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Snapping as a resource for endorsing a critical stance

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Les recherches antérieures dans le domaine de l'analyse conversationnelle (AC) se sont principalement intéressées au rôle des actions corporelles dans les interactions quotidiennes, en mettant l'accent sur les gestes déictiques ainsi que les gestes de battement (Nevile 2015). La recherche sur les gestes métaphoriques, qui apportent une signification sémantique non exprimée verbalement (McNeill 2015), est toutefois limitée. Des études montrent que de tels gestes peuvent être utilisés conjointement avec le discours verbal pour créer des énoncés multimodaux et gérer le déroulement de la conversation (Streeck 2008; Keevallik 2013). Dans cette étude, j'adopte une approche analytique de la conversation pour examiner la "multiactivité" (Raymond & Lerner 2014) du claquement de doigts pour la première fois dans le cadre l'AC. Plus spécifiquement, j'examine comment le snapping est une pratique qui soutient une position critique émotionnellement chargée par un autre interlocuteur. Les données proviennent de quatre extraits vidéo trouvés sur YouTube. Ces quatre extraits impliquent une position critique forte et émotionnellement chargée, suivie d'un geste de claquement de doigts.

Mots-clés:

analyse conversationnelle, multimodalité, claquement de doigts, position critique, actions corporelles.

Keywords:

conversation analysis, multimodality, snapping, stance, embodied actions.

1. Introduction

Embodied actions, such as head movement, facial gestures, and hand gestures, have recently emerged as a new topic of intense interest in the field of conversation analysis (Nevile 2015). Such embodied actions can function similarly to spoken discourse and act together with grammar to accomplish a communicative speech act (Keevallik 2013: 1). While some common gestures, such as pointing, are easily interpreted across many cultures and languages, others can be harder to characterize. Pointing as a deictic means, as seen in Fig. 1 below, is an example of an easy-to-characterize, near-universal gesture (see, e.g., Clark 2003; Goodwin 2000; Goodwin 2003; Haviland 2000; Kita 2003; Mondada 2014a, 2014b). Also of interest are metaphoric gestures, which are used together with spoken discourse to manage "the display of its illocutionary role or the preferred uptake it is to receive, and the managing of the interactional process of taking and allocating turns" (Streeck 2008: 259). Research into these metaphoric gestures, which contribute to semantic meaning not conveyed by a verbal utterance (McNeill 2015), however, is limited. One

example of metaphoric gesture is snapping, which, when paired with other actions or discourse, constitutes a "multiactivity" with new meaning (Raymond & Lerner 2014: 228).



Fig. 1: Uncle Sam pointing, a common example of deictic hand gesture¹

Schegloff (1996) notes that grammar is composed in accordance with sequential contingencies. Mondada (2014a) builds on this further by analyzing how an embodied action can act as a second pair part to a grammatical verbal utterance. Other studies explicate and contribute further to this notion by exploring how gestures constitute meaning and receive a response in various social situations (see, e.g., Goodwin & Goodwin 1986 on waving). The present study intends to add to the emerging literature on embodied actions and their role in discourse, with a focus on snapping. Snapping is a common action called body striking which occurs when the fingers are rubbed together quickly to produce a loud percussive sound. According to Romero Naranjo (2013: 443), snapping has occurred for at least 3,000 years in musical performance as a means of body percussion, going back to the days of Roman amphitheater performances. According to journalist Katherine Rosman of *The New York Times*, snapping as a means of agreement can be traced back to the days of the beatnik poets of New York City, wherein audience members snap during poetry performances (2015: 10). The author goes on to say that snapping over a short period of time constitutes a resource for audience members and observers to express

¹ Source: Wikimedia Commons (open license)

approval while avoiding interrupting the speaker or performer (Rosman 2015: 10). An example of this can be seen in Fig. 2 below.

While all of us will be familiar with snapping, the increasingly common performance of snapping during conversation has not yet been explored in the field of conversation analysis. Linguist Ilan Stavans (2015), the first academic to study snapping in talk in interaction, reports that finger-snapping during conversation is done mostly by young people as a way "to express understated, restrained public endorsement" (§11). According to Stavans (2015), snapping "creates a sense of community [...] involving the public in the performance." He goes on to note that snapping is performed quietly and always while an event is in progress as opposed to clapping, which is louder and comes at the end of a speech event or performance (Stavans 2015: para. 5). As the first empirical study to explore this action employing conversation analysis, this paper aims to address the use of snapping in response to a critical stance.



Fig. 2: A participant snaps during a poetry performance²

2. Data and Method

All examples analyzed in this paper come from video clips found by the author on YouTube. In total, 11 examples of snapping during English conversation were located, all of which were found in the same two conversational positions. From these, four excerpts were then transcribed and analyzed for this research. The first and third examples come from video shot on cellular telephones of discussions between students and administrators at a major American university. The second extract comes from a conversation between audience members and Chelsea Clinton at a public event. The final excerpt comes from an American TV show called *Patriot Act*. Using enhanced playback and slow motion, the sequences of verbal interaction that are relevant for the analysis were selected to be transcribed using symbols developed by Gail Jefferson (Jefferson 2004)

² Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hB_3_ZsW9k

and embodied actions using Mondada (2018). The data are then analyzed within a conversation analysis (CA) framework.

3. Analysis

The central argument in this paper is that snapping is an embodied action which acts as a metaphoric gesture, an embodied action which refers to an abstract notion which has no spatial presence (Cienki 2008), to endorse a critical stance. In each situation where snapping was done immediately following or overlapping another speaker's turn-construction unit (TCU), the snap is done as a response to a very emotionally charged critical stance conveyed by that TCU. By locating other forms of uptake and alignment around the snap, such as nodding, laughing, or verbal utterances, I attempt to support my interpretation of the snap as a means of audibly and visually supporting the stance put forward by another speaker. This section includes four separate instances of snapping as a means of endorsing a critical stance, organized by the sequential environment in which each occurs. First, snapping can occur at a transition relevance point (TRP) of another's TCU that conveys a critical stance, as shown in the first and second excerpts. Snapping can also occur in overlap with another's TCU that conveys a critical stance, which will be examined in the third and fourth excerpts.

3.1 Snapping at a TRP after a critical stance from another

In this first extract, we see snapping coming directly at a TRP following a critical stance expressed by another speaker. Students from an American university have gathered to discuss with their dorm administrator, PRO (professor), and make a complaint. The students were upset when the university administration recently failed to apologize for allowing faculty and students who were dressed in racially insensitive costumes, such as blackface and indigenous garb, to participate in an official Halloween celebration on the campus. At this point, the topic shifts when a student takes the stage to discuss perceived wrongs by the professor as his aid. Student 1 is a Latina university student who takes issue with the professor in the opening lines of the excerpt.

Excerpt 1: University Students Confront Administrator (4)³

Time: 0:00-0:11

Participants:

ST1: Student 1, a Latina female student

PRO: Professor

ST2: Student 2, a Caucasian female student in the background

01	ST1:	and yo::u came in he:re .hh yo:u look
02		down to me:, + (0.2) +
	st1:	+ hands point to self+
03		[do y]ou understa:nd that? +(0.4) +
	st:1	+sniffles+

³ Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=es1W9cREZAs&feature=emb_logo

04 PRO: [I un-] &(0.3)&
 05 pro: &nods up and down&
 06 yes [I-] &(0.2)&
 pro: &looks down at ground&
 07 ST1: [yo]u take care of ME. + (0.4) +
 st1: +sniffles
 08 ST2:→ ^ (0.5)
 st2: ^snaps ----->
 09 ST1: and you haven't been doing ↓that (.)
 10 and I've kept quiet. +(0.2)+
 st1: +begins to cry+
 11 PRO: &(0.2)&
 pro: &looks down at ground&
 12 ST2:→ (0.2) ^
 st2: -----> ^
 13 ST1: .hh I'm +your+ head a:id and you don't
 pro: +gazes toward ST1+
 14 ST1: even know who I a:m.



Fig. 3: Student 2 (background) snaps in support of Student 1 (line 8) with no gaze

In lines 1-3, Student 1 accuses the professor of looking down on her in a very personal and direct manner. At this point, Student 1 is beginning to sniffle (line 3), and tears are welling in her eyes, and others begin to look away from her. The professor responds in lines 4-6, nodding, then looking away from the student and toward the ground as he talks to her, which could be an indication of perturbation and discomfort. Student 1 does not allow the professor to complete his utterance, as she interrupts him in line 7, stating loudly as she sobs, "you take care of ME." Here, Student 1's grammatically complete

utterance prefers a response, though no uptake is provided. Indeed, Student 1 receives a dispreferred response of neither an apology nor a vocalized utterance from the professor. After this plea, Student 2 snaps two times at the moment of the TRP after the critical stance (line 8, Fig. 3), showing alignment and affiliation with Student 1 as Student 1 begins to cry, as well as allowing the talk to continue, despite the lack of a response from the professor. Following this snap, Student 1 holds the floor and continues her turn in lines 9-10, stating that she has felt neglected but has maintained silence on the matter. The critical stance comes in line 9, when Student 1 states "you haven't been doing ↓that," referring to the professor not taking care of her. Her turn comes to a grammatical completion in line 10 with "and I've kept quiet." The grammatical completion, as well as the falling intonation, once again invite the professor to respond and take a turn. However, in line 11, the professor continues looking at the ground and declines to take up this entry point. In line 12, Student 2 continues to snap in the absence of the professor's response to Student 1's accusation, which acts as an encouragement to the speaker to continue her emotional critical stance, as evidenced by the resulting lines of her talk. Once again, the snap has provided a chance for the talk to continue despite the professor not responding. Prompted by this support, Student 1 launches a new turn in line 13 with an in-breath, explaining the reason for her disappointment, "I'm [your head a:id and,]" as the professor looks up in a recognitional overlap. In the final line, Student 1 says exasperatedly, "you don't even know who I a:m."

In sum, as Student 1 is obviously emotional and personally hurt by the actions and subsequent refusal to apologize by the professor, shown in his continued lack of response, it is the support shown by Student 2 in her snaps which encourage Student 1 to complete her accusation. The snapping serves as an overt visual as well as audible signal of alignment and affiliation without interrupting an emotional speech event, as a gesture like clapping surely would. As well, the purpose of the snap in line 12 serves as encouragement for the speaker by endorsing her critical stance in solidarity. This is something which could not be achieved by another means like nodding, as the speaker would not be able to see the nod since Student 2 is in the background and out of sight. In this way, the snap shows solidarity but preserves the speaker's turn and maintains the spotlight on her charged speech.

In this next extract, we see snapping coming directly at a TRP following a critical stance expressed by another speaker, continuing until the speaker completes a reiteration of the critical stance. The setting for this interaction is a vigil in New York City being held for the victims of the March 15, 2019 terrorist attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, in which a white man killed 51 people and injured 40 others at two mosques after Friday prayers. Participants at the vigil confront Chelsea Clinton and question her about her perceived anti-Muslim rhetoric. Woman 1 is an adult female who accuses Clinton of stoking anti-Muslim sentiment, provoking the attack.

Excerpt 2: Woman Confronts Chelsea Clinton at a Vigil for the New Zealand Mosque Shooting⁴**Time:** 0:00-0:35**Participants:**

WOM: Woman 1, an adult woman participating in the vigil

CHE: Chelsea Clinton

BKG: off-camera participants in the background

MAN: man holding camera

01 WOM: +after all that you have+ %done and%
+waves hands in front of face+
%raises left hand in
air, gazes left%

02 +a:ll+ this on the floor that you have
wom: +gazes to CHE+

03 said.

04 CHE: &I& am so: sorry you feel that way.
che: &places hands on chest&

05 &it& most certainly was never my: (.)
che: &clasps hands in front of body&

06 intention. I do believe words matter
07 and I believe [we have to show solidarity,]
08 WOM: [they do: matter.]
09 +this+ this THIS right here is the result
wom: +both hands motion in air+

10 of a massacre +stoked+ by people like you
wom: +hands motion in front of face+

11 +and+ the words you all put out into the
wom: +both index fingers point to CHE+

12 world. +and+ I want you to know that and
+right index finger points to self+

13 I want you to feel that deep inside.

14 BKG: → ^ (0.4)
bkg: ^snaps----->>

15 WOM: +forty-nine+ people died %because% the
wom: +right index finger motions on left palm+
wom: %right index finger
points to CHE%

16 rhetoric that YOU put out there.

17 BKG: → (0.2) ^
bkg: ----->±

18 CHE: &I'm& so sorry that you feel that way.
che: &places both hands on chest&

19 WOM: I don't think- [I don't care.]

20 MAN: [what does I'm] sorry you
21 feel that way mea::n. what does that
22 mea:n.

⁴ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nrQ5Oa6mxew>



Fig. 4: Chelsea Clinton apologizes for misunderstanding (line 4)



Fig. 5: Woman makes critical stance, snapping begins (line 14)

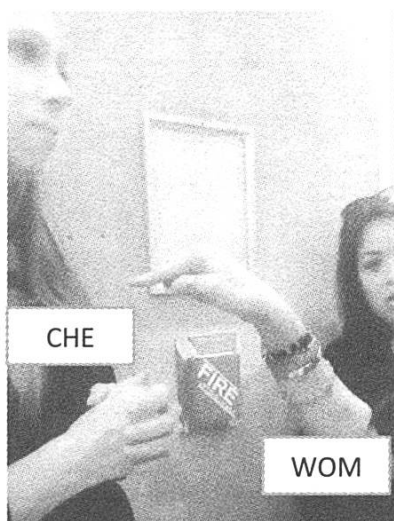


Fig. 6: Woman reiterates critical stance (lines 15-16); snapping stops (line 17)

The recording begins mid-conversation, after a group of participants including a young woman (WOM) approaches Chelsea Clinton after Clinton's speech on

the floor of the vigil. In the opening of this excerpt, the woman is criticizing Clinton for her words at the vigil, where Clinton spoke on stage. In lines 1-3, the woman opens her critique of Clinton by referencing her speech, in which Clinton spoke against anti-Islamism and white supremacy. Clinton apologizes for the woman's misunderstanding of her words, notably without accepting responsibility for the supposed wrong, when she says, in line 4, "I am so: sorry you feel that way." Then, Clinton attempts to show contrition in lines 5-6, even crossing her hands over her heart, seemingly to show her sincerity while claiming "it most certainly was never my: (.) intention" (Fig. 4). This micropause also indicates a wordsearch, as Clinton is likely trying to find a word which will avoid further conflict with the young woman. Clinton goes on to say that she believes words are important, and that "we have to show solidarity," in line 7, with these words being cut off by the young woman, who interrupts Clinton in line 8 to refer the topic back to Clinton's previous statement that "I do believe words matter," in line 6. The woman interjects in line 8 by saying "they do: matter." This continues the conversation to the woman's critical stance, which comes next in her turn.

In line 10, the woman calls the terrorist attack a "massacre," and in lines 10-12, she directly accuses Clinton of responsibility for it, by saying that the attack was "stoked by people like you." In the next lines, the young woman upgrades her accusation by pointing to Chelsea Clinton and critiquing the words Clinton has "put out there" leading up to the terrorist attack. The young woman's critical stance finally comes in lines 12 and 13, as she says, "and I want you to know that and I want you to feel that deep inside" (Fig. 5). In the next line, we hear snapping from the audience members, coming, as in the first excerpt, at a TRP directly following another speaker's critical stance. As in the first excerpt, this snapping encourages the speaker to continue, which she does in line 15. In these lines, the woman upgrades her attack and directly attributes the 49 deaths in the terrorist attack to Clinton, both in her words, "because the rhetoric that YOU put out there," as well as in her gesture, as she points at Clinton with her index finger (Fig. 6). As Clinton responds, the snapping stops, in line 17. This shows that the audience is clearly snapping in support and endorsement of the young woman's critical stance and not to any other interlocutors' utterances.

Finally, in line 18, Clinton repeats her earlier statement that she is sorry the young woman feels that way but does not concede or admit guilt to the woman. As the woman responds in line 19, she is joined by the cameraman, who questions Clinton's vague response. The recording then stops. As with the first excerpt, an emotionally-charged critical stance is issued against a figure in public, and the speaker who announces the critical stance receives support and alignment in the form of snapping from other audience members. This alignment in the form of an embodied action, as in the first excerpt, encourages the speaker to upgrade her critical stance without interrupting her passionate talk.

3.2 Snapping in overlap with another's TCU that conveys a critical stance

In the next excerpt, we once again see snapping to endorse a critical stance. In this example, however, the action of snapping occurs in overlap with another's TCU that conveys a critical stance. In addition, the snapping is a multiactivity (Raymond & Lerner 2014) with gaze to the recipient of the critical stance. This combination of resources (conveying critical stance being the action) results in a critical show of support, thereby sharing in the emotional stance uttered by the speaker. This extract follows the same university administrator as excerpt 1, this time in a conversation with a different student. Student 1, an African American female university student, takes the stage to explain why she feels the university is in the wrong and should apologize to her and other students for allowing perceived racist costumes at a university-sponsored Halloween event. As with the first extract, Student 1 here pursues an apology from the administrator. I again aim to examine the function of snapping as a show of affiliation and support toward another speaker's critical stance. The snapper here initiates her alignment with a slow, dramatic nod, then upgrades the nod with an audible series of snaps.

Excerpt 3: University Students Confront Administrator (2)⁵

Time: 2:29-2:51

Participants:

ST1: Student 1, an African American female student speaking

PRO: Professor

ST2: Student 2, an African American female student in the background

- 01 ST1: +I+ mean even if you we- even if you were
 st1: +gestures with both hands in front of face+
 02 s- like a stellar human be:ing >right<
 03 you like .hh did everything right but
 04 then o:ne day you fucked up >that one
 05 time< &fuckin up& is eno:ugh to
 st2: &gazes to ST1&
 06 apo:logi&ze to the person you hu&rt,
 st2: &nods twice slowly&
 07 .hh we're not making a larger
 08 j&udgment about who you are& and your
 st2: &raises hand over head&
 09 &^character^ what you beli:eve in and what
 st2:→ &snaps----->>
 st2:→ ^gazes to PRO^
 10 ST1: beliefs you ho:ld .hh you can ho:ld a

⁵ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05LMHnILoGI&t=225>

11 beli:ef and then still# go back on that
 st2:→ ----->&
 12 beli:ef >alright< that doesn't mean that
 13 like .hh y[ou le]ss,
 14 PRO: [so:,]



Fig. 7: ST2 (background) gazes at ST1 (line 5)

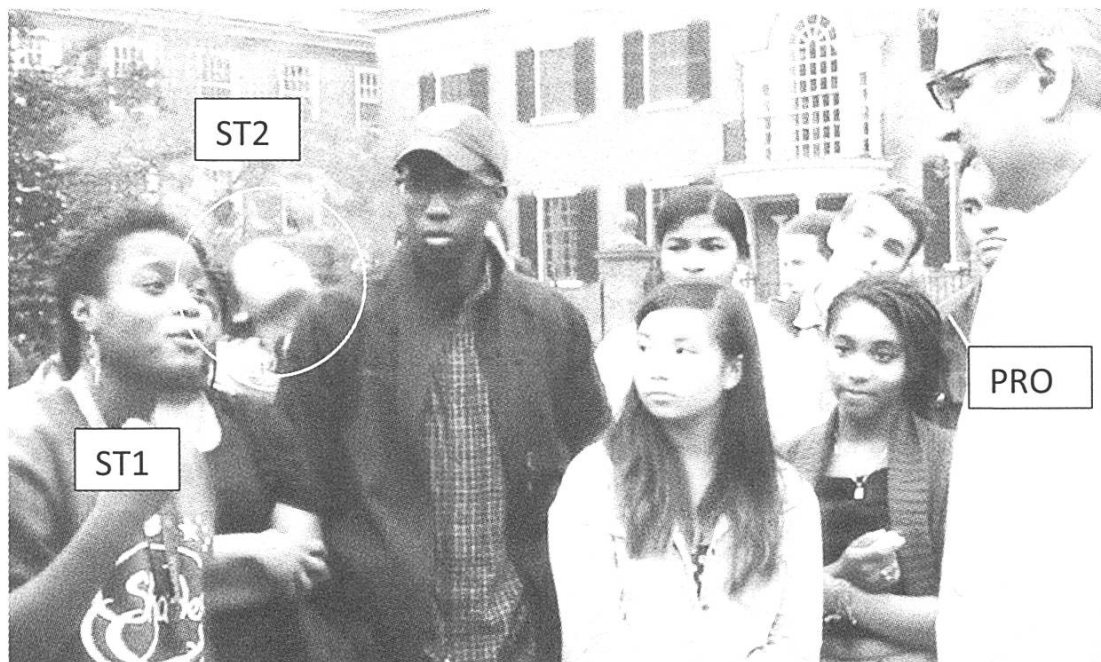


Fig. 8: ST2 (background) nods emphatically in agreement with ST1 (line 7)



Fig. 9: ST2 (background) snaps in agreement with ST1 (line 9), gazing at recipient

In the opening lines of the excerpt, Student 1 is speaking passionately with both hands gesturing as a crowd looks on. In lines 1-6, Student 1 explains that even if a hypothetical person is a good individual, just one mistake which is hurtful to others is enough to force that person to apologize. This statement by Student 1 places the administrator as the representative of the university, which has made a mistake by allowing students to wear perceived racist costumes to a campus event. Student 1 issues her critical stance in line 5 when she says one mistake is "eno:ugh to apo:logize to the person you hurt." Here, the student is demanding an apology for the mistake. As Student 1 begins her talk which contains her critical stance, Student 2 gazes intently toward Student 1 in line 5 (Fig. 7). Student 2, in the background behind Student 1, then begins to align with Student 1's critical stance uttered in line 6. As Student 1 utters "eno:ugh to apo:logize to the person you hurt," in lines 5-6, Student 2 nods slowly and emphatically in the background in a recognitional overlap (line 6) (Fig. 8). This nod is an initial action indicating that Student 2 is aligning with the critical stance uttered by Student 1 regarding perceived social injustices. Student 1 continues her turn, in lines 7-8, explaining that she is "not making a larger judgment about who you are" to the professor, in order to reinforce her critical stance that the university as an institution owes an apology, not the professor personally. Student 2 begins to raise her hand at this point (line 8), completing another recognitional overlap of Student 1's continued stance. The hand raising is in preparation for a snap, which is done overhead and in clear view of the professor, possibly due to the snapper being behind other students and otherwise not clearly visible. In the next lines, Student 1 continues her talk with her critical stance, that she is not judging the professor's personal "character what you beli:eve in and what beliefs you ho:ld .hh you can ho:ld a beli:ef and

then still go back on that," (lines 9-11). Student 2 begins to snap overhead as Student 1 utters "character" in line 9, and then goes on to snap several times (Fig. 9). Here, the snapping is done as Student 2 gazes toward the professor, who is the recipient of the critical stance. This reinforces the alignment from Student 2 toward Student 1. The snaps later stop when Student 1 utters "and then still" in line 11, coming just after a grammatical completion point and at the point Student 1 is building onto her turn with an increment. The multiple snaps appear to be done in support of the speaker's stance, overlapping continuously as Student 1 expresses this view.

Evidence suggests, then, that Student 2 is using her snap as a gesture to show affiliation with the critical stance adopted by Student 1. An initial nod, a weaker form of agreement, as it cannot be seen by the speaker, who is in front of Student 2, gives way to a stronger form of alignment in an upgraded snap, which is both visible as well as audible. In order to emphasize her snap and make sure the professor is aware of her alignment, Student 2 also dramatically holds her hand over her head, clearly in view of the professor and others in the crowd. At the same time, Student 2 gazes toward the professor in support for the critical stance. This clear metaphoric gesture again shows strategic uses in communicating support for the speaker without interrupting the speech in process.

In the final excerpt, I highlight two functions of snapping. First, as is consistent with all snapping in this study, snapping is used to show alignment and support with a critical stance done by another speaker. Like the previous example, the first snap follows a nod as an upgraded show of endorsing the speaker's critical stance and occurs at a point of overlap. Second, however, is a unique situation in which the snapper gazes toward the producer of the critical stance while snapping. This activity of snapping while gazing at the producer of the critical stance shows another form of alignment. The action is strong enough to create a chain of snaps from another participant in response. This chain of actions thus shows snapping in response to a critical stance as well as a second series of snapping in alignment with the first snaps.

In his show *Patriot Act*, Hasan Minhaj, a popular Indian American comedian and television host, conducts an interview with a group of teenagers of Indian (Hindi: "desi") heritage living in the United States. The high school students are preparing to apply for university and the interview turns to that topic at the beginning of the extract.

Excerpt 4: Hasan Learns What It's Like to Grow Up Desi in 2019⁶

Time: 10:41-11:12

Participants:

HAS: Hasan, the host of the show

ABE: Abeer, a male high school freshman from New Jersey

PAV: Pavan, a male high school junior from Missouri

⁶ Source:

TEJ: Teji, a female high school senior from New Jersey

PRE: Preksha, a female high school junior from New Jersey

JEN: Jena, a female high school senior from New York

SAH: Sahir, a male high school junior from New Jersey

SUH: Suhani, a female high school junior from New Jersey

lines omitted

- 01 HAS: are you ↑nervous?
- 02 TEJ: a little,
- 03 HAS: what's the expecta:tion? are your parents
- 04 li:ke ivy or bust?
- 05 TEJ: +yeah,+
- tej: +looks up to ceiling+
- 06 HAS: &what& do your parents want ↑you to do
- has: &right hand points to JEN&
- 07 with your life.
- 08 JEN: anything in the me:dical field, bu:t
- 09 (0.2) on the si:de they said I could
- 10 do something else >but I always have
- 11 to have a backup [pla:n,<]
- 12 HAS: [but why] does
- 13 everything- why do our dre:ams have to be
- 14 on the si:[^de.^]
- pre: ^nods^
- 15 JEN: [<I >] don't kno:w.>
- 16 JEN: ^.hh^ cause,
- pre:→ ^snaps^
- 17 +(0.5)+
- tej:→ +gazes to PRE and snaps+
- 18 JEN: Δthey're,Δ scared that it's <like> not
- pav: ΔlaughsΔ
- 19 going to work out.



Fig. 10: Preksha snaps as Jena talks, with gaze to Hasan, producer of stance (line 16)

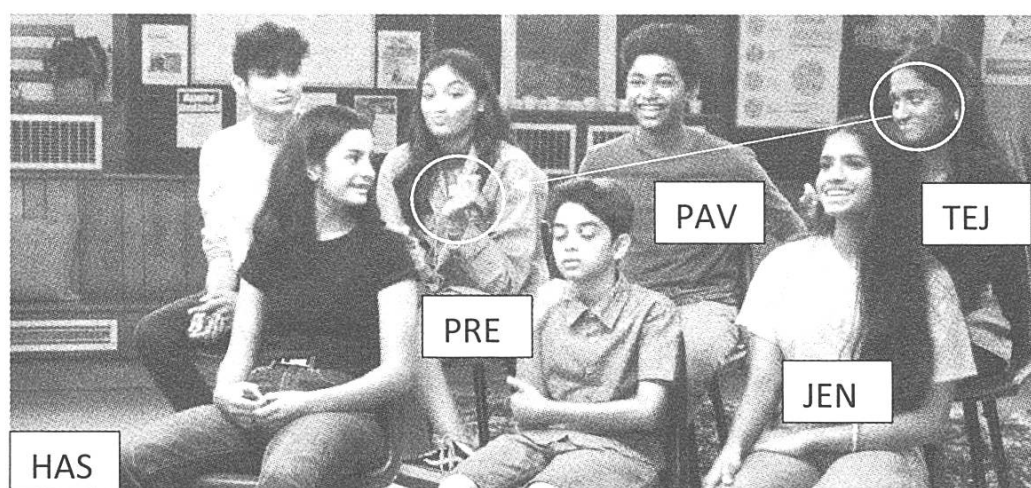


Fig. 11: Teji looks at Preksha and joins her in snapping (line 17)

In the opening lines, the host asks Teji if she is nervous about the application process. After Teji's response "a little," the host asks Teji if her parents expect her to attend a prestigious Ivy League university. The framing of the question in lines 3-4 initiates the host's launch of his critical stance. The host implies here that Teji's parents will accept nothing less than admission to the top tier of universities when he says, "are your parents li:ke ivy or bust?" After receiving a preferred response confirmation "yeah" in line 5, Hasan continues with the theme of excessive parental expectations by shifting his query to Jena, asking what her parents expect her to do in the future in lines 6-7. Jena provides uptake to the line of preceding utterances, by responding with "anything in the me:dical field" in line 8, which is followed by the host launching his critical stance in the form of a question. The host overlaps with Jena's response in line 12 and posits the critical stance in his question "[but why] does everything- why do our dre:ams have to be on the si:[de.]" This question appears to suppose that all Desi (people of South Asian descent) parents project their difficult expectations on their children, regardless of the child's goals or ambitions, by using "our dreams" (line 13) as a term for showing alignment and affiliation as one united group facing the same dilemma. This utterance asks a rhetorical question as a means of offering a critical stance, building on the previous utterance in lines 3-4. Before Hasan finishes his question, Preksha begins nodding dramatically with her lips puckered (line 14), thus treating the question as a statement to be agreed to and showing alignment with the host. Jena's response in line 17 is simultaneous with Preksha's nod in line 16 and both do a transitional overlap with the critical stance from Hasan. Jena's line 15 response to Hasan's question, a dispreferred mitigating response "[<I] don't kno:w>," which is full of perturbation in her slow and elongated speech, is done as she is forced to consider an appropriate answer. Subsequently, as Jena prepares to launch her explanation with an inbreath, she is joined by Preksha's snapping in line 16. Preksha's alignment in line 14 (nodding emphatically) has now shifted beyond

a metaphorical sign in the form of a nod, which some of the members cannot see due to the seating arrangement, to an upgraded form of affiliation and support in her snapping in line 16, which is hearable to all, as well visible to some. Additionally, the snap occurs while Preksha is gazing at the host, who is the producer of the critical stance (Fig. 10). When paired with gaze to the producer of the critical stance, the snap creates a new, embodied adjacency pair within the existing discourse when Preksha's snap receives a snap from Teji. Similar to the first excerpt analyzed, this seems to be a strategy to propel the forward movement of the sequence, as the response stalls with Jena's mitigation. Ultimately, as I will analyze below, this strategy is successful.

Preksha's snapping draws in Teji, who aligns with Preksha's position by looking at Preksha's hands and then joining her in snapping in support of the host's stance in line 17 (Fig. 11). Preksha's snap-gaze combination acts as an embodied 1PP which invites others to join, and a preferred response emerges in Teji's uptake and mirroring of the snap as a 2PP. Despite the speaker (in the yellow shirt, right side front row) and host (off camera to the left) sitting in front of her, Teji looks not at either person speaking, but instead gazes at Preksha, who is sitting to her right. Teji gazes directly at Preksha's hands (Fig. 11) as Preksha snaps, then begins to snap in response to Preksha's strong alignment with the host's critical stance toward Desi parents' seeming disregard for their children's dreams. This alignment with Preksha's stance is further supported in line 18, as Pavan begins to laugh, which also shows alignment and support for Preksha's assessment and, in turn, alignment with the host's suggestion. All of these embodied actions occur before Jena is able to complete her defense of her parents in lines 18-19, showing that the participants are aligning with the host's question and subsequently Preksha's snap and not the response from Jena.

Preksha's snap here functions in two ways. First, she snaps to show endorsement of the critical stance offered by the host, an endorsement which begins with a nod which occurs as a transitional overlap with the host's stance. Second, the snap plus gaze to the producer of the critical stance acts as an embodied 1PP which serves to continue stalled talk in the 2PP. This continuation comes with the second snap from Teji, who provides the 2PP while gazing at Preksha's hands, a clear response to Preksha and not the host. This notion is supported by Goodwin and Goodwin's finding that "rather than operating simply on the basis of a fairly general preference, participants might be able to negotiate within the activity itself the type of coparticipation it is to receive" (1986: 53). The fact that no one interjected or questioned the action shows that all interlocutors recognize and accept the action as a valid means of communicating support to two different interlocutors. When the multiactivity by Teji occurs, uptake is further provided by Pavan's laughter, and it becomes a solidified embodied action showing alignment to Preksha's snap as response to

the question-as-critical-stance posed by the host and not simply the host's stance itself.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

This paper has identified and analyzed a previously unstudied action of snapping as a resource for endorsing a critical stance. Specifically, the snap comes either after a TRP in which an emotionally charged critical stance is uttered or overlaps it. When the snap is done in conjunction with gaze to the recipient of a critical stance, as in excerpt 3, it shows an upgraded agreement with and support of the stance. When the snap is done in conjunction with gaze to the producer of the critical stance, as in excerpt 4, the effect is strong, and may result in a new adjacency pair with the snap acting as the 1PP. Thus, not only is a snap a means of endorsing a critical stance, but it can also affect the trajectory and organization of the discourse.

Possibly due to the recent emergence of the practice of snapping during conversation, very few examples were readily available. Also limiting the scope of this study is the fact that quality video recordings are needed in order to analyze the timing and function of the snap. As mentioned, only 11 examples of snapping during English conversation were located across publicly accessible video platforms such as YouTube. Despite these limitations, the repeated function and use of snapping in the same conversational positions indicate that it is a widely understood phenomenon among certain age groups.

There is no existing research on the exact function of the snap in conversation analysis up to this point, so it is hard to come to conclusions without more data and analysis. As stated earlier, snapping functions as a way to show support for a speaker without interrupting said speaker (Rosman 2015). However, the function of snapping in alignment with a critical stance is a new addition to this notion. Another interesting point is that all of the cases identified for this research were performed by young persons. It may indeed be that this embodied action is only understood and used by youth, but further research is needed as evidence for this point.

Accordingly, the snap may possibly be a common way of communicating certain ideas among certain communities or age groups. If this is the case, understanding the function of the snap would lead to better intergenerational understanding. As well, snapping as a means of critical support would indicate that this embodied action should be added to the canon of literature in conversation analysis. This addition would indeed spur possible topics for future research across various disciplines. Finally, it may be posited that snapping is a means of communicating support in the English-speaking world, though research into other languages was not conducted for this study. In any case,

much more research on this action is needed in order to shed light on its possible usage and functions.

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