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A Conversation Analytic Study on the Functions of the Discourse Marker "You know" in a Video-Mediated Task-Based Context[1]

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Abstract

Discourse markers (DMs), also referred to as markers or particles, are integral resources in talk-in-interaction, understood as the context-sensitive and sequential organization of language through which participants collaboratively accomplish social actions. Adopting a Conversation Analytic (CA) approach, the study draws on a dataset of video-recorded dyadic interactions involving 30 EFL participants from Türkiye and Tunisia, engaged in collaborative tasks in a video-mediated task-based context. The analysis focuses on a subset of analytically selected cases in which participants demonstrably orient to "*you know"* in the unfolding sequence of talk. The data gathered from the participants were transcribed and analyzed using Jefferson Transcription Conventions (2004), Mondada Multimodal Conventions (2016) and Balaman and Sert's transcrition conventions for on-screen activity (2017); thereby ensuring that the multimodal interactions were as accurately depicted as possible. The findings show that "*you know"* is recurrently deployed across a range of sequential environments. Across these environments, its interactional contribution is not fixed but emerges from its sequential positioning and from participants' displayed orientations in subsequent turns and embodied conduct. In particular, "*you know"* is consistently associated with the management of recipiency and the maintenance of progressivity in interaction. By grounding the analysis in participants' observable orientations, the study demonstrates how a recurrent discourse marker is adapted to the contingencies of video-mediated, task-based interaction.

Key Words

Discourse markers
Video-mediated interaction
Task-based interaction
Conversation analysis

About Article

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Introduction

Discourse markers (DMs) are broadly defined as sequential elements that frame segments of talk, offering contextual cues for interpretation (Schiffrin, 1987). Fraser (1999) describes them as linguistic items that reflect a speaker's stance toward the unfolding interaction. Beeching (2016) refers to them as pragmatic markers and stresses that markers like you know operate not just as fillers in talk but as resources that can contribute to interactional meaning. Conversation Analysis (CA) tends to refer to these items as markers or particles and emphasizes their role in constructing turns and managing sequence organisation, focusing on their placement within turns and their function in maintaining the flow of interaction (Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018; Schegloff, 2007). They cannot be fully understood in isolation, as their functions are closely tied to the sequential and interactional contexts in which they occur (Aijmer, 2002; Fox-Tree, 2010; Whong, 2011). In this sense, DMs can be understood as locally deployed practices contributing immensely to the interactional management (Schiffrin, 1987).

Within this broader domain, the marker "*you know"* has attracted considerable attention. Earlier work has moved away from treating it as meaningless filler and instead demonstrated its role as a multifunctional interactional resource (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002; Clayman & Raymond, 2021). Studies have shown that *you know* can be used to project upcoming elaborations, invoke shared knowledge, and invite recipient alignment (Diskin-Holdaway, 2021; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Östman, 1981). Its deployment is closely tied to sequential positioning, with speakers using it to manage turn progression, negotiate epistemic stance, and secure recipiency in ongoing interaction (Clayman & Raymond, 2021; Degand & van Bergen, 2018). For instance, turn-initial "*you know"* often signals upcoming elaborations, hedging, or topic shifts (Hakulinen, 2001). It is heavily relied upon in English conversations (Clayman & Raymond, 2021), and it plays a critical role in managing interaction. Through its use in talk-in-interaction, speakers can enhance epistemic management, and conversational repair, thereby underscoring its significance in managing the intersubjective dynamics of talk that ensure progressivity (Degand & van Bergen, 2018). Importantly, these functions are not inherent to the marker itself but are accomplished through participants' orientations as displayed in the unfolding sequence of talk. This perspective of "*you know"* guides our understanding of what is happening in talk-in-interaction where this marker is utilized. Building on these perspectives on DMs, this study adopts the view that you know functions interactionally at turns and sequences.

Discourse Marker "You know"

DMs play a pivotal role in managing interaction, organising sequences and turns, ensuring coherence within talk and smooth flow of the conversation (Brinton, 2010; Lopez-Villegas, 2019; Schiffrin, 1987). The function of *"you know"* is inferred from its position and uptake in interaction (Lopez-Villages, 2019). Literature on "*you know"* shows that speakers use it to cue listeners that they align in their understanding of the subject, encouraging the listener to treat the upcoming information as mutually known or familiar (Diskin-Holdaway, 2021; Fox-Tree & Schrock, 2002; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Östman, 1981) help sustain the conversational flow by signaling transitions and clarifying intentions (Schegloff, 1996). Lerner (1996) shows that "*you know"* facilitates repair and turn-entry, allowing speakers to align with or diverge from prior turns. Despite this growing body of work, research on "*you know"* has been largely based on face-to-face or co-present interaction. Much less is known about how this marker operates in video-mediated interaction (VMI), particularly among non-native speakers, where the organisation of interaction differs in consequential ways (VMI-TBI). This is the specific gap our study addresses. The interactional setting introduces distinct features such as screen-based turn-taking cues, facial and bodily conduct. Therefore, analysing its use in video-mediated contexts offers valuable insights into how participants adapt these practices in such environments. The following section outlines the nature of the interactional setting and its relevance to the present study.

You know in Video-mediated Task-based Interaction

This study is situated at the intersection of two key contexts: video-mediated interaction (VMI) and task-based interaction (TBI). As the medium of dyadic interactions, VMI is of great importance in this study. VMI reshapes the ecology of talk by introducing screen-based participation frameworks, altered gaze orientations, and potential temporal disruptions such as latency (Mondada et al., 2014; Due & Licoppe, 2020). CA research has shown that participants adapt their interactional practices to these conditions, developing methods for managing turn-taking, coordinating attention, and handling technical contingencies in real time (Balaman & Sert, 2017). While a small number of studies have begun to examine discourse markers in such settings (Fernández Polo, 2021), the interactional deployment of "*you know"* in video-mediated environments remains largely unexplored.

In addition to the mediated nature of interaction, the present study is situated within task-based interaction (TBI), where participants engage in goal-oriented activities that require sustained coordination and mutual understanding. Task-based work has shown that participants rely on a range of linguistic and interactional resources to organise collaboration, establish shared knowledge, and maintain progressivity (Balaman & Pekarek Doehler, 2022; González-Lloret & Ortega, 2014). Within such settings, markers like "*you know"* have been observed to support knowledge claims, preface proposals, and facilitate joint attention during collaborative work (Herder et al., 2022; Rangraz, 2014; Youn, 2023). These findings suggest that "*you know"* may play a particularly salient role in environments where participants must continuously negotiate understanding while advancing a task.

Bringing these strands together, video-mediated task-based interaction (VMI-TBI) constitutes a context in which participants must simultaneously manage the contingencies of a mediated environment and the demands of collaborative task completion. This dual orientation places heightened importance on practices that secure recipiency, coordinate participation, and sustain intersubjectivity. While "*you know"* has been shown to contribute to these interactional concerns in other settings, its role within VMI-TBI remains underexamined.

Accordingly, this study investigates how "*you know"* is mobilised as an interactional resource in video-mediated task-based interaction. Adopting a Conversation Analytic approach, the study examines the sequential environments in which "*you know"* occurs, the actions it contributes to, and how participants display their orientations to its use in subsequent turns. In doing so, it aims to contribute to CA research on discourse markers by demonstrating how a recurrent particle is adapted to the specific interactional contingencies of mediated, task-oriented communication.

The following research questions were formulated for this study:

RQ1. What are the functions of the discourse marker "*you know*" as it is displayed by the participants themselves in dyadic video-mediated task-based interactions of non-native speakers of English?

RQ2. In what sequential positioning does the discourse marker "*you know*" emerge in non-native dyadic partners' turns?

RQ3. How does multimodality support the use of "*you know*" within turns in the video-mediated task-based interactions?

Method

This study employs Conversation Analysis (CA) as its methodological framework for examining the task-based video-mediated interactions of dyads. CA is a fundamentally inductive, ethnomethodological approach to language that treats speakers' talk in situ as data (Wooffitt, 2005). It aims to uncover the structural organisation of everyday, natural spoken interaction (Markee, 2005). A key principle in CA is the use of an unmotivated analytic stance, which involves examining data without imposing pre-conceived ideas, thereby allowing interactional patterns and participant-relevant actions to emerge naturally from the interactional context (Psathas, 1995).

CA rests on several interrelated principles about how talk is produced and understood in interaction such as sequentiality, turn-taking, turn design and recipient design. Sequentiality states that every turn at talk is shaped by prior turns and shapes upcoming turns, such as adjacency pairs where

the second turn is contextually relevant to the first (Schegloff, 2007; Heritage, 1984). Turn-taking is governed by an interactional system through which speakers coordinate who speaks when. It relies on participants' use of turn-constructional units and methods of turn allocation to minimize interactional troubles (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Turn design refers to how speakers format their utterances to perform actions in context (Schegloff, 1996). Speakers choose specific grammatical and prosodic formats in particular sequential positions to accomplish tasks. Closely related is recipient design which is when participants tailor their talk to the knowledge and needs of specific listeners. As Sacks (1992) argued, participants in ordinary conversation design their talk for its specific recipients, orienting toward what they believe their co-participants know, constantly considering the co-participant's knowledge and expectations when framing each turn. These principles inform CA from data selection to transcription to analytic procedure. Together they ensure that the analysis of interactional phenomena arises naturally from how those elements function in real interactions by assuming an emic orientation. Every observable aspect of talk such as prosodic cues, silences, overlaps, or laughter is considered potentially meaningful (Mondada, 2018). All these features play a role in how an utterance is received and understood.

After receiving the approval of the ethics committee for data use, CA principles were followed for the data analysis that focused on naturally occurring conversations of task-based video-mediated dyadic participants, in which the discourse marker "*you know"* frequently emerged. The interactional roles and functions of "*you know"* were explored in detail, drawing on CA's commitment to uncovering how participants orient to each other's actions and how meaning is co-constructed in conversation.

Study group

The participants were part of an Erasmus+ project which integrates task-based learning and video-mediated interaction. They were put into dyads. The total number of dyads is 30. The dyads met on Zoom to complete the tasks assigned to them by their lecturers. The participants were from two different countries. Each dyad had one student from Türkiye and one from Tunisia. The data for this study come from 2 different dyads. The amount of recorded interaction for these 2 dyads is 2 hours 40 minutes. The Turkish students were English Language Teaching students at a state university in Türkiye. One of the Tunisian students was an MA student in the department of English for communication, and the other one was an MA student in the department of business. Each dyad completed task-based activities designed to simulate authentic problem-solving. They were assigned tasks that they can reach on the project platform which is designed to be used for the project participants and researchers.

The present analysis does not aim to provide a quantitative account of its frequency, but rather to examine in detail how the marker is deployed as an interactional resource. Following Conversation Analytic principles, the excerpts presented in this study were selected on the basis of their analytic relevance rather than their statistical representativeness (Schegloff, 1996). Specifically, the cases were chosen as instances in which participants demonstrably orient to "*you know"* in the unfolding sequence of interaction, as evidenced through subsequent turns. These excerpts constitute analytically rich cases that make visible the interactional work accomplished by the marker in managing recipiency, coordinating participation, and sustaining progressivity in talk.

While the analysis focuses on a subset of dyads and a limited number of instances, the practices identified are not treated as isolated occurrences but as recurrent interactional phenomena observed across the dataset. The aim, therefore, is not to generalize in a statistical sense, but to explicate the interactional organization of "*you know"* as it is locally produced and responded to in video-mediated task-based interaction.

Data Collection Process

Participants were recruited as non-native speakers (university students) of L2. Participants' consent was obtained for audio-video recording. Institutional ethics approval was obtained from [MuğlaSıtkıKoçman University Social and Human Sciences Ethics Committee, 2023]. Participants' names have been pseudonymized, and visual data have been manipulated to obscure identifying

features. Before the task-based interactions began, the participants were familiarized with the online task platform (DIGITASK), task format, and screen-recording software. Video instructions were provided for the participants that show how to install the software and use it.

Participants completed one or more tasks in a single session or across sessions. The sessions ended after task completion, at which point the recording was stopped by the participants. Recordings were securely stored. Any identifying information (names, faces) was removed or blurred. Video files were then prepared for transcription and analysis. Emerging phenomenon was extracted for detailed multimodal CA transcription and for multimodal analysis.

Data Collection Tool

The study drew on naturally occurring video-mediated interaction produced during online task-based interaction sessions, which reflect the natural flow of the dyadic interaction. Data were collected through a video-conferencing platform (Zoom) that enabled audio-video communication, screen recording technology, and task materials delivered digitally. The video-conferencing platform provided real-time audio-video interaction, which was essential for capturing the sequential and embodied organisation of talk-in-interaction. Screen-recording software captured participants' embodied conduct and on-screen activity related to task materials, which enabled analysis of how "*you know*" was coordinated with embodied and material resources. Task materials were designed to elicit extended dyadic interaction and collaborative action. Tasks were shared on the online DIGITASK platform.

Data Analysis

Based on CA principles, the study attends to the interactional unfolding of talk-in-interaction, allowing analytic concerns to emerge from the data itself. Through detailed analysis of two distinct dyads, the study shows how "*you know"* surfaces as a salient interactional resource within participants' locally organised activities. The excerpts (N=9) were selected for the analytic richness they offer in revealing the sequential environments in which "*you know"* is produced. Therefore, the focus is on what participants are doing when they use it, how it shapes turns and how it is responded to by co-participants**.**

The analysis follows a thorough and iterative process. It begins with immersion in the data with an unmotivated eye (Psathas, 1995). CA looks at micro-moments in talk-in-interaction. Following an analysis of micro-moments in talk, and identification of phenomena, the emerging phenomena are transcribed using transcription conventions (See the Appendices for all conventions). Jefferson's (2004) CA conventions were used for verbal communication. Mondada (2016) Multimodal Conventions were used to transcribe embodied conduct. Balaman & Sert's (2017) Transcription Conventions were used to document any on-screen activity performed by the participants. Transcription is a core part of the method; therefore, no detail was omitted, because features of talk (exact silence lengths, loudness, gaze) can affect participants' turn-construction and interpretation (Mondada, 2018). These rich transcripts ensure that the analysis truly reflects participants' real-time multimodal talk-in-interaction.

This process is rather iterative as it is an essential part in analysis to correctly display the specifics and intricacies of interaction. Consistent with CA's emic stance, analysis focused on how participants themselves orient to "*you know"*, by looking at whether recipients treat it as an understanding check or a continuation prompt. The transcription and analysis processes help build an account of its interactional functions. The transcripts of interactional segments containing "*you know"* are reviewed repeatedly, attending closely to sequential context as well as the multimodal resources accompanying it. CA analysis treats anything that participants treat as relevant as a candidate phenomenon, which means noting each occurrence of "*you know"* and observing how interlocutors respond. Each interaction is unique in and of itself; therefore, each pattern suggests a possible function.

To ensure analytic reliability, data transcription and analyses were conducted with CA-trained colleagues. Ambiguous cases were discussed until consensus was reached. Cases where "*you know"* occurred as part of a propositional phrase (See "you know what I think" in Excerpt 9 which was

included for comparison) were carefully examined. In line with Fraser's (1999) definition, "*you know what I think"* (in Excerpt 9) was not coded as a DM because "*you know"* directly modified the referent noun phrase. The remaining uses of "*you know"* in the data were coded as a DM, as they operated pragmatically rather than semantically.

Findings

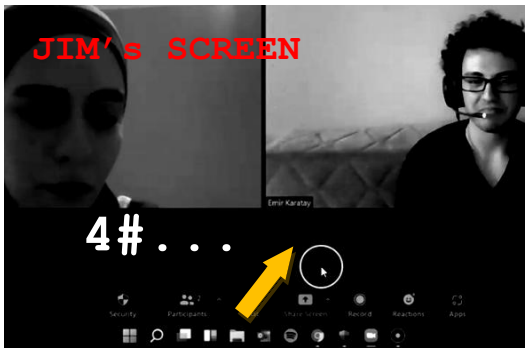
In this section, first the excerpts' analyses, then the findings will be presented.

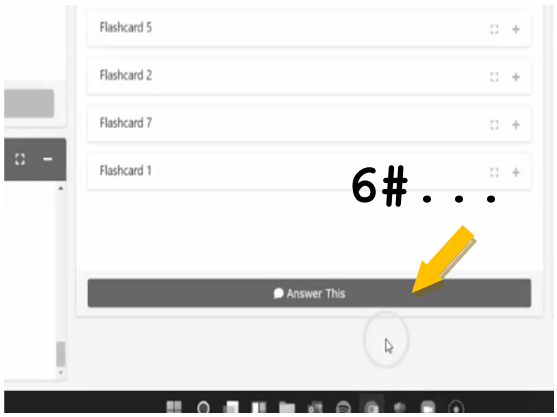
Excerpts

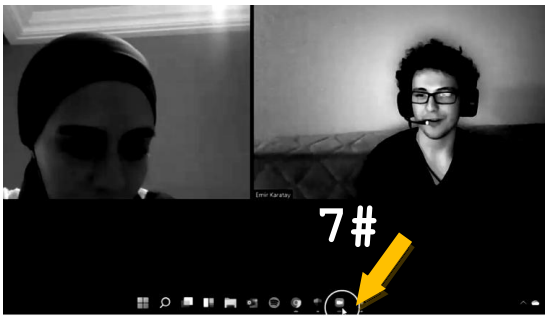
Below are the excerpts taken from the data. Before each excerpt, some background information concerning the locality of the interactions and the context in which these interactions occur were explained with the intention of making the interactional context as clear for the reader as possible. The names used in the transcripts are pseudonyms. The names were chosen to represent the gender of the participants although there is no analysis conducted to connect the gender with the multimodal CA in the excerpts.

Excerpt 1

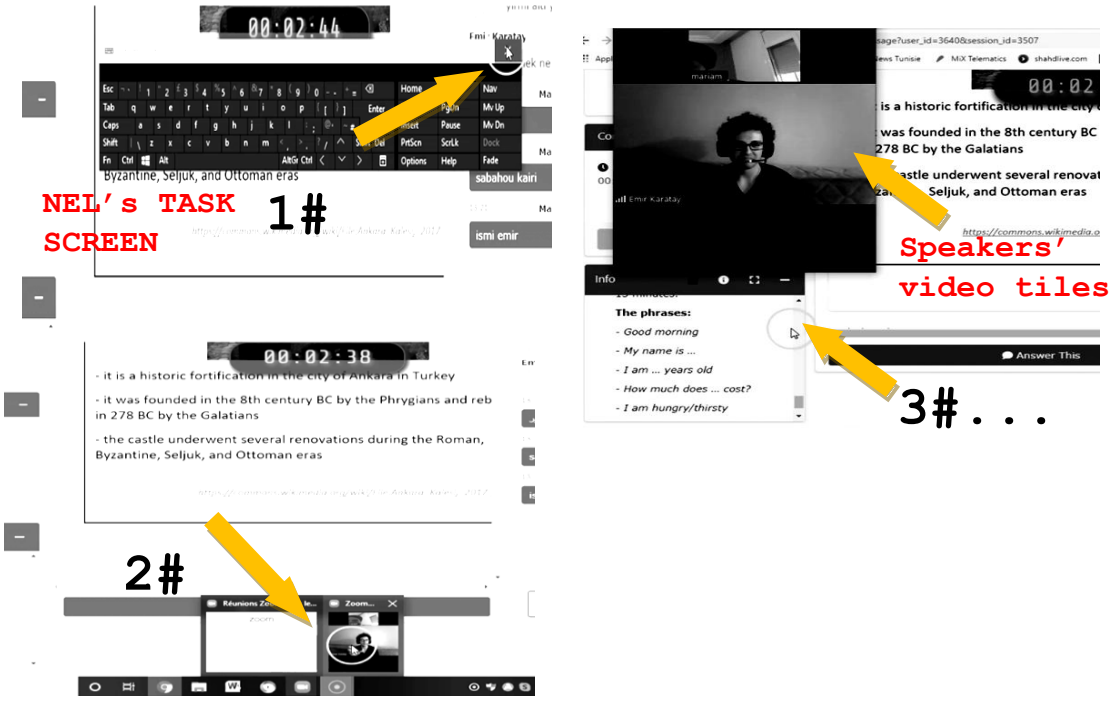
In this excerpt, the participants JIM and NEL share examples from their native languages. They teach one another how to say things in their own languages. The task requires them to take on roles of a tourist and a tour guide, where the tourist asks the guide where to visit in the other participant's country and what to do when they go there.







Line 07: 1# shows NEL's cursor movement towards the close button.
Line 10: 2# shows NEL's cursor movement towards the Zoom icon.
Line 17: 3# shows the onset of NEL's cursor moving on the task instructions.
Line 17: 4# shows the onset of JIM's cursor movement down towards the internet explorer icon.
Line 18: #4 shows the offset of JIM's cursor movement.
Line 18: 5# shows JIM's clicking movement on the explorer icon.
Line 18: 6# shows the onset of JIM's upward cursor movement on the opened page.
Line 19: #6 shows the offet of JIM's cursor movement.
Line 20: 7# shows JIM's clicking movement on the Zoom icon and swithcing the page back to the online chat platform.



01 JIM •[ismi?] ((tr. his/ her name))
•furrows his brows---------->
02 NEL [how] u::h=
03 JIM =ismi ((tr. his/ her name))[jim.]
04 NEL [u::h]
05 ↑ismi((tr. his/ her name))x↓jim.x
xnods---x
06 (0.4) ↓yeah. (0.4)•
jim ----------•
07 JIM→ (li:*ke) (0.3) you know,# 1#
*lifts hand up---------->
fig #fig. 1
08 for example, (.) if you ↑ask

figure 1

09 someone (0.4) what my: (.) name is,
10 (0.8)* they will ↑tell you that (0.6) 2#
----*
11 onun ismi ((tr. his/ her name))
12 ↓jim.((tr: his name is jim))
13 (1.4)
14 xit's the same.x
nel xnods----------x
15 (1.1)
16 NEL yeah.
3# 4#

```
17          (1.2)
18  JIM     #4 5#      6#
            interesting. (0.6)
19  NEL     #6
            oka::y, (0.4)
20  JIM     7#
            so: (.) i'm twenty ↓years old.
```

The interaction begins with JIM's initiation of the Turkish word 'ismi', which means his/ her name. NEL's turn initiation overlaps with JIM's and therefore his turn cannot be completed. He furrows his brows while repeating the word, which might indicate a possible difficulty in understanding, or some sort of confusion regarding the word. In the next line, JIM performs a repetition of the same utterance because of this overlap and completes the turn contructional unit (TCU). His turn ending overlaps with NEL's again in line 04 when she initiates a new turn. She produces a hesitation marker with a stretched sound and repeats the exact TCU uttered by JIM to signal acknowledgement. She follows with a confirmatory token (yeah) and a nod. These repeated productions, along with NEL's embodied confirmation, can be seen as establishing a shared focus on the utterance while also displaying an orientation to resolving an emergent trouble. JIM's cessation of brow furrowing at this point provides further evidence that the prior difficulty is being locally addressed. Following a brief pause which presents a transition relevance place (TRP), JIM initiates a new turn prefaced with "*you know*" and projects an upcoming contribution relevant to the prior sequence (Schiffrin, 1987). In this position, "*you know*" makes recipient uptake conditionally relevant and orients to shared or shareable knowledge. JIM then indicates that a similar expression exists in his L1 with the same meaning, prefaced with "for example". His new turn extends the prior sequence by offering an account that links their linguistic resources, thereby contributing to the establishment of intersubjectivity. As he produces the example with "you know" preface, he accompanies his talk with embodied conduct (line 07) and makes the ongoing explanation publily available in multimodal format. NEL's on-screen action during JIM's turn displays orientation to his talk. While JIM initiates his turn with "*you know*", NEL ceases her on-screen action by moving the cursor to the close button. While he provides the example, NEL shifts her cursor to the Zoom platform, and upon completion of the example, she produces a nod precisely at JIM's turn completion. Her embodied response and the following acknowledgement token (yeah) indicate recipiency and alignment with the prior turn. JIM's next utterance (interesting) accompanied by on-screen conduct treats the prior exchange as a completed unit. NEL's stretched "okay" further marks sequence closure. JIM's subsequent so-prefaced turn as he re-engages with the Zoom interface projects the initiation of a new sequence, thereby moving the interaction forward.

Excerpt 2

The participants discuss a task question about multilingual signs that they can find in their country.

```
01  NEL   <it was, ↓u::h(0.5) a ↑warning
02        u::h it's ↑written tha:t (.)
03        ↑camels ma:y +pass+ that #
                      +--1--+
    fig                              #fig.1
04        *((JIM smiles))↓road>((NEL smiles))
     jim  *brow raise----------------->
05        (0.7) * (0.4)
             ------*
```

figure 1

```
06  JIM   •hm•=
```

```
          •nod•
07  NEL   =u:::h, e- u:h yeah, we have it in
08        the ↑sou:•th (0.3)•u:h # x+in:,
     jim              •nods------•
                                    xlooks down-->
                                     +touch mouth->
     fig                          #fig.2
```

figure 2

```
09        u::m (0.5) in places (.) it's ↑far
10        away fromx my home •bu:t,•(0.4) u:h
                  ----x
     jim                        •nods---•
11        tou+rists are: very:,(.) >the- uh
           ---+
12        they kno:w(.) those(.) signs.•
     jim                                 •nod->
13        (.) because,• when they ↑trouble
     jim          -------•
14        +(.)tra+vel, (0.9) they would
          +hand swipe+
15        take, uh (0.3) u::h, they would
16        take the ↑bu:s and u::h, they
17        would,+ (.) see:, live camels+ if
                 +----2-----------------------+
18        they go to the south.(0.3)
19→       #xyou know i: showed you tatouine?
     fig  #fig.3
          xlooks directly into the cam-------->
```

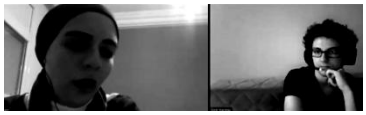


figure 3

```
20  JIM   •(0.5)↓uhuh•=
          •nods----------•
21  NEL   =tatouine isx situated in the
            -----------x
22        south. •(0.3) a:nd,• uh they are
     jim           •nods-----------•
23        ↓camels(.)•↓there (0.4)•
     jim               •nods------------•
```

1: NEL makes a hand-swipe movement.
2: Hand move in the air palm facing towards the screen

In this excerpt, the discourse marker "*you know*" emerges as a key interactional resource through which NEL orients to shared prior knowledge and seeks to re-establish intersubjective alignment. NEL initiates her turn answering the task questions about multilingual signs that the participants can see in their countries. As she explains her point, JIM's raised eyebrows and smile display active recipiency and affiliative stance towards the information (Goodwin, 2000), signalling focus of attention. The mutual smiling that follows further indexes affiliative alignment (Stivers, 2008). There is a pause at this point in the interaction which marks the end of NEL's turn and can be a TRP for JIM to take the floor. JIM initiates his turn after the pause and produces a continuer (hm) with a nod which displays his attentiveness towards NEL's explanation and, and projects continued

listenership (Schegloff, 1982; Stivers, 2008). Immediately after this, NEL re-initiates her turn and continues her explanation. Her talk involves multimodal cues that indicate hesitation, such as using hesitation markers, bodily and facial movements. Her turn continues until line 19, and JIM displays alignment and affiliation through his gestures throughout NEL's turn. These gestures also show that his recipiency is secured. In line 18 NEL pauses for a moment, looks at the screen and continues with a "*you know*" prefaced TCU. She orients to the shared knowledge between them (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002; Schiffrin, 1987) and treats JIM as a co-knower, thereby grounding her following talk in this common reference (Beeching, 2016). The use of "*you know*" here invites confirmation of mutual knowledge while managing epistemic access in the ongoing interaction. The embodied orientation intensifies this appeal to shared experience, multimodally coordinating gaze, speech, and gesture to foreground the relevance of the referent (Mondada, 2018). She marks the end of her turn with a pause, forming a TRP for JIM. It encourages a change in speakership. This change occurs and JIM responds with a minimal response and a nod, which constitutes an affiliative and acknowledging uptake, fulfilling the projected confirmation and enabling NEL to resume her explanation. The continued nodding throughout NEL's subsequent talk reflects sustained recipiency and alignment with her epistemic stance, reinforcing the intersubjective coordination achieved through the initial "*you know*."

Excerpt 3

The participants collaboratively navigate a linguistic landscape task using Google Maps street views. They share the linguistic landscape they can observe in the cities that they visit via Google Map links and move on to answering the task questions as can be seen in the screenshot of GUL's task screen below.

Line 11: 1#... shows the onset of GUL's on-screen action of starting to type on the task screen.
Line 12: #1 shows the offset of this action.

```
01→GUL   you know [(0.4) • ↑actually] (0.5)
         *>>looks at the screen--------->
                             •.......................>
02  YUS               [just (                        )]
03  GUL   in ↑turkey• we have *u:::h (0.5)* voiced?
           ............•leans closer into the screen----->3.10
                            --------*looks up------*looks@screen-->
04        ↓traffic signs.
05         (1.2)
06→GUL   you kno:w* when you go to u::h (0.6)
          ---------->*
07        +stand •(0.4)+ next• to a
                   •handwave-------•
    yus   +------1---------+
08  YUS   exxcuse me +#for a •second+•
             xsquints eyes------------->
                       +--2---------------+
    gul                          •brow raise•
    fig                #fig.1
09  GUL   △((YUS smiles)) ((GUL smiles))
         ∆nods----------------------->
10        >#↑of course∆ of ↓cox±urse< (0.3)
              -----------∆
```

yus ----------x
yus ±looks away------>
fig #fig.2
1#
11 YUS (0.3)*# (0.5)*•# °tha±nk you.°± (.)(YE ↑SABRI:)
----±looks @ cam±looks away-->
gul --------•sits up----->
gul ----*3---------*4-------------->>
fig #fig.3 #fig.4

figure 1

figure 2

figure 3

figure 4

#1
12 (0.7)(SABRI::•N?)
gul •looks @ cam--->
13 (0.5)((GUL smiles))+(1.8)+ (0.7)
14 GUL ((smiles))*not a ((YUS smiles)) good day,
*shakes head left/right------------->
15 for ↑sabrin*(h)(h)(0.9)
----------*
16 YUS (h)her ↑son is making, ↓noise (.)
17 °outside (the room,)° (0.4) ↑and it's ↓recording
18 >oh my go:+d(£)< (.) this+ is embarrass[ing ↓me]
+facepalm----------+
19 GUL [huh(h)]
20 (0.8)↑it's ↓okay (0.9)•
----------•
21→GUL ≈okay, u::h≈ •in turkey, we have >you know< (.)
≈gaze @screen-≈
•looks at the camera----------->>
22 you go to wait, ↓u::h next to a traffic, (.)
23 ↑light (0.3) and, (.) if: you want, (.) to:
24 >cars to stop ↑immediately:< you press a:
25 ↑button (.) and then, (.) u:h there#* is ↑a::
*--5------>
fig #fig.5

figure 5

26 (0.7) ↑how can i ↓sa:y u::h* (.) >there is a<
----------*
27 ↓au:dio thing in ↑there and it ↓says (0.3)

```
28          *≠wait,(.) for u:h ↑one ↓minute (.) wait, for
             *claps hands in accordance w/her word stress--->
              ≠tilts head left/right repeatedly------------------->
29          a couple of ↓minutes•* wait,+just+ for a
                      ---------------•
                   --------------------*
      yus                                      +--6--+
30          ↓little≠ (0.3)*[yeah* ↑wait-] (0.5)≠
                   ≠----------7------------------------≠
                          *nods---*
31    YUS                      [↓+crea:tive+]
                                 +one shrug----+
32    GUL   yeah, wait for a ((YUS smiles)) whi:le, and
33          then u::h (.) the cars, will ↓stop (.) or
34          etcetera etcetera, (0.3) i think it's, (.)
35          >really, ↓good.< (.) ↑they should make it, on
36          english too (.) because there are lots of,
37          *(0.4)* foreign, people in ↓turkey (0.9)
            *--8----*
38    YUS   +yeah(#)+•(.) i ↓agree (0.3)
            +---9-----+
      gul                •nods---------->
39    GUL   yes• (.) [traffic, s-]
             ---•
40    YUS               [↑this idea ] ↑itself is ↑so creative.
41          (.)even without translating. it's ↓creative
42          (0.3) i ↑don't think that we have, one ↓here
43          in tunisia.
44          (1.0)
45          or, in arab countries.
46          (1.3)
47    GUL   ↓no: they should,=
48    YUS   =°yeah(£)° (0.6)
```

In this fragment, GUL produces multiple *you know*-prefaced turns across different sequential environments while introducing and elaborating a culturally specific practice. The first instance (line 01) occurs turn-initially ("you know (0.4) actually"), where GUL secures the floor following prior talk. Produced with gaze directed at the screen, this "*you know"* projects an upcoming informing action and makes recipient uptake conditionally relevant. Although YUS begins to enter in overlap, GUL continues her turn, thereby treating the turn space as hers and progressing into an account. As the explanation unfolds, GUL encounters formulation difficulties (e.g., "u::h," pauses, cut-offs), alongside embodied conduct such as leaning closer to the screen and shifting gaze. Within this stretch, a second "*you know"* is produced, which re-launches the explanation following a moment of hesitation. In this position, "*you know"* projects a recognitional frame, inviting the recipient to treat the upcoming description as potentially familiar or inferable. The accompanying hand gesture and forward bodily orientation are temporally aligned with this re-launch, making the explanation publicly available in a multimodal format. This emerging explanatory sequence is momentarily suspended by YUS's insertion (line 08), accompanied by embodied conduct, which initiates a side sequence. GUL's immediate affiliative response, produced with nodding and smiling, treats the interruption as legitimate and grants permission. The side sequence expands into a brief account of a disturbance (lines 16–18), during which YUS displays embarrassment (facepalm), and GUL responds with laughter reassurance (Jefferson, 1984), thereby closing the side sequence. GUL then resumes the prior activity with a third *you know*-prefaced turn. Here, "*you know"* occurs within a restart of the explanation following the side sequence. Positioned after a sequence-closing "okay" and hesitation

marker, it re-establishes the explanatory trajectory and again projects recipient understanding. GUL proceeds with a stepwise description of the traffic-light system, combining verbal resources with embodied conduct, thereby producing a multimodally organized account.

Throughout this extended explanation, YUS displays recipiency through minimal responses, nodding, and affiliative assessments ("this idea itself is so creative"). These responses occur at transition-relevant places and treat GUL's prior talk- including the *you know*-prefaced segments-as understandable and relevant. The sequence culminates in a shared evaluative stance toward the described practice. Across these environments, "*you know"* is recurrently deployed at points of (re-)entry into extended explanatory talk. It functions as a resource for securing recipiency, projecting recognitional access, and maintaining progressivity, particularly in contexts involving formulation difficulty, sequence resumption, and extended informing.

Excerpt 4

In the fragment below, the participants are engaged in a task requiring coordinated written production where they need to create a multilingual dictionary for words that are of same origin. They need to write them in Turkish, English, French, and Arabic. The task becomes temporally stalled when YUS searches for where to enter the response. After GUL initiates a check on task progress earlier in the interactional segment below, YUS produces a weakly audible response. GUL then proposes an alternative course of action.

01 GUL okay ↑just write it on the chat ↓box
02 (1.2)
03 YUS okay. (0.4)
04 GUL but, (.) u::h start #*from the last ↓one okay?
*leans forward---------->>
fig #fig

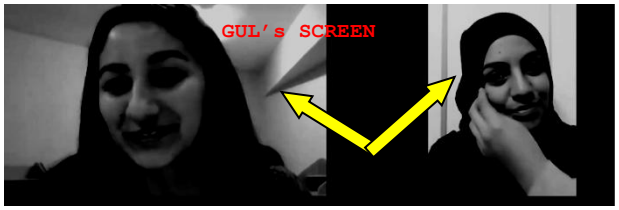
figure 1

05 (1.8)
06 → you know fir[st, gira:ffe then sugar: then] ↓salad
07 YUS [let ↑me ( )]
08 ↓piano: and (0.5) ↑maybe when you paste them
09 (0.7) at once all of them at once: maybe
10 that (is ↓better) (0.4)
11 GUL •↑yeah okay• (smiles) (0.3) let's do: ↓that
•raises brows-•
12 let's, all of- write all of them. (0.7)
13 YUS *okay,*
gul *nods--*

GUL proposes a different course of action in line 01, which receives minimal uptake from YUS. GUL subsequently refines the proposal by specifying how the task should be carried out (line 04), producing this turn while leaning forward. This posture is temporally aligned with the instruction and makes the ongoing directive publicly visible as part of the multimodal design of the turn. After a pause, GUL re-enters with a turn prefaced with "*you know*", produced at a point where prior instructions have not yet resulted in visible task progression. In this position, "*you know*" projects an upcoming clarification or specification and makes recipient uptake relevant. The turn provides a stepwise ordering of items, thereby elaborating the prior instruction and rendering the task procedure more explicit. YUS enters in overlap at the onset of "first", followed by a proposal concerning how to put the items. The overlapping entry displays orientation to GUL's prior talk as recognizable while simultaneously offering an alternative method for task completion. GUL responds with "yeah okay", accompanied by raised eyebrows and a smile, which aligns with YUS's proposal. She then formulates the course of action, thereby adopting a re-articulating the jointly established plan. YUS's subsequent "okay" produced in overlap with GUL's nod, further confirms alignment. The sequence thus culminates in a collaboratively achieved agreement on how to proceed, with the *you know*-prefaced turn forming part of the trajectory through which the task instructions are clarified and negotiated.

Excerpt 5

The participants chat for a while after they finish their task. They share their feelings about the task process and the interaction they have had.




```
01  GUL   it was so:: nice to meet you and have
02        dialogues with you really.
03  YUS   yes.
04  GUL   i thought [>first i tho]ught< i *would be:
                                          *brow furrow--->
05  YUS             [yes you too:]
06→GUL    bored (.) i would you know u::h* ◦(0.7) f:-
                                  --------------*
                                          ◦----1------->
07        ↑get (.) how◦ can i ↓say (0.5) ↑look
               ----------◦
08        forward it to end, but (.) it wasn't
09→       with you like that you ↑know uh(h) (0.4)
10        i couldn't even understand how time pa:ssed.
11        (1.0)
12  YUS   ↑yeah ↓really u(#) (0.8) it's like: (.) it's
13        less then three hours but (   )=
14  GUL   =almost [three hours]
15  YUS           [(         )] (0.5) yes. (0.7)
16        i'm so glad that (.) you are my
17        +partner+ (0.7)
          +one nod--+
18  GUL   okay me too.
```

1: GUL waves both hands around, palms turned towards her.

In this fragment GUL produces an extended turn in which she retrospectively evaluates the interaction. As the turn progresses, she encounters trouble in formulating her talk, marked by hesitation phenomena (hesitation marker "u::h", pauses, cut-off utterances and self-repair initiations like "how can I say"). These features indicate an ongoing search for an appropriate formulation in the

turn. The occurance of "*you know*" is embedded within this stretch of disfluent talk, where it appears at a point of possible difficulty in articulating the intended meaning. In this position, "*you know*" does not initiate a new sequence but is produced mid-turn as part of the speaker's ongoing attempt to maintain progressivity while managing formulation trouble. It makes recipient understanding conditionally relevant, projecting that the intended meaning is accessible or inferable despite the speaker's difficulties in expression. The sequential environment following "*you know*" further supports this. GUL continues her turn without yielding the floor, completing her account, thereby treating the trouble as locally manageable withing the same turn rather than requiring explicit repair from the recipient. YUS's subsequent response in line 12 provides affiliative uptake, displaying alignments with the affiliative stance of GUL's account rather than orienting to any unresolved trouble of understanding. GUL's embodied conduct, including brow furrowing noted earlier in the turn, is temporally aligned with the moments of hesitation and formulation difficulty. This conduct makes the trouble policy visible as part of the multimodal organization of the turn. The absence of repair initiation by YUS and the production of affiliative responses instead indicate that the prior turn, including the *you know*-prefaced segment, has been trated as sufficiently understandable. The sequence thus shows "you know" operating as a resource within disfluent stretch of talk to sustain turn continuation and secure recipiency. It contributes to the maintenance of progressivity in talk while orienting to shared understanding in the face of momentary formulation difficulties.

Excerpt 6

Prior to this excerpt, the partners are exchanging ideas on task questions that are about linguistic landscapes in different cities in the world. There occurs a moment when they cannot remember a word, so they try to remember it through a word search.

```
01 YUS   i don't even ↑find it- i can't
     gul  *>>looks at task screen---------------------->>
02       remember it even in ↓arabic (0.8)
03   →   ↑y'know# those: signs:: ↓where you
     fig          #fig.1
```

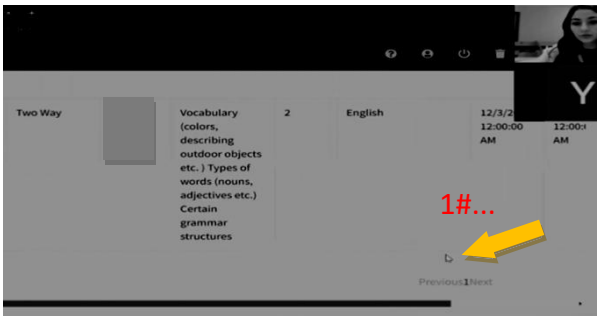
figure 1

```
04       find sto::p or welcome to:: (0.5)
05 GUL   yeah, yeah.
```

In this fragment, YUS produces a *you know*-prefaced turn ("you know those signs where you find stop or welcome to"), following a display of difficulty in recalling a lexical item ("I don't even find it… I can't remember it even in Arabic"). The "*you know"* occurs at the point where the speaker shifts from trouble in lexical retrieval to providing a recognitional description. In this position, "*you know"* projects that the referent is recognizable to the recipient, inviting GUL to treat the upcoming description as sufficient for identification. Rather than resolving the trouble through repair, YUS reformulates the referent by describing its features. GUL's immediate uptake ("yeah, yeah") provides evidence that the referent has been successfully recognized, thereby confirming that the *you know*-prefaced description has achieved recipiency.

Excerpt 7

The partners are beginning a new online task. They look at the task instructions and try to figure out what the task requires. YUS suggests she click on the 'I'm ready' button. When both partners click on the button, the task and the countdown start. Following YUS's suggestion, GUL objects and suggests that they read the task instructions first.



Line 03: 1# shows cursor movements up-down-left-right, scrolling on the task page, clicking on buttons throughout this entire interaction.

```
 01 GUL   oka::y, (0.6) now we ↓will
          >>gaze at the screen--------------->>
02         (3.8)
03         i 1# will just ↓open: (.) °which
04         one::?°(4.2)
05 YUS   ↓u::hm
06       (2.2)
07       ↑just (.) a ↓second let ↑me: (0.4)
08       click (.) i'm ready? and #•♦↓then
     gul                                •---1--->
     gul                                 ♦--2--->
     fig                                #fig.1
```

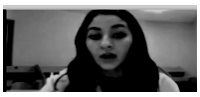


figure 1

```
09 GUL   (.)♦>no no no<•don't- (.) click i'm
              ---------•
           --♦
10       ↓ready we:- ↑firstly we should,(0.7)
11 YUS   u::h uh ↓okay i'm sorry [(  )]
12 GUL                        [we should]
13       ((YUS smiles)) understand
14 →     °you*know°# (.)
             *hand to chin-->
     fig             #fig.2
```

figure 2

```
15         i will just open the::(.)
16         ↑instructions*   (2.3)
              ------------*
17 YUS     mhm?
18         (1.1)
19 GUL→    to::: ↓you know# (0.4) n(#)ot
     fig                     #fig.3
```

figure 3

20 have any::,uh(£) (0.3) ↑internet
21 problem again.
22 (1.8)
23 YUS okayh(£).

1: GUL raises her brows.
2: GUL opens her mouth.

In this fragment, participants are engaged in coordinating task actions, which becomes temporarily disrupted by uncertainty regarding task procedures. Following a sequence of pauses and conflicting proposals about how to proceed, GUL produces a *you know*-prefaced turn. Here, "*you know"* occurs in an environment of interactional trouble, where prior turns have not resulted in coordinated action. Produced alongside embodied conduct (hand-to-chin gesture), it projects an upcoming clarification and makes recipient uptake relevant. The turn functions to re-establish a course of action by proposing a solution to the emerging trouble. A subsequent "*you know"* (lines 19-21) occurs within an account that justifies this action. In this position, "*you know"* is embedded within ongoing talk and contributes to maintaining progressivity while the speaker formulates the explanation. YUS's minimal uptake (line 23) following this sequence indicates acceptance of the proposed course of action, thereby treating the *you know*-prefaced turns as understandable and relevant.

Excerpt 8

The partners answer some discussion questions about multilingualism after watching a video.

01 GUL in ↑high school, one of my(.)
02 ↓teachers said to us that (0.5)
03 when you: learn a language, (.)
04 e(#)- englishfor↑example (0.3)
05 you:,become a world ↓person (0.4)
06 ∘and↑also∘ #≤there is a saying in
•----1-----•
≤comes closer to the screen-->
fig #fig.1

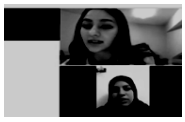


figure 1

07 our, in turkish it says,≤ (0.9) bir
----------≤
08 li-bir dil bir ↑lisan bir lisan,
09 bir ↓insan. ((tr: one lan-one
10 language is ↑one language, and one
11 langauge is one person) (0.7) it
12 says, ∘(0.3)one language, is one
•--2------>
13 language, and u::h a- a ↑language a
14 new language, is a new person.∘
----------•
15 (1.0)

16→GUL >you know< [you become,]
17 YUS [uh(h)(h)(h)] (0.6)
18 yes#x (.)xi ↑only ↓understood.
x--3--x
fig #fig.2
19 insan ((tr: person))=
20 GUL =#△ah(h) (h)△↑you: you are
△-----4------△
fig #fig.3

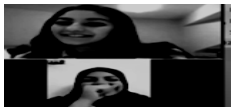


figure 2

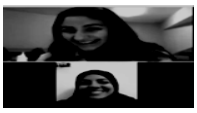


figure 3

21 becoming a new person, (.) you
22 [you u:]:h get
23 YUS [person]
24 GUL (0.3) new ideas new u::h system of
25 thinking, it's very benefi[cial].
26 YUS [↑yes]

1: GUL raises brows
2: GUL holds up a finger
3: YUS moves fist to mouth
4: GUL leans forward and back

In the excerpt, the participants answer task questions. GUL initiates a turn. After her extended multimodal explanation involving a proverb in Turkish turn, a pause and a no-response follows. GUL reinitiates her turn using the token *"you know",* which reformulates the prior explanation. At this point, YUS displays partial understanding, thereby making trouble of understanding relevant. GUL's subsequent talk elaborates and reformulates the meaning, treating the prior explanation as insufficiently accessible. In this environment, "*you know"* occurs at a point where the speaker orients to the need for making the meaning more accessible through reformulation and elaboration.

Excerpt 9

The partners discuss a task question on multilingualism.

01 GUL yes↓i (.) definitely, agree:
02 ↓that because, (0.9) u::h
03 → you #•↓know (.) you↑know what
•--1----------->
fig #fig.1

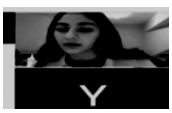


figure 1

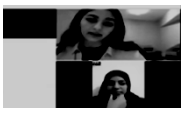


figure 2

04 i think u::h• (0.8) △when ↑you:
----------•
△-------2------>
05 learn, a new ↑language you: become
06 a world ↓person you ↑become a
07 citizen, you just, (0.4) u(#)h
08 you ↑don't just ↑stay (0.3) u:h a
09 citizen, to: unique to your,
10 ↓country (0.6)[you think ab]out,

```
11 YUS                  [↑yes i agree]
12 GUL    world ↑stuff you think about,
13       (.) global issues, and
14  →    youu::h x>you know<x
     yus           xnods---------x
15       (.)↑bei- brainstorming ↓about that
16       stuff, (0.4)so: yes you become,
17       u::h a global citizen, and u:::h
18       (0.4) only ↑global citizens can
19       ↓solve glo- global ↓problems
20       because (0.3) other people don't
21       ↑care (0.5) basically(h)=
22 YUS   =xyeahx (right)i totally ↓•agree•
          xnods-x
     gul                              •nods--•
23       (0.4) and: especially, that u::h
24       (3.8)
25        u:::h(#) if we:(#), (.) if
26        everyone(#), (0.5)
27        <in this earth,> (0.3)
28 GUL    •mhm,•(0.3)
          •nods-•
29 YUS    everyone does not care about,
30        (0.4) what happens •to:,• us
     gul                        •nods-•
30        in the future, (0.3) then
31        we would be ↑dead by: uh (0.4)
32 GUL    •yeah•((YUS smiles))
     gul  •nods-•
1: GUL adjusts herself on her seat
2: GUL comes closer to the screen
```

In this fragment, GUL produces an extended evaluative account about language learning. She begins by reading the task question. She immediately initiates a turn to respond to it. The "*you know"* occurs in two positions: first in a doubled format ("you know you know what I think"), and later mid-turn ("you know"). The initial "*you know"* occurs at the onset of a stance-taking sequence, projecting an upcoming personal perspective (Schiffrin, 1987; Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002). Its repetition further delays the progression of the turn, creating space for the formulation of the upcoming argument. The "*you know*" in the same turn does not qualify as a discourse marker in our study as it does not serve an interactional purpose but has a propositional content and cannot be removed without affecting the meaning (Fraser, 1999). When GUL opens with "*you know*", she also slightly adjusts her position on the seat. This multimodal conduct together with "*you know*" projects that the upcoming utterance will carry some epistemic weight, thus securing recipiency from the co-participant (Mondada, 2016). This is evident in GUL's continuing turn and the supporting multimodal conduct when she leans forward towards the screen. In line 14, GUL produces another "*you know*" mid-turn. It occurs within an extended stretch of talk and contributes to maintaining turn continuation. Throughout this sequence, YUS provides affiliative uptake ("yes I agree," nodding), displaying alignment with GUL's stance. The presence of affiliative responses suggest that the *you know*-prefaced segments are treated as understandable and relevant. They demonstrate the participants' shared stance and mutual understanding (Mondada, 2018). The verbal and embodied practices show that "*you know"* in this episode manages the local progressivity of talk.

The analysis shows that the discourse marker "*you know"* is recurrently deployed across the dataset in a range of distinct yet related sequential environments. Its interactional contribution is not

fixed but emerges from its placement within turns and sequences, as well as from participants' orientations as displayed in subsequent talk and embodied conduct (Schegloff, 2007; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018). Across the examined cases, "*you know"* is consistently associated with the management of recipiency and the maintenance of progressivity in interaction (Schegloff, 2007; Stivers & Robinson, 2006). The environments identified below correspond to recurrent interactional contexts in which participants orient to issues of understanding, coordination, and turn continuation.

Table 1. Functions of "*You Know"*

Position of "*you know*"	Excerpt	Interactional Work
Turn-initial (following lexical retrieval trouble)	6	Invoking recognizability and securing recipiency through referential description
Turn-initial and mid-turn (within proposals and accounts)	4, 7	Re-establishing coordinated action and securing recipiency in task progression
Mid-turn (within disfluent talk)	5	Maintaining progressivity and sustaining turn continuation during formulation difficulty
Turn-initial (at reformulation points)	3 (partial), 8	Managing intersubjectivity through reformulation and elaboration of prior talk
Turn-initial (sequence launch and resumption) and mid-turn (re-launch after hesitation)	1, 3	Securing recipiency, projecting explanation, and re-establishing the trajectory of ongoing talk
Turn-initial (stance projection) and mid-turn (turn continuation)	2, 9	Projecting epistemic stance, sustaining extended turn production, and securing affiliative recipiency

"You know" as invoking recognizability and securing referential understanding

In several instances, "*you know"* occurs in environments where speakers encounter difficulty in lexical retrieval and subsequently shift to recognitional descriptions. In these cases, "*you know"* is produced turn-initially, at the point where speakers move from unsuccessful word search to describing a referent in a way that renders it identifiable for the recipient. Positioned in this way, "*you know"* projects that the upcoming description is recognizable or inferable, thereby making recipient uptake relevant (Schiffrin, 1987; Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002). Speakers proceed through descriptive reformulation. Recipients' immediate uptake, typically in the form of acknowledgment tokens (e.g., "yeah, yeah"), provides evidence that recognition has been achieved. These responses display that the referent has been successfully identified and that the *you know*-prefaced turn has secured recipiency, in line with CA findings on how participants manage referential understanding in talk (Schegloff, 1996).

"*You know" as re-establishing coordinated action under conditions of interactional trouble*

A second environment involves sequences in which participants encounter difficulties in coordinating task-related actions. These sequences are characterized by pauses, hesitation, and competing proposals, indicating a temporary disruption in progressivity. In such contexts, "*you know"* is produced both turn-initially and mid-turn within proposals and accounts. Positioned at points where prior talk has not resulted in coordinated action, it projects an upcoming clarification or specification and makes recipient uptake relevant. These uses often co-occur with embodied conduct (e.g., posture shifts, gestures), which are temporally aligned with the ongoing talk and form part of the multimodal organization of the turn (Mondada, 2018). Recipients' subsequent responses, such as minimal acknowledgments (e.g., "okay"), display acceptance of the proposed course of action. In this environment, "*you know"* participates in the interactional work through which participants restore

progressivity and coordinate joint activity, consistent with CA research on collaborative task interaction (Balaman & Pekarek Doehler, 2022).

"You know" as *maintaining progressivity and sustaining turn continuation during formulation trouble*

"You know" is also observed within stretches of talk marked by hesitation phenomena, including pauses, cut-offs, and self-repair initiations. In these cases, it occurs mid-turn as part of the speaker's ongoing attempt to manage formulation difficulties. In this position, "*you know"* contributes to maintaining turn continuation by projecting that the intended meaning is accessible despite the presence of disfluency. Speakers continue their turn without yielding the floor, thereby treating the trouble as locally manageable within the same turn rather than as requiring explicit repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). Recipients' responses, typically affiliative (e.g., agreement tokens), and the absence of repair initiation indicate that the prior talk is treated as sufficiently understandable. These findings align with CA observations on the preference for progressivity, whereby participants prioritize the continuation of talk even in the presence of momentary trouble (Schegloff, 2007).

"You know" as managing intersubjectivity through reformulation and elaboration

Another recurrent environment involves sequences in which participants orient to emerging or anticipated difficulties in understanding, particularly within extended explanations. In these cases, "*you know"* occurs turn-initially at points where speakers reformulate or elaborate prior talk. Speakers provide additional explanations, translations, or reformulations, thereby adjusting their talk to recipient understanding. Recipients may display partial understanding, which is subsequently addressed through further elaboration. The *you know*-prefaced segments occur within these trajectories and contribute to making the talk more accessible. Recipients' affiliative responses and the absence of repair initiation indicate that these reformulations are treated as sufficient. In this environment, "*you know"* is implicated in the ongoing management of intersubjectivity (Heritage, 1984; Stivers, 2008), as participants work to achieve mutual understanding.

"You know" as projecting and re-establishing extended explanatory sequences

A further environment involves extended explanatory sequences in which speakers produce accounts over multiple turns. In these contexts, "*you know"* occurs at points of sequence entry, re-entry, or resumption. Turn-initial "*you know"* may be used to launch an informing sequence, projecting an upcoming explanation. It also occurs following hesitation or after interruptions, where it contributes to re-establishing the trajectory of prior talk. In these positions, it marks a return to the ongoing activity and makes recipient uptake relevant. These turns are frequently accompanied by embodied conduct, such as gaze shifts, posture changes, and gestures, which are temporally coordinated with the talk and contribute to the multimodal organization of the explanation (Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2018). Recipients' nodding, gaze orientation, and minimal responses display recipiency and alignment, indicating that the prior talk is treated as understandable and relevant.

"You know" as projecting stance and securing affiliative recipiency

Finally, "*you know"* occurs in extended stretches of stance-taking talk, where speakers produce evaluative accounts and develop arguments over multiple turns. It appears both in turn-initial position, projecting an upcoming stance, and mid-turn, where it contributes to maintaining turn continuation. These occurrences are often accompanied by hesitation phenomena and embodied conduct, which together form part of the turn's design. Recipients display alignment through affiliative responses (e.g., agreement tokens), nodding, and continuers, thereby treating the prior talk as understandable and relevant. In this environment, "*you know"* contributes to the production of extended stance and the maintenance of affiliative alignment, consistent with CA work on stance and intersubjectivity in interaction (Heritage, 1984).

Discussion, Conclusion and Suggestions

This study examined how the discourse marker "*you know"* is mobilized as an interactional resource in video-mediated task-based interaction. Adopting a Conversation Analytic (CA) perspective, the analysis focused on the sequential environments in which "*you know"* occurs and on

how participants orient to its use in the unfolding interaction. The findings demonstrate that "*you know"* is recurrently deployed across a set of environments in which speakers manage recipiency and sustain progressivity, including recognitional reference, task coordination, formulation trouble, explanation, and stance-taking. Consistent with CA research, the analysis shows that the interactional import of "*you know"* cannot be treated as a fixed function, but rather emerges from its position within turns and sequences and from participants' displayed orientations in subsequent talk (Schegloff, 2007; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018). This supports earlier work arguing that discourse markers are not autonomous functional units, but locally situated resources whose meaning is contingent upon their sequential placement and uptake (Aijmer, 2002; Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002). By grounding the analysis in participants' next actions, the present study aims to further demonstrates how the interactional relevance of "*you know"* is achieved in situ.

One of the central findings concerns the use of "*you know"* in recognitional environments, particularly in sequences involving lexical retrieval trouble. In these cases, speakers shift from unsuccessful word search to recognitional descriptions prefaced by "*you know"*, thereby projecting that the referent is accessible to the recipient. Recipients' immediate uptake without repair initiation provides evidence that such descriptions are treated as sufficient for identification. This finding resonates with prior research showing that "*you know"* can invoke shared epistemic access (Schiffrin, 1987), while specifying how this is accomplished through sequentially organized practices in L2 interaction. The study also highlights the role of "*you know"* in task-based interaction, particularly in environments characterized by difficulties in coordinating action. In these sequences, "*you know"* occurs at points where prior talk has not resulted in coordinated progress, projecting an upcoming clarification or proposal. Its interactional relevance is observable in the way subsequent turns display acceptance and alignment. This extends previous CA research on task-based interaction, which has shown that participants rely on interactional resources to organize joint activity and maintain progressivity (Balaman & Pekarek Doehler, 2022; Hellermann, 2008), by demonstrating how a recurrent discourse marker is implicated in this process.

A further contribution of the study concerns the use of "*you know"* within environments of formulation trouble. When speakers encounter difficulties in producing talk, "*you know"* is embedded within disfluent stretches and contributes to maintaining turn continuation. Rather than initiating repair sequences in the strict sense (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), speakers proceed through ongoing talk, treating the trouble as locally manageable. The absence of repair initiation and the presence of affiliative uptake indicate that these turns are treated as sufficiently understandable. This aligns with CA observations on the preference for progressivity (Schegloff, 2007), whereby participants prioritize the continuation of talk despite momentary trouble. In addition, the analysis shows that "*you know"* is implicated in sequences of reformulation and elaboration, particularly where participants orient to emerging or anticipated difficulties in understanding. In these cases, "*you know"* occurs at points where speakers provide additional explanations or rephrase prior talk. These practices contribute to the ongoing management of intersubjectivity, as participants work to achieve mutual understanding through successive approximations (Heritage, 1984; Stivers, 2008). These sequences involve the adjustment of talk to recipient understanding within the same turn or sequence.

The findings further demonstrate that "*you know"* is used at points of sequence (re-)entry in extended explanations, including after pauses, hesitation, or interruptions such as side sequences. In these environments, "*you know"* contributes to re-establishing the trajectory of prior talk and projecting continuation. This is particularly relevant in video-mediated interaction, where disruptions-interactional or technical- may momentarily suspend the progression of talk (Mondada et al., 2014; Due & Licoppe, 2020). The analysis shows how participants use "*you know"* as part of the resources through which continuity is restored in such contexts.

Finally, "*you know"* is shown to occur in extended stance-taking sequences, where speakers produce evaluative accounts and develop arguments over multiple turns. In these cases, it contributes to projecting stance and maintaining turn continuation, often in conjunction with hesitation and embodied conduct. Recipients' affiliative responses, including agreement tokens and nodding, display alignment with the speaker's stance and provide evidence that the talk is treated as understandable and

relevant. These findings align with CA work on stance and intersubjectivity, which emphasizes how participants collaboratively construct evaluative positions in interaction (Heritage, 1984).

Taken together, these findings suggest that "*you know"* operates as a flexible interactional resource through which speakers manage the contingencies of talk in video-mediated task-based interaction. Its recurrent deployment across environments involving recognition, coordination, formulation, explanation, and stance-taking underscores its role in securing recipiency and sustaining progressivity. Importantly, these functions are not assumed but are demonstrated through participants' observable orientations in subsequent turns, in line with the methodological commitments of CA.

Future research may extend these findings by examining larger datasets or different interactional settings to explore how the use of "*you know"* varies across contexts.

Ethics Committee Approval/ Participant Consent:

Ethical committee approval was obtained from Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University Social and Human Sciences Ethics Committee (Protocol No: 230004, Decision number: 50) with the decision dated 04.04.2023. The participants gave their consent to participate voluntarily in the study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Jefferson Transcription System Symbols

Symbols	Descriptions
(.)	A micro-pause – a pause of no significant length
(3.2)	An interval between utterances (3 seconds and 2 tenths in this case)
[ ]	Square brackets show where speech overlaps
><	Arrows showing that the pace of the speech has quickened
<>	Arrows showing that the pace of the speech has slowed down
(guess)	Unclear section and indicates transcriber doubt about a word
(( ))	An entry requiring comment but without a symbol to explain it
Underliningplay	Denotes a raise in volume or emphasis
↑	Rise in intonation
↓	Drop in intonation
→	Entered by the analyst to show a sentence of particular interest. Not usually added by the transcriber
CAPITALS	Louder or shouted words
(h)	Laughter in the conversation/ speech
=	a)Turn continues below, at the next identical symbol b) In inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and at the beginnig of the next speaker's adjacent turn, it indicates that there is no gap at all between the two turns
e:rthe:::	Colons – indicate a stretched sound
-	A single dash indicates an abrupt cut-off
?	Rising intonation, not necessarily a question
!	An animated or emphatic tone
,	A comma indicate slow-rising intonation, suggesting continuation
.	Full stop (period) indicates falling (final) intonation
oo	Utterances between degree signs are noticeably quietter than surrounding talk
(T shows picture)	Non-verbal actions or editor's comments
Geldim ((tr: I came))	Non-English words are italicized and are followed by an English translation in double brackets
[æ]	Phonetic transcriptions of sounds are given in square brackets
T:	Teacher
L:	Learner
L1:	Identified learner
LL:	Several or all learners simultaneously

- Smiley voice, or suppresed laughter, marked or enclosed by the British pound sign(£). Jefferson (2004d) notes its role in acknowledging, but not joining in with, laughter;
- Creaky voice(#) can appear during upset or turn endings (Local, Wells&Sebba, 1985);
- Tremulous voice(҂) can signal upset, even where no other signs are present (Hepburn, 2004).

Appendix2

Mondada Multimodal Transcription Conventions

Multimodal transcript conventions
(shortversion)

Embodied actions are transcribed according to the following conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (for a full version see https://franz.unibas.ch/fileadmin/franz/user_upload/redaktion/Mondada_conv_multimodality.pdf):

* *	Gestures and descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between
+ +	two identical symbols (one symbol per participant)
Δ Δ	and are synchronized with corresponding stretches of talk.
*--->	The action described continues across subsequent lines
--->*	until the same symbol is reached.
>>	The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.
--->>	The action described continues after the excerpt's end.
…..	Action's preparation.
----	Action's apex is reached and maintained.
,,,,	Action's retraction.
ric	Participant doing the embodied action is identified when (s)he is not the speaker.
fig	The exact moment at which a screenshot has been taken
#	is indicated with a specific symbol showing its position within the turn at talk.

Appendix3

Balaman&Sert (2017) Transcription Conventions for on-screen activity

Table 1
Transcription conventions.

1#	Onset point of the on-screen activity surrounding the talk that is marked along with the lines of the transcript
#1	Offset point of the on-screen activity surrounding the talk that is marked along with the lines of the transcript
1#...	Continuation of the on-screen activity (used only within the on-screen activity illustrations)
Illustrations	Current web page(s) of the participants who perform the on-screen activities
Circles	Points on the screen which the participants either click or hold the cursor still
Arrow	Direction of the cursor movements within the on-screen activity illustrations
Line 2-5	Duration of on-screen activity represented across lines in order to indicate the scope of each description
Descriptions	Unanalytical descriptions of the illustrated on-screen activities which are provided following the offset point of the on-screen activity