

## **Resolving interactional troubles and maintaining progressivity in paired speaking assessment in an EFL context**

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Any form of talk-in-interaction is organized in relation to progressivity (Schegloff, 2007; Hosoda & Aline, 2013). Progressivity of interaction may involve resolving interactional troubles and producing subsequent talk, and it is endemic to the organisation of conversation at the level of turn construction (Schegloff, 1979). In testing speaking skills, as progressivity of talk between peers is central for teachers to be able to assess students' performances, troubles that halt progressivity and the resolution of such troubles by the students deserve close analyses. Against this background, this paper focuses on how paired L2 (i.e., English) speaking assessment interactions unfold in a Turkish higher education context. Using multimodal conversation analysis, we investigated the interactional resources that are deployed to maintain progressivity when there is a halt in the unfolding interaction, an under-researched phenomenon in L2 speaking assessment contexts. We used transcriptions of 100 video-recorded paired test interactions, each of which were approximately four minutes long. We identified and described the ways interactional trouble was flagged, paying close attention to how embodied resources, such as hand and other gestures, gaze direction, posture and body orientation, and facial expressions (Nevile, 2015), are used by the interactants. Based on 100 paired assessment interactions our findings reveal that in moments of interactional trouble participants make transitions to a sub-topic, formulate understandings, and engage in collaborative completions to maintain progressivity, using a variety of interactional resources as part of their interactional repertoires. The ways such troubles unfold in interaction and how they are resolved by L2 users to maintain progressivity of test-talk have potential to inform research on the assessment of Interactional Competence.

**Key words:** Conversation analysis, L2 interaction, paired oral assessment, progressivity in interaction; EFL; testing

## Introduction

There has been an increase in the use of paired peer tests to measure conversational skills in a second/foreign/additional language (henceforth L2) in the last two decades. Paired peer tests have been found to facilitate more balanced interactions that are similar to everyday life conversations (Csépes, 2009), at least when one considers the distribution of speaker and listener roles. Their use has also been fueled by the growing tendency to use pair or group work in classrooms, due to the need for communicative assessment practices (Van Moere, 2013). Such practices have emphasized co-construction of L2 interaction by learners, leading us to an increased interest in the concept of Interactional Competence (IC). IC is jointly constructed by participants in interaction (He & Young, 1998, p. 7), and its take on interaction as a co-constructed phenomenon rather than an individual performance has informed research on oral proficiency assessment. Defining IC as “the competence to participate in interaction” (Kasper & Ross, 2013, p. 9), paired interactions in L2 assessment contexts have been considered to be an appropriate field of inquiry in particular by researchers who adopt Conversation Analysis (CA) (e.g. Galaczi, 2008; Lam 2018; Sandlund & Sunqvist, 2019) as a methodology.

For the assessment of an interactional activity, test-takers need to (1) maintain and contribute to a topic and (2) establish mutual understanding when problems arise. These two requirements are at the heart of the conversation analytic understanding of *progressivity*. Progressivity is particularly relevant in L2 speaking assessment interaction, especially when there is a gap (e.g., a very long silence) in talk, and no parties contribute to the ongoing interaction in the relevant next sequential slot. Such instances have previously been documented in L2 classrooms (Sert, 2015) and assessment settings (Seedhouse & Harris, 2011) and have been framed as interactional trouble or topic trouble. For interactants in an L2 speaking assessment interaction, to manage such trouble and maintain progressivity then becomes crucial, and the resources L2 users deploy to manage such trouble are worthy of investigation.

Even though learner-learner interactions in assessment settings have been researched (Ducasse & Brown, 2009; Galaczi, 2008; 2014; Nitta & Nakatsuhara, 2014), little attention has been paid to how progressivity is maintained in such contexts. To this end, using multimodal Conversation Analysis, the present study first describes how interactional trouble is flagged (Firth & Wagner, 1997) in paired peer interactions in an English as an L2 assessment setting in a higher education institution in Turkey. We then investigate how the participants resolve the trouble and maintain progressivity, forming the main focus of our analyses.

## Literature Review

### Paired Oral Assessment and Interactional Competence

With the growing popularity of communicative language teaching, it has become a necessity to produce tests that measure spoken performance. Oral proficiency interviews (OPIs) have a long history and are widely used to assess speaking ability (Kasper & Ross, 2013). However, they have been criticized for lacking validity and reliability (Salaberry, 2000; van Lier, 1989) and having little resemblance to ordinary conversation (Johnson & Tyler, 1998). Consequently, there has been increased interest in evaluating the joint performances of candidates performing in paired and group oral assessments (May, 2010, p. 3). Since pair and group oral assessments elicit rich speech samples, they have gained popularity as assessment tools (Brooks, 2009; Nitta & Nakatsuhara, 2014). According to Sandlund et al. (2016), the paired form of speaking tests gives test-takers a chance to contribute to the ongoing conversation more freely, and this allows for more complex actions and meaning negotiations. It therefore provides candidates with more opportunities to show a wider range of conversational ability (French, 1999) and more closely resembles natural conversation (Ducasse & Brown, 2009). It has also been claimed that peer-peer interaction reveals a wider range of interactional abilities when compared to the interviewer-led interaction (Taylor, 2001). According to Rydell (2019), the motive behind using the paired format is to support collaborative interaction in which learners help each other and negotiate meaning (p. 60).

As they can facilitate collaborative interaction, paired speaking tests can help demonstrate interactional skills. Kramsch's (1986) coinage of the term *interactional competence* stresses the "dynamic process of communication" (p. 368). In a similar vein, McNamara (1997) aimed to reveal the consequences of adopting a social perspective on the nature of interaction in language testing. From then on, many scholars have worked on the conceptualization of IC in language assessment (Gan et al., 2008; Brooks, 2009; Ducasse & Brown, 2009; May, 2009). In a recent work, Galaczi and Taylor (2018) have defined IC as "the ability to co-construct interaction in a purposeful and meaningful way" (p. 8). Therefore, to be able to evaluate and assess interaction, we need to document what successful interaction really constitutes. Kramsch (1986) claims that successful interaction is a combination of both shared knowledge of the world and the construction of shared internal context. Prominent recent research in the field has helped to develop an understanding of what IC encompasses (Galaczi, 2014; Kasper & Youn, 2018, Lam, 2018; Ross, 2018). Galaczi's (2014) seminal paper has revealed that in a paired speaking test, learners of different proficiency levels exhibit a variety of features of dyadic interaction in terms of turn-taking, topic development and listener support strategies, which gives us a clearer understanding of IC within different proficiency levels. Ikeda's (2017) study also reveals a similar finding stating that more proficient L2 learners are more actively involved in conversations and

engage in topic development in a more skilled way. Adding to that, Roever and Kasper (2018) have put forward that language competence and IC comprise two different types of competence, which confirms a multicomponent facet of being proficient in a language (p. 344). Those differentiated notions of IC and language proficiency gain much more importance when spoken interaction is at stake. Galaczi and Taylor (2018) state that spoken interaction cannot be defined by itself because “it is composed of resources such as topic management, turn management, interactive listening, non-verbal or visual behaviors, breakdown repair” (p. 8). This unpredictability and variability of interaction demonstrates that there needs to be thoughtful planning in order to base teaching and assessment of IC on a solid foundation (Waring, 2018, pp. 61-62). In what follows, we will review what we consider to be an additional aspect of IC, namely maintaining progressivity subsequent to interactional trouble.

### **Interactional Trouble and Progressivity in Interaction**

Schegloff et al. (1977) first defined repair as a kind of mechanism in which the ongoing talk is interrupted to address trouble in speaking, hearing and understanding. Prolonged gaze, a brief gaze aversion, gestures, and missing second pair parts (such as *uh uh*) can flag forthcoming trouble, which can be met with remedial action (Sidnell, 2015, pp. 365-366). In line with this description of trouble, interactional trouble in an institutional setting is “the emergence of a temporary misalignment in the unfolding of an interactional and pedagogical activity, which is oriented to by the participants as such through verbal and nonverbal means” (Sert, 2015, p. 58). These verbal and embodied ways comprise demonstrably long silences (Iwashita et al., 2008; Sert, 2013), lateral headshakes (Sert & Walsh, 2013), smiles (Sert & Jacknick, 2015) and withdrawal of mutual gaze or gaze aversion (Sert, 2013). Sert’s (2015) definition of interactional trouble originated from classroom interaction research, but it is applicable to other forms of institutional interaction, including, for instance, speech therapy sessions (Petitjean & Cangemi, 2016). Therefore, it will be adopted in the present study while describing paired L2 speaking assessment interactions. Interactional troubles are related to one of the central concepts in interaction: namely, preference for progressivity.

Preference for progressivity in interaction is at the heart of turn and sequence construction (Stivers & Robinson, 2006), and the resolution of interactional trouble facilitates the progressivity of the interaction. Schegloff (1979) argues that successive repairs on a trouble source is actually an orientation to progressivity, each repair making progress towards solving the trouble (pp. 277-278). In addition to this focus on repair sequences in ordinary conversations, progressivity has also been investigated from the perspective of epistemics, namely epistemic progression, in for example task-based interaction (Balaman & Sert, 2017). In test situations, advancing the in-progress activity, which is test-talk, becomes even more central to interaction, as testers won’t be able to assess test-takers if there is no interaction in progress. Since being able to

initiate and extend other-initiated topics is a characteristic of high proficiency learners (Galaczi, 2014), advancing the turn in progress may mean a higher grade in an assessment situation.

One of the studies that focused on L2 settings in terms of progressivity is Hosoda and Aline's (2013) study into preference organization in language classrooms. The authors focused on three types of sequential environments:

- (1) when the selected next speaker fails to respond at the transition relevance place (i.e. an answer is due but is absent),
- (2) when the selected next speaker claims an inability to answer, and
- (3) when the selected next speaker vocally displays difficulty in providing an answer. (p.71)

While our analyses align with some of the observations made by Hosoda and Aline (*ibid.*), we will also show that displays of difficulty and trouble go beyond vocal resources to include embodied resources like facial expressions, smiles, and gaze movements.

In our data set, progressivity of interaction refers to the resolution of interactional trouble and producing subsequent talk in an assessment setting. This focus is also related to the concept of mutuality. In Galaczi's (2008) terms, mutuality is "the creation of shared meaning from one turn to the next" (p. 97). Through creation of a shared understanding, the hearer displays understanding and affirms the teller's stance (Stivers, 2008, p.35), which entails progressivity. In the assessment literature, maintaining progressivity is still under-researched, and our study aims to fill this gap by documenting the interactional resources test-takers deploy as they orient to and accomplish the progressivity of test-talk in the event of interactional trouble.

In this research, then, how interactants orient to interactional trouble and how they maintain progressivity are our main concerns. To this end, the following research questions are posed:

1. How is interactional trouble flagged in paired L2 test-talk?
2. What kind of interactional resources and practices do test-takers deploy to maintain progressivity?

## **Method**

### **Participants**

The study took place in a higher education setting in Ankara, Turkey. The participants of the study, who all share the same L1 (i.e. Turkish), took a speaking exam as a

requirement for their academic English speaking and listening course that was offered in the 2015-2016 academic year. This was an institution wide speaking exam, and there were approximately 1300 students taking it. In the first year of their college education, all students had passed the proficiency exam prepared and conducted by testers working in the selected higher education institution. The students were considered to have at least B2 level (according to CEFR) proficiency in English. All instructors conducted the speaking exam with the students they had taught, and the same instructors also rated the students' performances. All instructors were experienced in the field of language teaching and testing, with at least 5 years of teaching experience. No rater training was given prior to this test.

### **Data**

There were two speaking exams throughout the term. Students received 15 % of their total grades from one speaking exam. The first midterm test was conducted in the 6th week of the semester while the second one was conducted in the 12th week of the semester. The data used in this research came from the first midterm only. Before the speaking exam had taken place, the instructors were asked by the institution to pair the students. High achieving students were paired with other high achievers and low achievers were paired with low achievers based on the scores of one listening quiz conducted two weeks prior to the first speaking midterm.

The data utilized in this research are 100 paired L2 assessment interactions. The average duration of each paired interaction is four minutes, and the whole data set corresponds to approximately 400 minutes of transcribed paired interactions. The rater for each class video recorded each pair's performance. During the speaking exam, there were three people present in the room: a rater and the test-takers. Test-takers were asked to choose randomly from the topic cards, in which topics were presented as opinion statements such as "euthanasia should be legal", "diet is harmful for health", "military service should be compulsory" and so on. During the pre-task planning time, test-takers were given two minutes to think and organize their ideas either individually or with their partners using their L1 (i.e. Turkish). There were prompts to help test-takers (See Appendix 1 for some of the topics and prompts), but they could also come up with their own ideas. The students were told by their teachers that they were not allowed to write anything down during the pre-task planning time. They were asked to discuss the topics in a collaborative fashion, and were expected to make use of the appropriate discussion strategies they had learnt in their lessons. Test-takers could either agree or disagree with their partners in four minutes allocated for each pair. Then, the rater rated the test-takers' interaction according to a holistic rating scale (see Appendix 2) which prioritized discourse management and interactive communication.

Jefferson's (2004) transcription system was adopted to transcribe the data. After the vocal features of interaction were annotated, the embodied features of interaction (including gaze movements, bodily orientations, and smiles) were displayed with a + sign both in the verbal and embodied tiers. The + sign marked the onset of nonverbal behaviour. In addition, we provided screenshots to achieve a clear representation with # sign that indicates the moment of the visual information relevant to talk. To achieve anonymity, the students in the paired discussions were labeled as *S1*, *S2*, *S3*<sup>2</sup>.

### Data Analysis

The data were analyzed following the principles of conversation analysis (CA), (Sacks et al., 1974; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). Following a process of unmotivated looking and initial transcription of the data, we first made a collection of cases where trouble occurred, and the progressivity halted. We then performed a sequential and multimodal analysis on these sequences and described in great detail how test-takers maintain progressivity. Test-takers' orientations to interactional trouble and the ways they maintain progressivity of test-talk became the focus of this study, as the phenomena was found to be prominent and systematic. The examination of further instances with detailed transcriptions helped us shape our research questions. Then, the sequences in which the other test-taker took the turn from the one who is displaying interactional trouble became the focus of the study. The main aim was to reveal instances in paired test-talk where test-takers managed to progress the test-talk in a collaborative fashion. This left us with 87 sequences in which trouble is resolved.

## Findings

Our collection consists of the interactional resources used to maintain progressivity of paired test-talk when one of the test-takers demonstrably orients to interactional trouble. Following next-turn proof procedure, we labeled the unfolding practices to maintain progressivity as 1) transitions to a sub-topic following interactional trouble 2) formulating an understanding following interactional trouble and 3) collaborative sequences following interactional trouble. The logic behind reporting these resources in this order is that we first identified instances that convey lower mutuality (Galaczi, 2008), where the test-takers shared understanding in a less collaborative way, and continued with the ones that result in higher mutuality progressively. In our collection, there were 87 instances of trouble resolution sequences. 28 of them included transitions to sub-topics following an interactional trouble, 20 of them were formulations of understanding following an interactional trouble, and 39 of them were collaborative sequences following interactional trouble. Our findings are demonstrated using six extracts that represent three patterns we mentioned above. Those six extracts were

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<sup>2</sup> The photos included in the figures are intentionally blurred in order to achieve anonymity.

taken from the interactions of six different pairs. Addressing our first research question, we first report on how interactional trouble is flagged, revealing various embodied resources participants deploy and orient to. The test-takers oriented to long silences, hesitation markers, gaze aversion, smiles, gazing towards the co-interactant, lateral headshakes, thinking face, gazing towards the rater, and other non-verbal cues (i.e., snapping fingers) in order to flag the interactional trouble that unfold in test-talk.

### Transitions to a Sub-Topic Following Interactional Trouble

This section provides an analysis of two extracts to account for how transitions to a sub-topic help progress the talk. Extract 1 illustrates two different sub-topic transitions deployed as a resource to maintain progressivity of dyadic test-talk. The extract starts with a discussion on whether private universities are better than state universities.

#### Extract 1

```

1      S2:  +erm: err i like err: this university↑=
          +looks down

2          =err because err i have erm (1.3) err: i +feel err
          +puts
          hand on chest

3          good in this school.= erm this +university,= err
          +smiles

4          (3.3)
5      S2:  erm (0.6) erm:
6          (1.5)
7          ((mutual gaze))
          #1

```



Figure 1

```

8          ((S2 averts gaze & smiles))
          #2

```



Figure 2

9 → S1: err also err we have +err (1.2) small class classes,  
+looks up

10 (0.8)

11 S1: and (0.7) err: +this↑  
+mutual gaze

12 (0.5)

13 S1: good thing (0.7) +good,  
+snaps her fingers & mutual gaze

14 (3.3)

15 ((S1 averts gaze & smiles))  
#3



Figure 3

16 (1.2)

17 → S2: erm: (1.9) <especially:> err this university, (0.3)

18 err university's lab err has (0.6) erm err very

19 equipment,=err: i erm i now err:

From lines 1 to 5, S2 gives the reason why she likes her university. However, the progressivity of the turn is disrupted since there are gaze aversions, smiles, long silences (3.3 seconds and 1.5 seconds) and hesitation markers flagging interactional trouble. In addition, test-takers establish mutual gaze (see Figure 1) and S2 smiles (see Figure 2). This smile may also be indicating forthcoming interactional trouble since the progressivity of the interaction is disrupted (Sert & Jacknick, 2015, p. 104). In line 9, S1 takes the floor, pivoting (Jefferson, 1984) to the tangentially related sub-topic of small



5 (0.9)  
 6 S3: so err: (1.9) some-how we need to (.) overcome  
 7 this o- odds to (.) makes ourself more (0.5) err  
 8 powerful let's say.  
 9 ((S3 looks at S4))  
 10 (1.2)  
 11 S3: +err (1.3) i think like that.  
 +averts gaze

12 (6.4)  
 13 ((S4 displays a thinking face for 10.5 sec))  
 #4



Figure 4

14 (1.0)  
 15 S4: °°((+incomprehensible talk))°°  
 +looks down

16 (5.1)  
 17 → S3: so let's talk about the some +err (.) psychology  
 +mutual gaze

18 about motivation †what's the motivation meaning in  
 19 err psychology.  
 20 (1.0)  
 21 S4: motivation means err you (.) /konsentres/ something +very  
 +S3  
 nods

22 err  
 23 (1.5)  
 24 ((S4 claps hands))  
 25 S4: a lot [concentrate something a lot,  
 26 S3: [+yeah yeah yeah°  
 +nods

From lines 1 to 9, S3 argues that life is not just about friends, but we have to be successful to gain money and reputation for ourselves. S4 displays listenership (referred to as interactive listening in IC research) throughout this turn with two separate nods in lines 3 and 4. S3's extended turn comes to a completion in line 9. Then, S3 gazes towards S4 most probably in order to allocate the turn to S4. In line 10, there is a 1.2 second silence, where a transition is relevant. However, with no response from S4 forthcoming, S3 self-selects (Sacks et al., 1974) to pursue a response by producing

an increment (i think like that). This is followed by a very long silence (6.4 seconds), followed by an additional 10.5 seconds during which S4 displays a thinking face (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986, see Figure 4). After another 1.0 second silence, S4 looks down while murmuring something quietly in line 15, which is followed by a lapse (5.1 seconds). Following all these interactional resources that clearly flag trouble, in line 17, progressivity is re-established by S3 who changes the topic of the interaction (so let's talk about). This explicit move for this marked topic transition demonstrates S3's interactional ability (Gan et al., 2008), since it shows how S3 is able to monitor the talk's content and make changes accordingly. After this so-prefaced sub-topic transition, in line 18, S3 asks an information seeking question to S4 (↑what's the motivation meaning in err psychology.). Following a 1.0 second silence, S4 provides the second pair part of this question-answer adjacency pair, by engaging in definitional talk. S3's information seeking question, then, helps the interaction move forward and maintain progressivity of test-talk in a way that also helps the co-participant, S4, retain the turn.

Different from Extract 1, one embodied action, the "thinking face" (line 13), flags interactional trouble here within a word-search. In terms of progressivity, it can be argued that asking an information-seeking question after the deployment of sub-topic transition not only helps the interaction progress, but also helps the test-taker who has trouble in providing a response retain his turn. In both extracts above, it has been observed that transitioning to a sub-topic in the event of interactional trouble helps test-talk progress. In the first extract, transitioning to a sub-topic is an indication of low mutuality since test-takers do not attend to topics initiated by each other. However, the information seeking question in extract 2 helps the test-takers to achieve mutuality (Galaczi, 2014), since it paves the way for the joint construction of topical talk.

### **Formulations of Understanding Following Interactional Trouble**

In our data set, similar to sub-topic transition practices, formulations of understanding have also been found to promote the progressivity of the interaction subsequent to interactional trouble. Using two extracts, we illustrate that formulations of understanding are produced in two forms: claims of understanding and demonstrations of understanding. While claims of understanding can include a mere repetition of the previous turn or just a claim of understanding (e.g., "I understand you"), in formulating demonstrations of understanding, a speaker re-references, rephrases or re-describes the previous turn(s) (Heritage, 2007; Mondada, 2011). The analysis of the following extracts, then, uncovers the sequential unfolding of formulations of understanding and their role in maintaining progressivity in paired test-talk.

In the extract that follows, the topic is whether advertising is harmful, and our analysis demonstrates how a claim of understanding is deployed to maintain the ongoing interaction.

**Extract 3**

1 S6: too much consumption is very +bad.  
+looks at S5

2 ((S5 nods))  
3 (4.0)

4 S5: °+err true i err i agree,°  
+looks down

5 (3.1)  
6 ((S5 looks at the rater for 0.5 sec))  
7 ((S6 looks at S5))  
8 ((mutual gaze & S5 smiles))  
#5

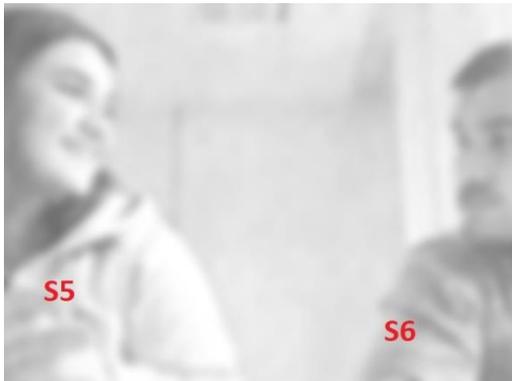


Figure 5

9 (1.6)

10 → S6: £okay (0.5) i understand you,£  
11 ((S5 looks at the rater & smiles for 0.8 sec))

12 S6: err: (2.4) advertisement err  
13 ((S6 coughs))  
14 (2.0)

15 S6: i: want (0.4) say about (0.8) /+advertaimenzt/  
+looks at rater

16 +advertisements (.) disadvantages,  
+averts gaze

In line 1, S6 provides an assessment on consumption (too much consumption is very bad.) with a falling intonation contour at the end of the turn, which makes a transition to the other interactant relevant. At this point, S6 gazes at S5, possibly selecting S5 as the next speaker. In line 2, S5 nods, which is followed by 4.0 second silence. She then formulates an explicit agreement (°err true i err i agree,°) with her gaze fixed on the topic card. The continuing intonation at the end may display that S5 is not ceding the floor. However, long pauses (3.1 seconds and 1.6 seconds) and gaze orientations towards the rater and S6 (see Figure 5) flag interactional trouble. S6 claims understanding (£okay (0.5) i understand you,£) with a smile, which might be deployed to maintain affiliation (Sert & Jacknick, 2015). This claim of understanding facilitates progressivity. It should, however, be noted that S5 had not produced anything which

makes a claim of understanding relevant. In this line of thinking, S6's claim of understanding is oriented towards the progressivity of the interaction, since it treats the prior action as complete and moves the interaction forward even if the trouble was unresolved. In line 11, S5 looks at the rater again with a smile, which might indicate that S5 is trying to mitigate the trouble she is displaying to maintain affiliation. In line 15, S6 starts his turn with a candidate topic initiation marker (i: want (0.4) say about (0.8) /advertaimenzt/ advertisements(.) disadvantages,).

In this extract, we have shown that interactional trouble is flagged through the deployment of long silences, gaze aversion, gazing towards the co-interactant and smiles. The claim of understanding initiated by S6 acts as a resource to maintain the progressivity of test-talk, despite the preceding stall in the progression of interaction.

A demonstration of understanding is another prevalent interactional resource that promotes higher mutuality between co-interactants. Extract 4 below illustrates deployment of a demonstration of understanding to resolve the interactional trouble, maintain progressivity, and secure mutuality (Galaczi, 2008). The pair is discussing whether an arranged marriage is better than a love marriage.

#### Extract 4

```

1      S8:  arranged marriage, arrang- arranged +marriage↑ err
                                                +S7 nods

2          +include +err: (1.3) who or h- h- him or her +err (0.3)
          +looks   +averts gaze                       +looks at S7
          at S7

3          family?
4          ((S7 nods))
5          (0.5)
6      S8:  and err:: if err families↑ (0.3) err: enter
7          ((S7 nods for 0.9 seconds))
8          life↑ enter her or hir- his life↑ erm (0.7) +they erm::
                                                         +thinking
                                                         face
                                                         #6

```



Figure 6

- 9 (4.9)
- 10 S8: +[ya or  
ah  
+hand gesture
- 11 → S7: [you think +err: they the family may +interfere in your  
+S8 looks at S7 +mutual gaze
- 12 personal life.
- 13 (1.1)
- 14 S8: +yes.  
+looks down
- 15 (0.4)
- 16 S7: with your soulmate °maybe°
- 17 S8: oh yes yes erm maybe↑ (0.4) err: (2.2) +husban- hus-  
+looks at S7
- 18 +err: husband's mother err li- lie live err with live  
+S7 nods
- 19 with err they them they.

From lines 1 to 8, S8's explanation of arranged marriage includes cut-offs, hesitation markers, intra-turn silences, gaze orientations and thinking face (see Figure 6) flagging interactional trouble. After a demonstrably long silence in line 9 (4.9 seconds), S7 uses a stance marker with the pronoun you (you think) to formulate S8's stance and demonstrate understanding in line 11. The candidate understanding produced in this turn maintains progressivity of talk and is a reformulation of S8's contribution (err: they the family may interfere in your personal life.) This demonstration of understanding is produced in an overlap with S8's initiation of another turn, which she abandons after hearing S7's contribution (Lerner, 1989, p.170). By demonstrating her understanding with a reformulation, S7 displays a high degree of alignment with S8 (Dings, 2014). This demonstration of understanding acts as a repair initiation and a request for confirmation, which makes a response from S8 relevant, and is therefore a facilitator of progressivity. After a 1.1 second silence, S8 confirms S7's understanding. However, S8 provides a very minimal affirmative response and looks down. 0.4 second silence follows this confirmation. In line 16, S7 self-selects and adds an increment (a prepositional phrase) which re-completes her previous turn in order to pursue a response from S8. Without a delay, S8 confirms S7's understanding with an *oh*-prefaced assessment, marking her epistemic independence (Heritage, 2002) and multiple sayings of yes, furthering the in progress course of action (Stivers, 2004). From lines 17 to 19, S8 extends the topic. As S8 flags her difficulties in constructing the turn with cut-offs and hesitation markers, S7 provides continuers by nodding (Gardner, 2001; Mondada, 2011), and S8's turn reaches syntactic completion in line 19.

Similar to the analyses of Extract 1, Extract 2 and Extract 3, interactional trouble is flagged by long silences, hesitation markers, and a thinking face (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). It has also been illustrated in Extract 4 that a demonstration of understanding with a reformulation not only manages to help maintain the progressivity of test-talk but also help both test-takers reach mutuality and develop topics initiated by others (Galaczi, 2014).

### Collaborative Sequences Following Interactional Trouble

In our data set, to maintain the progressivity of test-talk, test-takers also resorted to turn completions and engaged in collaborative sequences. Collaborative sequences can also be called joint turn construction where “participants engage in talk and build a conversation together by producing utterances in concert with one another” (Taguchi, 2014, p. 521). According to Lerner and Takagi (1999), continuations to another participant’s turn can occur when the progressivity of the interaction halts (as in word-search sequences), after a turn constructional unit comes to a possible completion (by adding the next increment to it) or after projecting an emerging turn’s possible completion. In our data, they tend to occur when there is a halt in the progressivity of test-talk.

Extract 5 is a case in point. This extract comes from a pair discussing the topic of whether eating vegetarian food is harmful for your health. S9 states how she felt better after eating vegan food for a short time.

#### Extract 5

```

1  S10:= +i thi:nk the reason that you didn't get sick is because
      +scratches her chin
2      you did it +like for a month = you know [if you will be
      +mutual gaze
3  S9:                                     [+yes yes
      +nods
4  S10:a vegetarian, for >i don't know like< ten years +i think
      +S9 nods
5      it would definitely?(0.4) +have a [err:
      +looks down
      #7

```



Figure 7

6 → S9: [consequences+  
+mutual  
gaze

7 S10: yes it will have consequences= it will have a effect  
8 on your body.

9 S9: [+yes  
+nods

10 S10: [and i don't think that(.) that effect will be positive  
11 at first↑= but i think it will (0.3) cause many diseases  
12 (0.3) in the long run.

13 S9: you need to /bo-/ be +patient for that.  
+S10 nods

From lines 1 to 5, S10 muses about S9's veganism. Towards the end of line 5, S10 initiates the final part of that hypothetical situation (it would definitely?(0.4)have) accompanied by gaze orientation towards the topic card in line 5 (see Figure 7) and a hesitation marker. S10's hesitation marker overlaps with S9's candidate completion ([consequences) in line 6, at the end of which the test-takers engage in mutual gaze. S9's candidate completion resolves the stall and enables progressivity of the talk. In line 7, S10 first receives this completion with an agreement marker (yes) without a delay. Then, S10 incorporates the candidate completion into the final part of her turn (it will have consequences) by not only claiming an understanding but also demonstration of understanding with replacing the word *consequences* with *effect*. This demonstration of understanding quickly receives an agreement marker and the progressivity of the sequence is maintained.

This sequence is rich in terms of collaborative peer talk. First of all, the co-interactant giving the candidate completion shows higher alignment and mutuality when compared to the others because S9 was able to project the upcoming utterance and offer a candidate completion skillfully which promotes the progressivity of test-talk. The receipt of the completion is another phenomenon that needs close investigation in this context. S10 not only uses an agreement marker and incorporates the completion into her utterance, but also reformulates it with a synonymous equivalent. This shows how interactionally competent both these test-takers are because they both attend to

each other's contributions skillfully. In addition, line 13 is another example of how both test-takers attend to topics initiated by each other and develop the dialogue in a collaborative fashion because S9 provides additional information which is in harmony with S10's previous turn. All of the moves mentioned above demonstrate a high degree of alignment (Dings, 2014).

In the extract below, the pair is also discussing the topic of whether eating vegetarian food is harmful for your health. At the beginning of the conversation, S11 initiates the test talk by stating that vegetarianism is not harmful for your health especially for people playing sport. Then, he allocates the turn to S12 by asking about her opinion. An example of a collaborative completion after the clausal connector "so" is shown below:

### Extract 6

```

1      S12:  err generally people err don't (.) eat (0.8) err
2          (0.9) vegetarian eating +but err:
                +claps hands

3          ((looks up for 3.5 seconds))
4          need to (.) err +vegetarian +eating,
                +looks at   +averts gaze
                S11

5          (0.6)
6      S12:  hh. err: so↑
7          (0.8)
8  → S11:  err +it can be +balanced
                +mutual   +hand gesture
                gaze      #8

```



Figure 8

```

9      S12:  +balanced yes erm (1.8) err reduce the risk of many
                +hand gesture& nods
                #9

```

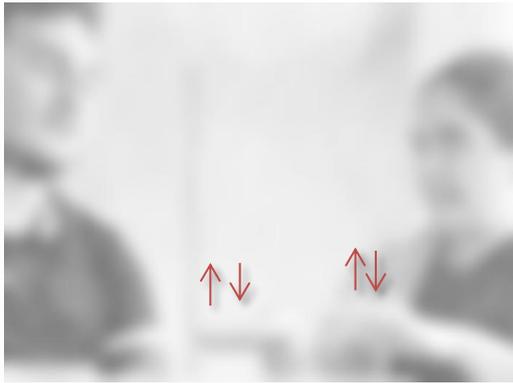


Figure 9

10 diseases= hearth err cancer (.) maybe.

From lines 1 to 6, S12 marks her stance on the topic of eating vegetarian food with various turn holding devices such as rising intonation, elongated hesitation marker, clausal connectors such as *but* in line 2 and *so*↑ in line 6. However, S12's gaze and bodily orientations and long silences flag interactional trouble. The incomplete turn at the end of line 6, in concert with S12's hesitation markers and gaze aversions, also mark some kind of interactional trouble. In line 8, S11 takes the turn and completes S12's incomplete utterance, and it solves the halt in the progression of the test-talk. Furthermore, S11's candidate completion (*err it can be balanced*) is embodied with a hand gesture (see Figure 8). S12 uses four different resources to accept the completion: using a confirmation marker (*yes*), repetition of the candidate completion, nodding and imitation of the embodied action (see Figure 9). After the resolution of the trouble, S12 continues with her turn by talking about the health benefits of vegetarian eating. This also shows that they develop the topics in a collaborative fashion.

The above extract is another example of collaborative completion that resolves interactional trouble and maintains the progressivity of test-talk. While resolving the trouble, how test-takers make use of embodied actions is another phenomenon that is note-worthy. Because active embodied behavior creates an impression of "interactive competence" (Jenkins & Parra, 2003, p.102), use of embodied actions can have implications for the interactional resources test-takers utilize during paired test-talk. Test-takers in this case co-construct the interaction using a range of interactional resources. These resources account for the existence of IC that both test-takers display because IC is concerned with how co-interactants manage communication together (Dings, 2007).

The analyses of Extract 5 and Extract 6 have demonstrated that collaborative completions are indicative of interspeaker coordination (Galaczi, 2014). It has been observed that collaborative completions cause less abrupt topic shifts, and speakers contribute to the ongoing talk in a stepwise fashion (Galaczi, 2014), which thus promotes progressivity of test-talk.

## Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, we have illustrated how interactional trouble is flagged in a paired oral assessment setting. We then revealed how test-talk is maintained following interactional trouble, contributing to our understanding of the centrality of progressivity in interactional competence in the context of paired speaking tests. These findings have the potential for contributing to teaching and testing IC since “the ability to repair problems and maintaining a shared understanding” is considered to be a feature of IC (Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011, p. 3).

The progressivity of test-talk subsequent to interactional trouble has been a systematically recurring phenomenon in our data set. In response to our first research question, the analyses we presented have shown that test-takers flag interactional trouble by deploying a variety of verbal and embodied resources such as long silences, hesitation markers, gaze aversion, smiles, non-verbal cues (i.e., snapping fingers), gazing towards the co-interactant, lateral headshakes, thinking face and gazing towards the rater. The interactional trouble has been resolved to a varying degree, and the test-takers employed sub-topic transitions, formulations of understanding, and collaborative turn sequences to maintain progressivity (the second research question). Out of 87 instances in our collection, 28 of the cases included sub-topic transitions to maintain progressivity. Such practices have been effective in maintaining progressivity because they help break the silence during test-talk. However, sub-topic transitions without orienting to the trouble source bring forth weak topical alignment and low mutuality, because test-takers do not engage with each other’s ideas (Galaczi, 2008; Galaczi & Taylor, 2018). When sub-topic transitions are accompanied with an information seeking question (Extract 2), they invite jointly constructed performances (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995) and assure the maintenance of topics along with test-talk, which results in mutual understanding (Seedhouse & Walsh, 2010). The maintenance of topics demonstrates a more developed IC (Dings, 2014). Topical alignment in transitions, then, could be considered while assessing test takers’ L2 speaking ability.

Following interactional trouble, the test-takers also formulated understandings to be able to promote the progressivity of test-talk. Formulations of understanding were practiced in the form of claims of understanding and demonstrations of understanding, which the test-takers utilized to maintain the progressivity of the interaction in 20 cases within our collection. We have also shown that claims of understanding (i.e., I understand you, I agree with you, I do not agree with you, that is true) usually act as an assessment of the previous turn of the co-interactants who display trouble. It generally closes the topical sequence (Button, 1991; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992), and the test-taker claiming understanding initiates a sub-topic transition after that. This indicates a relatively weaker version of topical alignment. Demonstrations of understanding (e.g., you mean +reformulation, you think + reformulation, you say + reformulation), on the other hand, have resulted in relatively

higher alignment and achievement of shared understanding, since they almost always require a reformulation of the previous contributions of the producer of the trouble source. They enable forthcoming turn transition and fuel topic development, which helps test-takers achieve stronger alignment and higher mutuality (Galaczi & Taylor, 2018).

Lastly, the test-takers formed collaborative sequences following interactional trouble in our data set. According to Taguchi (2014), collaborative sequences serve the purpose of developing a shared understanding and are linked to IC (also see Sert 2019a for a longitudinal study). Our collection includes 39 instances when test-takers completed each other's utterances. As has been mentioned before, collaborative sequences are the most effective moves to maintain progressivity. Regardless of whether they occur at the lexical or sentential level, they help the interaction progress. Furthermore, they help test-takers reach a shared understanding because they make receipts of completion relevant (Lerner, 2004). Collaborative sequences indicate interspeaker coordination, and they are evidences of high mutuality between speakers (Galaczi & Taylor, 2018). As interspeaker coordination and high mutuality between speakers can be evidence of IC (Galaczi, 2014), it can be argued that collaborative sequences that maintain progressivity following interactional trouble should be considered a part of speakers' IC.

Knowledge about the interactional resources that flag trouble and practices that maintain progressivity can be useful for teachers, testers, and test-takers. Test-takers' conversational ability to take the floor and help progress the test-talk by acting on long silences, smiles and other visual cues can be considered as interactional accomplishments, which may inform practices of assessment. Also, listening closely, or attentive listening (Sert, 2019a) and expanding on the other-initiated topics have previously been found to be related to interactional competencies (Gan et al., 2008; Jeon, 2012), and our findings are also in line with such claims. In our data, while sub-topic transitions without orienting to the trouble source (Extract 1) indicated demonstratively less shared understanding, when transitions were accompanied with information seeking questions, the result was more promising in terms of progressivity as well as shared understanding between test-takers. It was because the test-taker resolving the trouble managed to expand on the topic which was initiated by the other, thus promoting the progressivity of the test-talk.

Based on our findings, we want to suggest some implications for rater training and the development of rating scales. One suggestion could be that raters can be trained using already recorded and analyzed paired test interactions. Being able to notice resources to deal with interactional trouble and address progressivity, raters may be able to make more informed decisions to give necessary credits (or not) for particular interactional resources. Therefore, "Resolving interactional trouble and enabling

progressivity" can be added to the rubrics used by the raters. Learners' awareness of such interactional resources can be useful in testing situations.

As mentioned earlier in the review of literature, preference for progressivity can be at play when a participant "vocally displays difficulty in providing an answer" (Hosoda & Aline, 2013). We have, in addition to their findings, have shown the crucial role of embodied resources in the management of interactional trouble and maintainance of progressivity. Embodied resources, including gaze movements, smiles, and various forms of gestures, are integral to assessment practices and cannot be isolated from what is being assessed: interaction. Given that embodied resources like smiles, hand gestures (aus der Wieschen & Sert, 2018; Eskildsen & Wagner, 2015; Sert, 2017), gaze orientations (Sert, 2019b; Waring & Carpenter, 2019) have been found to be integral resources in institutional interaction, it is not surprising that they are important for a complete understanding of IC in assessment practices. However, one should note that cultural constraints may also play a role in the preference for progressivity (Stivers & Robinson, 2006) as well as in the deployment of gestures. The candidates in our study were all from the same L1 background, but further research is needed to investigate cultural as well as cross-linguistic differences.

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## Appendix 1 Sample topics with their prompts

### 1. Topic: Telling white lies is acceptable.

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Protecting others' (a friend, mother, sister, wife etc.) feeling</li> <li>- Saving others from minor embarrassment, hurt and shame</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Being dishonest</li> <li>- Disappointing your close friends or family members</li> </ul>

### 2. Topic: Animals should be used for scientific testing.

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Contributing to many life-saving cures and treatments</li> <li>- No other alternative to test on a living, whole-body system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Being cruel and inhuman</li> <li>- Being different from human beings and therefore making poor test subjects.</li> </ul>

### 3. Topic: Nuclear power is a safe source of energy.

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Being a great alternative to petroleum and coal</li> <li>- Being clean (it does not produce greenhouse gases)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Being harmful for people (It produces radioactive wastes)</li> <li>- a Chernobyl-type accident could create a disaster</li> </ul>

### 4. Topic: Examinations are not good for education.

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- putting pressure on students</li> <li>- not being sufficient to evaluate the real capabilities of students</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- being a good way to judge if students have understood</li> <li>- helping students understand pressure which he/she will face in their professional lives.</li> </ul>

### 5. Topic: Arranged marriage is better than love marriage.

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The divorce rate is lower</li> <li>- They get more support from family members in case of a problem</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- You may not get on well with the 'arranged person'</li> <li>- Life will be better with someone you 'love'</li> </ul>

**6. Topic: Class attendance should be optional to university students.**

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- students are mature enough to make their own decision</li> <li>- books and other sources are enough to keep up with the courses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- learning is better thanks to teachers</li> <li>- students learn from each other</li> </ul>

**7. Topic: Zoos should be banned.**

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- animals are not well cared</li> <li>- they are away from nature</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- zoos save animals</li> <li>- people enjoy different animals</li> </ul>

**8. Topic: People should be allowed to carry guns.**

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- may be a life saver when in danger</li> <li>- feeling safer and more powerful</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- dangerous and risky</li> <li>- may create chaos</li> </ul>

**9. Topic: Having a pet at home is good.**

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- they are good friends</li> <li>- they reduce stress</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- animals should live in the nature</li> <li>- they may pass diseases to you</li> </ul>

**10. Topic: Hunting for sport is wrong.**

For:	Against:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- destroying the balance of the ecosystem</li> <li>- making an animal suffer unnecessarily</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- eating meat is healthy for people</li> <li>- both enjoying nature and exercising</li> </ul>

## Appendix 2

### Speaking Midterm Rating Scale

Name & Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ Section: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Discourse Management	NA	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost always
The utterances are relevant to the topic.	0		0.5		1
Content is rich; ideas are developed with elaboration and detail.	0	0.5	1.5	2.5	3
Interactive Communication					
Moves conversation forward by listening closely and commenting by taking turns	0	0.5	1	1.5	2
Uses appropriate discussion strategies to maintain interaction at an appropriate level	0	0.5	1	1.5	2
Fluency		<b>Frequently hinders the communication</b>		<b>Clear with some mistakes</b>	
Grammar use	0	0.5		1	
Vocabulary use	0	0.5		1	
				<b>Total : ____/10</b>	