regarding wearing a face mask during a one-on-one read-aloud session. By explicating a sequence of interactions, it aimed at answering the following research question: What are the teacher and student's orientations deployed to make the action of mask-removing a justifiable action in a one-to-one read-aloud session?

The results demonstrated that the orientation of the teacher to Ryota's lack of deontic status led the teacher to categorize him as an unknowing student. The unknowing categorization was utilized to ground the necessity of reading instruction without a face mask and choosing imitation and repetition as a strategy of instruction. Sequentially, the teacher first created Ryota's unknowing category to justify face mask removal, as Ryota's category did not allow the teacher to deploy strategies associated with knowing categories, such as display questions. This showed that the risk of removing the face mask was justified in

this context with respect to choosing the necessary pedagogical option that emerged from the local categorization work.

Although displaying mouth movements was used in the instructional process, the assessment process did not involve confirming Ryota's mouth movements. We may inquire why it was unnecessary for Ryota to remove his face mask. The participants appeared oriented to the produced sounds rather than mouth movement in performing and assessing Ryota's learning, as Ryota uttered the target word while wearing a mask to perform his learning, and the teacher positively evaluated his reading based on the sound. This indicated that the teacher's face mask removal was exclusively derived from the specific need for imitation and repetition instruction for the unknowing student. As such, the teacher chose imitation and repetition instruction as an initial step for Ryota to learn the target pronunciation. Whether this indicates that the instructional style of demonstrating mouth movements and asking students to imitate is more introductory than other methodologies should be examined by documenting further practices of students categorized such as "unknowing" or "beginners."

In addition, further research is required to investigate the responses of differently categorized students to other types of reading instruction and the impact of categorization on wearing face masks. Furthermore, future research should examine the use of teachers' display questions to categorize students and pursue specific pedagogical goals by orienting the risky action of mask removal. This study could shed light on appropriate instructional methods for language learning based on student's individual needs in the post-COVID-19 era.

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## Appendix

### The transcription convention

(.) a short (less than 0.19 second) untimed silence  
 (0.5) a timed (0.5 second) silence  
 (2.3) a timed (2.3 second) silence  
 = latching utterances with no intervals in between  
 [ beginning of an overlapping utterance  
 ] end of an overlapping utterance  
 : a stretched vowel sound (extra colons indicate greater stretching)  
 ? rising intonation  
 . falling intonation  
 ↑ high pitch on the following utterance  
 ↓ low pitch on the following utterance  
 >< the words inside are rapidly produced  
 <> the words inside are slowly produced  
 °word° the words inside are produced in a quiet tone  
 (Jefferson, 2004)

\* \* Interlocutors' embodied movements continue between the two identical symbols.  
 (one symbol per participant's line of action)  
 \*\_\_> The action continues  
 --->\* until another symbol appears.  
 >> The action starts before the extract.  
 -->> The action continues over the extract.  
 fig The screenshot of a particular moment of the conversation  
 # is inserted when this symbol appears.  
 (Mondada, 2018)