



**School of Education, Communication and  
Language Sciences**

**Doctoral Thesis**

**The 'Whole of the Wall': A Micro-Analytic  
Study of Informal, Computer-Mediated  
Interaction between Children from a  
Marginalised Community**

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## ABSTRACT

As a prominent symbol of the free-market, liberationist approach to *International Development (ID)*, the *Self-Organised Learning Environment (Mitra, 2006)* has been presented as a bona-fide revolution in primary education provision, a means by which the global poor can finally gain a legitimate foothold in modernity with nothing more than a computer and an internet connection (Tooley, 2006). Naturally, the notion of a credible, teacher-less environment characterised by a spontaneous and coherent pedagogy of enquiry is a remarkable yet, highly emotive hypothesis with potential consequences far beyond the domain of *ID*. Indeed, a review of the associated literature attributes a raft of learning claims to the *SOLE*, not to mention supplementary social and psychological benefits (Mitra 2012). On the other hand, an overtly foundational approach to *SOLE* research is neither supported by an empirical study of participant interaction nor a coherent definition of learning, presenting the participants as nothing more than `ghosts with a machine`.

On the understanding that self-organisation can only truly exist as an emergent practice, where talk-in-interaction is presumed to reside at the heart of social order (Boden & Zimmerman, 1991), this thesis represents a detailed micro-analysis of *SOLE* participation among children from a marginalised community resident in Boyacá, Colombia. In direct contrast to a large-scale, *etic* approach to educational research founded on *a priori* concepts, testing, statistics and generalisation (Mitra, 2006), the learning space is reconceived as a distinctly intimate, Community of Practice (Wenger, 2000). In which case, computer-mediated activity is characterised relative to an interactional paradigm (Hutchby, 2001) and

the canonical features of mundane conversation, including; turn-taking, repair and topic management (ten Have, 1999).

To begin with, it is argued that *SOLE* interaction can be arranged in terms of the following series of interrelated routines: Entry; Challenge; Search; Tutorial; Evaluation; Outage; Fly-Solo. As Sacks anticipated (Silverman 1998), micro-analysis reveals that participation and computer-mediated multi-activity is broadly consistent with the exigencies of context. Self-organisation then is shaped by the social realities of identity and the seemingly paradoxical features of group belonging (sharing) and individual autonomy (control) manifest in practices of opposition, assessment and insult (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2009; Corsaro, 2005). Secondly, the *SOLE* organisational and learning structure is distinctly intra-personal and autocratic in nature. Thereafter, peer-to-peers relations are subject to situated distributions of epistemic authority coupled with unilateral demonstrations of the deontic equivalent. Moreover, Mitra's idealised representation of a learning environment free from institutional/ideological interference i.e. outdoctrination, is challenged by a conspicuous, politicisation of the *SOLE* by the participants themselves. Thirdly, the dyad is the principle mode of operation where participants orient towards the computer as a limited resource/object rather than an active participant or product of social construction. Forthly, interaction is broadly consistent with the principal features of canonical talk where accountability is sustained through a combination of linguistic and para-linguistic activity (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). To this effect, participant intersubjectivity is produced and sustained through mutually supportive acts of mediated coherence relative to a recognisable series of emergent procedures, namely: dispute; action-listing; effectuated repair; reciprocal exchanges; place-saving. Finally, the

detailed linguistic features of interaction point to an object-oriented, `mobilising` speech-exchange system operating directly at the interface between talk and social action. Whilst the precise flow of interaction is virtual-activity dependent, the system is consistently characterised by abbreviated forms of talk, most conspicuously; deictic reference, directives and response cries supplemented throughout by embodied gesture/metanarrative. Irrespective of these linguistic shortcuts, not to mention limitations of computer affordance i.e. ambivalence, overload and diversions, the general absence of breakdown suggests a degree of communicative competence between the participants. In which case, notions of situated learning and knowledge are not so much cognitive and mechanical in nature but distinctly social and interactional (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 2001) with the principal aim of CoP assimilation:

*learning is not so much related to the acquisition of arbitrary, content-centric knowledge, as it is about play, identity and situated competency as part of an emergent social practice within an unfamiliar mediated context*

In conclusion, it is argued that a liberationist approach to *ID* research and education is definitively and inexorably deterministic in nature. In the absence of interactional data, Mitra is seemingly obliged to co-opt the principle symbols of an alternative, social-cultural paradigm i.e. collaboration, agency, democracy, equality, criticality, in order to add intellectual ballast to the otherwise empty claims of self-organisation i.e. a `Trojan Mouse` approach to social and educational change (Selwyn, 2011). In broader terms of development policy, the issue of authentic representation is viewed as a priority. Thereafter, the study

recommends a context-sensitive paradigm of *ID* research as a meaningful supplement to the prevailing logo-centric orthodoxy. Consistent with the rhetoric of post-colonialism, emphasis is shifted to a post-structural sociology (Heritage, 1984) and educational curriculum (Slattery, 2006) supported by a counter-balancing *emic* approach to research i.e. micro-ethnography, one that seeks to give authentic voice not only to *SOLE* participants but to the multitude living extreme poverty as a relentless, day-to-day reality.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Inevitably, a *Ph.D* is a profound challenge and commitment where the student is faced with a host of trials and tribulations, both intellectual and emotional, throughout the duration. Moreover, you can expect these issues to multiple in their intensity with each progressive step away from your original intentions. Indeed, if the true purpose of post-graduate study is to push yourself and often those around you to the limits, then the process has been an unmitigated success and simply to get this far, I owe a deep sense of gratitude to so many. Firstly, to my friends in Duitama, Colombia: Señor German & Nancy Velandia and family; Señor Alberto & Magnolia Fajardo and sons. Child psychologists; señoritas Andrea Bohórquez, Eneida 'Lisi' Ruiz and Paola-Carolina Diaz Bolivar and finally, Señor Sebastian Moreno. 'Gracias a todos ustedes y un buen dia, nos vemos'!! Closer to home, my gratitude goes to Señor Carlos Andrés Osorio for bridging the cultural gap with his invaluable assistance during the arduous transcription and translation stages. I also want to thank the regular members of *MARG* (Micro-Analysis Research Group) at Newcastle University most prominently, my supervisor, Dr. Alan Firth and fellow participant, Dr. Andrew Harris. Without their patience and support, I would have lost confidence in my research long ago. Of course, the same must be said about close family members, all of whom stayed the course when the going got tough. Finally and most poignantly, I want to recognise and thank the children of Duitama themselves and not simply for their participation. Through misfortune alone are they born into poverty and their lives may not get any easier, no matter how hard they try. They are symbolic of the very reasons I entered International Development and it is to them that I dedicate this thesis, in the hope of a better future; 'beuña suelte niños'.

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## PREFACE

Like many who concern themselves with the welfare of the world's poorest, I first became closely involved with *International Development (ID)* out of an incessant desire to 'do' something positive for those wretched souls seemingly abandoned by the relentless and unforgiving march of modernity (Fanon, 2001). This reality of widespread, extreme poverty first and forever scarred my consciousness in 1984, the year of the Ethiopian famine when the truly shocking, apocalyptic images of a desperate, dying and emaciated people were projected directly into our homes. In time, the initial wave of horror and revulsion gradually reified into an amorphous sense of social justice, palpable but largely devoid of the verbal coherence required to construct a sustainable argument. Sir Bob Geldof's candid, if inarticulate outbursts appeared to crystallise this prevailing sense of disorientation and despair, that existential space between willingness and helplessness in the face of another's tragedy.

After many years of employment in the aviation industry and abundant travel throughout the Developing World, I was keen to consolidate this amateur enthusiasm for politics and social justice with an emerging interest in educational research, acquired from a further five years of TEFL in southern Spain. To this end, I enrolled on the inaugural *MA* course for *International Development & Education (ID&E)* at Newcastle University in August 2008. The course was designed and taught by Prof. James Tooley (Director of Education Policy) and Dr. Pauline Dixon (Senior Lecturer) and concentrates predominantly on their own research and the provision of education for the world's poorest.

According to the *United Nations (UN)*, primary education is a principal cornerstone of the *ID* project. Today, approximately 57 million children in the Developing World remain outside of the formal system, meaning that the institutional goal of *Universal Primary Education (UPE)* by the ‘2015’ deadline has not been achieved<sup>1</sup>. In contrast, Tooley & Dixon (2004) argue that the situation may not be quite as hopeless as the statistics appear to suggest and point to the emerging phenomena of low-cost private schools for the poor, a form of provision that includes a potentially significant but unaccounted informal/unregistered<sup>2</sup> sector. Rather than the centralised approach of the *UN*, one that promotes investment in the public system, Tooley (2004) recommends the liberalising of a corrupt and debilitating regulatory environment as a means of encouraging further growth in the private sector. Moreover, market reforms could promote equality of access through a system of educational vouchers<sup>3</sup>, extending parental/consumer choice to even the very poorest in society. Low-cost private school discourse then implores us to put aside our ideological concerns regarding private provision i.e. elitist and unequal, and instead concentrate on the more tangible features of parental choice and accountability.

A guide to the nature of the *ID&E* and its preferred paradigm of expression is to be found in the *MA* course curriculum and the list of supporting texts. The principal academic pathway is built on the following set of core modules: Entrepreneurship for Development; Economics for Development; Educational Technology and a placement module<sup>4</sup>. Meanwhile, the

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<sup>1</sup> More than 57 million children and 69 million adolescents still do not have access to effective basic education. The Muscat Agreement (2015) represents the international community’s continuing commitment to the aims of *UPE* for the next 15 years <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002281/228122E.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Unregistered in order to avoid ‘corrupt’ state interference (Tooley & Dixon, 2004)

<sup>3</sup> An idea first postulated by renowned economist, Milton Friedman (1968)

<sup>4</sup> Undertaking a project in a Developing World country

principal philosophical influence is E.G.West<sup>5</sup> and his seminal work, *Education and the State* (West, 1965). This text represents an historical assessment of British education in the period surrounding the introduction of Forster's Education Act (1870). According to West, this pivotal reform was a supremely political act of control, leading to public sector domination of education and the learning agenda at the apparent expense of a pre-existing and credible private sector. Other supporting and salient texts include: *The Mystery of Capital* (de Soto, 2001); *Africa Betrayed* (Ayttey, 2001); *The End of Poverty* (Sachs, 2005); *Private Education is Good for the Poor* (Tooley & Dixon, 2005); *Education for All through Privatisation* (Tooley, 2004). In effect, the departmental definition of *ID&E* is conceived in the radical but no less, formulaic terms of a social-economic imperative driven solely by capital and entrepreneurs within a notionally, de-regulated free-market of education providers and their customers. By contrast, there is no recognition of local context or even, educational research as an authentic field of enquiry (Tooley)<sup>6</sup> and despite the apparent cogency of the *ID&E* argument, I remained unconvinced by the narrow breadth of subject matter and superficial depth of the ensuing debate.

Nonetheless, on completion of my *MA*, I was invited to continue my studies in the form of a *PhD*. In the first formal meeting with Prof. Tooley, it was suggested that I acquaint myself with *The Beautiful Tree* (Tooley, 2009) as the latest addition to *ID&E* compendium and thereafter, consider research in the field of peer learning; a learner receiving instruction from a knowledgeable colleague. In view of my own teaching experience, I was very receptive to

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<sup>5</sup> The *ID&E* department is named in tribute to the late author and economist Edwin George West (<http://research.ncl.ac.uk/egwest/egwest.html>)

<sup>6</sup> Mitra (2006, vii)

the idea. The inclination to ‘do something’ in the practical realm of classroom intervention outweighed my continued scepticism surrounding *ID&E* policy. In outlining his vision, Tooley referred specifically to a Monitorial System of instruction, originally witnessed and documented by the Rev. Andrew Bell in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century during his time as a missionary in the Indian subcontinent (Tschurennev, 2008). In broad terms, the method dispenses with the conventional teacher role and instead, deploys a select band of high achieving students/monitors to instruct small groups of peers. The idea was later popularised by Joseph Lancaster who opened his first school in Shoreditch, London in 1802. A large, open plan space containing hundreds of students was overseen by a single master. Teaching procedures, pupil testing, observation and discipline were rigidly enforced. The curriculum was limited to literacy, basic arithmetic and Bible studies and all were transferred by the rote method of teaching/learning. Tooley then was suggesting that an equivalent system of pedagogy could be reintroduced into the Developing World as a means of optimising existing and relatively costly provision and/or delivering education to remote communities where the majority of excluded children reside (EFA<sup>7</sup>, 2012). My enthusiasm for research in the distinctive area of peer learning continues unabated. However, not only was I concerned about the efficiency-related pre-supposition of a monitorial-style intervention but more significantly, the pedagogical preference for a transference/rote method of teaching. This concern was only amplified as the scope of research expanded to include curriculum design within the Developing World; a resilient legacy of the colonial period (Ashcroft et al, 1995). Though the instrumental/rational approach to education and curricula favoured by the *UN* makes a

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<sup>7</sup> The UN ‘Education for All’ programme

certain, notional sense in many developed social-cultural contexts, the post-colonial critique<sup>8</sup> presents an alternative and distinctly pejorative set of outcomes, most significantly; a `colonisation of the mind` (Wa Thiang'o, 2011; Ki-Zerbo et al, 1997). Consistent with the moniker of post-colonialism, one is obliged to challenge the privilege of white, middle-class Westerners like myself, to impose their own ideological presumptions and values on the Developing World. From this perspective, I was struggling to conceive of a coherent and constructive vision of peer learning that remained resistant to the colonial legacy. Indeed, personal experience tells me that the *ID&E* representation of education as a purchased commodity - conceptualised in purely quantitative terms - is overly simplistic and fails to capture the true complexity and nuance of the teaching/learning process. Yet for all these misgivings, discussion remained stubbornly limited to a single paradigm of expression. This sense of disorientation only began to subside one year into my *PhD* with the commencement of the 'Nature of Enquiry' module<sup>9</sup> and the development of a social scientific context.

An introduction to the philosophy of science and most importantly, the notion of research paradigms (Kuhn, 1970) confirmed the existence of an ontological schism in my research. Furthermore, an awareness of the principal thinkers and theories<sup>10</sup> associated with social science established the limits of the *ID&E* discourse based on the undeclared, yet distinctly Marxist assumption that economic imperatives are the only significant determinant of social life. Indeed, when considered within the framework of alternative systems of thought, it

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<sup>8</sup> The interaction between imperial culture and the complex of indigenous cultural practices from the moment of colonization to the present day. Afterall, colonialism does not cease with the mere passing of political independence (Ashcroft et al, 1995)

<sup>9</sup> Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Department at Newcastle University

<sup>10</sup> Marxism, Foucault, Post Structuralism, Post-Colonial Theory and Communication Theory.

becomes crystal clear that the field of *ID&E*, in its current form, is strictly confined to a foundational and *etic* paradigm of enquiry supported entirely by quantitative methods and positivist interpretations; a predominance reflected in my own *MA* dissertation (Burgess & Dixon, 2012)<sup>11</sup>. In view of the monumental scale of the *ID* project and the commensurate benefits of foundational forms of research i.e. macro-economic theory, statistics, generalisation etc., the choice of paradigm is perfectly rational. Nonetheless, there is neither a clear indication of heuristic alternatives nor discussion of the limitations of such a unilateral approach to educational research; a conspicuous shortcoming, only magnified by the post-colonial setting of *ID*. It appeared then that I had reached a dead-end at the confluence of opposing paradigms. However, a potential way-forward was surprisingly close at hand.

As previously noted, Educational Technology is an intrinsic part of the *ID&E* academic pathway. The subject is taught by Prof. Sugata Mitra, a renowned personality and expert in the field and focuses on a philosophy of *Minimal Invasive Education (MIE)* within the context of the *Hole-in-the-Wall (HitW)* project i.e. a computer-based approach to provision devoid of the logo-centric, teacher role (Mitra, 2006). Out-doctrination<sup>12</sup> is the guiding metaphor for Mitra's work, so naturally he was sympathetic to my post-colonial concerns regarding any prescriptive and/or regressive system of learning. In its place, he proposes the *SOLE* as a 'value-free', all-purpose solution to the dichotomy of cultural hegemony and universal provision.

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<sup>11</sup> Use of questionnaires in a comparative study of school management types in the marginalised districts of Cali, Colombia.

<sup>12</sup> The opposite of 'ideological' indoctrination



## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 RESEARCH AIMS

According to Mitra (2006), excluded and marginalised children<sup>13</sup> from across social-cultural spectrum can use the *SOLE* to achieve learning gains equivalent to those of the local, formal system. In which case, the problem of *UPE* can be readily and relatively cheaply resolved by quite literally, swamping the Developing World with computers connected to the internet. Of course, this is a remarkable and highly controversial claim as Mitra appears to be suggesting that, contrary to centuries of educational research, children (in a computer-mediated context) can identify and attain their own set of learning objectives, as part of a coherent and emergent pedagogical narrative of enquiry without the traditional support and guidance of a teacher. The decentralising rhetoric of technology is commonplace (Selwyn, 2011). If true however, such a radical hypothesis does have profound ramifications in our understanding of education and ultimately, schooling and *ID* alike; *'comparable with the great works of liberation produced by Illich and Freire'* (Mitra, 2006)<sup>14</sup>.

Before we sound the death-knell for conventional, state-led provision however, it is important to note that our current understanding of *SOLE* is constrained by a methodological focus on quantitative outcomes and anecdotal evidence (Mitra, 2006). Consequently, neither Mitra's analysis nor his conclusions make direct reference to interactional data from the field and thereafter, a detailed representation of the emergent, self-organised learning processes. This

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<sup>13</sup>A general term to those children currently outside of the formal system and the target of the *UPE* programme

<sup>14</sup>Tooley's tribute in the preface to the 'Hole-In-the-Wall' (Mitra, 2006)

conspicuous gap in *SOLE* research provides the basis for a project rationale and the following salient objectives:

- To develop a representative theoretical panorama of *SOLE* interaction
- To reveal the range of social practices, identities, sequences and linguistic features that contribute to the emergent speech-exchange system and thereafter, shape local knowledge
- To describe the details of mediated interaction between participants
- To investigate the notion of collaboration at the heart of the *SOLE* learning context
- To discuss the implications of interactional research and outcomes on the prevailing *ID* paradigm

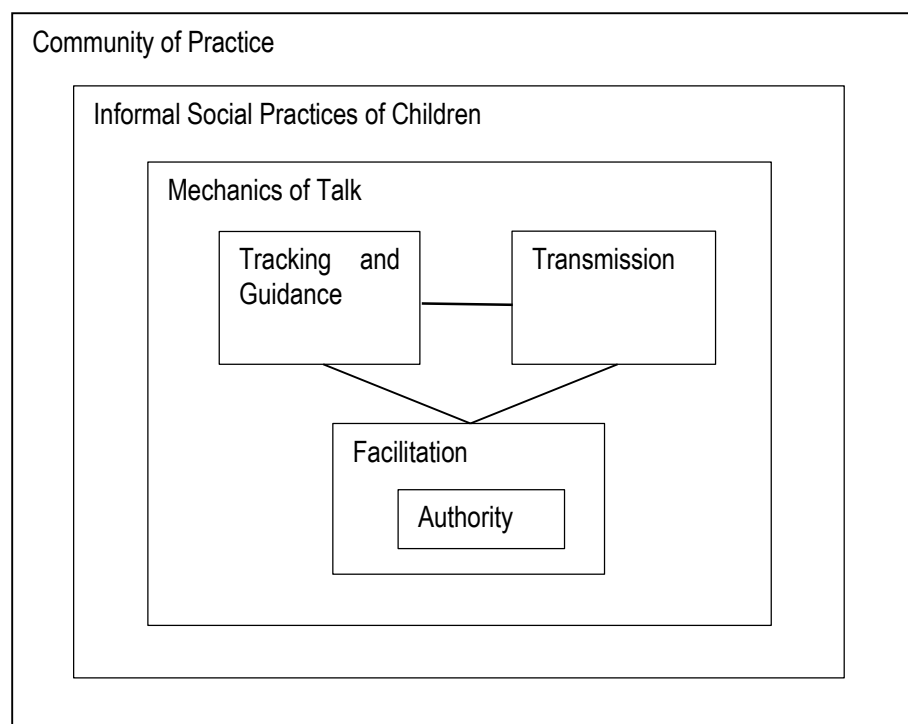
From the start, this study acknowledges the intensely emotive field of high politics that surround *ID* and the complex reality of widespread and extreme poverty. Whilst it is *not* the primary intention of this study to engage directly with these issues, it is important to note that the conceptual view of social order sustained by the *UN* and *ID&E* (Tooley & Dixon, 2004) is entirely consistent with ideological notions of modernity i.e. the privileging of the *macro* over the *micro* context, and the heuristic confines of a unified, rational framework of analysis (Escobar, 2011). It is this logo-centric approach to *ID* that has been challenged by a *post-structural* alternative that hereafter, provides the organisational metaphor for this thesis.

## 1.2 THESIS STRUCTURE

The principal aim of the Literature Review is to provide a representative, theoretical context for analysis. To begin with, the study introduces the notion of *self-organised* learning according its principal advocate, Prof. Mitra (2006). This section includes a summary of the pedagogical philosophy; *Minimally-Invasive Education (MIE)*, the form of experiment and the associated learning and organisational claims based on an inferred, computational theory of communication centred in the brain as the locus of human action. On the understanding that technology is in reality, subsumed within the practices of the surrounding, pre-existing social context (Sacks, 1992), this study proposes an alternative, agent-centred interactional model of social behaviour, one founded on the ordinary concepts that people themselves use to render their everyday activities mutually intelligible (Hutchby, 2001). From this subjective position, the *SOLE* can be readily compared to a '*Community of Practice*' (Wenger, 2000), where interaction is conceptualised in terms of a 'social-cultural' theory (Gee, 2008). In which case, self-organised learning is not so much related to the product but a process of meaningful and apposite deployment of the linguistic features associated with a computer-mediated context.

The theoretical representation of the *SOLE* continues with general accounts of the common practices that render play a meaningful activity for children (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2012; Corsaro, 2005; Garvey, 1984). As Rogoff (2003) notes, these social practices are particularly pertinent in the Developing World where older children are regularly expected to assume the role of guardian to their younger siblings and peers. With direct reference to the empirical data taken from the field, the more detailed features of children's talk and interaction; the

linguistic ‘flesh’, is added to the ‘bones’ of social context by means of an interconnected system of communication - the ‘mechanics of talk’ (Garvey, 1984), which include: transmission; tracking and guidance; facilitation. In view of the organisational presumptions of the *SOLE*, this notion of facilitation and the significance of individual status and integrity within a group, provides a basis for the final layer of interaction and the demonstration and distribution of local authority; epistemic (Heritage, 2012) and deontic (Stenvanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Whilst acknowledging the scarcity of computer-based, interactional research (Pirainen-Marsh & Tainio, 2009), the chapter concludes with a review of related case studies, describing a mediated speech-exchange system relative to the canonical features of talk i.e. turn-taking, repair and topic management (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). In general terms, a concentric interactional model of *SOLE* participation is illustrated as follows:



**Figure 1: Interactional Model of *SOLE***

Now that the theoretical field of analysis is established, the aim of the methodology chapter is to trace in detail, the ontological transition of research paradigms, commencing at the foundational and definitively utilitarian position maintained by *UN/ID&E*. We continue through the structuralist position occupied by the `judgmental dope` (Heritage, 1984), in anticipation of a research pivot and the post-modern fragmentation of social presence reflected in the `interactional order` (Goffman, 1982). The journey draws to a close at an alternative, post-structural location with the emergence of a situated, border identity (Mignolo, 2005) enacted through the medium of talk (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970). Significantly, this shift toward a social-cultural imperative is consistent with the post-colonial critique of *ID* where Spivak (1988) goes as far as to question the mere possibility of subaltern voice, one that can be heard above the persistent shrill of modernity. Within this alternative paradigm, it is language as opposed to rational, social-economic precepts that reside at the heart of social order. In which case, Conversation Analysis (*CA*) has consistently shown that talk-in-interaction i.e. children in a self-organised context, must be viewed as a locally-accomplished achievement and that its routine, orderly and recognisable appearance is in fact, the product of the participants ceaseless and contingent application of complex but methodical practices (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

The research project established a *SOLE* configuration within the marginalised community of *La Miligrosa* in the town of Duitama, Colombia. Interactional data was then collected over a period of five months; Oct'11 - Mar'12. During this time, the process of detailed transcription, translation and conversion into *CA* format, was also commenced. This task continued for a further 18 months as the data was progressively assessed, filtered and

organised into a general series of inter-related categories, listed as follows: Entry; Challenges; Search; Tutorial; Evaluation; Outage and Fly-Solo.

Once a characterisation of the *SOLE* is complete, the purpose of the Discussion chapter is to undertake a detailed assessment of situated interaction relative to the standard practices of mundane and mediated talk identified in the review (Sacks et al, 1974). Micro-Analysis suggests an object-oriented, `mobilising` form of participant interaction divided into the following inter-related categories: 1) the social organisation of roles; 2) the social organisation of content; 3) mediated coherence. Meanwhile, the outcome of the analysis represents an interactional evaluation of Mitra's collaborative claims, in terms of: 1) the nature of situated communication; 2) the validity of the learning outcomes associated with the *SOLE*.

Now that a clear understanding of *SOLE* interaction is available, the aim of the final, Conclusion chapter is to reassess its theoretical and methodological position within the continuing *ID* debate. As the principal symbol of a liberationist educational agenda (Tooley, 2006) does the *SOLE* truly have the game-changing potential to effect education provision for the millions of children in Developing World still deprived of a formal option? Is the prevailing paradigm of *ID&E* sufficiently inclusive to capture and interpret the authentic educational needs of the global poor? Finally, is the *SOLE* an authentic sign of things to come, marking a pedagogical sea-change not only with reference to *UPE* but in our entire understanding of the learning process, one that places Educational Technology at the epicentre of a brave new, post-schooling world? (Mitra, 2012; Tooley, 2006)

## 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Within the realm of conventional modern science, the purpose of the Literature Review is to ground and direct the research process in relation to existing lines of academic thought and formal publication. Irrespective of the preferred research strategy - inductive or deductive - the review is essentially an iterative and progressive act of `a priori` context construction, conceptualisation and project definition. According to formal method, the boundaries of the research are established through an active process of material identification, analysis and synthesis, whilst the outcome - in the form of research questions - represents an original, feasible and meaningful line of investigation (Feyerabend, 1987). It is the validity of this orthodox, logo-centric approach to *ID* within a marginalised, post-colonial milieu that is being examined by this study. In which case, once the macro context has been established in terms of *MIE* development, a challenge to Mitra's inferred theoretical model of social behaviour will mark a polar-shift in conceptual perspective towards the micro and post-structural representation of self-organisation. The review will therefore be constructed and presented in terms of the following salient themes:

- 1) The development of the *SOLE*: a general introduction to the *MIE* philosophy, the computer-mediated configurations and the associated organisational and learning claims.
- 2) The validity of heuristic model through which self-organisation is currently represented. At which point, the computational model of participant behaviour inferred by Mitra will be juxtaposed with an interactional alternative

- 3) Within this interactional paradigm, the *SOLE* can be broadly conceptualised in terms of a Community of Practice (Wenger, 2000). The self-organising procedures that surround the computer artefact and through which intersubjectivity emerges can now be readily related to the social practices that typify children's interaction within the context of play
- 4) Necessarily, the presence of a mediating factor has a conspicuous impact on the nature and dynamic of group interaction relative to a standard model of mundane conversation (Neville et al, 2014). The linguistic details and implications will be explicated in terms of the `multi-activity` context (Haddington et al, 2014) and the principal features of talk, namely; turn-taking, repair and topic management (Sawchuk, 2003; Grieffenhagen & Watson, 2009)
- 5) The detailed linguistic features of interaction that sustain meaning and coherence within a *SOLE* context are described in detail with the aid of Garvey's `mechanics of talk` and an interconnected systems of communication, including: transmission; tracking and guidance; facilitation (Garvey, 1984). It is the facilitation system that then provides the reference point for the final layer of representation. In this case, the notion of authority is defined in terms of the deontic; concerning rights and obligations, and the epistemic; the knowledge-oriented features of interaction

In sum, the review represents the decisive pivot in research paradigm necessary to capture the broad theoretical panorama of interaction emerging from and representative of the *SOLE* context, namely; post-colonial, computer-mediated, play-oriented and peer-socialising. Necessarily, an inherently diverse and sophisticated environment of social practice far



beyond the range and capabilities of the orthodox approach currently associated with the field of *ID&E* (Luff et al, 1990).

## 2.2 MINIMALLY-INVASIVE EDUCATION (MIE)

### 2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The *Hole-in-the-Wall (HiTW)* and *Self-Organised Learning Environment (SOLE)* configurations are the culmination of more than a decade of *Minimally Invasive Education (MIE)* research initiated by Mitra<sup>15</sup> (2006). In short, *MIE* represents the transformation of the conventional classroom into a computer-mediated equivalent where marginalised children can:

*‘achieve a specified set of objectives of primary education with no or minimal intervention’ (Mitra, 2006; 166)*

In a general critique of the institutional approach to education provision, Mitra (2012) describes the orthodox, teacher-led classroom as both: unequal; the more geographically and/or materially remote the community, the worse the standard of education and, boring; an inevitable consequence of the learning regime far removed from the needs and interests of the surrounding community.

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<sup>15</sup> Experiment conceived in 1988 and conducted from 1999-2005 (Mitra, 2006; xi)



**Image 1 : 'Hole-in-the-Wall'**

Of course, neither the associated field of Educational Technology and the raft of potential benefits (Collins & Halverson, 2010; Leiberma et al, 2009) nor the notion of unsupervised learning (Neill, 1970) are completely original. However, with the introduction of *HitW* on the streets on New Delhi, India (see Image 1), it would appear that Mitra was amongst the first to undertake a combined assessment within the *ID&E* context. With minimal fuss, a computer with an internet connection was embedded into a wall backing on to the slum district of Kalkaji<sup>16</sup>. The keyboard was designed so that only smaller, pre-adolescent children could gain access to the computer. General interaction was observed and recorded via an on-board micro-camera, discrete computer logging and diary-based observation. After six months of uninterrupted access, 'icon recognition' testing<sup>17</sup> was undertaken as an indicator of learning. According to the results, marginalised children with little or no formal education appeared to have taught themselves the rudimentary skills of computer literacy without any

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<sup>16</sup> The outside wall of the NTI corporation, the sponsors of the initial study

<sup>17</sup> A Computer Icon Inventory (Mitra, 2006)

external interference<sup>18</sup>. These outcomes were verified as part of an experimental procedure repeated in increasingly remote areas of the country and were deemed consistent and statistically significant, irrespective of contextual variables<sup>19</sup> i.e. educational background, literacy level, social & economic status, ethnicity and place of origin, IQ, gender, race, location<sup>20</sup> (Mitra, 2006). Thereafter, Mitra promotes an agent-centred learning philosophy of out-doctrination, consistent with a post-colonial doctrine where the students are seemingly free to negotiate their own meanings and agendas (Rahmena & Bawtree, 1997). Likewise, Negroponte likens the *HitW* to `shared blackboards` that children in marginalised communities could collectively own and access to explore, learn, collaborate and brainstorm (Arora, 2010). As such, the learning context is presumed to be;

*'inherently better, more liberating and more egalitarian than formal schooling'*  
(Arora, 2010, 696).

Thereafter, Mitra notably and explicitly aligns the *MIE* with the anti-school agenda of Tooley and the E.G.West Centre at Newcastle University, the presumed self-organising properties of the free market ([www.egwestcentre.com](http://www.egwestcentre.com)) and a primary curriculum based on the following minimalist requirements (Mitra, 2012):

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<sup>18</sup> Including; basic computer navigation, drawing and painting, loading and saving files, downloading and playing games, running education software, playing music, surfing the internet, setting up email accounts, sending and receiving mail, until social media and streaming (Mitra, 2012)

<sup>19</sup> Experimental control groups testing included: 'draw-a-man' personality test (Goodenough, 1926) and attitudinal scales

<sup>20</sup> Variations in results are equated to regional differences in attitudes toward education. With reference to India, Mitra (2006) states that '*Education is revered in the south & west. It is considered a necessary evil in the North; in certain parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat it is considered a waste of money. Making money is the goal in life and that learned through street sense, not in the classroom*' (*op. cit.*, 121)

- Reading Comprehension: Perhaps the most crucial skill a child needs to acquire while growing up
- Information and Search Analysis: A skill set vital for children searching for answers in an infinite cyberspace<sup>21</sup>
- A rational system of belief: If children know how to search and if they know how to read then they must learn how to believe. Each one of us has a belief system. How can a child acquire one? A rational belief system will be our children's protection against indoctrination

In an attempt to assess the outer limits to self-organised learning, Mitra performed further investigation in areas of knowledge ordinarily considered far-beyond the capability of children from marginalised communities. In this case, the capacity to learn basic molecular biology in a foreign language i.e. an English operating system. Needless to say, no miracle was anticipated. However, test scores suggested positive outcomes at least, equivalent to that achieved by local state institutions. Yet, for all the continued success of *MIE* across a range of Developing World milieus, a single nagging doubt remained; 'Is this learning?' (Mitra, 2012). Inevitably, the answer to this question depends on your perspective (Säljö, 1979). The view of learning as a product suggests: a) a quantitative increase in knowledge and acquiring information; b) memorising, storing information that can be reproduced; c) acquiring facts, skills and methods that can be retained and used as necessary. Alternatively, learning can be understood as an ongoing process, that is: a) learning as making sense and abstracting

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<sup>21</sup> First articulated at the National Institute of Technology in India

meaning, relating parts of a subject matter to each other and to the real world; b) learning as interpreting and understanding reality in a different way, learning involves comprehending the world in a different way. At no point do Mitra or Tooley make this distinction in their understanding of *ID&E* and thereafter, Mitra brushes-off concerns of shallow learning, as a shallow understanding of the problem in the face of a miracle; *'a celebration of learning and the power of self-motivation'* (Mitra & Dangwal, 2010; 680).

When the results of the Kalkaji experiment came to the attention of the Indian government, one struggling to deliver *UPE* to a vast, scattered and predominantly rural population, funding was soon provided for the construction of a host of child-friendly, computer kiosks across the subcontinent<sup>22</sup>. According to Mitra, the results of this large-scale experiment were significant/confirmatory and even included anecdotal evidence to suggest that groups of marginalised children were also learning rudimentary Mathematics and English. These results led to additional experiments with alternative applications, including; phonics programmes and Skype® (Mitra, 2006). Furthermore, it attracted a great deal of media attention in the form of TED talks<sup>23</sup> and most famously, as the inspiration behind the Hollywood movie, *'Slumdog Millionaire'* (Swarup, 2005): the fictional story of an illiterate boy from a marginalised Mumbai slum community who wins a popular TV quiz show (*'Who Wants to be a Millionaire?'*) courtesy of knowledge accumulated through a host of authentic life experiences as opposed to formal schooling.

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<sup>22</sup> In 22 locations where over 100 computers were installed. Over 40,000 children used the computers and many of these 'became computer literate all on their own' (Mitra, 2012)

<sup>23</sup> Link at: [http://www.ted.com/talks/sugata\\_mitra\\_shows\\_how\\_kids\\_teach\\_themselves.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/sugata_mitra_shows_how_kids_teach_themselves.html)

By this point in the experiment, Mitra speculates that peer collaboration founded on ‘social-cultural’ theory<sup>24</sup> (Mitra, 2006; 52) may be at the heart of self-organising process.

*‘children actively construct their knowledge rather than simply absorbing ideas spoken at them by the teacher’ (op. cit; 4)*

To this end, he recounts the spontaneous organisation of members into stable groups of four, including; ‘one operator, an advisor, and two observers’ (op.cit; 52). Evidence of collaborative interaction is founded on the emergence of a locally-derived names for a range of computer features i.e. cursor symbol is ‘sui’ (needle) or ‘teer’ (arrow), the ‘close’ window symbol is ‘katta’ (cross). Finally, common observations emerging from the experiments suggest a consistent and even exponential process of learning within the context of *MIE*. These collaborative features, reminiscent of those documented by Freeman & Somerindyke (2001) are listed as follows (Mitra, 2006; 170):

- i. Discoveries tend to happen in one of two ways: a) when one child in a group already knows something about computers, he or she will show off those skills to the others; b) while others watch, one child explores the computer interface randomly until an accidently discovery is made

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<sup>24</sup> Individuals gain mastery over cultural tools and signs, principally language in the course of interacting with more competent peers. In his assessment of *SOLE* process, Mitra makes anecdotal reference to the Zone of Proximal Development: “the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (Vygotsky, 1978, pp88)

- ii. Several children repeat the discovery for themselves by asking the first child to let them try it
- iii. During this discovery process, one or more children make more accidental or incidental discoveries.
- iv. All children repeat all the discoveries made and in the process, make more discoveries. They soon start to create a vocabulary to describe their experiences
- v. The vocabulary encourages them to perceive generalisations, such as, “when you click on a hand-shaped cursor, it changes to an hourglass shape for a while and a new page comes up”.
- vi. The participants memorise entire procedures for doing something such as to open a painting program and retrieve a saved picture. Whenever a child finds a shorter procedure, he or she teaches it to others. They discuss, hold small conferences, and make their own timetables and research plans. It is important not to underestimate children
- vii. The group divides into the ‘knows’ and ‘know nots’ much as they might divide into the ‘have’ and ‘have nots’ with regard to their possessions. However, a child that knows will share knowledge in return for friendship and reciprocity of information, unlike the ownership of physical things, where they can use force to get what they do not have. When you ‘take information’, the donor does not ‘lose’ it!
- viii. A stage is reached where no further discoveries are being made and children occupy themselves with practicing what they have already learned. At this point, intervention is required to plant a new seed of discovery such as, “did you know that computers play

music? Here let me play a song for you”. In the *MIE*, such minimal intervention happens accidentally for passing adults or just accidental discoveries. Usually, a spiral of discoveries follows and another self-instructional cycle beings

A number of important features emerge from this particular characterisation of the learning context: 1) a single child is always in control of the computer dictating the direction of travel, be it prescriptive or random; 2) Meanwhile, the other participants assume a more passive role consuming relevant information in anticipation of practice i.e. the roles/identities of the participants are broadly stable and reciprocal; 3) language is at the core of the learning process; 4) *MIE* is a process of information transference and memorisation; 5) some form of intervention is required to order to drive the learning process forward.

With this content-centric, rational understanding of social knowledge and organisation in mind, Mitra (2012) uses an `evolutionary` metaphor to describe learning in terms of self-reproducing and mutating organisms adapting to their environment where only the fittest survive. The ability of the organism to sense its own condition and modify its behaviour is then understood as cognition. Ergo, self-organisation and connectivity between organisms emerges consistent with the laws of cause and effect. Hence:

*‘we propose that a system is aware of a parameter i.e. has knowledge of it, either internal or external to itself, only when a change in that parameter causes a change in its own state’ (op. cit, 52)*



By taking this heuristic step however, Mitra's understanding of the *MIE* context appears to represent a contradiction, as opposed to a reconciliation between a social-cultural view of learning as process and the behavioural equivalent as a product. In the absence of detailed empirical data, it would appear that Mitra is unable to provide a coherent conceptualisation of the *MIE*.

From this critical perspective, the *HitW* project has also provided a basis for broader, independent analysis and the recognition of documented failures and concerns as part of the customary process of academic reflection. Arora (2010) assesses two particular kiosks that have fallen into neglect and disrepair in the Central Himalayan region and suggests that the principal root of failure lies within a '*paradox of institutional engagement*' (*op. cit*, 695). In view of the playground settings, the kiosk is required to strategically engage with the school to justify its presence. Yet, in order to fulfil its true purpose of liberation, it is simultaneously required to disengage itself from institutional interference, circumventing the restrictive methods and practices associated with the formal context i.e. a corollary of the theoretical dilemma. In the absence of a clear and definitive educational role and pedagogical objective, it would appear that the target audience lost direction and interest. Furthermore, Arora references supplementary research that shows children tend to use the facility more for recreational and social purposes rather than those directly related to formal learning (*op. cit*). Whilst recognising the significance of play within the *MIE* context, Arora notes that some *HitW* kiosks have quickly acquired the reputation as playstations, controlled by the same groups of dominant boys. Arora suggests that Mitra's understanding of equality and democracy appears to take insufficient account of '*the dynamic asymmetries in people's*

*behaviour*' (op. cit, 698). Indeed for many observers, the very notion of *MIE* in the Developing World raises significant ethical and methodological questions, not least whether programme designers:

*'have any understanding of what it's like to live in a society where the average income is less than \$2 per day and the notion of children's rights is as theoretical as time travel....it is an article of faith that giving kids computers is a way of aiding their learning....[The One Laptop Per Child initiative<sup>25</sup>] is thus grandly contemptuous of mundane questions such as whether there is any evidence that giving kids computers is educational better than giving them books, hiring more teachers or building more schools - or even paying for families to send their children to school....technology seems to be the answer no matter what the question'* (Naughton, 2005; 6)

Unperturbed, Mitra is currently exploring the application of *MIE* within the boundaries of school itself; with a testing strategy loosely based on the British GCSE syllabus. This shift from *HitW* to *SOLE* represents no significant change in computer configuration; software or hardware. An adult is present but is only required to adopt the passive role of a facilitator as opposed to an informed leader. The same however cannot be said of the shift in political context, from the uncontrolled domain of the slum to the highly emotive and regulated world of formal education. For sure, it is within this institutional domain that Mitra's work has

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<sup>25</sup> The 'OLPC' initiative is inspired by Mitra's *HitW* project and is consistent with the *MIE* philosophy. In a further critique, Cuban refers to *MIE* as 'magic thinking' and points to a large-scale evaluation of the 'One Laptop Per Child' which concluded a dramatic increase in computer access with some benefits on cognitive skills but no evidence to suggest increased learning in Maths or Languages (<http://blogs.worldbank.org/edutech/node/654>)

received some of its most vociferous criticism e.g. '*Angel or Devil*' (Harmer)<sup>26</sup>. Resident at the radical, 'liberationist' end of the Educational Technology debate, there can be no denying that the *SOLE* has profound ideological ramifications for educational provision, school and most certainly, the conventional role of the teacher as the primary source of knowledge, contextual narrative and social norms and values within the classroom (Selwyn, 2011).

## 2.2.2 CONVERSATION AND TECHNOLOGY

According to Thurlow et al (2004), the notion of technology refers to; '*the diverse collection of processes and knowledge that people use to extend human abilities and to satisfy human needs and wants*' (*op. cit*; 25). In modern terms, developments such as the printing press, the telephone and the internet all enhance our ability to communicate, allowing people to interact on a global basis. Moreover, this emphasis on life enhancement suggests that technology is more than simply a collection of materials and artefacts that spring fully-formed from the designers mind. Instead, the machines that have come to symbolise the modern era have evolved or disappeared, under the influence of surrounding social forces (Selwyn, 2011). In essence, the study of a computer-mediated context:

*'is not about the technology; it is about what happens to people as a result'* (Morrison & Oblinger, 2000; 5).

In contrast to its passive role as an information receptacle, the *SOLE* now becomes an active participant in the interaction, at least in the sense that its output - words or images on the

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<sup>26</sup> <http://jeremyharmer.wordpress.com/2014/04/07/angel-or-devil-the-strange-case-of-sugata-mitra>

screen - can be oriented to as a contribution and the subject of mutual, active and collaborative sense-making on the part of the users. The interactional impact of this object-orientation is described in further detail in the next `multi-activity` section.

From here, the methodological means are required to incorporate the demands and constraints of design into participant interaction i.e. the technological `affordances` and range of possibilities the artefact offers for action<sup>27</sup> (Hutchby, 2001). On the assumption that participant collaboration is indeed, the driving force underpinning self-organisation, the central question is not so much related to internet content and presumptions of relative quality (Mitra, 2006) as it is one of learning context i.e. `what is the nature of the communication that takes place when children interact through, around or with computer technology?`

In addressing this notion of communication, Hutchby identifies two contrasting models of analysis through which social interaction has been characterised; the `computational` and the `interactional`. The former is consistent with a *speech-circuit model of communication* (Saussure, 1984; 11) in which a message encoded in the head of a speaker is then transmitted via the mouth to the ear of listener. This message is decoded inside the receivers head and the next message is encoded, transmitted, received and decoded. Such accounts tend toward a static, cognitive/mentalistic interpretation of behavioural phenomena underpinned by events centred in the individual mind and its associated plans, goals and strategies (Heritage, 1984). According to Hutchby, this particular conceptual form is subject to the following

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<sup>27</sup> For example, Hutchby (2001) investigates the *affordances* which effect and/or constrain both the meanings and the possible uses of the telephone and internet as a mediums of communication i.e. the need for a specific `summons/answer` form of opening sequence (Schegloff, 2007)

contingencies: 1) to what extent is it meaningful to conceive the individual brain as computer/processor at the centre of the communication process; 2) how can we analyse communication if, as the computational model implies, the key processes reside inside people's heads?

By contrast, the interactional model of communication presumes that any understanding of social behaviour commences with the `ordinary` concepts that humans use in everyday life to render their activities mutually intelligible (Wittgenstein, 1958). Such concepts do not reside within individual minds but instead, are aspects of a shared and public system of resources - ordinary language - to which individuals have access by virtue of their membership of a distinct cultural community (Goffman, 1959). Indeed, much of the phenomena that we normally think of as intrinsically mental events, such as understanding are in reality, publically ratified achievements (Gee, 2008). According to these definitions, there can be little doubt that the nature of communication described by Mitra is inherently computational in nature with predictable, methodological shortcomings i.e. *MIE* analysis and conclusions are based on an abstract and generalised representation as opposed to empirical data derived from the situated and embodied interaction between participants. Hence, the conceptual preference for this study is the interactional approach to communication, one where *SOLE* intersubjectivity - the mutual understanding between participants, relative to technological affordance - is an emergent, constructed and negotiated activity, observable within public space (Sidnell & Stivers, 2014; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

It is at this point in the study that we take the definitive, methodological turn away from the `macro` toward the `micro`. To this end, Hutchby (2001) proposes *Conversation Analysis* (CA) as an appropriate means of characterising the relationship between *SOLE* participants as mediated by technology. Put simply, CA represents a systematic analysis of the forms of talk produced in everyday, naturally-occurring situations of social interaction. The detailed mechanics of mundane conversation<sup>28</sup> are described in a later chapter however, it is important at this stage to note some of the principal features of form and intersubjectivity. According to Sacks et al (1974), conversation comprises three basic features: 1) turn-taking; 2) one speaker tends to talk at a time; 3) turns are taken with as little gap or overlap as possible. Sacks et al also note that turns-at-talk are comprised of *turn-construction units (TCU)* which broadly correspond to linguistic categories such as sentences, clauses, single words or phrases. Significantly, the *TCU* has the property of projectability that makes it possible for participants to project the form of the current turn and the point at which it is likely to end i.e. potential speaker transition boundaries. Though turn-taking is consistent with a set of rules, they are not proposed as regulative constraints on participation but instead, are a description of the constitutive practices to which interactants themselves orient in the act of turn-taking. CA research then aims to demonstrate;

*'the technical aspects of turn-taking that represent the structured, socially organised resources by which participants perform and co-ordinate activities through talk-in-interaction. Talk is treated as a vehicle for social action, and also as the principle*

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<sup>28</sup> Mundane is used to describe a particular form of talk in which what people say, how they say it and the length of turn in which they say it - turn form, content and length - are freely variable (Hutchby, 2001)

*means by which social organisation in person-to-person interaction is mutually constructed and sustained. Hence it is a strategic site in which social agents orientation to and evocation of their ongoing intersubjectivity can be empirically and rigorously investigated' (Hutchby, 2001; 62)*

In contrast to the common-sense ideas of conversation as a casual, random occurrence, Sacks argues for an alternative, procedural technology by which conversations are understood as patterned events i.e. the normative structures of interaction (Silverman, 1998). Indeed, the principal aim of this thesis is to investigate the nature of interpersonal communication at the interface between the communicative affordances of the artefact and the normative structures of talk-in-interaction itself i.e. the underlying structures of the presumed, *MIE* learning process.

### 2.2.3 MULTI-ACTIVITY

As objects experienced in the sensory world, we orientate our bodies in relation to technology i.e. point, move and manipulate, create and transform, refer to and talk about it. In which case, interaction is comprised not only of talk but also by a range of embodied/physical resources which are temporally organised to develop situated activities and forms of participation (Nevile et al, 2014). From the interactional perspective, the ubiquitous features of modernity such as computers, mobiles, television etc. can be seen, either as: 1) situated resources; within and for actions and activities, or; 2) practical accomplishments; people shape design and orient to objects as emerging in and through interaction. Moreover, objects have a distinct role in forming and highlighting social affiliations and group statuses through

the related issues of ownership, use, circulation, disposal etc. (op. cit). According to Goodwin (1984), talk, embodied conduct and objects are integrated as distinct elements of a ‘multi-activity setting’ encompassing:

*‘broad sets and forms of praxeological engagements which can be formulated in words but are often implemented rather than verbalised requiring fine-grained, moment-to-moment analysis of interaction’ (Nevile et al, 2014; 11)*

In essence, the notion of multi-activity reflects complex relations of successivity and consequentiality and the different ways in which two or more activities can be intertwined and made co-relevant in social interaction i.e. doing more than one thing at one time<sup>29</sup> (Haddington et al, 2014). According to Haddington et al, participants select from the following set of interactional practices when conflict arises between activities occurs (op. cit):

- Starting/Restarting; Interrupting, Suspending: disengagement with one activity in order to engage with another i.e. an interruption, requiring a halt or postponement of the preceding activity. The practice of postponement can involve gaze and body orientation towards incoming activity
- Switching: While participants sometimes manage two or more parallel activities equally, in other case, participants engage in complex forms of alternation between activities

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<sup>29</sup> As distinct from multi-tasking which is methodologically-centred on the individual and the cognitive, largely omitting the detailed practices through which multiple activities are managed together in social interaction



- **Adjusting/Readjusting:** the coordination of one activity relative to another through adjustment of rhythm and pace including practices of delaying, slowing down or accelerating
- **Abandoning:** Participants not returning to a suspended activity
- **Resuming & Continuing:** Resumptions from suspension are gradual and emergent providing participants the possibility to negotiate and achieve transitions through interaction. Resumptions can terminate a particular moment in multi-activity but can also end this phase of interaction, signalling a return to a single activity

Moreover, there are two distinct forms of interaction associated with multi-activity, listed as follows (Depperman, 2013b): 1) Intra-personal; while several participants can orientate and adjust their actions to ongoing events, one participant is principally responsible for managing the multi-activity situation i.e. organises conduct by allocating different multimodal - linguistic and para-linguistic - resources for different activities; 2) Inter-personal; how multiple activities are co-ordinated and accomplished collaboratively between the participants as an intersubjective achievement.

In sum, these interactional practices and the management of the sequential environment provide an orderly framework for the analysis of multi-activity i.e. play and tuition, within the object/technology-mediated context of the *SOLE*.

## 2.2.4 CHILDREN AND THE VIRTUAL ENVIRONMENT

Consistent with the philosophical concerns of paradigm and learning theory, research investigating computer-mediated action is located within one of the following fields of analysis: 1) *Computer Supported Collaborative Learning (CSCL)* represents a broadly prescriptive type of interaction where a system is designed to produce a particular form of collaboration in line with a predefined set of learning objectives. According to Beatty (2010) authentic collaboration begins with an organised and prescriptive activity that facilitates communication, based on pre-existing and shared assumptions of the participants. In which case, two or more learners engage in discourse over decisions related to the task, discussing what is important, the sequence of discrete problems within then task and deciding how to approach a solution to a task. 2) *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)* represents a definitive shift in focus to the social aspects of mediated interaction that promote articulation. However, the fact that research is predominantly embedded within rational, institutional contexts of work means that it cannot be considered self-organised; 3) *Computer Mediated Communication (CMC)* is a general, catch-all term. However, literature is generally focused on the virtual presence of participants interacting remotely across a communication network i.e. chat-rooms, email, texting etc. Communication is often emergent and self-organised in the non-institutional sense however, it is not normally defined by the ‘face-to-face’ (*F2F*) interaction indicative of the *MIE* domain.

Though constructivist notions of learning i.e. the social turn, are having an increasing influence on system conceptualisation and design (Crabtree, 2003), the *MIE* does not fit conveniently into any of the existing academic fields of mediated and collaborative research.

Whilst this theoretical ambivalence far from invalidates notions of learning and self-organisation, a detailed theoretical context of interaction is still required and a clue to its form resides in the critique of operation referenced previously. Here, Arora (2010) reflects on the legitimacy and utility of a self-organising environment where unsupervised participants are anecdotally, prone to using the computer for recreational and social purposes i.e. music, games and social media (Facebook, YouTube etc.), rather than activities directly related to the formal school agenda.

Given the nature of *MIE*, the functional capability of the modern, networked computer and the increasing ubiquity of games and pop culture, recreation and socialising are inevitably, prominent and accepted features of technology use (Mitra, 2012). Nonetheless, Gee (2008) cautions against any stock and/or pejorative interpretation of computer *play*, including; discovery through trial & error, messing about etc., that dismisses aspects of virtual interaction on the basis of presumed value and utility. According to Gee, the commercial popularity/success of a video game is in fact, directly related to its ability to sustain interest and challenge the participants, factors that are themselves highly dependent on the underlying learning principles and their efficient integration within the `design`. Consistent with the interactional paradigm, Gee conceptualises learning as a situated and communal experience where locally-valued knowledge is derived and authenticated through various social practices, ones that encourage group members to read and think in certain ways, and not others, about certain sorts of texts and not others. In direct contrast to *ID&E*'s prescriptive view of learning founded on the assimilation of bureaucratic knowledge, Wenger (2000)

summarises this social-cultural approach in terms of a *Community of Practice (CoP)* and following salient dimensions:

- Mutual Engagement

Practice does not exist in the abstract. It exists because group participants are mutually engaged in actions whose meanings emerge through negotiation with one another. As a reflection of social relations, mutual engagement involves not only our material competence but also our ability to manage complementary and/or conflicting contributions from group members. Indeed, the reality of the *CoP* is not at all characterised by the selfless properties of harmony and uninterrupted progress. Moreover, the emergent and complex set of relations between participants cannot be readily reduced to a single social principle such as power, competition, collaboration, economic relations etc.

- Joint Enterprise

Wenger makes the following points regarding the enterprise and the maintenance of a *CoP*: 1) It is the result of a collective process of negotiation that reflects the full complexity of mutual engagement; 2) It is defined by the participants in the very act of pursuing it and therefore belongs to them - situated and embodied - in a profound sense irrespective of the surrounding historical, social, institutional forces; 3) It creates relations of *accountability* that become an integral part of the practice. A joint enterprise is a conceptualised as an emergent process not a static agreement

- Shared Repertoire

Over time, the joint enterprise creates resources for the negotiation of meaning. The repertoire of the *CoP* is represented by the emergence of a coherent and situated discourse; routines, words, tools, gesture, symbols, actions, concepts, structures etc., representing an inherent part of the practice.

There is now ample evidence to claim that children need to be interacting within the context of a mutually-constituted shared system i.e. the *CoP*, to optimise their *learning*, each participant co-adapting to the meet the emergent needs of the other (Larsen-Freeman, 2010). In which case, learning is conceived as a socio-cognitive process in the accomplishment of practical activities e.g. discussion, negotiating a mutual understanding, disagreeing, even reading and writing. Thereafter, micro-analysis in the context of a *CoP* points to learning practices embedded within patterns of participation, interactionally-configured social identities and organisational structures of talk-in-interaction in naturally-occurring conversation (Walsh et al, 2010). Moreover, it is the shared resources provided by the linguistic system, in the support of turn-taking and projection that allow participants, not simply to say things but to co-ordinate their actions (Pekarek-Doehler, 2010). Subsequently, the relationship between cognition and social organisation i.e. the processes of reasoning and understanding, is not hidden from view but is publically accountable, learning being observably configured within the detailed unfolding of talk-in-interaction. Nonetheless, evidence is required that goes beyond such local mechanisms such as repair and negotiated sequences, accounting directly for how participants progressively, repeatedly and collectively configure and reuse their language resources within the same (and different)

environments in increasingly context-sensitive ways i.e. the use of pace, intonation, gesture, sequential structure to establish a pattern of interaction. Ergo, Seedhouse (2010) identifies an operational definition of cognitive change and learning, as follows:

1. The learner could not do 'x' at time 'a' (the gap)
2. The learner co-adapted 'x' at time 'b' (social construction)
3. The learner initiated 'x' at time 'c' in a similar context as in time 'b' (self-regulation)
4. The learner employed 'x' at time 'd' in a new context (transfer of learning)

To this effect, Piirainen-Marsh & Tainio (2009) note that while the research into video games and their potential for learning is increasing, it remains in its early stages and much of the literature remains focused on game features rather than an empirical study of play as an interactional activity and meaningful context for talk. Their own contribution to the corpus employs CA in the context of second language acquisition, to show how two teenagers actively engage by consciously drawing on the linguistics elements associated with a video game; deploying them in an apposite and timely manner as locally available resources in managing and making sense of the game. In effect, the social-cultural understanding of learning to be taken forward, requires:

*'making visible the linguistic and interactional competencies that the participants display when adjusting to the temporally unfolding events of the game, attending to the particular details of the events, and co-constructing their meanings in interaction with each other' (op. cit, 154)*

Entry into an established *CoP* is conceived by Wenger in the distinctive terms of an social and epistemological journey from the periphery, as an novice, to the centre and ultimate recognition as a legitimate member of the community; useful, feared or simply, the right kind of person. In this sense, interaction is not simply a reflection of habits and skills but the formation of a situated 'identity'.

*'we create ways of participating in a practice in the very process of contributing to making that practice what it is' (op. cit, 96)*

According to Garvey (1984), entry can also be related to popularity, either as a socially-skilled individual and/or one that understands the structure of the group i.e. the nature of on-going activities reflected in well-timed, entry bids that minimise group interference. The process of group organisation can be undertaken in a democratic form amongst the legitimate members of the group or in more autocratic form, where a single child will emerge as a leader. Needless to say, this choice has a significant impact on the form of group interaction, as even pretend play can represent a complex series of activities, for example: definition of situation; assignment of roles; specifying an action plan; assigning props; correcting operating procedures and refining the script; critiquing others performance; invoking rules; termination of and/or transition from one organising theme to another etc. In sum, the computer within the *MIE CoP* is *not* conceptualised as a value-free source of content but instead, must be accommodated within existing social practices and assumptions of a preadolescent world that is 'already organised' (Sacks, 1992).

## 2.2.5 PEER SOCIALISATION

Gee and Wenger's depiction of situated learning is entirely consistent with the Rogoff's (2003) notion of socialisation and a child's successful integration within the network of cultural and community relations that characterise content/knowledge as both relevant and accessible. According to Goodwin & Kyratzis (2012), socialisation is the learning of:

*'appropriate affective stances as an important dimension of becoming a competent social group member' (op. cit, 365)*

In contrast to the notions of cognitive development above, socialisation is *not* conceived as an individualised process of maturation, one characterised by the linear internalisation and adaptation to adult skills and knowledge. Children don't simply absorb the norms and values of the surrounding society. Rather, they are active contributors/agents to social life with the ability to negotiate, share and create a distinct peer culture in collusion with adults and each other (Corsaro, 2005). According to Corsaro, the central processes of peer interaction are determined by children's persistent attempts to gain control over their lives and to share that control with each other<sup>30</sup>.

During the pre-school years, there is a notable emphasis on play and the simple act of doing things together. Nonetheless, the creation of shared meaning and co-ordinated action are challenging tasks for children of this age group. Young children in particular are seen to

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<sup>30</sup> For the younger children of preschool age in particular, both these themes are illustrated by way of their concern with physical size and its connection with power and authority (Corsaro, 1985)



spend a great deal of time and effort creating and thereafter, protecting the basic activities and routines that constitute their local environment. It is for this reason that perceived threats - from outsiders - to interactive space are often met with strong/aggravated forms of resistance, casually categorised as selfish and/or anti-social (Bateman, 2011a) . Moreover, it is through acts of opposition and dispute that children are ultimately able to formulate and acquire the complex access strategies that allow them to enter and share play, which thereafter, is characterised by collective activities and rituals that involve patterned, repetitive and co-operative expressions of the values and concerns of peer culture (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2012; Evaldsson, 2007).

In notable contrast to young children, those in the more advanced, preadolescent stage<sup>31</sup> are readily able to create and sustain their peer activities and associated interaction i.e. age/maturation as potential basis for differentiation within the *SOLE*. Rather, they now divide into stratified groups with alternative issues of acceptance, popularity and group solidarity, often portrayed in highly stylised and dramatic demonstrations requiring planning and/or reflective evaluation (op. cit). According to Chin & Phillips (2004), preadolescent children are not just playing, they are:

*'collectively involved in their activities, from being absorbed in watching television to the point of knowing and talking about complex plot structures in soap operas, to being*

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<sup>31</sup> The period of childhood from 7-13 years of age (Corsaro, 2005)

*engaged in complex socio-dramatic play, to exploring novel interactive settings with peers and adults' (Corsaro, 2005; 193)*

Preadolescent alliances are often associated with changing positions in friendship groups, providing children with opportunities to test social identities and associated features of gender, race and status i.e. many of the activities that bring children together and build friendships are also the source of conflict. On the one hand, these processes of separation are most evident in gender differentiation which allegedly reaches its zenith in preadolescence i.e. girls demonstrate an increased valuing of relationships whilst boys are concerned with notions of individual rights and justice. By contrast, analysts of situated activity argue that research does in fact, reveal a good deal of gender-mixing within the preadolescent context (Goodwin, 1985; Evaldsson, 1993). Moreover, the investigation of naturally-occurring interaction in a wide variety of social settings provides important insight into the sophisticated nature of preadolescent activities including; games, jokes, riddles, songs, and verbal and behavioural routines, and associated issues of identity and autonomy. Goodwin's work, in particular demonstrates the importance of cultural setting and the situated relevance of highly complex and dramatic disputes involving rule enforcement, teasing and the evaluation of adequate performance (Goodwin, 1998).

### 2.2.5.1 Disputes

As previously indicated, interactional research of children in the act of play recognises dispute as a significant, meaningful and omnipresent feature of the everyday lives of children (Goodwin, 2002; Danby & Baker, 2000; Maynard, 1985b). From an outsiders perspective

i.e. parent, teacher etc., such forms of expression are readily viewed as a dysfunctional behaviour to be terminated as soon as possible. However, from the position of the participants themselves, disputes represent valued opportunities for the production of social organisation, the creation of political alignments and the realisation of practical interests within a changing set of social relationships (Maynard, 1985b). Goodwin (1982) argues that resolution is not the point and rarely achieved, instead the focus of concern relates to the direction in which social organisation proceeds and the visible alignment structures that constitute the *'architecture of social life'* (Aronnson & Gottzen, 2011; 414). According to Maynard (1985b), disputes are characterised by three sequential phases including: 1) the antecedent event, not automatically regarded as a normative violation but is subsequently constituted through discursive work; 2) an opposition which makes evident a rule/norm that has been violated. Ergo, the reality and practical accomplishment of morality is observable in the everyday doings of members, their choices of complimentary or pejorative descriptive categories and interactional features such as prosody and other para-verbal means (Busch, 2012) and; 3) a reaction by the doer of the antecedent event defending their action in the face of opposition. It is in the third position of reaction that participant conflict is seen to take-hold in one form or another; *'negation, substitution, accounting, insisting'* (Maynard, 1986; 262). Moreover, Kangasharju (2009) argues that children's dispute and other non-affiliate actions are marked for dispreference i.e. a reversal of interactional structure where preferred formats are employed to produce actions which display and aggravate dissent and dissatisfaction while any conciliatory or otherwise consensus-oriented moves tend to be packaged as dispreferred.

In sum, events outside acceptable practice mean that members may be held explicitly answerable for their actions and required to provide an account. Nonetheless, participant accounts are not solely concerned with the motivation/intention of the members or the truth and accuracy of the claims made i.e. accounts do more than just explain behaviour (Antaki, 1994). They can also be deployed in a creative, problem solving sense as attempts to manipulate events and effect change, enabling members to portray and specify particular identities to others (Firth, 1995). Significantly for the *SOLE* context, extended conflict based on opposing and intractable versions of an interaction may become '*a matter of management and arbitration*' (Antaki, 1994; 39) by a neutral third party which, with reference to participant orientation would presumably be the facilitator. At the other end of a dispute sequence, Vuchinich (1990) identified the five forms of closure including: submission; dominant third party intervention; compromise standoff; withdrawal.

In the context of a dispute, Evaldsson's (2005) research illustrates how multi-party consensus can be created to ratify particular depictions of members; through upgrades, laughter, recycles, repetitions, new linked evaluations and so on, that frame the acts of the offending party as unacceptable.

*'assessment adjectives, pejorative person descriptors and negative characterisations of activities and actors all point to implicit cultural values that the children invoke and orient to as they accomplish their alignments to one another in the interaction'*  
(Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2012; 371)

According to Sacks (1972), *Member Categorisation Analysis (MCA)* can be used to reveal the interactional resources that participants are oriented to and that are made relevant for the organisation of social life. Membership categories are person descriptors arranged in systematic collections or devices (*MCD*) i.e. the device classroom contains at least, the membership categories student and teacher. Significantly, category collections such as children or friends may *not* be interactionally-relevant to the organisation of particular disputes (Hester & Hester, 2012). Instead, several asymmetrical standardised relational pairs (SRP) of categories emerge e.g. ‘rule-enforcer’ and ‘offender’ or ‘offender’ and ‘victim’, within an omni-relevant oppositional relationship<sup>32</sup> (op. cit), all constituted from different predicates of activity that include rights, responsibilities and entitlements. Any person at any point may be categorised in multiple, observably correct forms. Therefore, Sacks (1979) specified a series of classification rules. The economy rule; a single category can be sufficient to locate the category within a device. This led to the consistency rule; categorisation of a person makes relevant other categories drawn from the same device i.e. ‘teacher’ and ‘desk’ makes the device ‘classroom’ most relevant for both categories. The Hearers maxim allows members to overcome the problem of multiple reference and discriminate in relation to context, a category belonging to multiple devices. In sum, *MCA* is deemed to be a principled approach to the organisation of social life on the basis that participant categories, deployed in act of opposition, become matters of empirical research rather than presumed from the outset (Cromdal & Osvaldsson, 2012).

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<sup>32</sup> The omnirelevance of a category and thereafter, the accountable production of specific sorts of talk-in-interaction is provided for by the *anytime invocability* of membership categories i.e. for any given setting there are activities and actions that are ‘doable’ at any time by virtue of their being tied omnirelevant categories and the collections they are part of and whose enacted incumbency constitutes the setting for what it is

In contrast to the institutionalised, logo-centric learning environment projected by the UPE, the MIE equivalent provides a self-organised setting for the negotiation and accomplishment of socialisation processes within a CoP peer group, claimed, displayed and negotiated at the level of turn-by-turn sequential unfolding of the interaction i.e. the mechanics of talk.

## 2.2.6 MECHANICS OF TALK

Consistent with the technology metaphor used by Sacks et al (1974) to describe the normative features and structures of conversation, Garvey (1984) refers to the mechanics of talk<sup>33</sup> to describe the simultaneous engagement of several interconnected systems of communication, including; 1) a transmission system; 2) a tracking and guidance system; 3) a facilitation system. Consistent with this analogy, the motive for talk which includes the meanings, intentions and actions to be communicated represents the fuel within the system. A detailed description is as follows:

### 2.2.6.1 Transmission System

The primary aim of the Transmission system is to ensure the coherent sending and receiving of messages between interactants i.e. establishing speaker contact and the ordering and distribution of speaker activity. From the outset of interaction, the speaker must be assured of the addressee's '*attention and availability*' (*op. cit*; 33). Even the very young recognise the need to open up a channel of communication through a mixture of eye contact, gesture and verbalisation - "look", "d'ya know what?". Ensuing talk may alternate between the

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<sup>33</sup> Not to be confused with the computational/mechanistic metaphor of communication (Garvey, 1984)

accompaniment to some activity as the primary focus of both partners and between private talk for self and that directed at a partner in the expectation of a response.

Now that a communication channel has been opened and interaction has commenced, the speakers need to align themselves within the exchange in order to 'know what to do next'. Garvey employs the example of a telephone call to illustrate the structured and sequential nature of talk with reference to marked boundaries: an initial exchange of greetings to clear the channel, the raising of the topic to be discussed, the initiation of the closing portion of the call and finally, termination. As meaningful interaction is necessarily based on turns-in-talk, participants also need to know when a special form of talk has been initiated; a joke, a personal narrative, a list of instructions etc. that requires a temporary suspension of the normal rules of conversation. Each form represents a different speech-exchange system (Schegloff, 2007) associated with specific types of response, for example; 'back-channel feedback' - 'um-huh', 'hmm' - that addressees send to speakers during protracted turns-at-speaking to indicate continuing attention and/or satisfactory reception of information.

Inevitably, exchanges are subject to trouble at all levels of construction; mishearings, mistakes, flaws etc. A 'repair' (Sacks et al, 1977) as one of the fundamental elements of sequence organisation must be undertaken as soon as a problem is detected. In adult talk, there is a notable preference for self-initiated repair, implying a constant monitoring of one's own speech as well as the partner's interpretation of the emerging message. With specific reference to young children, Garvey notes an inability to differentiate the more precise self-initiated signals used to suggest a particular kind of encoding problem. Performing a repair

on the partner's speech or calling attention to a problem is referred to as other-initiated repair and also requires continuous monitoring. The principle aim of this form of repair is to elicit some form of clarification request. According to Sacks et al (1977), the means for selecting the matter for repair taken together with the kind of repair needed provide a number of move types that permit very precise repair work. The type of move however may be solely reflected in intonation (Garvey 1984): “↑ what?”; a non-specific request prompting a repeat of the utterance, or “↓ what?”; a specific request prompting specification of an indefinite pronoun. Throughout their development, children learn to detect an increasing number of aspects of prior talk as requiring repair, by means of either clarification questions or indeed, outright assertions of correction. Within the context of peer-related interaction, Garvey notes repairs with reference to; propositional content, partner's manner of speaking, choice of words etc.

Since the content and duration of an individual turn-in-talk is unpredictable, the system must be flexible. Indeed, an ideal exchange is accomplished seamlessly as one speaker gives way to another, leaving neither gaps in the flow of talk nor overlapping of the previous speakers turn. As previously indicated, mundane conversation is characterised by turns constructed from a variety of linguistic units depending on what the speaker is doing in the talk; answering questions, making a proposition, describing an object etc. (Sacks et al, 1974). Since turns are a valued commodity, timing is of critical importance. If a selected speaker does not take their turn immediately, others may assume a potential trouble source; the party is either inattentive, unwilling or unable to participate. If the current speaker has not selected the next speaker, any one of the interactants can intervene but must be quick or risk losing the turn to a resumption - by the current speaker - or another party. In order to intervene in



conversation, the next speaker is required to anticipate the end of an utterance, marked by a *TCU*. To do this, he must monitor the syntactic and semantic properties of the current speaker's message and the type of move, in preparation for the exchange. Miscalculations in the process can lead to potential communicative trouble sources, either in the form of overlaps or to lapses and break-downs in the flow of talk.

### 2.2.6.2 Tracking & Guidance System

The aim of the Tracking & Guidance system within conversation is to ensure the efficient transfer of information and attitudes between interactants. This is accomplished through the following components: 1) Reference; the speaker calls forth a concept within the addressee's awareness and deploys reference/deictic terms to link talk to events and entities. 2) Cohesion & Coherence; the system must ensure that an invoked and shared concept is maintained during conversation as its status changes from a new referent to a given and/or modified one.

In the early years of cognitive development, the rudimentary acts of reference, such as the *naming game*, enables children, with the aid of their care-giver, to grasp their social-cultural reality in terms of the surrounding objects, events and relationships. As children develop and introduce their own topics of conversation, they can move from their focus of attention from the 'here and now' into more complex 'non-situated reference' referents that exist only in a child's imagination (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1976). Furthermore, the location of the object or event is only one factor in successfully referencing. Within a typical field of competing referents, the speaker is required to make an unambiguous selection of one object from others, in terms of its specific attributes. The problem of reference then is by no means a

purely linguistic or even a communicative one. An effective reference requires the speaker to account for the information available to the listener in any given context and be able to affect this message accordingly to feedback.

*'executing and integrating these skills and exercising a critical attitude towards the message itself are formidable tasks - even for a child in elementary school' (Garvey, 71)*

- Deixis

Forrester (1996) notes that the use and meaning of deixis are of particular interest to social linguistics given their strategically significant position at the intersection of language and action. In general terms, the deictic provides a convenient and ubiquitous form of object reference. Indeed, the power to refer in shorthand, without having to agree on lexical meaning may be the reason for their universality. The principal categories of deixis are as follows (Levinson 2014):

- Person/Social; subject/object pronouns i.e. *I* for speaker and *you* for addressee
- Location; prepositions of place (here/there, near/far etc.), demonstratives (this/that)
- Time; now/then, before/after

According to Levinson, deixis share the following characteristics: 1) they are situated and therefore dependent on the context for interpretation; 2) they are ego-centred and refer

specifically to the speakers perspective; 3) terms within a class exhibit polarity or contrast; 4) most are not only contrastive but also relative i.e. ‘here’ as opposed to ‘there’, is presumed to be within the reach of the speaker. Moreover, interactional studies suggest a close relationship between deixis and important meta-narrative/gesture events. With specific reference to *SOLE* interaction, ‘pointing’ as a metanarrative in support of the deictic is a significant and frequent form of reference, displaying an intersubjective understanding of a given context. Goodwin (2003) notes that pointing is:

*‘an inherently complex, locative action existing precisely at the juncture where a heterogeneous array of different kinds of sign vehicles instantiated in diverse semiotic forms (talk, posture, phenomena in surrounding scene) are being juxtaposed to each other to create a coherent package of action and meaning’ (op. cit; 29)*

The important factor to note with deixis reference is the consistent locus of enunciation and the elevated position of the speaker. Indeed, the peculiarly ego-centric dimension of the deixis reflects an increasing self-awareness in the child and their understanding of self as a distinct entity within a group i.e. the ‘territories of self’<sup>34</sup> (Goffman, 1959). In this respect, Levinson makes further reference to the use of deixis in the definition and assertion of social order and the address forms, indexicality, register etc. that encode and reflect identities and interaction through grammar and meta-pragmatic factors such as politeness. This field of social honorification representing an ideal context for the inculcation of conventions, rules

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<sup>34</sup> The concept of claims; of what belongs to a person is central social organisation and to understanding of social behaviour. Territories include not only spatial configurations, possessions and belongings but also temporary, private and psychological ‘possessions’

and relations in any given culture, is explored in more detail within the sub-system of Facilitation.

- Cohesion & Cohesive Devices

As children develop, episodes of ‘intelligible’ talk referred to as ‘*islands of coherence*’ (Garvey, 1984; 79) in a stream of verbal and non-verbal behaviour begin to emerge and with them appear the signposts and landmarks that link participant talk and interaction. Garvey defines these coherence devices in terms of the following forms:

- Pro-forms: devices which direct the addressee back to a point in the text where a more complete definition can be located. Anaphoric reference and substitution belong to this type. The personal pronouns, comparatives and demonstratives are used for anaphoric reference. Devices for substitution, in which an expression is replaced by a substitute of the same grammatical class; including nominal (one, ones), verbal (do, do it) and clausal substitutes (so, not).
- Ellipsis: The omission of part of what is being said, leaving only a ‘signal’ (usually a fragment of a clause) referring back to a position in the text and the fully specified form
- Focus: Pro-forms and ellipsis operate closely with components of focus which indicates the prominence of an element in an utterance. New information may be focused by means of (louder) stress or intonation relative to existing, old

information. Focus may also exist across utterances, marking a particular element in contrast to a similar element in a prior utterance

According to Garvey, there are ten common types of ellipsis apparent within children talk (see Appendix I). By the age of five most children will have grasped the complete set though the precise nature of deployment and distribution is related to age and maturity.

A second group of cohesive devices provides information about how a response relates to a prior message. This group includes: 1) 'conjunctions' which indicate the logical and semantic relations of addition (and, also), causal dependency (because, then, so) and contrast antithesis (but) between successive clauses; 2) discourse particles which indicate semantic and pragmatic relations (well, just, still, already, yet) between messages and add subtly to the meaning of the response; 3) some intonation patterns such as successive tone groups with rising intonation, deployed when counting items in a series.

The final group of cohesive devices is 'lexical selection' and the use of synonyms and paraphrases associated with a particular semantic domain. According to Garvey, two types of lexical cohesion are common in children's talk. 1) a collection; words that have a close semantic association are employed within the same episode, though no clear superordinate expression is apparent; 2) matching; the listener repeats their partners utterance - usually the lexically cohesive items - with whatever modifications may be deemed appropriate. Inevitably, a broad range of lexical alternatives demonstrating the flexibility of the system is rare in children's talk. Instead, they will often deploy certain general nouns that indicate

classes of nominal referents, such as 'stuff' or 'things' for groups of objects, and 'people' or 'kids' to refer to several individual who have been referenced in previous utterances.

### 2.2.6.3 Facilitation System

The Facilitation system is employed by participants to reduce friction; potential conflicts and embarrassments within social situations, reflecting the ritual and ubiquitous concerns of interpersonal status in the transactions of daily life. Typical components of this system include: markers of courtesy i.e. 'please', 'thankyou' and excuse me'; the displays of attentiveness and understanding indicative of 'back-channel feedback'; the selection of acceptable forms of address and phrasing of requests; topics that suit the occasion. Moreover, the speaker's manner of speaking and acting reflects not only an ascribed status but also his role relationship with other participants (Levinson, 2014).

Garvey notes that the placement of strips of facilitating talk is a matter of considerable delicacy requiring a generalised knowledge of what constitutes acceptable and non-acceptable conduct and how the relative status of the persons involved influences the interpretation of action i.e. the difference between what parents say and do. The process of socialisation then represents a gradual awareness of the norms and values of society, slowly acquired through observation, trial and error and from limited rule formulation by adults and peers.

- Directives

The paradox of group membership suggests that while the processes of socialisation and integration are paramount, differentiation and individuality within the peer group are also central qualities of social organisation. Participants can distinguish themselves through the types of action they perform and the ways in which they respond to the actions of others. According to Goodwin (1991), social differentiation on the level of action is a key arena for exploring how the organisation of a group can be constituted through talk. To this effect, a significant speech resource employed to coordinate the actions of others is the directive.

Like the deixis, the principal significance of the directive as a speech act e.g. offers, requests, orders, prohibition etc. is that it resides directly at the intersection of language and social interaction,:

*'an utterance that is intended to indicate the speakers desire to regulate the behaviour of the listener, that is, to get the listener to do something; provide information, give permission, perform an action' (Goodwin, 1991; 15)*

In effect, directives provide a means by which the speaker can assert control or authority over the recipient. Interactional analysis reveals that formulation of a social control act; from the first position, tends to vary in relation to the degree of speaker entitlement: a) to expect the request to be fulfilled. An imperative form not only limits the available contingencies available to the recipient but displays the speaker's full entitlement to control their actions. The imperative `tells`, it does not ask, making compliance relevant in the next action; b) an

awareness of potential contingencies that hinder compliance i.e. a modal form that considers the recipients ability or willingness to perform a given act (Curl & Drew, 2008). In which case, Kent (2012) identifies the following forms of response from the second position: a) embodied compliance; the interactional preferred response to a highly entitled directive; b) resistance; the recipients refuse to comply with the directive; c) legitimate non-compliance; unanticipated contingencies effecting compliance.

In contrast to the monolithic views of power and authority, interactional studies have demonstrated that each move to take control and acknowledge authority is built on moment-to-moment exchanges and subject to continual reassessment as act of play progresses. The distribution of authority can relate to social features such as age and status. However, these factors are not universally relevant and certainly do not prevent the younger peers from refusing to submit i.e. 'misbehaving' or walking-out of the game (Butler, 2008; Kyratzis, 2007). In which case, additional factors such as expertise, experience and competence are also seen to effect the nature and progression of interaction and the balance between authoritative and compliant members (Goodwin, 2002).

- Authority

In addition to acquiescing to or resisting proposals, an individual may also acquiesce to or resist the co-participants authority to take control (Stenvanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). An 'announcement' suggests that the speaker has higher 'deontic' authority status than the listener. While a congruent response involves a display of compliance, an incongruent response e.g. a mock information receipt and approval, undermines the speaker's



presumption of authority. Meanwhile, a `proposal` suggests a more symmetrical distribution of rights. A congruent response involves an approval and usually, a positive evaluative assessment. An incongruent response however suggests a challenge by the hearer to the deontic rights that the proposal presumes.

Interaction is also controlled and shaped by `epistemic` authority and the presumption that one party possesses more information than the other; *'speakers are exquisitely sensitive to their epistemic positions relative to addressees, as a condition of developing a turn-at-talk'* (Heritage, 2012:31). When a speaker indicates an asymmetry within the territories of knowledge, it is sufficient to warrant a sequence of interaction countering the imbalance (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). Epistemic status then reflects a mutual recognition of a differential in knowledge between participants with respect to a particular domain of interest<sup>35</sup>. How speakers position themselves in terms of epistemic status in and through the design of turns-at-talk is referred to as the epistemic stance. In considering the role of territories of knowledge in sequence organisation, Heritage (2012) describes the following variants: 1) speakers can position themselves in a relatively unknowing (*K-*) position, initiating sequences by invitation or eliciting information from a more knowing (*K+*) recipient; 2) knowing speakers (*K+*) can initiate talk concerning the matter at hand, finding a warrant by projecting their partners to be in a relatively unknowing (*K-*) position. According to Heritage, the first movers of the epistemic `seesaw` will tend to drive interactional sequences forward until a claim of equilibrium is registered by the person who had previously occupied the (*K+*)

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<sup>35</sup> The status of a person will vary over time, from domain to domain and from moment to moment as a result of the interaction.

position. The linguistic details associated with epistemic stance and action formation are detailed in Appendix II. Finally, topic attrition and idiomatic expressions are ways of concluding epistemic sequences by adding no new informational content. Moreover, turn components that respond to prior talk as ‘informative’ i.e. a ‘change of state’ token such as “oh”, are almost invariably the components of first resort (Heritage, 2012). According to Heritage, these features of epistemic interaction suggest that:

*‘conversational sequences, and not just sentences, are the objects of complex, intersubjectively validated, management of talk as information flow. In the process, interactants keep detailed score of ‘who knows what’ and ‘who was told what’ as a condition of interpretation of utterances, identity maintenance, and if these arguments are correct, as a means of warranting conversational contributions and building expanded conversational sequences’ (op. cit; 49)*

Just as the notion of deontic and epistemic authority go beyond turn-taking and repair as essential resources for sequence construction and organisation, so too they may represent an underlying component of an exchange. In addition to their projected search for a response, canonical utterances; requests, invitations, offers etc., also probe information about the recipient’s willingness to make the commitment to a future course of action, imparting a ‘double-barrelled’ dimension to their functioning that is commonly indexed in the response (Schegloff, 2007).

## 2.2.7 CASE STUDY

As previously indicated, the Literature Review process reveals a notable dearth of material encompassing the particular features of context associated with a *MIE* type configuration; child-focused, self-organised, computer-mediated, face-to-face, even post-colonial interaction. One such study in the field of ‘informal learning’<sup>36</sup> investigates the collective construction of a *ZPD* between two, novice computer users (Sawchuk, 2003). In contrast to the *MIE*, the users are adult learners and each has access to their own computer as opposed to single, shared resource. Nonetheless, the interaction will be described in detail as it pulls together at least some of the significant features of talk previous identified.

### 2.2.7.1 Turn-Taking

From the outset, Sawchuk rejects the technologists ‘*operationalise and go*’ (*op. cit;* 292) approach to design based a prescriptive set of *etic* definitions in contrast to a careful analysis of ‘what people actually do’ within a collaborative, mediated context. This *etic* approach is exemplified by the conventional interpretation of a *ZPD* based an ‘expert-novice’ relationship and an explicit dependency on a skilled participant. This interpretation of the learning is criticised as hegemonic:

*‘an organising principle at the heart of processes of social reproduction, including the reproduction of social inequality from the standpoint of subordinate social groups’*  
(*op. cit;* 293)

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<sup>36</sup> Learning that has specified objectives but is not formally organised (Sawchuk, 2003). As opposed to ‘self-organised’ learning that notionally has neither learning aims nor formal organisation

By contrast, Sawchuk applies the heuristic framework of conversation analysis to demonstrate that a *ZPD* established during the process of informal learning of a computer function - *MSWord* 'merge' - is in fact, a collective accomplishment not necessarily dependent on the skilled/knowledgeable presence of a teacher. Consistent with the basic tenet of social-cultural theory, each participant contributes to the conditions of reciprocal knowledge production i.e. inter-subjectivity, limited or enabled by the local social procedures listed as follows:

- **Openings and Suspension of Talk**

An `opening` is understood as a sequence that begins an interaction (Schegloff, 2007). Sawchuk notes that opening sequences in the mediated dyad, illustrated as follows are easily recognisable:

1        R:        ((looking at L's screen then turning his body to L's computer))  
2                uh::::: excuse me (L) (1.0)

On the other hand, attempts to suspend talk were not so readily achieved i.e. requiring multiple attempts. In this case, (*L*) provides an informative (line 33) in conjunction with a turn towards the screen followed by a muted attempt at suspension, as if talking to himself only while clearly engaged in his own computer work. However, (*R*) initiates a further opening sequence *FPP* (line 35), suggesting that the attempt was unsuccessful. According to Sawchuk, (*L*)'s response represents a strong warrant for failure (line 36) .i.e. the interrogative *SPP* suggests that he believed that the talk had been suspended.

32 L is it done?= I don't think so (.) didn't do the stuff  
 33 putting one a:::nd one together (5.2) oh:: I'm not sure ((turning))  
 34 sh:::it. wow (3.0)  
 35 R but is it not the correct way?  
 36 L what's that? (turning to R))

During the interaction, there was a protracted period of silence; up to seven minutes in duration, while both participants focused their individual attention on a particular computer task. The critical question at this point is whether the silence reflects a strip of talk that has been terminated or one that has merely been suspended and is thereafter, playing the role of a *'place-saver'* (*op. cit*; 299). Sawchuk argues that a fragmented interaction subject to regular interruptions; full of stops, starts and silences, would be difficult to terminate, the standard procedures of 'turning-taking' being interpreted as ambiguous and requiring repetition. In the absence of repair then, Sawchuk argues that the silence is not treated as a breakdown in communication but rather, as part of the ordinary, extended flow of talk.

- **Issues of Computer Learning-Generated Silences**

At this point in the analysis, Sawchuk concentrates on some of the communication ambiguities that isolate computer-mediated interaction with reference to other forms of speech-exchange system. When participants engage in informal learning, they do so relative to a specific topic; in this case, an assessment of the 'merge' function. The numerous and lengthy silences - suspended interaction as well as gaps between turns - are filled with various 'merge' function activity in the form of direct interaction with the computer. These activities then form part of the accomplishment of *'topic continuity'* (*op. cit*, 295) sustained

throughout the strip of talk. However as a tool that simultaneously mediates communication while playing an active role as a participant, the computer tends to complicate conversation (Suchman, 1987). Interaction then is conceived as multi-dimensional with individual participants not only maintaining interaction and successful 'question-answer' sequences but also responding to directives signalled both verbally and through computer-mediated actions. However, problems do arise: 1) computer-mediated speech acts can create '*ambiguity*' (Sawchuk, 2003, 299) and uncertainty if speaker selection is not explicit; 2) participants are unsure of the others '*grasp*' (*op. cit.*, 301) on the topic. Consequently, questions by one are sometimes answered by further questions from the other. According to the evidence, all this translates into more silences, more lengthy silences and more ambiguous silences. Alternatively, it could be surmised that there is more tolerance to silences and ambiguity between the participants than might otherwise be expected from orthodox speech-exchange systems.

- **Re-engagement**

Returning from a protracted period of computer activity/silence, the continuity of topic - between the first and second portions of talk - as well as the specific way that talk recommences are considered critical to the marking of interaction as 'suspended' rather than 'terminated'. After one such delay, Sawchuk notes that there is no formal opening sequence .e.g. a summons-acknowledgement, similar to that witnessed at the beginning of the episode.

47                    ((L & R typing at the keyboard for approximately 7.5 minutes))  
48        L        so you got somewhere yet?                    ((no shoulder or head turn, both  
49                    still looking at their own screens)  
50        R        No, not yet

The fact that the speaker fails to orient his body toward the addressee adds support to the claim that; *'the conversation, in a sense, never ended but was only suspended for a time'* (op. cit, 301). After the longest silence - upwards of seven minutes - the two participants merely pick up with a question-answer sequence commencing with the conjunction 'so' (line 49) and an utterance interpreted as a re-engagement rather than the opening of a new sequence (line 50).

- **Relationship between Learning System and Turn Allocation**

In a formal classroom setting defined by an expert/novice-based speech-exchange system, it is the teacher that has primary control over turn-taking; self-selection, select next speaker or initiate bidding for the next sequence (Walsh, 2006). Within the context of the informal setting, Sawchuk notes that the interaction between the participants also tends to conform to the 'expert-novice' model. In the sequence referenced, it is one participant that self-selects for a turn - and remains in control over turn-taking - issues the directives and provides all the information, effectively assuming the role of expert. Meanwhile his partner, in the role of novice, is asking all the questions. However, when the entire transcript is reviewed as a continuous entity, bearing in mind Sawchuk's interpretation of computer-mediated talk - 'suspension' and 're-engagement' - control over turn allocation changes. The 'teacher' begins to ask questions, reflecting an increasing uncertainty about future action. The 'novice'

is equalling unsure, but assumes the role of answerer-expert in relation to his partner's questions and even issues a number of directives. Sawchuk summarises:

*'with its topicality continuity, its exclusion of many other pedagogical procedures e.g. framing, focusing, follow-up and most importantly its shifting patterns of control, the speech system displays features of both the formal classroom and some sort of informal conversational speech-exchange system' (op. cit; 302)*

Without seeking to over-extend the meaning and reach of a single 'merge' function analysis, Sawchuk questions if authoritative sources of knowledge such as experts or established canonical texts are indeed, an intrinsic and necessary part of the learning process. If not, then a significant opening exists for and intellectual awareness of learning that can transform rather than merely reproduce social life. In this respect, 'informal learning' and its apparent disengagement from traditional notions of pedagogical regulation offers a potentially open and democratic alternative that challenges the 'taken-for-granted' themes and associated discourses of power, control and knowledge. A sentiment consistent with the notion of out-doctrination that would no doubt be welcomed by Mitra.

### 2.2.7.2 Repair

A further, related interactional study represents an apparent, contemporary interest with visual culture and describes the social practices of student pairs when engaging with storyboard software; allowing them to create scenes from a play in virtual format. The focus is on the frequently found phenomena of 'visual' repair and the identification and correction



of perceived problems on the computer screen. With direct reference to the canonical model of repair (Sacks et al, 1977) and the significance of embodied actions in a computer-mediated context, Grieffenhagen & Watson (2009) argue that:

*'participant analysis not only concerns verbal utterances but also their visual conduct as well as the overall visual field' (op. cit 68).*

On the basis that nothing is in principle, excludable as a repairable, Grieffenhagen & Watson seek to extend the notion of repair from trouble sources in the talk to:

*'participant troubles in understanding what someone has just witnessably and visibly done on the screen (op. cit, 70).*

Moreover, Grieffenhagen & Watson demonstrate how the computer is incorporated into dyadic interaction and the intersubjective world of the students. Rather than taking the computer as showing elements of participation, the talk illustrates how two users establish mutual understanding via and through the computer. Interactional references i.e. 'understanding' and 'telling' the computer, are interpreted as figurative. In the absence of attributable action and in contrast to earlier research e.g. Luff et al (1990), the students are seen to treat the computer as an available resource as opposed to an active participant. Finally, Grieffenhagen & Watson note that when something goes wrong on the screen it is overwhelmingly the 'doer', (A) of the trouble source who effectuates the repair. Moreover,

(A) does not attribute the source of the error to her own incompetence but instead to the technical limitations/affordances of the software. In a following instance, (A) has clicked on the wrong screen icon; ‘load’ as opposed to ‘save’, in response to a teacher question.

1        Tea     five minutes left (.) five minutes (.) did you save? ((to class))  
2        B       >save (.) save now (.) quick (.) please don't crash ((A is typing))  
3        B       (...) no::::: (.) save

The trouble source is marked by a co-participant, (B) ordinarily constituting an other-initiated repair (line 3). Moreover, given the mutual accessibility of the computer screen, the utterance functions to indicate both the trouble source and the repair outcome i.e. ‘you need to save not load’. In this case, (B) initiates the repair (*RI*) but does not attempt to effect the repair by assuming control of the computer mouse i.e. the response is notionally consistent with the normative preference for self over other-initiated repair (Sacks et al, 1977). However, within this mediated context, the interaction constitutes a different affordance i.e. an inequality of access rights when compared with ordinary conversation, where one participant has superordinate control of the mouse. Even so, Grieffenhagen & Watson note that the nature of the initiation and repair is entirely routinised and unproblematic for the participants i.e. the ongoing activity neither breaks-down nor is comprised in a way that requires further attention.

Further to the affordances of a computer-mediated context, the next episode represents an example of other-initiated repair but with a focus on gestural as opposed to verbal interaction. According to the analysis, (A)’s physical withdrawal from the keyboard can be interpreted as

a completion point. After a notable pause, (B) moves his hand toward the backspace key and leaves it there for a short time, without effecting a repair, before partially retracting it. In response to this movement, (A) returns his hand to the keyboard/backspace key. It is argued that (B)'s observable gesture has transformed the screen phenomena into a repairable; *'the techniques for other-initiation are techniques for locating the trouble source'* (Sacks et al, 1977; 377). In this case however, (B) is not locating the potential trouble source directly i.e. he does not point to the screen position where the repairable is located. Instead, his movement toward the backspace key is rendered sensible for the participants by the prevailing screen phenomena. That is, the *RI* is done with some indirection where the repairable is on the screen whilst the initiation is done via the keyboard; akin to a *correction initiation device* (Jefferson, 1972). Moreover, the co-participant with his hand hovering over the keyboard asks; 'is that it?' In which case, two *RI*'s are ultimately produced, one verbal and one gestural i.e. a 'reflexive' action where one elaborates the other (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970). Indeed, the analysis of interaction suggests a difference in 'strength' between the oral and gestural *RI*'s related to the complexity of screen phenomena and the ability of the verbal *RI* alone to discriminate between a number of potential trouble sources. In contrast to the direct and instantaneous location of trouble sources associated with ordinary conversation, its location within a mediated context may involve more collaborative work and the repairable may be 'worked up' over the course of the repair.

The other-initiated repair activities described have two principal features: 1) the identification of a trouble source; 2) the indication of a desired outcome of the repair. In the final episode, the co-participant clearly indicates a trouble source; 'you don't do that much'

with reference to a cut-paste function. This verbal *RI* is high in strength as it clearly relates to what the doer is visibly doing on the screen i.e. marking text. However, the utterance does not provide any indication of a desired repair outcome except that it should be less than the current quantity of marked text i.e. both the identification of the trouble source and the outcome require collaborative work, what Grieffenhagen & Watson (2009) refer to as *effectuation* (*op. cit*, 83).

Rather than adhere to the normative concepts of 'self-other', Grieffenhagen & Watson argue that the entire interaction can be characterised as conjoint, ratifying work to achieve a mutual agreement i.e. a repair-outcome sequence is achieved collaboratively. It is this collaborative aspect that points to difference between ordinary conversation and a task-oriented activity. In the former, an utterance might be conceived as 'owned' by a speaker; a precondition for the delineation of self and other in the context of a trouble source. In the latter, an action is performed on the screen. In which case, that person does not own the outcome of the act which is perceived as a conjoint product. In effect, the self-other distinction is significantly attenuated as an organisation property of the interaction. Moreover, the notion of collaboration does not mean the participants are of equal status. Consistent with the analysis of Heritage (2012); epistemic authority, and Stenvanovic & Peräkylä (2012); deontic authority, repair work recognises broader asymmetries in technical competence, knowledge of the activity, general experience or access to the keyboard/mouse, where these have to be understood as oriented-to matters.

## 2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW CONCLUSION

The *HitW/SOLE* configurations have emerged in response to the *UN* commitment to deliver education to the many millions of children with no current or meaningful access to the formal system i.e. remoteness. In direct contrast to the conventional, logo-centric view of education provision, the computer-mediated context of *MIE* promotes post-colonial relations of equality and self-determination by providing poor/marginalised children; ‘up to 100 at a time’, with the opportunity for self-organised learning in the absence of a formal teacher role i.e. the value-free notion of indoctrination (Mitra, 2006). After a more than a decade of research and testing across the Developing World, Mitra concludes that the *MIE* offers a raft of educational and social pay-offs<sup>37</sup>, including: improvements in literacy, language acquisition, creativity and problem-solving abilities; improved interpersonal skills; improvement of memory; increased motivation; developing habits of a lifelong learner; creating a culture of curiosity and child-driven learning; opportunities for independent thinking and collaboration etc.

Naturally, the narrative of self-organised learning amongst poor and marginalised children has attracted a great deal of attention across the domain of *ID* and beyond. Nonetheless, *MIE* is not without its critics and this review does suggest that Mitra’s methods and conclusions are at the very least, contested and highly contingent. With no direct reference to locally-derived, empirical data in the form of talk-in-interaction, *MIE* remains devoid of a coherent, theoretical foundation. With no clear acknowledgment of ontological preferences, Mitra

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<sup>37</sup> <http://www.ted.com/pages/835#public>

deploys anecdotal evidence in the development of a *computational* model of communication i.e. a static, mentalist interpretation, underpinned by events centred in the individual mind.

*'self-organising systems tend to become cognitive' (Mitra, 2006, 186)*

In direct contrast to Mitra's conceptual model, an interactional view of communication commences with the ordinary concepts that the interactants themselves use in everyday life to render their activities mutually intelligible i.e. consistent with social-cultural theory. Within this context, the computer is not viewed as a passive source of content subject to ungrounded forms of manipulation i.e. *MIE* guidelines (Mitra, 2012). Instead, it becomes a focus of interaction in the sense that participants orient to virtual phenomena as contributions to be accommodated within existing social practices and assumptions of a world that is already organised (Sacks, 1992).

Set against the broad panorama of social-cultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978), the analysis of the detailed features of talk-in-interaction, covers a vast amount of conceptual territory, including: post-colonialism; computer-mediation; peer-to-peer interaction and play. Needless to say, an *ID&E* computational approach based on experimentation, testing and anecdotal evidence does not operate at this level of complexity and detail. By contrast, the interactional representation of *MIE* commences with the concepts and orientation of the participants themselves. In which case, the situated, Community of Practice provides the principal, organisational entity conceived in terms of the following dimensions: mutual engagement, joint activity and a shared repertoire (Wenger, 2000). This general framework

is supplemented by a procedural representation of object-oriented interaction defined by multi-activity with an emphasis on the surrounding practices of play and peer socialisation into which the artefact is located, most pertinently; opposition, assessment and ritual insult (Corsaro, 2005; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2012). This theoretical definition is completed by a list of the notable linguistic and para-linguistic features of *MIE* interaction - culled directly from the field - that contribute to the situated, mechanics of talk (Garvey, 1984), including: a) directives and notions of authority; b) deixis and metanarrative/pointing; c) cohesion and coherence devices.

Related assessments of interaction within informal, mediating settings (Sawchuk, 2003; Grieffenhagen & Watson, 2009) suggest that the affordances of the computer and the range of possibilities the artefact offers for action, have a distinctive impact on the structural features of interaction relative to the canonical equivalent of mundane conversation described by Sacks et al (1974, 1977): 1) turn-taking: the role of the place-saver, topic continuity and the emergence of the expert-novice model, and, 2) repair; inequality of access rights, the difference in strength between oral and gestural *RI*'s and the collaborative nature of repair effectuation. Moreover, repair work recognises broader asymmetries in technical competence, knowledge of the activity, general experience or access to the keyboard/mouse, where these have to be understood as oriented-to matters (Heritage, 2012; Stenvanovic & Peräkylä, 2012).

Finally and in direct contrast to Mitra content-centric representation of knowledge, learning is conceived as assimilation with a *CoP* where participants engaged in play demonstrate

situated competency within an unfamiliar, computer-mediated context. Moreover, this competency may include the appropriate and timely use of linguistic or symbolic elements associated with a computer activity, (re)deploying them as locally available resources in managing and making sense of ongoing events (Seedhouse, 2010).

This concludes the theoretical representation of *MIE*, a definition consistent with the precepts of an agent-centred, interactional paradigm; one focused on social context of play, the intersubjective emergence of self-organisation, learning through talk and ultimately, Tooley's very own research aspirations:

*'its about education, genuinely about education, about children's learning. It's about how poor children have found liberation and growth through learning using a genuinely revolutionary application of technology' (Mitra, 2006, vii)*



## 3.0 METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

An orthodox approach to *ID* based on the notion of modernity and the increasing reach of liberal-economic principles through globalisation<sup>38</sup>, reflects a logo-centric view of social order, justice and development and the essential unity of the post-Enlightenment, rational actor (Orrell, 2010). Consistent with the binary features of modern method (Kim, 2003), a new social order emerges in linear and seamless fashion throughout the Developing World; from traditional/primitive forms of social life to a complex equivalent with close reference to selected measures of social-economic progress e.g. UN Human Development Index (Sen, 1999). From an alternative sociological perspective however, the inexorable spread of globalisation reveals the fragmented and ambivalent<sup>38</sup> presence of the post-colonial actor at the border of the modern-vernacular paradigms (Mignolo, 2005; Spivak, 1988). The aim of this chapter then is to determine and describe an appropriate method of analysis, one that captures and characterises this ambivalence with specific reference to the non-institutional, *MIE* context.

Consistent with an orthodox approach to sociology, the theorist is required a priori, to formulate conceptual models/frameworks of social order against which evidence can be evaluated, interpreted and finally, integrated within the discipline's corpus of knowledge (Reed, 2008). Accordingly, Hobbes argues that the human faculty of rationality represents the sole governing standard for action by which individual 'ends'<sup>39</sup> are pursued:

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<sup>38</sup> Imposition of Structural Adjustment Programs on the Developing World (Escobar, 2011)

<sup>39</sup> 'A future state of affairs which the actor seeks to bring about by the act' (Heritage, 1984:10)

*'by the 'means' which, among those available to the actor are intrinsically best adapted to the end for reasons understandable and verifiable by positive empirical science' (Parsons, 1937, 89).*

However, this `utilitarian` view of order takes no account of the ends of action or the social context through which individuals prioritise ends and/or resolve issues between conflicting ends. According to Heritage (1984), a logical positivist adaptation of the utilitarian model seeks to rationalise the formulation of these ends by reference to hereditary factors or environmental conditioning; differences in culture, class, gender, ethnicity etc. Ergo, any ignorance or error on the part of the actor i.e. irrational behavior, is conveniently accounted for as a product of these same factors. Within the orthodoxy, action is no more than a process of adaptation to a predetermined environment with no consideration for individual agency or the specifics of social context i.e. synonymous with *ID&E*'s ontological position. According to the classical economic model of *ID*, all subjective potential is subordinate to the rational. In which case, the modern actor can be conveniently reduced to little more than a typical consumer (Orrell, 2010).

In contrast to these streams of social thought, the German `idealistic` tradition of Hegel was preoccupied with the uniqueness and distinctly, moral qualities of the human subject arguing that: *'social order pre-eminently expresses the moral commitment of its members to a set of cultural values'* (Heritage, 1984 ; 13). It is this value dimension which is lost in the positivist accounts of social order. Nonetheless, idealism tends to support a view of action which emphasises the significance of culture to the exclusion of the recalcitrant realities of context

which social actions are designed to overcome. Consequently, individual actions and social structures are reduced to unconscious expressions of cultural values with culture understood in monolithic terms.

The Parsonian `structural` view of agency challenges this strictly, foundational representation of order on the basis that individuals, rather than passively adapting to external circumstances consistent with the rational application of scientifically-valid knowledge, act positively to transform environments in accordance with subjectively held ideals. In which case, actors co-operate with one another because: 1) they are both committed to a prescribed course of action, internalised as appropriate; 2) other internalised values may be threatened by a failure to live up to the demands of the present situation; 3) the fear of punishment for inappropriate action. The co-operate or suffer quality of the *'double contingency'* (*op. cit*, 17) has a self-organising quality as any tendency by the actor to deviate from the standard expectations of the model will be countered with negative consequences.

According to this interpretation of social order however, the actor is conceived as no more than a bearer of internalised values - the facts of social structure - that evolve in response to the functional imperatives of context; *'on rare occasions do the actors become transparent to themselves and grasp their own motivational forces'* (*op. cite*, 21). In effect, the subjective is reduced to a set of psychological processes; including the mechanism of socialisation, with no reference to the actor's own interpretation, understanding and knowledge of their circumstances. This view of social action is problematic because: 1) a potential conflict arises between the deterministic analysis of action and the actor's own accounts which commonly

indicate a choice from a range of considerations; 2) actors co-ordinate their actions in terms of shared knowledge of context i.e. the problem of intersubjectivity; 3) actors manipulate the normative grounds of activity for some ulterior purpose i.e. the problem of reflexivity<sup>40</sup> (Heritage, 1984).

In direct contrast to the *'judgmental dope'* (*op. cit;* 15) represented by Parsonian structuralism, Schutz describes an emergent social reality; *'verstehen'* (*op. cit,* 44) of specific meaning and relevance for the conscious actors living, acting and thinking within it. At the heart of *verstehen* is the phenomenological notion of *'typification'* and reference to the everyday experiences of the actor founded on collective constructs and understandings of objects and courses of action. In drawing on this common stock of knowledge to categorise and organise experience, actors simply assume that: *'as they see things, so they are'* (*op. cit:* 50). Nonetheless, the inherent difference between the abstract, *'sign'* representation and *'signified'* reality, points to a construct that is necessarily contingent and may undergo change or qualification at any time. Ergo, the notion of order as a subjective experience is immediately compromised within ambivalent cognitive space by the fact that no individuals have identical experiences of anything. This problem of intersubjectivity is however, transparent within social space provided the actors retain the same typified understanding of context i.e. the actors continuously assume similar experiences and act as if their experiences

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<sup>40</sup> From the endogenous position of *reflexivity*, phenomena are not subject to the prescriptive definitions of scientific logic/rationalism but are understood in relation to the local *'relevancy constraints'*, those employed by members to discover some *'reality'* beneath everyday appearance (Garfinkel, 1967). With reference to the theoretical underpinning of *Conversational Analysis (CA)*, Sacks uses a *'traffic'* analogy to show that everyday phenomena i.e. speeding, can be conceived not simply in conventional (instrumental) terms but also in negotiated (social-construction) terms; a *'cluster'* that represents the self-organisation of participants/drivers to local conditions irrespective of (speedometer) readings (Kim 2003).

are *'identical-for-all intents and practical purposes'* (*op. cit;* 54). In essence, verstehen represents a common-sense awareness that reflects our interested, social engagement with a negotiated world of typified forms. In this way, Schutz challenges the utilitarian fixation with rational behavior, one that necessitates an enduring interlocking of motives and understanding between actors. Ergo, conditions are only met when;

*'one knows how actions will be interpreted and misinterpreted, the other's reactions and their motivations, their plans, means, alternatives etc. and the full range of the others stock of knowledge'* (Schutz, 1964c:80).

Given these considerations and the full range of contingencies, it is clear that the modern fixation with rationality is rendered meaningless and irrelevant both as an ideal and/or a cogent measure of actual social conduct. Instead, Schutz recommends the description and analysis of `whatever it is` that the actors within a given domain of social reality find intelligible, together with the criteria of choice, evaluation etc. which are applied within that domain.

The consideration and integration of the moral position - of norms and values - adopted by Parsons with the cognitive position - of common-sense judgment - of Schutz was undertaken by Garfinkel (1963) and a series of `breaching` experiments, set within the mundane world of the everyday where actors routinely, successfully and unremarkably perform the vast majority of their constructive work. According to Garfinkel, the breaching procedure is designed to challenge the presumed cognitive transparency of social order through the willful

interruption of actor intersubjectivity; *'start with a system of stable features and ask what can be done to make trouble'* (Garfinkel:187). Analysis of actor response yielded the following outcomes: 1) conduct which contradicted the basic rules of the game immediately motivated attempts to normalise and 'make sense of' the discrepancy; 2) senselessness and disturbance was increased if the subject attempted to normalise the discrepancy while retaining an unaltered view of the rules of the game. According to Garfinkel, it is the notion of 'mutual accountability' as opposed to rationality that resides at the heart of the social process. Order based on a continuous and consistent common-sense assessment of context is reflected in the vigorous corrective response of the subject to the threat of breakdown.

*'maintaining the reciprocity of perspectives (as one the presuppositions of the attitude of daily life) is not merely a cognitive task, but one which each actor 'trusts'<sup>41</sup> that the other will accomplish as a matter of moral necessity'* (Heritage, 1984; 82)

In contrast to Parson's passive, top-down account of the subjective, Garfinkel conceives of an intensely dynamic social context, one where the primary function of normative rules is constitutive as opposed to regulative i.e. the reflexive means by which actors 'make sense of' events as opposed to the 'control' of events. The macro features of social order then are not fixed but subject to continuous negotiation and/or manipulation by the interlocutors within the bounds of common-sense knowledge i.e. the interactional order (Goffman, 1982). However, as social conduct is both observable & accountable, any

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<sup>41</sup> The term 'trust' is used to refer to; 'a person's compliance with the expectations of the attitude of daily life as a morality' (1967b: 50)

breach of the intersubjective norms by an actor will, in all probability be treated as a trouble source<sup>42</sup>.

## 3.2 LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL ACTION

The structural model of language is founded on the 'sign & signified' system of representation that relates directly, the respective properties of something 'said' to something 'talked about'. In which case, structural interaction is limited to general descriptive practices while social order is assured on the basis that the language function is transparent in relation to its task i.e. participants agree in advance what the words stand for. Moreover, language acquisition and production is a strictly cognitive process based on an individualised mind operating as an efficient, universal grammar machine (Chomsky, 1957). Consistent with the computational model of communication, interaction is conceived as no more than a vocalised transfer of pre-prepared thoughts between participants and while there is scope for subjective expression, mundane discourse - as the deployment of language within the social context - is positioned as a deficient form - illogical, irrational and absurd - when compared to an idealised world of grammatical competence (Johnson, 2004).

According to Chomsky, understanding language is analogous to the 'cracking of a code', one that contains a set of descriptive terms, organised by the rules of grammar to yield sentence meanings which express propositions about the world i.e. a universal grammar. Garfinkel challenges this static representation arguing instead that interaction - as the primary function

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<sup>42</sup> Deviant cases are anticipated

of language - is not a matter of understanding isolated sentences but of understanding actions. Within Garfinkel's domain of language as social action, the linguistic unit of analysis is transformed from the passive sentence to the dynamic `utterance` understood with indexical reference to unique features of context; who said it, where and when, what was being accomplished by saying it and in the light of what possible considerations and in virtue of what motives it was said (Heritage, 1984). In fact, Garfinkel's proposition represents a gestalt shift in the field of Sociology, from the deterministic macro features of structuralism to the negotiated micro detail of `post-structuralism`.

*'during a substantial portion of our daily lives, ordinary members of society are engaged in descriptive account of states of affairs to one another. Discussion of the weather, depictions of goods and services, assessments of character and reports of daily doings are the routine stock in trade of mundane talk. Such talk is somehow done seriously, realistically and as a feature of real practical tasks with significant outcomes for the parties concerned' (Heritage: 137)*

It is important to note that Garfinkel's thick description of mundane interaction, referred to as ethnomethodology is singularly concerned with the observable features of accountability of social action and not the rational evaluation of the actor's own explanation of their circumstances. The methodological significance of this approach is detailed in the next section i.e. `utterance projection within turn-taking`. Safe to say, the important quality of descriptions is that they are used to understand how accounts and accounting organise and are organised by the context in which they occur. As such, evaluation and interpretation of



ethno-methodological description is strictly empirical rather than determined a priori i.e. with reference to scientifically-valid systems of categorisations/norms that denote 'what it is' the actor is doing but without demonstrating how those categories are actually 'being applied'.

With reference to the study of relationships between children, Goodwin (1991) notes a cognitive analytical bias toward content in the form of observational data and coding categories, and a resulting loss in the sense of sequencing/form of the interactional pattern. Moreover, interviewing participants is deficient in the sense of; *'inferring that what children say in response to social-cognitive interview procedures is what they think about during social interaction'* (Gottman & Parkhurst 1980: 139). In view of the inherent weaknesses of the foundational paradigm, Damon (1983) notes that; *'the more we structure the setting for the purposes of systematic observation, the more we risk losing the richness, complexity and spontaneity of natural child interaction'* (op. cit; 61). Naturally, this deficiency is only accentuated in a post-colonial context, where the subject is positioned within an ambivalent and fragmented border between the vernacular and the modern paradigms. Like Garfinkel, Goodwin therefore recommends that studies of social and cognitive phenomena are focused on the world of real-life settings.

### 3.2.1 THE 'AFFORDANCES' OF TECHNOLOGICAL ARTEFACTS

According to Hutchby (2010) the principal aim of the social studies of science and technology is to recognise and analyse the ways in which social processes and technological artefacts are inter-related and intertwined i.e. socially-shaped as opposed to being the clearly

defined product of innovation. In broad terms, the critiques of product-led determinism<sup>43</sup> are variants of social-constructivism and the presumption that there are in fact, no inherent properties of technology, only `forms and meanings` oriented-to by the users/participants themselves (Hughes, 1988). According to Grint & Woolgar (1997) however, the notional transparency of society and technology implied by the constructivist approach is itself flawed as a result of *'residual technicism'* (*op. cit;* 37); at some level, technological artefacts have capacities which cannot be affected by human interpretive actions. In essence, technologies should be treated as texts, written by a designer; seeking to impose particularly meanings on the artefact, to be interpreted by user; producing readings that best suit the purposes they have in mind. In which case, neither the writing nor the reading of the text is determinate, both are open and negotiated processes. According to Button (1993) however, the problem with the `technology-as-text` metaphor is its methodological focus on representation. An artefact can be represented in at least two competing ways based on some conception of inherent characteristics, whereas the more appropriate social-technological procedure is: *'to analyse the surrounding discursive practices through which one interpretation wins out over another'* (Hutchby, 2001; 67). Moreover, the range of descriptions and interpretations that can be made and still be recognised as rational is constrained by *verstehen* and the ordinary common-sense understanding of actors in everyday life. In sum, the reason that one technology does not lend to the same set of possible descriptions and interpretation as another is related to its `affordance`.

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<sup>43</sup> The notion that technology actively causes new forms of social relations to emerge

According to Gibson (1979), affordance represents the range of possibilities that an object offers for action. Moreover, this affordance is deemed *not* to change in line with the intentions of the observer i.e. the uses and values are not attached to interpretative representation but are a material aspect of the object as it is encountered in the course of action. Ergo, affordances are:

*'in a sense objective, real and physical, unlike values and meanings which are often supposed to be subjective, phenomenal and mental. But actually, an affordance is neither an objective property nor a subjective property; it is both or if you like...an affordance points both ways, to the environment and to the observer' (op. cit; 129)*

Indeed, the full range of affordances are not necessarily available to immediate perception. With particular reference to the telephone, Grint & Woolgar (1997) note that it was originally designed for the broadcast of concert music, not two-way personal communication. Through a process of interpretation and negotiation, it was ultimately realised that the device affords an alternative form of intimate communication. In which case, we should reject diametrically-opposed notions of 'objective reality' and 'social construction' that underpin our accounts and representations of technology. Consistent with the post-structural position, analytical focus should instead be turned toward what people do with technology in ordinary life and the precise details of how technological artefacts form an intrinsic part of everyday conduct. In effect, to investigate the ways people manage the constraints on their possibilities for action that emerge from the affordances of any given technological forms.

In sum, the application of CA in the analysis of technology is motivated by a concern for social context; *'the experiences, expectations, skills, reasoning abilities and common-sense knowledge of users as people are brought inevitably to their interaction with computer systems'* (Norman, M & Thomas, P., 1990; 54). Suchman's interactional analysis of intelligent *help systems* illustrates the problems which can arise when tacit expectations of the users are contravened in the design (Suchman, 1987). In which case, CA not only provides a perspective on interaction as a practice, it also offers specific details regarding the sequencing of action in interaction and thereafter, descriptions of the machines of which they are a reflex. However, this approach is not entirely unproblematic. Unlike ordinary conversation, the understanding of the users in human-computer interaction with respect to previous machine actions are not always explicitly displayed in the 'current turn'. In which case, analysts have only restricted access to what users may have made of some system action or to their understanding of the current state of the interaction. Norman & Thomas (1990) point to a range of complex and costly methodologies that address such issues and even these are not without their shortcomings. Consequently, no special arrangements have been made for this project and specific concerns of interpretation have been highlighted in the data analysis.

### 3.3 CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

#### 3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The principal aim of Conversation Analysis (CA) research is the description and explication of the competences that speakers use and rely on when participating in intelligible, socially-organised interaction (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). These competencies are comprehended

and described in terms of the social practices, procedures and expectations speakers employ in order to produce their own conduct and interpret the conduct of others. According to Garfinkel's notion of conversational '*symmetry*' (1967a: 1), the production and interpretation of conduct by interlocutors are observable and accountable outcomes of a common set of methods and routines employed by participants. CA then is based on the following fundamental assumptions (Sidnell & Stivers, 2014):

- The Interactional is Structurally Organised: all aspects of social action and interaction exhibit organised patterns of stable, identifiable and structural features. Knowledge of these organisations reflected in participant orientation is a significant part of the competency which ordinary speakers bring to their communicative activities, influencing their own conduct and the interpretation of the conduct of others.
- Contributions to Interaction are Contextually Orientated: Any speakers communicative action is doubly-contextual. A conversational action is 'context-shaped' on the basis that it cannot be fully understood without reference to the interactional context from which it emerges. An action is also 'context-renewing' since it creates the frame of understanding for the next action (Sacks et al, 1978)
- No order of detail can be dismissed: analyses are relentlessly data driven and indicative of a strong bias against a priori speculation about the orientation and motives of the speakers in favour of detailed analysis of the actual actions.

Analysts present their findings by demonstrating consistent forms of organisation in a large variety of materials produced by a range of speakers; the regularities are methodically

produced and orientated to by the interactants as normative grounds for inference and action. In effect, the analyst is required to describe the role that specifiable conversational devices, procedures and sequences play - including 'deviant' cases - in relation to interactional activities. In this case, the interaction and order produced by children within the context of the *SOLE*.

According to Heritage (1984), there are two distinct forms of *CA*: 1) pure; examines the institution *of* interaction as an entity in its own right. A context-free analysis provides examples of the local functioning of conversational devices and interactional formats; 2) applied; examines the management of social institutional *in* interaction, using *CA* to show how institutions are '*talked into being*' (*op. cit*; 290). By consciously avoiding the formal classroom and *UPE* context, the entire *raison d'être* of the *SOLE* is to circumvent institutional interference. In theory then, provided the role of the facilitator does not extend beyond the prescriptive limits of the child-minder, the *SOLE* tends toward the domain of pure *CA*, with an allowance for the objective features of computer affordance previously described.

From this pure perspective, all analysis and conclusions are strictly limited to those derived from the empirical content of the data, no aspect of the surrounding context; social-economic status, age, gender etc. is deemed relevant unless it is referenced in the data. Inevitably, this reticent approach to social research has been subject to criticism, along the following lines (ten Have, 1999):

- A preoccupation with local competencies that constitute the ‘just thisness’ of an activity. This includes the tendency of CA to handle single occasions of interaction as a field in which members apply more general, context-dependent devices, machinery, organisations etc. that necessitate a broader analytical knowledge
- Analysis requires knowledge of the culture shared by the interactants and taken-for-granted in their actions; in all conversation people are *‘living their lives, performing their roles and enacting their culture’* (Moerman, 1988: 22).

Indeed, in view of the political significance of difference and poverty within the post-colonial paradigm, it would appear remiss, even facile to avoid the wider issues of social context (McLaren, 2000). For this reason, the research has been undertaken in a distinct part of the Developing World, as opposed to a relatively poor community closer to home. Any presumption of discourse equivalence in the absence of empirical data would be readily interpreted as essentialism and contrary to the ethical spirit of the project. It is acknowledged that as a non-Colombian, I cannot lay claim to the full repertoire of common-sense cultural knowledge available to a local. However, I do speak the language and also received invaluable assistance from a number of native speakers to ensure accurate interpretations. Note, the issue of CA validity is addressed in further detail later in the chapter. Irrespective of a pure or applied approach to CA, ten Have (1999) describes a general outline to research projects in terms of the following phases:

- Making recordings of natural interaction
- Transcribing the tapes, in whole or in part

- Analysing selected episodes
- Reporting the research

As is common with strictly inductive approaches to research, the absence of a theoretical framework and definitive project goals signify a deliberate vagueness between project phases; the initial phases are influenced by tentative efforts at later phase work. Meanwhile, interwoven within this schema is a gradual elaboration of analytic ‘questions’ and ‘answers’ (op. cit).

### 3.3.2 ‘CA’ PROCESS

#### 3.3.2.1 Data Collection

Consistent with Sacks critique of orthodox sociology (Silverman, 1998), the fundamental requirement of *CA* is the use of materials collected from naturally-occurring situations of everyday interaction by means of audio and/or video recording equipment. In contrast to experimental methods where conditions/variables are closely controlled, this form of data capture presents an immense range of circumstances - a natural laboratory - for the pursuit of procedural ‘hunches’ and the assessment of the limits of particular formations. *CA* then is designed for systematic analysis of what is; intuitively known and tacitly orientated to in ordinary conduct. The availability of recorded data for repeated observation, analysis and reanalysis - including regular presentations at the *Micro-Analysis Research Group (MARG)* at Newcastle University - enables propositions to be developed, elaborated and



supported by reference to bodies of data and collections of instances of phenomena i.e. naturally-occurring, empirical material.

- **Research Context**

With a population in the region of one hundred thousand people, Duitama is clearly not one of the major urban centres in Colombia. Neither is it characterised by the sprawling slums of the cities, housing countless displaced migrants; the victims of a perpetual violence against the rural, predominantly poor, peasant communities (Pearce, 1990). Nonetheless, marginalised communities have within a generation, emerged and spread over each of the three, distinctive hilltops that surround the town centre. The most prominent of these communities is the district of *La Miligrosa* (The Miraculous). Anecdotal submissions suggest that the community does have significant social problems associated with poverty, domestic violence, drugs and prostitution. However, it is a relatively stable area and mercifully free of the conspicuous levels of displacement, gang warfare and social unrest associated with the mass, urban slums of Bogota, Cali and Medellin. As is common with marginalised communities, La Miligrosa represents a distinctive site of established and evolving features of development. The housing is broadly characterised by the rudimentary, breeze-block structures of spontaneous building - as opposed to the flimsy, wooden shacks of the recently displaced and impoverished. In the absence of local authority support, the poor have taken it upon themselves to build their own communities out of the cheapest materials available. Indeed, without planning permission and ownership rights, much of this housing runs the perennial risk of future cleansing and demolition. Nonetheless, large parts of La Miligrosa have over time, been connected to the public utilities - water, sewage, electric - and it is well-

supplied with local shops and small businesses. According to the residents, much of the neighbourhood is relatively safe by day but transforms into a menacing and dangerous, 'no-go' area after dark. Similar to Goodwin's (1991) landmark study of a social organisation among black children in working-class America, there are clear signs of community in the street and groups of children can be seen playing after school and at weekends. Indeed, children from many traditional, poor communities like La Miligrosa are heavily dependent on one another in the absence of parents and other relatives who are often working long hours (Rogoff, 1993).

- **Ethical Consent**

As with any educational research study, the safety and well-being of the children is of paramount importance. Consequently, myself and local contact, Señor German Velandia made numerous visits to the local council offices to outline the project plan to the Head of Welfare Services in Duitama. Once assured of our intentions, laid-out in communiqués from Newcastle University, we were given permission to speak to local, school psychologists responsible for providing regular pastoral, emotional and educational support to vulnerable children from marginalised backgrounds, a task made no easier by a conspicuous lack of material resources. The children themselves - ranging between the ages of 6 to 13 years of age - all live and attend schools in the local area and voluntarily attend the Support Centre on weekday afternoons to talk to the psychologists and/or simply to meet and play with their friends. The obvious affection that the children have for the staff is indicative, not only of the

laudable work undertaken by Centre but also its role in counteracting the poverty, violence and insecurity previously referenced<sup>44</sup>.

As *MIE* represents a definitively ‘non-intrusive’ approach to learning, we were given permission to meet the children without significant pre-conditions. However, the support system being voluntary, there was no knowing from day-to-day how many children would be present. On this initial occasion, there were upwards of twenty children, each of whom were given a consent letter for their parents requesting that they attend a further meeting in order to acquire express permission for participation. In view of their experience, the resident psychologists was somewhat sceptical that the parents would actual attend the meeting and indeed, only four mothers ultimately appeared. Nonetheless, on the basis that these parents were happy to provide consent; for participation, recordings and use of transcripts on the basis of strict anonymity, we were given permission to proceed. In view of the number of different actors involved, the entire consent procedure required almost an entire month to complete in advance of the *SOLE* introductory sessions.

- **Recordings**

The location for the *SOLE* sessions and recordings was a cottage/theatre in the local village of Pueblito Boyacense. Twice a week, I would arrive at the Centre to meet the children with Señor Sebastian Moreno, a close friend of Señor Velandia who agreed to participate in the role of co-facilitator. Obviously, attendance was completely voluntary and numbers

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<sup>44</sup> The fact that the children received psychological support reflects an institutional acknowledgment of vulnerability *not* ‘special’ needs or mental disability

throughout the data-gathering period would vary quite considerably; from between 2 to 11 participants. Indeed a small number of sessions were cancelled as a result of non-attendance. A requisite number of taxis would then carry the children to and from the village. Food and refreshment was also provided. The first couple of visits were strictly introductory, an opportunity for the young participants to familiarise themselves with Sebastian and myself, the location and the process. These initial visits were also attended by the psychologist as part of the consent process. The *SOLE* itself consisted of two laptop computers<sup>45</sup> allowing participants the option to move between groups/assets without creating an environment too complex for meaningful analysis. This hardware did not appear until the third meeting and included ‘dongles’ for a wireless internet connection.

There was always a minimum of two facilitators on-site and the children were never left unattended either inside or outside of the building. Consistent with the *SOLE* guidelines (Mitra, 2006), the facilitator’s role is principally concerned with participant safety and thereafter, restricted to oversight as opposed to leadership. Indeed, when the internet was lost in the early stages of the first active session, the participants were left to find a resolution for themselves. A failure to do so, led one child to vacate the vicinity completely and little interaction thereafter. In subsequent sessions therefore, the facilitator was permitted to resolve ‘show-stoppers’ of this kind but no more. It is relevant to note that occasional, gentle and impromptu attempts were made to direct the children towards interesting, ‘big’ questions (op. cit); written on a whiteboard, to drive the learning process forward. However, subsequent

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<sup>45</sup> Laptops, both with Windows Operating Systems in Spanish

analysis of data showed that the children had little discernible interest in these ‘small interventions’.

For the first recording/pilot session, only a single computer was required for the two participants, bad weather having deterred others. A video camera was positioned behind the computer on a tripod with a dictaphone taped to the table<sup>46</sup>. Usable data was collected however, the interaction was characterised by whispering, the children clearly conscious of the new surroundings and in particular, the conspicuous presence of the video camera (noted in the recording). Having anticipated this problem, I had also brought smaller hand-held cameras which could be strapped discretely - with Velcro - to building fixtures. The children were initially aware of the cameras presence but in view of their new position; elevated and behind the seating positions, were largely oblivious to the recording process. Obviously, this positional preference was based on a considered compromise. While the cameras - one per computer - were discretely located and able to capture most computer-related interaction and physical movement, they do miss facial expressions and the lip movement that would have assisted the transcription and analysis process. In order to enhance the recording and ensure high quality audio, the position of the dictaphones was also changed, one taped to the back of each computer.

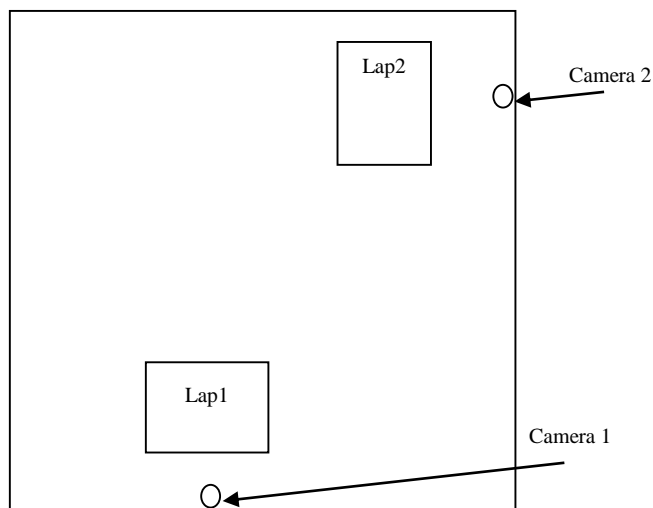
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<sup>46</sup> The cameras were equipped with a microphone however the quality was not as good as the Dictaphones particularly in view of the (revised) location of the cameras



**Image 1: 'La Milagrosa SOLE'**

The theatre represented a near perfect space for the *SOLE*; interesting, welcoming and with plenty of light, but you cannot expect everything. Unfortunately, the floor in traditional Boyacá fashion is tiled and therefore reflects rather than absorbs much of the sound. For this reason, the computers were located some four metres apart in order to reduce audio interference. Finally, the precise positioning of the computers - perpendicular to one another - was dictated by room features and convenient places to strap the cameras.



**Image 2: SOLE Floor Plan**

Note, in view of their position, it was impossible to get behind the camera in order to accurately align it with the target. Every effort was made to optimise the set-up and although the results are not always ‘perfect’<sup>47</sup>, the vast majority of the data is transcribable and usable.

### 3.3.2.2 Data Analysis

#### 3.3.2.2.1 Introduction

In contrast to the orthodox interpretation of social process, CA transcription is required to capture not simply *what* has been said but also *how* it was said; a practical compromise between a faithfulness to the original, recorded phonetic sounds and of readability of the final product (Mondada, 2014; ten Have, 1999). Since the transcription process represents a series of concessions between heterogeneous requirements, there is no universal system of conventions. In which case, the transcription system applied here is the one devised by Jefferson in her work with Sacks (refer to Appendix II). Transcriptions then are a convenient way to capture and present the phenomena of interest in written form consequently, they should not be misunderstood as the data of CA. As Atkinson & Heritage (1984) note, transcriptions should not be viewed as a substitute for recordings but as selective renderings produced with a particular purpose in mind and by a particular transcriptionist. It is therefore recommended that the analyst makes their own transcriptions. Even if the work is tedious, and just because it is tedious, it gives the analyst access to a lived reality of the interaction that is not available otherwise.

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<sup>47</sup> On one occasion, the camera was inadvertently switched-off during the set-up process.

*'The process of transcription is an important analytical tool providing the researcher with an understanding of, and insight into, the participants' conduct. It provides the researcher with a way of noticing, even discovering, particular events, and helps focus analytical attention on their social interactional organisation' (Heath & Luff, 1993; 309)*

In sum, the making of transcriptions helps the analyst to note particular interactional phenomena, to build a data archive/corpus and ultimately, to provide an audience - *MARG* - with access to the target phenomena being discussed in the analysis.

#### **3.3.2.2.2 Transcription**

Following Psathas and Anderson (1990), the conventions and individual elements of the transcript are described in Appendix III.

#### **3.3.2.2.3 Translation**

The material is presented in its original Castilian Spanish with a translation into the language of publication immediately below it, line by line (ten Have, 1999). While the languages are relatively similar in orthographical and grammatical terms, the translation is idiomatic, as opposed to word-for-word, minimising the loss of pragmatic meaning. All the initial translation was done by myself until an optimum sets of scripts had been selected, at which point my work was inspected, validated and where necessary, corrected by Señor Carlos Andrés Osorio, a fellow *PhD* student at Newcastle University and native Colombian.



During a recording period of 4 months (27 Sept 2011 - 05 February 2012), fourteen *SOLE* sessions were successfully completed, representing in the region of twenty-two hours of recorded and aligned data from either one or both video/audio sources<sup>48</sup>. At the completion of each session, the recorded data from the camera(s) and the dictaphone(s) was downloaded to a personal computer. The video material was immediately reviewed to isolate ‘interesting’ periods of interaction, supported by related notes/observations. On the days between recordings, an initial, rudimentary attempt at transcription would be undertaken together with supplementary and copious note-taking. Whilst acknowledging the unrealistically, large volume of the recorded material, the data analysis task was condensed and simplified by some general, less interesting or accessible, qualities of the associated speech-exchange system, most notably:

- With attention fixed on the computer, there are long periods of silence or limited interaction between participants i.e. interaction coherence sustained by the activity (Sawchuk, 2003)
- The adolescent girls in particular enjoyed listening to streamed music from the internet i.e. short periods of interaction at this time would be almost entirely smothered
- Dominant parties, particular the adolescent girls would isolate themselves on a single computer and refuse to interact with the others
- Interaction with social media i.e. Facebook®, was entirely text-based and therefore, beyond the scope of the study

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<sup>48</sup> As a consequence of file size, the dictaphones had a storage capacity of over 2 hrs of recording while the cameras had a little over 1hr of capacity. Data was also occasionally lost as a consequence of unintentional device ‘switch-off’ i.e. the dictaphones would be disengaged by inquisitive children

- Competition for resources between multiple participants would sometimes lead to intense but invariably short-lived confrontation and argument, characterised by shouting and overlapping, that is virtually impossible to transcribe accurately or meaningfully
- A large number of exchanges were characterised by nothing more than directives and deictic references as the principle forms of participation interaction. The analysis section therefore contains a representative sample

Upon completing the data-capture phase and returning to Newcastle, the transcription and translation procedure could begin in earnest. Naturally, I listened to the entire corpus once again, redrafting and condensing the original list of interesting episodes. Next, I entered the detailed transcription phase, restricting my initial attention to the Spanish content contained within the audio files. I then developed a representative series of episodes across the entire corpus (see Appendix IV). These episodes were systematically converted into CA format with supplementary information obtained from video analysis i.e. body posture, gesture, gaze. The detailed English translation phase followed in parallel with the validation process supported by Señor Osorio. Inevitably, this period of transcription and translation was both protracted and extremely demanding, requiring concentrated periods of listening and continual repeating of instances of interaction; both audio and video, to obtain an accurate `form and content` representation of data. Moreover, the transcription process was supported by note-taking and regular revisits to the CA literature in the development of a coherent series of endogenous practices and procedures that constitute social order (Sidnell & Stivers, 2014). Once the corpus was complete, detailed and repeated analysis of each episode commenced,

including numerous data presentations at the *MARG*. The entire process has taken the best part of two years to complete.

### 3.3.2.3 Data Exploration

Unlike the conventional approaches to research, the data analysis does not start from a pre-conceived question, either inspired by the literature, some theoretical position, practical interests or common-sense propositions. On the presumption of local structural organisation, the first stage of the analysis is by characterised ‘*unmotivated looking*’ (Psathas, 1995:45), an approach that implies ‘openness’ to discovery as opposed to some prescriptive search procedure. According to Schegloff (1996b):

*‘virtually all results emerge from an unmotivated examination of the naturally occurring interactional materials – that is an examination not prompted by prespecified goals [...], but by ‘noticings’ of initially unremarkable feature of talk or other conduct. The trajectory of analysis may begin with a noticing of an action being done and be pursued by specifying what about the talk or conduct – in its context – serves as practice for accomplishing that action. Or it may begin [...] with the noticing of some feature of talk and be pursued by asking what – if anything – such a practice of talk has as its outcome’ (op. cit; 172)*

A strategy of ‘noticing’ is recommended. Nonetheless, no analysis is undertaken within an intellectual vacuum and recent decades have witnessed the gradual development of a coherent conceptual apparatus as a basis for a general perspective on conversational data.

Whilst acknowledging that there is no prescriptive way of approaching data, Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) recommend a moderate position consistent with the following routine:

### **1. Select a Sequence**

Successive turns-in-talk have a shape to them, relations of mutual relevance and positioning, coherence and orderliness that make them not simply a series but a ‘sequence of turns’ (Schegloff, 2007). The analysis procedure however may not be straightforward. In reality, a thread may not commence in a marked form; ‘initiative’, but rather a ‘hint’. Likewise, the sequence may ‘trail off’ rather than reach a definitive conclusion.

### **2. Characterise the Actions in the Sequence**

Describe a sequence’s actions on a *turn-by-turn* basis with reference to the question; ‘*what is this participant doing in this turn?*’ (ten Have; 105). With reference to each consecutive turn, the analyst builds a detailed description of the actions and their relationships within the sequence (Stivers, 2014).

### **3. Action Packaging**

Packaging refers to the form chosen to produce the action (Levinson, 2014). Consider the understandings that are associated to the packaging in relation to the alternatives that may set up different options for the recipients. After all, there are always different ways to ‘do something’ and that selection – from a set of possibilities – carries meaning.

#### **4. Turn-taking and Timing**

For each turn in the sequence, describe how the speaker obtained the turn, the timing of the initiation of the turn and whether the speaker selected a next speaker (Drew, 2014).

#### **5. Identities, Roles and Relationships**

What are the 'rights, obligations and expectations' constituted and continuously negotiated in the talk, for example; joker/recipient, questioner/answerer, and how do these orientations relate to more permanent identities, role and relationships, for example; teacher/pupil, parent/child.

The principal and interlocking elements of sequence organisation are then described in detail, as follows (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984):

- **Turn-Taking Organisation**

At the heart of the CA concept and act of conversation is the notion of turn-taking. According to Sacks et al (1974), conversation is overwhelmingly characterised by one person speaking at any one time, while speaker change recurs with minimal gap and/or overlap. This interactional *fact* is seen as a continuous achievement of the interactants which they accomplish on a turn-by-turn basis, or more precisely, at any 'transition relevance place', at the end of any 'Turn Construction Unit' (TCU). According to Sacks et al (1974):

*'There are various unit types with which a speaker may set out to construct a turn. Unit types of English include sentential, clausal, phrasal and lexical constructions.'*

*Instances of the unit-types so usable allow a projection of the unit-type under way, and what, roughly, it will take for an instance of the unit-type to be completed. The first possible completion of a first unit type constitutes an initial transition-relevance place. Transfer of speakership is co-ordinated by reference to such transition-relevance places, which any unit-type instance will reach' (op. cit; 702)*

According to Sacks et al, the turn-taking mechanism is organised in terms of the following hierarchy of options: 1) the next speaker can be selected by the current speaker; 2) a speaker can self-select; 3) the present speaker can continue speaking. Moreover, this system of turn-taking is locally managed, party administered and interactionally managed; the system functions repeatedly at each, next possible transition relevance place after the production of the *TCU* and involves all participants. In summary, turn-taking is sensitive to local fine-tuning which is not only actively adapted to the interactants involved but in so doing, co-constitutes them as participants in 'this' conversation i.e. identities in action (Antaki, 1996).

- **Sequence Organisation**

The notion of sequence captures the essence of a coherent conversation as 'one thing following another'. Utterances are in the first instance understood by reference to their placement and participation within sequences of action (Stivers, 2014; Schegloff, 2007). Therefore, it is the sequences and turns within sequences, rather than isolated sentences or utterances that provide the primary units of analysis. According to Atkinson & Heritage (1984), whatever 'is said' will be said in some sequential context and its illocutionary force will be determined by reference to what it accomplishes in relation to some sequentially prior

utterance or set of utterances; context shaping. Rudimentary instances of this process occur when a current turn/utterance projects a next action/slot to be accomplished by another speaker in the next turn; '*sequential implicativeness of a turn's talk*' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, 296). This projection of a relevant next action may be realised by the production of a 'first-pair part' (*FPP*) of an 'adjacent pair' structure (op. cit) i.e. greeting-greeting, summons-acknowledgement, invitation-acceptance-rejection, question-answer. Once a projection is recognised, it becomes relevant to examine the alignment and accomplishment of some appropriate 'second-pair part' (*SPP*) response (or its absence) on behalf of the other interactant. According to Atkinson & Heritage (1984),

*'If it can be demonstrated that the producers of the first action deal in a systemically organised ways with a variety of alternate seconds (or a noticeably absent second), then it will also be demonstrated that object of investigation is an institutionalised organisation for the activity in question that is systemically oriented to by the speakers'*  
(op. cit; 6)

It is important to note that the relationship between the turns of an adjacent pair is normative; the *SPP* is heard as an appropriate response to the *FPP*. The absence of such a response or one that does not fit the slot can represent an accountable matter for the first speaker; a noticeable absence<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Not always. A new sequence can be inserted in the one that was just started in the form of a sequence expansion (Schegloff, 2007)

- **Repair Organisation**

Instances of repair reflect organised ways of managing ‘trouble’ sources in the interactions progress; problems of (mis)hearing or misunderstanding, which can lead to a postponement, or even an abandonment of a projected next action (Kitzinger, 2014). The sequence then commences with a ‘repairable’. The initiative for the repair (*RI*) and the repair itself can either be taken by the speaker; a self-initiated repair, or by another; other-initiated repair. One can even observe a speaker either cut-off in mid-utterance or wait until the next ‘transition relevance point’ to perform a self-repair (Jefferson, 1972). When another participant initiates repair, the most regularly undertaken in the next turn by a ‘*repair-initiator*’ (*RI*), for example; ‘huh?’, ‘what?’ This provides the speaker with the opportunity to self-repair the trouble source through a clearly articulated repeat or through a different form of expression. Alternatively, the recipient may offer their own interpretation of the target utterance; ‘you mean X?’, which the original speaker can either accept, reject or rephrase.

In view of the normative status of sequence organisation, the natural place for an ‘other-initiated’ repair is the next turn. Ergo, when this slot is not used for that purpose the recipient is ‘not doing repair’. Schegloff (1981) argues that one significant aspect of ‘back-channel feedback/continuers’ like “uh huh” is the ‘non-use’ of the repair facility. This would not prohibit repair at a later juncture however such an initiative would require more ‘work’, to clarify the position and nature of the trouble source. In short, although manifest repair may be more or less rare in any particular stretch of talk, the possibility of a repair initiative is omnipresent (ten Have, 1999).



- **Organisation of Turn-Construction/Design**

Unlike the structured forms of sequence organisation described to date, the notion of turn design represents a number of insights that can illuminate the procedures underlying the formulation of utterances. According to Sacks et al (1978) one such example is recipient design and the building of an utterance to fit the recipient i.e. given the knowledge that the speaker presupposes the recipient to have within a given context. An example is that of 'preference organisation' (Pomerantz & Heritage 2014). The general idea is: 1) when alternative actions are open possibilities, one may be 'preferred', that is expected and chosen, if possible; 2) that the difference between a 'preferred' and 'dispreferred' alternatives is demonstrated in the turn shape chosen for doing one or the other. In effect, turns can be designed to show they are doing the preferred, or the dispreferred alternative action. For example, an invitation projects an acceptance as a preferred response. An acceptance utterance from the recipient will display this status by being rapid and direct with no account required. On the other hand, a rejection will tend to be delayed, more often inferable than directly formulated and often accounted for with a mitigating reason/excuse. In short, turns are packaged in a manner that displays a relative preference status. Moreover, preference organisation must not be confused with any kind of psychological state. Preference does not relate to what people want but to what the logic of the turn-taking system implies.

In conclusion, any conversation action can be undertaken in a number of different ways and turn design is therefore a matter of choice (ten Have, 1999). That speaker choice will be informed by knowledge of both the context and the other participants. In designing a turn's format, the speaker also fits the utterance to the evolving situation; the preceding utterance,

for instance by using previously used expressions and compatible pronouns, and the attention of the hearer at the precise moment the utterance is being produced (Goffman, 1959). For their part, the hearers will also understand the utterance as formatted for the occasion including, but not limited to; terms of preference, formality, grades of negative or positive evaluation (Pomerantz, 1978) or as speaking for oneself ('I') or an organisation ('we').

### 3.3.3 VALIDITY

From the emic/endogenous perspective, Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) insist that the study of sociology acknowledges the presence of order at all points of social life and thereafter, dispense with the presumption that only the 'macro' is of any real significance. Nonetheless, Sacks is also required to defend CA against a series of potential criticisms (Silverman, 1998):

- Trivial Topics: It is difficult to resist the argument that conversation is a major medium of social interaction and therefore, warrants close examination. Moreover, by concentrating on the formal procedures of conversation, as opposed to the topics, micro-analysis avoids the simple replication of everyday concerns i.e. prioritises context over content
- Trivial Data: In view of the endogenous approach to analysis, what is interesting about the data is a matter for the participants and therefore, cannot be specified in advance. Indeed, Sacks adopts a counter-strategy of choosing specifically uninteresting data, building an endogenous social science that generates its own topics with specific reference to the details of authentic and mundane interaction

- **Non-Random Data:** A counter-intuitive strategy of analysing any data conflicts with the foundational notions of representiveness associated with random samples. However, in view of the pervasiveness of order in social life, it is not important what data is selected. Indeed, Sacks argues that research validity does not depend on how a data-set was selected but on the theoretically-derived quality of the analysis
- **Incomplete Data:** Sacks argues that the micro approach does not set out to develop a comprehensive analysis of what actually happened but ‘to begin to set minimal constraints on what an explanation or description of talking or doing things together would look like’. Moreover, Sacks acknowledges the conspicuous fact that there cannot be a totally ‘complete’ data. Rather, everything depends on what the researcher is trying to achieve and where one wants to progress
- **The Presence of Social Structure:** As previously indicated, *CA* does not need to appeal to macro structures like culture, class, development etc. Where order exists, we need not suppose anything other than two people doing some interaction i.e. the apparatus is ‘context-free’ and macro structures and assumed identities are only made relevant through the act of conversation

The fact that social order is accountable and observable at all points means that the *CA* analyst is not obliged to speculate over hypothetical or imagined understandings of the interactants or the contextual constraints which may apply (Sidnell & Stivers, 2014). Moreover, as a non-intrusive, endogenous approach seeking to characterise procedural reality, *CA* is both ethically-sensitive and genuinely democratic, important qualities within a post-colonial paradigm of research. On the other hand, a context-free focus on the local details of identity

and agency gives *CA* limited political authority at the macro level (Schegloff, 1999), a not insignificant weakness within the emotive domain of *ID* and the genuine suffering of those in poverty (McLaren, 2000).

### 3.4 METHOD CONCLUSION

The principal aim of the Methodology chapter is to reflect the significance of social science, the post-colonial critique and most importantly, subaltern voice relative to an orthodox *ID* paradigm, one currently dominated by the logo-centric and ideological notions of modernity and a priori method. In effect, this chapter traces and legitimises an `ontological pivot` and subsequent transition from the foundational and macro position to an anti-foundational equivalent with an emphasis on situated talk and interaction at the micro level.

The central concern of the social is the notion of order, its principle features and the means by which it is sustained (Sidnell & Stivers, 2014). From the classical foundational position of Utilitarianism, the notion of rationality is the sole governing standard for action by which human ends are pursued (Orwill, 2010; Kim, 2003). According to this modern orthodoxy, action is no more than a process of adaptation to a pre-determined environment devoid of additional consideration for individual agency. In contrast, Hegel's idealistic tradition elevates the role of the subjective in social action and the uniqueness and moral qualities of the human subject; a value dimension missing from positivist accounts. Even so, this alternative view tends to over-emphasise the significance of culture to the exclusion of the recalcitrant realities of social context i.e. an interpretation of order that is susceptible to stereotyping and otherisation of those within the post-colonial context (Martin & Griffiths,

2014; Holliday et al, 2004). The foundational accounts reach their zenith with the Parsonian view of individual agency where humans act positively to transform their environment in accordance with subjectively held ideals and beliefs. However, this structural view tends to conceive the actor as no more than a bearer of internalised values with no allowance for individual interpretation of a unique set of circumstances i.e. a judgmental dope. It is here, at the ontological pivot, that Schutz develops the notion of the intersubjective and the emergent meaning between interactants, to challenge a distinctly modern fixation with the rational and universal. To this end, ethnomethodology shifts the locus of research interest away from the macro toward the micro and the description and analysis of ‘whatever it is’ that the actors themselves find intelligible.

*‘taking social action as the main analytic object of enquiry necessitates the consideration of how the linguistic and para-linguistics elements of communication are produced and organised to fit with the actions of others’ (Kidwell, 2014, 511).*

In which case, talk-in-interaction becomes the principal medium of intersubjectivity and social order. Indeed, Garfinkel challenges the prescriptive, structural and cognitive conceptualisation of language associated with Chomsky, arguing instead, for a post-structural transformation in representation, based on the utterance and understood with indexical reference to the unique features of context; who said it, where and when, what was being accomplished by saying it and in the light of what possible considerations and in virtue of what motives it was said (Heritage, 1984). Thereafter, the principal aim of CA research is to describe and explain the competencies that speakers use and rely on when participating in

intelligible, socially-organised interaction (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970). These competencies are comprehended and described in terms of the mutual practices, procedures, sequences and expectations the speakers employ to produce their own meaningful conduct and coincidentally, interpret the conduct of others i.e. intersubjectivity.

This standard definition of *CA* is however, contingent within the context of the *MIE* i.e. relative to the canonical structures of adult, mundane conversation (Sacks et al, 1974; 1977). Rather interaction in the *SOLE* represents a distinct, speech-exchange system as children engage with the affordances of a computer within an informal context. From a methodological perspective, Hutchby (2001) notes the limitations of a constructivist approach which tends to make the specifics of technology an analytical focus with a deterministic emphasis on effects. It is only through the notion of technological affordances then that artefacts themselves can be seen as a reality, in terms of which interactants are offered the possibilities of action. In contrast to the *etic* approach to *MIE* research, the analyst neither anticipates nor seeks features of rational behavior relative to content but instead, looks to represent participant interaction and understanding of context on their own terms, through accountability (Garfinkel, 1963). Thereafter an *emic*-oriented, *CA* approach to data analysis is not simply the most appropriate means to capture the details of local social order within the mediated confines of the *SOLE*, it would appear ideally-suited to the post-structural aim of non-intrusive research applicable to a sensitive, post-colonial context.

## 4.0 DATA ANALYSIS

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The principle aim of this chapter and Conversation Analysis (*CA*) as a research method is to account for the structural organisation of *SOLE* practice in terms of the linguistic procedures, features and identities contained within a representative series of data extracts. Consistent with the interactional model of communication (Hutchby, 2010), an analytical focus will be placed on the differences in computer-mediated social practice when compared with a mundane, canonical equivalent (Boden & Zimmerman, 1991) i.e. the possibilities for action relative to the capabilities and constraints of the artefact. Being a strictly empirical approach, there is no attempt to ‘fit’ the data to pre-conceived categories and any evidence that categories exist and are deployed by the participants is demonstrated with direct reference to and examples from the data (Walsh, 2006). Inevitably, *SOLE* interaction could be presented in a multiplicity of different ways. In view of the breadth of data however, the analysis is constructed in a convenient, broadly chronological order. Moreover, exemplars should not be viewed in complete isolation as procedures and identities are progressively carried forward in the development of future episodes.

### 4.2 PROCEDURAL ORGANISATION

From a micro-analytical perspective, the interactional context is not viewed as a fixed entity which operates uniformly across a ‘lesson’ but as dynamic and changing process with one contribution dependent on another. *CA* then is deemed to be particularly appropriate for a complex, speech-exchange system such as the *SOLE*, where the procedures of talk are closely

intertwined and broadly resistant to any convenient organisation, such as the language ‘modes’ associated with the predetermined goals of an institutional context (op. cit). In this case, the following series of self-organised categories were identified:

- Entry
- Challenges
- Search
- Tutorial
- Evaluation
- Outage
- Fly Solo

With reference to the scripts, *SOLE* interaction is arranged in terms of the following: *episodes* representing the complete, analysed corpus (see Appendix III) which is then sub-divided into representative data extracts. Comments have been added where analytically appropriate and children are deemed to be attending to the computer screen, unless otherwise noted.

#### 4.2.1 ‘SOLE ENTRY’

A fundamental premise of the *MIE* philosophy is that multiple participants will arrange themselves efficiently and independently around the available resources (Mitra, 2006). The children enter the *SOLE* space and no external pressure is exerted to affect their self-organisation. The manner in which children respond to the *SOLE* on entry and negotiate



access within the *CoP* could be indicative of the types of relationship and interaction that follow i.e. ‘setting the tone’.

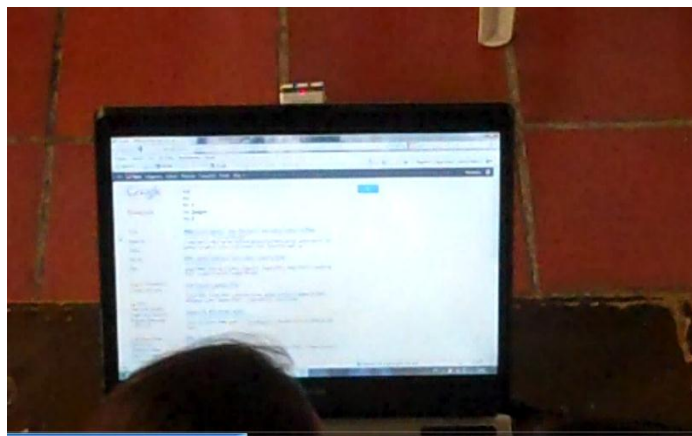
#### 4.2.1.1 ‘Arriba’

A pair of pre-adolescent girls - (*H*) & (*M*) - have located themselves in front of the computer. From her position at the keyboard (*k/b*), (*H*) uses the mouse/pad to reference the main menu, she then initiates the internet and starts typing a website destination into the search engine.

(1)

```
1      H      friv (1.5) [juegos] (0.9) ↑vea (.) <friv juegos>
1      " friv". "games". "you see, friv games"
2      M      °[juegos]°
2      "games"
3      (0.5)                                     ((screen event and H points))
4      M      °[pe]re°
4      "wait"
5      H      ↑[oy] (.) muy chorros
5      "oy, cool"
6      (0.3)
7      M      pere[: (0.4) de arri]ba::::=          ((M points))
7      "wait , its above
8      H      [pere (0.3) pere]
8      "wait, wait"
9      H      =ya se este
9      "I know this"
```

Coincidentally, she declares her aim; ‘Friv’ games, contextualising and problematising the space in terms of a situated point of reference. Within the context of this multi-modal action, her partner aligns; overlap (line 2), inferring the presence of a genuine *CoP* resource within a mutual frame of participation (Goodwin, 2007). The completion of the typing sequence is then marked by (*H*) with a confirmation; attention imperative and complementary referent (*TCU3*).



**Image 3: ‘Friv’**

The next sequence is marked by (*H*) in acknowledgment of the multiple, listed options returned by the search engine (line 5). She points to an option in the list; locating the place on the screen as relevant to the broader activity and then delivers a positive assessment in the form of a stressed, information receipt token or response cry i.e. exclamatory injections which are not fully-fledged words:

*‘unable to shape the world the way we want to, we displace our manipulation of it to the verbal channel, displaying alignment to the ongoing events’ (Goffman, 1978, 800).*

(M) responds with a delay of compliance (Garvey, 1984) directive, in relation to her partners move. Indeed rather than align, (M) undertakes a repair, in response to the overlap (TCUI) followed by a `repair initiator` (line 7); a high strength `RI` combining both a verbal imperative and gestural content, in response to the visual phenomenon (Grieffenhagen & Watson, 2009). According to Schegloff (2007), a dispreferred response of this kind is; `insert sequence`<sup>50</sup>, `expansion` relevant` (op. cit; 115). Indeed, the unmitigated, stressed and elongated forms (line 7) display an orientation towards a negative assessment and `aggravated correction` (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000; 10) of the current status and more specifically, the relative and visible position of the cursor in relation to the listed items. At this point however, (H) stands her ground and seeks to `neutralise` (Schegloff, 2007: 161) the opposition with a reciprocal delay of compliance accounting for her resistance with an overt declaration of epistemic authority i.e. (M)'s assessment infers an (K+) stance.

(2)

10		(0.5)	((H→k/b))
11	M	<u>no</u> (.) ɔysh::	
11		"no, oysh"	
12		(1.2)	((cursor moves))
13	H	es este (.) esto?= "it's this one, this one?"	
14	M	=> <u>es</u> ::te es::<	((M points))
14		"this is it"	
15		(4.1)	
16	H	(vamo')	((H→k/b))
16		"lets go"	

---

<sup>50</sup> The initiation of an `insert` sequence displaces the base second pair-part (SPP) of an Adjacent Pair. A `repair` is a prime example of an insert expansion sequence

(*M*) neither challenges nor ratifies the account of her partner at this point, suggesting an interactional continuity sustained by the ongoing computer activity i.e. the trajectory of the dispute will depend on the screen activity and specifically, (*H*)'s cursor movement (Sawchuk, 2003). Indeed, the deferred trouble source soon re-emerges (Schegloff, 2007); the position of the cursor relative to the search list, which is marked by (*M*); an 'aggravated polar preface' (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000) and an elongated assessment token (line 11) suggesting participant frustration. In context, the utterance is indicative of a rejection prompting (*H*) to adopt an 'alternative' (Schegloff, 2007;161) and distinctly defensive stance. In this case, she repositions the cursor and seeks clarification of her action in the form of an observable and rapid shift from a declarative stance (*TCU1*) to an interrogative (*K-*) re-alignment (*TCU2*) with her partner (line 13). On this occasion, (*M*) delivers an 'adjacent-pair' confirmation (line 14); a deictic-demonstrative reference with supplementary metanarrative, though once again delivered in a stressed form indicative of social imposition (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000).



Image 4: 'es::te es'

(*H*) effects the repair and subject to a processing delay (line 15) marks task completion (line 16) with the declarative equivalent of a Sequence Closing Third<sup>51</sup> (SCT); ‘okay’ (*Schegloff; 2007;120*). In effect, (*H*) shifts to a positional alignment with her partner accepting not only the effectuated repair but (*M*)’s authority to enforce it (*Grieffenhagen & Watson, 2009*).

In sum, (*H*) has acquired the position at the computer *k/b*. She declares the aim of the current activity using a common point of reference and immediately problematises the *SOLE* in terms of an assessment i.e. the pilot’s ability to locate the declared objective. Nonetheless, the local system of turn-taking is evidently driven from an adjacent navigator-judge position relative to observable screen events and a presumed privilege to control the direction of travel i.e. a notional pilot position/function, is highly contested. Note, the situated identity selection of pilot is consistent with Mitra’s flying analogy where the incumbent:

*‘figures out what works and what does not and then the others pick it up’ (Mitra, 2006; 40)*

The change in epistemic stance by the pilot and an ultimate compliance with her partner’s *RI* consolidates (*M*)’s active role as opposed to the more passive assistant or observer notation identified by Mitra (2012). In this case, (*M*) initiates a repair but does not attempt to perform it by taking control of the mouse. This could be interpreted as a normative preference for self-repair over other-repair (*Sacks et al, 1974*). However, the mediated context constitutes a

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<sup>51</sup> A minimal ‘post-expansion’ sequence follows the *SPP* and is designed not to project any further in sequence talk

different affordance in comparison to mundane conversation where self and other do not have equal access to the trouble source. In which case, we are observing the effectuation of a repair that is both asymmetrical in ecological distribution i.e. spatial positioning of the participants in relation to the mouse, yet normative in the division of labour i.e. typically one pupil has control over the mouse for one phase of the task (Greiffenhagen & Watson, 2009).

In terms of linguistic detail, this assessment episode is definitively framed and marked by student orientation and responses to computer events in the form of the aggravated polar preface and response cries. Local interaction is also characterised by reciprocated and abbreviated utterances where directives and deixis supported by metanarrative provide the principal means of sustained coherence relative to computer phenomena. Moreover, utterance prosody represents a highly significant feature of inter-subjectivity as the participants orientate to underlying and pre-existing structures of authority (Goodwin, 1991). These '*oppositional turns*' (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000; 5) contain no affective vocabulary yet vividly demonstrate a strong emotional stance on behalf of the speaker.

Finally, the interaction is broadly consistent with the canonical features of conversation including (Schegloff, 2007): 1) the presence of framing devices; 2) the negotiation of computer events within a system of turn-taking; 3) sequence interaction shaped by repair, preference and authority; 4) expansion sequences in response to a 'dispreferred'. In the meantime, the frequency of 'delay of compliance' directives indicative of participant adjustment points to a dedicated, object-oriented speech-exchange system where the computer is not socially-constructed so much as provides a local resource and point of





**Image 5: 'lo cogi'**

Unfortunately for (*E*), any presumption of ownership on his part requires the acceptance/ratification as a preferred response from the other i.e. an adjacent pair. Instead, he is rapidly and unceremoniously ejected from his privileged position by a combination of both (*A*) - a preadolescent boy - and (*B*) - an adolescent boy in a blatant and physical act of deontic incongruency (line 2). This embodied ejection provides fertile ground for an opposition phase of a dispute, in this case, (*E*)'s emphatically non-aligned response (line 3); a stressed response cry (*TCU1*) and supporting a negative declarative (*TCU2*), indicative of an unrestrained complaint and the perceived transgression of a situated moral norm i.e. 'first come, first served'.





Image 6: “ay, no::”

(A) now assumes the pilot position and declares joint authority with his preferred partner (line 4); an imperative (*TCU1*) and a confirmation of social re-organisation in the first-person plural (*TCU2-3*). Note, in terms of a third-position account the offender, (A) does not seek to reassure the victim or justify his behaviour (Maynard, 1986b). Nonetheless, in its absence i.e. sequence closure, the dispute is at distinct risk of continuation (Schegloff, 2007).

(4)

21	A	MIENTRA' CIERTO (.) LO' DO'	((A re-orientates))
21		"ITS OURS, FOR SURE"	
22		(.)	
23	Z1	espera	
23		"wait".	
24		(2.0)	((E takes his seat))
25	E	yo lo [col]gí::	
25		"its mine"	
26	Z1	[ay]	((A moves across E))
27	A	<NO (.) NO (.) NO>	
27		"NO, NO, NO"	
28		(0.3)	((E→Z1))

29 E     ↑huh::  
30         (.)  
31 Z1     junto (0.3) [que s'espera  
31         "together". "wait"  
32 E                     [no mueva] (.)↑huh::                     ((E nudges A))  
32                     "he wont move, huh"  
33 A     <[AY] (.) QUE VOY [A COLO]CAR UN [JUEGO]>  
33         "AY, I'M GOING TO FIND A GAME"  
34 Z1     ↑ay                     [(name)]                     [(NAME)](.) hay un hora y media aqui  
34                     "(A)"                     "(A)" ((Z1 hand on A's shoulder))  
35         (0.3)  
36 Z1     [espera]  
36         wait  
37 E     [yo quie]ro jug[ar]  
37         "I want to play"  
38 A                     [NO]::: (.) ESPERESE (.) a colocar un jue::go=  
38                     "NO, WAIT, I'm going to find a game"((Z1 removes hand))  
39 Z1     =↑OK  
40         (2.1)                     ((Z1 withdraws))  
41 E     no vea (.) porque no?  
41         I cant see (.) why not?

At this point, (Z1) - with the authority of the facilitator - arrives and intervenes, to avoid further aggravated confrontation (Mitra, 2012). Within this ambivalent space, (A) seeks to reassert joint privilege; a declarative in an indicative mood marked by an aggravated tone and a coincidental reorientation of the computer, potentially locking others out of any participant frame (line 21). (E) retakes the seat next to the offender and in a reciprocal act of deontic incongruence, declines to acknowledge (A)'s presumed authority and instead, seeks to reassert his own claim; a reciprocal subject pronoun (line 25). Inevitably, this is received

with a strong and embodied rejection/insistence by the offender; negative declarative with an emphatic register and a coincidental movement across the computer (line 27). Within this context of reciprocal, egocentric and aggravated context, neither participant acknowledging the other, the situation appears to have reached a stalemate. Consistent with Vuchinich's view of the unresolved dispute, (*E*) looks to a higher authority (*ZI*); a glance and a response cry of embodied frustration (line 29) to resolve the impasse (Busch, 2012).

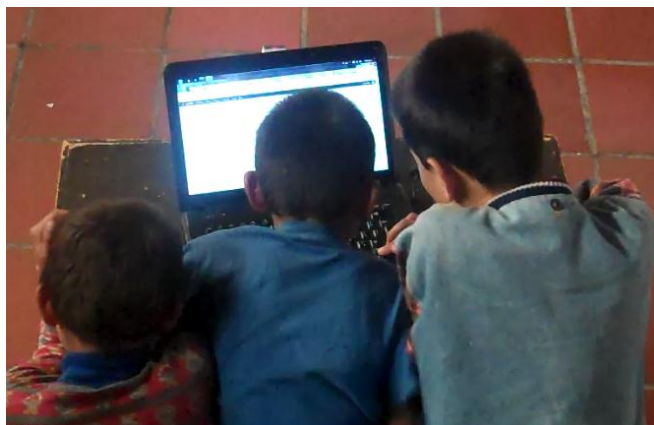


**Image 7: 'Glance to the Facilitator'**

Context would suggest that (*E*) is seeking to co-opt the support of the facilitator in the role of an arbitrator. However, consistent with the *SOLE* philosophy of minimal interference (Mitra, 2006), (*ZI*) adopts a broadly neutral stance (line 31) and issues a proposal to share as a moral imperative, avoiding the direct imposition of change. (*E*) redirects his attention toward to screen but, blocked by the offender, responds in the form of a complaint (*TCU1*), a response cry of frustration (*TCU2*) including a nudge in the back of the pilot (line 32). Faced with resistance from (*E*) in the broader context of (*ZI*)'s request for a shared participation framework; supplemented by a hand on the offenders shoulder, (*A*) finally

provides an account for his actions (line 33). Consistent with previous sequences (line 23, 31), incursions in the dispute by the facilitator appear to provide the space and the proxy authority for a further assertion of access rights by the victim (line 37). On this occasion the offender denies the victim his request (*TCU1*) and then seeks to reassert his authority, adjusting interaction (*TCU2*) in order to manage the challenge in parallel with computer interaction i.e. increased register and vowel extensions in the context of a multi-activity (line 38). And as before (line 33), the offender provides an account of his actions as a means of defusing the ongoing dispute. This time, (*Z1*) appears to accept the account by moving his hand (line 38) and produces an acknowledgment (line 39). The withdrawal of the facilitator from the scene, is witnessed by the victim who responds with an unacknowledged, muted complaint i.e. the dispute remains unresolved, at least to (*E*)'s satisfaction. Note, that while aggravated interaction and dispute is common amongst children defending activity space and asserting identity (Danby & Theobald, 2012), the participants in this case have only recently entered the *SOLE* and have yet to define the roles and responsibilities to defend.

Within this ambivalent space marked by the withdrawal of the facilitator, (*B*) has taken the opportunity to restore his position as an active participant, close to the computer, to the right of the pilot (*A*). Indeed, (*A*) shifts his position to accommodate (*B*) whilst coincidentally marginalising (*E*) even further from the activity space.



**Image 8: 'muevase'**

The evidence suggests that this particular entry procedure is dominated by an aggravated and repeated claim sequences marked by announcements and negations within a context of an unresolved dispute embedded with conspicuous, deontic incongruence. The nature of the interaction is characterised by a potent combination of prosody, register, the polar preface, response cries, stressed imperatives and body position in support of individual claims based on reciprocal, Standard Relational Pair (*SRP*) identities of offender and victim. In the face of sustained resistance, the subordinate member of the group has sought support from the highest available authority, (*ZI*) prompting an account from the offender. Irrespective of the aggravated and confrontation nature of the exchange, this entry procedure is both organised and indexical with specific reference to context and more specifically, a dispute surrounding the ownership/control of a limited resource within a pre-existing network of social relations (Maynard, 1985b). According to Sacks, groups of three or more participants - in the act of mundane conversation - have a tendency to break-up and reform with reference to shifting centres of interest and engagement (Garvey, 1984). The evidence at this time however suggests that the computer provides the singular focal point of interaction with some

participants insisting on dominant positions while others are progressively marginalised; a notional ‘passenger’ identity with no discernible or active role.

#### 4.2.1.3 ‘You Don’t Know’

In this sequence, (A) has acquired the pilot position at the *k/b* and immediately makes an declaration of intent (line 1). This confident announcement of authority not only sets the scene for an assessment but is seemingly contingent on the approval of his partner, (L) - an adolescent girl.

(7)

1       A       voy a colocar (.) mil juegos  
1                “I’m going to find a ‘thousand’ games”               ((website reference))  
2                (1.5)  
3       A       ya?  
3                ok?  
4                (4.2)  
5       A       °si?° (1.1) si?  
5                “yes”. “yes”  
6                (14.6)

Firstly, he seeks confirmation (line 3) from (L) but the anticipated response is missing (line 4). It is possible that this announcement of intent is insufficient in and of itself, to garner a response from his partner. According to Stivers & Rossana (2010), the utterance may have to be supported by a mobiliser(s) i.e. interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative prosody, recipient epistemicity, speaker gaze and/or posture, to increase the accountability of the recipient. Indeed, the announcement neither contains signs of interrogation nor epistemic imbalance and whilst data cannot confirm, it is likely that pilot orientation toward

the computer counteracts the normalised impact of gaze and posture. Consistent with the preference structure (Pomerantz, 1984), (A) evidently recognises a notable absence and seeks to hold his partner accountable (line 5). Whilst the diversionary quality of computer-mediated inaction is evident in the extended interactional delays (line 2, 4, 5) and may at times explain a lack of accountability (Sawchuk, 2003), the fact that multiple interrogative mobilisers are then directed toward the recipient without reply points to something systemic. Indeed, this reaching for confirmation suggests his pilot identity and presumption of authority is not only contingent on his partner but a potentially recalcitrant one i.e. a context of deontic incongruence.

(8)

7 L †iniciar  
 7 "start"  
 8 (2.0)  
 9 A como se inic[ia]?  
 9 "how does it start?"  
 10 L [aq]uí:: (.) aquí:: ((L points))  
 10 "here, here"  
 11 (1.0)  
 12 L >se nota que no conoces °estos computadores°<  
 12 "it's obvious that you don't understand these computers"  
 13 (0.5)  
 14 A °†ay:: (.) si°  
 14 "ay, ok"  
 15 (1.6)

A 'lengthy' period of silence then ensues while both participants focus their attention on computer-related activity (line 6). In the absence of repair, it is presumed that this silence

represents a place-saver within a strip of mediated talk that has been suspended as opposed to terminated (Sawchuk, 2003). For the time being, it would appear that (A) as pilot, is accountable to (L) and accountability is strictly mediated and dependent on emergent computer-based phenomena. This suspended state is confirmed when talk recommences *not* with a formal ‘opening sequence’ (Schegloff, 2007) but with an situated screen-relevant directive issued by (L) in anticipation of virtual compliance (line 7). Note, that the utterance is not supported by any other information or social action suggesting, post an extended period of computer-based activity (line 6) signs of trouble. After a further pause (line 8), where the pilot appears to be searching for the appropriate computer key/function, (A) makes a indirect request for assistance/guidance (line 9); interrogative indicative of (K-) stance (Heritage, 2012). Significantly, this request for information is anticipated and intercepted (line 10); overlap, with a stressed and repeated response in the form of a deictic reference. Having previously avoided accountability, these *RI*’s are deployed in the distinctly, aggravated manner of social imposition. In the absence of supporting evidence i.e. a rejection/repair (line 11), we can only presume that (A) dutifully follows the instructions provided i.e. an effectuated repair. Indeed, (L) is sufficiently confident of her navigator-judge authority at this time, to issue a pejorative, ‘*post-mortem*’<sup>52</sup> (Schegloff, 2007; 142) assessment in relation to (A)’s perceived competence (line 12) i.e. the computer as a resource for situated, identity differentiation with a locus on skill as opposed to social features, such as age, gender etc. Moreover, the sequence concludes with a perfect example of mediated ambiguity (Sawchuk, 2003). The post-delay (line 13) response cry and affirmative declarative in a muted register from the pilot (line 14) either: 1) acknowledges a virtual event (line 13), or; 2) confirms (L)’s

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<sup>52</sup> Utterances occurring after the apparent completion of a sequence which do not launch a new sequence



evaluation (line 12). In the absence of a response from (*L*), there is no definitive means of knowing.

In sum, the episode illustrates another mediated assessment also driven from the positionally sub-ordinate, navigator-judge position i.e. prohibited access to the mouse. The interaction is founded on the effectuation of repair and a deontic authority differential between participants within the situated preference structure and a series of interactional features, including: silences, stressed references and a ‘face-threatening’ insult (Goffman, 1959). Similar to a previous episode (1), notions of an observer passively consuming knowledge relative to a dominant and knowing pilot/expert (Mitra, 2012) requires re-evaluation.

#### 4.2.1.4 ‘Its For Everyone’

Four participants have entered the *SOLE*. They separate into small groups around the two available computers. While this analysis is focused on the interaction at *Lap1*, general utterances from participants at *Lap2* can be heard and are noted where participant orientation is evident. Once again, the early exchanges appear to be dominated by issues of access privilege. In this case, (*H*) - a pre-adolescent girl - enters the space and assertively declares authority over *Lap2* (line 3).

(9)

3	H	↑oy (0.6) ese para mi	
3		“oy, that one is for me”	
4		(0.8)	
5	M	>y para nosotros<	((M→H))
5		“and for us”	

As we have already seen, these kinds of unmitigated announcements of ownership and authority are soon subjected to assessment by other participants. In this case, (*M*) - a preadolescent girl - is arriving in the space; hence the delay (line 4), to accompany (*H*) at the same computer and challenges this presumption (line 5). Although (*M*) corrects (*H*), she does so not in an aggravated form i.e. “no, it isn’t” but in a measured and mutual form of inclusion and equality, reminiscent of the social and interactional stereotype often associated with girls (Goodwin, 1991). The fact that (*H*) does not challenge (*M*) in the third position suggests alignment and no dispute arises. Indeed, (*H*)’s attention appears to have been sufficiently diverted by the computer such that even an acknowledgment/*SCT* is not forthcoming. Meanwhile, (*A*) locates himself at *Lap1* and appears to align himself with (*H*) by making a similar, possessive announcement/claim of his own.

(10)

6		(0.5)
7	A	y ya <u>cogi</u>
7		“and I’ve got this one”

This particular claim remains unratified and unchallenged until (*J*) - a preadolescent girl - approaches *Lap1* soon after with an initial, apparently affiliate gesture of politeness (*TCU1*). However, she rapidly seeks to impose herself by removing (*A*)’s hands from the *k/b*, in a potent, embodied gesture of authority and imminent appropriation of the pilot position (line 16).

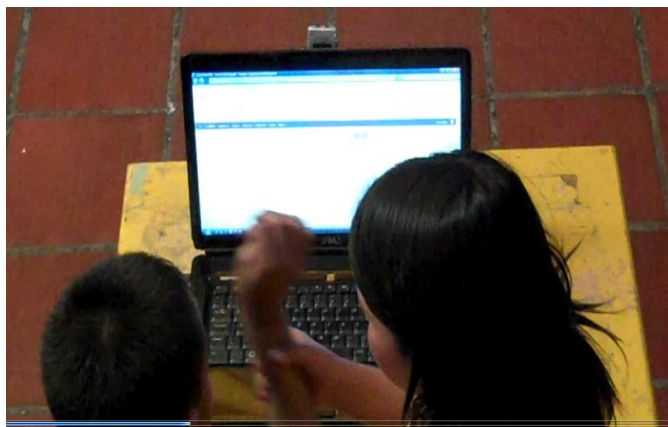


Image 9: 'los que supieran'

By suggesting that he is currently occupied (line 14), (A) attempts a muted resistance; downward intonation, of any imposed social reorganisation (line 14). Nonetheless, his plea is forcefully negated by the hijacker (line 16); aggravated polar preface (*TCU1*) and a seemingly rhetoric information request (*TCU 3, 4*) with body directed as the computer as opposed her compatriot. Moreover, the transition at the *k/b* is complete.

(11)

10 J permiso (.) la \*

10 "excuse me, la \*

11 (.)

12 A ·hhh

13 J ↑[heh] ((J→A's hands))

13 "heh"

14 A ↓[qui]ero jugar::

14 "I want to play"

15 (.)

16 J no (.) que? (0.7) <que a'ora (.) que?>= ((J ejects E))

16 "no, what now? what? "

In order to consecrate the hijack and presumably avoid a dispute, (*J*) then provides an account of her conduct and furthermore, an insight into the nature of evaluation/discrimination criteria associated with *CoP* membership.

(12)

17 J =<DIJO QUE LOS QUE SUPIERAN ESO>  
17 "HE SAID IT'S FOR THOSE THAT CAN UNDERSTAND IT"  
18 A yo se  
18 "I know"  
19 J ↑no (.) que? (0.8) quiero jugar (1.0) ↓·hh ((computer event))  
19 "no, what? I want to play". "·hh"  
20 (0.4) ((A exits))

According to (*J*), a degree of situated competence is required to accede to a position of control and in her view, (*A*) is presumed not reach this pre-requisite (line 17). Moreover, this requirement has been designated by another, presumably higher authority i.e. the facilitator. (*A*) acknowledges this account avoiding dispute take-up while suggesting that he not only consents to this feature of social categorisation but is sufficiently competent to claim membership in his own right (line 18). The point is however mute by this stage, as (*J*) has assumed the pilot role, directing her attention toward the computer without any further obligation i.e. negotiation of ownership, to engage. Despite the apparent weakness of the hijacking rhetoric i.e. the incumbent has not had the opportunity to demonstrate his competence, (*A*) relinquishes control without a fight and for the time being, retreats from the immediate vicinity of the *SOLE*. In the absence of negotiation, it would seem that situated deontic authority represents a unilateral imposition of rights based on pre-existing hierarchy which does not necessarily favour the male participants.

(13)

29 A vamo' jugar los dos? (1.5) si? ((A re-enters))  
29 "shall the two of us play?" "yes?"  
30 (1.8) ((A→J))  
31 A vamo' jugar los dos?  
31 "shall the two of us play?"  
32 (8.0)  
33 A friv (2.5) no (.) a lado (0.5) y colocoloca  
33 "friv, no, to the side, and you'll find it"  
34 (3.0)  
35 A no aquí=  
35 not here  
36 J =ya ((screen event))  
36 "ok!"

Despite the autocratic nature of the transition, the remaining exchanges suggest that (A), who by now has returned to the space, is at least attempting to achieve some level of engagement and cooperation; in distinct contrast to a previous episode (3). To begin with, he proposes a joint venture and a common objective (line 29). However, his reaching is received with notable absences (line 29, 30) suggesting a possible oppositional/dispreferred stance (Pomerantz, 1984) by his partner who is now otherwise engaged.



Image 10: 'vamo' jugar, los dos?'

Aware of a problem in the turn-taking sequence, (*A*) repeats his request (line 31) i.e. does not accept the pilot status as busy in the absence of an account. However, there is no change in the verbal or embodied outcome (line 32) while the incumbent's attention remains fixed on the computer screen. In ordinary conversation, this state of ignorance would almost certainly lead to a third phase, dispute take-up and an enquiry. However, in the presence of the mediating object, (*A*) simply adjusts his stance i.e. an interactional alternative (Schegloff, 2010), turns his full attention to the computer and offers assistance in the form of an assessment of pilot activity (line 33, 35); directive (*TCU1*), polar preface (*TCU2*) and a verbal *RI* (*TCU3*) relative to cursor position. Nonetheless, the fact that (*J*) appears to respond solely and immediately to a subsequent computer event; a stressed information receipt token (line 36), as opposed to her partner (line 33, 34), provides a strong indication of authority distribution and where the focus of her attention resides.

In sum, the initial participant interaction consolidates the notion of the computer as a limited and therefore, valued asset to the group members. Indeed, (*J*) hijacks the pilot position on the

basis of superior competence and with little overt resistance from the incumbent. (A) does not resist the hijack i.e. assume a victim's posture, and thereafter, changes stance and seeks to assist the incumbent pilot through constructive assessment of screen phenomena. Nonetheless, the absence of accountability from (J) reinforces a pre-existing differential in deontic authority between participants. The script would suggest that (A) has been relegated to the passive role of a passenger with respect to the pilot.

#### 4.2.2 'ENTRY' SUMMARY

Empirical evidence suggests that the *SOLE Entry* procedures are indexical and take the following, related forms: 1) claim sequences with reference to social organisation and more specifically, the allocation of the pilot position/role; 2) assessment sequences with reference to observable, computer content and associated pilot activity. In broad terms, micro-analysis suggests that interaction remains consistent with the core features of mundane conversation (Sacks et al, 1974) i.e. founded on verbal and/or embodied interactional practices of effectuated repair (Grieffenhagen & Watson, 2009), preference (Pomerantz, 1984) and deontic announcements (Stenvanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). In most cases, the absence of participant accountability as a possible consequence of computer presence is recognised as a trouble source within the interaction i.e. reaching. It is also apparent that *SOLE* discourse is highly abbreviated/elliptical, the principal features of mediated interaction including: imperative directives; polar prefaces; deictic references; response cries; supporting metanarrative and other embodied activity, all of which consolidate the notion that participant intersubjectivity references and incorporates on-screen activity as it unfolds in real-time.

With specific reference to the claim sequence, male interaction on *SOLE* entry is characterised by an aggravated dispute that includes: raised register and stressed prosody; negation, ritual insult and physical contact. Participants provide little in the way of a supporting rationale/explanation but instead, resort to a primordial test of strength relative to pre-existing structures of authority. In which case, the victim is either isolated i.e. a passenger, or seeks to acquire the authority of the facilitator in support of his ownership claims (Vuchinich, 1990). This interactional feature has non-trivial political implications for self-organisation in view of the prevalence and significance of dispute within the context of children's own social life, play and identity (Corsaro, 2005). Alternative entry procedures (7 & 8) suggest a less aggravated exchange and a possible age and gender differential that references silence and delay requests as harbingers of a potential trouble source.

With reference to the sequences of mediated assessment, micro-analysis indicates that a pilot's initial declaration and presumed authority establishes a context for criticism and opposition relative to ongoing screen activity (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2012). Moreover, subsequent insert sequences, initiated from the navigator-judge position in the form of high strength *RI*; both verbal and gestural, are singularly related to notions of situated skill/competence as opposed to alternative features of social presence i.e. age, gender, and represent an effectuation of repair (Grieffenhagen & Watson, 2009) consistent with a structure of pre-existing authority asymmetry between participants.

In sum, detailed analysis of the entry practices suggests that the computer is not simply a passive feature of context but is oriented to by participants themselves as an integral, limited



and valuable resource relative to its technological affordance (Nevile et al, 2014) most conspicuously; the single position of control at the *k/b*. Not only are the features of participant interaction nonsensical in the absence of a mediating factor but the pilot position is consistently treated as a privileged position/role and subject to varying and situated degrees of contention and authority i.e. a pre-existing awareness of the artefact and its access limitations. Indeed, the participants do not organise themselves with reference to notional and stable identities/roles (Mitra, 2006). Instead, a range of inclusive and by-extension, marginalised roles emerge with reference to the pilot function, including: navigator, judge, passenger, hijacker and even arbitrator (*ZI*) and also relative to ownership disputes, most conspicuously: asymmetrical SRP of categories offender and victim.

According to *SOLE* philosophy, the structured and potentially oppressive approach to education represented by a prescriptive agenda and teaching function has been eradicated from the learning context (Mitra, 2012). Instead, the nature of collaboration within this particular computer-mediated context is a reflection of pre-existing social relations and presumptions of authority (Rogoff, 2003) suggesting that the *SOLE* space has been politicised by the children themselves, relations that are potentially indicative of ongoing interaction, described as follows.

#### 4.2.3 'CHALLENGE'

A *SOLE* system imposes no constraints on movement and interaction within the learning environment (Mitra, 2006). Emergent configurations are therefore malleable and continuously subject to change as participants move and/or contest local positions and roles.

The variety of means by which challenges to the established social order are lodged and managed within this form of *CoP* are described below.

#### 4.2.3.1 'Me Here-You There'

At this moment, (*A*) occupies the pilot position and is interacting with the computer. Meanwhile, the attention of his partner, (*L*) has been momentarily distracted. She presumes there is another computer in the room, opening the interaction with a response cry and submitting a related proposal to her partner (line 29).

(14)

29 L ay (.) <dígale a la profe que tenga una computador que tiene>  
29 "ay, ask the teacher if you can use one of the other computers"ting  
30 (1.0)  
31 A el otro?  
31 "there's another?"  
32 (.)  
33 L si  
33 "yes"  
34 (0.7)  
35 L <si (.) uste' aca (.) yo alla>  
35 "so, you here, me there"  
36 (1.2)  
37 A acá yo? ((A→L))  
37 "me here"  
38 (0.3)  
39 L si ((L→A))  
40 "yes"  
41 (.)  
42 A no (.) uste' alla ((A→L))

42 "no, you there"

43 (.)

44 L no ((L→A))

44 "no"

45 A yo acá y uste' acá

45 "me here and you here"

46 (0.3)

47 L no (.) ¡miente ((L→A))

47 "no, liar"

48 (0.5)

49 L yo allá: y uste' acá

49 "me there and you here"

50 (0.3)

51 A <no (.) yo allá>

51 "no me there"

52 (0.7)

53 A ↑ah (.) mire (.) eso tiene beneficios [\* ]

53 "ah, look, that one has benefits-"

54 L ↑[ah::] (.) gane que

54 "ah, you win"

55 (0.3)

56 L mire (.) ya pasan los cincuenta minutos: ((L→A))

56 "look, already the fifty minutes are passing"

57 (0.3)

58 A <ese que> (1.5) bes::: (0.4) tania (0.8) abre nueva ventana

58 "whats that, amazing, open a new window"

59 (2.3)

60 L empieza navegacion privada

60 "start private navigation"

(A) seeks clarification and receives an affirmative acknowledgment. On the assumption of further hardware availability, (L) advances a change to the current social organisation with supporting hand gestures reinforcing notions of movement and spatial separation (line 35). The absence of a modal verb would suggest an announcement that presumes a degree of asymmetrical rights (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Moreover, there is no recognition of pilot contingency i.e. why is (A) obliged to relinquish his position? After a protracted delay during which (A) is moving the cursor, he suspends computer interaction (line 36), turns to his attention directly to his partner and again seeks confirmation, also with supporting metanarrative reflecting positional change (line 37). Confirmation (line 39) triggers a dispute in the form of a *'return and exchange' sequence*<sup>53</sup> (Pomerantz, 1975, 26). In this case, reciprocal interaction is characterised by the negation; an aggravated polar preface, and contrasting rejoinder; deixis accompanied by the stressed prosody. Note also, how the time gap between utterances reduces markedly now that the participants are engaged in face-to-face (F2F) interaction (line 37-45).

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<sup>53</sup> Schegloff (2007) refers to this form as a *'counter' sequence* (*op. cit*; 16); a reciprocal form in which a move equivalent to the one being opposed is returned



Image 11: 'acá yo?'

The continuation of the reciprocal exchange is markedly effected by an alternative, pejorative assessment of the pilot's stance suggesting that (*L*) has adopted the position of a victim in relation to her partners offender (line 47). This brings about a pause in interaction (line 48). Whilst considering a rejoinder, (*A*)'s gaze visibly shifts between his partner and the computer. Judging by his body position and open mouth, (*A*) is about to respond when the reciprocal sequence is reinitiated in an act of self-selection (Sacks et al, 1974) by (*L*). However, the pilots attention is now firmly fixed on the computer whilst his latest verbal rejection is differentiated by speed, prosody and body position (line 50, 51) i.e. the co-ordination of multi-activity through the adjustment of rhythm and pace (Haddington et al, 2014). (*L*) does not respond suggesting that this emphatic rejection has been interpreted as the final act in the exchange (line 52). Indeed, (*A*) then references a coincident computer event (line 53); receipt token (*TCU1*) and attention imperative (*TCU2*) in order to reinforce a definitive reorientation. (*L*) responds with a response cry suggesting that she has interpreted the pilots actions as a convenient 'decoy' device for changing the frame of reference i.e. a neutralisation of the challenge. Nonetheless, (*L*) deploys the same rhetorical device; an attention imperative of

her own (*TCUI*) whilst waving a watch in the periphery of the pilot vision, in an attempt to reframe the claim in temporal and moral terms that support her case; declarative and alternative referent (line 57). By now however, the pilot attention is fixed on the computer. He leans into the object, moves his left arm as if to create a tangible barrier and addresses the screen directly in an apparent attempt to isolate himself and block his partner. In the absence of an accountable partner it appears that (*L*)'s attention is also drawn toward computer functionality as opposed to positional organisation and the unresolved dispute.



Image 12: 'bestania'

In view of the instability surrounding rights to occupy the pilot position (8), (*L*) has quickly sought to reorganise the *SOLE*. The result is a dispute founded on a reciprocal exchange sequence<sup>54</sup> and negation as opposed to an accounting i.e. 'why should I move?' On this occasion, (*A*) resists the terms of the proposed reconfiguration, if not the grounds on which

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<sup>54</sup> Not identical exchange where the words are the same, but the social action is different i.e. who is referred to by the pronoun (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000)



7 D †a'orita (.) sigo yo  
7 "now, its my turn"  
8 (1.0) (A→k/b)  
9 A esper:ese (0.9) no ve que (.) estoy jugándoles?  
9 "wait, oy, can't you see that I'm playing?"  
10 (9.0)

There is a hesitation and a pause for breath (*TCU4*) and in the absence of response, he reiterates and supplements the invitation to highlight the compelling nature of his actions i.e. cool. The repeated declaration continues to be supported by gaze and increased register as a means of mobilising a response (line 3). This second iteration has the intended effect, as a compatriot moves in the direction of *Lap1*. (*D*) arrives and appears to scan the screen for evidence of 'coolness', rather than acknowledge (*A*)'s assertion immediately (line 4). Now that the intended virtual location has been reached (line 5); response cry and deictic reference, the pilot (*A*) once again seeks partner affirmation. Note on this occasion, he changes the address form from the personal pronoun to an inclusive, plural possessive when engaging his new partner, seemingly accepting him into the club (Corsaro, 2005). Once again, the pilot through talk has contextualised the *SOLE* in terms of an assessment. The fact that (*D*) then wishes to take an immediate turn; a unmitigated announcement (*TCU2*) could be interpreted as a preferred response i.e. an acknowledgment that the screen content meets expectation (line 7). However, there is delay in the pilot response while he continues to engage the computer (line 8) i.e. a potential decoy. Moreover and without diverting attention from the screen, the pilot requests a delay of compliance (*TCU1*) before deploying a pointed - even ironic - form of 'mitigation' (Schegloff, 2007;64) in an apparent attempt to defer his partners claim and close the sequence (line 9). The absence of a response from his partner (line 10)



would suggest that the utterance has either been interpreted rhetorically as a non-negotiable rejection or, in view of the visible evidence, (*D*) is sufficiently convinced by the mitigation device, for the time being at least. In sum, the sequence perfectly illustrates the paradoxical and preadolescent need to both share and control (Corsaro, 2005).

(16)

25		(2.3)	((computer event))
26	A	<u>no</u> (.) mire	
26		"no, look"	
27	D	↑eh	
27		"eh"	
28		(.)	
29	A	me [toca otra] vez	
29		"its my turn again"	
30	D	>[ me <u>toca</u> ]<	
30		"eh, my turn"	
31		(.)	
32	D	me <u>to:ca</u> =	((D→A))
32		"my turn"	
33	A	=me toca [por]que yo g <u>ane</u>	
33		"its my turn because I won"	
34	D	↑[huh]	((D departs))
34		"huh"	

The end of this particular virtual activity is marked by (*A*); a stressed polar preface (*TCU1*) and a summons (*TCU2*). The response from his partner (*post-TCU1*); a response cry with an upward intonation, suggests that he also recognises a significant virtual event (line 27). Moreover, the fact that (*D*) then makes a claim indicates that he interpreted this event as a end of a game sequence, marking a change of roles (line 30). The subsequent *return &*

*exchange* sequence of declaratives; characterised by reciprocal utterances of increasing stress and overlaps, is indicative of another period of dispute characterised by deontic incongruence (lines 29, 30, 32, 33) as participants enter ambivalent space in-between activities.



Image 13: ‘me to:ca’

On this occasion, the offender, (*A*) attempts to account for his actions, close the sequence and retain control based on the objective logic of the game (line 33); note the focus/stress on the pertinent verb, ‘win’. On the other hand, the victim (*D*) registers his irritation with a response cry of frustration - in contrast to an acknowledgment - suggesting a potential deferral of the challenge sequence as opposed to a definitive closure (op. cit). In the absence of satisfactory closure of the dispute, (*D*) temporarily withdraws from the immediate vicinity of computer (line 34).

(17)

36	(2.4)		
37	D	>no quiere <u>compartir</u> <	((D→Z1)
37		“he doesn’t want to share”	
38	(1.9)		((A→k/b)

39 A no(.) pero(name) (.)ga:ne(1.2)entonces que `ago sí ga:[ne]?  
39 "no, but (Z1), I won". "what can I do if I won?" ((A→Z1))  
40 D [si]:ga(.) no?  
40 "but its my turn, no?"  
41 (0.4)  
42 A si [gane]:  
42 "if you win"  
43 D [pero] (.) sigo yo  
43 "but, its my turn"  
44 (0.6)  
45 A por e:so (.) <pero no me importa> (.) gane  
45 "true, but it doesn't matter, I won"  
46 (.)  
47 D no:  
48 A no (.) gane=  
48 "no, I won"  
49 D =no importa  
49 "it doesn't matter"  
50 (0.3)  
51 A ↓gane  
51 "I won"

Rather than accept a marginalised position, (*D*) then looks to co-opt the facilitator (*Z1*) as a means of acquiring privileged access (line 37). From his relative subordinate position, (*D*) uses his presumed club membership and an inclusive declarative - to share - as a device for highlighting and exemplifying the pilot's moral conduct within the exchange (Hester & Hester, 2012). Recognising this escalation, (*A*) first completes a computer function (line 38) before re-orientating himself toward (*Z1*) to address the issue directly (line 39) i.e. an interruption of the activity (Haddington et al, 2014). Initially, (*A*) rejects the accusation; polar

preface and contractive conjunction supported by a dismissive hand gesture (*TCU1-2*). He then recycles the gaming logic in support of his case.



**Image 14: 'pero, gane'**

In effect, the pilot's account requires that he follow a prescriptive set of activity rules and is therefore unable to relinquish his position irrespective of personal preference or rights. (*D*) ignores this reasoning and sustains his claim in an act of negation (line 40). Indeed, he does not even await a complete response; overlap (line 43), before recycling his position; an announcement that ignores notions of gaming-logic contingency (*TCU2*). (*A*) even aligns with his partner at this point by seemingly recognising the legitimacy of the claim (line 45). Nonetheless, this is immediately countered; contrastive connector and abruptly dismissed.

Within the context of an assessment, the victim, (*D*) lodges a claim. A dispute in the form of a return and exchange sequence ensues in which the offender, (*A*) sustains a gaming logic. Meanwhile, (*D*) resists with an alternative, moral equivalent (line 42-51) i.e. disparate logics and notionally irreconcilable positions. The interaction is characterised by reciprocal

announcements and negations, deontic incongruence and progressive upgrades including reference to the facilitator. In the absence of a negotiated resolution and a tangible closing sequence, it would seem that (*D*) is simply required to relinquish his claim through a process of attrition.

#### 4.2.3.3 'Upgrade'

In this sequence, (*B*) is in the pilot position (line 1) and marks a seemingly, anticipated screen event; affirmative declaratives (*TCU1*, 2). In the absence of response mobilisers, any presumption of inclusion by his partners at this point is immediately deferred by an adjusted delay of compliance request i.e. a gap between utterances (*TCU3-4*) and the marked change in register as pilot's focuses his attention on the computer.

(18)

1     B     si (.) ↑ya (.) `spere (0.8) °un poquito°  
1           "ok, now, wait a moment"  
2           (0.5)  
3     F     PARA QUE?  
3           "FOR WHAT?"  
4           (0.6)  
5     E     >me falta yo<  
5           "I've not had my turn"  
6           (0.5)  
7     F     no:: (.) después de (name) (.) sigo yo::  
7           "no, after (B), its me"  
8     E     si? (0.9) ↓os::  
8           "really, oss"  
9     B     ah:: (.) <sigo yo (.) sigo yo (.) ya (.) ya>  
9           "ah, I'm next, I'm next, ok, ok"

10 (.)  
11 F ↓ay:: (0.7) le digo al (name)  
11 "ay, I'm telling (Z1)"

Rather than conform to the pilots directive however, (*F*) launches an assertive request for information; a stressed interrogative, suggesting participant orientation toward a ‘pre-rejection’ (line 3). The pilot however maintains his focus and seemingly ignores his partner (line 4). The fact that he is left unaccountable for the notable absence i.e. an explanation, and no dispute ensues suggests not only a potential asymmetry in relations of deontic authority but that the pilots ongoing and embodied actions at the computer negates any such obligation.

Within this ambivalent space another participant (*E*), submits a claim of his own which, subject to a delay while (*F*) reorientates his gaze/attention (line 6) is rejected and countered; polar preface followed by a reciprocal announcement indicative of a presumed, situated hierarchical order (line 7). Indeed, (*E*) requests clarification (line 8) and although the interaction is somewhat vague at this point i.e. no clear verbal or embodied response to the request is identified, his subordinate position within the situated hierarchy appears to be confirmed by the subsequent response cry (*TCU2*) and associated prosody indicative of disappointment i.e. acknowledgment of a dispreferred.

While still engaging in the current virtual activity, the incumbent pilot, (*B*) re-enters to the prevailing and presumably, unresolved claims context. Within the frame of a return & exchange sequence, a stressed receipt token (*TCU1*) appears to challenge (*F*)’s presumption (line 7) through a reassertion of pilot privilege (line 9). In contrast to the previous episodes,

there is no reference to ‘logic’ or ‘skill’ in support of individual claims i.e. announcements based strictly on presumptions of hierarchy (line 9). (*F*) acknowledges this counter (line 11) with a response cry (*TCUI*). However, the declining prosody and elongation suggests ambivalence that is potentially expansion-relevant. Indeed, he has not finished and issues a threat to upgrade, seeking to co-opt the support of the facilitator as a means of gaining access to the privileged position (line 11).

(19)

12 (1.0) ((E→k/b))

13 E [digo]-

13 "I said"

14 B [como] así (.) si sigue este? (.)°que fastidio°(.) después quiere?"

14 "what if, you follow this one? damn, do you want to go after?"

15 (0.9) ((B→E))

16 F no (.) >yo quiero de primeras<

16 "no, I want be amongst the first"

17 (.)

18 E no

18 "no"

19 (0.9)

20 F ↓bueno (.) le voy a [decir]-

20 "ok, I'm going to tell"

21 E [digo y]o (.) digo yo (.) [digo] yo

21 "I'll tell, I'll tell, I'll tell"

22 F ah(.) [buen]o

22 "thats ok"

23 (.)

24 F por eso (.) le digo a(name)

24 "thats why, I'm going to tell (Z1)"

25 (9.2)

In the absence of a transparent, group-sanctioned system of selection, there is a distinct probability that related claims will be persistently and even aggressively challenged by dissatisfied/marginalised members of the group. Within this context then, an assertive gesture by (*E*); hands on the *k/b*, suggests an embodied and unwarranted incursion (line 12). This interference appears to prompt the pilot, (*B*) to anticipate a direct challenge; overlap, and propose; a conditional form (*TCU1*), a reorganisation of access rights (line 14) and an arbitrary proposal that reverses the previous order; placing (*E*) before (*F*). Notably, pilot attention appears to be divided as he verbally switches between ongoing computer activity and the co-participants; a pejorative in a muted register directed at the screen (*TCU3*) and a subsequent interrogative response mobiliser (*TCU4*). Within the context of multi-activity, the pilot appears to treat the interaction and more specifically, the screen diversion like an absence within the preference structure. Indeed, the ensuing delay (line 15) suggests that the co-participants, (*E*) and/or (*F*) may be having some difficulty processing the proposal (Sawchuk, 2003). It is the supplementary embodied/glance mobiliser (Stivers & Rossano, 2010) toward (*E*) then, that provides clarification and prompts (*F*) into an immediate unmitigated, expansion-relevant rejection (line 16) which is in turn, rejected by the presumed beneficiary, (*E*). In this instance of a dispute, the affordances of the computer may not be sufficient to sustain coherent communication i.e. without breakdown, and a supporting gesture/glance is required to rectify the problem of mediated accountability.

At this point, (*F*) appears to accept his subordinate position in the dispute (line 20), apparently closing the sequence with an acknowledgment; an affirmative assessment, but marked by an ambivalent, inverted prosody (*TCU1*). Indeed, the associated declarative is in reality, a



marker for a change of ‘stance’ but before he can complete the associated proposition, (*E*) again (line 13) seeks to anticipate and co-opt the social action (line 21); overlapping, repeated imperative (Goodwin, 1991) as a device for emphasising deontic rights. In response to the interruption i.e. ‘I can neither gain access to the activity nor even express my righteous grievance’, (*F*) delivers an ironic assessment, followed by a self-initiated repair, that seeks to justify and settle the dispute sequence by co-opting third party facilitator support (line 22).



**Image 15: ‘yo quiero de primeras’**

Despite being the youngest member of the group, this attempted closure suggests that it is (*F*) who recognises the prevailing and presumably, irreconcilable positions that represent deontic incongruence between participants and thereafter, deems it justification; conjunction of causal dependency (*TCUI*), for reasserting his previously interrupted threat of co-option (line 24). Rather than carrying-out this threat however, his attention, as well as that of his principle adversary, (*E*) is diverted by passing events on the screen, with no change in social organisation (line 25).

(20)

26 F este(.) le dijo (name)(.)se-(.) que (.) que la primeras de ese juego  
26 "I said this to (Z1), \*, that I'm amongst the first for to play"  
27 (0.5)  
28 A a'ora(.)si le toca (name)(0.4)luego a mi (.) luego uste' (0.4)cierto?  
28 "now, its (E)'s turn, later its me, then its you, ok?"  
29 B <cierto (.) han \* (.) ¡no>  
29 "for sure, they have \*, no"  
30 (1.9)

The issue of access privilege then remains unresolved and (*F*) duly reignites it (line 26) i.e. silence as place-saver in mediated interaction (line 25). On this occasion however, he subtly modifies and strengthens the nature of the upgrade, announcing a pre-existing agreement of order with the facilitator (line 24). Rather than align/engage with the claim directly, it is a different, privileged participant, (*A*) who suspends his attention from the computer activity (line 27) and proposes a subjective ranking that reconsiders the respective claims of the group; (*F*)'s claim is relegated to last place. (*A*)'s presumption of gatekeeper appears to be ratified (line 27) by (*B*) and left unchallenged by either (*E*) or (*F*) i.e. at this time, the group seems to accept the proxy, deontic authority of (*A*).

In the absence of a cogent system of selection, access to the pilot position is continually susceptible to challenge. The resulting procedure is in effect, an extended claim sequence characterised by a reciprocal series of announcements and negations within the context of a dispute relative to access rights. In this case, it is the youngest participant, (*F*) who appears to recognise an absence of credible accountability and irreconcilable deontic incongruence. Instead, he threatens an upgrade and a co-option of the facilitator. This threat however is seemingly suspended while attention is diverted to ongoing screen events. In due course, the

victim, (*F*) reignites the threat, prompting (*A*); in the role of gatekeeper, to offer his own version of access rights, one that appears to be validated by the pilot and unchallenged by the remainder of the group. In the absence of supporting rationales, it would appear that this form of claiming is strictly dependent on the distribution of deontic authority within a pre-existing hierarchy (Rogoff, 2003). In effect, the computer is as much a convenient medium through which participants can negotiate issues of identity as it is a locus of play. Nonetheless, this episode further illustrates the political significance of a facilitator in this process irrespective of any non-interventionist aspirations of *MIE* (Mitra, 2006).

#### 4.2.3.4 'Leave it'

At the opening of the episode, (*A*) and (*B*) are the incumbents at the computer which is marginally orientated toward the older adolescent, (*B*) who is controlling the cursor. (*E*) is also present at this time, though he standing to one side of the *SOLE*.

(21)

1	A	colóqueles es:tos (2.7) no (.) <u>esta</u> (0.8) <u>mire</u>	((A→pad))
1		"find those". "no, this one, look"	
2		(1.9)	
3	A	<u>ya</u> (.) < <u>rápido</u> (.) <u>rápido</u> > (1.2) oy: (.) >que rico (.) que <u>ri:co</u> <	
3		"now, quickly, quickly". "oy, great, great"	
4		(0.6)	

(*A*) marks a virtual update with an instruction and points to screen (*TCU1*). Apparently dissatisfied with the pilots observable, virtual response, (*A*) then issues a high strength *RI* in the form of negative assessment; polar preface (*TCU2*), a further summons; deictic reference

(TCU3). Meanwhile and irrespective of his partners presence, he attempts to effectuate the repair with a direct intervention at the pad (TCU2).



Image 16: ‘colóqueles estos’

Pilot interaction is visibly and temporary suspended and the transition is marked by a glance to the pad while the assistant makes the necessary adjustment to cursor position. However, the pilot continues to monitor the screen and then reassumes control himself - marked by a glance from the assistant - without verbal confirmation. This short period of collaboration is unaffected by breakdown and there is no dispute at this time. Instead, (A) marks a significant screen event (Line 3); stressed temporal declarative (TCU1) followed by a pair of directives. The pilot, (B) makes decisive right-to-left movements at the pad and (A) delivers an affirmative assessment of operations, including descriptors that animate the activity as it unfolds on the screen (line 3).

(22)

5 E ↓[oy:: (.) >(déjame) ha[cer::]lo< ((E→B))  
5 "oy, let me to do it"

6 A °[\* ]°  
6 " \* "  
7 B [AY:::] (.) CALLASE (.) ↑SI (.) ↓BOBITO  
7 "OY, SHUT UP, OK, YOU IDIOT"  
8 (2.3)

This apparent harmony is momentarily challenged by (*E*) who turns from the screen, toward his co-partners and requests permission to get involved (line 5). Significantly, (*E*)’s delivery is in the stressed and elongated manner suggesting a complaint/whine of enduring frustration. At this time, the co-pilot (*A*) appears to be completely absorbed with computer events, narrating screen activity; overlap in hushed tones. In which case, its (*B*) who *suspends* virtual activity to handle (*E*)’s mistimed and inarticulate entry bid; rejecting him in a distinctly non-affiliate manner including overlap, insult i.e. as *MCD* of the marginalised, register change and gaze (line 7). The meaning is unequivocal, (*E*) does not contest this vigorous enforcement of authority and (*B*) returns his attention to the screen i.e. deontic congruence is sustained but (*E*) remains marginalised.

(23)

9 B ay si (.) desde ahí m[ismo] ((B moves cursor))  
9 "oh yes, from right there"  
10 A [(h)]::: (.) ↑esta (.) la camiseta ((A points))  
10 "this one, the T-shirt"  
11 (.)  
12 B <pere (.) pere (.) pere> (.) un poquito ((B glance))  
12 "wait, wait, wait, wait a little"  
13 (0.8)  
14 A bote eso  
14 "chuck that one away"

15 B °ay:°(.) pé::rese un poquito (.) mire (.)<es que no se puede rápido>  
15 "ay, wait a moment, look, its just that you can't do it quickly"  
16 (0.4)

17 B e'piche  
17 "hit it"  
18 (2.3) ((A→k/b))

19 B °ay:sh (.) 's:pere (.) <suelte un poquito> (.) suelte un poqui:to  
19 "aysh, wait, leave it a moment, leave it a moment" ((B→A))  
20 (2.0) ((A→k/b))

21 B ay (.) >que suelte un poquito:<  
21 "ay, leave it a moment"  
22 (1.4)

23 A °[um::]°  
23 "um"

24 B '[pere]  
24 "wait"  
25 (1.0) ((A→k/b))

26 A que dice (.) cójalo (.) cójalo  
26 "it says, get it, get it"  
27 (2.5) ((B controls the pad))

Though interactional collaboration is evident, the next sequence suggests that (A)'s assumption of a proactive assistant position and subsequent attempts to influence the direction of virtual travel through talk and cursor intervention have their limits. From the start, (B) adopts an assertive stance, marking a screen event with a description and moving the cursor accordingly (line 9) i.e. an embodied confirmation of the pilot role. The overlapping laughter from (A) at this point (*TCUI*) suggests his own positive assessment of current developments. Moreover, (A) looks to advance progress on the basis of an activity-

based instruction; a deictic reference and supporting metanarrative (line 10). He then moves straight to the pad with the intention of effecting this virtual and unilateral move i.e. a high strength *RI*. At this point, (*B*) shifts to a distinctly defensive stance, glancing at (*A*)'s position relative to the pad and before he can effect cursor position, makes assertive requests for a delay of compliance, indicative of a trouble source (line 12). The need for a repeated, rapid delivery may well reflect the significance of the directive within the context of a real-time computer activity. A schism is emerging, yet (*A*) does not retreat from the pad/cursor control and issues a further instruction (line 14). (*B*) responds with a further delay imperative and accounts for his stance on the basis of negative assessment (line 15) and (*A*) retreats (line 16). Within this context of increasing ambivalence, (*B*) starts the next sequence with his own activity-related imperative (line 17). It can only be presumed that this directive is rhetorical and directed at the computer for when (*A*) once again interacts with the cursor i.e. a state of deontic incongruence (line 18), (*B*) responds with exasperation consistent with a *breakdown*; framed by a response cry (*TCUI*) and an aggravated directive, asserting authority to demand that (*A*) stop interfering (line 19). His demands are not challenged directly i.e. with a request for an account, and the subsequent 'upgrade' (line 21) is supplemented by a physical nudge and an extended gaze by way of reinforcement.



**Image 17: 'que suelte un poquito'**

This stream of instructions is received with an ambiguous receipt token (line 23). Indeed, (*A*) cannot resist. He continues to interfere at the pad and seeks to justify/close the sequence in his favour with reference to computer commands (line 26). In a final and unambiguous gesture of authority, (*B*) simply seizes the cursor pad with both hands, obliging (*A*) to retreat (line 25).

In sum, the initial position of the participants is broadly collaborative as they each *suspend* their respective actions with the cursor to allow the other to complete virtual moves. However, (*A*)'s directives and persistent inference; in the form of *RI*'s, appear to threaten (*B*)'s position and presumed authority as the pilot. A dispute emerges in which participants assume rule-enforcer to offender *SRP*. (*B*)'s increasingly defensive stance is characterised by progressive verbal upgrades; stressed imperative and a negative assessment of (*A*)'s actions. In terms of affordances, it would seem that (*B*) is struggling to sustain continuity within an ambiguous context characterised by multiply users, one pad and an ongoing real-time activity. Having been marginalised, (*A*) attempts to sustain face and account for his



actions with a final, computer-mediated rationale. However, situated authority appears to belong to the pilot (*B*), who resorts to physical imposition as a means of clarifying access rights and re-asserting his privilege. Note, the intervention of (*E*) was managed far more clinically with no due regard for face i.e. a definitive hierarchy of access privilege is actively enforced.

#### 4.2.4 'CHALLENGE' SUMMARY

The aim of this section is to describe the means by which participants attempt to change the prevailing pattern of interaction and/or social organisation in the *SOLE*. Inevitably, this context of potential contestation/dispute is initiated and sustained - through talk and gesture - by the challenger whose subsequent *SRP* role is constructed as *victim* or *offender*. The first and second episodes in this series represent unresolved claim sequences. In the first, participant interaction is characterised by a reciprocal, *return & exchange sequence* (*Pomerantz, 1975;26*) of announcement and negation indicative of deontic incongruence. In this case, the pilot uses a computer based decoy device and body position as a means of *neutralising* a challenge and sustaining the social status quo. The reciprocal exchange is also a feature of the second example. Here, the pilot uses competing logic; that of the game against the moral equivalent of the challenger, in order to resist a counter-claim. In both cases, the challenger notes the deception and initiates post-expansion sequences in an attempt to either reframe the issue or to co-opt the support of the facilitator. This tactic of facilitator co-option is also employed in the third episode by a subordinate member of the group in the context of a reciprocal exchange. The challenge itself is suspended by on-screen activity and then dismissed by a super-ordinate member in his presumed role as a gatekeeper. In final episode,

a proactive assistant uses the assessment device as a means of interceding at the cursor. However, consistent ambiguity surrounding the pilot position leads to a series of challenges resisted by progressive upgrades; delay of compliance to overt physical rejection. In most cases, the exchange/dispute requires a temporary suspension of virtual activity and appears to represent little more than a primordial trial of strength with periodic references to situated skill and epistemic authority. Moreover, one or participants are invariably marginalised from the virtual interaction. Indeed, McConnell (1994) argues that collaborative learning very much depends on the group's willingness to work in this way: *'if the group does not address its own learning and come to some initial and over time, ongoing agreement about itself then it is likely to fragment and the members will essentially end up learning in isolation'* (op. cit, 1994; 17).

#### 4.2.5 'SEARCH'

In view of the vast amount of information on the internet, a fundamental quality of interaction between participants is the ability to negotiate the 'search' process; 'what to look for' and 'how to find it' (Mitra, 2012).

##### 4.2.5.1 'Google'

A *'retro-sequence'*<sup>55</sup> (Schegloff, 2007; 217) is triggered by an on-screen computer event in the form a request for information relative to a recent pilot action and marked from the judge

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<sup>55</sup> Sequences that act retrospectively



reference suggested a common, situated resource used in a verb-like, imperative manner (line 5, 8) that urges (*L*) in a particular direction i.e. a navigator function.



Image 18: 'goo:gule'

The repeat of the directive supported by gesture; a combined *RI (TCU2)*, appears indicative of (*A*)'s impatience to which (*L*), the pilot responds with a delay of compliance imperative whilst engaging the computer. Having observed the pilot's movements (line 7) this assessment process is then repeated. Note, (*A*) employs an exaggerated, idiomatic form in order to increase emphasis on the directive (line 8) i.e. a tacit, negative assessment of interaction, to which the pilot resists in kind, with a further increasingly stressed, delay of compliance (line 9). These persistent and reciprocated upgrades point to relations of deontic incongruence and a struggle to assert authority whilst avoiding 'take-up' and an open dispute within the context of a multi-activity of play and social organisation. This division is reflected in (*A*)'s ultimate and pointed declaration suggesting that within the current context, he views

the pilot's function as no more than an extension his own role i.e. that of 'navigator-judge'

(line 11).

(25)

16 (1.0)

17 A <'spere (.) yo escribo> ((A→k/b))

17 "wait, I'll do the writing"

18 (5.8)

19 A °'spere°

19 "wait"

20 (4.0)

21 A palito (.) el palito (.) donde esta?

21 "cursor. the cursor, where is it?"

22 (0.6)

23 L tut

23 "tut"

24 (2.2) ((L→k/b))

25 A no: (.) no ahi:: (.) no:

25 "no, not there, no"

26 (0.9)

27 A borra (.) borra

27 "erase, erase"

28 (.)

28 L †perese=

28 "wait!"

29 A =este (1.3) mire (.) googule ((A points))

29 "here". "look, google"

30 (1.6)

31 A ·hhh

31 "·hhh"

32 (3.8)



of ‘latching’ (Sacks et al, 1974) in this sequence is deceptive as it in fact, coincides neatly with an anticipated screen event, marked by (A) as the navigator-judge; stressed deictic reference, attention imperative and referent (line 29). The navigator assesses the pilots virtual movement with an ambivalent exhalation (line 31) before terminating with a final *RI* (line 33). The apparent failure of the pilot to meet expectations is received with a gestural pejorative; hand to the head, suggesting a negative assessment. Indeed, (L) offers a pre-existing explanation/rational to her partner (line 11) but there is once again, sufficient cause for (A) to once again, intercede of the *k/b* (line 35).



**Image 19: ‘pero, no hay opcion’**

The interaction here suggests a veneer of collaboration, in the form of repair effectuation to complete the search function. On closer inspection however, the interactional context is defined by a series of negative assessments characterised by repeated *RI*'s, delay requests and pejoratives in relation to pilot action. Indeed, the transition at the pilot position is not performed or negotiated with mutual consent so much as physical imposed at the *k/b* i.e. a

dispute between *SRP* relations of rule-enforcer and offender according to the logic of the activity.

#### 4.2.5.2 'Bait & Switch'

At the commencement of this instance, (*A*) and (*E*) are incumbents at the computer. In the initial period of interaction (line 1-3), the participants appear to be waiting for a loading procedure to complete in which case, the pilot, (*A*) can suspend computer activity and attend directly to his partner.

(26)

1 A esta cargando (.) de mi la- (0.3) de mi- (.) chocalase  
1 "its loading, from my the, from my, high five" ((hands clap))  
2 (7.9) ((A→k/b))  
3 A `aga asi (.) ↑mire  
3 "you do it like this, look"  
4 (1.2)  
5 E (h)  
6 A ·hhh (0.8) °↑oy (.) no sirve (.) ↑ay ↓ya°  
6 "hhh, oy, it doesn't work, right now"  
7 (1.8)  
8 A <si?(.) ya(.) si (.) es mejor?> (0.9) en internet (0.8) mas que este  
8 "yes, now, its better? on the internet, better than this one"  
9 E [(h)]  
10 A [mas] que este (0.3) <mas que'ste (.) mas que'ste> (1.0) °(h)°  
10 "better than this one, better than this one, better than this (h)"  
11 (1.6)



While (A) may not be able to fully verbalise the nature of virtual activity at this point (*TCU 1-2*) i.e. incomplete (*K+*) declarative (*TCU2, 3*), the embodied and reciprocated ‘high-five’ suggests an mutual acknowledgment and agreement with ongoing events. This presumption of (*K+*) authority is embedded within the subsequent confirmation (line 3) and seemingly ratified with a positive response from his partner (line 5). The computer then delivers an unanticipated response (line 6) marked by (A); a receipt token (*TCU2*), and a negative assessment (*TCU3*). This event is received with no clarification of the trouble source from the pilot and a noticeable decline of register suggesting a certain marginalisation of his partner from ongoing events. Indeed, (A) is not held accountable for the failure. Instead, the pilot marks the event with temporal-based declarative (*TCU4*), concluding the sequence without prompting a challenge - see previous (25). (A) then reassesses the situation and proposes an improved location; a self-initiated repair, again delivered in a humorous/idiosyncratic manner; repeated comparatives (line 8, 10), presumably to retain the support of his partner during this period of instability. As the pilot, (A) is focused on his interaction but appears through switching, to be providing a running a commentary/translation of events for the benefit of his partner who consistently responds with reciprocal laughter (line 5, 9) as an indication of positive feedback i.e. sharing and control (Corsaro, 2005).

(27)

12	E	llegó
12		"it's here"
13		(0.8)
14	A	°no° (1.0) `spere (0.3) °*°
14		"no, be patient"
15		(5.7)

16 A °mientras tanto (0.5) vamos a colocar (1.2) una cosa (.) si?°  
 16 "meanwhile, we can go and find, something, yes?  
 17 (0.8)  
 18 E ↓oy (.) [pero]  
 18 "oy, but"  
 19 A °[mire] (.) face° ((Facebook))  
 19 "look, 'face' "  
 20 (0.3)  
 21 E ↓no:: (.) es que a[mor- ]  
 21 "no, its just that"  
 22 A °[es que] (face) (.) mire (.) me interesa°  
 22 "it just the face, look, it interests me"  
 23 (0.7)  
 24 A ↑ay (.) ya (0.4) comenzó  
 24 "ay, it's started"

On the basis of tacit objectives, the screen activity once again becomes a field of assessment. Indeed, (*E*) marks unfolding screen events with a declaration/noticing in anticipation of an imminent start to the activity (line 12). However, there is a pause suggesting a potential trouble source (line 13) before the pilot responds to a computer event with a *negation*; a polar preface, and an outcome; delay of compliance, directed at his partner (line 14). Moreover, note the conspicuous change in framing from the overtly humorous and inclusive form to an ambiguous whisper once again, suggesting marginalisation. Nonetheless, (*E*) does not hold the pilot accountable at this point, recognising that a dispute opposition is contingent on computer-based phenomena i.e. it is the activity itself that sustains interactional coherence (Sawchuk, 2003). It then becomes apparent that the pilot does have an ulterior motive marked by a declaration and a mobilising tag, and referencing an alternative preference, one running

‘in-parallel’ with the search activity (line 16). In which case, (*E*) perceives a violation and issues the objection; stressed response cry and contrastive conjunctive (line 18). This response is immediately understood by the pilot as the fore-runner to a dispute in which case he provides an account i.e. searching for ‘face/Facebook®’. This is not acceptable to (*E*) who marks the *third* as a dispute ‘take-up’ point; polar preface and a curtailed reaction (line 21). Again (line 22), the pilot readily understands the significance of his partners position; the overlap, and attempts a clarification, though one based on personal self-interest. Note, Facebook is unexplained and is therefore presumed to be a common computer-related resource and *MCD*. However, this presumption of deontic privilege and any further confrontation/upgrade is conveniently diverted by an anticipated screen event (line 24).

(28)

26 E     ↑ay (.) ya (.) motos  
 26           “ay, now, motorbikes”  
 27           (1.2)  
 28 A     °mire (.) tengo que seguir (.) siguiente°  
 28           “look, I have to continue, I’m next”  
 29           (1.2)  
 30 E     (NAME) (.) VEA (.) Y- (.) YA (.) YA PASÓ (TANTO) TIEMPO Y (.) YO-  
 30           “(Z1), LOOK, SO MUCH TIME HAS PASSED, AND, ME?”  
 31           (0.6)  
 32 A     por eso(.) (name) (.) e-(0.5)es que(.)el no se’a coloca un juego bien=  
 32           “indeed,(Z1),it, it’s just, he doesn’t know how to find a good game”  
 33 E     =<pero (.) es que (.) ya uste’ (.) ya no puse (.) no>  
 33           “but, its just that, its you, I still haven’t played, no”  
 34           (.)  
 35 E     <y no en esta juego (.) para jugar>  
 35           “and not in this game”

The successor sequence starts once again, with (*E*) positively marking a virtual event; response cry, stressed declarative and referent (line 26). Naturally, he appears to anticipate the imminent start of an activity (line 12) yet the pilot continues to prevaricate, denying his partner access without justification. Rather than acknowledge (*E*), he simply re-asserts access privilege (line 28). Again, notice the continuing change register suggesting a certain subterfuge. Indeed, having taken the time to comprehend the situation i.e. the absence of a adjacent-pair acknowledgment (line 29), (*E*) reacts with a strong and unequivocal sense of injustice to his lack of participation (Goodwin, 1991). However, rather than seek pilot accountability on this occasion, he upgrades immediately in search of dominant third party intervention i.e. the facilitator (line 30). In turn, (*A*) seeks to neutralise the challenge/dispute and account for his actions by questioning his partners situated competence (line 32). (*E*) appears to ignore this reference to concentrate on notions of morality and justice (line 33, 35); ‘time is passing and he has yet to assume control’.

(29)

36 A mire (.) otra vez (.) tiene que cargar (0.6) todo manera (.) cierto?  
 36 "look, it has to load again, completely, ok?  
 37 (0.5)  
 38 A de que se cargó (.) con (0.5) ayer (.) tres veces (.) cierto?  
 38 "which it loaded, with, yesterday, three times, right?"  
 39 (0.5)  
 40 A cambiar (.) que yo (.) en (0.5) que (.) ese [sabe jugar]  
 40 "to change, I, in, which, that one you know how to play  
 41 E [mas (.) son] dos? (.) veces  
 41 "more than twice?  
 42 (0.4)  
 43 A de esa

43 "from that one"

44 (3.0)

In the face of an assertive challenge to his authority (line 33, 35), the pilot attempts to close the sequence with an apparent compromise. Once again, the computer is busy loading giving the pilot time to suspend computer interaction and deliver a further, post-expansion explanation of events supplemented tag mobilisers (line 36,38). In silence however, (*E*) does not respond consistent with the norms of the 'turn-taking' system suggesting a lack of understanding or possibly, trust in his compatriot (line 37, 39). (*A*) seemingly registers these absences and provides additional clarification (line 40). Paradoxically, this sequence appears to be marked by hesitancy - significant pauses and no discernable coherence. Irrespective of form, (*E*) indicates that he has managed to extract at least, some intelligible accounting (line 41). More significantly, (*E*) is now aligned to current events as opposed to the original challenge. In sum, it would appear that (*A*) wishes to access another application while the current activity is loading. (*E*) resists the move and upgrades. Under pressure, the pilot seeks to placate him and successfully terminates the sequence (line 43). Whilst (*E*)'s challenge has put a stop to the pilot's illicit deviation from the intended objective, (*A*) remains in control of the pilot position.

(30)

62 (2.7)

63 A mire (.) vea (.) colocar una juego que uste' desea (0.5) si?

63 "look, you see, I'll find a game that you want, ok?"

64 (2.3)

65 E °mire (.) cargó°

65 "look, it loaded"

66                   (.)  
67        A        ↑si:: (2.4) no mueva nada  
67                   "ok, dont move anything"

In the concluding sequence, (*A*) is continuing to issue collaborative gestures (line 63). Notably, his partner does not acknowledge immediately (line 64) i.e. dependent on assessment of screen phenomena. Indeed, (*E*) tentatively marks screen activity; attention imperative and declarative in a muted register (line 65). The pilot quickly aligns; affirmative declarative (*TCU1*), but then insists on re-imposing his presumed authority on the situation (line 67) via an unequivocal announcement (*TCU2*).

This episode illustrates the different modes of expression used by (*A*) in particular, to manage the paradoxical requirements of sharing and control in a computer-mediated context. Initially, (*A*) courts the support of his partner, (*E*). The pilot however has a different agenda marked by an ambiguous reference and a notable change of tone/register i.e. the 'bait & switch' manoeuvre. (*E*)'s initial challenge is accounted for in terms of deontic privilege and then intercepted by a diversionary event but once the disparity in agendas becomes apparent, (*E*) immediately deploys an upgrade. (*A*) responds to his partners resistance through neutralisation on the basis of a (*E*) competency to control virtual movement; a rational logic as opposed to the moral equivalent. The pilot then provides an explanation that suggests he is once again, operating in their mutual interest. Indeed, this manoeuvre appears to pacify the challenger and social order, within context of this situated search procedure is sustained.







strength' repair with combined *RI*'s; in the form of stressed imperatives (line 12) supported by vigorous gesture/metanarrative, relative to observed cursor position. In this case, the pilot effects the collaborative repair initiated by a navigator-judge (line 13).

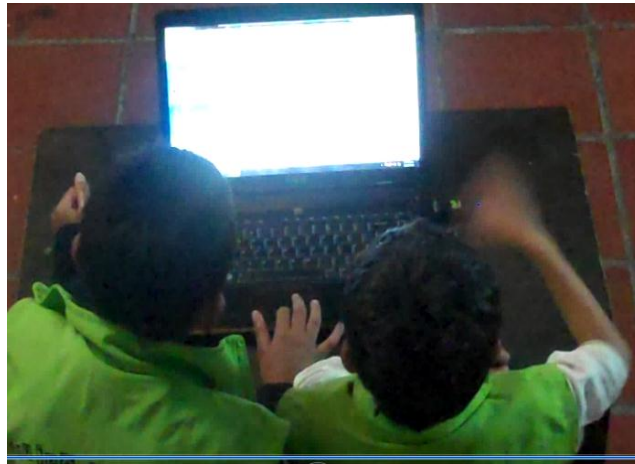


Image 20: 'subalo, bajalo'

This brief period of effectuation is in the form of an '*action list*' sequence (Schegloff; 2007); the same sequence type is repeated by the same speaker, to the same recipient, but about a different item. Note the normative division of labour at the cursor pad i.e. one participant has control at any one time. In which case, participants do not necessarily have equal access to the trouble source. By comparison to ordinary conversation, it is far from clear that the 'self-other' distinction pertains to this form of mediated, effectuated repair (Grieffenhagen & Watson, 2009).

(33)

21 D si (.) déjelo (.) que si=  
21 "yes, leave it, ok "  
22 A =°se \*°  
22 ""

23 (1.2) ((screen event))

24 A <oy (.) venga> (.) [co]loquemos-  
 24 "oy, lets go, we can look for"

25 D [eh]  
 25 "eh"

26 D no:::: (.) [déjelo ahí]  
 26 "no, leave it there!"

27 A [oy] [mire]  
 27 "oy, look"

28 (1.8)

29 D dejelo ahí  
 29 "leave it there"

30 (1.9)

31 D dejelo °ahí°  
 31 "leave it there!"

In a continuation, an affirmative response is supported by a directive confirming that the navigator-judge, (*D*) is satisfied with the current virtual location i.e. the repair is complete (line 21). His partner at the controls however appears intent on a further move; marked by the stressed response cry, in response to a subsequent computer event (line 24). This verbalisation replete with inclusive form denotes his enthusiasm for a change, balanced with an awareness of (*D*)'s presence i.e. negotiated participation. In view of the overlap, it would appear that (*D*) witnesses the pilot's computer action and anticipates his intention; stressed response cry (line 25) and attempts to intercept the move; polar preface (line 26) and *RI*'s characterised by a series of imperatives (line 26, 29, 30). Indeed, the exchange is broadly characterised by (*D*)'s negative assessment of (*A*)'s uncorroborated movement within the

search procedure. The fact that the directives require repetition raises questions about the degree of pilot accountability to his partner i.e. a differential in deontic authority.

(34)

32 (1.8)  
33 A vas-  
33 "you go"  
34 D >se salio< ((D turns to Z1))  
34 "its gone"  
35 (0.7)  
36 A en cu[al quiere]?  
36 "which do you want?"  
37 D >[en:::::::]< ((D points))  
37 "in"  
38 (.)  
39 D >[e:::se]<  
39 "that one"  
40 A [o: dep]or::(.) o  
40 "or sport, or"  
41 (0.3)  
42 D no::  
42 "no"  
43 A >lenguas y in (.) ([teriors])?<  
43 "languages and (interiors)?"  
44 D [no::::::] ((D spreads hands))  
44 "no"  
45 (0.5)  
46 D yo quiero leones  
46 "I want lions"

Any attempt by the pilot to explain the current status (line 33); 2nd person, singular verb, is truncated as the navigator-judge responds to ongoing events (line 34); a declarative, suggesting a complaint i.e. a lost opportunity, directed at the facilitator (*ZI*). The navigator is clearly cogniscent of his subordinate position and the pilot responds in a form (line 36); an interrogative, indicating that he nonetheless, remains orientated to his partner's presence. The notion of sharing remains a social obligation, but only one person can control the cursor. By this stage, (*D*) has reoriented to the screen and is already in the process of selection (line 37). In which case, the navigator is by now aware of situational, game requirements. Meanwhile, the overlap suggests that he is focused on computer interaction - over the human equivalent - and that deontic authority remains negotiable. Nonetheless, when (*D*) expresses an unequivocal preference; metanarrative (line 37) supported deictic reference (line 39), (*A*) is already in the process of juxtapositioning; conjunction of contrast (line 40), with an alternative option/category presumably consistent with his own agenda (line 40, 43) i.e. options constructed in terms of an action-list type sequence. (*D*) however dismisses these options; consecutive negative declaratives of increasing assertiveness (line 42, 44).

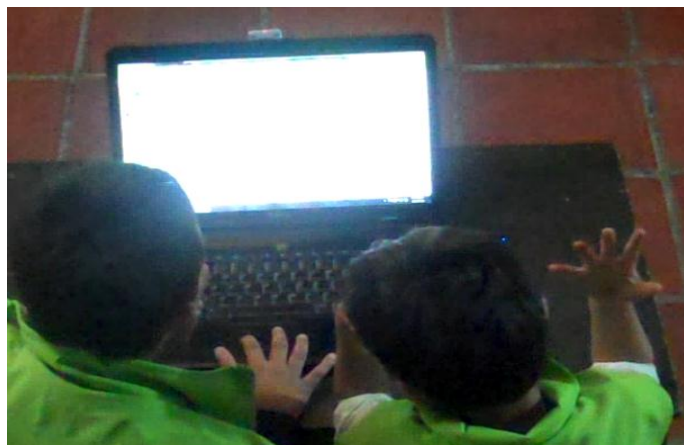


Image 21: 'lenguas y interiors?'



partner. It is in this context that (*D*) makes his first direct, categorical - as opposed to relative - reference i.e. lions, suggesting that through this process of negotiation, he may have `learned` the most appropriate form of *CoP* expression. Nonetheless, (*A*) continues to employ screen representations and interrogatives as a trigger for further expansion sequences (line 52). In effect, decoy devices designed to prolong the sequence, presumably consistent with his own preferences. (*D*)'s once again refuses but does not hold the pilot accountable for any deception. Instead, he continues to align with the game/references of the pilot, though his response is indicative of increasing frustration: hushed tones, elongated feedback (*TCUI*), a negative declarative and ironic, muted laughter.

In the absence of any recognisable accountability (line 55), it would appear that (*A*) is oblivious to the growing threat. Indeed, (*D*)'s subsequent move is a direct challenge to the pilots position (line 56); assertive request (*TCUI*) and reiteration/imperative (*TCU2*). (*A*) then seeks to circumvent the challenge with a dismissive sweeping hand gesture and a sardonic account suggesting cursor control is not the most significant aspect of the activity.



**Image 22:** 'es lo mismo'

Indeed rather than resist the account as the trigger for a dispute, (*D*) realigns to computer activity and once again issues relative directives to the pilot consistent with his enforced position of navigator-judge (line 60, 62).

(36)

66     A     me dice cual quiere leer?  
66             "tell me the one you want to read?"  
67     D     ya (.) ya  
67             "now, now"  
68             (1.7)  
69     A     el tiburón?  
69             "the shark?"  
70             (0.3)  
71     D     no  
71             "no"  
72             (0.9)  
73     D     bá[jelo] (.) bájelo (.) ya  
73             "down, down, ok!"

This mode of negotiated operation is repeated in the next, and subsequent sequences, as (*A*) controls the search procedure from the pilot position by framing the activity (line 66) and making action-list type proposals to his partner (line 69). Once again, these references lead to rejection (line 71) and further instructions from the navigator position (line 73).

In this search episode, the pilot (*A*) is notionally following the directions of his partner. Though progress is subject to constant negotiation and (re)orientation relative to real-time events, the consistent framing and reframing of the activity, through an action-list type sequence of reference appears to provide (*D*) with an appropriate tools of engagement i.e. the

use of specific pronouns as opposed to relative referencing as a competent member of the group. In view of minimal pilot accountability to his preferences, the apparent lack of agency eventually provokes the navigator-judge into a overt positional challenge which is summarily dismissed and left unaccounted. By the end of the episode, (*D*) is still attempting to direct the pilot to his preferred destination through recycling the same imperatives (line 12, 73). The fact that (*D*) is not allowed to act consistent with his understanding of the navigator-judge role, despite the deployment of appropriate forms of representation suggests that in this episode, the notion of collaboration is qualified.

#### 4.2.6 'SEARCH' SUMMARY

It could be argued that the preceding phases of 'entry' and 'challenge' are necessarily short and naturally contentious periods of social interaction; with a focus on individual claims, and therefore, broadly unrepresentative of the *SOLE* context. By contrast, the search activity is presumed to reflect more stable periods of participation where the broader issues of social organisation and identity have been resolved. The exemplars however suggest that whilst interaction may have the veneer of collaboration and deontic congruence, the search procedure is in fact, subject to regular contention and (re)-negotiation i.e. consistent with paradoxical requirements of sharing and control (Corsaro, 2005). In the first episode, interaction between the participants takes the form of stressed imperatives in the context of assessment. Each participant is given some time to demonstrate their situated competence at the *k/b*. However, each perceived failure invites a challenge and an uncontested, physically-imposed transition at the pilot position. In the second episode, an initial period collaborative searching - resembling a mini-tutorial - is compromised by a covert agenda. In the absence



of clarity, the pilot's diversionary tactics are challenged in an upgrade that seeks to co-opt the authority of the facilitator. In return, the pilot suspends his activity and seeks to neutralise the threat by questioning the situated competency of his partner to perform a search. In the final episode, the navigator-judge is attempting to direct the search activity through assessment and *RI* imperatives. However, it is the pilot who consistently frames, reframes and directs the activity in the form of propositions in an action-list type sequence where computer-initiated events appear to take priority. Though this behaviour appears evasive and manipulative on the surface, it seems to have provide a development frame for the navigator who over time, substitutes relative activity/screen references with absolute equivalents. Nonetheless in the continuing absence of authentic agency, the navigator launches a challenge, to which pilot responds with the presumed authority to *neutralise* the claim which is neither sustained nor upgraded and no social re-organisation is achieved.

In sum, the *SOLE* search procedure is characterised by continual assessment of virtual activity as a means of promoting individual agendas. This form of interaction suggests competition for access to a privileged pilot position as opposed to collaborative participation. Significantly, participant (*A*) who is present throughout, appears to fulfil the collective archetype of *a* character, representing an enthusiastic and humorous child who has '*a major impact on the social life of the group*' (*op cit*; 185) though their peers often cannot agree whether the effect is positive or negative.

## 4.2.7 'TUTORIAL'

The aim of this section is to illustrate and describe the periods of negotiated interaction that emerge once the participants have completed the search procedure and started to investigate the distinct features of a chosen destination/website in more detail. In view of Mitra's methodological focus on content, exemplified by a strategy of objective testing, it would seem that the tutorial procedures are at the heart of the *SOLE* concept and presumptions of learning.

### 4.2.7.1 'Which is It?'

At this point in time, (*G*) - a preadolescent boy - is notionally in the pilot position with the computer definitively oriented in his direction. However, it is his older partner, (*C*) - an older adolescent boy - who is controlling cursor movement from the pad i.e. potential for ambivalence. The chosen application - the computer-based encyclopedia, Encarta® - has updated and the incumbents are presented with a range of icons.

(37)

```
1      G      ↑uhm[:::]
1          "uhm"
2      C      °[con] e:ste°
2          "with this one"
3          (0.7)
4      G      `spere
4          "wait"
5          (.)                                ((G points))
6      G      [este]
6          "this one"
7      C      [este]
```

7 "this one"  
8 (.) ((cursor shift))  
9 G no:: (.) en (.) [no] (.) [no] (.) e:se  
9 "no, in, no, no, that one"  
10 C >si [en] es[te]< ((G points))  
10 "yes, in this one"  
11 (1.5)

(G) marks the beginning of an update (line 1); with a muted response cry and a concomitant request for a delay indicative of consideration (line 4). Meanwhile, (C) makes an announcement of verbal intent; declarative including a deictic reference, suggesting an understanding the activity (line 2). As the update continues, (G) points to a specific, unhighlighted icon and references it consistent with his own activity preference; a stressed deictic (line 6). Coincidentally, (C) responds with an unknown referent (line 7). The update is complete (line 9), an icon is highlighted and (D) challenges the referent; a negative declarative (TCUI).

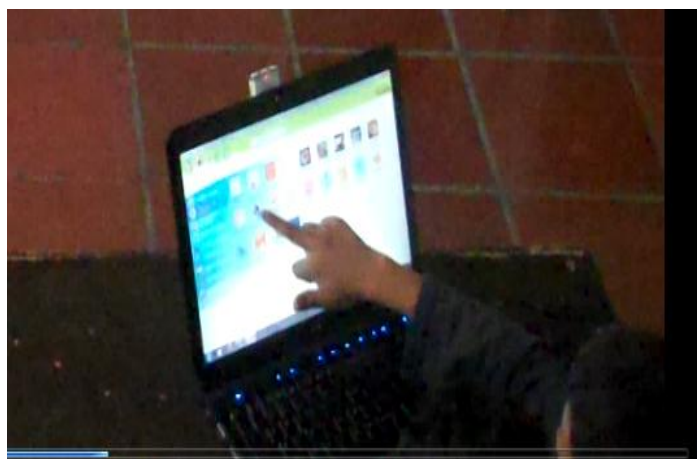


Image 23: 'este'

The notional pilot, (C) begins to move the cursor. From this point, his partner attempts to mark its trajectory with metanarrative and a series of negative declaratives, as successive screen icons are passed-over (line 9). (C) returns to his partners original choice (line 10), makes the selection and (D) aligns (TCU4). In effect, (C) is undertaking an effectuated repair consistent with his partners original selection.

(38)

12 G (ahi)  
12 "there"  
13 (1.9)  
14 G a:hi (.) [que]?-  
14 "what's that?"  
15 C [OSH]::: ((screen event))  
16 (2.0)  
17 G que tengo `acer?  
17 "what do I have to do?"  
18 (2.6)  
19 C e::se ((C selects and drags icon))  
19 "that one"  
20 (9.8)

Once the choice is made, the screen begins updating. However, (G) appears to question the relevance of the latest representation i.e. a request for information that '*addresses matters within the recipients epistemic domain*' (Heritage, 2012; 11) and thereafter, invite confirmation (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). In which case, (G) has adopted a (K-) stance relative to his partner (line 14). The pilot is automatically accountable. However, any potential explanation is coincident with the completion of the update marked by (C); an overlapping, stressed response cry (line 15). There is a pause (line 16) before the observer makes a further

request for information i.e. a self-initiated repair, in response to the interruption (line 17). The interrogative is unsupported by any visible response mobilisers and once again, the request appears to go unacknowledged while the pilot considers by the latest virtual options (line 18). (C) then closes the sequence; a deictic, with reference to the next activity move (line 19). In sum, (G) has initiated a series of queries relative to computer events. The pilot does not acknowledge/respond to his partner but neither is he held accountable, relative to the preference structure as he is visibly diverted or occupied with these events. Participant interaction and the notion of mutual and timely accountability normally associated with natural conversation is evidently modified as a result of the computer i.e. a field of ambiguity resulting from the multi-dimensional quality of mediated interaction. This interaction suggests the pilot is pre-occupied with his own understanding of the activity and currently unwilling to engage the observer directly in multi-activity i.e. play and tuition. Moreover, (G)'s evident uncertainty (37) and subsequent questions increasingly frame him in the role of novice in relation to (C)'s expert.

(39)

21	G	↑ah:: (.) pega fotos?	
21		"ah, you select photos?"	
22		(0.4)	
23	C	si	
23		"yes"	
24		(.)	
25	G	↑ <u>ah</u> (.) tengo-	((G→k/b))
25		"ah, I have"	
26	C	↑ <u>ah</u> (.) pero a:hi (.) si (.) mire	((C→k/b))
26		"ah, but there, yes, look"	
27		(7.4)	

In the next sequence, (*C*) completes a successful ‘drag and drop’ activity manoeuvre with supporting audio from the computer, to which (*G*) responds not simply with a positive response cry (*TCU1*), but with a further (*K-*) stance seeking confirmation (line 21). On this occasion, the pilot responds in the ‘type-specific’ affirmative<sup>57</sup> (line 23). Once again, (*G*) appears to align (‘ah’) representing a potential shift in affective state akin to a change of state token (Aijmer & Henry, 1985). Moreover, there is a definitive move to the *k/b* quickly supported by a declarative (*TCU2*) suggesting that he now has an idea of ‘what to do’ and wishes to test his hypothesis (line 25). However, his movement is intercepted by the pilot coincident with a screen event; an overlap and an abrupt termination of a proposition. (*C*)’s response includes a reciprocal response cry, a screen reference; a deictic (*TCU2*), and ends with a summons (*TCU3*) together with a coincident movement to the *k/b* (line 26). It would therefore appear that (*G*)’s attempt at understanding has been intercepted by an activity-related diversion which the pilot deems a priority. The novice does not challenge the diversion and this particular learning opportunity is lost.

(40)

28 G     ↑ay (.) no (.) en cambio (.) metámonos en otra ((cursor move, point))  
 28           “ay, no, alternatively, let’s go to a different one”  
 29           (0.5)  
 30 C     °si°  
 30           “ok”  
 31           (0.5)  
 32 G     es que (.) ya no juga ese  
 32           “it just that, you cant play that right now”  
 33           (2.2)

---

<sup>57</sup> The question specifies what a response should contain e.g. yes or no, a name etc. (Heritage, 2012)

34 G no entendiste ((screen update))  
34 "you didn't understand"  
35 (0.5) ((G points))  
36 G <otro (.) otro> (0.8) 'pere`  
36 "another, another, wait"  
37 (0.9)  
38 C ↑oy:: (.)león:  
38 "oy, a lion!"  
39 (0.3)  
40 G leon (0.6) °le::on°  
40 "lion"."lion"  
41 (2.6) ((C selects icon))

There follows a protracted pause while the pilot enacts localised movements of the cursor (line 27). He appears to be attempting another 'drag' manoeuvre but the object of attention is not moving. Consistent with the notion of a place-saver, the computer function provides activity coherence and no additional sequence is required to reopen the interaction. Rather, it is (*G*) who responds to a conspicuous shift in cursor position - away from the object - issuing an *RI* in the form of an assessment token and polar preface, juxtaposed by an alternative, but inclusive request - not X but Y (Garvey, 1984). In which case, the novice appears to have recognised, even learned the form if not the nature of an invalid move by the pilot and thereafter, suggests an alternative location. (*C*) hesitates and points ambiguously at the screen (line 28, 29) suggesting uncertainty to which (*G*) responds with a rationale (line 32). In the meantime, pilot/expert complies; affirmative declarative, and effectuates the repair leading to a screen update (line 30). Moreover, it would appear that the notional novice (*G*),

feels obliged to provide some further post-expansion (*K+*) assessment indicative of a situated competency relative to the pilot (line 34). The pilot does not respond.

Concomitant with this elevated position, (*G*) then marks the screen update (*TCU1*, 2) and requests a delay (*TCU3*) while he ponders the new presentation, including broad pointing gestures across the screen (line 36). It is at this moment that the pilot reasserts himself and identifies an appropriate referent (line 38). Given the divergent points of reference, there is an embodied repair as (*G*) shifts his gesture to the appropriate location and confirms (line 40). Now that navigator pointing and pilot cursor positioning are aligned, the referent is highlighted and the selection enacted. In sum, interaction is definitively shaped by assessment and effectuated repair consistent with a negotiated series of preferences (line 40). It is important to note that unlike the relatively stable and linear relations associated with expert and novice roles, both parties are content to be directed and/or assessed at various points in the interaction (Sawchuk, 2003).

(41)

47	c	mire (.) listo	
47		"look, ready"	
48		(2.7)	
49	c	re::no	
49		"reindeer"	
50		(2.8)	
51	c	pa'ya (.) una blanca	
51		"there, the white one"	
52		(7.7)	((drag & drop))
53	G	(h)	((+ audio))
54		(0.8)	



55 C si? mire (0.3) re::no (0.6) °listo°  
55 "you see? look, the reindeer, ready"  
56 (1.0)  
57 G es:te (.) me dice que (.) [tengo] que- ((- audio))  
57 "this, it tells me that, I have to, that one"  
58 C [no::]  
58 "no"  
59 (0.7)  
60 C °>mirelo<° (.) si (.) si  
60 "look here, yes, yes"  
61 (0.3)  
62 C no mole-(0.3) re:no (1.0) y el re:no le coloca(.) este (0.4) ↓vale  
62 "don't both-,reindeer and the reindeer goes, this one,ok ((- audio))  
63 (0.7)  
64 C entonces (.)cual es el re:no?  
64 "in which case, which is the reindeer?"  
65 (1.6)

Once the selection is made the screen updates and the latest series of icons are presented. The pilot, (C) issues an inclusive directive plus attention imperative and initiates an activity move whilst coincidentally narrating the computer interaction for the benefit of his partner (line 47,49,51). In terms of analysis, precise cursor movement is difficult to distinguish. Nonetheless, the pilot has given himself plenty of time to identify the object, highlight and finally, 'drag & drop' it. In the context of a 'playing/teaching' multi-activity, the periodic and prolonged silences (line 48, 50, 52) suggest that the pilot is carefully adjusting his talk in tune with multi-activity requirements. Completion of the move is registered by positive computer audio and acknowledged with laughter by the observer (line 53). However, analysis would suggest that the sequence is not complete as pilot commences the next move in the

activity with a summons and the same referent (line 55). Meanwhile, his partner who has been observing closely to this point, appears to offer a clarification of ongoing events; the reflexive form of the verb suggests a gesture of self-awareness as part of a potential learning practice (line 57). Unfortunately his utterance is once again interrupted, this time by an audio/visual failure notification (*TCU2*) from the computer as the pilot attempts the next ‘drag and drop’ in the sequence. In the face of a multi-activity; acknowledgement of (*G*) and/or the computer failure, the pilot clearly addresses the latter with negative declarative causing (*G*) to abruptly end his proposition. The observer does not attempt a repair or hold the pilot accountable. Indeed, rather than address the incomplete utterance, joint attention is fixed on a further ‘drag & drop’ attempt which like the previous is narrated and ends in failure (line 62). Whilst the increasing familiarity and ease with which the pilot simultaneously manoeuvres and commentates within the context of multi-activity suggests a decreasing cognitive load (Levy & Gardner, 2012), it should also be noted that (*C*) neither checks for confirmation nor understanding from his partner. Rather, he closes this sequence by marking a second failure; a declarative acknowledgment (*TCU5*), and a subsequent ‘*post-mortem*’ (Schegloff, 2010; 143) post-expansion assessment (line 64). In sum, the pilot, (*C*) is narrating/framing interaction. Activity cohesion is evidently sustained by exophoric predominantly deitic and metanarrative reference to context and observable cursor positioning. Once again (39), a proposition from (*G*) is interrupted by pilot, the remainder of the sequence is focused on successful activity completion and accountability (to the observer) is lost.

(42)

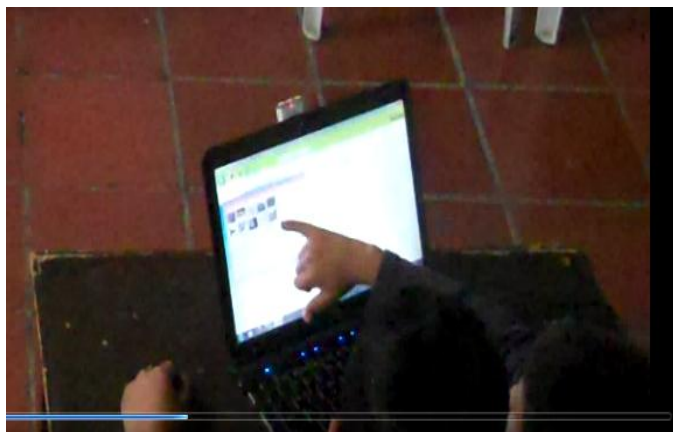
66 G \*

67 (2.8)

((+ audio))

68 C el fin  
68 "the end"  
69 (0.9)  
69 C >entonces de- (0.4) >hipopó(.)tamo<  
69 "in which case, hippopotamus"  
70 (0.3)  
71 G >hipopótamo<  
71 "hippopotamus"  
72 (1.6)  
73 C cual es? (0.5) de todos es::to'? ((C→G glance))  
73 "which is it? from all of these?"  
74 (0.6)  
75 G e:ste? ((G points))  
75 this one?  
76 (0.6) ((+ audio))  
77 C ↑°ya (0.3) es:te°  
77 "ok, this one"  
78 (1.3)  
79 C ↑si (.) a'ora va uste'  
79 "ok, now its your go"

On the third attempt, (C) finally performs and marks a successful run (line 68). Having now completed the activity with a succession of - failed and successful - moves, (C) declares the next category (line 69). He deploys this referent in a deliberate, seemingly idiosyncratic manner but without any obvious changes to body posture or evidence of response mobilisers. At this point, (G) does little more than adjust his seating position and acknowledge information receipt (line 71). In which case, the pilot reconstructs the declarative into an interrogative form supplemented by a glance to mobilise a response.



**Image 24:** ‘entonces, hipopotamo’

The general absence of mobilisers (Stivers & Rossano, 2010) within the corpus may be indicative of participant focus within the *SOLE* context and thereafter, explain occasional variations in participant accountability relative to interactional affordances i.e. the difficulty of attending to the computer and other participants coincidentally (Sawchuk, 2003). Meanwhile having been prompted by the pilot, (*G*) delivers an answer in response to the information request; a deictic reference and supporting metanarrative (line 75). Nonetheless, the response is framed by a rising intonation suggesting an interrogative; as opposed to a declarative, and a relative (*K*-) stance to the pilot. This speculative proposal is then enacted on the computer; a positive audio (line 76), and the pilot confirms a correct answer; “*okay*” *SCT* (line 77). Having completed the intermediate phase of the tutorial, (*C*) confirms a post-expansion, social reorganisation of the *SOLE* (line 79).

In sum, interactional evidence suggests that pilot is providing a general model of activity conduct to his partner. Moreover, this introduction is delivered within an emergent and embodied, ‘Expert-Novice’ (*E*→*N*) structure where the dominant participant, (*C*) assumes

the greater responsibility for framing and directing the activity. Whilst there is a short period of activity where roles are interchangeable/negotiable, (*G*)'s periodic attempts at (*K*-) clarification requests are all too often interrupted by real-time activity at the computer screen. In each case, virtual events succeed in diverting the pilot's attention and accountability is lost i.e. orientation toward computer activity is prioritised over the *F2F* equivalent. The quantity and deliver of the pilots supporting narrative coupled with his speed and fluency at the *k/b* suggests the pilot is adjusting his talk consistent with computer events within the context of a play-tuition multi-activity. In the absence of confirmation requests however, it would appear that (*C*) is not really cogniscent of the novice until control is physically exchanged with the assistance of a response mobiliser. In which case, not only is (*G*)'s subordinate identity talked into existence by his questions, his regular (re)alignments with the pilot's preferences and an absence of pilot accountability but the degree of novice understanding also remains unclear at this time.

#### 4.2.7.2 'Koala'

In a continuation of the previous sequence, (*C*) has just relinquished the pilot position to his partner, (*G*). Rather than abandon him to his fortune, (*C*) continues to frame the activity and available options in the form of a description of current status (line 2), including a referent (line 4) and supporting metanarrative indicative of 'where the answer may lie?' i.e. an active tutorial role reflecting an asymmetry in epistemic authority and a continuation of the *E*→*N* relationship.

(43)

1 (1.0)

2 C (vas) (.) van tres (.) le faltan (0.5) siete ((C points))  
 2 "you go, these three have gone, you have seven remaining"  
 3 (0.9)  
 4 C k[oa]la (.) [una k]oala  
 4 "koala, a koala"  
 5 G [un] dos [tres]  
 5 "one, two, three"  
 6 (0.8)  
 7 G donde sa:le (.) ↓koala  
 7 "where is the koala"  
 8 (0.9)  
 9 C cual? (0.5) cual es koala? (.) >en todo estos<  
 9 "which it is, which is the koala? in all those"

(G) buys time to consider the context by seemingly deploying a clarification i.e. an echo (line 5, 7). The downward intonation suggests an insert sequence performing a rhetorical function of 'self-affirmation' while the participant considers the available options. Indeed, rather than deliver the answer consistent with a request for information, the expert judiciously reframes the question i.e. not a repair as there is no indication of a misunderstanding (line 9).

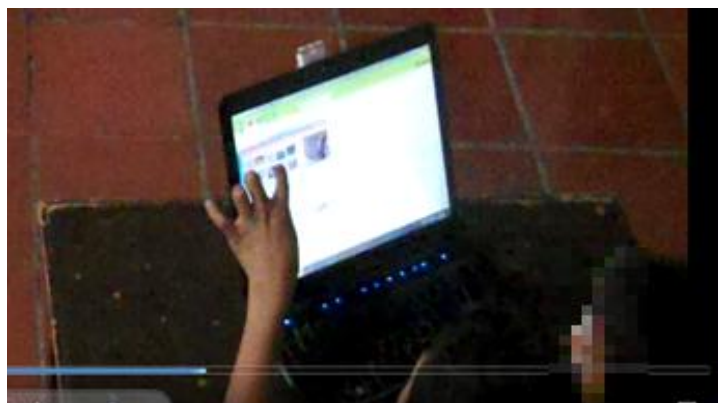


Image 25: 'van tres'

Having assessed (*G*)'s thinking in terms of observable cursor movement (line 10), (*C*) points definitively to a screen location and summons the novice (line 11).

(44)

10 (1.1)  
11 C esta's koala (.) mire ((C points))  
11 "which is the koala, look"  
12 (1.2)  
13 C click (0.4) esa (.) es de la koala ((C glance))  
13 "click, that one, it's the koala"  
14 G ↑huh ((icon disappears))  
14  
15 (0.6)  
16 G °um[::::::::::]?°  
16 "um"  
17 C [cual es]? (0.3) ↑no es  
17 "which is it? its not this one"  
18 (0.5)  
19 C [no]  
19 "no"  
20 G °[uh] hum (0.6) no[:::]°  
20 "uh hum, no"  
21 C [pú]lsela (.) ese (0.7) abajo  
21 "hit it, that one, below"  
22 (1.1) ((- audio))  
23 G mal::  
23 "wrong"  
24 C mire (0.6) este (0.6) es `s koala (0.7) koa::la (1.4) mirelo  
24 "look, here, this is koala, koala, see" ((C→k/b))  
25 (.) ((+ audio))  
26 G >↓bi:en<

26           "ok"

27           (.)

28    C       °↑si°

28           "yes"

29           (1.5)

30    C       >es:: elefante<                               ((C points))

30           "its an elephant"

31           (1.8)

32    C       >es:te (0.4) elefante<                       ((C points))

32           "this one, elephant"

33           (1.8)

34    G       fbien::f

34           "good"

(G) moves the cursor in the direction of his partner's gesture and (C) deploys an 'onomatopoeia' marker and a supporting glance on the requisite category. In the context of an assessment, the expert was evidently not convinced by the novice's actions and enacted a high strength *RI* (line 13). The novice-pilot acknowledges, effectuates the repair and makes an entry (line 14). The computer visual/audio response and the expert confirm the selection of the - mammals/bears - respective category (*TCU3-4*). (G) then considers the screen update and the associated options (line 16). He does so whilst moving the cursor, prompting a series of negative declarative verbal *RI*'s from the expert (line 17, 19). Eventually, the novice passes-over the correct icon and the expert marks it; imperative and deictic reference, and an apparent termination of the collaborative repair sequence (line 21). However there is a mistiming, (G) selecting an icon after the respective deictic reference (*TCU2*) and misses a final instruction (*TCU3*); "below". The computer signals a dispreferred/error and (G) responds in kind i.e. a expansion-relevant assessment (line 23). On this occasion, (C) resumes



the pilot role (line 24), resets the communication channel (*TCU1*) and repeats the procedure; deictic references aligned with cursor movement. Note, the adjustment in delivery as (*C*) coordinates the multi-activity of virtual play and narration (*TCU4*). The entry is made; affirmative computer audio, and (*G*) acknowledges the repair; *SCT* (line 26). The expert immediately relinquishes control and marks the display of a new category (line 30). Once again, marking is in the form of a paced delivery. The novice then follows the latest instructions and selects the requisite icon (line 30, 32). The computer marks the positive outcome and the novice celebrates his first success (line 34).

(45)

48 C es:te ((C points))  
 48 "this one"  
 49 (2.4)  
 50 C ves::°[::::]°:::  
 50 "you see"  
 51 G [donde]? (1.8) a:qui?  
 51 "where?". "here?"  
 52 (0.4)  
 53 C °no°  
 53 "no"  
 54 (0.6)  
 55 G a:qui?  
 55 "here?"  
 56 C °a:hi°  
 56 "there"  
 57 (1.6) ((+ audio))  
 58 G £bien::£  
 58 "good"

It appears that a negotiated pattern of interaction is emerging. The novice positions the cursor over the preferred option but rather than make a deliberate choice, he seeks an insert expansion confirmation from his partner (line 51). On this occasion, he receives a rejection; a negative declarative (line 53). (*G*) then repositions/repairs the cursor; note the pauses (line 49, 57) and repeats the confirmation request (line 55). This time he receives an affirmative/preferred response (line 56); a deictic reference, relative to current cursor position and makes the correct entry, notified by affirmative computer audio (line 57) and celebrate.

By this point in the exchange, the participants have performed a seamless transfer of roles and *k/b* control. Rather than abandon the novice, the expert provides tangible support from the navigator-judge position in the form of framing, direction/orientation and assessment, including the adjustment of delivery to fit the situation. The novice seeks regular affirmation/confirmation and in the context of a mistake the expert interrupts, resumes control temporarily and repeats the procedure before handing-back to his partner. In general, the form of interaction between the participants reflects ongoing assessment, in the form of an action list sequence and effectuated repair relative to the observable cursor positioning of the novice.

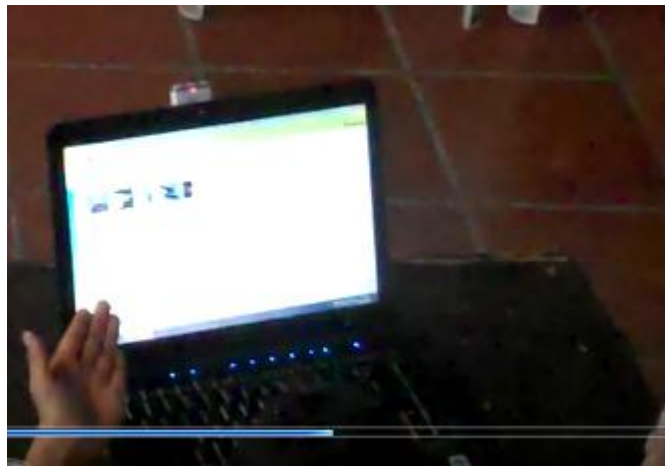
### 4.2.7.3 'Birds'

The ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model then provides a general frame of reference, relations and understanding between these two participants. As previously witnessed however, this definition does not preclude the novice from challenging the expert.

(46)

29 (2.4) ((screen update))  
30 G °(ray::os)°(1.0) no (.) si (.) no lo era ((G gestures))  
30 "damm it, no, you see that wasn't it"  
31 (1.0)  
32 C 's lo mismo (.) mire ((C gestures))  
32 "it's the same, look"  
33 (0.8)  
34 C mire (.) y como usted (.) para las a:ves (0.4) y ma:míferos  
34 "look, and like you, for the birds, and mammals" ((C points))  
35 (0.4)  
36 C las que son aves(.)<[las] que> ((C points))  
36 "those are birds, those"  
37 G es:[que](.)yo no entiendo(.)[e:so]  
37 "but, I don't understand it"  
38 C [mire]:lo  
38 "look"  
39 (0.3)  
40 C le voy a explicar  
40 "I'm going to explain it to you"  
41 (0.5)  
42 C °y: usted me sigue°  
42 "and you can follow me"

By this stage, (C) has resumed control of computer. However, an update (line 29) is greeted by the novice with an unmitigated rejection; pejorative (*TCU1*) and polar preface (*TCU2*) supplemented by a negative assessment (*TCU3, 4*) and a repeated waving gesture suggesting a return to a previous state (line 30). (C) patiently awaits the completion of the screen update before responding. Note, his screen-orientated, open-handed gestures at this time sustain interactional coherence during the delay and moreover, suggest that the virtual features were anticipated (line 32).



**Image 26: 'mano'**

In view of this discrepancy, the pilot takes the time to explain in the form of a screen-related description (line 32, 34, 36). Attention imperatives, metanarrative and relevant *MCD*'s are used to frame and direct the sequence and significantly, the expert refers to previous interaction undertaken by the novice in order to contextualise understanding i.e. 'the activity is the same, only the categories that are different'. However the novice, (G) is not convinced i.e. an admission (line 37), indicating that his understanding of the activity remains unclear.

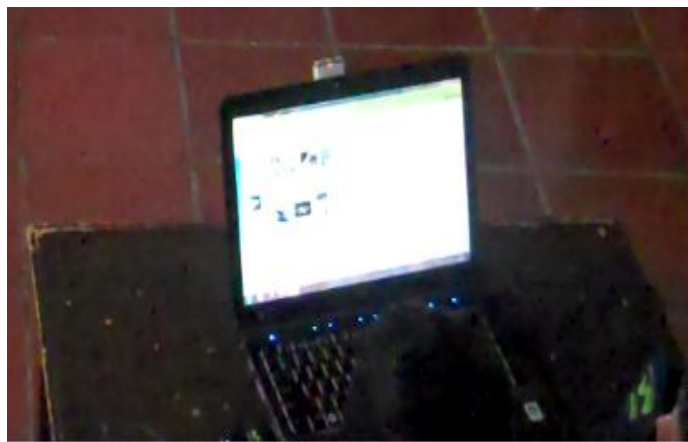
Without hesitation, the expert proposes a repetition of proceedings through an exemplar (line 40, 42).

(47)

43 (0.5)  
44 C mire (.) es `s un ave (.) no?  
44 "look, this is a bird, no?"  
45 (0.3)  
46 C a ver (.) les pasa por a:hi  
46 "lets see, they go there"  
47 (2.3)  
48 C a:hi (0.6) si ve? (.) mire  
48 "there, you see, look"  
49 (0.5)  
50 C esta `s un ave (2.1) esta `s uno (.) mire (.) vale?  
50 "this is a bird". "this is one, look, ok?"  
51 (0.8)  
52 C >ese va (.)a:ca (2.4) e:se (.) v'a:ca (1.3) ese a (0.7) ca<  
52 "that one goes, here". "that one, here". "that one, h, ere"  
53 (5.5)  
54 C se va a (3.1) ca  
54 "it goes h, ere"  
55 (11.1)  
56 C si?  
56 "ok"  
57 (3.0)

The expert draws the novice's attention to the screen and more specifically, the location of the referent using a rhetorical tag question (*TCU2*) i.e. (*K+*) stance mobilising support for an assertion (Heritage, 2012). The expert then provides supporting commentary for a repeated

series of ‘drag and drop’ manoeuvres, a procedure that represents successful interaction with the activity. Indeed, such is (C)’s attention to detail that he: 1) uses deixis to relate the chosen category to current cursor position (line 46, 50); 2) regularly checks the availability of the novice (line 44, 50); 3) adjusts the delivery of the utterances to the completion of computer-mediated actions in the context of a multi-activity (line 52, 54); 4) seeks regular feedback from the novice (line 44, 50, 56). In sum, the expert is demonstrating a high degree of social and situated competency, as opposed to equivalent levels of analytical and critical thinking skills (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001).



**Image 27: ‘les pasa por ahí’ (drag & drop)**

In this final episode of the tutorial sequence, the novice encounters a trouble source in the activity. The expert resumes control and patiently explains the nature of the misunderstanding to his partner. He repeats the activity procedure, not simply to prove a point but to demonstrate in fine detail; deixis, availability checks and adjustment, how to accomplish a successful outcome. In conclusion, a multi-phased tutorial procedure has emerged in the act of *SOLE* participation, including: 1) expert model; 2) guided practice; 3) novice control. In

broad terms, the expert frames, directs and orientates relative to activity features. He then incorporates his partner and remains available for clarification and questioning, barring any diversion. The expert then has assumed control of local system of 'turn-taking', one reminiscent of the tightly-controlled interaction associated with the 'IRF'<sup>58</sup> routine and the traditional classroom setting. In this case, the novice is continually seeking validation, leading to a series of collaborative effectuated repairs consistent with an 'action-list' type sequence. Indeed though the act of participation, the novice appears to have acquired sufficient interactional competence to periodically challenge the actions of the pilot and direct activity. Despite the unfamiliar context, the novice has played an active role in the joint enterprise, constructing a meaningful situated identity through the use of common interactional practices.

#### 4.2.7.4 'You're Dead!'

At the point of entry, the incumbent pilot, (*P*) marks a conclusive moment in the activity; a response cry followed by a pejorative, and then leaves the *SOLE* of his own volition (line 1). Following his departure, (*H*) - a pre-adolescent girl - invites a non-participating observer, (*B*) - an adolescent boy - to join her (*TCU1*) and then enquires about his preparedness (line 3), employing a tag question as a mobiliser (*TCU3*). Within the current context, this interrogative infers a (*K+*) stance, positioning (*H*) as the situated expert.

(48)

```
1      P      ↑ay (.) caram:ba
1              "ay, dammit"
```

---

<sup>58</sup> 'Initiation-Response-Feedback' (Sinclair & Coulter)

2 (0.8)

3 H siente (.) ya sabe (.) no?  
3 sit down, you get it, no?

4 B como (0.4) >hace esto?< (1.3) huh? ((B sits))  
4 "how, do you do this? huh?"

5 (2.7)

6 H ya sabe con cual se salta (.) no?  
6 "you know how to jump now, no?"

7 (0.5) ((H glances))

8 B yo (se) na:da  
8 "I don't know anything".

9 (0.7)

10 B <a ver> ((H glances))  
10 "lets see"

11 (0.7)

Though (*B*) has been present and watching ongoing activity (line 4), a hesitant request for information insert sequence locates him in the reciprocal (*K-*) novice position. There is a notable absence; post (*TCU2*) and an additional interrogative mobiliser (*TCU3*) which also goes unaccounted at this time, as (*H*) continues to engage the computer activity i.e. a diversion. Meanwhile, (*B*) takes his place in front of the computer, an embodied act of proximity that prompts the pilot into a self-repair of the previous request (line 3); interrogative/tag (line 6), incorporating a glance to assess her partners hand position relative to the *k/b* (line 7).





Image 28: 'ya sabe con cual se salta, no?'

Irrespective of the potential loss of face (Goffman, 1959), the activity has started and (*B*) confirms his (*K*-) ignorance of context and the frame of participant relations i.e.  $E \rightarrow N$  (line 8). In this case, a declaration/admission does not necessarily make his partner verbally accountable i.e acknowledgment or instruction (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). (*B*) then ends of the opening sequence with declarative of unselfconscious 'preparedness' i.e. learning on the job (line 10), prompting (*H*) to take a further glance at his position in advance of collaborative interaction consistent with simultaneously, multi-player/bipolar activity.

(49)

12	H	<u>oy</u> :: (.)↓se <u>mata</u>	
12		"oy, you're dead"	
13		(.)	
14	H	<no' <u>vayamo'</u> (.) coloca <u>acá</u> >	((H points))
14		"lets go, here"	
15		(0.4)	

Soon after the collaboration commences, a significant event passes on the computer screen and is marked by (*H*) with a response cry, followed by a contextually-apposite assessment

(line 12). This action suggests a failure. However, (*H*) declines the opportunity to deliver any further negative valuation of her partner's performance. In which case, the expert seems to understand the contingent nature of activity context and chooses not hold him accountable (Curl & Drew, 2008). Rather in an act of affiliative social competency, she remains focused on the activity, initiating a high strength repair; verbal and gestural *RI*'s, in the form of an inclusive directive in first person-plural form supplemented by screen-relevant metanarrative (line 14).

(50)

19 (0.4)

20 B °[uhm]?°

20 "uhm"

21 H [no::] (0.4) porque la condena soy yo

21 "no, because it condemns me"

22 B <se necesita salta junto?=>

22 "you have to jump together"

23 H =dale (.) salte ((H glances))

23 "hit it! jump!"

24 B con:: (.) 'b'

24 "with, b"

25 (0.4)

26 H con:: (0.4) ↓eso

26 "with, that"

27 (1.8)

28 H <es (.) que así acá> (.) acá montau ((H points))

28 "its, like that here, get on here"

29 (0.9)

30 H otro (0.5) ahí (.) quieto (,) quieto ahí

30 "the other". "there, careful, careful there"

31 (2.5)

32 H pase  
 32 "go"

A pattern of behaviour and interaction then is emerging relative to the on-going activity, (*H*) offering frequent and timely guidance/support in terms of the following linguistic devices: an action-list of stressed, activity-directed imperatives (line 23, 28, 30, 32); consistent accountability to enquiries (line 21, 23, 26) and metanarrative (line 14, 28) supplemented by apposite and animated language, assisting (*B*)'s navigation through and engagement with the activity (line 30). While (*B*) demonstrates a degree of situated competence through meaningful action i.e. effectuated repair, (*H*) supplements her instruction with periodic glances at her partner *k/b* positioning, as she regularly switches between screen activity and the monitoring of her partner's interaction.

(51)

33 (4.3)  
 34 B con que?  
 34 "with what?"  
 35 (1.0)  
 36 H <venga (.) yo le paso acá>  
 36 "ok, I'll do it here" ((H takes control))  
 37 (0.3)  
 38 B <↑si (.) lo 'ace> (.) por que yo no::  
 38 "yes, you do it , because I can't"

After a period during which (*B*) struggles to coordinate his actions, he acknowledges that he is not in complete command of his share of the collaborative activity (line 34). In response, (*H*) assumes total control of the *k/b* and models/demonstrates directly the skills required to

perform the operation. A move encouraged by (*B*) as he acknowledges his relative (*K*-) epistemic and subordinate status.

In this episode, interaction contains all the features of a multi-phased tutorial procedure i.e. expert model, guided practice and novice control. However, given the nature of activity, the boundaries are not so clearly delineated. Unlike the previous episode, the interaction is orientated around multi-player relations and a system of turn-taking that is *not* automatically defined by the expert. Instead, the tutorial is co-constructed with the expert providing clear direction; series of imperatives and assessment, while the novice practices, questions and seeks clarification with reference to the ongoing events i.e. participant orientation founded on (*K*+/*K*-) epistemic differentials. Moreover, the series of complex, multi-modal and impeccably-timed interventions from the expert reflect a switching between the unpredictable real-time outbound events of the activity and the ongoing support of her partner. Unfortunately, it would seem that the novice is unable to reconcile the speed of events and the affordances of the computer with co-existing needs to learn activity requirements and computer functions i.e. a condition of ‘overload’. In which case, the controls are handed back to the expert.

#### 4.2.7.5 ‘Paint’

The incumbent at the *k/b*, (*A*) marks an anticipated event (*TCU1*) and asserts deontic authority over the *SOLE* (*TCU2*). Now that a computer-based activity - MSPaint® - has been located, he issues an invitation (*TCU3*); interrogative, to initiate the application on behalf of his partner, (*E*) i.e. sharing and controlling (Corsaro, 2005).

(52)

1     A     ↑si::: (2.5) °no mueva nada° (1.7) quiere del point?  
1           "ok, don't move anything, do you want 'paint'?"  
2           (0.6)  
3     E     no::  
3           "no"  
4           (0.6)  
5     A     ah::[::]?  
5           "ah?"  
6     E           [bu]eno (.) ↑si (.) ↑si  
6                   "ok, yes, yes"  
7           (.)  
8     A     point?  
8           "paint"  
9           (0.6)  
10    E     p- (.) pero (.) yo lo ago  
10           "b, but I do it"  
11    A     ↑si  
11           "ok"  
12           (2.6)

Though (*E*) does not challenge the pilots authority at this time, there is a delay in the response suggesting a potential trouble source (line 2). (*E*) then delivers an unequivocal rejection of the proposal (line 3). (*A*)'s response; an elongated response cry with upward intonation, suggests a degree of ambivalence/uncertainty regarding available options in light of (*E*)'s rejection (line 5). This marker evidently prompts (*E*) into an insert expansion, 'volte-face' suggesting a 'this or nothing' interpretation of the invitation (line 6). In view of the ambivalence, (*A*) seeks confirmation (line 8) to which his partner aligns. Nonetheless, (*E*)

introduces a further caveat; conjunction of contrast and an assertion, suggesting that he presumes his share of access and authority at this time. A level of deontic congruence acknowledged by the pilot (line 12) i.e. the opening sequence relates to issues of situated identity as much as it does the activity.

(53)

21 A a'ora (.) [que color] quiere? (0.3) [amarrito]?  
21 now, what colour do you want? a little yellow?  
22 E >amar[ri::::to]< [amarrill]o  
22 "yellow" "yellow"  
23 (0.9)

(A) marks the sequence boundary consistent with temporal status of computer events and then seeks to incorporate (E) within the activity; a request for information (line 21). (E) recognises this boundary and declares his involvement. Indeed, it would appear that (E) already possesses some awareness of the activity in relation to observable events, as he anticipates the interrogative (line 21-22) before it is completed (TCU2). In view of the overlap and the potential for misunderstanding, (E) performs a self-repair. The fact that (E) repairs an idiosyncratic version (TCU1) with a grammatically-correct version (TCU2) tends to support this reading and reflects his own social competency. Another overlap does occur however a coincidence of responses appears to negate further confirmation (line 21, 22).

(54)

38 A oprima ese (.) y muévala así  
38 "press that one, and move it like this"  
39 (2.5)  
40 E este?  
40 "this one?"

41 (0.7)

42 A no (0.6) oprima- (0.7) mire (0.6) cuan:--

42 "no, press, look, when--"

43 (.)

44 E [con este]?

44 "with this one?"

45 A [su-(.)us]ted (0.3) con ese dedito(.) >oprimala< ((A→k/b))

45 "(your), with that little finger, press"

46 (0.6)

47 A y con este (.) manéjelo

47 "and with this one, move it"

48 (2.5) ((E→k/b))

49 A ↓ay(.) lo que quiera? (3.3) oprima (0.4) lo puedo oprimir? (.) yo?

49 "ay, what do you want? "press it, can I press it? myself?"

50 E ↓no

50 "no"

51 A no (0.3) me lo (.) oprimo y uste' (.) lo hace?

51 "no, I press the key and you do it?"

By this stage, there has been an amicable transition at the computer as (*E*) assumes the pilot position. Nonetheless, the data indicates that (*A*) is mediating the controls for his partner and provides activity model in the form of a pair of relevant directives; juxtaposing a *k/b* reference with its effect on the screen (line 38). After a further period of embodied interaction (line 39), (*E*) seeks a (*K-*) clarification of computer functionality; an information request in the form of a interrogative, deictic reference (line 40, 44). The expert, (*A*) then takes temporary control of the *k/b*, seemingly adjusting delivery over the following turns of (*K+*) assertions (line 45-47) within the context of a multi-activity play-tutorial (Haddington et al, 2014). Meanwhile, the continuity of interaction is sustained by place-savers (line 46, 48). Note, there

are no indication of a `change of state` from the novice (*E*) during this time. In which case, no learning and epistemic equality can be inferred. Nonetheless, there is a further exchange of roles at the *k/b* representing an embodied end to the insert sequence. Having observed his partners computer interaction for a further period (line 48), it would appear that (*A*) is not totally convinced of the level of control demonstrated by his partner (line 49); a response cry with downward intonation inferring a negative assessment followed by a request for information (*TCU2*). There is notable absence at this point of enquiry suggesting a dispreferred. Rather than seeking verbal accountability i.e. ‘pilot busy’, (*A*) continues to monitor his partner before confirming his concern and deploying a verbal *RI*; imperative (*TCU3*) followed by offer of assistance to effect the change (*TCU4*). Consistent with the previous notable absence, this offer is firmly rejected (line 50). In which case, the pilot perceives and enforces a demarcation between assistance and interference and does not wish to be interrupted/distracted during this period of practice. Indeed, (*A*)’s response suggests that he is very attuned to the implication of interference in his request and thereafter, seeks to provide clarification of the offer to divide the workload (line 51) i.e. sharing as a moral imperative within the context of the *SOLE*.

(55)

52		(3.5)			( (A→k/b) )
53	E	↑o:le (.) <u>no:::</u>			
53		"hey, no"			
54		(0.8)			
55	A	por eso (.) le digo que yo lo <u>opr</u> imo			
55		"thats why, I'm telling you that I control the key"			
56		(1.5)			
57	E	callese (.) que estoy haciendo una <u>cosa::</u>			



Once again, there is a notable absence to (*A*)'s request (line 52) while (*E*) is engaged/diverted by the computer activity. This is presumably interpreted as a dispreferred, prompting (*A*) to unilaterally cut across (*E*) and interact directly with the *k/b*, as opposed to seeking accountability (line 52). Consistent with the prevailing stance, the novice-pilot rejects the interference; response cry supplemented by a stressed, negative declarative (line 53). Without precisely clarifying the nature of pilot error i.e. it is evident from observable screen event, (*A*) sustains and accounts for his intervention with a overt claim of epistemic authority over context (line 55). (*E*) may know which keys to use but is perceived as insufficiently skillful and/or dexterous to perform to task. The pilot does not challenge the account with an uptake, but simply dismisses it on the basis of that he is observably busy at the *k/b* (line 57).

In sum, the expert has demonstrated the activity for his novice partner through modelling, accountability and corrective interaction/effectuation with the computer. Once again, the fundamental features of the  $E \rightarrow N$  model of tutorial and a ( $K+/K-$ ) epistemic differential are present. Whilst the turn-taking and the interaction are consistently controlled by the expert there is no verbal indication that the novice understands the nature of the activity. Indeed, the expert uses observable shortcomings as a basis for further intervention at the *k/b*. However, (*E*) clearly recognises a difference between assistance and interference and consistently marks the point at which (*A*) is deemed to have over-reaching the limits within the context of a single-player/unipolar activity. Finally, it is worth comparing this particular demonstration of ownership with earlier episodes where (*E*) was readily marginalised e.g. 'I

Got It'. Inspection suggests that deontic authority is readily associated with pilot identity, at least on this occasion where the character, (A) does not have supporting allies.

#### 4.2.7.6 'The Tower'

*SOLE* participant, (D) categorically marks the start of the computer activity; a declarative in a raised register containing a contextually-apposite referent that suggests a situated awareness of the chosen activity (line 2).

(56)

1 (2.8)  
2 D SALIO A JUGAR (.) >PE::QNES<  
2 "THE PAWNS ARE READY TO PLAY"  
3 (1.3) ((computer audio))  
4 A ↑si (.) ɛya me[ti]ɛ  
4 "yes, I've moved"  
5 Q [ES]TAS LOCO?  
5 "ARE YOU CRAZY?"  
6 A YA METI UN PEITO (H)  
6 "I'VE DROPPED A LITTLE FART"  
7 (2.2) ((computer move/audio))

There is no immediate response from the pilot (A), at this time, during which he considers an activity-based virtual move (line 2). As previously indicated a declarative does not automatically warrant a response and any inferred epistemic differential is not ratified (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). (A) completes a virtual move which is not subject to assessment or repair and frames the supporting declarative with a humorous register (line 3), prompting an alignment from a third participant (line 5). Encouraged by this positive response, he

subsequently and cleverly recycles the verb - meter - to produce an additional, subversive form. Judging by the absence of overt response, the others are not necessary convinced by the character's humor i.e. *MCD* status is not ratified by laughter.

(57)

8 A oysh::  
8 "oysh"  
9 (0.3)  
10 D ays::(.) peón (.) eso (.) tiene (.) [tu tiene'] que matar un peón  
10 "ays, pawn, that one, you have, you have to kill a pawn"  
11 A ° [(que (va))] °  
11 "damn"  
12 (0.6)  
13 A a todo' los pe[ones]  
13 "all of the pawns"  
14 D [a la] tor:re  
14 "with the tower?"  
15 (1.0) ((A→k/b))  
16 Q A [LA TOR]:RE?  
16 "WITH THE TOWER?"  
17 D [todos] (0.5) si  
17 "all of them, yes"  
18 (0.8)  
19 D que la tor:re (.) mata todos  
19 "because the castle, can kill everything"  
20 (0.8) ((A→k/b))  
21 D ↓no: (0.3) mate (.) la torre  
21 "no, kill, the tower"

The next sequence is prompted by the computer's response to the pilot's move, the stressed response cry suggesting an unanticipated outcome (line 8). (*D*) aligns with the pilot; a reciprocal response cry (*TCUI*) and delivers an *RI* in the form of an assertion (line 10, 14). The coincident pejorative would suggest that (*A*) acknowledges an error (line 11). He then aligns himself with his partner, though the absence of an interrogative form suggests a distinct mitigation of any relative (*K-*) novice position (line 13). Nonetheless, the fact that (*D*) underpins his *RI* with a supporting rationale, as a basis for the repair effectuation suggest that he may not be convinced by (*A*)'s inference of epistemic equality (line 19). Indeed, the pilots very next move is greeted with a further repair relative to on-screen, observable activity; polar preface and declarative (line 21), suggesting that the pilot is not following instructions.

(58)

26		(0.3)
27	D	[y]-
27		"and"
28	A	[a']ora (.) voy a tirar el caballo
28		"now, I'm going to take the knight"
29		(0.9)
30	D	y que? (0.5) <u>no</u> (.) si saca eso (0.5) el peón no lo mate
30		"and then what? no, if you take that, the pawn can't kill it"
31		(2.8)
32	D	mate mejor un peon
32		"its better to kill a pawn"
33		(1.9)
34	D	a la torre
34		"with the tower"
35		(1.8)
26		(0.3)

27 D [y]-  
 27 "and"  
 28 A [a']ora (.) voy a tirar el caballo  
 28 "now, I'm going to take the knight"  
 29 (0.9)  
 30 D y que? (0.5) no (.) si saca eso (0.5) el peón no lo mate  
 30 "and then what? no, if you take that, the pawn can't kill it"  
 31 (2.8)  
 32 D mate mejor un peon  
 32 "its better to kill a pawn"  
 33 (1.9)  
 34 D a la torre  
 34 "with the tower"  
 35 (1.8)

In the next instance, the pilot interrupts his partner; an overlap, and marks his next, activity specific intention (line 28). In view of its contrary nature, his partner infers; a request for information (*TCU1*) then delivers a negative assessment (*TCU2*). The fact the (*D*) has requested some justification in support of the pilot's intention is a further indication of situated, (*K+*) authority and indeed, critical thinking. Moreover, the negative assessment prompts an explanation framed within the hypothetical/conditional and adjusted over several turns (line 30, 32, 34), presumably to coincide with observable cursor movement as a reflection of (*A*)'s intentions (line 28, 33, 35).

In sum, (*D*) appears to have a situated awareness of the ongoing activity; a game of computer chess, though he is not afforded the opportunity to model it. In his navigator-judge role, (*D*) consistently initiates 'turns' in talk though assessments and *RI* of the pilot's moves. Indeed,

this series of assertions suggest an ( $K+$ ) authority over the situation (Heritage, 2012). However, there is little indication that ( $A$ ) either follows, acknowledges or accepts ( $D$ )'s assistance i.e. the ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' relationship is not consecrated. A frame of deontic incongruence is implied and despite the potential learning opportunities created by ( $D$ ), there is little sign of pilot accountability in this episode.

#### 4.2.7.7 'Pastelitos'

At beginning of the sequence, ( $D$ ) occupies the privileged position at the  $k/b$  (line 10). He acknowledges receipt ( $TCU1$ ) and delivers a positive assessment of a computer event ( $TCU2$ ).

(59)

10 D ay (.) ↑[si]  
 10 "ay, yes"  
 11 A ay [mi]re (.) no' faltan (.) una (.) dos (.) tres ((A points))  
 11 "ay, look, one, two, three are missing"  
 12 (0.7)  
 13 D ↑um:: (.) [fa]lta-  
 13 "um, its missing"  
 14 A a'o[ra] (0.3) volteelo  
 14 "now, turn it"  
 15 (0.8)  
 16 D nos falta muchos::  
 16 "there's a lot missing"  
 17 (0.8)

Coincidentally, his partner, (A) makes an assertion of an expert, opening up the communication channel; a stressed attention imperative, and delivers a summary of prevailing status; a declarative (line 11). (D) appears to align, though his response is delayed (line 12) and distinctly ambivalent (line 13); elongated assessment marker (*TCUI*) suggesting the subordinate (*K-*) position of the novice i.e. ‘*E→N*’ relations. However, rather than attend to his partner i.e. an enquiry, (A) issues the an activity-relevant directive concomitant with a presumed expert status (line 14). The pilot performs the move (line 15) and having now had the time to consider the context fully, he conforms to his partners original assessment (line 16)



Image 29: ‘no, arriba, arriba’

In the act of play (line 21), the pilot assesses the screen (*TCUI*) summons his partner and appears to reference and indeed, emphasise a game-relevant feature with an elongated, adjusted delivery (*TCU3*).

(60)

21 D >um: (.) [mire] (.) >ch[ ocol ] ate<

21 "um, look, chocolate"  
 22 A no <[arrib]a [arriba]> ((A points))  
 22 "no, above, above"  
 23 A mire  
 23 "look"  
 24 (8.0) ((A points))  
 25 D bien  
 25 "ok"  
 26 (1.1)  
 27 A a'ora (.) el (ve::rde) (0.4) espéreme (.) arriba (.)°el°  
 27 "now, the green, wait, above, this one  
 28 (1.8)

Consistent with a navigator-judge role, (A) makes an assessment; polar preface, with a supporting *RI* as a means of framing and directing the activity (line 22 & 27). Meanwhile, in the absence of contestation/rejection, it is presumed that (D) follows the given directive i.e. an effectuated repair, in tacit recognition of his partner's presumed epistemic authority (line 25).

(61)

32 D ya (.) e:se (0.4) tres  
 32 "ok, that one, three"  
 33 (.) ((A to k/b))  
 34 A a'ora (.) me toca mi (0.8) oy (.) me toca ser un:: corazón(.)ci °to°  
 34 "now, its my turn, oy, my turn to be a little heart"  
 35 (0.4)

The pilot marks the completion of the third and final move of this particular activity (line 32), consistent with the original aim (line 11). Accordingly, (A) confirms; temporal



declarative (*TCU1*), and declares a point of transition in the activity (line 34). In confirmation, (*A*) appears to deploy an event-based marker; response cry (*TCU3*). He then supplements it with a seemingly superfluous confirmation as a means of context framing and potentially expediting his own turn relative to an ongoing activity. The declaration is not contested by the incumbent and the orderly transition at the *k/b* is complete. (*A*) now occupies the pilot position/role.

(62)

48 D no (0.6) corazón (0.4) donde?  
 48 "no, the heart, where is it"  
 49 (1.0)  
 50 D °es eso (.) eso es°  
 50 "its that one, its that one"  
 51 (1.7)  
 52 D no::: (.) botando aca: (0.6) no se acaba  
 52 "no, chuck it here, its not finished"  
 53 A (h)  
 54 (0.9)  
 55 D no (.) v'acá (1.2) se deje ese corazón  
 55 no, go here, leave that heart"  
 56 A (h)  
 57 (1.8)  
 58 D >páse::↓la< (1.3) pase:la  
 58 "pass it". "pass it"  
 59 A (h)  
 60 (5.2)

From his new position as navigator, (*D*) then seeks to provide reciprocal guidance and support to his partner. However, the series of assertions and assessments; polar preface (line

48), and verbal *RI*'s (line 50, 52, 55, 58) pointing to epistemic equivalence are received with nothing but mocking laughter from the pilot (line 53, 56, 59). Indeed, the interaction would suggest a wilful disregard of navigator-judge instruction.

In the first phase, the interaction and turn-taking are consistently controlled by the emergent, navigator-judge who has assumed the epistemic authority for framing, directing and assessing proceedings. After a seamless transfer of control there then follows an indication of 'co-constructed' learning as the new navigator-judge, (*D*) first contextualizes (line 32) then assesses and directs (line 48, 52, 55, 58) consistent with the model established by his partner. Unfortunately, (*A*) does not appear to recognise (*D*)'s reciprocal rights to issue instructions/make assessments from the navigator-judge position i.e. the tutorial model is not consecrated, suggesting an overt display of unaccounted deontic incongruence between the participants.

#### 4.2.8 'TUTORIAL' SUMMARY

With reference to organisational narrative of the *MIE*, Mitra (2012) consistently portrays the *SOLE* in the relatively stable, binary forms of 'user/assistant-observer'. In essence, participants with a clear understanding of their roles/identities, readily locate and negotiate websites of relevance and mutual interest, all of which makes the process of collaboration and learning appear unproblematic and indeed, inevitable - supposition not supported by previous examples.

To be sure, the first case - three consecutive episodes - in the Tutorial series sees the pilot (*C*), firmly in control of the *SOLE* and the direction of virtual movement i.e. directing and assessing activity. In the early stages, the expert-pilot is almost completely unaccountable to his partner, no less as a result of on-going computer events that act as a *diversion* to effective collaboration i.e. no affordance for addressing the computer and his partner simultaneously. Not only are potential learning opportunities; based on questions and/or clarifications, lost as the virtual context is updated but the subordinate participant is in danger of being relegated - inadvertently or not - to the entirely passive role of a passenger. At this stage, it would seem that effective communication between participants is dependent on the random pauses in play otherwise, the multi-activity of play-tuition between participants breaks down. Indeed, not all of (*G*)'s interventions are misjudged and/or mistimed. In response to multiple failures by the expert-pilot, it would appear that the observer has acquired sufficient activity awareness to intervene as an assistant and make relevant suggestions. Whilst content is not investigated in any great detail by the participants, (*G*) nonetheless demonstrates the deployment, even acquisition of sufficient social competence to productively intercede as a prospective member of the situated *CoP*. This degree of competency is no doubt assisted by developing pilot understanding and a concomitant increase in levels of supporting narrative, adjusted to reflect emergent screen events.

Continuing, the pilot hands-over the controls to partner. Over the course of this and the preceding episode, a multi-phase ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' (Wenger, 2000) tutorial procedure begins to emerge, including :i) expert model; ii) guided practice; iii) novice control. In the context of a unipolar activity, the sequence boundaries are clearly marked and there is a tacit emergence

of identities/roles founded on turn-by-turn, epistemic differentials between participants (Heritage, 2012). Thereafter, interaction proceeds consistent with an action-list sequence incorporating effectuated repair i.e. computer-mediated repair without the canonical differences between self and other (Greiffenhagen & Watson, 2009). The expert provides a range of tangible and constructive ( $K+$ ) moves in support of his partner including; the identification of objectives, informing and assessment. Meanwhile, his partner assumes a ( $K-$ ) situated novice identity by observing model conduct, following instruction, questioning and seeking confirmation. The evidence indicates that the expert is the dominant party in the turn-taking system to the point of resuming control in the event of error i.e. interaction is broadly reminiscent of the ‘tightly-controlled’ IRF<sup>59</sup> routine often associated with the traditional classroom setting (Walsh 2006). In which case, the co-construction of meaning is minimal and any notion of the collaboration within the context of a *SOLE ZPD* is contingent, emerging as it does along unilateral lines from the dominant partner, irrespective of locality/role.

This ‘ $E \rightarrow N$ ’ relationship is also reflected in the interaction of the fourth episode. Each of the key phases of the tutorial are present with the expert providing support, including: stressed imperatives; assessment; repair, consistent accountability and metanarrative supplemented by apposite and animated language as a means of assisting her partners navigation through and enjoyment of the experience. Unlike the previous episode, the interaction is orientated around *bipolar* relations and a concomitant system of turn-taking *not* categorically defined by the expert. Instead, meaning between pre-adolescents is increasingly co-constructed as the expert provides the framing/narrative, assessment and repair, while the novice practices,

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<sup>59</sup> ‘Initiation-Response-Feedback’ (IRF)

questions and seeks clarification. Despite the unpredictability of real-time, outbound computer events, fluid interaction and consistent accountability reflect an effective switching of expert attention in the context of a play-teach multi-activity. Nonetheless, the novice is overloaded and unable to process information relative to the rapidly emerging screen phenomenon. In which case, the available affordances of the computer are not assisting the familiarisation process. Ultimately, he is forced into a retreat and there is no clear evidence to substantiate any claims of learning.

In the fifth episode, the expert-pilot has provided a model and directions for a unipolar activity before handing over control to his partner. A degree of clarification is required at which point, the expert interrupts at the *k/b*, (re)demonstrates the function and thereafter, requests a sharing of the workload. The framing of the activity and system of turn-taking are definitively controlled by the expert suggesting neither effectuated repair nor the co-construction of knowledge at this time. The novice resumes after a non-confrontational transition at the *k/b* but rejects repeated requests to share control suggesting a clear delineation between notions of assistance and interference. On the basis of positional, deontic authority - and an absence of additional support - the expert submits and a dispute is avoided. Having finally assumed the coveted pilot position, it would seem that the novice wants a degree of operational independence from his partner.

In the sixth episode of the series, the navigator-judge is evidently attempting to provide the framing and direction. In this support role, (*D*) consistently initiates turns-in-talk with suggestions for, and assessment of the pilot's moves i.e. a series of *RI*'s. The majority of

(*D*)'s talk is marked by (*K*+) assertions with supporting rationale associated with presumptions of epistemic authority and control. Nonetheless, there is little indication from the pilot, (*A*) that he either acknowledges or accepts (*D*)'s interjections or offers of assistance. Indeed, in the absence of tangible pilot accountability, the '*E*→*N*' model is not definitively consecrated. Despite the input and the series learning opportunities created by the presumed expert, there is little sign of collaborative co-construction toward a meaningful objective.

In the final episode, the expert-navigator immediately asserts his control over the *SOLE*. From this point forward, he takes the responsibility for framing and directing the activity and assessing the related moves of the pilot. In the absence of requests for clarification, we can assume that pilot dutifully follows instructions i.e a context of effectuated repair. Indeed, it is the expert-navigator who ultimately declares an end to his partner's turn marking an uncontested transition. What follows suggests a reciprocal form of interaction where the new navigator, demonstrating an appreciation of situated competence and possible learning, seeks to direct his partner consistent with the model so recently provided. The new pilot however is not so receptive to control by others. Instead, he consistently ignores a series of *RI*'s from his partner suggesting either a diversion by the computer or a wilful illustration of deontic incongruence and opposition.

Consistent with the representation of *SOLE* interaction presumed by Mitra (2012), micro-analysis of the tutorial phases does suggest predominantly binary relations between the participants. However, the precise form of interaction between participants is seen to be dependent on a number of context-specific, situated features including: 1) the single or multi

player nature of the activity; 2) distribution and perception of authority between participants; 3) timing and relevance of virtual events and; 4) the affordances of the computer. Moreover, the management of multi-activity i.e. play and tuition, around the computer is predominantly marked by periods of: 1) interruption: when the expert resumes control for a novice who is having difficulties; 2) switching and adjustment: when the expert is sufficiently comfortable with the activity to narrate and teach coincidentally; 3) unaccountability: when expert attention is diverted away from the novice by coincident computer events. Finally, the emergence of an ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model of interaction, founded on turn-by-turn, ( $K+/K-$ ) epistemic differentials does suggest that the participants are tacitly aware of the learning potential of the computer-mediated context. However, the evidence suggests that participation is a distinctly unilateral affair, as opposed to a collaborative form characterised by discourse markers of critical thinking i.e. enquiry, discussion, explanation, summarising etc. and progressive forms of learning (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). In contrast to content-centric visions of knowledge (Mitra, 2012), situated learning in the *SOLE* is surely more closely associated with notions of social competence and meaningful, timely actions within an unfamiliar and mediated context. In which case, joint practice and the emerging situated repertoire are founded on assessment sequences that include: action-lists; effectuated repair; place-saving; deictic and embodied reference.

#### 4.2.9 'EVALUATION'

As previously highlighted by Goodwin (1991), peers will employ evaluative commentary as a means of establishing and negotiating the valued signs and symbols of their social world. By 'taking-up a stance', participants not only reference notions of culturally appropriate

behaviour but also position themselves with respect to the local social group/*CoP* that share ‘ways of doing things’; talking, beliefs, values, power relations (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

#### 4.2.9.1 ‘Gatekeeper’

At the start of the episode, the facilitator is negotiating - through (*B*) - a role for (*E*) who has been complaining about persistent exclusion from the *CoP* and *SOLE* participation.

(63)

1	Z1	(name) (0.3) (name) (0.9) (name) (.) deja	
1		“(b), (b), (b), leave it”	
2		(0.3)	
3	B	[‘spere (.) que <u>n]o:::</u>	
3		“wait, no”	
4	Z1	[ pasó una ‘ora ] (0.4) por favor (0.4) por [fav]or	
4		“one hour has gone, please, please”	
5	B		↓[ah:] (.) fastidio=
5			“ah, what a pain”
6	E	=↑a ver (.) que voy a manejarlo	
6		“right, I’m going to control it”	
7		(0.7)	
8	B	°[con este]°	
8		“with this one”	
9	A	[a los do’] (.) no deja manejar	((A→E))
9		“with two, it won’t let you have control”	

(*B*) however, categorically rejects the notion and seeks a delay of compliance (line 3). Whilst he is manifestly irritated by the potential sacrifice of access privilege at this time; assessment



token followed by a pejorative, he does not challenge the authority of (*ZI*), thereby avoiding a dispute (line 5). (*E*) interprets the sequence as a reallocation of rights in his favour and a new operating context going forward i.e. a post-mortem sequence confirming his deontic right to control (line 7). In essence, the political significance of the facilitator (*ZI*) on the social organisation is made apparent. Nonetheless, (*A*) asserts that access remains contingent on the basis that the current activity does not support multi-player participation.

(64)

10 (0.7)

11 E YO- (.) YO MANEJO  
 11 "I, I'm in control"

12 (1.2)

13 A oiga (.) le- (.) ↓[ese] (0.3) [oiga] ((A→k/b))  
 13 "listen, le-, that one, listen"

14 B ↓[oysh] ES[TA NI] SABE (.) CON QUE?  
 14 "oysh, HE DOES NOT KNOW, WITH WHAT"

15 (0.5)

16 E [SI] SEÑOR (.) >CON ESTO (.) con (0.3) esto (.) < y [con todo]  
 16 "YES SIR, WITH THIS ONE, with, this one and with everything"

17 A [si] ((A points to k/b))  
 17 "ok"

18 B ε[si(.)si]ε  
 18 "right, right"

(*E*) arrives on the scene but despite the change in organisation, he is not invited to take a prominent position at the computer. Instead, he is left standing - to one side of (*B*) - from where he attempts to assert privilege; note the use of the personal pronoun and the coincident change in register (line 11). (*A*) nods his head in apparent acknowledgment and attempts to



33 A con este  
33 "with this one"  
34 (.)  
35 B que no le ayude (0.9) déjelo (.) déjelo ((B→A))  
35 "don't help him, leave him, leave him"  
36 (2.5)  
37 E °\* (1.8) uh bah (2.5) uh bah (2.5) bajo (1.3) 'spere°  
37 "°, uh bah, uh bah, down, wait"  
38 A °no°  
38 "no"  
39 (6.7)  
40 E do (0.3) [pah (.) pah (.) pah]  
41 A >[ mil años después ]<  
41 "a thousand years later"  
42 (0.5)  
43 B £·hhh£  
44 (0.9)  
45 B <mira (.) ese guevon no lo sabe> ((B→Z1))  
45 "look, this dummy knows nothing"  
46 (1.3)  
47 B venga (.) me le busco ((B moves E's hand))  
47 "come on, I'll look for it"

Once again, (*E*) refers the dispute to the facilitator at which point, (*B*) reluctantly cedes control but not without a covert act of physical aggression (line 25). However, access remains qualified as the novice is still required to demonstrate his situated competency (line 26). (*E*) still appears ready to rise to the challenge (line 29) and once again, (*A*) is willing to provide assistance. However, (*B*) regards this initiation test as a solo effort switching between the

screen and (A) whilst repeatedly and overtly rejecting (line 26, 35) offers of assistance (line 32, 33).



**Image 30: 'no le ayude'**

(E) then is attempting to navigate alone, alternating his focus between screen and *k/b* to check and co-ordinate his interactions (line 37, 40). Note, the hushed talk at this time seemingly reflects a gesture of self-assurance in the absence of *CoP* support and his partners do not orient to this period of non-communication (Garvey, 1984). However, his virtual interaction is being closely observed by (B) in his assumed role of gatekeeper. Indeed, in the absence of any notable or sustained progress, even his supporter, (A) issues a temporal pejorative in (E)'s direction (line 41). (B)'s ironic laughter suggests an alignment regarding the novices deficiencies and his ongoing *MCD* construction as an *CoP* outsider.



57                    "and that why you're so stupid, now its coming"  
58                    (0.9)  
59    E                ↓ay (.) (\*)  
59                    "ay, \*"  
60                    (0.4)  
61    A                >me toca mi<  
61                    "its my turn"

(*B*) then has resumed control over the computer. Despite his rejection, (*E*) remains on the scene and continues to lobby for membership of the *CoP*, by directing the next move; deictic and gesture, in response to screen phenomena (line 50). This could be interpreted as a potential act of face-saving act by the dispossessed. However, (*E*) is allegedly mistaken and the gatekeeper does not miss the opportunity to correct and insult the novice (line 51, 53) reinforcing his marginalised identity. Nonetheless, (*E*) does not backdown and provides a 'third' account of the repair (line 53) suggesting that (*B*)'s move does is in fact, reflect his own intention and understanding (line 55). Rather than address the facts, this only prompts a further non-affiliate response from (*B*); a 'format tie' (Goodwin, 1991) with sarcastic prosody (*TCU1*), a pejorative (*TCU2*) and a reference to an anticipated output as an indication of his own epistemic authority (line 57). The novice response is not audible but has the intonation of resignation and submission. Indeed, (*A*) then intercedes with a claim and any dispute is diverted.

In sum, (*E*) has not been able to gain access to the pilot position for some time and requires the assistance of the facilitator (*ZI*) before his inclusion within the *CoP* is even considered. The terms of acceptance however, require the incumbent to demonstrate his situated

competence and do so without the support of other group members i.e. conditions unilaterally established and enforced by *(B)* in his privileged role as gatekeeper. Despite the non-affiliate nature of the interaction, *(E)* not only accepts the terms of incorporation with the *CoP* but *(B)*'s right to establish and enforce these terms i.e. a deontic congruence that justifies his own marginalisation. Ultimately, *(A)* and *(B)* frame *(E)*'s efforts in a consistently pejorative manner providing the gatekeeper with sufficient authority and justification to unilaterally declare failure and reassert his control over the pilot position i.e. *MCD* equated to novice failure.

#### 4.2.9.2 'With This'

At the commencement of the episode, *(A)* and *(B)* are the incumbents. The computer is orientated toward *(B)* while *(E)* is stood to his right. There is a notable change on the screen - the end of a loading procedure - at which point, *(B)* momentarily sits back and makes assertive request for information coupled with gaze response mobiliser towards *(E)*, establishing an assessment frame seemingly founded on a *(K+)* stance of epistemic authority (line 1).

(67)

1	B	↑ya (.) a'o[ra] que?	((B relinquishes to E))
1		"ok, now what?"	
2	A	[ay]	
2		"ay"	
3	A	ay (.) 'agale (0.9) a- (0.3) a que (.) [lo] (.) prestar	
3		"ay, do it, a, that, press it"	
4	E	es[te]	
4		"this one"	

5 B no (.) deje que no  
5 "no, certainly not"  
6 (1.0)  
7 E con este? ((E→B))  
7 "with this one?"  
8 (1.6)  
9 B ↓no ((A→k/b))  
9 "no"  
10 (1.7) ((B resists A))  
11 E ah::: (.) con este (1.1) con este?  
11 "ah, with this one". "with this one?"  
12 (0.5) ((E glance))  
13 B ↑huh ((A & B shrug))  
13 "huh"  
14 (3.4)

Not only has (*B*) resumed the unquestioned authority of the ‘expert-gatekeeper’ to determine this frame of reference but (*E*) is once again required to demonstrate a degree of competence before access to the *CoP* is even considered. Indeed, (*B*) offers no further instructions/direction compelling (*E*) to discover functionality through the successively reference of keys while seeking turn-by-turn clarification from the incumbents (line 4, 7, 11) that reinforces his relative, (*K*-) subordinate position. (*E*)’s enquiries; an action-list sequence of demonstrative deixis (lines 4, 7, 11), are punctuated by pauses while (*E*) considers his virtual options (line 6, 8, 10, 11, 12). Meanwhile, (*B*) responds with no more than rudimentary, non-specific assessments; negative declaratives (line 5, 9). Moreover, a further attempt to an intervene at the *k/b* by (*A*) is once again blocked by the gatekeeper who physically removes his hand (line 10).



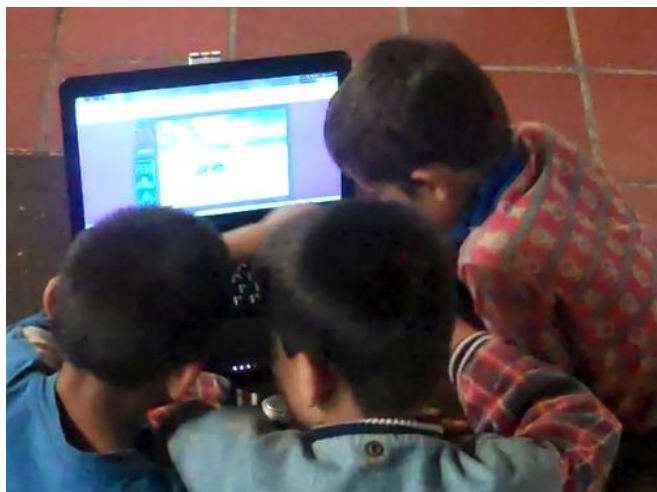


Image 32: 'cerra el paso'

However, it seems that (*E*) 'picks-up' a clue from this embodied action and marks his next attempt with an assertion as opposed to an interrogative (line 11); a stressed receipt token (*TCU1*) followed by a demonstrative-deictic (*TCU2*). It is left unaccounted, at which point the novice glances at (*A*); a response mobiliser, and seeks confirmation (*TCU3*). He is received with little more than ambivalent response cry and a simultaneous shrug from both co-participants (line 13). The novice turns back to the computer screen on the presumption that this latest attempt is also unsuccessful. However, the conspicuous interactional shift in response i.e. ambivalence as opposed to a negative declarative, would suggest that the novice was probably correct, compounding the sense of a non-affiliate environment where participants can resist *CoP* inclusion without an overt dispute.

(68)

15	E	°hay u[na]°	
15		"there's one"	
16	A	[un]a- (.) pe- (.) ah:- ( ) s:say	((A across k//b))
16		"one, p, a, s"	

17 E †ah ((B resists A))  
 17 "ah"  
 18 B >con es:te<(.) mala dura (.)>con es:te<(.)mire(.)con este (.) mire  
 18 "with this one, idiot, with this one, look, with this one, look"  
 19 (.)  
 20 B que 'izo? ((B pushes E))  
 20 "what did you do?"

After a further activity-mediated pause (line, 14), (A) once again offers assistance to (E) including alignment to observable phenomena; overlap, and direct reference with supporting metanarrative to a number of the relevant keys (line 16). And once again, (B) resists (A)'s apparent attempts to help (line 17). Despite the fact that it is the gatekeeper himself who has framed this period of speculative interaction, it is his patience that snaps first. To this effect, he deploys a format tie; repeated deixis with ironic stressed prosody, and insult as a means of diminishing (A) relative to his own organisational preferences (line 18). Rather than seeking an account for action, the gatekeeper is simply imposing his presumed deontic authority on the situation. Moreover, he simultaneously uses his arm to prevent (E) from further *k/b* interaction. Having chastised (A), he then switches his attention to (E); a stressed request for information, who is continuing to interact at the *k/b*.

(69)

21 (1.0) ((A→k/b))  
 22 B ay[ss]: (.) [mire] (.) <eso también (.) que 'izo?>  
 22 ayss, look, you as well, what you did? ((B resists A))  
 23 A no (.) mire ((A→k/b))  
 23 "no, look"  
 24 B 'sperese"  
 24 "will you wait"

25 A espere que (.)[lo]-(.) [vo]y a arreglar a (.) mire (.) ya lo arregle  
25 "wait, it, I'll fix it, look, I can fix it" ((A→k/b x2))

26 B '[sp]ere[se]  
26 "will you wait"

27 (0.3)

28 B ↑ya (.) eso (.) en este (.) en [este] ((B→k/b))  
28 "ok, that one, in this one, in this one"

29 E [buen]o  
29 "ok"

30 (0.9) ((E moves B's hand from k/b))

31 E ↑ay:: (.) >póngame asien[to]< ((E→B))  
31 "ay, give me a seat"

32 B ↑[oy]::: (.) y también?  
32 "oy, that too?"

33 (0.3)

34 E \* usted ((E moves computer))  
34 "you \*"  
35 (.)

36 B no:: (.) déjalo (.) sí?  
36 "no, leave it, ok"

37 (0.4)

38 B mire (.) c[on] el dedo ((B forcing E's hand))  
38 "look, with the finger"

39 Z1 eh [ah] ((E resists))

40 Z1 (name)  
40 "(B)"

41 B con el dedo (.) mire=  
41 "with the finger, look"

42 Z1 =(na[me])  
42 (z1)

43 E [NO] ME DEJA SENTAR

43                   "HE WONT LET ME SIT DOWN"  
44    Z1       (name)  
44               (B)  
45    B       pero (.) es que quiere (.) [todo]                               ((B→Z1))  
45               "but, its just that he wants, everything"  
46    Z1   [com]parte  
46   "share"

While (*B*) and (*E*) negotiate their respective roles (line 20), (*A*) once again seeks to intervene at the *k/b*, presumably to push the activity forward from the perpetual evaluation of the novice's competence (line 21). Even before the novice can account for his actions, the gatekeeper has switched his attention to (*A*) and challenges in a similar manner (line 22) including a stressed request for information (*TCU4*). (*A*) seeks to account for his intervention; a negative declarative and a summons (line 23) supplemented by a rational (line 25). On two occasions, (*B*) simply responds with an assertive request for delay and a counteracting, physical gesture; moving the interlopers hands away from the *k/b*. In the context of a dispute, (*A*) insists on participation through embodied action. After the third rejection however, he withdraws and there is no escalation. Indeed, joint attention has returned to the screen (line 28) where the gatekeeper marks a coincident, even convenient screen event; affirmative assessment token (*TCU1*). Then something rather curious and unexpected occurs.

Having consistently demonstrated conspicuous, non-affiliate behaviour toward (*E*), the gatekeeper suddenly and unexpectedly changes his stance. For (*E*)'s benefit, he now makes direct references; repeated deixis, to the relevant, activity-related functions/keys (line 28). (*E*) acknowledges the offer (line 29) but then seeks to cement his enhanced symbolic position

within the group by demanding a superordinate position at the *k/b*; a request with the intonation of a complaint (line 31). This request is rejected with blatant sarcasm by the gatekeeper suggesting that (*E*) should be careful not to ‘push his luck’. Instead, (*E*) then seeks a reorientation of the computer (line 34), an action that is also intercepted and denied by (*B*); polar preface and an imperative (line 36).



**Image 33:** ‘con el dedo’

Rather than move the computer or allow the novice independent access, (*B*) seeks an unorthodox compromise, grabbing (*A*)’s hand and attempting to demonstrate correct *k/b* positioning through physical force i.e. sharing and controlling. The move is witnessed and resisted by (*E*) and (*ZI*), the resulting account from the gatekeeper suggesting that the novice’s demands are unreasonable (line 45). (*ZI*) does not address this point but rather insists on a moral imperative as a basis for interaction. (*B*) does not contest this proposition and more likely, ignores it by returning his attention to the screen.

In an extension to the ‘Gatekeeper’ episode, (*E*) is given access to the computer but only on the terms established by another, more senior participant. (*E*) is once again challenged to prove his competence - unaided - before he is considered a member of the *CoP*. As a novice, (*E*)’s efforts are limited to spurious deictic references for which he seeks (*K-*) clarification. Meanwhile, any attempt to assist him or hasten the process - by (*A*) - is resisted. Despite the patent fact that the gatekeeper himself is responsible for framing this action-list - guessing game - format of initiation, it is he who loses his patience, sequentially deriding the novice and then, unilaterally rejecting (*A*)’s unauthorised interventions at the *k/b*. (*A*)’s embodied challenges to the gatekeepers presumptions of deontic authority are diverted by a coincident screen event thereby avoiding ‘take up’ and dispute.

Nonetheless and despite all the non-affiliate behavior to date, (*B*) suddenly and unexpectedly changes his stance and attempts to demonstrate computer functionality to the novice. However in his efforts to protect his privileged position, he decides to employ physical force, a move that is incepted by the facilitator on the basis of a moral imperative. In sum, it would appear that (*E*) is simply not permitted to discover the computer on his own terms and free from conspicuous evaluation and interference from privileged member of the club. Note, another computer is available - if occupied - during this sequence yet despite these assimilation issues, (*E*) persists and does not seek alternate means of social reorganisation.

#### 4.2.9.3 ‘Skateboard’

This exchange illustrates many of the common features of talk that sustain interactional coherence during mediated play. In a continuation of the previous episode, (*E*) has managed



(A) makes an assessment of current events (line 1). There is tag question attached (*TCU3*) and a glance i.e. a pair of mobilisers, suggesting a (*K-*) position of seeking clarification from his partner (*B*). (*B*)’s attention is fixed on the screen and he concurs; delayed and cursory response, but without *F2F* contact (line 3). Joint attention returns to the screen (line 4) where the pilot, (*E*) marks a screen event; a response cry (line 5). The downward intonation suggests an undesirable occurrence to which (*B*) aligns with unequivocal *RI*: stressed polar preface and a pair of declaratives (line 7, 9). In view of the mildly amused responses from his partners, as opposed to criticism, correction or clarification, it is presumed that the pilot completes the effectuated repair (line 11, 12). A visible change on the screen is then marked by the pilot as he steps back and makes an intermediate assessment of progress suggesting that he has acquired some sense of situated, performance metrics (line 13, 14). There is no time for confirmation however, as the activity recommences (line 15) and is marked by the pilot; stressed response cry (*TCU1*) and declarative (*TCU2*). However, nodding head movements at this time suggest that the pilot is not entirely comfortable and still trying to coordinate effectively between screen activity with *k/b* position. In which case, he seeks (*K-*) confirmation of a particular, ‘cautious’ playing style that suits him; declarative (*TCU3*) plus tag question (*TCU4*) and key reference (*TCU5*). It would seem that his partner, (*B*) has also witnessed the emerging problem and issues the key reference while physically moving to the *k/b* (line 17). The repeated directive/deictic reflects the speed of effectuation required in relation to the activity.

(71)

18 E [ah ah]<sup>o</sup> (.) ↑ah (.) ah (.) ah (.) ah  
 19 (.)  
 20 E ay (.) no ma' (.) [a::s] ((E moves away))



20 "ay, no more, as"

21 A ↓[.hhh] (.) ↓ow:: (0.5) me toca

21 "ay, ow, my turn"

22 (0.4)

23 E si ve? (.) ↓ays: ((A & B move computer))

23 "really, as"

24 (0.5)

25 B se toca ráp[ido]ismo ((B glance to E))

25 "you have to play very fast"

26 E >[voy] (.) a ese (.) no me-<

26 "I'm going, to that one, I didn't"

27 (.)

28 B el (.) ya jugó (.) (name) (0.5) y [yo] coloco ((B→Z1))

28 "he, has had a go, (z1), and it's my go"

29 E ↓[si]:

29 "yes"

30 (1.6) ((B→pad))

The incumbent pilot, (*E*) does not overtly resist his partners intervention at this time (line 16, 17). However, he soon recognises the imminent danger of virtual failure, reflected in increasing stress on a series of response cries (line 18). Moreover, he attempts to direct his partner (line 20); directive (*TCU2*) in anticipation of his own demise (*TCU3*). He then steps away from the computer with a deep frown and arms folded (line 20) in the almost certain knowledge that despite the fleeting nature of his turn and a failed intervention from (*B*), the logic of the activity coupled with his lowly position in the *CoP* hierarchy dictates that he will lose control of the pilot position.



**Image 34: 'no mas'**

(*B*) does not acknowledge any degree of culpability or accountability despite (*E*)'s directive (line 20), the resulting failure or his demonstrably, embodied irritation (line 20). He steps back from computer and glares at his partners. Meanwhile, (*A*) acknowledges the failure (Line 21): exhalation (*TCU1*) and a response cry with downward intonation (*TCU2*), suggesting a certain sympathy. Nonetheless, as a super-ordinate member of the group, he does not miss the opportunity to announce social reorganisation reflecting his own access privilege (*TCU2*). (*E*) challenges this reorganisation at the very moment that the computer is being reoriented (line 23); declarative (*TCU1*), and reluctantly acknowledges his demotion; a response cry with downward intonation (*TCU2*). In view of his frustration (line 23, 26), (*B*) seems to account for the failure by critiquing (*E*)'s preferred playing style i.e. (*K+*) informing not acknowledged by a change of state token (Heritage, 2010). Moreover and in anticipation of a possible upgrade, (*B*) issues a status report to the facilitator (line 28). (*E*) does not dispute the account and indeed, his response and sullen disposition reflect his apparent impotence within the group.

As an individual consistently pushed to the margins of the *CoP*, (*E*) has had to wait a considerable period of time before gaining access to the pilot position - this instance is recorded at 52 minutes into the session. In advance of this sequence, there is virtually no verbal interaction between the participants in support of (*E*); no signs of affiliation or an equivalent animation of the ongoing activity. Nonetheless when the opportunity arises, (*B*) does offer some constructive direction and intervenes definitively at the *k/b* to avoid an activity failure. Once a failure occurs however, the observers waste no time initiating a social reorganisation consistent with the logic of the activity. Despite the incumbents obvious disappointment, (*B*) not only fails to acknowledge accountability to (*E*) but in anticipation of a dispute, he immediately justifies and defends his actions through a remote facilitator.

#### 4.2.10 'EVALUATION' SUMMARY

Within the context of the exemplars provided, explicit peer evaluation is deployed as a means of controlling access to the *CoP* with reference to valued and situation competencies. In the first episode, (*B*) challenges his compatriot, (*E*) to prove his worth whilst overtly blocking offers of assistance from another member. By accepting the challenge in its undiluted form, (*E*) not only accepts the authority of another but also (*B*)'s right to frame and assess the quality of interaction i.e. examiner/examinee. The examinee makes speculative moves with reference to aspects of valued knowledge i.e. the link between computer keys, functionality and virtual effect. From the dominant position of examiner, authority and control is sustained through unaccounted intervention, pejoratives, laughter, threats and even feigned ignorance. With the exception of some muted assistance in the final episode, (*E*) is 'destined to fail', hence a justified exclusion, leaving the social order of role and resources intact. Whilst *SOLE*

may have a superficial appearance of collaboration providing everyone with the opportunity to participate (Mitra, 2006), micro-analysis would suggest a distinctly autocratic form of control through pejorative evaluation. Despite the unsympathic nature of social interaction at this point, assertive imposition of authority can be readily associated with group defensive strategies (Corsaro, 2005) and certainly, those prevalent amongst boys (Goodwin, 1991). In recognition of his subordinate position within the group and the non-affiliate behaviour of others, the novice/examinee consistently seeks the support of the facilitator as opposed to engaging in open dispute.

#### 4.2.11 'OUTAGE'

There are times when the activity or access to the computer is interrupted by an unanticipated technical failure of some kind, but how do the participants respond?

##### 4.2.11.1 'Black-Out 1'

In advance of this episode, (A) and (B) are sat in front of the computer awaiting the completion of a loading procedure and are talking about another group member, (E) in distinctly unflattering terms. This line of conversation is interrupted by a screen update marked by the pilot (line 1); an affirmation (TCU1) and a deictic reference (TCU2), and an ambivalent reference either to the previous conversation or to computer status; declarative (TCU3). Either way, his partners attention is immediately drawn to the screen and no accountability is evident (line 3)

(72)

1 B †si (.) aca (.) es tan bobo



crash as opposed to a power failure (line 4). The combined frustration of the participants is registered by overlapping response cries with descending intonation (line 5, 6). In the context of the event, (A) appears to supplement the token with an incomplete assertion (*TCU2*) i.e. a possible presumption of authority over the unanticipated situation which ends without a specific referent/cause of failure. Once again, this stance is not acknowledged by the pilot. Instead, (B)'s focus is on the virtual problem and an initial - head in his hands - gesture of frustration (line 5) is soon replaced by an intent to seek a solution in the direction of the dongle - a USB device that enables a wireless connection to the internet. Meanwhile, he cautions his partner not to interfere at this time; a delay imperative (line 8). Note, the rush to find a practical solution pre-empts any attempt to name the problem and/or justify recuperative action. Indeed, (A) challenges his partner's action before he's even aware of its purpose or impact; a stressed polar preface followed by a glance from the screen to the dongle (line 9). An apparent divergence of opinion is then ratified as (A) cuts across (B) and declares his intent with an *RI* and unilaterally re-initiates of the computer (line 11). Note, this is hardly an untypical response to technical problems particularly in the absence of supporting information from a disabled artefact. Nonetheless, (B) anticipates the intervention and attempts to intercept; overlap of contestation with a further, assertive delay imperative but the switch-off is complete and the screen 'blacks-out' (line 11).



Image 35: 'por aqui'

(*B*)'s response to the switch-off (line 12); a stressed deictic reference supplemented by *F2F* confrontation and hand gesture (*TCU2*) is indicative of a unequivocal rejection i.e. the problem is 'here not there'. On the basis of this assessment, (*A*) is not required to provide an account (Stivers & Rossano, 2010), he is simply mistaken i.e. an enforcer-offender *SRP*. Nonetheless, he delivers a muted reiteration of the previous proposition, as opposed to a rationale presumably to 'save face'; (line 14). The dismissal of (*A*)'s remedial work and account is then encapsulated by the perjorative response cry (line 16) all of which re-enforces a situated differential of authority in favour of the adolescent pilot.

(73)

17		(1.5)		((A→dongle))
18	B	<u>quie::</u> to ala (.) que no se puede quedar quieto		
18		"leave it mate, why can't you leave it alone"		
19		(.)		
20	A	↑eh (.) pero mire (.) que ese era azul=		((dongle light))
20		"but look, that was blue"		
21	B	=bobo		((B→switch))
21		"stupid"		

In an effort to re-establish control over the *SOLE*, it is the pilot, (*B*) who re-initiates the computer (line 16). Undeterred, (*A*) now redirects his attention toward the dongle. In order to prevent further disruptive intervention, the pilot/rule-enforcer reaches across the *k/b* while simultaneously, delivering an unequivocal criticism; assertive and repeated directives (line 18). This being the third slot in another dispute sequence, (*A*) reacts with an account of his actions (line 20) and once again, he is readily dismissed with a pejorative (line 21), one that (*A*) doesn't refute/challenge. Meanwhile in the continued absence of a picture, the pilot once again engages the 'on-off' switch.

(74)

22		(1.2)		((E arrives))
23	E	por que no me deja?		
23		"why don't you let me play?"		
24	B	<u>mire</u> (.) l'apago (.) ese		((B→A))
24		"look, he switched it off"		
25	E	ay::sh (.) que <u>no</u> :		((E→switches))
25		"aysh, oh no"		
26		(0.4)		
27	A	°a'ora (.) [us]ted l'apagó°		
27		"now you've switched it off"		
28	B	[ya]		
28		"now"		
29		(0.3)		
30	B	[mir]elo ↑ya (.) la (prendió) (0.5) y <u>quieto</u> (.) ↑si ((B→A))		
30		"now look, its switched on, so behave, ok"		

At this point, (*E*) enters the vicinity and lodges an access claim (line 23). The corpus suggests that (*E*) has been consistently marginalised and ordinarily, has faced unequivocal rejection



for such inappropriately timed entry-requests. However, in view of the current context of outage, the pilot appears to have sufficient cause not to accept (*E*)'s claim, only this time on the basis of (*A*)'s actions; an unequivocal negative assessment with referent gesture (line 24).



**Image 36: 'l'apago'**

(*E*) clearly understands the ramification; with a negative assessment of his own and unilaterally re-initiates the computer (line 25), an action discretely noted by (*A*). In view of his recent loss of face, (*A*) may be reluctant to overreach his authority at this stage. Rather, it is (*B*) who marks the re-initiation of the computer (line 28, 30); tokens in response to panel illuminations, and immediately reasserts his authority with a post-expansion qualification of (*A*)'s future involvement (line 30). In this case, the absence of acknowledgment would suggest acceptance and a deontic congruence between the participants.

In sum, a screen black-out of unknown origin has interrupted the computer activity of the incumbents (*A*) and (*B*). There is no communal attempt to name or diagnose the problem. Instead, the participants 'head-off' in different directions in search of a solution and the

episode is characterised by a sequential dispute sequences. In both cases however, (B) dismisses the unauthorised intrusion of his partner through a mixture of interactional devices, including; negation, blame and ritual insult.

#### 4.2.11.2 'Black-Out 2'

Once again, the data suggest collaboration as (A) provides commentary to the prevailing activity (line 34). A subsequent screen black-out event triggers an apparently identical and sequential series of enquiries from each of the participants (line 35, 38, 40).

(75)

33 (3.4)

34 A °ay (.) ya salió de mi cuerpo° ((screen black-out))

34 "ay, its left my body"

35 B eso (.) que e'

35 "whats this"

36 (0.3)

37 B [yo quiero jugar]

37 "I want to play"

38 A [oy:: (.)]es:o que]

38 oy, what is that?

39 (0.4)

40 E oy (.) eso que:?

40 "oy, what is that?"

41 (.)

42 A †oy (.) mire (0.7) se [apa]go= ((refers to dongle))

42 "oy, look, it switched off"

43 E [ah:]

44 (0.5)

A collective choral alignment to the event is clear. However, the prosody associated with each utterance suggests potentially different social actions. In the first place, (B) from the pilot position marks the problem; a deitic reference but with no clear intonation (line 35). In the absence of the interrogative, the event is perceived as simply intruding on his ability to play. A reading that is subsequently validated (line 37). His partner, (A) aligns with an apparent gesture of affiliation; downward, rhetorical intonation directed at the computer. This leaves (E) - from the margins - to deploy a genuine enquiry as to the source of the problem i.e. a (K-) negative interrogative and request for information. However, the novice, (E) does not receive a direct response. Instead, (A) calls the attention of group; a response cry, a summons and an informing declarative with a supporting gesture, to the dongle (line 42). This is not ratified by a change of state token from his partners (Heritage, 2010). Indeed, the stressed intonation on (E)'s assessment response token would suggest that he is not convincing by the remedial work (line 43).

(76)

45 E oy (0.3) donde es? (.) >adonde< (.) ([pren]de) ((B→switch))  
 45 "where is it, where, do you switch on?"  
 46 A [no es] (.) d- (.) de a:↑cá ((dongle))  
 46 "its not, fr, from here"  
 47 E ya- (.) no (.) de a:[quí]  
 47 "stop, no, from here"  
 48 A [no] (.) de aquí ((A→switch))  
 48 "no, from here"  
 49 (0.3)  
 50 E ya  
 50 "stop"  
 51 (.)



59 (1.8)

60 B °↑pere (.) ↓pere° (.) ↑ya (.) ↑ya (.) ↑ya  
60 "wait, wait, ok, ok, ok"

61 (0.5)

62 E es:e (.) prenda ((B→switch))  
62 "that one, switch it on"

63 A no (.) esa:: (.) hay que llegar azul ((A→dongle))  
63 "no, that one, it has turn to blue"

64 (1.1) ((screen on))

65 B ya:: (.) que ya:: ((B→A's hand))  
65 "ok, ok"

In the continued absence of a picture, marked by (*B*); negative declarative, he relents from his previously held position i.e a power supply problem. He moves across the computer to give some attention to the dongle, consistent with (*A*)'s previous proposal (line 55). (*A*) warns against any further positional change; repeated, stressed temporal directives (line 58), as (*B*) makes delicate adjustments whilst simultaneously monitoring the lights on the computer panel. Moreover, repeated assessment tokens suggest that the work is complete (line 60). Nonetheless, he then returns to the power switch, a move that (*E*) marks (line 62). (*A*) counters this move once again; polar preface and unratified informing (line 63) but after a short delay, (*B*) marks the computer re-initiation (*TCUI*) and resist any further interference by moving (*A*)'s hand from the dongle (line 65). In sum, the adolescent (*B*) has reasserted himself. Despite the concerns of (*A*), he performs his repairs and at each stage, anticipates and warns against any further disruption.

This episode illustrates a highly complex interaction towards problem resolution. On the basis of recurrent assessment and unilateral repair coupled with unratified (*K+*) informing, it is clear that (*A*) and (*E*) have different views on the problem source. Indeed, the reaction on each occasion suggests that each participant is oblivious to and/or dismissive of the other in the context of a disagreement i.e. there is no dispute take-up. In the absence of observable progress, (*B*) asserts himself, noting an erroneous connection between dongle position and computer status. Indeed, he vigorously resists the countering of the previous phase i.e. an assertive deployment of authority as the pilot. In sum, the solution is located through an iterative and spurious process of ‘trail and error’ characterised by unilateral attempts at problem resolution.

#### 4.2.11.3 ‘Dongle’

The audio recording would suggest that (*A*) & (*G*) are located at the computer and (*A*) is in pilot position. (*D*) enters the vicinity of the *SOLE* - coming from *Lap2* - and makes an assertive request (line 1).

(78)

1	D	me la presta	
1		"let me borrow it"	
2	A	<u>no:::</u>	
2		"no"	
3		(.)	
4	D	espere (.) que yo voy a [quitar esa memoria]	((D→dongle))
4		"wait, I am going to remove that memory"	
5	A		↓[argh::: ]
6	D	=°(yo lo cogi)°	

(A) responds with an emphatic and unmitigated rejection; stressed negative declarative. Nevertheless, (D) is already 'in the act', suggesting that the original request and supporting declaration are entirely rhetorical (line 4). (A) responds with a token of resignation - as opposed to a counter i.e. no dispute at this time. Note also, that all the participants erroneously yet consistently refer to the device as a 'memory' despite their apparent awareness of functionality.

(79)

11 (4.2)

12 A no (.) digale que 'sa no sirve

12 "no, I'm telling you that that one doesn't work"

13 (0.4) ((computer alert))

14 D ↑ay (.) si: (.) como va (1.2) ya se (0.3) ese=

14 "ay, yes, I know how it works, I know it"

15 A =si (.) pero me toca conectar:la

15 "yes, but it's my turn to connect it"

16 (0.5)

The audio recording would suggest that (D) did not leave the scene with the dongle. Instead, (A) is able retrieve the device without confrontation, reinserts it into the computer issues a (K+) informing (line 12) that is not ratified by a change of state token. Indeed, if the device is malfunctioning, why is (A) reluctant to surrender it in the first place? (D) is not persuaded and having witnessed (A) reinsert the device (line 13) asserts an epistemic equivalence (line 14) which in turn, prompts (A) into a further contradictory account; 'the device is serviceable

but it is in use'. Note that this `change of logic` is a tactic previously used by (A) in order to retain control.

(80)

17 C oysh:: (.) no `aga así tampoco (.) (name)  
17 "oysh, you don't do it like that either, (A)"  
18 (.)  
19 Q >Y[O QUIERO A:SI ]<  
19 "I want it like this"  
20 C [uste (.) lo que tiene es] que hacerle es esto (.) mire  
20 "what you have to do is this, look"  
21 A mire (.) °huh°  
21 "look, huh"  
22 (0.9)  
23 A pai:la=  
23 "damn it"

By this stage, (C) - an adolescent boy - has arrived on the scene and delivers a definitively negative assessment of (A)'s actions (line 17); a stressed response cry and (K+) assertion. Moreover, he supplements his assessment with an offer to demonstrate correct usage (line 20). (A) neither accepts nor rejects the offer but instead, opens up a communication channel presumably to prove his competency in front of other group members and thereafter, retain privilege (line 21). Unfortunately, the resulting general pejorative suggest that events are not progressing as anticipated (line 23).

(81)

24 C =ay: (.) yo me llevo esta memor[ia]  
24 "ay, I'll take this memory"  
25 A [no] (.) diga (.) NO::



25 "no, I said, NO  
 26 D no  
 26 "no"  
 27 D [entregue]  
 27 "hand it over!"

In the context of a dispute, (A)'s account is deemed inadequate allowing (C) to reassert his own authority over the *SOLE*; declarative (line 24), an act that is strongly negated/resisted by (A) in the dispute third (line 25) and itself countered by (D); aggravated request (line 26, 27).

(82)

28 C heh:::::[\* ]  
 29 A [NO (.) POR QUE NO SIRVE] (.) TOMEN SU MEMORIA  
 29 "NO, BECAUSE IT DOESN'T WORK, USE YOUR OWN MEMORY!"  
 30 D NO:::::  
 30 "NO"  
 31 (.)  
 32 A >[MIRE QUE] (.) no sir:ve<  
 32 "LOOK, it doesn't work"  
 33 D [a que la-]  
 33 "\*"   
 34 (.)  
 35 A >esa sir:ve<  
 35 "that one works"  
 36 (.)  
 37 D (na::me) (.) pero no la sirve  
 37 "(Z1), but it doesn't work"

The dispute is thereafter taken up by (A) and reflected in the polar preface, a reciprocal ( $K+$ ) exchange of unsupported assertions and a conspicuous change of register. The exchange orients around ownership with (A) intent on maintaining possession by shifting position in relation to device functionality. As anticipated by Garvey (1984), upgrades and downgrades - in register - are mirrored by the participants during the interaction. Note again that in the absence of computer-mediation, the interaction is increasingly canonical (Sacks et al, 1974). Moreover, without a reasoned compromise, (D) once again looks to co-opt the authority of (ZI) (line 37).

(83)

55 (1.1)  
56 A mire (0.9) mire (.) >conectar< (.) ·hh  
56 "look, look, to connect"  
57 (.)  
58 A >n- (.) no hay (.) ninguno (0.3) disponible<  
58 "n, there is nothing available"  
59 (0.8)  
60 A 'pere (.) PARE (.) para >conectar< (.) por favor  
60 wait, STOP, to connect, please"  
61 (0.5)  
62 A >insertarlo (0.3) y (0.6) en (0.3) cien (.) relo (0.3) s?i<  
62 "please, insert it, and, and turn it on, yes"  
63 (1.0)  
64 A >se(.) encuentra (.) apagado (0.5) e:sa (.) memoria (.) sirve<  
64 "you find it, switch it off, that, memory, works"  
65 (0.5)  
66 D sirve? (1.9) ↑um (.) no sabia  
66 "it works? um, I didn't know"

In conclusion, (A) demonstrates the absence of functionality in order to prove his point. He does so by repeating, word for word, the feedback commentary of the screen (line 56, 58, 60, 62, 64). At no point do the other participants intervene i.e. recognition of a definitive boundary marking a temporary change in the speech-exchange system. In terms of the activity however, (D) is seemingly no more enlightened by the explanation (line 66).

In sum, an absence of device functionality is in effect, an issue of local authority within the context of an ownership dispute. In order to sustain his position, the incumbent (A) deploys a supporting rationale which is challenged and prompts a change in logic. An offer to demonstrate functionality is rejected, the demand is sustained and the dispute; in the form of reciprocal ( $K+$ ) assertions, is taken-up culminating in a request for the support of a third party. In order to prove his point, (A) attempts to use the device - connecting the internet – and refers directly the computer output as a means of substantiate his point. He does so without further interaction/interruption from the group though it would seem that at least one of the claimants remains confused.

#### 4.2.12 'OUTAGE' SUMMARY

In advance of the first outage, the data suggests that the participants are operating collaboratively i.e. an effectuated repair. However, the analysis of talk 'post-blackout' suggests an entirely different mode of operation/interaction. Sequential, divergent and unsuccessful repair sequences are undertaken in the context of visual assessment and dispute. On each occasion, the offender's attempts to account for his actions are singularly dismissed

by the rule-enforcer who furthermore, does not miss the opportunity to pass the blame - for the outage - on to the offender.

The second case commences with a choral response to a screen black-out. Once again, the assessment sequences result in unilateral as opposed to effectuated repair i.e. no accountability in the context of a disagreement as participants engage in speculative actions. Moreover, an aversion to collaboration at this time creates an additional level of confusion most obviously, frequent 'on-off' switching of the computer. Up to this point, much of the speculative activity founded on unratified (*K+*) informings appears to override the normal lines of situated authority. That is until the adolescent, (*B*) assumes unilateral control founded on his dominance within the situated hierarchy. Whilst his moves are no less speculative, in the absence of interference, he is at least able to restore computer functionality.

In view of the functional importance of internet connective to the effectiveness of *SOLE*, this final episode revolves around ownership of the dongle and is thereafter, reminiscent of an orthodox dispute. The right to obtain and retain the device is undertaken in the practice of claim/counter-claim procedure consisting of reciprocal assertions and negation, not dissimilar to the challenge corpus. Unlike previous interruptions, the participants are directly and observably accountable to one another i.e. dispute more likely to occur in the context of ownership as opposed to outage. In order to substantiate his position, the incumbent (*A*) deploys a supporting rationale which is rejected and prompts a change in logic; a tactic commonly employed by users to maintain a favourable social order. Ultimately, the

persistence of the challengers requires a demonstration of situated competence by the current user who despite his unwillingness to part with the dongle demonstrates the truth of his stance i.e. the dongle is not working, with direct reference to the screen information.

#### 4.2.13 'FLY SOLO'

The aim of the data analysis chapter is to provide a characterisation of the various phases of *SOLE* activity in terms of the line-by-line interaction between participants. It is therefore important to note that not inconsiderable periods of time were taken up with no interaction i.e. not place-savers but a complete absence of talk. The early adolescent girls (*L*) & (*M*) in particular, had absolutely no desire or inclination to work/interact with certain other, mostly male, pre-adolescent participants and would either insist on working with each other or 'fly solo'; making no solicitations toward a joint enterprise and/or consistently rejecting requests. With the exceptions of the occasional opposition mutterings and recalls to the facilitator, this status was largely unchallenged by subordinate members of the group. Monitoring the specifics of female adolescent interaction was also complicated by their persistent use of social media; written discourse via Facebook®, and/or music streaming via the medium of YouTube®. For these reasons in particular, a detailed analysis of their interaction has not been included.

## 5.0 DISCUSSION

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Building on the foundations of ethno-methodology, work within the post-structural paradigm and CA in particular, has consistently demonstrated that ordinary talk must be viewed as a locally-accomplished achievement and that its routine, orderly and recognisable features are in fact, the product of the participants ceaseless and contingent application of complex though methodical practices<sup>60</sup> (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). As active agents in the construction of their own social world, developmental research needs to investigate the language used by children to position themselves in a range of authentic, interactive situations (Bugwig, 1995).

By identifying and examining the specific features of situated and embodied interaction including; the turn-taking organisation, turn design, sequence organisation, lexical choice and asymmetry of roles (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984), it can be readily demonstrated that the *Self-Organised Learning Environment (SOLE)* is as Mitra (2006) anticipated, an organised practice. Nonetheless, as one of a large number of settings not been subject to detailed scrutiny i.e. marginalised children in a `post-colonial, computer-mediated, play-oriented and peer-socialising` context, it is the aim of this Discussion Chapter to reveal and describe the nature of this organisation and the interactional practices with particular reference to the standard, canonical model of conversation (Boden & Zimmerman, 1991).

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<sup>60</sup> Collections of CA studies include: Atkinson & Heritage (1984); Boden & Zimmerman (1991); Drew & Heritage (1992) and Ten Have & Psathas (1995)

Micro-Analysis across the breadth of the *SOLE* corpus suggests that participant interaction is divided into the three principal and inter-related forms: 1) the social organisation of roles; 2) the organisation of content; 3) mediated coherence. Each area will be addressed as follows.

## 5.2 SOCIAL ORGANISATION

### 5.2.1 OPPOSITION MOVES

Displaying deference to others present is implicated in the organisation of a range of behaviour that occurs in human interaction (Goffman, 1959). Associated research on the social and pragmatic organisation of talk has tended to focus on the means by which disagreements between participants may be articulated without threatening the others 'face' (Goodwin, 1991). In which case, disagreement is a dispreferred activity (Pomerantz, 1984) and its occurrence in conversation is minimised through the use of linguistic devices, such as delays and the hedged request (Lakoff, 1973a; Labov & Fanshel, 1977). The opposition moves amongst children however are constructed in ways that vividly contrast with such notions of deference (Corsaro & Maynard, 1996; Kangasharju, 2009). Instead:

*'they frequently seek the opportunities to test or realign the prevailing arrangement of social identities and opposition is a potent and effective means to this end' (Goodwin, 1980b; 130)*

Children then tend to organise their talk so as to emphasise opposition. In which case rather than delay a response, turns containing opposition are produced immediately. Moreover, such





of a dispute. However the `take-hold` phase is more often than not, limited to a negation with no negotiation or supporting rationale. Ultimately, the dispute is either suspended, through the timely reference to/emergence of a diversion or subject to third party arbitration. While opposition turns contains no emotional terms, such components are made visible by interactional practices integrating syntactic choice, prosody, timing and even body position. As such, the turn preface and the stressed delivery are indexically linked to the prior action that constitutes the point of departure for the display of opposition. According to Goodwin & Goodwin (2000), the second speaker then constructs their move within the field of meaning that has been brought into existence by the conditional relevance; interaction is simultaneously context-shaped by a previous contribution and context renewing by subsequent ones and understanding is indicated by the production of the next action.

34 (0.7)

35 L <si (.) uste' aca (.) yo alla>

35 "so, you here, me there"

36 (1.2)

37 A acá yo? ((A→L))

37 "me here"

38 (0.3)

39 L si ((L→A))

40 "yes"

41 (.)

42 A no (.) uste' alla

42 "no, you there"

43 (.)

44 L no

44 "no"



competence of the actor/pilot (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000). Such is the strength of opposition even in the absence of a supporting rationale, that the pilot is obliged to reconsider her stance (line 13). In place of a directive (*TCU1*), (*H*) seeks confirmation (*TCU2*) of the next virtual move, one that is received not with a simple affirmative but a latched, prolonged and stressed response indicative of social imposition (line 14).

10		(0.5)		((H→k/b))
11	M	<u>no</u> (.) ↓oysh::		
11		"no, oysh"		
12		(1.2)		((cursor moves))
13	H	es es te (.) esto?= "it's this one, this one?"		
14	M	=> <u>es::</u> te es::<		((M points))
14		"this is it"		
15		(4.1)		
16	H	(vamo')		((H→k/b))
16		"lets go"		
17		(1.0)		

By consciously acquiescing to one speaker's assertion of control over context, a mutually acceptable state of deontic congruence between the participants is quickly reached i.e. stability based on an asymmetrical distribution of authority between the participants. The remaining examples of the entry procedure illustrate the potential for assertive demonstrations of authority by female participants over their male counterparts within a mixed gender context. In one such case (12), the female participant physically and unilaterally displaces the pilot from his privileged position. The obvious disparity in authority

means that she not only remains unaccountable for the aggravated move but also unaccountable to his subsequent offers of assistance.

14 A ↓[qui]ero jugar::  
14 "I want to play"  
15 (.)  
16 J no (.) que? (0.7) <que a`ora (.) que?>= ((J ejects E))  
16 "no, what now? what? "  
17 J =<DIJO QUE LOS QUE SUPIERAN ESO>  
17 "HE SAID IT'S FOR THOSE THAT CAN UNDERSTAND IT"  
18 A yo se  
18 "I know"  
19 J ↑no (.) que? (0.8) quiero jugar (1.0) ↓·hh ((computer event))  
19 "no, what? I want to play". "·hh"  
20 (0.4)

In contrast to the confrontational approach to social organisation of the younger members, the pre-adolescent female participants tend to demonstrate an increased awareness and orientation toward the preference structure in their displays of opposition i.e. a feature of their own socialisation. In the excerpt below, the pre-adolescent pilot, (A) prescribes the next virtual action (line 1) and then seeks the approval of his older partner (line 3). A notable absence follows obliging the pilot to *reach* for a response in the form of a self-repair (line 5). These silences to a series of prompts suggest a non-affiliate posture has been adopted by the female navigator-judge with reference to the pilot. This tacit opposition to the prevailing order is subsequently made explicit through acts of polarisation, stressed prosody and concluded with a competence-related pejorative (8).

1       A       voy a colocar mil juegos  
1                "I'm going to find a thousand games"     ((website reference))  
2                (1.5)  
3       A       ya?  
3                ok?  
4                (4.2)  
5       A       °si?° (1.1) si?  
5                "yes". "yes"  
6                (14.6)  
7       L       ↑iniciar  
7                "start"  
8                (2.0)

Beyond the most conspicuous demonstrations of authority associated with the entry and challenge series, the emergence of a gatekeeper role appears to be indicative of the type of relationship the male participants maintain with one another, one based on the assertion and/or demonstration of situated skill and competency (Goodwin, 1991; Rogoff, 1993). As part of an assessment procedure (65), one particular participant has finally gained access to the pilot position. He is however immediately challenged by the gatekeeper who presumes the authority to frame the activity in terms of an initiation test. By obediently rising to the challenge, the novice inadvertently accepts not only his subordinate identity within the situated hierarchy but also the right of the gatekeeper to set the terms of reference for *CoP* entry i.e. deontic congruence embedded within a context of assessment and an asymmetrical distribution of authority. His access is therefore sanctioned but expressly contingent. Unfortunately, the novice's situated inexperience soon becomes apparent at which point, he seeks assistance from his compatriots. Rather than answer the call, the gatekeeper overtly

blocks offers of assistance and insists that the novice singularly demonstrate his competence before *CoP* membership and full participation is considered (line 31). His inevitable failure to meet the acceptable standards of entry is received with derision (line 41, 43, 45) and is thereafter, followed by his entirely justified ejection from the privileged position (Evaldsson, 2005).

31 B <no [le] ayude (.) no [le] ayude>  
 31 "don't help him, don't help him"  
 32 A †[ay] [no]  
 32 "ay" "no"  
 33 A con este ((A points to pad))  
 33 "with this one"  
 34 (.)  
 35 B que no le ayude (0.9) déjelo (.) déjelo ((B→A))  
 35 "don't help him, leave him, leave him"  
 36 (2.5)  
 37 E °\* (1.8) uh bah (2.5) uh bah (2.5) bajo (1.3) 'spere°  
 37 "°, uh bah, uh bah, down, wait"  
 38 A °no°  
 38 "no"  
 39 (6.7)  
 40 E do (0.3) [pah (.) pah (.) pa]h  
 41 A >[ mil años después ]<  
 41 "a thousand years later"  
 42 (0.5)  
 43 B £·hhh£  
 44 (0.9)  
 45 B <mira (.) ese guevon no lo sabe> ((B→Z1))  
 45 "look, this dummy knows nothing"

46 (1.3)  
 47 B venga (.) se le buscó ((B moves E's hand))  
 47 "come on, you've had a go"

Like other dominant roles within the *SOLE*, the 'gatekeeper/pilot/expert/judge' necessarily requires at least, the tacit acknowledgement of others if their embodied authority is to be deployed effectively, at least in the short term. Moreover, the corpus illustrates a number of discrete social-linguistic devices by which the pilot as a privileged *CoP* member can sustain social order and defuse/deflect opposition to his/her access privilege. In some cases, the computer itself provides such means, with virtual phenomena used as supplementary features of interaction. Analytical evidence suggests that the decoy is a device deployed *by* the pilot in an apparent attempt to avoid unwanted accountability in relation to ongoing activity. In the example below, the pilot is seeking to end the challenge contained within the reciprocal sequence (14). To do this, he refers directly to computer event in the form of a positive assessment, one that substantiates his own authority as a vehicle for reshaping/reframing the prevailing context (line 54).

50 L [yo alla]: y uste' acá>  
 50 "me there and you here"  
 51 (0.3)  
 52 A no (.) yo alla  
 52 "no me there"  
 53 (0.3)  
 54 A ah (.) mire (.) eso tiene beneficios [\* ]  
 54 "ah, look, that one has benefits-"  
 55 L ↑[ah:::] (.) gane que  
 55 "ah, you win"

The fact that the co-participants consistently recognise the device (24, 35) means that contestation tends to be deferred rather than defused (Schegloff, 2007). Additional devices for neutralising (op. cit) an oppositional threat to the prevailing social order include:

- a) irreconcilable logics; the pilot juxtaposes the ‘rational’ form associated with the activity against the ‘moral’ equivalent of his challenger;

36 (2.4)

37 D >no quiere compartir< ((D→Z1))  
 37 “he doesn’t want to share”

38 (1.9) ((A→k/b))

39 A no(.) pero(name) (.)ga:ne(1.2)entonces que ‘ago sí ga:[ne]?  
 39 “no, but (Z1), I won”. “what can I do if I won?” ((A→Z1))

40 D [si]:ga(.)no?  
 40 “but its my turn, no?”

41 (0.4)

- b) the incumbent pilot claims to be operating in joint interest;

15 (5.7)

16 A °mientras tanto (0.5) vamos a colocar (1.2) una cosa (.) si?°  
 16 “meanwhile, we can go and find, a thing, yes?”

17 (0.8)

18 E ↓oy (.) [pero]  
 18 “oy, but”

19 A °[mire] (.) face° ((Facebook))  
 19 “look, face ”



c) Of all the available features of social context, including; age, gender, race etc. it is the presumed differential in epistemic authority and the demonstration of situated competency that is primarily employed as a means of controlling social order in the event of a challenge;

30 E (NAME) (.) VEA (.) Y- (.) YA (.) YA PASÓ (TANTO) TIEMPO Y (.) YO-  
30 "(Z1), LOOK, SO MUCH TIME HAS PASSED, AND, ME?"  
31 (0.6)  
32 A por eso(.) (name) (.) e-(0.5) es que(.) el no se'a coloca un juego bien=  
32 "indeed, (Z1), it, it's just, he doesn't know how to find a good game"  
33 E =<pero (.) es que (.) ya uste' (.) ya no puse (.) no>  
33 "but, its just that, its you, I still haven't played, no"  
34 (.)

As indicated in the instance above, should a participant be unconvinced by the various defensive positions adopted by the pilot, there is always the option of a referral to a third-party and ultimate arbitrator within the *SOLE*; the facilitator (*Z1*).

According to the guiding philosophy of the *MIE*, facilitator presence is only deemed necessary in order to protect and motivate the participants; as opposed to offering direction, relative to content or arbitration, relative to issues of social order (Mitra, 2012). However, within a complex social environment where any number of organisational and personal issues can emerge, this notion of facilitator neutrality is distinctly contingent. Indeed, the introduction of specific search procedures and/or small interventions to drive learning forward within an ideology-ridden, rational frame of thinking tends to counter any idealised preference for value-free practice (Mitra, 2012). Meanwhile, the participants themselves are

oblivious of any job definition and instead, consistently attempt to co-opt (*ZI*)'s allegiance in support of their own individual claims. Irrespective of facilitator intent, the role is evidently *not* socially-constructed as neutral by the group members themselves. This not only adds to the potential confusion or sense of injustice demonstrated by consistently marginalised participants e.g. the lifecycles of (*E*) and (*F*), but also brings to mind the paradox of institutional engagement and a level of ethical concern that has yet to be satisfactorily addressed (Arora, 2010). According to *MIE* ideals, participants always have the option of an alternative computer. However, the *SOLE* installation is supposed to cater for large groups of children simultaneously (Mitra, 2012) whilst differential privilege will apply across the entire social-cultural space (Goodwin, 1991; Corsaro, 2005). Note also, that there is a preference amongst certain, invariably older members of the group to fly solo i.e. the incumbent pilot unequivocally refuses access to all bar their closest associates. Congruent with Arora's concerns, it was observed that certain marginalised participants, invariably the younger members, would often leave the room entirely rather than await the possibility of a turn or invitation (op. cit, 2010).

Returning to the issue of pilot privilege and control, the diversion also results in a reframing and a potential loss of accountability. Within the tutorial phase (38, 39, 40), it would seem that the novice, (*G*) makes numerous attempts to gain the attention of the expert/pilot, (*C*). The shape of the interaction suggests that he may have activity-related questions or be seeking a clarification from his partner i.e. topic management (Firth, 1996). To this extent, he attempts to interact with the *k/b* (line 25). Unfortunately, he is repeatedly yet inadvertently intercepted by the pilot. Note the abrupt termination as (*C*) responds to a screen event (line

26). As such, the pilot may not even be aware of his partner's intent i.e. reminiscent of mediated ambiguity (Sawchuk, 2003) in the absence of explicit speaker selection (Sack et al, 1977) and/or supplementary response mobilisers (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Inevitably, the novice swiftly withdraws from the *k/b*, the activity context is renewed and the opportunity for any learning appears to be lost (line 27).

25	G	↑ <u>ah</u> (.) tengo-	((G→k/b))
25		"ah, I have"	
26	C	↑ <u>ah</u> (.) pero a:hi (.) si (.) mire	((screen event))
26		"ah, but there, yes, look"	((C→k/b))
27		(7.4)	

As Heath & Luff (1993) note, the nature of interaction in a mediated context is dependent on the range and availability of visual communication channels, primary among these being the use of gesture, gaze and overall bodily comportment. These channels allow a perspective interactant to attempt contact with the 'other' and thereafter, co-ordinate with their observable availability for interaction; *'when one perceives another is looking at one, one perceives that the other intends something by one, or expects something of one'* (Kendon, 1990; 57).

What data analysis shows is that participant attention during the tutorial period is predominantly focused on the computer screen as opposed to direct, *F2F* contact. In which case, the actual co-ordination of gaze, as a key concern of co-participants in conversation can be problematic as gestures are lost and utterances cut-short or left unaccounted as if,

participants presence is subordinate to and/or overridden by emergent computer activity (Goodwin, 1986).

The key point about the diversions is that whilst the *SOLE* environment appears to afford the use of gaze as a response mobiliser inviting another into the interaction, the situated reality may be quite different creating problems for overall coordination. Put simply, while participants may assume that they can use *F2F* gestures in precisely the same manner, one cannot know how much gesture is actually visible to the other, whose attention is fixed elsewhere, in this case on a computer screen. Of course, participants may upgrade i.e. exaggeration, so as to raise the attention of the pilot. Or prompted by the pilot, they may simply reorient to a latest screen update and accountability is lost. Whilst communicative breakdown in the form of meaning repair is rarely marked, the absence of appropriate affordances in design can affect the underlying quality of collaboration between participants and thereafter, its ability to fulfil its intended pedagogical function.

Finally, Mitra describes/presumes stable, binary identities/roles with interaction conceived in terms of an expert-observer relationship. Micro-analysis however points to a range of situated, shifting and contextually-mediated identities, broadly conceived with reference to a privileged position at the *k/b*. These binary *SRP*'s include; the navigator, judge, gatekeeper, expert, rule-enforcer, examiner in direct contrast to the novice, observer, offender, examinee, victim, passenger. The emergence of multiple and coincident roles is not simply a matter of labelling and the convenient characterisation of social order. In contrast to the value-free narrative of unimpeded discovery consistently presented by Mitra, this portrait of identity

and fluidity vividly demonstrates an active and embodied politicisation of the *SOLE* by the children themselves in the absence of a structured pedagogical routine. Indeed, this political quality tends to reflect and consolidate notions of peer socialisation, pointing to the fact that child activity and relations do not emerge, fully formed, from some idealised social vacuum (Rogoff, 1993; Sacks, 1992; Garvey, 1984). Instead, the social organisation of *SOLE* needs to be understood with reference to the features of the socio-technical context and more specifically, the practices of control and sharing through opposition and assessment that shape children's interaction (Corsaro, 2005; Goodwin & Kyzatzis, 2005).

## 5.3 ORGANISATION OF CONTENT

### 5.3.1 TUTORIAL DISCOURSE

Self-reproducing and mutating organisms adapt to their environment and only the fittest survive. The ability of the organism to sense its own condition and modify its behaviour is then understood as cognition. Self-organisation and connectivity between organisms then emerges consistent with the laws of 'cause and effect' (Mitra, 2012). Hence:

*'we propose that a system is aware of a parameter i.e. has knowledge of it, either internal or external to itself, only when a change in that parameter causes a change in its own state' (op. cit; 40)*

According to this definition, learning is advanced by means of a 'stimulus-response' connection and the creation of new habits through reinforcement.

*'an ant programmed to follow another ant' (Mitra, 2012; 45).*

This principle of behavioural learning is conceived as an imitation of actions and utterances consistent with the surrounding context (Johnson, 2004). With the support of anecdotal evidence, Mitra proposes a general activity procedure, as follows: discovery and transmission lead to the mutual construction of generalisations and a group division along the lines of knowledge 'have's and have not's'. A recognition of generalisations however implies a process of group negotiation which is not reflected within the behavioural model.

The detailed assessment of Mitra's methods and their validity are beyond the scope of this analysis<sup>61</sup>. Nonetheless, the *MIE* project evidently adopts a distinctly deductive and experimental approach to research which, through testing and observation seeks to uniformly control a blizzard of dependent variables within a host of developing world contexts i.e. there is no conceptual or methodological recognition of situated knowledge and a process of negotiation within a *CoP*. On the basis of anecdotal evidence only, Mitra notes the central significance of language to the collaborative process and supplements his understanding with uncorroborated references to social-cultural theory and Vygotskian notions of a Zone of Proximal Development (*ZPD*).

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<sup>61</sup> Mitra methods are based on individualised/cognitive approaches to learning based on structuralist notions of IQ and personality. They are not validated as a coherent set of tests, they do not consider social-culture difference, they are subject to manipulation and finally, reliability of testing i.e. draw-a-man, is virtually impossible to achieve. Moreover, the research context defined by the Literature Review is profoundly limited i.e. virtually no references to the broader fields of social and education research

*'the theory is that for any other kind of learning it has to be within the reach of learners but above their current level' (Mitra, 2006; 33)*

### 5.3.1.1 Scaffolding

With its emphasis on the collaborative characteristics of the learning process and the centrality of language as a tool and the co-construction of knowledge, social-cultural theory would appear to be a natural fit for the *MIE*. As the theoretical centre-piece, the emergence of the *ZPD* is reflected in the talk-in-interaction where providing measured assistance or scaffolding is considered crucial to the process i.e. the support given by the expert to the novice (Bruner, 1990). According to Donato (1994), the principle features of scaffolding, ones entirely consistent with the social-cultural premise of the *CoP*, include: recruiting interest in the task; maintaining pursuit of the goal; marking differences between what has been produced and the ideal solution<sup>62</sup>; controlling frustrations during problem solving; demonstrating an idealised version of the act to be performed. As previously indicated, Mitra's focus on content would suggest that the principal opportunities for learning reside within the Tutorial phase of interaction. Indeed, analysis points to the spontaneous emergence of a multi-phased, '*E*→*N*' tutorial procedure embedded within a (*K*+/*K*-) interactional structure (Heritage, 2012) and defined by: 1) an expert model; 2) guided practice; 3) novice control, would strongly suggest the presence of a *ZPD*.

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<sup>62</sup> Long (1998) refers to corrective feedback in terms of 'recasts' and the ways in which learner contributions are re-shaped, reformulated or redefined by the teacher

In general, the Tutorial phase does tend to represent a stable set of relations between participants as they focus on the goals, process and notably features of the virtual context/activity. The first case within the series is founded on a unipolar activity i.e. single player, necessitating a transition of the pilot role at the *k/b* (37-47). Notice that the sequence boundaries are clearly marked and there is a tacit emergence of roles through interaction, as the expert member provides embodied and constructive support to his co-participant i.e. modelling, framing, directing and confirming. Meanwhile, the partner acknowledges and enacts his situated novice identity by observing model conduct, receiving guided practice and following instruction. The talk is broadly organised in terms of an action-list type sequence (Schegloff, 2007) based on closed and display form of questioning<sup>63</sup> i.e. ‘which is it?’, where expert confirmations and/or *RI*’s are followed by an embodied, observable responses at the *k/b*. With respect to the following extracts, you will note that the expert frames the activity (line 69, 9) and then prompts the novice in precisely the same manner (line 73, 9, 11) but with reference to a different item.

69 C >entonces de- (0.4) hipopótamo,  
 69 “in which case, hippopotamus”  
 70 (0.3)  
 71 G hipopótamo  
 71 “hippopotamus”  
 72 (1.6)  
 73 C cual es? (0.5) de todos es::to’? ((C→G glance))  
 73 “which is it? from all of these?”  
 74 (0.6)

---

<sup>63</sup> Display (as opposed to Referential) questioning where the questioner is presumed to know the answer i.e. reducing the probability of negotiation meaning through interaction (Walsh, 2006)



75 G e:ste? ((G points))  
75 this one?  
76 (0.6) ((+ audio))  
77 C ↑°ya (0.3) es:te°  
77 "ok, this one"

**And:**

8 (0.9)  
9 C cual? (0.5) cual es koala? (.) >en todo estos<  
9 "which it is, which is the koala? in all those"  
10 (1.1)  
11 C que es la koala? (.) mire  
11 "which is the koala? look"  
12 (1.2) ((C points))  
13 G [click] ((icon disappears))  
13 "click"  
14 C [click] (0.4) click (.) esa (.) es de la koala  
14 "click, click, that one, it's the koala"

A similar pattern emerges in the second case of the series (48-51). The features of the ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model are present with the expert providing scaffolding in the form of: framing, direction, consistent accountability and metanarrative supplemented by apposite language as a means of assisting her partner's navigation and full enjoyment of the experience. However, the nature of the bipolar/outbound activity creates a different form of interactional dynamic. In this case, the sequence boundaries of the tutorial are *not* clearly marked/delineated, exchanges tend to be rapid/latched and stressed prosody displays increased animation.

20 B °[uhm]?°  
20 "uhm"

21 H [no::] (0.4) porque la condena soy yo  
 21 "no, because it condemns me"  
 22 B <se necesita salta junto?=>  
 22 "you have to jump together"  
 23 H =dale (.) salte ((H glances))  
 23 "hit it! jump!"  
 24 B con:: (.) 'b'  
 24 "with, b"  
 25 (0.4)  
 26 H con:: (0.4) eso  
 26 "with, that"  
 27 (1.8)  
 28 H es (.) que así acá (.) acá montau ((H points))  
 28 "its, like that here, get on here"  
 29 (0.9)  
 30 H otro (0.5) ahí (.) quieto (,) quieto ahí  
 30 "the other". "there, careful, careful there"

In contrast to the relatively static inbound series, broadly characterised by a practice of interruption and adjustment in the context of an object oriented, multi-activity, the interaction here suggests a switching between emergent tuition and play requirements. In this case, participants co-construct meaning through questioning, explanation, direction and clarification with reference to the rapid and unpredictable, real-time events of an outbound activity. The patent differences between cases provide a compelling illustration of the impact of the mediating context - computer and the activity - on the shape of discourse and interaction. While it lasts, the nature of the activity does not overtly undermine the quality of interaction i.e. no signs of communicative breakdown, restarts etc. However, the ultimate

renunciation of player status by the novice as a consequence of overload does suggest a situated ceiling to the degree of effective scaffolding in the context of a multi-activity.

On the other hand, the remaining exemplars of the series point to pertinent variations in the practice of a *SOLE* tutorial. In the third case (52-55), the expert provides a frame/model of the activity and makes himself available for questions and clarifications. However, he singularly fails to recognise the difference between assistance and interference as perceived by his partner. Within the context of a unipolar activity, the expert directs the novice but then fails to allow him space to participate in his own time. On each occasion that the novice makes a 'mistake', the expert overtly interrupts and attempts to resume control over the activity despite a conspicuous degree of resistance. In the fourth case (56-58), the expert is not given the opportunity to model the activity. It is evident that he is providing the framing, direction and repair but refrains from making definitive assertions of authority i.e. commentary and proposals supported by a rationale in contrast to stressed imperatives and challenges. However, in the absence of tangible pilot response/accountability i.e. in the form of an effectuated repair, no collaborative, tutorial model is ultimately consecrated. The nature of the interaction would suggest that the expert is tacitly obliged to adopt little more than a passive role in relation to his partner.

The fifth and final case of the series (59-62) suggests a twist in the relations between participants. In the initial phase of interaction, it is the navigator-expert, (*A*) who has assumed the responsibility for framing, directing and assessing proceedings. In which case, accountability is sustained through embodied and observable actions at the *k/b* in response to

directives i.e. *RI*'s and effectuated repair. After a seamless transfer of control, there then follows an indication of 'co-constructed' learning as the new navigator, (*D*) first contextualises (line 32) then assesses and directs (line 48, 52, 55, 58) consistent with the model established by his co-participant i.e. a democratic model of interaction emerging between these particular participants. However by completely ignoring or even mocking his partner with laughter; note the stressed response (line 58), the new pilot, (*A*) does not appear to recognise reciprocal rights of the navigator to issue instructions/make assessments. Once again, any collaborative relationship is not effectively consecrated in the talk.

50 D °es eso (.) eso es°  
 50 "its that one, its that one"  
 51 (1.7)  
 52 D no::: (.) botando aca: (0.6) no se acaba  
 52 "no, chuck it here, its not finished"  
 53 A (h)  
 54 (0.9)  
 55 D no (.) v'acá (1.2) se deje ese corazón  
 55 no, go here, leave that heart"  
 56 A (h)  
 57 (1.8)  
 58 D >páse::la< (1.3) páse::la  
 58 "pass it". "pass it"  
 59 A (h)  
 60 (5.2)

Relative to the foundational definition identified by Donato, micro-analysis would suggest that a *ZPD* has, to varying degrees been talked into existence in a number of Tutorial cases.

In which case, one party is the acknowledged expert with the authority to model, frame and direct the activity, make assessments, answer questions, provide clarifications. On the basis that collaborative relations are consecrated through accountability, the other is required to observe model conduct, following instruction, seeks confirmation and receive guided practice instruction consistent with the requirements of the activity.

However, in contrast to the democratic notions of learning regularly associated the internet (Selwyn, 2011), *MIE* analysis points to a consistently autocratic form of interaction where talk and more specifically, turn-taking is driven from a single point of reference where meaning is more or less imposed rather than negotiated (Gee, 2008; Forbes et al, 1982). In which case, knowledge is *not* so much social but perceived to exist outside and independent of the novice and it is the expert's role to fill this space. In contrast to progressive notions of learning and high-level thinking though discovery and exploration evident in a range of discourse markers e.g. analysis, summary, comparison, explanation classification etc. (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001), micro-analysis would suggest a series of asymmetrical ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' relations and an notable absence of negotiated meaning. In this case, one member is more or less obliged to follow directions in light of the superordinate authority of another. Moreover, a failure to recognise this authority, manifest in acts of deontic incongruence can lead to dispute. This feature of interaction is no less apparent in the management of repair as a central practice within the mediated context. In this example, the novice, (*G*) is having problems completing the computer activity as modelled by the expert. In response, (*C*) simply intercedes directly at the *k/b* and resumes the role of pilot before repeating and explaining the principle features of computer interaction (line 40, 42).

36 C las que son aves(.)<[las] que> ((C points))  
 36 "those are birds, those"  
 37 G es:[que](.)yo no entiendo(.)[e:so]  
 37 "but, I don't understand, that one"  
 38 C [mire]:lo  
 38 "look"  
 39 (0.3)  
 40 C le voy a explicar  
 40 "I'm going to explain it to you"  
 41 (0.5)  
 42 C °y: usted me sigue°  
 42 "and you can follow me"

Unlike the specific affordances of design associated with a *CSCL* environment, the participants are *not* obliged to follow any particular course of collaborative action/negotiation relative to activity features and anticipated outcomes. Ergo, even if the novice is permitted to effect change at the *k/b*, it is invariably the expert that initiates (*RI*) and frames the repair process.

### 5.3.2 LEARNING

The difficulty of establishing a clear definition of learning within a social-cultural context is implicit within the notion of a *CoP* (Wenger, 2000). If skill and competence are conceived as features of participant interaction, emerging from and with direct reference to the situated practices as opposed to a universal phenomenon, what are the valued knowledge and/or attributes required of recognised membership within the *SOLE*. For a possible resolution, we

can refer to the field of Applied Linguistics and more specifically, the problem of second-language acquisition (SLA) and applied linguistics (Pirainen-Marsh & Tainio, 2009):

*'learning is seen as rooted in the learner's participation in the social practice and the continuous adaptation to the unfolding circumstances and activities that constitute talk-in-interaction' (op. cit; 168)*

Within this context, Pirainen-Marsh & Tainio set out to demonstrate how non-language specific practices i.e. repetition and imitation, serve as a resource for engaging with the linguistic and semiotic resources offered by a video game. By drawing on these resources in their own actions, the participants create opportunities for learning in the course of participation.

As is common with computer-mediated and peer-to-peer contexts (Rampton, 1999; Selwyn, 2011), analysis of the *SOLE* provides *no* conclusive evidence of new knowledge with reference to available content i.e. participants demonstrating that the resources provided by the computer-activity are being drawn-upon, recycled, repeated, adapted etc. as part of a collaborative learning experience. As previously noted, the principal features of a *ZPD* scaffold are evident within the talk but the participants are not necessarily conscious of, or able to take advantage of the learning opportunities created. With reference to the first case within the tutorial series, the novice attempts to follow the model of mediated actions provided by the expert. However, even after relinquishing the pilot position, the expert continues to frame and direct each and every move (line 17, 19, 21, 24).

16 G °um[:,:,::]°  
 16 "um"  
 17 C [cual es]? (0.3) ↑no es  
 17 "which is it? its not this one"  
 18 (0.5)  
 19 C [no]  
 19 "no"  
 20 G °[uh] hum (0.6) no[::]°  
 20 "uh hum, no"  
 21 C [pú]lsela (.) ese (0.7) abajo  
 21 "hit it, that one, below"  
 22 (1.1) ((- audio))  
 23 G mal::  
 23 "wrong"  
 24 C mire (0.6) este (0.6) es `s koala (0.7) °koala (1.4) mirelo°  
 24 "look, here, this is koala, koala, see" ((C→k/b))  
 25 (.) ((+ audio))  
 26 G >↓bi:en<  
 26 "ok"  
 27 (.)

The novice in turn, refers every choice and decision; within an action-list type sequence, back to the expert (line 51, 55).

50 C ves::°[:,:,::]°:::  
 50 "you see"  
 51 G [donde]? (1.8) a:qui?  
 51 "where?". "here?"  
 52 (0.4)  
 53 C °no°







between the participants. It can be readily argued that the features of the ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model do not exist because both participants are comfortable with the aims, functions and process associated with the activity i.e. an equilibrium of knowledge with no requirement for learning/scaffolding or any overt demonstration of new knowledge generated or assimilated. The emergent model of interaction appears collaborative in the sense that each participant has the opportunity to frame and direct the interaction/turn-taking from the 'navigator-judge' position. However, this emerging democratic model of interaction is not ratified by both parties.

The spontaneous emergence a rudimentary scaffold would suggest that the participants themselves are at the very least, aware of learning as inherent feature of the *SOLE* experience. However, this does not mean they have a corresponding awareness of the situated opportunities offered by a mediated context. At best, *SOLE* interaction and notions of situated knowledge are related to the mechanical performance of relevant actions; 'what do I do?' in preference to a critical rationale; 'why am I doing it?'

With specific reference to the tutorial phase, the aims of activity are not clearly established in advance but invariably, emerge tacitly as the activity progresses. The participants readily align consistent with an ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model of interaction and the prevailing relations of authority. Micro-analysis indicates that the expert stance represents the privilege to control the local system of turn-taking; framing, directing and assessing activity. A reciprocal stance; receiving information, following instruction, is then adopted by the novice and the outcome may be positive. Indeed, the novice may even become familiar with the rudimentary aspects

of *k/b* functionality, as demonstrated by the original *HitW* experiments (Mitra, 2006). Nonetheless in the absence of context, the relevance and meaning of content within an emergent *CoP* are definitively situated and thereafter, beyond the scope of a priori expression. Ergo, the paradox of *MIE* structure and learning pre-requisites e.g. Indian and British syllabus objectives, within a context of indoctrination.

However, this is not the end of the story, for while *SOLE* analysis to this point may *not* support Mitra's foundational conclusions, there are alternative, eminently social ways of conceiving learning. The clue is inherent within Garfinkel recognition of a common-sense knowledge and member assimilation within a situated discourse, one that incorporates observable features of participation, joint enterprise and a shared repertoire (Wenger, 2000). In contrast to the specifics of content, learning can be comprehended relative to appropriate and timely utterances within an unfamiliar, mediated context i.e. the turn-by-turn features of interaction that are not automatically consistent with any standard models of interaction, be they child-oriented (Danby & Theobald, 2012) or not (Sacks et al, 1974). Ergo, it is possible that learning, in the intersubjective guise of situated competency is observed in the establishment and maintenance of interactional coherence between participants within a mediated, potentially unfamiliar context.

## 5.4 MEDIATED COHERENCE

Relative to a broad, interactional panorama of opposition and assessment, analysis focuses on the notion of mediated coherence and the linguistic features underpinning the common patterns of social practice, most prominently: action-listing; dispute; effectuated repair;

reciprocal exchanges and place-saving sequences. Indeed, a general absence of meaning-related repair (Sacks et al, 1977) suggests a sustained intersubjectivity and social competency where participants successfully deploy familiar social practices within a non-canonical if not unfamiliar, computer-mediated context.

In general terms, claim sequences and the assertion of access rights are interpreted as a challenge to the prevailing social order. Initial challenges are often received with aggravated opposition i.e. negation, as the incumbents seek to protect basic activities and routines that constitute their local environment (Corsaro, 2005). This often leads to disputes and progressive upgrades as participants seek to sustain their deontic/epistemic authority and/or co-opt third-party arbitrator/facilitator (Maynard, 1986).

More stable periods of interaction tend to ‘ebb and flow’ consistent with the radio-tuning metaphor (Garvey, 1984) and the arbitrary distribution of virtual events. From this point, the principal features of participant interaction throughout the corpus tend to reflect the public organisation of assessment (Goodwin, 1991). According to Goodwin & Goodwin (2000), an interactional sequence follows the form of a triggering event making relevant a subsequent assessment:

[Triggering Event] + [Assessment]

*‘The public nature of assessment makes possible an interactive organization of co-experience. Participants treat the assessment slot as a place for heightened mutual orientation and action’ (op. cit; 25)*

Within the context of the *SOLE* interaction, the assessment slot provides a place for displaying the full range of differentiated stances: objection, outrage, satisfaction, joy etc. Each stance then potentially involves a set of fully embodied practices, integrating syntactic choice, prosody, timing and even body position. The example below, illustrates the full range of embodiment used to sustain activity meaning and coherence between the participants. First the pilot, (*H*) uses a summons; ‘*vea*’ (see!), to orient her partner and thereafter, demonstrate situated competence. She then marks the screen update with a token; an upward intonation, and an apposite phrase reflecting a positive assessment (line 5). In contrast, (*M*) seeks a delay of compliance, marking it as a potential trouble source i.e. not aligning with her partner (line 4). Indeed, the request for a delay constitutes the preface to an assessment of screen phenomena by means of a combined, high strength *RI* issued from the navigator-judge position (line 7). Moreover, the utterance includes stressed and elongated forms displaying an orientation towards an aggravated correction (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000) i.e. a demand for a repositioning of the cursor and the hint of a challenge to pilot competence. (*H*) in turn seeks to neutralise (Schegloff, 2007) this opposition with a reciprocal delay of compliance meaning; “wait until I’ve finished”, and supported by an overt and defensive declaration suggesting epistemic equality (Heritage, 2012).

```

1      H      friv (1.5) [juegos] (0.9) vea (.) <friv juegos>
1          " friv". "games". "you see, friv games"
2      M          °[juegos]°
2          "games"
3          (0.5)                                ((screen event))
4      M      °[pe]re°
4          "wait"

```

5 H ↑[oy] (.) muy chorros ((H points))  
 5 "oy, cool"  
 6 (0.3)  
 7 M pere[: (0.4) de arri]ba:::= ((M points))  
 7 "wait , its above  
 8 H [pere (0.3) pere]  
 8 "wait, wait"  
 9 H =ya se este  
 9 "I know this"  
 10 (0.4) ((H→k/b))

Note, this short sequence like so many others is underpinned by embodied references to relevant screen phenomena (line 5, 7). According to Vygotsky (1978), reference/pointing in the act of labelling the world represents the primordial site for the organisation of human behaviour, cognition, language and social structure (Silverman, 1998). Indeed, pointing resides at the centre of a heterogeneous array of different semiotic fields; talk, the body, the ongoing activity, the surrounding scene etc., all of which are juxtaposed simultaneously to create a coherent package of action (Klippi, 2015; Goodwin, 2003). It is evident then that effective referencing within the *SOLE* is a complex phenomenon and like all social action, the relevance of meta-narrative as a meaningful event is dependent on its position within a particular sequence, most pertinently; directing and accounting. Indeed, analysis within the *SOLE* context indicates consistently abbreviated forms where coherence at the interface of language and action is sustained with little more than a series of deictic references and/or directives; Tracking & Guidance and Facilitation systems respectively (Garvey, 1984). This finding does not necessarily point to a new or atypical speech-exchange system so much as

a conscious, social linguistic adaptation that emerges in the midst of object orientation, ala Haddington et al (2014) and Nevile et al (2014).

With effective referencing in mind, it is significant to note that participants tend to direct their attention almost exclusively towards the computer. In the absence of other visual cues i.e. facial expression, movement, eye contact, posture etc. the act of pointing becomes the principal form of embodied interaction. In which case, the pointer presumes that the recipient has precisely the same understanding and appreciation of context, unless otherwise indicated i.e. communication breakdown leading to canonical repair. Methodologically speaking, it is acknowledged that the identity of the screen referent is not always clear. In which case, the precise meaning and interpretation of the act cannot always be explored in detail. Nonetheless, with the emergence of meaningful identities based on sustainable patterns of interaction i.e. the ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model, not to mention a general absence of communication breakout between participants, it is possible though far from conclusive to claim that: *participants are learning and thereafter, demonstrating the situated and social competency necessary to act effectively within the computer-mediated context.*

With this notion of situated competency and representative features in mind, additional and abundant orientation devices within the Transmission system characterised by response cries including: 'ah'; 'ay'; 'oy'; 'oysh::' uhm:: etc (Goffman, 1978). According to Goffman, these exclamatory interjections are not fully fledged words but a natural flooding-out of previously contained emotions. In the case of the *SOLE*, the response cry appears to mark a moment a



transition relative to a computer event. For example, the stressed token marking the relevant screen event as significant (*TCU1*), in advance of an assessment (*TCU2*).

12 H oʏ:ː (.)↓se mata  
12 "oy, you're dead"  
13 (.)

As previously indicated, the opening of a sequence is also marked by an attention imperative; 'mire' (to look). As an illustration of privilege, the deployment is usually made by the pilot who has physical control of the cursor and thereafter, is presumed to understand the prevailing virtual context, unless otherwise stated. This particular linguistic feature performs the equivalent social/framing function of a computer-mediated summons. Unlike the version associated with a telephone conversation (Schegloff, 2007) or a *CMC* call (Jenks & Brandt, 2013), 'mire' as a directive does not appear to require any overt ratification from the recipient. Indeed, the speaker rarely attends, via a glance, or obliges via a reiteration, an acknowledgment. Of course, the conspicuous semiotic differences between contexts i.e. mutual co-presence, would suggest that this particular linguistic feature may have little more than a rhetorical function within a mediated interaction sequence i.e. in view of the pilots privileged role at the computer there is, unlike a teacher, no obligation to ensure that their partner is paying any attention. Similarly, note the general absence of 'back-channel' feedback as an indication that the participants are mutually-aware of each other, akin to a typical, pedagogical narrative.

At the opposite end of the interactional spectrum, there is a notable absence of closing sequences (Schegloff, 2007). By contrast, positional transitions within the *SOLE* are either: 1) marked and undertaken amicably consistent with the prescriptive features of the activity, or; 2) subject to contestation. As previously noted, *SOLE* interaction is characterised by regular and extended periods of silence while an activity is in progress. In absence of repair, Sawchuk (2003) interprets them as a place-savers, the features and progression of the activity providing ongoing interactional coherence. Irrespective of configuration differences i.e. a single computer between multiple participants, micro-analysis of the *SOLE* tends to confirm this characterisation. However, there are examples of interaction to suggest that mediated silence can have an alternative interpretations. For example (25), the pilot, (A) is busy at the *k/b* while his partner is watching the search proceedings (line 23, 24). The ensuing silence (line 18, 20) is broken by a delay of compliance request from the pilot (line 19) that suggests he is aware of the navigator-judge presence of his partner during this period. Indeed, his apparent failure to complete the task is ultimately received with a pejorative and a loss of pilot privilege (line 24, 24).

16           (1.0)  
 17    A       <'spere (.) yo escribo>                               ((A→k/b)  
 17            "wait, I'll do the writing"  
 18           (5.8)  
 19    A       °'spere°  
 19            "wait"  
 20           (4.0)  
 21    A       palito (.) el palito (.) donde esta?  
 21            "cursor. the cursor, where is it?"  
 22           (0.6)

23	L	<u>tut</u>	
23		"tut"	
24		(2.2)	((L→k/b))

From a methodological perspective, the presence of the mediating feature can complicate the reality of mutual accountability (Norman & Thomas, 1990). In which case, it is acknowledged that the analyst cannot always be certain that silences in response to a summons or question either: 1) represent conspicuous markers; a potential trouble source, within a structure of preference (Pomerantz, 1984); 2) are interpreted as ambiguous i.e. pilot busy, and thereafter remain unaccounted (Sawchuk, 2003). The first option may have significant turn-taking implications and the interpretation of authority between participants, the second is more benign and does not necessarily affect the smooth flow of ongoing events.

As noted above, another common linguistic feature of *SOLE* interaction is the delay of compliance imperative (Garvey, 1984); 'espere/'pere' (wait!). From the pilot position, the term is consistently deployed as a directive and an apparent attempt on behalf of the pilot to manage partner expectation relative to activity requirements i.e. participant decision time, and/or technological affordances i.e. computer response times. From the position of the co-participant however, the imperative takes on a very different meaning, that of a potential harbinger of a disagreement i.e. the forerunner to an insert sequence as opposed to not the *SPP* of an adjacent pair (Schegloff, 2007). The persistent deployment and even reciprocation of the delay imperative suggests an intersubjective reality where participants are attempting to co-ordinate multi-activity as it occurs in real-time (1). The potential difficulty of coordination and alignment not only accounts for multi-activity interruption but also the

periodic occurrence of overlap where a computer update is marked in the course of talk. In most cases, these instances - like diversions - do not lead to restarts/breakdown (Sack et al, 1977). Instead, it would seem that participants simply remain oriented toward the latest information presented on the display. In this example, a novice, (*G*) appears to be summarising when he is interrupted by the pilot, responding to a screen events. As the sequence progresses, neither participant addresses the interruption i.e. with a repair, and (*G*) subsequently aligns with the latest information (42).

57 G es:te (.) me dice que (.) [tengo] que- (.) es:e  
 57 "this, it tells me that, I have to, that one" ((- audio))  
 58 C [no::]  
 58 "no"  
 59 (0.7)  
 60 C °>mirelo<° (.) si (.) si  
 60 "look here, yes, yes"  
 61 (0.3)  
 62 C no mole-(0.3) re:no (1.0) y el re:no le coloca(.) este (0.4) ↓vale  
 62 "don't both-,reindeer and the reindeer goes, this one,ok ((- audio))  
 63 (0.7)

For the participants then, the general dearth of restart sequences may represent the most effective means of sustaining communication within a unfamiliar and/or rapidly changing context i.e. a discourse preference for 'meaning over form' (Firth & Wagner, 1997). Note, overlap also plays a conspicuous part in social organisation procedures where participants are overtly attempting to impose their authority and rights of access in advance of an activity (3, 16). In this case repetition, together with increasing register, pejoratives, stressed prosody

etc. are an intrinsic part of interaction among children and as such are not considered restarts/repairs (Goodwin, 1991).

## 5.5 SUMMARY OF INTERACTION

Advocates of *CA* argue that interactants are presumed to share social-cultural knowledge and have equal access to a common linguistic code which is itself underpinned by a shared and stable linguistic and interactional competence (Firth & Wagner, 1997). Indeed, micro-analysis of the *MIE* demonstrates that computer-mediated talk is entirely consistent with the common social practices of peer socialisation and play, most notably; opposition, assessment and even, ritual insult (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2012). Intersubjective meaning within the *SOLE* has been organised relative to the following, general series of interrelated routines: Entry; Challenges; Search; Tutorial; Evaluation; Outage; Fly-Solo. With the exception of the final category, each is marked by some or all of the primordial features of interaction, namely; turn-taking, repair and topic management (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

In a multi-activity context of ‘play-social organisation’ characterised by unstable periods of dispute most notably, entry and challenge sequences, interaction is broadly associated with features of interruption (Haddington et al, 2014). By contrast, more stable periods of multi-activity, such as play-tuition are organised relative to an emergent, ‘ $E \rightarrow N$ ’ model of interaction including action-list type sequences (Schegloff, 2007) and a display format of questioning as opposed to the discourse marks indicative of critical thinking. In which case, expert directives and/or repair initiators (*RI*) are followed by embodied and observable acts of accountability at the *k/b* i.e. an effectuated repair. With reference to static unipolar/inbound

activities, object-orientation is characterised by interruption and adjustment. Meanwhile, the bipolar/outbound dynamic equivalent is noted for switching and adjustment consistent with real-time requirements (Haddington et al, 2014). In sum, the manner in which social action is managed points to a context-sensitive, mobilising speech-exchange system relative to perceived technological affordances i.e. an abbreviated form of communication at the boundary of talk and social action (Levinson, 2014). Moreover, the computer is not socially-constructed as a practical accomplishment but rather, provides a focus of participant attention as a situated object/resource (Nevile et al, 2014; Hutchby, 2001).

Relative to the linguistic details of talk-in-interaction, opening sequences triggered by an attention imperative are predominantly, the singular privilege of a senior partner, usually the pilot, and do not necessitate adjacent-pair verbal acknowledgement. Broadly speaking, the interaction between parties is characterised by abbreviated/elliptical utterances of deixis, directives and response cries supported by apposite and embodied metanarrative (op cit, 2014). Within a dominant dyad mode of operation, talk ‘ebbs and flows’ consistent with a radio-tuning metaphor, the silence being interpreted as a place-saver rather than a termination. Meanwhile, the limitations of computer affordance are susceptible to periods of participant overload, diversion and ambivalence. Finally but no less significantly, talk reflects an asymmetrical distribution of authority i.e. an autocratic model, where dominant participants in the context of limited resources, consistently assume the right to allocate, frame, direct and evaluate a subordinate relative to the ongoing activity. During periods of dispute and deontic incongruence, the reciprocal ‘return and exchange’ procedure is frequently visible as a primordial trial of strength based on tacit presumptions of a pre-

existing social hierarchy. Otherwise, privilege is founded on assessment and perceived differentiates in epistemic knowledge as opposed to other conspicuous features of the situated social context e.g. age, gender, class etc.

In contrast to the democratic learning context presumed by Mitra (2006), the form and persistence of the ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model within the Tutorial phase suggests that any learning within the *SOLE* would be behavioural in nature. With the odd exception i.e. a novice directing (33) and/or challenging the action of an expert (46), situated meaning is not so much co-constructed between conversational equals as organised and deployed in an intra-personal/autocratic form - where one participant assumes epistemic and/or deontic authority relative to another. Whilst the emergence of multiple identities and roles point to active politicisation of the *SOLE*, the relations across the corpus would appear to be unequivocally, binary in nature e.g. expert-novice; gatekeeper-novice; rule enforcer-offender; offender-victim; examiner-examinee.

Relative to Mitra's foundational and content-centric view of knowledge and learning, there is *minimal* substantive evidence to suggest that the participants are drawing on the resources of the virtual activity in their actions and through recycling, creating opportunities for learning in the course of participation (Seedhouse, 2010). Moreover, micro-analysis has thrown-up a conspicuous, 'Arora-style' learning paradox. In essence, it can be readily argued that Mitra's persistent references to collaborative constructivism within the domain of social-cultural theory are in fact, erroneous.

In direct contrast to the negotiated paradigm typically associated with the *ZPD*, a research methodology based on a computational/mentalist model is distinctly foundational in nature, representing an evident and contradictory bias towards deterministic outcomes over situated process. Moreover, the actual, behavioural nature of the emergent, ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model of *SOLE* learning revealed by micro-analysis is consistent with this ontological position.

The essence of the paradox lies in Mitra's general description of the collaborative activity. Here, Mitra recognises the critical significance of language (as opposed not talk-in-interaction) in the learning process; *'they soon start to create a vocabulary to describe their experiences, encouraging them to perceive generalisations (op. cit, 2006; 170)*. This abstract focus on word/vocabulary is indicative of an undeclared, structuralist view of learning (Johnson, 2004) i.e. the learner as a *judgmental dope* lacking in agency. In which case, it would appear that any claims supporting the creation of a situated *CoP*, when measured against established criteria are highly contingent (Wenger, 2000):

- Mutual Engagement - The predominance of the dyad configuration characterised by a range of increasingly included and excluded binary relations suggests that not all participants were equally engaged. This resulted in frequent and/or protracted periods of dispute, as a meaningful reflection of a sharing & controlling context (Corsaro, 2005; Danby & Theobald, 2012) where challenges were often counteracted with unmitigated negation. In which case, marginalised participants would regularly seek to co-opt facilitator authority in support of their claims



- Joint Enterprise - Interaction is defined more by autocratic, intra-personal relations as opposed to a democratic equivalent founded on mutual negotiation. In which case, it would be difficult to conclude that the process belongs to all members
- Shared Repertoire - From the social perspective of participant assimilation and competency, micro-analysis has revealed interactional features of mediated coherence associated with a mobilising, object-oriented, speech-exchange system. However, from the foundational, content-centric view of knowledge advocated by *ID&E*, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that the process has generated new meanings between participants founded on the virtual, activity-based resources

A critical assessment of the *SOLE* ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model and its educational validity would depend on your theoretical and even, ideological position. From the computational/mentalist perspective, the fact that participants reach a successful outcome could be seen as sufficient evidence to claim a collaborative success. From the social viewpoint however, Van Lier (1991) argues that authentic learning is not so much dependent on outcomes but the quality of mediated interaction between participants i.e. two or more learners engaging in a negotiated process over task-related decisions, discussing what is most important, the sequence of discrete problems and an approach to solving these problems. Moreover, the prime responsibility for creating interaction-centred learning opportunities lies with the expert. Within the institutional context, Walsh (2006) reflects on the tangible and significant link between the pedagogical goals of the lesson and associated discourse. To this effect, he identifies a number of strategies that a teacher/expert may employ to maximise situated learning opportunities: 1) scaffolding: described above; 2) seeking clarification: not

accepting the learners first answer but seeking an explanation through pushing<sup>64</sup>; 3) extended waiting time; 4) reduced teacher echo.

In view of the *SOLE* operating philosophy, it becomes the collective responsibility of the participants is to fill the narrative, knowledge and organisational gap vacated by the teacher. Of course, the form and means by which this is achieved is unpredictable and not required to bare any relationship to any conventional classroom i.e. ‘reduced echo’ would appear to have little or no relevance within the *SOLE*. Nonetheless, empirical evidence suggests that the *SOLE* expert rarely deploys, seeks or necessarily recognises opportunities to push the novice and thereafter, maximise learning opportunities consistent with a paradigm of high-level critical thinking i.e. a rudimentary scaffold between participants. Moreover, whilst increased ‘waiting time’ is a relative measurement, the nature of certain activities e.g. bipolar-outbound, can mean that time management is beyond the control of any participant.

By definition, it would seem that the *SOLE* interaction resembles at best, a cooperative context where learning is merely a mode of instruction as opposed to a collaborative equivalent in which learners have greater control over the design of their learning (Nunan, 1992a). The point being made here is not that an adolescent expert can or should seek to replicate teacher talk or classroom discourse within the *SOLE*. After all, this level of topic management/practice requires maturity and years of training and experience, referred to as ‘*Interactional Competence*’ (Walsh, 2006; 130). Rather, the grounded/academic view of learning within a social-cultural context is far more complex than Mitra and the field of *ID&E*

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<sup>64</sup> Pushing the learner to a precision of meaning (Swain, 1985)

in general, are willing to acknowledge. Learning is a way of interacting with the world. As we learn, our conceptions of phenomena change and we see the world differently. The parochial acquisition of information itself does not bring about such a change. However, the manner in which we structure that information and think with it does i.e. the conversion of passive information into active knowledge through appropriate contextualisation (Biggs, 2003). Education and learning is about this '*conceptual change*' (Walsh, 2006; 108) and it is certainly not made inevitable by simply; '*putting the learners in a group and letting them get on with it*' (*op. cit*; 157). In sum, a redemptive *MIE* narrative promoting the computer as a ready-made, post-modern solution to the problem of education remoteness is far too simplistic. Even on its own foundational terms, *SOLE* interaction bears more than a striking resemblance to a series of social and organisational features that tend to obstruct mediated collaboration and thereafter, represent the focus of situated design (Wegerif & Dawes, 1998).

- One person appoints themselves leader sitting centrally and reading the screen
- Children would become impatient with others who had no keyboard skills and would dominate both the keyboard and the decision-making. Alternatively, a quiet but literate child would work as a secretary to a dictator
- Less confident children would watch, agree and withdraw, contributing little. If things subsequently go wrong they would then be castigated for not helping
- Friends at work would simply agree with one another. Other children always disagree with what was suggested but offer no alternative

- The content of the talk was observed to be directed at a re-establishment of the children's friendship groups
- The most heated discussions were to do with who was sitting where, who pressed the next key and so on. Children spent a lot of time talking about how to make the task of actually operating the computer 'fair', an impossibility but of great importance to them
- Talk became general and relaxed if the computer was sited out of the teacher's natural range. This is possibly because children realised that concentrating on work would mean that their long awaited turn at the computer would be over sooner so they chatted about other things
- Children competed within a group using the computer program of some sorts. Useless disputes ensued without a constructive outcome

This analysis is not to suggest any denial or diminishment of the significance of peer interaction in the child development and socialisation processes, no less in the Developing World where adolescents are regularly required to attend to their siblings for large parts of the day (Rogoff, 2003). Indeed, the micro-analytical method was specifically chosen in 'post-colonial' deference to the situated relevance of these factors. However, the outcome of this research project can be added to an increasing body of evidence to suggest that improvised, peer interaction may not be as effective in promoting a content-centric learning agenda as first thought:

*'some of the data itself provides grounds for doubting any assumption that peer group rituals automatically push acquisition forwards' (Rampton, 1999; 333).*

In contrast to the idealised depictions of self-organisation: democratic, collaborative, critical etc. (Mitra, 2012), micro-analysis has demonstrated that the *SOLE* is no more 'value-free' or decoupled from the surrounding discourse than any other social context. How can it be? The removal of the most conspicuous institutional features of school does not prevent an active politicising of the space by the children themselves and thereafter, divisions consistent with the norms of a pre-existing hierarchy (Goodwin, 1991; Rogoff, 2003); in contrast to knowledge 'have's & have not's' (Mitra, 2006). As Arora (2010) suspected, there is little evidence in the talk to suggest that participants relate, in terms of a *friend MCD* and thereafter, share information "*in exchange for friendship or a reciprocity of information*" (Mitra, 2006; 172). Instead and somewhat predictably, the more dominant members not only have control of access but also assume the privilege to allocate resources, frame the activity and deny, direct and/or limit the access of their subordinates. The emergence and fluidity of a series of 'included & excluded' roles, not to mention regular referrals to the facilitator, is testimony to this condition. In fact, there would appear to be a profound irony in the portrayal of the *SOLE* as some post-modern, learning nirvana.

### 5.5.1 THE TROJAN MOUSE

In reality, the enthusiasm for technology and the promise of social transformation cannot be detached from broader meanings of education and surrounding values and ideology i.e. what is education? why is it provided? and how is it carried out? (Selwyn, 2011). To this end,

Postman (2002) argues that ideology is an inherent feature of technology and design, which includes: intellectual biases, the fact that the internet and web are coded in English; political biases, a ubiquitous commercialism and an inequality of access as a result of cost; and sensory biases, the dependence of the internet on the physical capacities of sight, with its emphasis on the image as opposed to the word. According to the McLuhan's aphorism, '*the medium is the message*' (McLuhan, 1964; 7), technology and the progressive extension of our senses: '*give direction to our thoughts, generate new ideas, venerate old ideas, expose facts or hides them*' (op. cit;127). In which case, the mechanical principles of uniformity, continuity and linearity that characterise a computational paradigm and most evidently, Mitra's notions of learning appear to be of questionable significance in a post-modern world where the orthodox notions of time, space and official knowledge have all but been eradicated by the internet and the social context in which computers are used.

Paradoxes aside, both Mitra (2012) and Tooley (2006) argue - consistent with the rhetoric of modernity - that technology will have an inevitably, profound and unerringly positive effect on the way that education is conceived and delivered irrespective of context. According to market logic, increasing connectivity and reducing costs will remove barriers to access. Rather than a single provider, a mass market will emerge, containing an increasing number and variety of formal and informal providers. Not only will the learner have more choice but she will be able to tailor her education to individual needs. In effect, the entire notion of education will be redefined as learning and knowledge becomes increasingly individualised and the learner/consumer more reflective, reflexive, adaptive and critical (Selwyn, 2011). In the meantime, the teacher role will inevitably diminish to no more than a

technician/facilitator assuming of course, that the future has reserved a space for anachronistic institutions such as school. Naturally then, the prospect of a digital future has added fuel to a neo-liberal discourse marking the end of school and an education system completely decoupled from the state (Tooley, 2006). From this position, technology is not so much a useful pedagogical tool as it is a potent lever for the repositioning of education around the power of radical individualism, market forces and the rational pursuit of self-interest. What Selwyn (2011) refers to as the *'Trojan Mouse Approach'* (*op cit*; 89) to social change. With direct reference to Mitra and the *MIE*, Tooley (2006) predicts a profound transformation in the field of *ID&E*:

*'even illiterate slum children have been found to teach themselves easily how to access the internet, and to teach others how to do so...schools will soon realize that this self-teaching method is far superior to any they had tried'* (*op. cit*; 28)

Only to date, these promises of social and educational transformation do not appear to represent the actual, lived experience of the learner, no less those who reside on the margins of the Developing World. Despite numerous, large-scale studies, there remains no conclusive evidence connecting technological innovation with significant differences in learner outcomes when compared with conventional modes of education provision (Russell, 2001)<sup>65</sup>. The mass marketing of education has led to a more standardised, minimalist product offering *'more of the same types of education rather than a genuine diversity of opportunities'*

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<sup>65</sup> The difficulty of defining learning and isolating it from the surrounding social, cultural, political variable.  
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(Hirschhiem, 2005; 101). In which case, their hardly seems much commercial appetite for the very particular needs of a marginalised, post-colonial student. Indeed, the reality of the `digital divide` means not only that the orthodox, knowledge infrastructure remains firmly fixed within established centres of culture but that 90% of internet traffic continues to be associated with the industrialised world (Thurlow et al, 2004). For all the boundless rhetoric, the principal winners and beneficiaries of educational technology are the usual suspects i.e. those with social capital that have already taken part in the education system as opposed to those previously uninvolved<sup>66</sup>. Finally, the fact that digital technologies do much to overcome barriers of time and space does not alter the fact that a principal obstacle to educational inclusion may simply be a lack of interest or motivation. For all its current and well-documented shortcomings, school is not simply an information retrieval system but like life, is an entire field of complex social and cultural relations that remain largely unaffected by the presence of technology<sup>67</sup>. Indeed, despite a range of initiatives in pursuit of equality of access and social justice: ‘*HitW*’; ‘One-Lap-Top per Child’; ‘Open Source Software’; ‘ICT4D<sup>68</sup>’ etc., educational participation continues to be one of the most unequal areas of society (Selwyn, 2011).

According to Selwyn (op. cit), the meeting of technology and education has consistently failed to live up to surrounding hype and expectation. But why is this? An historical

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<sup>66</sup> Rigby (2010) refers to this social phenomena as the ‘*Matthew Effect*’. Advantage leading to advantage is prevalent in most areas of societal intervention. In this respect there would appear to be nothing new about educational technology, ‘not even the nature of its inequalities’(Selwyn, 2011; 114)

<sup>67</sup> To this end, Postman (1996) notes the paramount significance of school in the ‘civilising’ process and the development of social skills among the students.

<sup>68</sup> Information and Communication Technology for Development (Unwin, 2009)



assessment of classroom interventions<sup>69</sup> draws the following conclusions: 1) technology has been introduced in response to external imperatives. The technology was available and its use would bring education in to line with the rest of society i.e. a solution in search of a problem<sup>70</sup>; 2) Bodies of evidence were quickly produced and disseminated to prove the positive effect of these technologies regardless of the fact that this evidence was in most cases, inconclusive and equivocal.

In view of the *MIE* ontological paradox and the conspicuous absence of a coherent, theoretical representation of learning, it would seem that Mitra has, inadvertently or not, co-opted the rhetorical and principal symbols of social-cultural theory, including; collaboration, democracy, equality, criticality, self-determination etc. as a means of adding intellectual ballast to the ambitious, yet completely unsubstantiated and liberationist claims of self-organised learning. In his defence, the emergence of a mediated system of interactional coherence coupled with a general absence of meaning-related repair is indicative of a spontaneous and efficient, mobilising speech-exchange system. Without reference to detailed interactional data then, it is probable that Mitra has simply misread the typical, organisational properties of talk-in-interaction built into ordinary conversation (Sacks et al, 1974). Whilst this is an inevitable result of methodological shortcomings within the *MIE* programme, Selwyn also points to a modern tendency that endorses technology as a convenient yet ubiquitous panacea and '*technical fix*' (Selwyn, 2011; 69) for profound and infinitely more complex social problems. Indeed, rather than deliver the inevitable and sustained educational

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<sup>69</sup> The impact of film, radio, television and the microcomputer within the classroom

<sup>70</sup> Morozov (2011) refers to this modern and technological tendency as '*solutionism*' and refers specifically to the questionable use of computers in African Literacy programmes

improvement predicted by the experts, the power of surrounding social forces ensure that the deployment of technology within education is rarely a predictable or even controllable process (Njenga & Fourie, 2010). Ironically, the self-organising features of educational technology tend to contradict the autocratic tendencies of *SOLE* and *ID&E*'s own deterministic methods and rhetoric.

All the evidence then points to the need for a sustained debate regarding the purpose and the aims of educational technology, a debate that gives prominence to the voice of the learner. It is a lesson that is no less relevant to the field of *ID&E*, where academics and policy makers consistently presume to speak on behalf of the poor rather than allowing them to speak for themselves. As Selwyn sardonically indicates, the literature rarely features the actual voices of the 1.3bn people in the Developing World who exist on less than a dollar a day and consider access to any kind of schooling a privilege rather than a problem.

### 5.5.2 CONTRIBUTION OF CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

As previously noted, research into the learning potential of an informal, virtual context is in its relatively early stages and much of the available literature avoids the empirical study of play as an interactional activity and context for talk (Pirainen-Marsh & Tainio, 2009). Indeed, the unique configuration and informal learning features of *MIE* means that it even evades convenient classification relative to the pre-existing fields of academic research i.e. *CMC*, *CSCL*, *CSCW*.

In contrast to the orthodox fields of educational research where objectives and forms of interaction are understood and/or defined in advance, the *SOLE* is conceived as an emergent and spontaneous learning environment.

Firstly, analysis reveals that *SOLE* participation and computer-mediated multi-activity is broadly consistent with the social practices and exigencies of an informal, play-oriented environment i.e. the paradoxical requirements of group membership and individual autonomy manifest through opposition, assessment and insult sequences. In which case, self-organisation is definitively intra-personal and autocratic in nature. Thereafter, interaction is subject to varying distributions of deontic authority and positions within a pre-existing social hierarchy, coupled with differentials in epistemic authority and direct references to contextually-relevant computer-related skills, as opposed to alternative features of context. Secondly, the dyad is the principal mode of *SOLE* operation where participants orient towards the computer as an available resource/object rather than an active participant or product of social construction. Thirdly, interaction is broadly consistent with the principle features of canonical talk i.e. turn-taking, repair and topic management where accountability is sustained through a coherent blend of linguistic and para-linguistic interaction. Remember, the primary function of these normative rules is constitutive as opposed to regulative i.e. the reflexive means by which actors ‘make sense of’ events as opposed to the ‘control’ of events. To this effect, participant intersubjectivity is constructed through mutual acts of mediated coherence relative to common set of social procedures, predominantly: dispute; action-listing; effectuated repair; reciprocation and place-saving. Finally, the detailed linguistic features of interaction point to an object-oriented, mobilising speech-exchange system at the

interface between talk and social action (Nevile et al, 2014). Whilst the precise flow of interaction is activity related i.e. inbound vs. outbound events, the system is consistently characterised by abbreviated forms of talk, most conspicuously; deictic reference, directives and response cries. Irrespective of these linguistic shortcuts, not to mention limitations of affordance i.e. ambivalence, overload and diversions, the general absence of breakdown suggests a degree of communicative competence between the participants. In which case, notions of situated learning and knowledge are not cognitive and mechanical but social and interactional (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 2001). In contrast to Mitra's foundational view, the principle focus and purpose of *SOLE* from a participant perspective is *CoP* assimilation.

*learning is not so much related to the acquisition of arbitrary, content-centric knowledge, as it is about play, identity and competency as part of an emergent social practice within an unfamiliar mediated context.*

Indeed, even once participant assimilation is successfully achieved any future, self-organised focus on content and the shaping of meaningful knowledge is still and forever, subject to the exigencies of social context (Danby & Theobald, 2012; Silverman, 1998).

In sum, the principal aim of *SOLE* micro-analysis is not simply to critique Mitra's presumptions of collaborative learning but to provide a meaningful contribution to a child-focused equivalent of the standard model of conversation (Schegloff, 2010), one that enhances our theoretical understanding of informal, object-oriented interaction and the potential modes of children development (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 2001). In which case,

*SOLE* interaction is unerring characterised by notions of identity, situated competency and the social features of *controlling and sharing* (Corsaro, 2005), as opposed to the structural products of internet-based information. Moreover, when compared with a progressive definition of learning and/or computer-mediated pedagogy, one focused on high-level thinking skills and collaborative interaction (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001), analysis has shown that the *SOLE* equivalent is a distinctly regressive equivalent, one characterised by a behavioural mode of learning. Rather than presume the emergence of an authentic *CoP*, the discourse markers that support foundational notions of scaffolding and the *ZPD* have to be examined in micro-detail to reveal the actual nature of deployment within talk-in-interaction i.e. the emergence of an ' $E \rightarrow N$ ' model does not automatically signify a negotiated learning context (Sawchuk, 2003).

## 6.0 CONCLUSION

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the millennium, the international community under the auspices of the *UN* pledged access to free education for all children of primary age as a cornerstone of its commitment to eradicate extreme global poverty by a '2015' deadline. From within this context, the academic domain of *International Development & Education (ID&E)* emerges as a centre for *Universal Primary Education (UPE)* policy research and intervention (Tooley, 2004). The E.G.West Centre at Newcastle University promotes the notion of self-organising systems and free-market solutions to ongoing problems of education provision for an estimated 70+ million children currently outside of the formal system. In which case, the *Self-Organised Learning Environment (SOLE)* represents not simply a cost-effective, technology-mediated intervention for the poor but the symbolic centre-piece of a liberationist approach to development, one that circumvents the corrupting and pejorative influence of the state (Tooley, 2006).

*'a teacher that can be replaced by a machine, should be' (Mitra; 2006; 62)*

After more than two decades of research and testing in various parts of the Developing World, Mitra argues that marginalised children within a computer-mediated environment are able to *educate themselves* to levels more readily associated with school, irrespective of all surrounding variables. Apparently, the only substantive questions remaining are those related to wide-spread implementation, as opposed to its conceptual validity.

*'MIE has the potential not only to close the digital divide rapidly but also unlock the creative potential for self-development in children that eminent educationalists have sought to do for over a century' (Mitra, 2006; 172)*

Consistent with the modern narrative of technological progress, the *SOLE* foretells the inexorable decline of the institutional form of provision with the teacher role in particular, reduced to little more than a facilitator/technician. And yet, for all the surrounding hyperbole, there is not a shred of interactional evidence to support such a prognosis, nothing to illustrate how self-organisation and/or learning is locally-accomplished with reference to surrounding social practices and procedural features of mediated, even post-colonial talk i.e. the ghosts with a machine. Ergo, the purpose of this study is to locate itself at the heart of a marginalised community; La Miligrosa, Columbia, adopting an interactional stance supported by discourse analysis as a means of characterising the situated and embodied nature of informal, computer-mediated practice from the perspective of the participants themselves.

## 6.2 'SOLE' INTERACTION

From the outset, it is clear that *MIE* research to date represents a singularly, dominant computational paradigm of structural analysis where communication is conceived as an individualised, cognitive function engendering the static and linear transfer of information between speakers i.e. sender→message→receiver. By contrast, the interactional paradigm conceives of a dynamic process where transactional, multi-functional and multi-modal meaning does not so much reside *in* the words but is fluid and highly dependent on context

(Thurlow et al, 2004; Heritage, 1984). As the primordial site of social order, this thesis represents a detailed analysis of a local, mediated speech-exchange system relative to the canonical features of mundane conversation (Boden & Zimmerman, 1991). The significance of an agent-centred, post-structural methodology is further emphasised by the fact that situated order and knowledge in the *SOLE* are continually negotiated independent of the conventional, institutional constraints of school.

To begin with, the nature of children's play is shaped by the social realities of identity and seemingly paradoxical features of sharing and control (Corsaro, 2005; Danby & Baker, 2000; Goodwin, 1998). In the absence of teacher authority, the *SOLE* is politicised by the participants themselves, evident in a range of *SRP* identities relative to a privileged pilot position. In which case, this context of computer-mediated, multi-activity is notably dependent on features of deontic authority, relative to a pre-existing social hierarchy coupled with assertions of epistemic stance and knowledge founded on a set of situated and demonstrable skills (Stenvanovic & Peräkylä, 2012; Heritage, 2012). Indeed, a local '*system of ranking*' (Mitra, 2006; 41) is acknowledged by Mitra but not explored in any further detail.

While the primordial structures of interaction are largely consistent with the canonical model i.e. turns-in-talk; repair and topic management, mediated intersubjectivity and coherence in the *SOLE* is sustained through timely and appropriate participation in a series of common, linguistic and para-linguistic procedures, most significantly: dispute; effectuated repair; reciprocation; action-listing, place-saving. At the detailed, empirical level of speech acts, interaction is consistent with a radio-tuning metaphor and an object-oriented, mobilising



speech-exchange system characterised by directives, deictic references and response cries supported by embodied metanarrative, all operating directly at the interface between speech and action (Haddington et al, 2014; Nevile et al, 2014; Hutchby, 2001). Finally, agent-centred definitions of learning are not determined a priori but relate to locally-valued pursuits and active participation within a local *CoP* (Wenger, 2000). In which case;

*learning is not so much related to an orthodox, content-centric view of knowledge, as it is about play, identity, situated competence, and member assimilation within an emergent social practice*

Significantly, empirical evidence suggests that Mitra is correct in his implicit theoretical presumption that the learning context is both organised and behavioural in nature, consistent with the computational model of communication. In direct contrast to social-cultural theory, analysis phenomena are individualised and collaborative processes i.e. co-ordination and communication, are treated as secondary to the expression of mental modes or external expressions of internal representations (Stahl, 2010; Johnson, 2004). Indeed, with its singular focus on the cognitive features of communication, behaviourism provides the theoretical foundation for structural linguistics<sup>71</sup> and explains the particular significance of vocabulary acquisition as opposed to talk-in-interaction, within the *SOLE* model (Mitra, 2006). As previously indicated, the authentic validity of a pedagogical paradigm which tends to conceive knowledge as a possession of an expert and the learner as empty vessel devoid of

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<sup>71</sup> Language consistent with a system of structurally-related elements that encode meaning. Thus, the phonetic level of a language led to the phonological level, on to the morphological level and then the syntactic level (Johnson, 2004).

individual agency, is of course, highly contested (Pinar, 2004; Dewey, 1974; Chomsky, 1957). While the transmission method may be well-suited to certain mechanical tasks associated with computer key and icon recognition and phoneme acquisition (Mitra, 2006), a general measure of thinking skills e.g. Bloom's taxonomy (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001), would suggest a significant gulf between this position and notions of self-regulation, criticality, democracy, and creativity persistently advanced by the *SOLE* narrative;

*'the story of collective constructivism is the story of self-organisation' (Mitra, 2006; 184)*

In addition to test results - relative to a prescriptive and bureaucratic learning agenda - Mitra's understanding of *SOLE* employs anecdotal evidence in the development of a speculative guide to interaction (Mitra, 2012). Thereafter, learning is presumed to occur through the emergence of a situated vocabulary and the transmission of generalisations within a context of collaborative and even, rational participation. In the absence of interactional data however, these conceptual units cannot be clearly described and/or understood in terms of situated talk and more specifically, participant intersubjectivity. In which case, how exactly does one *test* for the emergent phenomena of self-organisation and local definitions of valid content or conduct? Indeed, by testing and sorting participants relative to a set of preordained, bureaucratic knowledge isn't Mitra accepting the very institutional context and assessment criteria *SOLE* is presumed to resist? (Arora, 2010)

In direct contrast to the interactional position, a taken-for-granted view of collaboration at the heart of *SOLE* representation can be literally and legitimately extended to include even the most marginal roles e.g. a passenger. The incumbent may not approve of this status but in view of his lowly, social position within the local hierarchy, he may be obliged to accept it i.e. a unilateral understanding and realisation of exclusion founded on an asymmetrical distribution of authority has been reached between participants. In such circumstances, the foundational units of explanation tend to lose their meaning. According to Dillenbourg (1999):

*'when a word becomes fashionable - as is the case with 'collaboration' - it is often used abusively for more or less anything. The problem with such over-general usage is two-fold. First, it is nonsense to talk about the cognitive effects (learning) of 'collaborative' situations if any situation can be labelled collaborative. Second, it is difficult to articulate the contributions of various authors who use the word very differently' (op. cit:1)*

Moreover, the removal of a formal teaching function does not signify an automatic de-politicisation of the learning space. In addition to the multiple and shifting *SOLE* identities, the participants themselves would regularly upgrade as part of their own dispute procedure, orienting towards the facilitator as the ultimate source of arbitration (Maynard, 1986). Contrary to the idealistic and evidently, ideological notions of rational freedom associated with self-organisation (Tooley, 2006), learning, thinking, acting and 'ways of being' emerge from a surrounding and persistent social-cultural field. Consequently, even the most

advanced technological devices must be accommodated within existing practices and assumptions of a world that is already organised (Silverman, 1998).

In sum, the *SOLE* is undoubtedly organised with reference to the common and surrounding social practices of children's play. In which case, Mitra could stake a legitimate claim to *CoP* status. However, when compared to the elemental features described by Wenger (2000), any such assertion would be undeniably contingent: 1) a general participation frame of inclusion versus exclusion; 2) a joint enterprise defined by relations of autocracy over democracy; 3) a shared repertoire of practice focused on member assimilation as opposed to bureaucratic content.

In contrast to Mitra's presumptions of a self-organised learning environment, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that participants (re)negotiate a progressive pedagogical narrative of enquiry in the absence of a teacher (Mitra, 2006). Indeed, the fact that the social features of knowledge and high-level thinking evident in authentic acts of negotiation/collaboration are *not* readily associated with the behavioural/mentalist paradigm suggests that the real enigma of the *SOLE* is not one of learning conceptualisation but of valid representation.

### 6.3 INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

Reflecting on the history of ideas, Isaiah Berlin notes the historically-privileged position of the logical positivist tradition and a foundational interpretation of reality that generates and validates knowledge in relation to a privileged, logo-centric and a priori representation of

reality (Reed, 2008). Consistent with this ontological stance, all phenomena are measured, distilled and rendered meaningful relative to a universal, rational and dominant discourse i.e. liberal-humanism. Moreover, *ID* is broadly characterised by relations of paternalism and the '*White Man's Burden*' (Easterly, 2008), a discursive field that sanctions a programme of modernisation on behalf of a deficient other i.e. perform a diagnosis, map the social and economic characteristics, create market abnormalities and propose a range of suitable treatments (Escobar, 2011). In which case, the principal motive of *ID* and associated research is not to generate new knowledge. Rather, scientific method is deployed as a tool of verification, an overtly quantitative process that reduces a multiplicity of post-colonial settings down to a standard and unified category of emblematic ideas and basic propositions (Reed, 2008; Feyerabend, 1987). Needless to say, this accumulation of *ID* knowledge and the ongoing *institutionalisation of poverty* (Illich, 2007), is far from value-free but instead, is intimately associated with notions of Foucauldian power; the power to literally name the Developing World, to act in particular way, to claim resources, to control or be controlled depend upon the dominant knowledges prevailing in society (Escobar, 2011; Burr, 1995).

There is then, a distinct imbalance of theoretical interests, priorities, methodologies, perspectives etc. within *ID* that result in limited and distorted representations of social context (Firth & Wagner, 1997). In reality, the imposition of a singular orthodoxy has the deleterious effect of reducing a plethora of social identifies to a binary distinction i.e. rich-poor; educated-uneducated; developed-developing; modern/archaic (Young, 2001). It gives pre-eminence to the research practice of coding, quantified data and replicating results (Escobar, 2011). It prioritises explanations of phenomena in modern and more specifically,

social-economic terms as opposed to descriptions of local practice (Illich, 1997). It assigns preference to the experimental economic models rather than naturalistic settings. It prioritises *etic* (analyst-relevant) concerns over its *emic* (participant-relevant) equivalent and views development as no more than a linear transmission of practices and standards from one, dominant social-cultural context to another. Indeed, for all altruistic intent and commitment associated with the institutional approach, the *ID* process remains conspicuously devoid of people and an authentic understanding of poverty as an actual, lived experience. This is not to suggest that the theoretical preferences or methodological practices of *ID* are intrinsically erroneous and should be rejected. However, in the absence of detailed *emic* accounts of social-cultural reality, *ID* is condemned in perpetuity to reductive speculation consistent with a preferred and/or dominant ideology.

## 6.4 FUTURE OF ID&E

According to the logic of *ID* discourse, global poverty represents not simply a material deficit; income, food, security, health, state services etc., but a collective exclusion from the paradigm of modernity i.e. a reality of marginalisation (op. cit). The aim of *ID&E* policy then is to expand educational provision and opportunity to the Developing World as a means of assimilating this deficient population consistent with the universal and broadly, instrumental curriculum of the *UN*, one characterised by an uninspiring agenda of economic utility and consumerism (Pinar, 2004; Postman, 1996). In the meantime, the authentic forms of understanding and expression associated with border thinking cannot, by definition, be fully conceptualised, categorised or comprehended by the orthodox methods and tools of logical positivism alone (Spivak, 1988). At best, Freire (1996) argues that the orthodox approach to

education not only subalternises local knowledge, understandings and forms of being but also, reinforces and validates existing structures of domination and oppression within the mind of the learner. At worst, there is a social-historical risk of '*Pachakuti*' (Mignolo, 2005; 10) and a profound and painful, ontological disruption of identity, resulting from: 1) loss of one's linguistic identity; 2) loss of all subjectivities; 3) loss of frame of reference and the link between the signifier and signified; 4) loss of inner voice; 5) first language attrition<sup>72</sup> (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). Needless to say, *ID* is a profoundly moral as well as political field of interest. In which case, Freire (1996) himself recommends resistance to the orthodoxy in the form of a post-structural approach to education founded on a critical pedagogy, one that links education provision to a more meaningful, social-cultural narrative and the general principles of liberty, equality and justice<sup>73</sup>.

Despite the extravagant anti-state rhetoric of *ID&E* (Selwyn, 2011), its theoretical and methodological position, if not its aims are entirely consistent with the paternal discourse of the *UN*<sup>74</sup>. Naturally then, the idea of a cost-effective, technologically-mediated form of *UPE* that seemingly circumvents all interference from a parasitic and corrupt state apparatus is a highly seductive, if politically-charged approach to provision. Yet, the presuppositions that underpin the *ID&E* paradigm are not subject to robust, critical assessment i.e. *MIE* as a *Trojan Mouse*.

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<sup>72</sup> An equivalence is drawn between the subjective impact of 'border thinking' (Mignolo, 2005) and the disorientation of 'Second Language Acquisition' (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000)

<sup>73</sup> Irrespective of Mitra's 'genius', it would appear ideological misleading to associate the 'liberationist' principles of *MIE* with the Marxism of Freire (Mitra, 1996; preface)

<sup>74</sup> *ID&E* is consistent with the modern narrative but promotes private as opposed to state sponsored solutions (Tooley & Dixon, 2005). In reality, the 'state vs. low-cost' private school debate is no more than a 'smoke-screen' that diverts attention away from the more emotive issue of 'post-colonial' education

Even on its own computational terms, the philosophical substrate of the *SOLE* cannot bear close scrutiny. Firstly and in contrast to *ID&E*'s anodyne notions of freedom, both McLuhan (1964) and Postman (2002) argue that every technology contains the seed of an ideological bias, a predisposition to construct the world in one way rather than another, to value one thing over another and thereafter, to create its winners and losers. Through the epithet, the medium is the message, McLuhan (1964) is delivering a timely warning regarding the potential, psycho-social effects of new technology and the endless extension of human senses; '*we shape our tools and afterwards they shape us*' (Press, 1995; 16). With particular regard to the relations of language, meaning and power, Bowers (2001) highlights the following features of a computational design and ontology considered relevant to educators:

- Computers amplify explicit and decontextualized knowledge and reduce awareness of the tacit, contextual and analogue cultural patterns
- Computers amplify the modern cultural orientation that represents the individual as the basic social unit. Computer mediated thought and communication put out of focus the social-cultural nature of intelligence, as well as how the cultural form of intelligence is reproduced in the language processes that sustain the everyday sense of reality
- Computers amplify the conduit view of the language: that is a sender/receiver view of communication. They reduce awareness that language reproduces in the process of analogue thinking and the use of iconic metaphors of the cultural group. Contrary to what many educators now claim, data is *not* the basis of thought



- Computers amplify the modern subjective sense of temporality where the present moment provides the vantage point for assessing the relevance of the past and the future. Computers reduce the awareness of how most of what we do, think and value involves the enactment of traditions. By way of contrast, many vernacular cultures have a sense of temporality where traditions are experienced as sources of wisdom and moral authority.
- Computers amplify the language that reinforces the dominant cultural assumption that views moral judgments as expressions of instrumental self-interest as opposed to the non-instrumental moral frameworks that can be found in many traditional, ecologically-centred cultures

As a conspicuous and privileged symbol of modern era, the design features of the computer coupled with Mitra's preference for bureaucratic knowledge, necessarily amplify the ideological precepts of a concomitant, grand narrative and an atomised, dualistic and structural view of reality. By default then, the *SOLE* approach to learning will tend to subalternise the subjective knowledges, temporalities and creative expression of those within the post-colonial context, not to mention the non-computer literate. Moreover, and as a direct consequence of the computational model of communication (Hutchby, 2001), this design preceptor/prejudice is transparent to and thereafter, unacknowledged by Mitra and *ID&E*.

Secondly, the *ID&E* notion of educational remoteness appears to represent nothing more than a parochial, lack of information. However, December (1997) notes that in the absence of

consistent organisation and information quality, the internet makes for a distinctly unreliable and inadequate database. Furthermore, Postman (2002) argues that the real problems facing contemporary society, including those of poverty, injustice and inequality etc., neither arise from nor are perpetuated by an information deficiency. Instead, the internet presents impressionable learners with the impossible task of sustaining existential coherence and meaning in the face of an *'information glut'* (*op cite; 60*). As Postman contends within a broader cultural landscape defined by technology:

*'information is dangerous when it has no place to go, when there is no theory to which it applies, no pattern in which it fits, when there is no higher purpose that it serves (op. cit; 63)*

In its relentless pursuit of school deregulation and privatisation - consistent with a Tylerian<sup>75</sup> model of standardisation and accountability - it appears that *ID&E* has lost sight of the fundamental, moral dimension of education, a deficiency only exacerbated by the post-colonial setting of its interventionism. What both Tooley & Mitra appear to have forgotten is that deliberations regarding the meaning and scope of education don't commence in the classroom or with the arrival of the latest gadget. This particular privilege is reserved for a *transcendent narrative* (*op. cit; 83*), commonly referred to as a curriculum. According to Eisner (1997), few issues are more central to the experience of students than the curriculum and the ways in which it is mediated. To this end, a post-structural *'reconceptualisation'*

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<sup>75</sup> Pinar credits Ralph Tyler with the 'technocratic' approach to education that reduces the curriculum to learning objectives measured by examination (Pinar, 2004)

(Pinar, 2004; 158) of education directs attention away from the dominant practices and values of modernity toward an learning agenda conceived as a complicated conversation:

*'an opportunity for students to reflect on and to think critically about themselves and the world they inhabit' (Pinar, 2004; 185)*

Pinar (2004) argues that the true purpose of education is *not* to turn everyone into specialists in academic disciplines - though few would complain if it did<sup>76</sup> - nor is it to produce accomplished test-takers or efficient and docile employees for the business sector. Instead, the student is conceived as a subject in transition, in the midst of an endless and evolutionary process of intellectual '*becoming*' (Slattery, 2004; 76), for which the primary motor of development is a social and ethical understanding:

*'understanding the relations among academic knowledge, the processes of self-formation and the character of the historic moment in which we live, in which others have lived and which our descendants will live. It is understanding that informs the ethical obligation to care for ourselves and our fellow human beings, that enables us to think and act with intelligence, sensitivity and courage in both the public sphere - as citizens aspiring to establish a democratic society - and in the private sphere, as individuals committed to other individuals' (Pinar, 2004; 187)*

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<sup>76</sup> With specific reference to the outcomes of the 'standardisation and accountability' agenda associated with conservative propensity toward 'back-to-basics' programmes. According to Silberman; '*it is not possible to spend any prolonged period visiting public school classrooms without being appalled by the mutilation visible everywhere – mutilation of spontaneity, of the joy of learning, of the pleasure of creating, of sense of self*' (Pinar, 2004, 186)

In a conscious response to the profound developmental crises of our time, curriculum theory has witnessed a veritable explosion of heuristic constructs of analysis through which to view - and review - the subjective experience of reality, including; race, gender, sexual and social politics; critical pragmatism; aesthetics; ecology; discourse analysis; deconstruction; autobiography; ethnomethodology; historicity; multi-culturalism; theology; post-modernism and even, international global education (Slattery, 2006). It is at the post-structural confluence of these discourses that the relevance and proliferation of social media networks and digital technologies begin to make sense, redefining *'how knowledge and culture are produced, shared and understood in our global networked society'* (Taylor & Darts, 2012; 17).

In which case, phenomenologist's at the leading edge of curriculum enquiry insist that it is the subjective encounter that creates authentic understanding; knowledge is not so much, 'out there' waiting to be discovered, as it is, *'socially-constructed in experiences of the whole body and being'* (Slattery, 2004; 246). Learning in a post-modern/post-industrial world is conceived as a profoundly aesthetic preoccupation, a journey of connoisseurship; expressive, imaginative, metaphorical (Eisner, 1997), facilitating the differentiation and understanding of qualitative and nuanced experiences in a moment of *'proleptic synthesis'* (Pinar, 2004; 37). *ID&E* on the other hand, does not even consider education as a legitimate field of research (Mitra, 2006; preface), hence the learning aims of *SOLE* are not formulated in these active, pluralistic and distinctly social terms. Though the effective search and consumption of information on the internet is certainly a skill and form of learning, a coupling of the interactional evidence presented thus far with the standard critique of behaviourism would

suggest - both theoretically and practically - that the current incarnation of *SOLE* is singularly *incapable* of sustaining the ethical and intellectual judgment of understanding necessary to recognise and negotiate the complex social texts of a post-modern world. Moreover, in the absence of any interactional evidence demonstrating precisely how unmediated technology resolves the originally prescribed issues of educational remoteness i.e. inequality and boredom, even the nature of the problem *SOLE* is presumed to be addressing is not entirely clear.

While *SOLE* research undoubtedly contains the seed of an educational intervention worth further investigation, few would be surprised that a child's attention is attracted to a new gadget, in the same way that it is attracted to any novelty. Whilst technology appears to provide an answer no matter what the question, the real difficulty arises in nurturing and sustaining that interest in some meaningful direction. If the narrative of out-doctrination appears too good to be true that's probably because it is. A technological insistence that unconscious machines can readily bridge the knowledge gap implied by connoisseurship only seems to reflect the true scale of magical thinking attributed to *SOLE* by its critics. Consistent with recognised fields of academic research, it would seem that credible computer-mediated learning environments don't emerge spontaneously but by design and the careful consideration of the social context.

*'what is needed is a deeper understanding of the learning processes with various forms of digital media and various populations of young children' (Lieberman et al, 2009 279)*

Irrespective of *ID&E* presumptions of educational liberation, micro-analysis suggests that neither Tooley nor Mitra can lay legitimate claim to the principal symbols of an alternative, social-cultural paradigm in their representation of self-organisation. In which case, Mitra's test scores are not so much an endorsement of the *SOLE* as they are an indictment of *UN* efforts to date, characterised as they are by Tylerism and a cursory attention to and respect for the situated knowledges, social practices and ways of being that constitute the complex reality of marginalised communities (Escobar, 2011; Illich, 2007).

Thirdly, neither Tooley nor Mitra can predict with any degree of certainty, the future direction of technological development. Instead, the history of adoption patterns has consistently shown that our gadgets and machines are socially-shaped by people and their interpretation of affordance, as much as by a designers original intentions (Plowman & McPake, 2013; Winner, 1993). It is this notion of Computer-Mediated Communication as a social experience that should provide the focus of future *SOLE* research. Indeed, without direct reference to the surrounding social-cultural milieu through the sensitive application of qualitative techniques, the *ID&E* paradigm as it stands remains highly susceptible to accusations of technological and ideological determinism (Chandler, 1995): 1) reductionist; reduces the relationship between technology and culture to one of simplistic cause and effect; 2) monistic; oversimplifying a complex relationship to the effects of a single factor i.e. technology, privatisation; 3) neutralising; represents the free-market and technology as neutral/value-free and therefore absolved of 'responsibility', 4) progressive imperative; presents development and technological progress as unstoppable, inevitable and irreversible.

Finally, before we follow *ID&E* down the irrevocable path of a school-free educational future, it is worth reflecting on a recent, wide-ranging study of computer-mediated learning by the *OECD*<sup>77</sup> (2015), one that shows no appreciable improvements in student achievement in reading, mathematics or science in countries that have invested heavily in *ICT* for education<sup>78</sup>. Not only is very frequent use of computers detrimental to learning outcomes - even after accounting for social background and student demographics - but it would appear that technology is of ‘*little help in bridging the skills divide between advantaged and disadvantaged students*’ (*OECD*; 3). One interpretation of the results is that deep, conceptual understanding and critical thinking requires intensive teacher-student interaction. Another is that we have simply failed to develop an effective computer-related pedagogy. Whichever, the report concludes that whilst there is little doubt that technology has the potential to provide a highly effective learning platform, one that brings together learners as active participants with the tools for enquiry-based pedagogies and collaborative workspaces, what is required above all is an institutional approach that ‘*builds on teachers capacity*’ (*OECD*, 4).

Consistent with its own free-market discourse, it would seem that *ID&E* itself could be rendered irrelevant if it fails to recognise and adapt to a post-modern/post-colonial reality shaped by the very same globalising forces of international capitalism and technology that it ceaselessly promotes. To be sure, where there should be intra-disciplinary tension between theoretical and methodological positions, typical of any social science worthy of the name

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<sup>77</sup> The mission of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is to policies that will economic and social well-being of people around the world

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/education/students-computers-and-learning-9789264239555-en.htm>

i.e. the universal and the local; the modern and the post-modern; or even an intermediate critical position, there is in reality, an intellectual void. Rather than reflect on the paramount significance of participant voice, the social dimension of knowledge and the multi-faceted complexity of 'other' people and their lives, the reductive practices of *ID&E* tend toward essentialism and rational systems of education management as a convenient diversion from more the complex but no less substantive issues of the curriculum, border thinking and cultural representation. Once again, note the poverty of scope, imagination and inclusion in the continuing debate amongst the leading *ID&E* heavyweights, one that remains rigidly confined and polarised relative to the instrumental merits of private or public school ownership (Tooley, 2004). Can the authentic quality and value of education even be measured in proportion to the number of computers, teachers, desks and chairs, test results etc? (Tooley & Dixon, 2005)

In direct contrast to *ID&E* and the foundational understanding of social order, ethnomethodology demands a detailed examination of how practical action is recurrently accomplished through members use of methodological practices to produce, make sense of and thereby render accountable, the features of their local setting (Heritage, 1984). As a focal point for post-structuralism and conversation analysis, Garfinkel (1967) argues that the achievement of mutual understanding and co-ordinated action is not resolved through computational models and reference to shared symbol systems but instead;



*'are found in the fundamental nature of sequencing - that the elements of interaction are not merely serially realised as 'once and for all' objects but are rather actions that are shaped and reshaped over the course of the talk. The initiation of an action and the response to it create the immediate sequential context of these events, and occasions as well as exhibits the participants' analysis and understanding of the unfolding course of interaction. Mutual understanding is thus a methodical achievement employing the resources provided by the mechanisms of conversational interaction' (op. cit; 38)*

With specific reference to the post-colonial context, Ribeyro (1972) recounts the story of a Peruvian boy who wants to transform himself into a gringo from the United States, the so-called land of opportunity. Over the years, he devotes himself to eliminating every trace of his native self before time condemns him to life as a security guard or a taxi driver. He straightens and dyes his hair, whitens his skin, he changes his clothes and hangs-out with the gringos in a concerted attempt to 'kill' the Peruvian inside. From all this cultural plundering, a new identity and a new person will emerge, albeit a fragmented being who is neither mulatto nor gringo but rather the result of an *'unnatural commingling'* (Holliday et al, 2004; 67), something that the force of destiny would ultimately change. For sure, this is but a singular and undoubtedly, extreme example of border ambivalence<sup>79</sup>. Nonetheless, it perfectly illustrates the complex acquisition, embodiment and situated deployment of multiple cultural and languages resources, presenting a learned, post-colonial identity as a natural fact through

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<sup>79</sup> Garfinkel uses the case of transgender, 'Agnes' to prove the social and constructed nature of gender (Heritage, 1984)

a variety of institutionalised procedures and practices. Ergo, rather than seeking social order in the macro features of class, ethnicity, culture, setting, etc. Schegloff (1987) insists that:

*'any discipline that takes understanding of human action as its goal must be answerable to such microanalysis as seems to offer a rigorous account of the details of social action in its own terms' (op cit; 229)*

By counter-balancing and indeed, challenging the conspicuous macro bias of the prevailing socio-economic orthodoxy, I conclude that it is post-structuralism and more specifically, micro-ethnography as the principal medium of *participant voice*, that provides the intellectual ballast for future *ID&E* research consistent with a more meaningful and ethical *post-development paradigm* (Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997).

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## APPENDICES

- I. Types of Ellipsis within Children's Talk (Garvey, 1984)
- II. Epistemics and Action Formation (Heritage, 2012)
- III. Transcript Markers
- IV. Transcription Conventions (ten Have, 1999)
- V. SOLE Corpus



## APPENDIX I: TYPES OF ELLIPSIS

	Type of Signal	Example
1.	Polarity Marker	Are you ready? Yes (I am ready)
2.	Modal Element	Can you see it? I can (see it)
3.	'Wh' component	There's only one thing to do What? (is the one thing to do)
4.	Logical Connective	Why don't you want to do anything? (I don't want to do anything) Cause I'd rather be here
5.	Complement	What do we have to use? (We have to use) a raincoat
6.	Subject	What's in there? Biscuits (are in there)
7.	Matrix Clause	Where did the table to? I'll show you (where it went)
8.	Adjunct of Clause	Where's the man? (Is the man) at the factory
9.	Lexical Verb	I'll go get some food after my mommy comes You wont go (get some food)
10.	Simple Verb	There's no play houses Yes, there is (play houses)

## APPENDIX II: Epistemics & Action Formation

	<i>(K+) Epistemic Status (within speakers epistemic domain)</i>	<i>(K-) Epistemic Status (not within the speakers epistemic domain)</i>
<b>Turn Design Feature</b>	<b>Action Interpretation</b>	
Declarative Syntax	Informing	Declarative/B-event question
Declarative Syntax (with rising intonation)	Continuing	Questioning
Tag Questions	Mobilising support for assertion	Seeking Confirmation
Negative Interrogative Syntax	Assertion	Request for Information
Interrogative Syntax	Pre-informing Question Known Answer Rhetorical Question	Request for Information

## APPENDIX III: Transcription Markers

Following Psathas and Anderson (1990), the individual elements of the transcript are described as follows:

- Time, Date of the Original Recordings: An essential part of the archiving process.
- Identification of the Participants: Participants are identified in left hand column by a letter code.
- Words as Spoken: In broad terms, the first ‘cut’ represents an effort to capture the ‘*what*’ of the actual words as spoken. In view of the context, the original Spanish is transcribed and then marked in order to capture the ‘*how*’ of the actual speech. This next line then represents an unmarked, idiomatic translation of the Spanish.
- Sounds as uttered: In addition to the vocal sounds interpreted as distinct words, all other sounds that have a relevant meaning in the interaction for example; as a claim to a turn of speaking, are noted. These include vocal sounds that can be rendered as ; ‘eh’, ‘uh’, ‘uhm’ (and many variants), inhalation, exhalation and laughter.
- Inaudible or Incomprehensible Sounds or Words: In cases where sounds are indistinct, one can guess at what might have been said or represent the sound as closely as possible. Such uncertainties are put within single brackets.
- Spaces/Silences: Pauses in speech can be very significant (Sacks et al, 1978), for example: a) when one party stops speaking and no one else takes the next turn; b) when the previous speaker continues after such a break; c) another may speak to ‘break’ the silence; d) a speaker has initiated an action or given information and no uptake follows, this ‘absence’ is observable and accountable; e) during a period of silence, a non-vocal

action occurs. According to *CA* conventions, a pause is represented by a number (seconds) within parenthesis, for example; (0.5), or the micro-pause<sup>80</sup> (.). Ten Have (1999) suggests that accurate timing reflects the relative ‘pace’ of talk, enabling the analyst to capture and interpret the local significance of pauses. This process is greatly enhanced by passing the MP3 files from the dictaphones through audio processing software, in this case; ‘Audacity®’ for Windows.

- **Overlapping Speech and Sounds:** Overlaps are significant in term of the operation of the turn-taking system; speaker transition, competition for the floor etc. (Sacks et al, 1974). The *CA* convention for the overlap is the square brackets, covering entire periods where there is more than one speaker.
- **Pace, Stretches, Stressed, Volumes:** There are a number of conventions that further elaborate the ‘process’ as opposed to the content of talk. These include: a) ‘latching’, when one spate of talk directly follows another with no gap; b) ‘cut-off’ of a word in a marked and abrupt fashion; c) ‘stretching’ of words and other sounds, indicated by full colons after the syllable, letter or sound, followed by recurring colons suggesting the length of the stretch; d) ‘stress’, the part of a word/sound that is stressed by underlining; e) ‘volume’, markedly loud words/sounds are capitalised, while softly spoken words are enclosed by degree signs; f) ‘intonation’ is marked by arrows indicating its upward or downward direction; g) ‘a comment’ may be added to the end of a line of transcription, including additional details i.e. significant actions, gesture, posture, gaze, observable screen events etc. that complement the interpretation of the surrounding talk.

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<sup>80</sup> A pause of less than 0.3 secs

## APPENDIX IV: 'Conversation Analysis' Conventions

- [ Left Bracket indicates a point of overlap onset
  - ] Right Bracket indicates a point of overlap end
  - = No discernable difference between utterances between speakers; 'Latching'
  - (0.5) Numbers in parenthesis indicate silence, represented in tenths of seconds
  - (.) A dot in parenthesis indicates a micropause
  - ? Represents a rising intonation, not necessarily a question
  - :: Colons are used to indicate the prolonging or stretching of sound preceding them
  - The degree sign indicates that the talk is markedly quiet or soft
  - A hyphen after a word or part of the word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption
  - :: Underline represents a stress form
  - ↑↓ The 'up and down' arrows mark sharp intonation rises or falls
  - > < The talk in between the symbols indicates that the talk is compressed or rushed
  - < > In the reverse order indicates a marked slow down or drawn out talk
  - hhh Hearable aspiration i.e. breathing, laughing etc.
  - (hh) Enclosed in brackets if it occurs inside the boundaries of talk
  - hh Aspiration as an inhalation
  - (( )) Transcribers descriptions of events, rather than representations of them
  - ( ) Indicates uncertainty on the part of the transcriber but represents a likely possibility.
- Empty parenthesis indicate that something is being said but no hearing can be achieved

## **APPENDIX V: SOLE CORPUS**

1 A voy a colocar mil juegos  
 1 "I'm going to find mil games" (('mil' is a games website))  
 2 (1.5)  
 3 A ya?  
 3 ok?  
 4 (4.2)  
 5 A °si?° (1.1) si?  
 5 "yes". "yes"  
 6 (14.6)  
 7 L ↑iniciar  
 7 "start"  
 8 (2.0)  
 9 A como se ini[cia]?  
 9 "how does it start?"  
 10 L [aɪquɪ:: (.) aɪquɪ::  
 10 "here, here"  
 11 (1.0)  
 12 L >se nota que no conoces °estos computadores°<  
 12 "it's obvious that you don't understand these computers"  
 13 (0.5)  
 14 A °ay:: (.) si°  
 14 "ay, ok"  
 15 (1.6)  
 16 L °>a:cá<°  
 16 "here"  
 17 (1.5)  
 18 A °↑si (0.5) pero que?°  
 18 "yes, but then what?"  
 19 (0.7)

20 L °en que se va meter usted?°  
 20 "where are you going?"  
 21 (0.3)

22 A °en que (.) ·hhh >↓miralo<°  
 22 "in, look"  
 23 (4.7)

24 A ↓ay: (.) >no hay a↓cá<  
 24 "ay, its not here"  
 25 (4.3)

26 L >°metese en ese°<  
 26 "go there"  
 27 (0.5)

28 A cual? (1.2) música hip hop?  
 28 "which? hip hop music?"  
 29 (1.0)

30 L °↑hhh:°  
 31 (1.4)

32 L °pero (.) no (lo) voy oir°  
 32 "but I'm not going to be able hear it"  
 33 (0.6)

34 A hay música?  
 34 "there's music?"  
 35 (0.5)

36 L per( )?  
 36 "\*"°  
 39 (2.0)

40 L si:: (.) a↓hi  
 40 "yes, there"  
 41 (15.8)

42 L °↑uh hum::°  
 43 (4.3)



44 L °hhhh°  
 44 "hm"  
 45 (14.2)  
 46 A °no tiene internet°  
 46 "it doesn't have internet"  
 47 (1.3)  
 48 L °yo se°  
 48 "I know"  
 49 A °no tiene internet (.) que mire°  
 49 "it doesn't have internet that I can see"  
 50 L °pere (.) puede ( )°  
 50 "wait, you can \*"  
 51 (2.0) ((Br touches the pad))  
 52 L pere (.) no le vea ningu::na  
 52 "wait, you wont be able to see anything"  
 53 (0.6)  
 54 A °que?°  
 54 what?  
 55 (8.4)  
 56 L °hhh (.) no hay internet ( ) se demoro°  
 55 "there is no internet \* its running slow"

1 A °↑ay (.) verdad°  
 1 "ay, ok"  
 2 (2.2)  
 3 A °<↑ay (.) no lo sirve>°  
 3 "ay, it doesn't work"  
 4 (.)  
 5 L °tut (.) ↓ay (.) pa'que lo cerro::?°=  
 5 "tut, ay, why did you close it?"  
 6 A =°↑ay:: (.) 'spe:rese°  
 6 "ay, be patient"  
 7 (3.7)  
 7 A °↑ay°  
 7 "ay"  
 8 (0.4)  
 9 L °internet°  
 9 "internet"  
 10 (0.6)  
 11 A °( ) internet°  
 11 "\* internet"  
 12 (7.6)  
 13 A °eh:: (0.7) eh (.) oh:: (1.0) <coloc'a:ca> (1.3) ↑oi::ga  
 13 "eh, eh, oh. go here". "heh"  
 14 (1.8)  
 15 A °>(p::'ca:: (.) ir:::: (1.3) hom::bre< (1.0) aysh°  
 15 "(here), to go, man, aysh"  
 16 (0.5)  
 17 L tut  
 17 "tut"  
 18 (0.9)

19 A °a:↑hi°  
 19 "there"  
 20 (1.2)  
 21 A miramos ↓es:te  
 21 "lets look at this"  
 22 (1.5)  
 23 L <°pero que (.) no 'acer nada°>  
 23 "but what if it doesn't do anything"  
 24 (0.5)  
 25 A °pero que nada (0.6) >cambia[mos]<°  
 25 "but nothing, we changed"  
 26 L °↓[huh]° (0.3) lo a poner segundos  
 26 "I'm going add seconds"  
 27 (.)  
 28 A uh?  
 28 "uh?"  
 29 (.)  
 30 L a un minuto para (.) a:ca  
 30 "a minute from here"  
 31 A °>copiar< (0.8) a:ca (0.5) mire (.) copiar°  
 31 "copy, here". "look, copy"

1 A °ya°  
 1 "ok" ((L shifts position))  
 2 (.)  
 3 L °en cua[renta minutos]°  
 3 "in forty minutes"  
 4 A °[coloque inter]net°  
 4 "I'll find the internet"  
 5 (2.1)  
 6 A °mire (.) colóquelo así (0.3) coge°  
 6 "look, its searching, get it"  
 7 (1.0) ((L→the watch))  
 8 A °re:start°  
 8 "restart"  
 9 (0.8)  
 10 L en (.) cincuenta minutos tiene que parar  
 10 "in fifty minutes you have to stop"  
 11 (1.0)  
 12 A °>cincuenta minutos?<°  
 12 "fifty minutes?"  
 13 L ↑si  
 13 "yes"  
 14 (0.5)  
 15 A °↑ay (.) por qué tan poquito?°  
 15 "ay, why so little?"  
 16 (1.1)  
 17 A °a ver::°  
 17 "lets see"  
 18 (2.0)  
 19 L listo



40 "yes"

41 (.)

42 A °no (.) uste' alla°

42 "no, you there"

43 (.)

44 L °no°

44 "no"

45 A °yo acá y uste' acá° ((A→screen))

45 "me here and you here"

46 (0.3)

47 L °no (.) ¡miente° ((A→L))

47 "no, you lie"

48 (0.5)

49 A °[bueno]° ((A→screen))

49 "good"

50 L °<[yo alla] y uste' acá>° ((L→the screen))

50 "me there and you here"

51 (0.3)

52 A °no (.) yo alla°

52 "no me there"

53 (0.3)

54 A †ah (.) mire (.) eso tiene beneficios ([\* ]°

54 "ah, look, that one has benefits--"

55 L °†[ah:::] (.) gane que

55 "ah, you win"

56 (0.3)

56 L mire (.) ya pasan los cincuenta ¡minutos:°

56 "look, already the fifty minutes are passing" ((L→the watch))

57 (0.3)

60 A °eso que? (1.7) >ves::(0.3) tania< (0.6) >abre una nueva ventana<°

60 "what's that? cool, open a new window has opened"

61 (0.7)

62 A >°iniciar (0.3) na[ve]°-<  
62 "start navi-"

63 L [em]pieza navegaci3n privada  
63 "start private navigation"

64 (0.5)

65 A °huh? (0.9) donde?°  
65 "huh, where"

66 (0.3)

67 L tut (.) ahi::  
67 "tut, there"

68 A °no es°  
68 "this is not it"

69 L tut  
69 "tut" ((L moves A aside))

70 (4.4)

71 L °mire (.) desde esta pagina°  
71 "look, from this page"

72 (7.0) ((A sucks his thumb))

73 L °mucho°  
73 "a lot"

74 (6.8) ((L→screen))

75 L °voy a cerrarlo esta p3gina y yo le busco el internet°  
75 "I'm going to close this page and search for the internet"

76 (1.2)

77 A °a mi?°  
77 "me?" ((A→L))

1 A °porqué hizo?°  
 1 "why did you do that?"  
 2 (.)  
 3 L ay: (.) que hizo (.) mire que (.) que hizo?  
 3 "ay, what did you do? look what, what did you do?"  
 4 (.)  
 5 A °googule (0.4) goo[gule]°  
 5 "google. google"  
 6 L °[pér]::ese°  
 6 "wait!"  
 7 (7.0)  
 8 A °goog:ule (.) goog::ule°  
 8 "google, google" ((A→screen))  
 9 L °que se spe:re°  
 9 "can't you wait"  
 10 (1.2)  
 11 A °porque jo te di go::°  
 11 "because I'm telling you"  
 12 (4.0)  
 13 A °googule::°  
 13 "google"  
 14 (0.3)  
 15 L °es que ( )° ((L reorientates computer))  
 15 "its just that \*"  
 16 (1.0)  
 17 A <°'spere (.) yo escribo> ((A→k/b))  
 17 "wait, I'll do the writing"  
 18 (5.8)  
 19 A °'spere°



19 "wait"

20 (4.0)

21 A palito (.) el palito (.) donde esta?

21 "cursor. the cursor, where is it?"

22 (0.6)

23 L tut

23 "tut" ((L→k/b))

24 (2.2)

25 A °no: (.) no en ahi:: (.) no:°

25 "no, not there, no"

26 (0.9)

27 A °borra (.) borra°

27 "erase, erase"

28 (.)

28 L °↑perese=°

28 "wait!"

29 A °=este (1.3) mire (.) googule° ((A→screen))

29 "here". "look, google"

30 (1.6)

31 A ·hhh

32 (3.8)

33 A °hay >googule::< (.) ya°

33 "there is google, now" ((A slaps his head))

34 (0.8)

35 L pero (.) no hay opción (0.6) °a parte te digo°

35 "but, there is no option, except for what I told you"

36 (1.1)

37 A °a[hi (.) eso]°

37 "there, that one"

38 L °[mire (.) p]a' q-°

38 "look, why-"

39 A °( ) (1.3) eso°  
39 "\*" . "that"  
40 (5.5)  
41 A °glo- (1.3) goo::gule° (1.1) goo (0.3) gul (0.3) °le (2.5) e (1.6)  
42 googule°  
41 "glo". "google". "goo, gul, le". "e". "google" ((A→screen))  
42 L <googule>  
42 "google" ((L→k/b))  
43 (4.0)  
44 A °( ) (.) o primer' mas (0.8) ( )° ((A→k/b))  
44 "\*", or more first, \*"  
45 (1.3)  
46 A °e-° (1.0) ·hhh  
46 "e"  
47 (1.5)  
48 A °ver (1.2) bar°=  
48 "ver". "bar"  
49 L =·hhh::  
50 A >°barra:: de menú< (1.2) ba (0.5) >barra:: de (0.5) navegación<  
50 "menú bar, ba, navigation, bar,  
51 (1.1)  
52 A >barra:: (0.7) de::°<=  
52 "bar, of"  
53 L =tut (.) °esperese (.) cerramos esa página y buscamos' la propia  
54 pagina tan bruta°  
53 "tut". "wait, we'll close that page and look for our own really  
54 good page"  
55 (9.0) ((L→k/b))  
56 A °oy: (.) pero no iban alla (.) que yo pusi°  
56 "oy, but they didn't go there, where I put them"  
57 (1.0)

58 L °que se 'spere° ((A & L attention diverted))  
58 "be patient!"  
59 (4.3)  
60 A °mire° ((to the facilitator))  
60 "look"  
61 (1.1)  
62 L <pero usted se\* ma' hizo mas paginas que un presidente>  
62 "but you use more pages than a president"  
63 A (h)  
64 (1.0)  
65 A £que risa (1.3) ·hhh£ (.) (h) ( ) (h)  
65 "thats funny"  
66 (1.2)  
67 A °†oy:: ( ) mire lo que hi::zo°  
67 "oy, look what you've done" ((A→screen))  
68 L †ay: (.) que:?  
68 "ay, what?"  
69 A °†ay:: (.) mire (.) no la cierra°  
69 "ay, look don't close it"  
70 (3.0)  
71 A °ah (.) nos quiere como él (0.3) mire (.) >puso as( )<°  
71 "ah, it wants us like that, look. "you put \*" ((A→screen))  
72 (2.2)  
73 L °con el >hi::ja de [puta]<°  
73 "with the son of a bitch"  
74 L °[listo]°  
74 "ready"  
75 (1.1)  
76 L °no cae internet me()°=  
76 "don't lose the internet \*"  
77 A =°oy:: (.) mire (campion)::°=

77 "oy, look champion" ((A→screen))

78 L =déjelo (1.2) °chino tan intenso°

78 "leave it!". "you irritating kid"

79 (1.0)

80 A °a'ora [si]° ((positive outcome))

80 "now, yes" ((L repositions))

81 L °[a]'ora si°

81 "now, yes"

82 (0.4)

83 A °juegos°

83 "games"

84 (0.5)

85 L °juegos (.) ([ ]°

85 "games, \*"

86 A °[hay juegos]?°

86 "there are games?"

87 (0.5)

88 L <°y pa'qué juegos (.) yo no quiero jugar juegos°>

88 "why games, I don't want to play games"

89 (1.4)

90 L °donde esta la >ora:(.) que::°?<

90 "what is the time, that?"

91 (6.0)

92 A ya (.) saco mi minuto?

92 my minute has run out?

93 (1.3)

94 A <↑ay (.) nunca (.) yo le coloco esto> ((A→the watch))

94 "ay, I've never seen this one"

95 (0.8)

96 L hay un minuto de donde si usted se paso::?

96 "there is a minute from where you were?"

1 L °pa'que no esta ahi?°  
 1 "why is it not there?"  
 2 (0.7)  
 3 A °uh? (0.3) ese°  
 3 "uh? that one"  
 4 L °reggaetón°  
 4 "reggaetón"  
 5 (0.6)  
 6 A °musica reggaetón (0.5) mire°  
 6 "reggaetón music, look"  
 7 (1.3)  
 8 A °quiero un juego para jugar°  
 8 "I want a game to play"  
 9 (0.8)  
 10 L °( ) vealo°  
 10 "\* you see it"  
 11 (1.0)  
 12 A °bus:car°  
 12 "search!"  
 13 (0.8)  
 14 L °↓déjalo°  
 14 "leave it"  
 15 (1.9)  
 16 A °no hay internet (1.0) ( ) servir°  
 16 "there is no internet, \* to work"  
 17 (0.7)  
 18 L °entonces (.) no hay juegos°  
 18 "therefore, there are no games"  
 19 A °>servi::cio no encontrau::<°

19 "service not found"

20 (2.0)

21 A °no hay internet?° (1.2) °cierto?°

21 "there is no internet?" "right?"

22 (2.5)

23 L °servicio no encontrau (0.5) entonces' no hay juegos°

23 "service not found, consequently there are no games"

24 (0.6)

25 A °no hay juegos? (0.5) †e-°

25 "there are no games? e"

26 L °no (.) porque si no recibe la música (.) no hay juegos°

26 no, because if you can't receive music, there are no games

27 (1.3)

28 A °si \* pusi (0.4) mire (.) sin cargue que no †hace nada°

28 "\* I put". "look, if it is doesn't load then you cant do anything"

29 (0.8)

30 L °mire°

30 "look"

31 (6.0)

32 A °que miró?°

32 "what were you looking at?"

33 (1.5)

34 L °[si]°

34 "yes"

35 A °( ) [ta]:po°

35 "\*"

36 (5.2)

37 L °mire°

37 "look"

38 (1.2)

39 A °ese no tiene jue:gos (1.8) que no hay internet°

39 "that does not have games". "because there is no internet"  
40 (2.0)  
41 A °por eso(.) ti[ene] casi (.)()ese (0.4) >burrito<(1.1) computador°  
41 "that why, it almost has that one \*, stupid, computer"  
42 L [a:h]i  
42 "there"  
43 (4.5)  
44 L °mire°  
44 "look"  
45 A °servicio (1.0) >encontrau:::°  
45 "service. found"  
46 (0.6)  
47 A °firefox° (0.5) °no puede (1.3) >encontrar (0.4) ni-<°  
47 "firefox". "it can't find ni-"  
48 (1.5)  
49 A °ay (0.7) >que te ( )?<°  
49 "ay. what you \*?"  
50 (2.0)  
51 L °>espere:::se<°  
51 "wait!"  
52 (0.5)  
53 A °↑ay (.) casi puse que si°  
53 "ay, I almost got it"  
54 (0.6)  
55 A °eso (.) que es?° (1.2) °eso que es[::]?°  
55 "that, what is it? that what is it?"  
56 L °>[qu]ieto<°  
56 "behave!"  
57 (0.4)  
58 A °que es?° (1.0) °un mp3?°  
58 "what is it?". "an mp3?"

59 (.)

60 L °↑si°  
60 "yes"  
61 (0.7)

62 A °↑ay (.) podemos' música°  
62 "ay, we can play music"  
63 (0.6)

64 L °no°  
64 "no"  
65 (1.5)

66 A °si () (.) (name)?°  
66 "yes \* , (Z1)?"  
67 (0.5)

68 L °que no:°  
68 "certainly not"  
69 (0.3)

70 A °porqué?°  
70 "why?"  
71 (0.6)

72 L °tut (0.4) niño fastidioso°  
72 "tut, irritating child"  
73 (4.5)

74 L °en esta pagina (.) no hay na:da°  
74 "theres nothing, on this page"  
75 (1.0)

76 A aysh: (.) que aburrido (.) cierto?  
76 "aysh, its really boring, right"

77 L si  
77 "yes"



1 A °ay (.) yo no se leer >esta letra<°  
 1 "and I can't read this letter, haha"  
 2 L °£yo tampoco y us() [(h)]°  
 2 "me neither and \*"  
 3 A [(h)] °£>esa tampoco<£°(h)  
 3 "that one neither"  
 4 (0.4)  
 5 L °tut° (.) °chino°  
 5 "tut, kid"  
 6 (2.0)  
 7 A °ay (.) mire°  
 7 "ay, look"  
 8 (4.0)  
 9 A oy  
 9 "oy"  
 10 (0.9)  
 11 L °caje°  
 11 "calm down"  
 12 (0.3)  
 13 A °(h) (.) () (.) mire (0.5) a'ora [tamb]ien°  
 13 "\*, look. now as well"  
 14 L °[si:::::]°  
 14 "yes"  
 15 L si (.) si (.) °si (.) si°  
 15 yes, yes, yes, yes  
 16 (1.8)  
 17 A °oy (.) mire°  
 17 "oy, look"  
 18 L °que †si:::°

18 "I know!"

19 (1.5)

20 L ay (.) esta uste'

20 "this is you"

21 A (h)

22 (0.3)

23 L ay (.) esta la (mitad) (.) lo mas cara que (.) por ahi (.) mire

23 "ay, this half, has the more cheek than, there, look"

24 (1.5)

25 L £·hhh£

26 (0.6)

27 A °·hhh (0.3) tiene música () inicio°

27 "It has music \* started?"

28 L ·hhh::

29 (.)

30 A cierto?

30 "right?"

31 (0.9)

32 L po() (.) si

32 "\*, yes"

33 (3.0)

33 A >que no<

34 "certainly not"

34 (0.5)

35 L °↑ay:: (.) >chino fastid[io]<°

35 "ay, annoying child"

36 A °[es] que todo que se coloca (.) vi ↑[()]°

36 "its that you find everything, I saw \*"

37 L °[yo]

38 quiero mas galleta°

37 "I



58 "no, I dont want one, I dont want one"

59 A [por fa]vor

59 "excuse me"

60 (2.6)

61 A °ella quiere mas [galletas]°

61 "she wants more biscuits"

62 L °[↑ay:: ] (.) que::° (.) °no sea menti[roso]°

62 "ay, what". "don't be a liar"

63 Z1 [como]?

63 "what"

64 (.)

65 Z1 quiere galleta?

65 "you want a biscuit?"

66 (.)

67 A ↑si

67 "yes"

68 Z1 ↑ok

69 (0.3)

70 A y yo también

70 "me too"

1 H >y llegamos<  
 1 "we're here" ((@ Lap2)  
 2 (1.5)  
 3 H †oy (0.6) ese para mi  
 3 "oy, that one is for me"  
 4 (0.8)  
 5 M >y para †nosotros<  
 5 "and for us"  
 6 (0.5)  
 7 A y ya cogi  
 7 "and I've got this one" ((@ Lap1))  
 8 (0.7)  
 9 H <HABER BAJE A ESTE DE ALLÁ (.) QUIEN DIJO QUE ESE (VA)>  
 9 "you have to get out from there, whomever said that (goes)"  
 10 J permiso (.) la ( )  
 10 "excuse me, la \* ((J usurps A at the k/b))  
 11 (.)  
 12 A ·hhh  
 13 J †[heh]  
 14 A [qui]ero jugar  
 14 "I want to play"  
 15 (.)  
 16 J no (.) que? (0.7) <que 'ora (.) que?>=  
 16 "no, what now, what? "  
 17 H =<dijo que los que supieran eso>  
 17 "he said its for those that understood it"  
 18 A yo se  
 18 "I know"  
 19 J †no (.) que? (0.8) quiero jugar (1.0) †·hh

19 "no. I want to play". "·hh"  
20 (0.4)  
21 H SOLO HAY DOS?  
21 "THERE ARE ONLY TWO?"  
22 (0.9)  
23 Z1 †NO (.) <NO NO> (.) SI ES NO SOLO PARA UNO (.) ES PARA (.) TODOS  
23 "NO, NO NO, ITS NOT JUST FOR ONE, ITS FOR ALL"  
24 (.)  
25 J †[oh]  
25 "oh"  
26 Z1 [no] es solo para uno (0.8) es para todos  
26 "its no only for one, its for everyone"  
27 H †ay:: (.) no hay más?  
27 "ay, there aren't any more?"  
28 (.)  
29 A vamo' jugar los dos? (1.5) si?  
29 "shall the two of us play?" "yes?"  
30 (1.8)  
31 A vamo' jugar los dos?  
31 "shall the two of us play?"  
32 (8.0)  
33 A friv (2.5) no (.) a lado (0.5) y colocoloca  
33 "friv, no, this side, and you'll find it"  
34 (3.0)  
35 A no aquí=  
35 not here  
36 J =†ya  
36 "ok"  
37 (0.7)  
38 A el friv (0.3) donde  
38 "the friv, where"

39 (3.0)

40 J °aca (.) (.)°  
 40 "here, \*".

41 (9.0)

42 J oysh (.) tiene música (.) (name)?  
 42 oysh, do you have music, (Z1)?

43 (0.5)

44 Z1 hay musica (.) algún sitio (.) no lo se donde  
 44 there is music, somewhere, I don't know where

45 (5.0)

46 A °mire (.) aca hay°  
 46 look, here is it

47 (3.0)

48 A °que \*°  
 48 ""

49 (6.0)

50 J estos (.) son suyos (name)?  
 50 these are yours (Z1)?

51 (1.5)

52 Z1 la (.) la computador (.) †si (.) la computador es mía  
 52 the computer, yes, the computer is mine

53 (9.5)

54 A °esto (.) esto (.) y esto°  
 54 "this one this one and this one"

55 (10.0)

56 A °ya° (2.0) coloque friv (.) acá  
 56 "ok". "you'll find friv, here

57 (2.0)

58 J °quieto°  
 58 "stop bothering me"

59 (0.7)

60 A °y que \* ? (.) \* mete \* la memoro°  
60 "and what \*, you put  
61 J quie::to  
61 "stop bothering me"  
62 (3.8)  
63 J †ay (.) vienen los otros  
63 "here come the others"



1 P dejame a salir?  
 1 "let me have a go?"  
 2 (.)  
 3 J °↑um::° (,) no (.) es que esta flecha es toda >descontrolada<  
 3 "um, no, its just that this cursor is out of control"  
 4 (.)  
 3 P me salgo?  
 3 "can I have a go?"  
 4 (0.5)  
 5 J quie::to (.) ↓uhm  
 5 "behave, uhm"  
 6 (0.9)  
 7 P me salgo?  
 7 "can I have a go?"  
 8 (1.0)  
 9 J °'spere° (1.0) si (.) ve que [este (.)°( )°]  
 9 "wait, ok, you can see this, \*"  
 10 P <[déje me salgo]> ((P→k/b))  
 10 "let me have a go!"  
 11 (2.1)  
 12 J °um: (.) ↑um: (.) se le bajó (.) bobo° ((J→k/b))  
 12 "um, um, its downloaded, stupid"  
 13 (2.6)  
 14 J °bien \*° (.) (name) (.) esta flecha no es toda (.) toda  
 15 descontrola[da]  
 14 "ok \*". "(Z1), this cursor is completely, completely out of  
 15 control"  
 16 P ↑[ay]  
 16 "ay"

17 (.) ((V arrives and B increases level of attention))

18 P <quien se 'sconde? (.) se van los otros chinos>

18 "who is hiding?" "the other kids have gone?"

19 (0.8)

20 J °↑ya° ((J closes application))

20 "ok"

21 (1.6)

22 P in()

22 \*

23 (1.4)

24 J emocióname les fotos

24 "I really like the fotos"

25 (1.0)

26 J °describías toda°

26 "you described everything"

27 (0.5) ((V→pad))

28 V venga

28 "ok"

29 (5.1) ((V sits downs))

30 V 'pere (0.7) 'pere (.) cuadra este

30 "wait, wait, this window"

31 (4.7) ((V reorientates the computer))

32 P <vamos (.) vamos (.) vamos>

32 "lets go, lets go, lets go"

33 (0.4)

34 J vamos ((P and B vacate the scene))

34 "lets go"

35 (0.4)

36 V °()°

36 "\*"

37 (1.0)

38 J me guarda 'ta puesto  
38 "save me this seat"  
39 (0.6)  
40 V vamo' a chatear?  
40 "shall we chat?"  
41 (0.5)  
42 J si=  
42 yes  
43 E =si (.) (hhh)  
43 "yes"

1 Z1 que significa es[te]? ((A→k/b))  
 1 "what does this mean?"  
 2 E ([na]me) (.) dígale que me jugar  
 2 "(Z1), tell her to let me play" ((E sits down))  
 3 Z1 ↑ok  
 3 "ok"  
 4 (3.3)  
 5 E dígale [que me]-  
 5 "tell him that-"  
 6 Z1 [sper]e  
 6 "wait!"  
 7 (1.2)  
 8 E (name) (.) >dígale que me jugar ↓aquí<  
 8 "(Z1), tell her to let me play here"  
 9 (4.2)  
 10 A ↓(name) ((A enters the scene))  
 10 (Z1)  
 11 (1.0)  
 12 Z1 y [es:ta]  
 12 "there it is"  
 13 A >[déja]me jugar::  
 13 "let me play"  
 14 E (name) (.) me a jugar ahí?  
 14 "(Z1), can I play there?"  
 15 (1.3) ((A departs the scene))  
 16 Z1 no lo ↑se  
 16 "I don't know"  
 17 (1.1)  
 18 V ↓no:: (.)°junto(.)con la[\* ]°

18 "no, together, with the \*"

19 Z1 [what do] you want?(.) que quieres hacer?

19 "what do you want? what do you want to do?"

20 (0.5)

21 ? >↑jugar (.) ↓déjame<

21 "to play, let me"

22 (2.0)

23 A ay (.) yo quiero hacer al:go

23 "ay, I want to do something"

24 (0.9)

25 E ↑ah (.) si ve

25 "ah, you see"

26 (2.2)

27 V °voy a chatear°

27 "I'm going to chat"

28 (6.6)

29 E °déjame jugar°

29 "let me play"

30 (0.3)

31 V °voy a chatear°

31 "I'm going to chat"

32 (4.4)

33 E °deja,me°

33 let me ((E→the pad))

34 (0.3)

35 V tut (.) °'spere°

35 "tut, be patient"

36 (4.5)

37 E °para mi también \*°

37 "its for me as well" ((E→the pad))

38 V 'perese

38 "will you wait!"

39 (5.5)

40 E (name) (.) que e' pa-(.) e' para todos

40 "(Z1), that its fo-, its for all"

41 (1.0)

42 V no ↓señor (0.3) pero s\* jugar para la chatear a la profe

42 "no sir, but \* play for the chat to the teacher"

43 (2.3)

44 E (NAME) (.) ELLA QUE NO ME JUGAR AQUÍ

44 "(Z1), SHE WONT LET ME PLAY HERE"

45 (.)

46 E Y ALLÁ TAMPOCO (.) y alla >↓tampoco<

46 AND THERE NEITHER and there neither"

47 (0.5)

48 Z1 well (.) quizá:: (.) puedan hablar

48 "well, perhaps, you can talk"

49 (4.2)

50 E °(name) (.) dígale que es para todo°

50 "(Z1), said that its for everyone" ((E→k/b))

51 (1.2)

52 A déjame jugar::: (.) es:ta

52 "let me play, this" ((B enters the scene))

1 H friv (1.7) friv (1.5) [juegos] (0.9) ↑vea (.) friv juegos  
 1 "friv". "friv". "games". "see, friv games"  
 2 M °[juegos]°  
 2 "games"  
 3 (0.5)  
 4 M °[pe]re°  
 4 "wait"  
 5 H ↑[oy] (.) muy chorros  
 5 "oy, cool"  
 6 (0.6)  
 7 M pere[: (0.4) de arr↑i]ba:::= (K→screen)  
 7 "wait, its above"  
 8 H [pere (0.3) pere]  
 8 "wait, wait"  
 9 H =ya se este  
 9 "I know this"  
 10 (0.4)  
 11 M no (.) ↓oysh::  
 11 "no, oysh"  
 12 (1.2)  
 13 H es este (.) esto?  
 13 "it's this, that?"  
 14 M >es::te es::<  
 14 "this is it" (M→screen)  
 15 (4.1)  
 16 H °()°  
 16 \*  
 17 (1.0)  
 18 M ese (.) cuando comience (.) s'espichar|le

18 "that one, when it starts, press it" ((M exits))

19 (9.0) ((game appears on screen))

20 H <NAT-> (.) oy (.) oy

20 "NAT". "oy, oy"

21 (0.5)

22 H (NAME)::

22 "(M)"

23 (4.0)

24 H °bue↓no (0.6) mucho \* (1.6) se \* (.) yo sé cómo es°

24 "ok". "many \*". "\*, I know how it works"

25 X \* ((shouted remotely))

25 "\*\*"

26 (0.4)

27 H (NAME) (.) >YA INICIO<

27 "(M), IT'S STARTED"

28 (0.3)

29 H °bue↓no (0.4) que se [(guarda)]?°

29 "ok, whats saving?"

30 B [se que]da durmiendo

30 "she is still sleeping"

31 (1.3)

32 B oysh (0.3) juegos?

32 "oysh, games?"

33 (1.3) ((B takes a seat next to H))

34 H siéntese

34 "sit down"

35 (1.9)

36 H oysh (.) este se demoró

36 "oysh, this is so slow"

37 (2.8)

38 B °↑oy (.) que s()°



38 "oy, \*"  
39 (2.7) ((B stands up))  
40 H <(es) que yo se puedo jugar>  
40 "its just that I know how to play"  
41 (1.7)  
42 J vamos a jugar el fuego y el agua?  
42 "do you want to play fire and water?"  
43 (0.6)  
44 B °huh°  
44 (2.0)  
45 J yo soy con las flechitas  
45 "I'm in control of the arrows" ((H changes position))  
46 (1.0)  
47 B y yo (.) cómo?  
47 "and me, what?"  
48 (1.4)  
49 H >usted va con< (1.0) yo no se  
49 "you're play with". "I don't know"  
50 (0.6)  
50 H pérese (0.5) péreme  
50 "wait! wait for me!"  
51 (4.4) ((B sits next to H))  
52 H yo soy el juego (.) de ↑una  
52 "I am the single player"  
53 (0.7)  
54 B có[mo ()]?  
54 "how ?"  
55 H [usted] el agua  
55 "you're the water".  
56 (1.0)  
57 H mueva botones de acá con el de esto (0.9) perese (.) todavía no

57 "move these buttons with one of these". "wait, not yet"  
58 (1.7) ((H resists B's hand movement))  
59 H (NAME) (1.6) >YA INICIO EL JUEGO<  
59 "K". "THE GAME IS STARTING NOW"  
60 (1.3)  
61 H \* a (name)  
61 "\* to (M)"  
62 (3.0) ((B relinquishes seat))  
63 B (name) (.) que ya:: (.) mírala ya  
63 "(M), its ready, look!"  
64 (0.4)  
65 H (name)  
65 "M"

1 P †ay (.) caramba  
 1 "ay, dammit" ((P rises and departs))  
 2 (0.8)  
 3 H siente (.) ya sabe (.) no?  
 3 sit down, you get it, no?  
 4 B como (0.4) >hace esto?< (1.3) huh?  
 4 how, do you do this? huh? ((B takes seat))  
 5 (2.7)  
 6 H ya sabe con cual se salta (.) no?  
 6 "you know how to jump, no?"  
 7 (0.5) ((H glances across at B))  
 8 B su na:da  
 8 "I know nothing".  
 9 (0.7)  
 10 B <a ver> ((H glances across at B))  
 10 "lets see"  
 11 (0.7)  
 12 H †oy: (.) se mata  
 12 "oy, you're dead"  
 13 (.)  
 14 H <no se (.) vayamo' (.) coloca acá> ((H points to the screen))  
 14 "I don't know, we can't go, go here"  
 15 (0.4)  
 16 H \*rano?  
 16 \*  
 17 (.)  
 18 x vere  
 18 "I'll see"  
 19 (0.4)

20 B °[plum]°  
 20        “\*”

21 H [no:::] (0.4) porque la condena soy yo  
 21        “no, because it condemns me”

22 B <se necesita salta junto?=>  
 22        “you have to jump together”

23 H =dale (.) salte  
 23        “hit it! jump!” (H glances)

24 B con:: (.) ‘b’  
 24        “with, b” (H glances across at B)

25        (0.4)

26 H con: (0.4) ↓eso  
 26        “with, that”

27        (1.8)

28 H es (.) que así acá (.) acá montau (H points to the screen)  
 28        “its, like that here. get on here”

29        (0.9)

30 H otro (0.5) ahi (.) quieto (.) quieto ahí  
 30        “the other”. “there, careful, careful there”

31        (2.5)

32 H pase  
 32        “go”

33        (4.3) (B attempts to move)

34 B con que?  
 34        “with what?”

35        (1.0)

36 H <venga (.) yo le paso acá>  
 36        “ok, I’ll do it here” (H appropriates B position)

37        (0.3)

38 B <↑si (.) lo ‘ace> (.) por que yo ↓no:::  
 38        “yes, you do it , because I can’t”

1 P <(perdona)me señor (.) [y déjame jugar [mas de eso]> ((P arrives))  
 1 "excuse me sir, and let me play some more of that"  
 2 B °qu[iero jugar]°  
 2 "I want to play"  
 3 H [no: (.) tra]nquilo (.) no  
 3 "no, back off, no"  
 4 (0.8)  
 5 P <yo con estas teclitas>  
 5 "I'll take these keys" ((P sits next to H))  
 6 (.)  
 7 H ↓no señor  
 7 "no sir"  
 8 (.)  
 9 P °oy° (.) (name)  
 9 "oy, (H)"  
 10 (0.3)  
 11 P PROFE  
 11 "TEACHER"  
 12 (.)  
 13 P <MI HERMANA NO ME QUIERE A JUGAR ESTOS JUEGOS PARA DOS>  
 13 "TEACHER, MY SISTER DOESN'T WANT ME PLAY THESE GAMES FOR TWO"  
 14 (.)  
 15 H <POR ESO (.) PERO NO QU'ESTA JUGANDO (NAME)?>  
 15 "THATS TRUE, BUT ISN'T (B) PLAYING?"  
 16 (0.3) ((H relinquishes keys to B))  
 17 P entonces (.) sale (name) y luego yo  
 17 "ok, (B) plays now and then me"  
 18 (0.9)  
 19 H °a la mu[erte]°

19 "to the death"

20 J ([na]me) (.) CADA ()TA [PARA UNA VAI:NA]

20 "(P NAME), EACH \* FOR A THING" ((shouted remotely))

21 P †[oysh]=

21 "oysh" ((B's is 'killed'))

22 H =†[no:::::]

22 "no"

23 (.)

24 P <quite> (0.5) <[voy yo]> (0.5) quite

24 "move, my turn. move" ((B relinquishes seat to P))

25 N [(name)]

25 "(P)"

26 (4.0)

27 H ya sale (name)

27 "its your turn now (P)"

1 (9.5) ((H apparently random typing))

2 H spérese (.) que no puede mirar mi >facebook<

2 "wait, you can't look at my facebook"

3 (0.9)

4 H no mire (.) (name)

4 "don't look, (B)"

5 (5.0)

6 B †ya

6 "now"

7 (0.3)

8 H >el chi()<° (0.6) °todavía no

8 "the \*". "not yet"

9 (7.0)

10 H >arro::ba< (.)nada

10 "@, nothing"

11 (1.5)

12 B ya::?

12 "now?"

13 (3.1)

14 B ya salgo?

14 "now I can look"

15 (1.5)

16 H °no (.) todovia no°

16 "no, not yet"

17 (0.7)

18 B >no importa<

18 "it's not important"

19 (3.0)

20 H °mentirse°

21 "you're lying"  
22 (4.0)  
23 H °listo°  
23 "ok"  
24 (1.7)  
25 B ·hh (.) no ( ) se demora=  
25 "hh, no \* delayed"  
26 H =°um°  
26 "um"  
27 (3.7)  
28 B °<( ) los chinos alla>°  
28 " \* the guys there"  
29 (0.8)  
30 H °h:uh?°  
30 "huh?"  
31 (0.5)  
32 B °se [(\*)]°  
32 "\*"   
33 H °[ya] ( ) lo se°  
33 "there, I know"  
34 (1.3)  
35 B ↑uh (.) [hhh]  
35 "uh? hhh"  
36 H °[( ) ]°  
36 "\*"   
37 (2.0)  
38 H hola (name)  
38 "hello (Z1)"  
39 (0.7)  
40 Z1 hola  
40 "hello"



41 (0.7)

42 B me alegro a () (0.3) sabe

42 "I'm happy to \*". "you know"

43 (1.2)

44 B ↑ay (.) <epiche ↑aca>

44 "ay, hit here"

45 (0.7)

46 H no hay (.) no que somos ()dente

46 "its not there, we arent \*"

47 (1.2)

48 H ɸhuhɸ

49 (2.0)

50 E °>esto muy corto (.) () aqui<°

50 "this one's very short, \* here"

51 (1.1)

52 H fueron los chinos es- (.) están allá

52 "they've left the guys, they're there"

53 (1.6)

54 H fueron los niños de allá

54 "the children aren't there"

1 L °dele play° (6.1) y pone discos  
 1 "press play, and play records"  
 2 (0.5)

3 L °dele play (2.1) >dele play (name)°<  
 3 "press play". "press play (V)"  
 4 (0.3)

5 V °espere°  
 5 "be patient"  
 6 (0.5)

7 L °pero° (0.4) pero mire  
 7 "but, but look"  
 8 (1.0)

9 V °espere°  
 9 "wait"  
 10 (0.4)

11 L °tut (0.8) no (1.1) que?°  
 11 "tut, no, what?"  
 12 (1.2)

13 L °usted (.) lo que (.)la (.) mire°  
 13 you, \* , look

14 V °uh?°  
 15 (4.5)

16 A estan `aciendo?  
 16 "what are you doing?"  
 17 (0.3)

18 L °tut (.) mire (.) acá (.) ese°  
 18 "tut, look, here, that one"  
 19 (0.9)

20 A que esta `ciendo?

20 "what are you doing?"

21 (0.3)

22 V °que estas `aciendo?°

22 "what are you doing?"

23 (.)

24 A coma torta

24 "eat cake"

25 (0.4)

26 L (h)

27 A con un cochinito (.) que no gor::da

27 "with a piglet, that doesn't fatten"

28 (0.9)

29 A y con su hermana (.) la gordota

29 and with her sister, the fatty

30 L [(h)]

31 V [(h)]

32 (.)

33 E ↑si

33 "that's right"

34 (2.5)

35 V °por eso (.) <considero \* por ahí (.) un hijo puta jeta>°

35 "thats why, I think \* over there, a cheeky son of a bitch"

36 (0.8)

37 Z1 que?

37 "what's going on?"

38 (0.7)

39 L <es que el le esta diciendo que coma una torta (.) que su hermana

40 () (.) con un cuchillo que no corta y que su hermana es una gorda

41 (0.4) le esta diciendo a ella>

39 "he is saying to her that she eats cake, that her sister \*, with a

40 knife that doesn't cut and that her sister is a fatty, that's what

41 he is saying about her"

42 A no (.) le dije (.) ·hhh

42 "no, I said"

43 L de ella (.) [por a:hi] (.) >ella no que aguanta< (.) y [cual ()(.)

44 le mete] un puño

43 "her, over there, she cant stand it, and which \*

44 to punch her'

45 A [COMA TOR-] [de lije

46 (.) que]? ((miswording))

45 "she eats ca-" "I said,

46 what"

47 (0.8)

48 A <que están aciendo (.) que- (.) me dijo que le importa (.) yo le

49 dije>

48 "what they are doing, is, she told me that it's important to her

49 what I said"

49 (0.4)

50 A que le importa (.) coma torta (.) [con se-] (0.4) con un cuchii::

51 (.) yi:: (.) toque no corta (.) con su hermana (.) la gordota

50 "whats important to her, she eats cake, with a kni-, yi, that

51 doesn't cut with her sister, the fatty"

52 L [dele pl]ay

52 "press play"

53 E (h)

1 A vamos a ir a jugar?  
 1 "shall we go and play?"  
 2 (1.4)  
 3 V (na[me]) (.) no podemos entrar  
 3 "(Z1 name), we cant enter"  
 4 A ↑[si]  
 4 "yes"  
 5 (0.9)  
 6 Z1 y que?  
 6 so what?  
 7 (1.0)  
 8 L °dice (.) que?°  
 8 "he said, what?"  
 9 (.)  
 10 A ↑alla:: (.) mire ((A→E))  
 10 "there, look".  
 11 (0.4)  
 12 E °oy°  
 13 A empieza ((A→E))  
 13 "its starting"  
 14 V (h)  
 15 A yo me sube arriba y ust' de abajo ((A→V&L))  
 15 "I rise to the top and you from the bottom"  
 16 V s:: [QUIE::TO] (0.8) ssh-  
 16 "BEHAVE"  
 17 L [QUIE::TO]  
 17 "BEHAVE"  
 18 (1.6)  
 19 A ↑oy (.) uste' (.) ya \*

19           oy, you, \*"  
20           (0.5)  
21    V       [(h)]  
22    L       [(h)]  
23           (1.1)  
24    A       ↑ay  
25    V       QUE QUIE:::TO                           ((-ve ass))  
25           "WILL YOU BEHAVE"  
26    A       me parle\* un pulvere  
26           \*\*"  
27           (4.1)  
28    A       es que?  
28           "it just that?"  
29           (2.4)  
30    L       a ustedes (.) les dieron una cámara (.) no?  
30           "they gave you guys a camera, no?"  
31           (2.5)  
32    V       no (.) esta no suena (.) °pere°  
32           "no, this doesn't work, wait"       (reference to the 'sound')  
33           (1.5)  
34    L       (name) (.) dele play  
34           "(V name), press play"  
35    V       (NAME) (.) ESTA NO SUENA  
35           "(Z1 NAME), THIS DOESNT WORK"  
36    L       dele play  
36           "press play"  
37    M       mire (.) mire (.) mire (.) hay (.) esta arrancando  
37           "look, look, look, there you are, its starting up"  
38           (2.2)  
39    L       °entonces el volumen (.) no (.) no tiene el volumen (.) este (.)  
40           que es>°?

39 "in which case it's the volume, there is no volume, this, what is  
40 it?"  
41 (.)  
41 L quite (.) a la que usted si() (.) °'ace más estorbo que ()°  
41 "leave it, what you are \*, you're more a hindrance than \*"  
42 (3.5)  
43 L °no tiene todo el volumen<°  
43 "you don't have all the volume"  
44 (5.3)  
45 V (.hhh)  
46 (2.3)  
47 M (NAME) (.) POR QUE NO SUENA?  
47 "(Z1 NAME), WHY DOESN'T IT WORK"  
48 (1.0)  
49 L >no grite<  
49 "dont shout"  
50 (3.1)  
51 Z1 con paciencia (.) †no  
51 "patience, no?"  
52 (.)  
53 V †ya  
53 "ok"

1 E lo cogi (.) lo cogi ((E sits at the computer))  
 1 "I've got it, I've got it"  
 2 (.)  
 3 E AY ( ) ↓NO::[:.....]:.....  
 3 "AY, NO" ((E on the verge of tears))  
 4 A <[no mueva nada (.) \* somos aca]< ((A displaces E))  
 4 "dont move anything, \* we're here"  
 5 (0.4)  
 6 Z1 ↑EH:: (.) ↑(NAME) (.) ↑[(NAME) (0.3) ↑(N)AME)  
 6 "EH, (B), (B), (B)"  
 7 A >[no mueva nada::::::]<  
 7 "don't move anything"  
 8 (0.4)  
 9 Z1 (NAME) (0.6) [(NAME)]  
 9 "B, B"  
 10 E >YO [LO COG]I::.....<  
 10 "I GOT IT"  
 11 B yo juego  
 11 "I'm playing"  
 12 Z1 [(NAME)]  
 12 (B)  
 13 B [yo jue[go]  
 13 "I'm playing"  
 14 A [oy] (.) ja (.) [que]? ((A finds chair))  
 14 "oy, now what?"  
 15 Z1 [(NA)]ME  
 15 "B"  
 16 (1.3)  
 17 B no



17 Z1 be fair (.) be [fair]

18 B [ ( ) ] (.) ( ) nada

18 " \* nothing "

19 Z1 be fair (.) no es justo

19 "be fair, its no fair"

20 (.)

21 A MIENTRA' CIERTO (.) LO' DO' ((A orientates the computer))

21 "for sure, it for us two"

22 (.)

23 Z1 espera

23 "wait".

24 (0.3)

25 E yo lo [colgí:: ((E retakes seat next to A))

25 "this is mine"

26 Z1 [ah]

27 A <NO (.) NO (.) NO>

27 "NO, NO, NO"

28 (0.3)

29 E uh:::

30 (.)

31 Z1 junto (0.3) [que espera]

31 "together". "wait"

32 E [NO:: (.) MU]EVA (.) huh::

32 "NO, MOVE, huh"

33 A <[AY] (.) QUE VOY [A COLO]CAR UN [JUEGO]>

33 "AY, I'M GOING TO FIND A GAME"

34 Z1 ↑[ay] [(name)] [(NAME)]

34 "ay" "(a)" "(A)"

35 (0.4)

36 Z1 (name) (.) >hay una `ora y media aquí<

36 "(a), there's an hour and a half here, wait"

37 (.)

38 Z1 espe[ra]

38 "wait"

39 E [yo] quiero jug[ar]

39 "I want to play"

40 A >[N]O:: (.) ESPERESE<

40 "NO, WAIT!"

41 (.)

42 A COLO (.) COLOCA un juego[:::]

42 "I LOOKING FOR A GAME"

43 Z1 ↑[ok]

43 "ok"

44 (1.0)

45 B shh:[:::]

46 E [lo] vea (.) porqué (.) ↓no- (.) u[h:::] (.) [ah:::]

46 "you see". "why, no-, uh, ah"

47 B [ya] [yo juego (.)

48 cierto?"

47 "ok, I'm playing for

48 sure"

49 E [AH:::]

50 Z1 <[CON] PACIEN[CIA] (.) h[ay un ora y m]edia>

50 "PATIENCE, there is an hour and a half"

51 A ↑[AY] >[ ESPERESE ]< ((A pushes back on E))

51 "AY, WILL YOU WAIT"

52 E huh (.) ↓huh[:::] ((E on the verge of tears))

53 B [s:::] (.) acá (.) yo

53 "s:::, me, here"

54 (1.1)

55 B °don[de] es-?° ((B sits next to A))

55 "where is it-?"

56 A [ya] (.) friv  
56 "now, friv"  
57 (1.1)  
58 F YO VOY CON LA (N[AME])  
58 I'M GOING WITH THE (Z4)  
59 (1.3)  
60 A [este] (.) espere  
60 "this one, wait"  
61 (.)  
62 Z1 mira (0.7) chicos (.) mira (0.5) mira (.) pa'ya  
62 "look, guys". "look". "look, over there"  
63 (.)  
64 F ()  
65 (.)  
66 A mírame (.) ↑ya:: (.) chillona  
66 "watch me, cry baby"  
67 (0.4)  
68 Z2 [(.) vi (.) si (.) trabaja en] grupo  
68 \*, yes, work in a group  
69 B °[no (.) no sabe jugar juegos]°  
69 "no, you dont know how to play games"  
70 (1.1)  
71 A >QUE:: (.) NO:: MUEVA NADA::< ((A→F))  
71 "DONT YOU MOVE ANYTHING"  
72 (.)  
73 F yo no puse ↑na:da  
73 "I didn't touch anything"  
74 (.)  
75 A ↑HEY:::  
75 "HEY"  
76 (0.7)

77 B °y le di (.) \* un cochino (0.5) y que todo por aca° ((B pushes A))  
77 "and I told you, \* the little pig, and everything here"  
78 (0.6)  
79 A mi [hermano (.) no es]  
79 "he's not my brother"  
80 Z3 [mira]  
80 "look"  
81 B [todo baraco]  
81 "everything's cool"  
82 (.)  
83 Z3 mira  
83 "look"  
84 A que no:: ((E leaves the scene))  
84 "stop it"  
85 Z3 mira (.) q[uite] (.) mire (0.5) un modelo  
85 "look, leave it, look, a model"  
86 A ↓[uh::] uh:: ((A fights with B))  
87 (.)  
88 A ↓uh:::  
89 (.)  
90 Z1 ↑OY (.) OY (.) OY (.) OY (0.6) RELAJASE (.) OK  
90 "OY, OY OY, OY, RELAX, OK"  
91 (0.4)  
92 A es que ()  
92 "its just that \*  
93 Z1 (NAME) (0.7) (NAME) (,) TRANQUILA ( 0.4) (NAME) TAMBIEN  
93 "(A name), (A name), calm down, (B name) as well"  
94 B °ya (.) rompo (.) [tra]nquilo (.) de verdad°  
94 "now, he broke, relax"  
95 Z1 [OK]  
95 "OK"

96 A aquí ( ) si ( ) mi hermano lo deja en pana() ((A→B))  
 96 "here, right, my brother leave \*"  
 97 (0.7)  
 98 Z1 tranquilo (1.0) ok (0.5) (NAME) (0.6) (NAME) (.) ME ESCUCHA?  
 98 "calm down, ok. (A), (A), ARE YOU LISTENING?"  
 99 (1.0)  
 100 Z1 (NAME)  
 100 "(A)"  
 101 B °yo con esto°  
 101 "this one is mine"  
 102 (0.4)  
 103 Z1 (NAME)  
 103 "(A)"  
 104 (1.0)  
 105 A señor  
 105 "sir"  
 106 Z1 me escucha (0.6) tranquilo (0.4) ok? ((B points to A))  
 106 "listen to me, calm down, ok?"  
 107 (.)  
 108 Z1 hay una [ 'ora y m]edia  
 108 "there is an hour and a half"  
 109 A [todo bien]  
 109 "its all cool"



20 B la vuelta (.) para [ya]?  
 20 "the first round, this way?"

21 A †[ay]: (.) no  
 21 "ay, no"

22 (0.6)

23 A no (.) eso fue (.) la (.) peor  
 23 "no, that one was the worst"

24 (1.7)

25 A um (.) porque (.) conoc- (0.3) porque (.) no coloca 'musuno'  
 25 "um, because, kno-, why don't we play 'musuno'"

26 (.)

27 A usted juega y (.) y luego (.) yo juego  
 27 "you can play and later, I play"

28 (0.8)

29 B no: (.) hay que jugar ese (.) es muy viejo  
 29 "no, we have to play that one, its very old"

30 (0.8)

31 A ponga este ((A→screen))  
 31 "play this one"

32 (.)

33 B es[te]  
 33 "this one"

34 A [es]te  
 34 "this one"

35 (0.3)

36 A a'ora que?  
 36 "now what?"

37 (.)

38 B ese (.) por qué?  
 38 "why that one?"

39 (0.7)

40 A ese es:: (.) [para:::::::] (.) dos (.) y podemos jugar lo do'  
40 "that is, for two, and the two of us can play"

41 B ↓no[: (.) °es]te°  
41 "no, that one"

42 (0.3)

42 A ese es solo para u:no (0.4) y ya la jugué  
42 "that one is for one only, and I've already played it"

43 (1.1)

44 A en el computador de un amigo  
44 "on a friend's computers"

45 (1.1)

46 A alla (.) en bogota::  
46 "there, in bogota"

47 (0.8)

48 A no (.) esto no sirve para nada  
48 "this thing is useless"

49 B °no (,) pero uno (.) hm°  
49 "no, but one, hm"

50 (7.0)

51 B °oy (0.6) vamos a salir°  
51 "oy, we're going to leave"

52 (.)

52 A oy (.) ya ( ) ya (.) cargó (0. 3) pasa  
52 oy, now, now, it loaded, go

53 (0.6)

54 A oiga  
54 "listen!"

55 (1.6)

56 A al fin (.) no nos salió (0.3) cierto?  
56 "in the end, it didn't appear, right?"

57 (0.5)



58 B °no°  
58 "no"  
59 (3.6)  
60 A voy a jugar (.) mire (0.5) yo soy >con el<  
60 I'm going to play, look, I'm with this"  
61 (2.7)  
62 B †huh (.) por qué demora?  
62 "huh, this is so slowly?"  
63 (0.3)  
64 A (h)

1 B <voy a jugar (.) esto muy rápido>  
 1 "I'm going to play this one very quickly"  
 2 (2.3)  
 3 A y carga rápido (.) cierto?  
 3 "and it loads quickly, right?"  
 4 (1.0)  
 5 A o sino le damos su calvazo (0.3) cier:to?  
 5 otherwise, we will slap it, right?  
 6 (8.0)  
 7 A ↑ay:: (.) que `mora (.) cier:to?  
 7 ay, so slow, right?  
 8 (.)  
 9 B °si°  
 9 "yes"  
 10 (9.5)  
 11 A ↑oy (.) ya ese car↑gó (1.2) (h)  
 11 "oy, that one is loaded"  
 12 (2.3)  
 13 B uh ↑huh  
 13 "uh huh"  
 14 (1.8)  
 15 A porque carga >to::do< esto=  
 15 "because it loads all this"  
 16 B =no (.) eso es muy chan:ga?  
 17 "no, this is really joke?"  
 18 (.)  
 19 A en bogota (.) ¿si?¿  
 19 "in Bogota, yes"  
 20 (0.7)

21 A en bogota- (.) en otro computador' (.) si son fácil'  
21 "in Bogata, with other computers, its easy"  
22 (0.5)

23 A <jugamos es solo para u:no y usted es luego-> (0.3) e-  
23 "we are playing game for one and you are later, e-"  
24 (0.5)

26 A s'es un nivel y yo otro (0.3) si?  
26 "you're one level and I'm another"  
27 (.)

28 B 'spére (.) a ver (0.7) déjelo cargar° (.) quieto  
28 "wait! let it load, leave it".  
29 (1.7)

30 A <oy (.) metámonos en este> (0.7) en es- (,) es para dos también  
30 "oy, let's go for this one, which is for two as well"  
31 (.)

32 B pere (.) pere  
32 "wait, wait"  
33 (0.3)

34 A en es[te (.) >detras] del peleas<  
34 "in this, after the fights"

35 B <[pere (.) ya]>  
35 "wait!"  
36 (1.1)

37 B pa'ya  
37 "there"  
38 (2.0)

39 A °oy (.) que de:mora°  
39 "oy, its slow"

40 B ah (.) a'ora †si::  
40 "ah, finally"  
41 (.)

42 A >a:ora si sirve (.) cier:to?<=  
42 "finally it works, right?"  
42 B =↑um (.) casi no aqui  
42 "um, it nearly didnt finish"

1 A ah: (.) que no a+qui:: (.) de esa car:gan  
 1 "ah, its not here, they load from there"  
 2 (1.0)  
 3 A esta cargando ma- (.) mas que los otros (.) o no?  
 3 "this one is loading mo-, more than the others, or no?"  
 4 (0.5)  
 5 E a ver (.) dijo (name) [que]  
 5 "look, (z1 name) said that"  
 6 B [AY]:: (.) <NO MOLESTE>  
 6 "AY, DON'T BOTHER US"  
 7 (.)  
 8 A °no mo:lesté°  
 8 "don't bother us"  
 9 (0.3)  
 10 B quie[to::]  
 10 "leave it"  
 11 A [quie]to::  
 11 "leave it"  
 12 (1.5)  
 13 E (NAME) (.) DÍGALES QUE ME DEJEN JUGAR::  
 13 "(Z1), TELL THEM TO LET ME PLAY"  
 14 (0.4)  
 15 A <NO (.) ES QUE NO ME JUG[ADO]>  
 15 "NO, ITS JUST THAT I HAVEN'T PLAYED YET"  
 16 Z1 [mira]  
 16 "look"  
 17 (.)  
 18 Z1 tiene  
 18 "you have"

19 (.)

20 Z1 todos(.)tienen que negociar (.) tienen que hablar(.)tienen que

21 compartir

20 "all of you have to negotiate, you have to talk, you have to

21 share"

22 (.)

23 Z1 no?

23 "no?"

24 (0.4)

25 E †[AH:: (.) SI]

25 "YOU SEE"

26 A [es que no he]mo' juga::[do]

26 "its just that we haven't played"

27 B <[cu]ando (hemo') dejar que uno > (.) mire

27 "when we have finished this one, look"

28 (0.4)

29 A mire (.) por que eso se demora (.) cier:to?

29 look, its because this takes time, doesn't it?

30 (2.6)

31 A y si n- (0.6) y si no (.) que me echen [un favor (.) aca (name)]

31 "and if n-", and if not, then do me a favor, (z1 name)"

32 E [(NAME (.) ( ) UNA MÚ]SICA

33 AQUÍ (.) (NAME)?

32 "(Z1), \* SOME MUSIC,

33 HERE(Z1)?"

34 (0.5)

35 Z1 no hay

35 "there isnt any"

36 (0.5)

37 E no hay?

37 "there isnt any?"

38 (1.8)

39 A °tome nada°(0.4) °ay(.)[cargue](.)cargue mi favorcito°(.)cier:to?

39 "I didn't play". ay, load, load please my favorite, right?

40 B [oo::ph]

40 "ooph"

41 B °si°

41 "yes"

42 (0.6)

43 A °si no (.) >lo mando:: pa'l piso<°

43 "if not, I'll throw it on the floor"

44 (0.5)

45 A oprima a:cá

45 "press here"

46 (0.3)

47 Z1 tienen [que compartir] (.) ok?

47 "you have to share ok?"

48 B [yo (.) ya lo op]rimi

48 "I pressed it"

49 (.)

50 B bueno

50 "ok"

51 (0.5)

52 B <venga,- (.) a que juguemos un poquito que mire (.) que este

53 hi'iuta esta demorar>

52 "come he, wait that we play a little, look that this son of a

53 bitch is so slow"

1 A °colóqueles es:tos (2.7) no esta (0.8) mira° ((A→screen))  
 1 "I'll locate those". "not there, look"  
 2 (1.9)  
 3 A ↑ya (.) <rápido (.) rápido> (1.2) oy: (.) que rico (.) que ri:co  
 3 "now, quickly, quickly". "oy, great, great"  
 4 (0.6)  
 5 E [oy:: (.) >(déjame) hacer::lo< ((E→B))  
 5 "oy, let me to do it"  
 6 A °[( ( ) ]°  
 6 ""  
 7 B [AY::] (.) CALLASE (.) ↑SI (.) BOBITO  
 7 "OY, SHUT UP, OK, IDIOT"  
 8 (2.3)  
 9 B <ay si (.) desde ahí mis[mo]  
 9 "oh yes, from right there"  
 10 A [(h)]::: (.) esta (.) la camiseta  
 10 "this one, the T-shirt"  
 11 (.)  
 12 B pere (.) pere (.) pere (.) un poquito  
 12 "wait, wait, wait, wait a little"  
 13 (0.8)  
 14 A bote eso  
 14 "throw that"  
 15 B °ay:° (.) pé:rese un poquito (.) dijo (.) <que no se puede rápido>  
 15 "ay, wait a moment, I said, you can't do it quickly"  
 16 (0.4)  
 17 B e'piche  
 17 "hit it"  
 18 (2.3)



19 B °ay:sh (.) `s:pere (.) <suelte un poquito> (.) suelte un poqui:to  
19 "aysh, wait, let go a moment, let go a moment"  
20 (2.0)

21 B ay (.) >que suelte un poquito::<  
21 "ay, let it go a moment"  
22 (1.4)

23 A °[um:::]°  
23 "um"  
24 B `[pere]  
24 "wait"  
25 (1.0)

26 A que dice (.) cójalo (.) cójalo  
26 "it said, get it, get it"  
27 (2.5)

28 B °↑ay (.) sistema abu:rrido°  
28 "ay, boring system"  
29 (0.7)

30 A ↓um:: (.) ↑deselo::  
30 "um, what now?"  
31 (1.0)

32 A venga (.) se lo doy  
32 "ok, I'll get it for you"  
33 (3.4)

34 A °ay (.) ya salio de mi cuerpo° ((computer switches off))  
34 "ay, now it left my body"

35 B °eso (.) que e'°  
35 "that one, whats is it?"  
36 (0.3)

37 B °[yo quiero jugar]°  
37 "I want to play"

38 A ↑[oy:: (.) es:o que]?

38 "oy, what is that?"

39 (0.4)

40 E oy (.) eso que?

40 "oy, what is that?"

41 (.)

42 A oy (.) mire (0.7) se [apa]↑go=

42 "oy, look, it switched off"

43 E ↑[ah:]

43 E =↓oy

44 (0.5)

45 E donde es? (.) >adonde< (.) [prende]

45 "where is it, where, wait, from where?"

46 A [no es] (.) d- (.) de a:↑cá

46 "its not, fr, from here"

47 E ya- (.) no (.) de a:[quí]

47 "ya, no, from here"

48 A [no] (.) de aquí

48 "no, from here"

49 (0.3)

50 E ↑ya

50 "ok"

51 (.)

52 A l'apaga:ron

52 "you switched it off"

53 E no (.) desde a:hi (.) se apagó

53 "no, from here it switches itself off"

54 (0.6)

55 B °no::°

55 "no"

56 (.)

57 E oy (.) [mire (.) metalo] bien

57 "oy, look, you insert it well"  
58 A [ya (.) ya (.) ya]  
58 "now, now, now"  
59 (1.8)  
60 B °↑pere (.) ↓pere° (.) ↑ya (.) ↑ya (.) ↑ya  
60 "wait, wait, ok, ok, ok"  
61 (0.5)  
62 E ↓es:e (.) ↑prenda  
62 "that one, turn it on"  
63 A no (.) esa:: (.) hay que llegar azul  
63 "no, that one, it has turned to turn blue"  
64 (1.1)  
65 B ya::: (.) que ya:  
65 "now, now"  
66 (0.3)  
67 E ↓°sa:::be (.) ↓huh°  
67 "you know, huh"

1 (2.6)

2 B a:cá (.) uno (.) hay cambia

2 "here, one, its changed"

3 E BUE[NAS DIAS]

3 "GOOD DAY"

4 B [tan bobo] (.) si?

4 "so silly, right?"

5 (.)

6 X buenas tardes mi amor (0.9) como estas?

6 "good afternoon my dear, how are you?"

7 B ya:: (.) ↓'pere=

7 "ok, wait"

8 A =oh (.) coloque aca"

8 "oh, go here"

9 B <°aquí (.) aquí (.) eso (.) que es?°>

9 "here, here, that one, what is it?"

10 A °con esta varita limpio (.) todo ( ) este°

10 "with this wand, I'll clean everything"

11 (4.7)

12 E ponga esta

12 "play this one"

13 (0.8)

14 A >↑um:: (.) ↑si:::;<

14 "um, sure"

15 (.)

16 A pero que(.)lo que(.)lo do' (.) os querrá (0.5)lo(.) queramo' jugar?

16 "but what, what, the two, he will want you, we want them to play?"

17 (1.3)

18 B <'orita (.) los dejamo' jugar (.) espero (.) ya>

18 "we can let them play now and I'll wait"  
19 (0.4)  
20 A si [orita (.) lo'dejamo' jugar todo]  
20 "now, we let them play everything"  
21 E >[(NAME) (.) digales que ya esta POCO TIEMPO]<  
21 (Z1), tell them it's for only a short time"  
22 B ↑[AY (.) ESPERE] (.) si-?  
22 "AY, WILL YOU BE PATIENT, yes?"  
23 (0.8)  
24 B MIRE (.) NO ME JUGO (.) MIRE  
24 "LOOK, I'M NOT PLAYING, LOOK"  
25 (1.2)  
26 A JUGAMOS (.) UNA' MONO MUNECAS (.) QUE ESTOY (H)  
26 "WE PLAY, SOME PRETTY DOLLS, THAT I AM"  
27 B todavia tiene (.) esto?  
27 "you still have this thing?"  
28 (1.2)  
29 A que bobada  
29 "what a stupid thing"  
30 (0.4)  
31 B °ya°  
31 "yes"  
32 (0.9)  
33 A oiga (.) me cambio  
33 "oy, change"  
34 (0.3)  
35 B pegarle a ese pirobo°  
35 "hit that idiot"  
36 (0.4)  
37 A a quien?  
37 "who?"

38 (0.4)

39 B a:: ese (.) bobito

39 "that little fool"

40 (0.7)

41 A a su hermano?

41 "to your brother?"

42 (0.5)

43 B °↓si (.) de verdad°

43 yes, absolutely

44 (.)

45 A yo si fuera usted (.) ya la hubiera \*

45 "if I were you, I'd have \* him"

46 (.)

47 B si (.) aca (.)es tan bobo

47 "yes, here, he's so stupid"

48 (.)

49 A ↑oh (.) ese (.) es el dragon (.) occidental

49 "oh, that one, is the dragon from the west"

50 (.)

51 A ↓ahh[::::::::::::] (.) se (.)no fue la:::

51 "ah, I know, it wasn't the"

52 B [ah::::::::::::]

53 (0.5)

54 B °espere un momentico°

54 "wait a momento"

55 A no

55 "no"

1 B si (.) aca (.) no sea tan bobo  
 1 "yes, here, it may not be so stupid  
 2 (.)  
 3 A ↑oh (.) ese (.) es el dragon (.) occidental  
 3 "oh, that one, is the dragon from the west"  
 4 (1.1) ((screen goes blank))  
 5 A ↓ah[:::::::::::::] (.) se no fue la:: ((B puts hand to head))  
 5 " ah, I know that it wasn't the"  
 6 B [ah:::::::::::::]  
 7 (0.5) ((B→dongle))  
 8 B espere un momentico  
 8 "wait a moment"  
 9 A no  
 9 "no"  
 10 (3.5) ((B→dongle))  
 11 A apágamo[lo] (.) y prendam[olo]  
 11 switch it off and on  
 12 B °[pe]re° [por] (.) aqui ((B→A))  
 12 "wait" "its, here"  
 13 (0.8)  
 14 A apaguemolo y prendamolo  
 14 switch it off and on  
 15 (0.3)  
 16 B ↑ah  
 17 (1.5)  
 18 B quie::to ala (.) que no se puede quedar quieto ((B→dongle))  
 18 "behave cheeky, why you can't behave"  
 19 (.)  
 20 A pero mire (.) que ese era azul=

20 "but look, that was blue"

21 B =°bobo°

21 "stupid"

22 (1.2) ((E arrives))

23 E por que no me deja?

23 "why don't you let me play?"

24 B mire (.) lo que sacó (.) ese ((B→A))

24 "look, what he's taken out, that one"

25 E aysh (.) que no: mas

25 "aysh, not more"

26 (0.4)

27 A a'ora (.) [us]ted l'apagó

27 now you've switched it off

28 B [ya]

28 "now"

29 (0.3)

30 B mirelo ↑ya (.) perdio ( ) y quieto (.) ↑si ((screen returns))

30 "now look, its gone, so behave, ok"

31 (0.6)

32 A cambia de (.) ausor()

32 "the change of \*"

33 (3.0)

34 E lo que van `acer es dañarlo

34 "what you're going to do is break it"

35 (0.6)

36 B £si:::£ (.) mire que ahí dice (.) bobito (.) pero (.) espere que

37 ya que cuando salgamos de aca ya

36 "right, look at what it says, idiot, but, you wait for when

37 we leave here"

38 (1.3)

39 A si:: (.) cuando salgamos de aca ese lo (.) vamos a coger-



39 "right, when we leave here, we are going to catch that one"  
40 (0.5)  
41 E y usted (.) tambien ((E→A))  
41 "and you, also"  
42 (0.8)  
43 A yo también (.) si esto? ((A→B))  
43 "I'm also like this?"  
44 (.)  
45 B [(h) ] el dijo que tambien usted (h)  
45 "he said that its you as well"  
46 E ↓°[uhm]°  
47 (3.1)  
48 E vea (.) y antes se lo ponian a uno ((A to computer))  
48 "look, and before put played it yourself"  
49 B =↓ay:(.)[si se los perio] yo  
49 "ay, you missed it"  
50 A [ay::::: ] (.) <no (.) es que (.) no me jugado (.)  
51 mire>  
50 "ay, no, its just that, I havent played  
51 look" ((A→E))  
51 (0.4)  
52 B mire (.) el sistema lo apagó (.) cierto que si?  
52 "look, the system shutdown, right?"  
53 A inter (.) explorer (.) no-  
53 "inter, explorer, no"  
54 E ↑si (.) esta ↑nena ((E→A))  
54 "right, this little girl"  
55 (0.7)  
56 A mire que se nos >fue la:::< (.) el internet (.) >bobo< ((A→E))  
56 "it looks like its gone the, the internet, idiot"  
57 (.)

58 A [abuh ( ) buh (.) buh]

59 E [(h) ] (.) (h)

60 A esta peor (.) que mi abuela ((A raises hand to head))  
60 "you are worst than my grandmother"

61 E (h)

62 (1.3)

63 E quieto (.) peor (.) ver ((E taps A on the head))  
63 "behave, its worse, look"

64 (.)

65 B °de acá°  
65 "from here"

66 A este vamos a (.) ↑ya:: ((E moves position))  
66 "let's go there"

67 (0.5)

68 E no (.) esta cerrado  
68 "no, it's closed"

69 (2.2)

70 B >[co]nectar< (.) °co (0.3) nec (.) ↑tar°  
70 "connect, co, nec, t"

71 E [ya]  
71 "ok"

72 (0.7)

73 B quieto (.) (name)  
73 "leave it, (E)

74 E ↓hu::

1 Z1 (name) (0.3) (name) (0.9) (name) (.) deja  
 1 "(b), (b), (b), leave it"  
 2 (0.3)  
 3 B ['spere (.) que n]o  
 3 "wait, no"  
 4 Z1 [pasó una 'ora] (0.4) por favor (0.4) por [fa]vor  
 4 "one hour has gone, now, please, please"  
 5 B °↓[ah] (.) fastid<sub>io</sub>°=  
 5 "ah, how annoying"  
 6 E =↑a ver (.) que voy a manejarlo  
 6 "let me, I'm going to control it"  
 7 (0.7)  
 8 B °[con este]°  
 8 "with this one"  
 9 A [a los do'] (.) no deja manejar ((A→E))  
 9 "with two, it won't let you have control"  
 10 (0.7)  
 11 E YO- (.) YO MANEJO  
 11 "I, I'm in control"  
 12 (1.2)  
 13 A oiga (.) le - (.) ese (0.3) [oiga] ((A points to k/b))  
 13 "listen, him, that one, listen"  
 14 B es[ta ni] sabe (.) con que?  
 14 "this one does not know, with what"  
 15 (0.5)  
 16 E [SI] SEÑOR (.)>CON ESTO (.)con (0.3) esto (.)< y [con todo ]  
 16 "YES SIR, WITH THIS ONE, with, this one and with everything"  
 17 A [si]  
 17 "right"

18 B [si (.)si]  
18 "yes, yes"  
19 Z1 dejale (.) dejale  
19 "let him , let him"  
20 (0.7)  
21 E YO- (.) SE- (.) (NAME) (.) YO YA SE MANEJA  
21 "I, KNOW, (Z1), NOW I KNOW HOW TO CONTROL"  
22 (0.4)  
23 Z1 si  
23 "yes"  
24 E computadores  
24 "computers"  
25 (0.5) ((B attempts to kick E))  
26 B no sabe (.) [ay:::] (.) a ver juegue] (.) a ver (.) <no le ayude  
27 (.) no le ayude>  
26 "you dont know, ay, lets see you play, lets see, don't help him,  
27 don't help him"  
27 E [a ver]  
27 "let's see"  
28 (0.3)  
29 E mire:::  
29 "look"  
30 (0.3)  
31 B no [le] ayude (.) no [le] ayude  
31 "don't help him, don't help him"  
32 A ↑[ay] [no]  
32 "ay" "no"  
33 A con este ((A points to pad))  
33 "with this one"  
34 (.)  
35 B que no le ayude (0.9) déjelo (.) déjelo

35 "don't help him, leave him, leave him"

36 (2.5)

37 E °() (1.8) uh bah (2.5) uh bah (2.5) bajo (1.3) `spere°

37 "\* , uh bah, uh bah, below, wait"

38 A °no°

38 "no"

39 (6.7) ((A looks to music source))

40 E do (0.3) [pah (.) pah (.) pah] ((accompanies music))

41 A >[ mil años después ]<

41 "a thousand years later"

42 (0.5)

43 £·hhh£

44 (0.9)

45 B <mira (.) ese guevon sabe?>

45 "look, that dumby knows it?"

46 (1.3)

47 B ve[nga] (.) se le buscó ((B moves E's hand))

47 "come on, you've searched for it"

48 E [ahi]

48 "there"

49 (.)

50 E ↑ay: (.) ahi (.) ↓[ah] ((E points to the screen))

50 "ay, there"

51 B [qu]e (.) no es ahi (.) es acá (.) tan imbecil

51 "its not there, its here, you stupid"

52 (0.5)

53 B °ya (.) si°

53 "thats right"

54 (0.7)

55 E ↓y por eso

55 "thats what I did"

56 (0.5)

57 B y por eso (.) es tan bobo (.) hable bien  
57 "as you did, he's so stupid, talk properly"

58 (0.9)

59 E ↓ay (.) (\*)  
59 "ay, more"

60 (0.4)

61 A >me toca mi<  
61 "its my turn"

62 (0.3)

63 B <porque toca eso (.) porque es tan fastidioso?>  
63 "why did you do that, why are you so annoying?"

64 (1.2)

65 A >↓(name) (.) me [toca] mi<  
65 "(z1), its my turn"

66 B [CUAL]? (0.4) cual moto? ((B→screen))  
66 "which, which motorbike?"

67 E ↑ERM: (.) aysh (.) pa' que la paso[::]?  
67 "ERM, aysh, why did that happen?"

68 B [que] CUAL? ((B→screen))  
68 "which?"

69 E ↓erm::: (.) esta ((E→screen))  
69 "erm, this one"

70 (1.5)

71 B esta?  
71 this one?

72 (1.5)

73 E ↑ay (.) no:: (.) [esta]  
73 "ay, no, this one"

74 B <[que] es la MISma>  
74 "its the SAme"

75 E ah: (.) si (.) esa  
75 "ah, yes that one"  
76 (2.5)  
77 A arri:ba  
77 "from the top"  
78 ( 0.7)  
79 B que ya se:: ((B→A))  
79 "I know"

1 B ↑ya (.) a'o[ra] que? ((B relinquishes to E))  
 1 ok, now what?  
 2 A [ay]  
 2 "ay"  
 3 A ah (.) hagale (0.9) a- (0.3) a que (.) [lo] (.) prestar  
 3 "ah, do it, a, that, press it"  
 4 E es[te]  
 4 "this one"  
 5 B no (.) deje que no  
 5 "no, certainly not"  
 6 (1.0)  
 7 E con este? ((E→B))  
 7 "with this one?"  
 8 (1.6)  
 9 B ↓no ((A across k/b))  
 9 "no"  
 10 (1.7) ((B resists A))  
 11 E ah: (.) con este (1.1) con este?  
 11 "ah, with this one". "with this one?"  
 12 (0.5)  
 13 B °↑huh (0.3) coje° ((A shrugs))  
 13 "huh, I've got it"  
 14 (3.4)  
 15 E °hay una°=  
 15 "there's one"  
 16 A =[un]a- (.) pe- (.) ah:- ( ) s:say- ((A across k//b))  
 16 "one, p, a, s"  
 17 E [ah]  
 17 "ah"



18 B >con es::te< (.) mala dura (.) >con es::te< (.) mire (.) con  
19 es::te (.) mire  
18 "with this one, stubborn, with this one, look, with this one,  
19 look"  
20 (.)  
21 B que 'izo? ((B pushes E))  
21 "what did you do?"  
22 (1.0)  
23 B ayss: (.) mire (.) <eso también (.) que 'izo?> ((B resists A))  
23 ayss, look, you as well, what you did?  
24 A no (.) mire ((A→the pad))  
24 "no, look"  
25 B 'sperese"  
25 "will you wait"  
26 A espere que(.)lo- (.) voy a[arreglar] a (.) mire (.) ya lo arregle  
26 "wait that I'll fix it, look, I fixed it"  
27 ['sperese]  
27 "will you wait"  
28 (0.3)  
29 B ↑ya (.) eso (.) en este (.) en [este]  
29 "ok, that one, in this one, in this one"  
30 E [buen]o  
30 "good"  
30 (0.9)  
31 E ↑ay:: (.) >póngame asien[to]< ((E→B))  
31 "ay, give me a seat"  
32 B ↑ [oy]::: (.) y también?  
32 "oy, and what else?"  
33 (0.3)  
34 E a pero va usted?  
34 "ah, so now is your turn?"

35 (.)

36 B †no:: (.) déjalo (.) sí

36 "no, leave it, ok"

37 (0.4)

38 B mire (.) c[on] el dedo ((B forcing E's hand))

38 "look, with the finger"

39 Z1 eh [ah]

40 Z1 (name)

40 "(B)"

41 B con el dedo (.) mire

41 "with the finger, look"

42 Z1 (na[me])

42 (z1)

43 E [NO] ME DEJA SENTAR

43 "HE WON'T LET ME SIT DOWN"

44 Z1 (name)

44 (B)

45 B pero (.) es que (.) quieren? (.) †[todo] ((B→Z1))

45 "but, its that, they want? everything"

46 Z1 [com]parte

46 "share"

47 (0.8)

48 Z1 comparte (.) [por favor]

48 "please share the machine"

49 E [póngame] (.) quiero

49 "give it to me, I want it"

50 B °[déjalo]°

50 "leave it"

51 Z1 la maquina

51 "the machine"

52 E >baja[se]<

52 "get out"

53 B °[no] (.) lo quiero°

53 "no, I want it"

54 (.)

55 E aysh (.) o::la

55 "aysh, come on"

56 B quieto (.) deje de joder (.) que ahora (.) se ponen[a chillar ya]

56 "behave, stop bothering me, now (.) he's going to start crying"

57 Z1 [todo comparte]

58 la maquina (.) por favor

57 "can everyone

58 share the machine, please"

59 (0.4)

60 B el es (.) a jugando

60 "he is, playing?"

61 E PERO (.) NO QUE VEA (.) aysh (.) ↓no me deja a sentar

61 "BUT, I CAN'T SEE, aysh, you wont let me sit down"

62 (0.9)

63 A °huh°

64 (0.5)

65 B esa (.) jugar (.) juegue (.) por [todo]

65 "that one, play, you can play, all of it"

66 E [huh]?

66 "huh"

67 (3.3) ((B shifts computer to E))

68 E listo

68 "ready"

69 (3.2) ((A repositions))

70 A si (.) se muera-

70 "yes, you died"

71 E ↑um[::::]::::

72 B [tome]

73 "I got it"

74 (0.3)

75 A se mueren (.) ant[es]-

75 "you died before"

76 B '[eh] ( ) deje (.) este=

76 "wait. dont touch this one"

77 A =ese (.) me toca a mí

77 "that one, its my turn"

78 (.)

79 B pues (.) 'hasta (.) que (.) se acabe ((B points to screen))

79 "well, until you finish"

80 (0.6)

81 A si (.) 'hasta que se le acaben las vidas (.) ya (1.1) cierto?=  
81 "ok, until your lives are over, right?"

82 B <pero es sacar (.) ahí (.) esto (.) toca es todo>

82 "but its taken out there, this one, have to control everything"

83 (3.9)

84 E este?

84 "this one?"

85 (0.3)

86 A °tan rapido° (0.5) cierto?

86 "really quick, right?"

87 (0.4)

88 B callese (.) rapido

88 "shut up, right now"

89 A luego (.) †yo

89 "me, later"

90 (1.6)

91 E up (.) pah (0.9) ah (.) ah (.) †oh (0.4) †oh

92 (2.0)

93 A pero (.) 'izo mas que los dos (.) cierto?  
93 "but you achieved more than the two, right?"  
94 (0.6)  
95 B yo hice más (.) que 'eso  
95 "I did more than that"  
96 (1.2)  
97 B otra (.) se montó en ese montón (0.9) en eso ((B→the screen))  
97 "the other, it climbed on that mountain, on that one"  
98 (1.6)  
99 A ah (.) si (.) °se (fue)°  
99 "ah, yes, it went"  
100 (.)  
101 B uh (.) si?  
101 "uh, yes?"  
102 (.)  
103 A mire (.) se fue pa' la arena (1.5) le quedan do' vidas  
103 "look, it disappeared in the sand, you have still two lives"  
104 E "¡oh" "um"

1 A ay (.) se 'izó mas que los dos (.) cierto?  
 1 "ay, this one did more than the two, right?"  
 2 (0.7)  
 3 B °↑uhm°  
 4 (3.3)  
 5 E °ah°  
 6 (0.3)  
 7 B no (.) todavía no  
 7 "no, not yet"  
 8 (3.2)  
 9 B yo hice mas  
 9 "I did more"  
 10 (3.2)  
 11 B £oy£ (.) ↑huh  
 12 A (h)  
 13 E ↑oy (.) que 'mora  
 13 "oy, its slow"  
 14 A [q- (h):::~::~:]  
 15 E [ay(.)se toca](.)↑ay(.)toca es pasito(.)cierto?(.)°ay°(.) este es?  
 15 "ay, you play, you have to do it gently, right? this one is it?"  
 16 (0.6)  
 17 B con este (.) con [este] ((B points to k/b))  
 17 "with this one, with this one"  
 18 E °[ah ah]° (.) ↑ah (.) ↑ah (.) ↑ah (.) ↑ah  
 19 (.)  
 20 E ay (.) no ma' ( ) ↓[as]:: ((E moves away))  
 22 "ay, no more, as"  
 23 A ↓[ah] (.) ow: (0.5) me toca  
 23 "ah, ow, my turn"

24 (0.4)

25 E ↑si ve (.) ↓ays: ((A & B move computer))

25 "you see, as"

26 (0.5)

27 B se toca ráp[ido]

27 "you played fast"

28 E >[voy] a ese (.) no me-<

28 "I'm going to that one, I didn't"

29 (.)

30 B el (.) ya jugó (.) (name) (0.5) y [yo] coloco ((B glances at Z1))

30 "he has had a go, (z1), and I'm playing"

31 E ↓[si]:

31 "yes"

32 (1.6) ((B dismisses A))

33 B <otra (.) toca otra vez> (1.1) toca rapidísimo ((B glances at E))

33 "again, you'll play again, you played very fast"

34 (0.3)

35 A me toca me (.) cierto?

35 "its my turn, right?"

36 B si

36 "yes"

37 (0.7)

38 E y a mí?

38 "and me?"

39 (0.3)

40 B ↑oy: (1.7) por qué con:(.)↑oy(.)se puede[para dos(0.3)°que bueno]°

40 "oy, why with, oy, you can with two, that's good"

41 E [pero con me ayuda(.)yo]

42 p]uedo

41 "but with your

42 help, I can"

43 (1.1)

44 A >cutback< ((A→screen))

45 (4.8)

46 B no vaya jugar (.) para dos

46 "it won't play, for two"

47 (1.3)

48 A y con dos (0.3) y (.) o play (0.3) [toc() ] (.) lo- ((A→screen))

48 "and with two, and, or play, \*

49 B °[uh hum]°

50 (0.3)

51 B ante' (0.5) [ese] para uno

51 "before, that is for one"

52 A °[aca]°

52 "here"

53 (.)

54 A no (.) p'arriba ((A→screen))

54 "no, from above"

55 (0.4)

56 B pa' uno

56 "for one"

57 (1.4)

58 A >por eso (0.6) acá< ((A→screen))

58 "like I said, here"

59 (0.8)

60 B [pa' qué (.) patin]eta

60 "why? skateboard"

61 A [mira (.) patineta]

61 "look, skatebaord"

62 (1.9)

63 A no (.) pa' aca ((A→screen))





1 E después sigo yo:::  
 1 "because its my turn next"  
 2 (0.8)  
 3 B después sigo YO ((B→E))  
 3 "after, its MY turn"  
 4 E >después (.) soy yo<  
 5 "why? its me"  
 6 B por que si uste' ?  
 6 "why you?"  
 7 (1.3)  
 8 B solo usted [()]bre]?  
 8 "only you \*"  
 9 E [pero] me la voltea  
 9 "but you have overturned me"  
 10 (0.7)  
 11 E pero si (.) se uno le salió todo (0.3) >[rapidi]ima<  
 12 "but, my only turn it went very fast"  
 13 B <[pues si](.) pero uste' no  
 14 corrio rápido>  
 13 "well yes, but you didn't  
 14 run fast"  
 15 E si yo quiero correr >paci:[to]< ((E→B))  
 15 "yes, I want to play slowly"  
 16 B [no]:: (.) debemo' jugar rápido ((B→E))  
 16 "no, we must play quickly"  
 17 (0.5) ((F arrives))  
 18 E no (.) que me mató (.) que?  
 18 "no, what killed me, what?"  
 19 (0.7)

20 A ahi (.) fue donde me maté (.) (h)  
20 "there was where I died"  
21 (3.2) ((F departs))  
22 E †oy (.) dos  
22 "oy, two"  
23 (2.2)  
24 B °ya (.) van dos°  
24 "two so far"  
25 (5.3)  
27 E a mi (.) del carro rita ((F arrives))  
27 "mine is the \*rita car"  
28 (2.0)  
29 A °a mi (.) bestia°  
29 "mine is the beast\*"  
30 (1.7)  
31 B <eso les llaman cuatri motos> (.) no?  
31 "these are called cuad-bikes, no?"  
32 (0.6)  
33 E uhm? (.) carro? ((E→B))  
33 uhm, car?  
34 B cuatro  
34 "four"  
35 A no  
35 "no"  
36 B cuatro [motos]  
36 "four motobikes"  
37 A >[cua:ti]motos< (.) †oy (.) severa  
37 "cuad-bikes, oy, that's awesome"  
38 (1.8)  
39 A †[oy]::  
40 E †[ah (.) que `mora]

40           ah, that's slow"  
41    B       [oy: (.) que bestija (h)  
41           "oy, thats cool (h)"  
42    A       [(h) (.) °ahi]°  
42           "(h), there"  
43    E       [oy: (.) jo:na]  
43           "oy, one"  
44           (1.6)  
45    F       van a:-  
45           "they're going to"  
46           (2.1)  
47    E       se caen mal  
47           "they fall-down badly"  
48           (1.6)  
49    F       si `a caen (.) mal  
49           "yes, they fall down badly"

1 A uh ha ha (.) >°por qué no?°< ((A to the music))  
 1 "uh, ha, ha, why not?"  
 2 (.)  
 3 B ah (.) me empieza (.) [me empieza] (0.5) que no puede  
 3 "ah, I start, I start, you cant"  
 4 A [por qué no]?  
 4 "why not?"  
 5 A yo?  
 5 "me?"  
 6 (0.8)  
 7 B [ya] (.) [ya]  
 7 "ok" "ok"  
 8 F ↓[ay]: [se] mató ((B→k/b))  
 8 "ay, you're dead"  
 9 A sigo ese  
 9 "I follow that one"  
 10 B me toca (.) me [toca]  
 10 "my turn, my turn"  
 11 F [y yo]  
 11 "and me"  
 12 (0.7)  
 13 E °no (.) espere°  
 13 "no, wait"  
 14 (1.5)  
 15 A >uste' de ultimo< (.) [cierto]?  
 15 "you're the last, ok?"  
 16 E [cierto] (.) yo  
 16 "its certainly, me"  
 17 B <que no (.) que ese no sabe (.) eso es un' mentira>

17 "certainly not, he doesn't know it, that's a lie"

18 F si::::

18 "yes"

19 B <no sabe>

19 "you dont know"

20 (2.1)

21 B que suelte (.) que[ ( ) ]

21 "leave it, \*"

22 E [VEA] (.) de este (.) este (.) este((E→screen))

22 "look, this one, this one, this one"

23 (0.3)

24 F no (.) no (.) eh (.) wi- (.) eh

24 "no, no, eh, wi-, eh"

25 (0.4)

26 F no(.)eh(.) (name)me pone(.)ese(.)[este]

26 no, eh, (b) gave me, that one

27 E [este]ya(.) este (.) este (.) ya:

27 "this one ok, this one, this one, ok"

28 F no(.)eh(.) (nam)me pone el este(.)porque(.)ah:(.)yo no me[le pon]go

28 "no, eh, (b) gave me this one, because,ah, I can't do it to myself"

29 E [jesus]

29 "jesus"

30 (0.8)

31 A [gracias]

31 "thanks"

32 B °[ ( ) ] (.) [oh]:::°

32 "\*, oh"

33 F †[ay] (0.8) no (.) (name) me pone ese

33 "ay, no, (b) gave me that one"

34 (0.3)

35 F <ahí mientras (.) uste me lo pone>

35 "meanwhile, let me play"  
36 (0.5)  
37 F †[ya ]-  
37 "now"  
38 B <[uste] no sabe (.) pero yo:: (.) con () ese>  
38 "you don't know, but me, with \* that "  
39 (0.5)  
40 F entonces (.) tiene colocar una  
40 "in which case, you have to find one"  
41 (.)  
42 F y- (.) yo no se (0.5) y- (.) yo no (.) yo no coloco  
42 "I, I don't know, I, I don't know how to find it"  
43 (.)  
44 F que l'igual (0.3) (name)(.)[q-]  
44 "its the same, (z1), wh-?"  
45 E >[ch]imba (.) le [pas]ó?<  
45 "great, you've pass it"  
46 F [que]? (0.4) que?  
46 "so?" "so?"  
47 (0.7)  
48 F que-?  
48 "what"  
49 (0.8)  
50 E se le gana (.) cierto? (.) esta?  
50 "you have won it, right? this one?"  
51 (2.5)  
52 F no le ga:na (.) (h)  
52 "he didn't win it, (h)"  
53 (1.3)  
54 A por[qué] (.) la se suave (.) pa' que no se mate  
54 "because, you it gently, so that you're not killed"

55 F [ ( ) ]

55 " \* "

56 (1.3)

57 B < todavia maté ese' vainas >

57 " I' ve already killed these things

58 (1.8)

59 B en que cerró? (.) cuatro

59 " and he ran, four "

60 A ° ↑ um °

61 (1.2)

62 F el verde (.) le gana

62 " the green won it "

63 (2.7)

64 E ° toda menti: ra °

64 " it' s all false "

65 (0.7)

66 F ↑ si (.) mire

66 " yes, look "

67 (2.0)

68 B venga (.) colocamos otra juego para uno más?

68 " ok, let' s find another game for one more?

69 (0.7)

70 E para me también

70 " for me as well "

71 B ↑ si

71 " yes "

72 (2.5)

73 E pere (.) manejó esa moto

73 " wait, he drove that motorbike "

74 (1.9)

75 B [ ay: :::::::::::::::::::: ] ::



76 A [de manejo mi pati] (1.4) manejo mi patineta  
76 "I ride my skate, I ride my skateboard"  
77 (.)  
78 F y yo (.) que manejo?  
78 "and me, what do I ride"  
79 B ↓ah:: (.) [(h)]  
79 "ah, (h)"  
80 A [(h)]  
81 F ↓ay:: (.) no (.) sh:: (.) [(name)]  
81 "ay, no, sh, (B)"  
82 A [es ahí]  
82 "its there"  
83 (.)  
84 B ay: (.) < venga (.) le coloco un juego pa' usted solo >  
84 "ay, lets I'll play a game for you only "  
85 F no  
85 "no"  
86 (0.8)  
87 B nah (.) (h)  
87 "nah (h)"  
88 (0.3)  
89 F ay (.) wi- (.) wi- (.) [wi]- ((F wags finger at B))  
90 B <[ya] (.) e'ta (.) e'ta (.) esta ahí >  
90 "ok, this one, this one, this one there"  
91 (0.6)  
92 F le digo al (name)  
92 "I'll tell (Z1)  
93 (1.5)  
94 B ↓oy:: (.) perdi  
94 "oy, I lost"  
95 (0.7)

96 A [ (h) ]

97 F [per:::]dio

97 "you lost"

98 A (h)

99 E quien hizo asi?

99 "who did it like that?"

100 (5.1) ((F leaves the scene))

101 B <vaya (0.3) primero me déjalo yo (.) mire>

101 "damn it, first let me do it, look"

102 (1.9)

103 B ↓ah[:: (.) no]

103 "ah, no"

104 F [que maneja] (.) no ((F returns with chair))

104 "what are you driving? no"

105 A [(h) ]

106 (.)

107 B maldita sea

107 "damm it"

108 (0.8)

109 B <aburrido [esta juego]>

109 "this game is boring"

110 F [como esta] silla?

110 "is this seat free?"

111 (0.5)

112 B QUE TAL (.) [(name) ]?

112 "whats up, (F)

113 A <[ vaya ] (.) que coloquemos otro j[uego]?>

113 " well, let's play another game?"

114 F [dame] ((F→E))

114 "give me it"

115 B ahor[ita]

115 "soon"

116 E >[ay] (.) cierto (.) ya<

116 "ay, its certain now"

117 (2.2)

118 A ↓si:: (.) (h)

118 "yes, (h)"

119 B otra pierde (.) si coloco otra juego

119 "the other is lost, I look for another game"

120 (1.3)

121 A o'rita (.) sigo yo ( ) y luego (.) uste'

121 "right now, I continue and you later"

122 (0.3)

123 F no::

123 "no"

124 B quieto

124 "behave"

125 (.)

126 F yo quiero la jod[ima]

126 "I want the jodima"

127 E [lo]que esto (.) con este se [apara]gan((E→k/b))

127 "what's this, with this one you shoot it down\*"

128 B [quieto] (1.0) deje

129 de joder

128 "behave, stop

129 bothering me"

130 (.)

131 F >esta caliente< (.) no? ((F touches the power supply))

131 "this one's hot, no?"

132 (0.4)

133 A no::::: ((A removes F's hand))

133 "no"

134 F esta es de dura (.) este  
134 "this is hard, this one"  
135 (0.4)  
136 A OH  
137 (.)  
138 E ↑ay  
139 F (h)  
140 B ahí  
140 "there"  
141 (0.3)  
142 A tóquelo bien  
142 "you're good"  
143 (0.8)  
144 F no (.) yo lo [toco]  
144 "no, my turn"  
145 E [um]:: (.) sigo yo  
145 "um, my turn"

1 B si (.) †ya (.) `spere (0.8) °un poquito°  
 1 "ok, wait a moment"  
 2 (0.5)  
 3 F DE QUE?  
 3 "FOR WHAT?"  
 4 (0.6)  
 5 E >me falta yo<  
 5 "I've not had my turn"  
 6 (0.5)  
 7 F no:: (.) después de (name) (.) sigo yo::  
 7 "no, after (B), I follow"  
 8 E si? (0.9) †os::  
 8 "really, oss"  
 9 B ah:: (.) <sigo yo (.) sigo yo (.) ya (.) ya>  
 9 "ah, I'm next, I'm next, ok, ok"  
 10 (.)  
 11 F †ay:: (0.7) le digo al (name)  
 11 "fine, I'm telling (Z1)"  
 12 (1.0)  
 13 E [digo-]  
 13 "I said"  
 14 B [como asi'](.)si sigue este(.)°que fastidio°(.) después quiere?"  
 14 "ok, you can follow this one, damn, do you want to later?"  
 15 (0.9)  
 16 F †no (.) >yo quiero de primeras<  
 16 "no, I want be amongst the first"  
 17 (.)  
 18 E no  
 18 "no"

19 (0.9)

20 F ↓bueno(.)le voy a[decir ]

20 "ok, I'm going to tell"

21 E [digo yo (.) digo[ yo(.) digo yo]

21 "I said, I said, I said"

22 F ah (.) [bueno (.) por e]so (.) te le

23 digo a (name)

22 "ok, thats why, I'm going to tell

23 (z1)"

24 (9.2)

25 F este (.) le dijo (name) (.) se- (.) que (.) que la primeras de ese

26 juego

25 "I said this to (z1), that, that I'm amongst the first for that

26 game"

25 (0.5)

27 A a'ora(.)si le toca(name) (0.4)luego a mi(.)luego uste' (0.4)cierto?

27 "now, its (E)'s turn, later its me, then its you, ok?"

28 B <cierto (.) (han quitar) (.) ↓no>

28 "its not certain, they have \*?"

29 (1.9)

30 E [ya] (.) como?

30 "ok, what?"

31 A ↓[oh]:

32 F ↓[oh]:

33 (0.4)

34 A no (.) pero el gana

34 "no, but he wins

35 (1.2)

36 A acá (.) y um:: (.) acá (0.4) a (.) [jugar °() ]°

37 "here and um, here, to play"

38 E [sigo yo]

38 "my turn"

39 (0.8)

40 F no (.) le voy (.) yo `aga

40 "no, I'm going, I will do

41 (0.3)

42 A ↓um:: (.) voy ya

42 "um, I going now"

43 (1.5)

44 E (NAME) (.) VENGA (.) LE DIGO-

44 "(Z1), COME ON, I TOLD HIM"

45 (0.9)

46 Z1 habla (0.3) [entre us]tedes

46 "talk with each other"

47 E [(NAME)] (.) VEA (.) DICE EL (.) QUE (.) EL QUE

48 (.) PRIMERA SIGUE (.) SIGO YO (.) DESPUES DE EL

47 "(Z1), LOOK, HE SAID THAT, THAT HE IS FIRST AND

48 I AM NEXT, AFTER HIM"

49 (0.3)

50 B no (.) que ya lo jugamos (.) >[cierto] jugandalo< (0.6) pasale

50 "don't you see we take it out, press and give it ,"

51 E ↓[ah::::]

52 Z1 claro (.) ok (.) pero compartir

52 "sure, ok, but share

53 (0.5)

54 A ↑°[uh h]um°

54 B [·hhh]

55 Z1 es para compart[ir]

55 "its to share"

56 E ↓[oy]sh

57 (0.5)

58 B [vamos] (.) si toca (.) que tal eso?





77 F (name) (.) dígale a [(name) q]ue me jugar un' jue:gos  
77 "(Z1) tell (B) that I can play games"  
78 B °[`sperese]°  
78 "will you wait"  
79 (.)  
80 B ya (.) lo quitamos  
80 "ok, we closed it"  
81 (2.0)  
82 B <`pere (.) `pere>  
82 "wait, wait"  
83 (0.4)  
84 E >y apagalo<  
84 "and he's going to turn it off"  
85 (0.3)  
86 B ↑ay (.) [quieto]  
86 "ay, behave"  
87 A [no:::::] (.) quietos  
87 "no, behave"  
88 (0.6)  
89 B `spere que yo voy a colocar estos  
89 "wait that i'm going to play, these"  
90 (5.3)  
91 A a'ora (.) [yo] escribo (1.0) donde música (0.4) acá (.) esta la-  
91 "now, I do the writing, where is music, here, is the"  
92 B [ya]  
92 "ok"  
93 (0.3)  
94 A mire (0.3) lo va a apa[gar]  
94 "look, going to switch it off"  
95 B [tut] (.) que quieto (.) (name) (.) si?  
95 "tut, behave, (F), ok"

96 (.)

97 B †aysh: (.) [(NAME)]

97 "aysh, (F)"

98 A >[ mire ] (.) l'apago (.) (name)<

98 "look, (F) switched it off"

99 (.)

100 B hss:

101 (2.8)

102 B °que (.) nada°

102 "nothing"

103 (1.0)

104 F le digo al (name)

104 "I'm telling (z1)"

105 (0.6)

106 B dígale (.) dígale

106 "tell him, tell him"

107 (2.4)

108 B oy (.) mira

108 "oy, look"

109 (.)

110 E ya (.) sigo con las che

110 "I'll continue with the che"

111 (0.5)

112 F (NAME) (.) MIRE QUE MI HERMANO (.) FUE EL QUE ME PEGO:::

112 "(Z1), SEE MY BROTHER (B) IT WAS HIM WHO HIT ME"

113 B °<yo no soy tu hermano>°

113 "I'm not your brother"

1 B <venga (.) coloquemo' otro juego>  
 1 "right, lets play other game"  
 2 (.)  
 3 B <y juga en su face (.) ci[er]to?>  
 3 and you play on your Face, right?" ((Facebook reference))  
 4 E [yo]?  
 4 "me"  
 5 (0.3)  
 6 B si  
 6 "yes"  
 7 (0.5)  
 8 E yo manejejo  
 8 "I'm in control"  
 9 B bueno  
 9 "ok"  
 10 (1.9)  
 11 A colo[qu]e lo' demás  
 11 "I can find the rest"  
 12 B ↑[si]  
 12 "yes"  
 13 B ↓si::  
 13 "yes"  
 14 (0.7)  
 15 E apena' (.) ya le digo  
 15 "only, I'm telling him"  
 16 (0.4)  
 17 B quien?  
 17 "who?"  
 18 (.)

19 E       ↑ya (.) vengo  
19           "its my turn now"  
20 A       °ca[lle]°  
20           "shut up"  
21 B       `[per]e(.)si (0.3) no (.) pero ese iban (.)no?(.)`pere (.)`pere  
21           "wait, yes, no but you went, no?, wait, wait"  
22           (0.8)  
23 B       ↑erm::  
24 A       °erm::  
25           (1.2)  
26 A       °a [borrar] (.) a b[orrar]°  
26           "erase, erase"  
27 B       [avent]tura     [aven]tura  
27           "aventura, aventura"  
28           (.)  
29 B       que va (.) aquí (.) antes (.) `pere  
29           "you're joking, here, before, be patient"  
30 A       °no hay (.) no hay \*°  
30           "there's no, there's no \*"  
31           (0.9)  
32 F       y (na[me])  
32           "and (E)  
33 B       `[pe]re (.) vea (1.2) ↓ah::  
33           "wait, look, ah"  
34           (1.4)  
35 F       °a'ora (0.3) bien°  
35           "ok, now"  
36           (0.6)  
37 B       no () (.) pere (0.3) pegaba (2.6) pegaba (2.5) si (0.4)>no:::(.)que  
38           [pegaba]<  
37           "don't \*, wait , its pasted, its pasted, yes, no, its



58 B >ɛ[aventuya (.) aventuja]ɛ<  
58 "aventuya, aventuja"  
59 A (h) (1.5) °espere:: (.) cual es la e:ray?°  
59 "wait, which is the 'r'?"  
60 (0.8)  
61 B cual?  
61 "which"  
62 A la e:ray  
62 "the 'r'"  
63 (4.7)  
64 A es esta  
64 "its this one"  
65 B °↑um° (0.9) >la e:ray<  
65 "um, the 'r'"  
66 (1.0)  
67 A °ay (0.4) mire (0.8) ah: (.) >a:ventu< (0.6) e:ray (.) ah  
67 "ay. look, ah, 'r', 'a', aventura here"  
68 (2.2)  
69 A >aventura< (2.5) acá°  
69 "aventura, here"

1 A no mueva nada(0.9)incluso(1.0) colocando juegos a su hermano?(1.9)  
 2 cierto?  
 1 "dont move anything, even, finding your brother's games?  
 2 ok?"  
 3 E ↑si (.) no moleste (1.0) >na[me]<  
 3 "ok, dont interfere, (F)"  
 4 F [voy] a mirar una cosa (0.4) °con ese°  
 4 " I'm going to look at something, with that"  
 5 (1.1)  
 6 A no::: ((A→F))  
 6 "no"  
 7 (2.3)  
 8 F a ver (.) ↑ya: ((F→B))  
 8 "now, let's see"  
 9 (.)  
 10 B si (.) este ahi  
 10 "yes, that there"  
 11 A me coloque (.) le coloco  
 11 "I can find, I'll find for you"  
 12 (0.6)  
 13 A ah: (.) vea (0.5) >eso (.) se lla:ma<  
 13 "ah, look, that one is called"  
 14 (1.8)  
 15 A >espere< (1.8) ese se llama (.) juegos  
 15 "be patient, that one is called, games"  
 16 (4.8)  
 17 A °juegos colocan (.) juegos de asi (1.5) ese°  
 17 "here are some games, games like this, that one"  
 18 (1.4)

19 A mire (.) le estoy colocando los juegos  
19 "look, I'm finding games for you"  
20 (0.4)

21 A podemo' jugar (.) los dos?  
21 "we can play, the two of us?"  
22 (0.5)

23 E ↑si (.) pero yo manejo  
23 "yes, but I'm in control"

24 A ↑si (1.5) ↑ah (.) mire (0.9) >connectar<  
24 "ok. ah, look, with the taxi"  
25 (0.8)

26 E i- (.) moto (.) una moto  
26 "e-, motorbike, a motorbike"  
27 (0.5)

28 A el de las motos  
28 "one of the motorbikes"  
29 (3.5)

30 E >y yo manejo<  
30 "and I'm in control"  
31 (0.3)

32 A si (1.3) mueva aquí (0.4) °`spere°  
32 "ok, move here, be patient"  
33 (3.4)

34 A mire  
34 "look"  
35 (0.8)

36 E <↑ah (.) e- (.) este>  
36 "ah, th-, this one"  
37 (0.6)

38 A no (.) porque ese >movi(.)star< (.) e' lo mínimo  
38 "no, because that movistar is the minimum"



39 (2.3)

40 A o mejor (.) lo coloco en point?

40 "or better I put you in 'point'"

41 E no

41 "no"

42 (0.6)

43 A frick? (0.7) juegos?

43 "frick, games?"

44 (.)

45 E >↓juegos<

45 "games"

46 (3.0)

47 E [er::: ] (.) <motos> (.) motos

47 "er, motorbikes, motorbikes"

48 A <[se fue] (.) ya>

48 "its already gone"

49 (0.5)

50 A °ah (.) ↓no (.) por aca (.) un carro°

50 "ah, no, this is a car"

51 (1.2)

52 E >que pasó?<

52 "what happened?"

53 (0.6)

54 A °espere°

54 "be patient"

55 B que el bobo (.) lo quitó

55 "the silly boy lost it"

56 (1.7)

57 A °>yo soy bobo ese< °

57 "I'm that silly boy"

58 (1.1)

59 A si yo fuera bobo (.) le diría (.) foh (.) mire (.) \*f  
59 If I were a silly boy, I would tell him, oh, look,"  
60 (2.7)

61 E ↓ya  
61 "now"  
62 (2.3)

63 A no (.) es que le pongo (.) colocar juegos  
63 "no, I'm searching for games for you"  
64 (9.3)

65 A °↓ay (0.8) le voy a colocar [su jue]go°  
65 "ay, I'm going to find you your game"  
66 E [motos]  
66 "motorbikes"  
67 (0.6)

68 A el de motos? (.) cual era?  
68 "one of the motorbikes? which one was it?"  
69 (.)

70 B ↓uh (.) no se  
70 "uh, I don't know"  
71 (0.5)

72 E esta (1.2) °esta (.) esta (1.3) [esta]°  
72 "this one, this one, this one, this one"

73 A °[por]qué no° (0.3) ya (.) lo vi  
73 "why no, ok, I saw it"  
74 (1.4)

75 A °'pere (0.7) buscando juegos ojos°  
75 "wait, I'm looking for the 'eyes' games"  
76 (1.0)

77 E UN CARRO (.) un carro (.) un carro  
77 "A CAR, a car, a car"  
78 (0.7)

79 A una moto? (.) lo que sea?  
79 "a motorbike? whatever?"  
80 (0.4)  
81 B no (.) aquí esta  
81 "look, its here"  
82 (0.5)  
83 A °esperese (0.7) no es°  
83 "wait, no it isn't"  
84 E <esa es la moto (.) esa es la moto (.) cojala>  
84 "that's the motorbike, that's the motorbike, get it"  
85 (0.6)  
86 A no: (.) >es que<  
86 "no, its that"  
87 (0.5)  
88 E ole (.) >cojala< (0.5) <COJALA MOTO>  
88 "come on, get it, GET THE MOTORBIKE"  
89 A 'pere (1.3) °↑heh°  
89 "be patient, heh"  
90 (2.1)  
91 A la moto?  
91 "the motorbike?"  
92 E <si (.) esa (.) esa>  
92 "yes, that one, that one"  
93 (0.7)  
94 A no (.) ve que ese (.) es ese  
94 "no, you see that one, its that one"  
95 E no  
95 "no"  
96 A es ese?  
96 its that one?"  
97 (.)

98 B no (.) es esto  
98 "no, its this one"  
99 (0.5)  
100 E ↓ay (.) es es:o (.) ole?  
100 "ay, its that one, hey"

1 A <esta cargando (.) de melas (0.3) de mi- (.) chocalas  
 1 "its loading, give it, from my, high five"  
 2 (7.9)

3 A 'aga asi (.) ↑mire  
 3 "it does it like this, look"  
 4 (1.2)

5 E (h)

6 A ·hhh (0.8) ↑oy (.) no sirve (.) ↑ay (.) ya  
 6 "oy, it doesn't work". "ay, now"  
 7 (1.8)

8 A <si?(.)ve que yo(.)soy(.)el mejor?>(0.9)en internet(0.8)mas que  
 9 este  
 8 "you see that I'm the better? on the internet, more than this  
 9 one"

10 E [(h)]

11 A [mas] que este (0.3) <mas que este (.) mas que este> (1.0) °(h)°  
 11 "more than this one, more than this one, more than this, hum"  
 12 (1.6)

13 E llegó  
 13 "it's here"  
 14 (0.8)

15 A °no° (1.0) 'spere (0.3) °\*°  
 15 "no, be patient"  
 16 (5.7)

17 A °mientras tanto (0.5) vamos a colocar (1.2) una cosa (.) si?°  
 17 "meanwhile, we can go and find, a thing, yes?"  
 18 (0.8)

19 E ↓oy (.) [pero]  
 19 "oy, but"

20 A °[mire] (.) (face) ° ((facebook))  
 20 "look, 'face' "  
 21 (0.3)  
 22 E ↓no:: (.) es que a[mor-]  
 22 no, its just that \*  
 23 A °[es que] (face) (.) mire (.) me interesa°  
 23 "it just the face, look, it interest me"  
 24 (0.7)  
 25 A ↑ay (.) ya (0.4) comenzo°  
 25 "ay, ya, it started"  
 26 (1.2)  
 27 E ay (.) ↓ya (.) motos  
 27 "ay, ya, motorbikes"  
 28 (1.2)  
 29 A °mire (.) tengo que seguir (.) siguiente°  
 29 "look, I have to continue, the next one"  
 30 (1.2)  
 31 E (NAME) (.) VEA (.) Y- (.) YA (.) YA PASÓ HARTI TIEMPO Y (.) YO  
 31 "(Z1), LOOK, NOW, IT'S GONE ALL THE TIME, AND, ME?"  
 32 (0.6)  
 33 A por eso::: (.) (name) (.) e- (0.5) es que (.) el no se ha coloca  
 34 un juego bien=  
 33 "thats why, (Z1), it, it's just, he doesn't know how to find a  
 34 good game"  
 35 E =<pero (.) es que (.) ya uste' (.) ya no puse (.) no>  
 35 "but, its just that you, still haven't found"  
 36 (.)  
 37 E <y no en esta juego (.) para jugar>  
 37 "this game, to play"  
 38 A mire(.)otra vez(.)tiene que cargar (0.6)todo manera(.)cierto?  
 38 "look, it has to load again, completely, ok?"

39 (0.5)

40 A de que se cargó? (.) con (0.5) ayer (.) tres veces (.) cierto?

40 "what did it load? with, yesterday, three times, right?"

41 (0.5)

42 A cambio sabe que yo(.)en(0.5)que(.)ese [sabe jugar]

42 "instead you know that me, the he knows how to play

43 E [mas (.) son] dos? (.) veces

44 "more, than twice?"

44 (0.4)

45 A de esa

45 "from that one"

46 (3.0)

47 A pero (.) °la se- (.) la segunda vez (.) se demora (0.3) ocho°

47 "but, the, the second time is delayed, eight"

48 (1.2)

49 A °·hhh (0.4) que bien que pidieron (.) las ninas°

49 "very good that somebody requested, the little girls"

50 (1.4)

51 A ·hhh (.) o quiere otra juego?(0.9) que no se demora nada

52 encarga?(0.3) no?

51 "or do you want another game? that is not so slow loading,

52 no?"

53 (0.7)

54 A <le- (.) le coloco un juego (.) que (.) no se (.) m:: (.) mire>

54 "I'll find another game, that, I don't know, look"

55 (0.3)

56 E °eso (.) no es (.) carga°

56 "that, it isn't loading"

57 (2.1)

58 A si?

58 "yes"

59 E o si? (.) ↑ya (.) me la pon::go (.) sol  
59 "or yes, I play, sun  
60 (2.1)  
60 E >este cargó<  
61 "this one has loaded"  
62 (1.5)  
63 A mire (0.7) es-  
63 "look, its"  
64 (2.7)  
65 A mire (.) vea (.) colocar una juego que uste' desea (0.5) si?  
65 "look, you see, I'll find a game that you want, ok?"  
66 (2.3)  
67 E °mire (.) cargó°  
67 "look, it loaded"  
68 (.)  
69 A ↑si:: (2.4) °no mueva nada°  
69 "ok, dont move anything"



1 A ↑si::: (2.5) °no mueva nada° (1.7) quiere del point?  
 1 "ok, don't move anything, do you want 'paint'"  
 2 (0.6)  
 3 E no:::  
 3 "no"  
 4 (0.6)  
 5 A ah::[::]?  
 5 "ah?"  
 6 E [bu]eno (.) ↑si (.) ↑si  
 6 "ok, yes, yes"  
 7 (.)  
 8 A point?  
 8 "paint"  
 9 (0.6)  
 10 E p- (.) pero (.) yo lo ago  
 10 "b, but I do it"  
 11 A si  
 11 "ok"  
 12 (2.6)  
 13 E ↑ay: (.) nena  
 13 "ay, little girl"  
 14 (0.4)  
 15 A 'spere (0.8) 'pere (.) le coloco (.) todo mi enseñanza  
 15 "be patient, wait, I'll find you all my instructions"  
 16 (0.9)  
 17 A [cual (.) colo]-  
 17 "which, I'll put-"  
 18 Z1 [que es esto ]? (.) paint?  
 18 "what is this, 'paint'?"

19 A poi:nt  
 19 "point"  
 20 Z1 paint (.) yeh (.) muy bien  
 20 "paint, yes, very good"  
 21 A [a'ora (.) que color quiere? (0.3) [amarrito]?  
 21 now, what color do you want? yellow?  
 22 E >[amarri::::::::::to]< [amarrill]o  
 22 "yellow" "yellow"  
 23 (0.9)  
 24 E ↑rojo  
 24 "red"  
 25 A rojo (0.9) acá no hay  
 25 "there's no red here"  
 26 (0.3)  
 27 E ↑si (.) véalo  
 27 "yes, I see it"  
 28 (0.9)  
 29 Z1 y se puede desenar un anuncio (.) no?  
 29 "and you can design an advert, no?"  
 30 (0.6)  
 31 A °mire (0.5) ↑ya (0.6) este  
 31 "look, now, this one"  
 32 (0.6)  
 33 E [no] (.) es  
 33 "no it isn't"  
 34 A [no] (.) solo-  
 34 "no, only-"  
 35 E [no] (.) es  
 35 "no it isn't"  
 36 A [no] [es]  
 36 "no it isn't"

37 (0.3)

38 A oprima ese? (.) y muévela así

38 "press that one? and move it like this"

39 (2.5)

40 E este?

40 "this one?"

41 (0.7)

42 A no (0.6) oprima (0.7) mire (0.6) cuan::-

42 "no, press, look, when--"

43 (.)

44 E [con este]?

44 "with this one?"

45 A [su-(.)us]tedes(0.3)con ese dedito(.) oprima (.) no (0.6) y con

46 este (.) manejele

45 "you, with that little finger, press the key, no, and with this

46 one, move it"

47 (2.5)

48 A ay (.)lo que quiera?(3.3)°oprima°(0.4) se lo puedo oprimir?(.)yo?

48 ah, what do you want? press? can I press?, me ?"

49 E ↓no

49 "no"

50 A no (0.3) se lo (.) oprimo y uste' (.) lo hace?

50 "no, can I hit the key and you will do it?"

51 (3.5)

52 E ↑ole (.) ↓no:

52 "hey, no"

53 (0.8)

54 A por eso (.) le digo que yo se lo oprimo

54 "thats why, I telling you that I hit the key"

55 (1.5)

56 E callese (.) que estoy haciendo una cosa::

56 "shut up, that I'm doing something"

57 B [(h)]

58 E [(h)]

59 A unos garabatos

59 "some lines"

60 E (h)

61 A >les traigo el borrador?<

61 "do you want the eraser?"

62 (0.5)

63 E si=

63 "yes"

64 A =>eso es:: (.) todo chimba<

64 "thats super cool"

65 (4.1)

66 A donde esta?

66 "where is it?"

67 (4.9)

68 A °no (.) ese no es el borrador°

68 "no, it isnt an eraser"

69 E ↑[s]i

69 "yes"

70 B °[es] ese (.) tan bobo°

70 "and that one, is so stupid"

71 (0.6)

72 E >↑si (.) ↑ese (.) ↑ese<

72 "yes, that one, that one"

73 A °lo es? (.) espero que si°

73 "is it? I hope so"

74 (2.8)

75 A °(name) (.) voy a elegir (.) un nombre al (.) un color°

75 "(E), I'm going to choose a name for the colour.

76 (1.6)

77 A mire (.) asi (1.9) `sperese (.) lo `ago (.) hermano

77 "look, like this, wait, I'll do it, brother"

78 (3.9)

79 A donde esta?

79 "where is it?"

80 (2.1)

81 A mire

81 "look"

82 (0.9)

83 E a'o[ra]

83 now

84 A ↑[ya] (.) mire

84 "now, look"

85 (0.4)

86 E `pere (.) yo [borro]

86 "I erase"

87 A [borre] (.) todo (.) borre

87 "I erased, everything, I erased"

88 E yo borro (.) todo=

88 "I erase everything"

89 A =°mire°

89 "look"

90 (.)

91 B con este?

91 "with this?"

92 (2.4)

93 A `sperese (.) la agrando\*

93 "wait, i'll make it bigger"

94 (1.2)

95 B °uste' (.) lo eres (.) tan bobo°

95 "you are really stupid"  
96 (0.6)  
97 A cual es?  
97 "which is it?"  
98 (0.7)  
99 E que?  
99 "what?"  
100 (0.3)  
101 B °↓no°=  
101 "no"  
102 A =no (.) con es::te (.) mire (.) >se borra<  
102 "no, with this, look, you erase"  
103 (3.4)  
104 E ↑oy (.) sirve  
104 "oy, it works"  
105 (.)  
106 B (h)

1 E °hum:: (.) hum:: (.) hum::°  
 2 B <otra vez (.) dibujos (.) ma' bonito>  
 2 "again, images, more beautiful"  
 3 (1.0)  
 4 B sabes cual es? (0.4) °no°  
 5 "do you know which it is? no"  
 6 (0.7)  
 7 B se lo muestro? (1.1) si? (1.5) se lo muestro?  
 7 "shall I show it to you? yes? shall I show it to you?"  
 8 (1.4)  
 9 E porque no me deja manejar?  
 9 "why not let me have control?\*"  
 10 (.)  
 11 B <cuales (.) juego? ese?>  
 11 "which, game? that one?"  
 12 E todo (.) le movió algo para coger (.) todovia  
 12 "everything, you moved something in order to get the life "  
 13 (0.5)  
 14 B ↓no::  
 14 "no"  
 15 (0.3)  
 16 E °>uste le movio algo< (.) ¡aysh°  
 16 "you moved something, aysh"  
 17 (.)  
 18 B debe de jugar ese juego (.) o se lo quitó  
 18 "stop playing that game, or it will stop  
 19 (0.4)  
 20 E bueno (.) un- (.) un- (.) un juego mas bonito  
 20 "ok, a, a, a more beautiful game"

21 (2.5)

22 E el chino (.) ¡no que (.) no sube (.) ¡no (.) siga a me

23 "the guy, no, no above, no, you follow me"

24 B este (.) mire (.) de motos también (0.3) mire

24 "this one, look, motorbikes as well, look"

25 (1.6)

26 B oiga(.)nunca se meta a jugar eso asi(.)si?(.) si? (.) así? (.) si?

26 "listen,you never play that game like this.yes?yes?like this,yes?"

27 (1.8)

28 B solo a ver (3.1) <solo a ver (.) solo a ver>

28 "only to look, only to look, only to look"

29 (0.8)

30 E yo quiero (.) oysh: (2.0) ¡osh:

30 "I want, oysh, osh"

31 (1.2)

32 E y eso (.) que es?

32 "and that, what is it?"

33 (1.4)

34 B no (.) estaba viendo un sitio

35 "no,I was looking at a site" (presumably a website)

36 (4.7)

37 B °↑ay::°

37 "ay"

38 E la moto

38 "the motorbike"

39 (0.6)

40 B que esa ¡no: (.) o:tras

40 "not that one, others"

41 (0.9)

42 B mira (.) acá esta

42 "look, here it is"



43 (14.5)

44 B <↑si (.) ↑siga (.) o sino le coloco la moto (.) esa>

45 "yes, you continue, otherwise I'll play the motorbikes, that one,"

46 (1.9)

47 B mire ahi (.) tiene motos bacanas

48 look, there are cool motorbikes here

49 (5.2)

50 E oy: (.) es así

50 "oy, that one yes"

51 (8.4)

52 B °↓no::(.).catorce(0.4) quince (1.3)↓oy(.).siete(1.3) dieci (.) ocho°

52 "no, fourteen, fifteen, oy, seven, teen,eight"

53 (2.8)

54 E listo?

54 "ready?"

55 (0.5)

56 B >espérese< (.) que toca ir con las cosas (.) así

56 "wait, because we have to go with the things like that"

57 (1.6)

58 B <no (.) no se (.) se puede>

58 ", no, you can"

59 (1.2)

60 E `tadañada

60 "its broken"

61 (18.1)

62 B otro

62 "another"

63 (.)

64 Z1 cinco minutos:: (.) cinco minutos:: (0.5) nada mas

64 "five minutes, five minutes, no more"

65 (.)

66 Z1 chicos (.) chicas (0.3) °chica?°  
66 boys, girls, girl?  
67 (0.7)

68 B °oh (.) chicas°  
68 "oh, girls"  
69 (1.0)

70 E >si ve un moto<  
70 "you can see a motorbike"  
71 (0.4)

72 B †ay:: (.) >esperese:<  
72 "ah, will you wait"  
73 (8.8)

74 B de barba  
75 "the beard"  
76 (0.7)

77 E de barba †asi  
77 the beard like this"  
78 (1.3)

79 B †hay (.) dos (.) este? (0.3) o este?  
79 "there are two, this one, or this one?"  
80 (0.3)

81 E este  
81 "this one"  
82 (27.7)

83 B que movió?  
83 "what did you move?"  
84 (0.9)

85 E na::da  
85 "nothing"  
86 (2.0)

87 B °um? (.) que es esto?°

87 "um, what's this?"  
88 (0.7)  
89 E ah?  
90 (0.6)  
91 B °no se puede quedar uste(.)en este?°  
91 "can you stay in this one?  
92 (2.9)  
93 B °listo (2.7) esta jugando(.) (0.4) mire°  
93 "ready, you're playing, look"  
94 (0.9)  
95 E †oysh::: (0.6) sirve?  
95 "oysh, does it work?"  
96 (2.1)  
97 B †si (.) le toca llegar (.) desde aca (.) sacar desde acaa  
97 "yes. you have to arrive here and there"  
98 (1.8)  
99 E hasta acá::? (.) y hasta acá?  
99 "till this one here? and this one here?"  
100 (1.0)  
101 E °pere°  
101 "wait"  
102 (8.6)

1 A ↑ay: (0.3) profe (.) como s'éscribe la b?  
 1 "ay, teacher, how do you spell the b?"  
 2 (2.7)  
 3 A (name)(.)como s'escribe la b(.)de par' abajo (.) pa' el otro lau?  
 3 "Z1, how do the spell the b, below, or the other side?"  
 4 (1.0)  
 5 D ↑pa' (.) ya:: (.) o pa' ya  
 5 "there or there"  
 6 (0.3)  
 7 A pa' ya  
 7 "there"  
 8 (8.5)  
 9 A ↑um[:::~:]  
 9 "um"  
 10 D [pere] (.) préstela  
 10 "wait, let me have a go"  
 11 (1.1)  
 12 D um:: (.) 'pere  
 12 "um, wait"  
 13 (0.6)  
 14 A ↑uh (.) pegamos toda la noche [( ) ]  
 14 "uh, we hit all night "  
 15 D ['pere] (.) 'pere  
 15 "wait, wait"  
 16 (0.6)  
 17 A >°yo (0.5) yo::°<  
 17 "me, me"  
 18 D 'pere (.) yo (0.3) [búsquemela]  
 18 "wait, me, search for it!"

19 A °>[ dibu::jos ] para<°  
19 " images for "  
20 (.)  
21 A no (.) [ya]  
21 "no, now"  
22 D †[um] (.) búsqumela [()]  
22 "um, search for it!"  
23 A [ay] (.) no (.) n:  
23 "ay, no, n"  
24 (.)  
25 A °<no no no no no no no no no no no>°  
25 "no no no no no no no no no no no"  
26 (.)  
27 D ay::  
27 "ay"  
28 A †hah (.) con esta de pronto=  
28 "hah, now this one"  
29 D =con †es:ta  
29 "with this"  
30 (0.8)  
31 D no  
31 "no"  
32 A ay (0.4) s:pere (.) que (.) s:pere  
32 "ay, wait, wait"  
33 (.)  
34 D <deje a mi>  
34 "let me do it"  
35 D es es:ta  
35 "its this"  
36 (.)  
37 A deje a mi (.) que yo co!gí=

37 "let me, I've got it"

38 D =mi:re

38 "look"

39 (2.4)

40 D es:: (.) cual? (.) cual? (.) es:ta

40 "its, which one? which one? this one"

41 (0.5)

42 A ↓no (.) ↑si

42 "no, yes"

43 (.)

44 D ↑mire

44 "look"

45 (0.8)

46 A oy ↑no::

46 "oy no"

47 (0.6)

48 A (h) [oy]:: (h)

48 "oy"

49 D [oy]

49 "oy"

50 (.)

51 A ↑°hum°

51 "hum"

52 (0.3)

53 A (h) oy:: (h)

53 "oy"

54 (.)

55 D £huh (.) ↑la::£

55 "huh, the"

56 (.)

57 A (h)

57 "h"  
58 (.)  
59 D `pere  
59 "wait"  
60 (0.7)  
61 A `spere  
61 "wait"  
62 (0.5)  
63 D †si [vio (0.6) (h)] (0.7) ·hhh  
63 "did you see?"  
64 A †[di::::bujos]  
64 "images"  
65 (3.0)  
66 A (h) (0.8) (h)  
67 (.)  
68 D °(h)°  
69 (0.6)  
70 A †amor y paz:‡  
70 love and peace  
71 (1.7)  
72 D ca:‡hito  
72 "a little horn"  
73 (1.3)  
74 A (h) le hice cachos hasta el (h)  
74 "I made horns for him"  
75 (0.5)  
76 D yo le hice un un ca:‡hito (.) (h)  
76 "I did a little horn"  
77 (0.5)  
78 A di:bu (.) jo (.) jo (.) jo (.) jo (.) jo::::[::]  
78 "image ge, ge, ge, ge, ge"

79 D [a] mi (.) (name)

79 "to me, Z1

80 (2.2)

81 D °mi:cul jackson::° (.) ah[::]

81 "michael jackson, ah"

82 A MI:(.)[C]UL JACKSON (.) ↑ow::

82 "MICHAEL JACKSON, ow"

83 (2.3)

84 D que le pasó?

84 "what happened?"

85 ( 1.5)

86 A di[bu(.)jos]:

86 "images"

87 Z1 [no lo se]

87 "I don't know"

88 (.)

89 Z1 no lo se

89 "I don't know"

90 (.)

91 A pa:ra

91 "for"

92 (0.7)

93 D se la:pago?

93 "it switched itself off?"

94 (.)

95 A no

95 "no"

96 (0.7)

97 A >para::< (.) <para (.) para (.) ple> (0.3) [no]

97 for, for, for, ple, no

98 Z1 te [mo]viste



98 "you moved"

99 (0.4)

100 D †pa

100 "fo"

101 A pa: (.) ra:

101 "for"

102 (1.3)

103 D la:: (.) ling::

103 "the ling"

104 (.)

105 A >para (0.3) pin< (1.7) pintar

105 "for pai, painting"

106 (1.1)

107 D pintar?

107 "painting"

108 (2.7)

109 A <(name) (.) si ve que ya no soy envidioso?>

109 "(Z1),he knows that I am not jealous?"

110 (2.4)

111 D pero (.) no me deja escribir a mi

111 "but , you wont let me write to me"

112 (0.3)

113 A †ha

113 "ha"

114 (1.2)

115 A ni sa:be (0.6) †pin: (0.3) †tar::

115 "you don't know, how to paint"

116 (1.8)

117 D †ya se

117 "I know"

118 (1.4)

119 A permiso (.) ↑ah ( ) >pintar<  
119 excuse me, ah, paint  
120 (1.1)  
120 D >esta es rápido<  
120 "this is fast"  
121 (3.3)  
122 A pin (.) tar  
122 pai-nt  
123 (1.2)  
124 A °um (1.6) 'pere (.) pintar°  
124 "um, wait, paint"  
125 D no  
125 no  
126 (0.3)  
127 A porque sino (.) mire  
127 because otherwise, look  
128 (0.5)  
129 A >'ta conectau (.) mire (0.5) conectau<  
129 "its connected, look, connected"  
130 (1.2)  
131 D °si (.) solo ese°  
131 "ok, only that one"  
132 (0.4)  
133 A ta (1.7) pun::to  
133 "\*, dot"  
134 (1.0)  
135 D pun:to  
135 "dot"  
136 A co:m  
136 "com"  
137 (2.0)

138 A °la n:ne°  
138 "the n"  
139 (1.0)  
140 D c[om::]  
140 "com"  
141 A °[ \* ] (.) com::°  
141 " \* com"  
142 (0.9)  
143 A (name) (.) ya  
143 "done, Z1"  
144 (1.9)  
145 Z1 [que]?  
145 what?  
146 D [mire] (.) (name) (.) 'pere (1.0) ahi (.) dice otra cosa  
146 "look,Z1, wait, there it says another thing"  
147 (1.1 )  
148 D co::m (2.1) la (.) m::[may]  
148 "com. the M"  
149 A [con]  
149 "con"  
150 (1.2)  
151 D m:may (.) n:nay (.) m:may (.) m:may (.) m:may  
151 "m, n, m, m, m"  
152 (1.4)  
153 A espérense borra:: (.) ↓oy (1.6) >borra::<  
153 "wait erase, oy". "erase".  
154 ( )  
155 D ↑ow::  
155 "ow"  
156 A ↑si (.) con (0.7) com  
157 "ok, con, com"

158 (1.0)  
158 D com (.) qui- (0.5) quitar eso  
159 (0.6)  
160 A >conquistar::<  
160 "conquer"  
161 (3.1)  
161 D isa (0.8) esa (3.3) (name)  
161 "that one, that one. Z1"  
162 (2.4)  
163 A tut (.) ella a la bella (.) frágil (.) >como una ros<  
163 tut, she's beautiful, fragile as a rose

1 A ↑hum (0.4) yo soy jugando juegos ojos (.) si e-  
 1 "hum, I'm playing the 'eyes' games, yes e"  
 2 (1.0)

3 A yo soy jugando juegos ojos si son todos bacanos  
 3 "I'm playing the eyes games because they're cool"  
 4 (2.6) (D arrives)

5 A ↓ay:(.)que aca-(.)cier:to que estan bacano' nuestro juegos ojos?  
 5 ay, here, its certain that our 'eyes' games are cool?  
 6 (1.5)

7 D ↑ahorita (.) sigo yo  
 7 "ay, I'm next"  
 8 (1.0)

9 A esper:ese (0.9) no ve (.) que estoy jugándoles?  
 9 "wait, oy, cant you see that I'm playing this?".  
 10 (9.0)

11 D °con ese° (1.1) °ella°  
 11 "with that". "that"  
 12 (8.2)

13 D ya se le a:caba  
 13 "soon you will be finished"  
 14 (.)

15 A °uh:um°  
 15 "uh hum"  
 16 (3.0)

17 D sigo  
 17 "my turn"  
 18 (1.0)

19 A no: (.) espere  
 19 "no, wait"

20 (2.6)

21 A venga mire (.) quien gano? (1.2) si (0.3) °[ya] () °

21 "ok look, who won?". "yes, now \*

22 D [ya]

22 "ok"

23 (˘1.5)

24 D gane guevon

24 I can win mate

25 (2.3)

26 A no (.) mire

26 no, look

27 D ↑eh

27 "eh"

28 (.)

29 A me [toca otra] vez

29 "its my turn again"

30 D >[me toca] <

30 "eh, my turn"

31 (.)

32 D me to::ca=

32 "my turn"

33 A =me toca [po]rque yo gane=

33 "its my turn because I won"

34 D [hh] ((D leaves seat))

34 "hh"

35 D =hh (.) ↑yo ↓vi::

35 "hh, I saw"

36 (2.4)

37 D >no quiere compartir<

37 "you don't want to share"

38 (1.9)

39 A no(.)pero(name)(.)ga:ne(1.2)entonces que'ago si ga:[ne]?

39 "no, but (Z1),I won". "what can I do if I won?"

40 D [si]:ga(.) ↑no

40 "my turn, no"

41 (0.4)

42 A si [gane:]

42 "if I win"

43 D [pero ] (.) sigo yo

43 "but me next"

44 (0.6)

45 A por e:so (.) <pero no me importa> (.) gane

45 "true, but it doesn't matter, I won"

46 (.)

47 D no:

48 A no (.) gane=

48 "no, I won"

49 D =no importa

49 "it doesn't matter"

50 (0.3)

51 A ↓gane

51 "I won"

52 (.)

53 Z2 jueguen entre los dos (.) (name)

53 "you can play between the two of you, (A)"

54 (0.3)

55 A pero es que eso le (0.3) es que (.) el quiere jugar juegos ojo'

55 "but its that,its that, he wants to play the 'eyes' games"

56 (0.3)

57 A [pues] (.) yo juego

57 "well, I'm going to play"

58 D [ojos]

58 "eyes"

59 (.)

60 D pero

60 "but"

61 (1.7)

62 A listo (.) yo no voy a jugar juegos ojos

62 "ok , I'm not going to play the 'eyes' games"

63 (1.4)

64 D yo no se (.) yo le digo a (name) (.) que no se mete:

64 I don't know I'll tell (Z1) that you are not accessing

65 (6.0)

66 A <yo no me quiero meter en esta bobada?>

66 "I'm not going to get involved in this silliness?"

67 (0.4)

68 D no es un bobada (.) es un juego

68 "it's not silliness, it's a game"

69 (4.3)

70 D pero además (.) me tocaba a mi

70 "besides, it was my turn"

71 (4.0)

72 A †hum (4.7) (h)

72 "hum"

73 (2.3)

74 D °ya se que le espicha (1.7) por que no me oye°

74 "I know what you press, because you're not listening to me"

75 (2.0)

76 A °uh †hum°

76 "uh hum"

77 (0.8)

78 D °ay:: (.) (h)°

78 "ay"



79           (.)  
80    A       huh  
80           "huh"  
81    D       es- (.) mire (.) esta otra [ese]  
81           "es-, look, this other one, that one"  
82    A                                       [boba] ()  
82                                       "stupid \*"

1 Z1 deje (name) (.) [(name)] jugar (.) ok (0.8) (name)  
 1 "let (D), (D) play ok, (A)"  
 2 D ↑ya [turno]  
 3 "in turns my turn"  
 4 (1.1)  
 5 A espere(.) (name) (.) que voy hacer?(.) un(.) [dos(.) tres(.) cuatro]  
 5 "wait, (Z1), what am I going to do? one, two, zero, three, four"  
 6 Z1 [no no no (.) (name)]  
 6 "no no no, (A)"  
 7 (0.6)  
 8 A °↓uhm (.) pero [que ]-°  
 8 "uhm, but its just"  
 9 D [↑ya] (.) tur:no  
 10 "now, its my turn"  
 11 (0.7)  
 12 A es que 'sa me la tum[ba]  
 12 "its that one will fall"  
 13 D [no] (0.5) no espiche es:te (0.6) no (.)  
 14 venga (.) venga espere  
 13 "no, dont press this one, no, ok,  
 14 ok, wait"  
 15 (.)  
 16 D [no (0.4) no] (0.4) no::: (0.5) no:  
 16 "no, no, no, no  
 17 A °>[con este a]ca°<  
 18 (0.5)  
 19 A cual, (.) este?=  
 19 "which, this one?"  
 20 D =venga (.) no (0.3) no (.) no no (.) corra

20 ok, no, no, no no, run

21 A ↓oy::

21 "oy"

22 (0.5)

23 D no (0.3) ↓no (0.8) no ↓ lo corra

23 no, no, don't run"

24 (0.7)

25 A pero entonces (.) que es?

25 "in which case, what?"

26 D no lo corra

26 " don't run"

27 (.)

28 A no ve [que] es que (.) tengo [buscar] (.) ↓ah::

28 "don't you see that I have to search, ah"

29 D °↑[oy:]° °[venga]°

29 "oy" "come on"

30 (.)

31 D usted no sabe

31 "you don't know"

32 (2.4)

33 D yo no se e:se (1.3) um (.) miramos ese jugar (.) e:se

33 "I dont know that one". "um, lets look at that game, that one

34 (1.0)

35 D mire(1.3)mire (0.6) (no queda alla) (1.1)venga(.) yo 'ace jugar e:se

35 "look". "look, don't stay there". "right, I want to play that one"

36 (0.3)

37 A ↓huh

38 (0.7)

39 D e:se(.)yo 'ace jugar (1.0) porque me ponga (.) tiene uno de e:so

39 "that one,I want to play, because I can play, it has one of those"

40 (0.7)

41 A un ojo?  
 41 "an eye?"  
 42 (0.4)  
 43 D ↑si: (0.9) °si:°  
 43 "yes, yes"  
 44 (3.5)  
 45 A a ver(.)dele(1.0)tiene que buscar las[parej]as(.)yluego me toca mi  
 45 "ok,you do it.you have to search for the pair,and then its my turn  
 46 D [si:]  
 46 "ok"  
 47 (1.0 ) ((assumes relinquishes k/b))  
 48 A ·hhh  
 49 (2.7)  
 50 A venga (.) primera ese [me to]- (.) o primera e::se  
 50 "come on, first that one, or first that one"  
 51 °[pere]°  
 52 (.) ((A resumes control))  
 53 D no:: (.) <prim'a (.) quie:ro>  
 53 "no, I dont want to"  
 54 A °o prim'a ese°  
 54 or first that one"  
 55 (0.5)  
 56 D <bueno>  
 56 "ok"  
 57 (1.5)  
 58 A mire lo que 'ace (1.0 ) espere que (.) >°no coge°<  
 59 "look what you've done. wait, leave it"  
 60 (2.0)  
 61 D <mire>=  
 61 "look"  
 62 A =cual quiere?



81 D mira (.) asi o que?  
81 look, like this or what?  
82 (0.3)  
83 A luego (1.0) corra  
83 "later, its running"  
84 (1.2)  
85 D °ay (.) a mi (.) ya se°  
85 "ay, to me, I know"  
86 A °luego (.) corra a:si° (2.0) luego me toca a mi  
86 "later you run like this". "later its my turn"  
87 (2.6)  
88 D ya aprendió?  
88 "you've learned?"  
89 (1.5)  
90 A °um:::° (.) ya  
90 "um, ok"  
91 D espéreme (0.4)[espere que no]:>la metió al bus< ( ) mire (.) mire  
91 "wait, wait, don't put it on the bus, look look"  
92 A [no:(.)espere]  
92 "no, wait"  
93 (.)  
94 A espérese (.) no  
94 "wait, no"  
95 (0.3)  
96 D mi:cul (.) °mi[re]°  
97 A [es] que mire (.) yo lo [coloco]  
97 "its that look, I can find it"  
98 D [°spere (.) °spere]  
98 "wait, wait"  
99 Z1 [name) (.) (name)]  
99 "A, A"

100 A es que s[olo]:-(.) es que (.) mire (.) [a:c]á e:so  
100 "I just I only, its just that, look, its here"  
101 Z1 [tran]quilo  
101 "calm down"  
102 D [es] eh [eh]  
102 "its" "eh" "eh"  
103 (0.5)  
104 A <ese no que no me-> (.) no le deja jugar  
104 "that one is not doesn't -, it wont let you play"  
105 (.)  
106 D > (name)<  
106 " (Z1)"  
107 (0.3)  
108 A mire (.) lo de [voy]a quitar es esto? (0.3) no puedo?  
108 "look, I'm going to remove this? can't I?"  
109 D ↑[va]  
110 D ↑uhm  
110 "uhm"  
111 (0.4)  
112 A ahora [si] e:le  
112 " now go ahead"  
113 [um]

1 A a: [cá] ((A points))  
 1 "here"  
 2 D °[m]ire (.) corazón (.) mire°  
 2 look, a heart, look"  
 3 A †huh (0.9) a'ora  
 3 "huh, here"  
 4 Z2 por que has compartir?  
 4 "why are you sharing?"  
 5 (2.0)  
 6 A chocolate  
 6 "chocolate"  
 7 (0.6)  
 8 D porqué 'orita llegó mi:- (0.8) llegó (name)?  
 8 "because mi just arrived, (Z1) arrived"  
 9 (0.3)  
 10 D ay (.) †[si]  
 10 " ay, yes"  
 11 A ay:(.)[mi]re (.) no' faltan (.) una (.) dos (.) tres  
 11 "ay look, they're missing, one, two, three" ((A points))  
 12 (0.7)  
 13 D †um:: (.) [fa]lta-  
 13 "um, its missing"  
 14 A a'o[ra] (0.3) volteelo  
 14 "now, its upside down"  
 15 (0.8)  
 16 D nos falta muchos::  
 16 "there's a lot missing"  
 17 (0.8)  
 18 D no (.) toca (.) llevaremos



18 "um, you have to carry it where?"

19 A ↑°uh°

20 (3.0)

21 D >°um (.) [mire](.) ch[ ocol ] ate°<

21 "um look, chocolate"

22 A no <[arrib]a [arriba]>

23 "no, above, above"

24 D °espere°

24 "wait"

25 (8.0)

26 D °um::°

27 (1.1)

28 A °a'ora (.)el (ve::rde)(0.4) espéreme y vera ° (.) arriba (0.5 ) el

28 "now, the green, wait and see, above, it"

29 (1.8)

30 D °um:::: (.) corazon°

30 "um, heart"

31 (1.3)

32 D ya (.) e:se (0.4) tres

32 "ok, that one, three"

33 (.)

34 A a'ora(.)me toca mi (0.8)oy(.) me toca ser un:: corazón (.) ci °to°

34 "now, its my turn, oy, my turn to be a little heart"

35 (0.4)

36 D °el corazon° (0.6) >igualito ese<

36 "the heart, identical to that one"

37 (1.4)

38 D no (0.4) ↑ah: (.) si (0.9) pa:se

38 "no". "ah, yes, go"

39 (0.5)

40 D ↑um[:::] (.) que?

40 "um, what?"

41 A [(h)]

42 (0.8)

43 D °pere (.) vamos asi°

43 "wait we are going like this"

43 (7.2)

44 D la prof °e nos deajo con un chaleco°

44 "the teacher leave us with a vest"

45 (.)

46 A †oy (.) no

46 "oy, no"

47 (0.7)

48 D °si:° (1.0) no (0.6) <corazón> (0.4) <también>

48 "yes". "no, the heart, as well"

49 (1.0)

50 D °es eso (.) eso es°

50 "its that one, its that one"

51 (1.7)

52 D no:::: (.) botando aca: (0.6) no se acaba

52 "no, throwing out here, its not finished"

53 (0.9)

54 no (.) †v'luego acá (1.2) se deje °ese corazon°

54 no, and later here, leave that heart"

55 A (h)

56 (1.8)

57 D >páse::↓la< (1.3) pase:la

57 "pass it". "pass it"

58 A (h)

59 (5.2)

60 A <a'ora (.) dele us:[ted (.) yo]>

60 "now you give it to me"

61 D [me falta] uno a mi (0.4) mire (.) es:ta  
61 "I am missing one,look, this one"  
62 (0.9)  
63 D ↑mire::: (.) coles (.) donde esta? (1.0) ↑[um: (.) ↑um:] (.) um:  
63 "look, where is \*. "um, um, um"  
64 A [corazón ac]á  
64 "heart here"  
65 (1.2)  
66 A [(h)]  
67 D °[uhm]° (1.2) °uhm (0.3) ↑si (1.5) ↓si°  
67 "uhm". "uhm, yes". "yes"  
68 (1.5)  
69 Z1 que significa ↑esta (.) (name) ?  
69 "what does this mean, (D)?"  
70 (0.4)  
71 D que?  
71 "what"  
72 (0.3)  
73 A que tene[mo que `acer >past]elitos:<  
73 "we have to make little cakes"  
74 Z1 [que quieres `acer] ?  
74 "what do you want to do?"  
75 (0.8)  
76 Z1 que quieren `acer?  
76 "what do you want to do?"  
77 (0.5)  
78 D pas:[telit]os  
78 "little cakes"  
79 A [no::] (.) a: cá  
79 "no, here"  
80 (0.9)

81 A [ella]  
81 "it"  
82 D [ese]  
82 "that one"  
83 (0.3)  
84 A fe:se (.) no:: (.) a'[lau]::f (.) (h)  
84 "that, no, the one to the side, haha "  
85 D [(hh)]  
86 (.)  
87 A quieres que hacer? (.) fpastelitos (.) pastelitos (.) †ee::‡yan::f  
87 "what do you want to do?" "little cakes, little cakes, eeeyan"  
88 (0.8)  
89 A [ci:er]to?  
89 right?  
90 D [e:so]  
90 "that"  
91 (1.4 )  
92 D e:se (.) ya se ju:gar  
92 "that, I know how to play"  
93 (0.8)  
94 A corazón  
94 "heart"  
95 (2.3)  
96 A y a'ora (0.3) dele (.) dele (0.3) †gane  
96 "and now, hit it, hit it, you won"

1 D me meta- (.) no ( ) no:: (.) ↑ah (.) no (.) salgase  
 1 "go to, no, no, ah, no, leave this one"  
 2 (0.5)  
 3 D salge eso  
 3 "leave that one"  
 4 (1.8)  
 4 Z1 sabe donde es[ta]?  
 4 "do you know where you are?"  
 5 D [mi]re (.) este (1.0)  
 5 "look, this one,  
 6 (0.6)  
 7 Z1 muy bien  
 7 "very good"  
 8 (.)  
 9 D este (.) este (.) este (0.5) este  
 9 this one, this one, this one"  
 10 (0.7)  
 11 D es:piche  
 11 "press it"  
 12 (0.7)  
 13 D le deje que cargue  
 13 "let it load"  
 14 (4.6)  
 15 D esperen (.) no le haga nada::  
 15 "wait, don't do anything"  
 16 (2.6)  
 17 D ↑ya:: (.) ↓ya  
 17 "ok, ok"  
 18 (1.6)

19 D meterme () de en:carta para- (.) °meterme por mi°  
19 "go to encarta, for-, go there for me"  
20 (1.5)

21 A `spere (.) corr::a (0.9) un poquito  
21 "wait, its running, a little "  
22 (1.4)

23 A ow:: (.) es que (.) es alli  
23 "ow, its just that, its there  
24 (2.7) ((Z1 at k/b))

25 A ↑oy:: (.) me metio en:: (.) mo[zil]a (.) que le fire (.) fox  
25 "oy, he's opened Mozilla for me, rather than firefox ((engines))

26 Z1 [um]  
26 "um"

27 D (si)  
27 "yes"  
28 (1.0)

29 A a:ca?  
29 "here?"  
30 (.)

31 D en ese (.) si me metio en encarta (0.7) metió así  
31 "there, he has started Encarta for me, its started"  
32 (0.3)

33 D <dejeme (.) mi hermano>  
33 "let me, my brother"

34 A no:: (.) [déjeme °a mi]°  
34 no, leave it to me

35 D <[espere(.)es]pere>  
35 "wait, wait"  
36 (0.4)

37 D [es]te (.) [es]::te (.) es::te  
37 this, this

38 A [no] [no]  
38 "no" "no"  
39 (.)  
40 A de p- (.) [no] espere (.) [déjem]e mirar  
40 "from p-, no wait, let me see"  
41 D [eh] qu[e no::]  
41 eh "certainly not"  
42 (0.3)  
43 A >ju:: (.) [ju:::]:: (.) [gar] y [apre]nde<  
43 "pl,pl, ay and learn"  
44 Z1 [name] [name]  
44 "(A)" "(A)"  
45 D na[me]  
45 "Z1"  
46 D mire (.) [na]-  
46 look, (A)  
47 A [mi]re (.) aqui esta juega y aprende  
47 "look, here is play and learn"  
48 (0.4)  
49 D no::  
49 "no"  
50 (.)  
51 A no voy a ju:[gar]  
51 "I'm not going to play"  
52 D >[met]amenos en e-<  
52 "put us en e-"  
53 (.)  
54 D >[mi::re] (.) name<  
54 "Z1, look"  
55 A >[los cer]::o<  
55 "the zeros"

56 (.)

57 Z1 (name) (.) [na]me (.) [por favor]

57 "A, A, if you please"

58 A <[pero]> (.) [voy a jugar] (.) juega y aprenda

58 "but, I'm going to play, play and learn"

59 (.)

60 Z1 por [favor]

60 "please"

61 D [yo no] quiero jugar e:ste

61 "I dont want to play this one"

62 (0.4)

63 A y que (.) pero es que usted [no sabe ]

63 you don't know

64 D [yo quiero] jugar este

64 "I want to play this"

65 (.)

66 A entonces (.) [voy a jugar el de los egipcios?

66 "so, am I going to play one of the egyptians"

67 D [tampoco]

67 "neither"

68 (0.3)

69 Z1 deja (.) um:: (.) johan

69 let, um, johan

70 A no: (.) es que quiero jugar (.) [yo]

70 "no, its just that I want to play, me"

71 Z1 ma[ne]jar la [computador]

71 "control the computer"

72 A [seres de l]os

73 animales

72 "being one of the

73 animals"



74 (0.3)

75 D si:: (.) yo quiero jugar

75 "yes, I want to play"

76 (0.4)

77 A no

77 "no"

78 (0.7)

79 D aysh::

79 "aysh"

80 A pi::

80 "pi"

81 (1.2)

82 Z1 (name)

82 "(A)"

83 (0.8)

83 A voy (.) si quiero jugar un bobito

84 "I'm coming, but I want to play a silly thing"

85 (0.4)

86 D ay[sh] (.) [un bobito]

86 "aysh, a silly one"

87 A °[je]sus°

87 "jesus"

88 Z1 [si (.) yo] entiendo (.) pero

88 "yes, I understand, but"

89 (.)

90 A <esta bien (.) pero yo manejo>

90 "ok, but I'm in control"

91 (0.7)

92 D uh (.) >por que si[empre maneja?]<

92 "uh, why are you always drive"

93 Z1 [deje johan a m]ane[jar]

93 "let johan have control"

94 A [en]tonces(.) yo coloco

94 "ok then, I'll find"

95 (0.6)

96 A historias de los egipcios

96 "stories of the egyptians"

97 (.)

98 Z1 no: (.) deja a (name) a manejar (.) un rato (.) ↑ok

98 "no, let (D) have control for a little while, ok"

99 (0.5)

100 A ni sabe

100 "he does know"

101 (0.4)

102 D ay (.) como que [no:::]?

102 "ay, but why not?"

103 A [argh:]

103 "argh"

104 (.)

105 Z1 ay? (.) (name) (.) por favor (0.8) por favor

105 ay, (A), if you please, if you please

106 (.)

107 A ay? (.) mire (0.4) >antigua< (.) >seres< (.) vivos (.) si?

107 "ay, look, old living beings, yes?"

108 (0.5)

109 Z1 no quie[ro] volver a decirla

109 I dont want to repeat myself, please

110 D [no]?

110 "no"

111 (.)

112 Z1 [por favor]

112 "please"

113 D [ya (.) qui]ero meterme alla

113 "now, I want to go there"

1 A mire  
 1 "look"  
 2 Z1 ok (.) (name)  
 2 "ok, (D)"  
 3 A ↑oy (.) no: (.) mire  
 3 "oy, no, look"  
 4 (1.0)  
 5 A toca leer::  
 5 "you have to read"  
 6 (0.6)  
 7 D ay:: (.) no:: (.) saqueándonos de eso  
 7 "ay, no". "take us out of that"  
 8 A (h)  
 9 D yo no sabia que era eso  
 9 "I didn't know what was that"  
 10 A (h)  
 11 (.)  
 12 D subalo (1.6) bajelo (.) hi[jo]  
 12 "raise it, go down son, go down"  
 13 A [co]lloco (.) no [se]  
 13 "I dont know how to find it"  
 14 D [bajelo  
 14 "go down"  
 15 A ahí?  
 15 there?  
 16 (.)  
 17 D no:::  
 17 "no"  
 18 A ellos-

18 "they"

19 D que si (.) si (.) si

19 "certainly yes, yes, yes"

20 (0.4)

21 D si dejelo que si=

21 "yes, leave it ok "

22 A =°se ()°

22 "\*"

23 (1.2)

24 A <↑oy (.) venga> (.) [co]lloquemos-

24 "oy, right, we can look for"

25 D [eh]

25 "eh"

26 D no:::: (.) [dejelo alli]

26 "no, leave it there"

27 A [oy (.) mire]

27 "oy, look"

28 (1.8)

29 D dejelo ahi

29 "leave it there"

30 (1.9)

31 D dejelo °ahi°

31 "leave it there"

32 (1.8)

33 A va-

33 "go"

34 D >se salio<

34 "its gone"

35 (0.7)

36 A en cu[al quiere]?

36 which do you want?

37 D >[en:::::]<  
37 "in"  
38 (.)  
39 D >[e:::::se]<  
39 "that"  
40 A [o:: dep]or:: (.) o  
40 "or sport, or"  
41 (0.3)  
42 D no::  
42 "no"  
43 A >lenguas y in (.) [teriors]<  
43 "languages and interiors"  
44 D [no:::::]  
44 "no"  
45 (0.5)  
46 D yo [quiero leones]  
46 "I want lions"  
47 Z1 [(name) (.) ↑(na]me)  
47 "(A), (A)"  
48 (0.7)  
49 D (na[me])?  
49 "(A)"  
50 A [esp]ere  
50 "wait"  
51 (1.1)  
52 A ↓ah:: (.) es que no podemos ver historias egipcios?  
52 ay, so we can't see the egyptian stories?  
53 (0.3)  
54 D ↓°um:: (.) >no me gusta< (1.1) (h)°  
54 "um, I'm not interested"  
55 (2.0)

56 D >déjeme manejar en computador a mi (0.5) dele  
56 "let me control the computer". "give it"  
57 (.)  
58 A es que (.) mire (.) lo mismo  
58 "its just that, look, the same"  
59 (1.0)  
60 D `pere (0.3) `spe[re]  
60 "wait, wait"  
61 A [no] (.) díga[me cual]?  
61 "no, tell me which?"  
62 D [bajelo](.) bajelo  
62 "go down, go down"  
62 (.)  
63 A abajo  
63 "under"  
64 D bájelo  
64 "go down"  
65 (3.5)  
66 A me dice cual quiere leer?  
66 "tell me the one you want to read?"  
67 D †va (.) ya  
67 "go, now"  
68 (1.7)  
69 A el tiburón?  
69 "the shark?"  
70 (0.3)  
71 D no  
71 "no"  
72 (0.9)  
73 D bá[jelo] (.) bájelo (.) va  
73 "down, down, go"

74 A [cual]?  
 74 "which?"  
 75 (0.5)  
 76 A encima?  
 76 "above?"  
 77 (.)  
 78 D dele una  
 78 "hit one"  
 79 A podemos'  
 79 "we can"  
 80 (.)  
 81 D no (.) bájelo  
 81 "no, down"  
 82 (1.6)  
 83 A cual? (.) mire  
 83 "which? look"  
 84 (0.5)  
 85 A >las (.) jirafas<  
 85 "the jiraf"  
 86 (.)  
 87 D °no:: (.) no°  
 87 "no, no"  
 88 (.)  
 89 A es que mire (.) no hay ma' (0.4) mire  
 89 "its that look, there are no more, look"  
 90 (0.9)  
 91 D venga (.) ↓°no°  
 91 "right, no"  
 92 (1.0)  
 93 A ↑si (0.9) no hay mas (.) es- (.) cu[al quiere]?  
 93 "ok, there arent any more, its ". "which do you want?"



94 D >[dejeme]>  
94 "let me"  
95 A ↑oy (.) >los reptiles<  
95 "oy, the reptiles"  
96 (1.4)  
97 A como los tiburones (.) digo (.) como los esto (.) mire  
97 "like the sharks". "I said, like those, look"  
98 (0.7)  
99 D oysh (.) severo  
99 "oysh, cool"  
100 (0.5)  
101 A sabe' que es eso?  
101 "do you know what that is?"  
102 (0.4)  
103 D ↑si  
103 "yes"  
104 (.)  
104 A que es?  
103 "what is it?"  
104 (0.8)  
105 D son  
105 "are"  
106 A >como los serpientes<  
106 "like the snakes"  
107 (.)  
108 D ↑°hum°  
108 "hum"  
109 A mew  
109 "mew"  
110 D mire (1.2) ay  
110 "look, ay"

111 (.)  
112 A †eso (1.4) °volvemos (.) videos°  
112 "that, we can return to, videos"  
113 (.)  
114 D no::: (0.7) °↓hum°  
114 "no, hum"  
115 (1.0)  
116 A oy (.) mire  
116 "oy, look"

1 A oy (.) mire (0.3) (name) (.) mire  
 1 "oy, look (D), look"  
 2 (0.3)  
 3 Z1 (name) (.) deja (0.4) [ por favor ]  
 3 "(D), leave it, please"  
 4 A [no (.) es q]ue (.) mire una serpiente  
 4 "no, its just that, look a snake"  
 5 (0.4)  
 6 D ↑oy:: (.) lo [vi]  
 6 "oy, I saw it"  
 7 A [(h)] (.) fmire (.) (name)£  
 7 "mire, (Z1)"  
 8 (.)  
 9 A <es una serpiente (.) se sa movi[endo]>  
 9 "its a snake and its moving"  
 10 Z1 [es un]a serpiente  
 10 "its a snake"  
 11 (.)  
 12 D fmire (.) (name)£ (.) (h)  
 12 "look, Z1, (h)"  
 13 A (h)  
 14 D £que cosa (.) con serpiente£  
 14 "what a thing, with snakes"  
 15 A (h)  
 16 (1.0)  
 17 D ↑uh  
 18 (0.8)  
 19 A ya (.) s'acau  
 19 "now, its finished"

20 (0.7)

21 D ay (.) ya s'acabo  
21 "ay, its finished"

22 (0.4)

23 A y ci[erto]  
23 "right"

24 D [pon]ga l'otra vez  
24 "play it again"

25 (.)

26 A (ay) (.) [( )]

27 C <[nosot]ros lo podemos ver también>  
27 "we can see as well"

28 (1.1)

29 C <'spere (.) 'spere (.) ['spere]>  
29 "wait, wait, wait"

30 D [(name)](.) me regala uno  
30 "(Z1), give me one?"

31 (1.4)

32 A mi- (.) entonces nosotros vamos a >colocar:.< (.) los de-  
32 "mi-, so we are going to find, the de-"

33 ( )

34 A lo es ( ) °[ping]üino°  
34 "its. penguin"

35 D [no::]  
35 "no"

36 (.)

37 A A LOS (.) °pingüinos (.) si?°  
37 "to the penguins, yes"

38 (0.4)

39 A si?  
39 "yes?"

40 (0.7)

41 D >el pingüino<

41 "the penguin"

42 (1.0)

43 A pero (.) vamos a ver[::]

43 "but, lets see"

44 D [es] que (.) esta (.) esta (.) >es va:[cano]<

44 "its that, this, this, is cool"

45 A †[oo::]

45 "oo"

46 (.)

47 D ese llame la vi()

47 "that one is called the \*"

48 A esta?

48 "this?"

49 D no:: (0.3) ::uh

49 "no, uh"

50 (0.4)

51 D déjeme meter (.) [( )]

51 "let me do, \*"

52 A °[( )] que es para ver (.) la tele° (.) si?

52 "\* what is there to see, the tele, yes?"

53 (1.9)

54 A es que mire (.) es uno

54 "its just look at that"

55 (0.8)

56 A ese? (0.5) el (0.4) mire

56 "that? this, look"

57 (0.6)

58 D †um (1.3) que es?

58 "um, what is it?"

59 (29.0)

60 A que mire (.) oy (.) mire (.) todo e:so (.) °y fin-° (.) pingüinos

60 look., oy, look, all of that and \*, penguins"

61 (0.7)

62 A mire (0.7) uh: (0.9) son muchos (.) cierto?

62 look, uh, there are many, right?

63 D me 'a manejar

63 "can I control it?"

64 (0.8)

65 A dígame cual quiere? (0.7) mire (.) están::

65 tell me what you want, m, look, they are

66 (1.9)

67 A °o colocamos°

67 "or we can find"

68 (2.8)

69 A er::

69 "er"

70 (0.4)

71 D ya

71 "ok"

1 A a'ora (.) que ha mandau? (0.3) coliflor?  
 1 "now, want do you want, cauliflower?"

2 D >no:: (.) de a:[cá]<  
 2 "no, from here"

3 A †[oy] (.) es:te (.) si?  
 3 "oy, this one, yes?"

4 (2.2)

5 A oy=  
 5 "oy"

6 D =†um  
 6 "um"

7 (1.6)

8 A °se ve o [quieto]?°  
 8 "its evident or be quiet?"

9 D [nosot]ro' estamos a (0.3) vea (0.5) °y la que°  
 9 "we are at, look, and that"

10 (1.3)

11 D [ay (.) estan]  
 11 "ay, these"

12 A [oy (.) es:ta]?  
 12 "oy. this?"

13 (0.7)

14 D †heh  
 14 "heh"

15 A you tube  
 16 (1.1)

17 D (h) (.) [un \* ] (.) estamos en una piedra  
 17 "not when we are in a stone"

18 [ (h) ]

19 (0.9)

20 D entonces (.) en una rama

20 "therefore, in a frog"

21 (0.9)

22 A ↑uh (.) yo soy::

22 "uh, I am"

23 (1.3)

24 D ↑fhumf

24 "hum

25 A yo soy::=

26 "I am"

27 D =es una rana (.) (h)

27 "its a frog"

28 (.)

28 A ↑huh

29 D yo vengo (0.4) yo soy la:: (0.3) oy (.) yo soy es:to

29 "my go, I am the, oy, I'm this"

30 (.)

31 A fy sabe que es (.) es un gusano? (.) (h)

31 "do you know, this is a worm?"

32 D no (0.7) eso no es un °gusano°

32 no, it's not a worm

33 (.)

34 A yo soy esta

34 "I'm this"

35 (0.3)

36 D °oysh (.) espere°

36 "oysh, wait"

37 (1.7)

38 D dejeme::

38 "let me"



39 (1.5)

40 D °no con \*°

40 "don't buy"

41 (0.6)

42 A a'ora (.) vamos a ver

42 "now, lets have a look"

43 (0.6)

44 D °amigos°

44 "friends"

45 (.)

46 A £amigos de †l'agua£ (.) si?

46 "the friends of the water, right"

47 (0.3)

47 D °um°

47 "um"

48 (.)

49 A oy (.) mire

49 "oy, look"

50 (0.3)

51 D †[eh] (.) mermo

51 "eh, mermo"

52 A [um]::

52 "um"

53 (.)

54 C (NAME)

54 "(A)"

55 D merman

55 "merman"

56 (.)

57 C venga mire este video

57 " come and see this video"

58 (.)  
59 A vamos a mirar (.) vam:os  
59 "lets take a look"

1 D ↓os:: (1.1) que es::?  
 1 "os, whats this?"  
 2 (1.5)  
 3 D ay:: (1.0) este (.) ([y este])  
 3 "ay, this one, and this one"  
 3 A Q[UE TIEN]E QUE LEER::: ((A points))  
 4 "YOU HAVE TO READ"  
 4 (0.8)  
 5 D yo lo se (.) (h)  
 5 "I know"  
 6 (1.6)  
 7 D ↑uh  
 8 A ay (.) veámonos este ((A points))  
 8 "ay, lets look at this one"  
 9 (.)  
 10 D ↑ay (.) que?=  
 10 ay, what this?  
 11 A =es un video  
 11 "it's a video"  
 12 (0.5)  
 13 A veámonos (0.4) acá= ((A on k/b))  
 13 "lets look, here"  
 14 D =( 'spere)  
 15 "wait"  
 16 (.)  
 17 A listo (0.6) veámonos (2.1) [oysh]::  
 17 "done, lets see"  
 18 D °[mire] (.) que es ()?°  
 18 "look, what is \*?"

19 (1.2)

20 D °mire (.) acá°

20 "look, here"

21 (1.2)

22 D °vemos un vi[deo]?°

22 "we see

23 A [( )] (.) así (.) mire

23 "\* , its like this, look"

24 (0.6)

25 A >'pere (.) lo coloco aquí::<

25 "wait, I'll find it here"

26 (3.0)

27 A listo (1.8) OY (1.2) (omnito) como va (.) así?

27 "ok. oy. \* how's it going, like this?" ((A to Z1))

28 (2.7)

29 D () nada mas

29 "\* nothing more"

30 (1.0)

31 A [otra]?

31 "another"

32 D [otra] vez

32 "again"

33 (.)

34 Z1 el sonido?

34 "the sound?"

35 A sí (0.4) †ay ((A to k/b))

35 "yes"

36 (2.9) ((A glance to Z1))

37 Z1 ʃhuhʃ

38 (.)

37 A †oy:: (.) tan baçano

37 "oy, that so cool"

38 (0.7)

39 A [voy a coloque]

39 "I'm going to find"

40 Z1 [como se llama] esta pájaro?

40 "what's the name of this bird?"

41 (.) ((A points))

42 A >tortuga (.) gigante<

42 "giant turtle"

43 (0.9)

44 Z1 (name) (.) como se llama esta pájaro?

44 "(D), what is the name of this bird"

45 (0.6)

46 A °colifor° ((A in D's ear))

46 "cauliflower"

47 (0.5)

48 D colifor

48 cauliflower

49 (0.7)

50 A colibre ((A in D's ear))

50 "hummingbird"

51 (0.7)

52 D COLI (.) flor::

52 CAULI, flower

53 A [COLIB]RI::

53 HUMMINGBIRD

54 Z1 [coliflor]? (.) no

54 "cauliflower, no"

55 (0.8)

56 A ese(.) coloque:(.)vemos el video(1.1)↑[oy:] (.)no:(.)no es el video

56 "that one,I'll find,we can see the video,oy, no, its not the video"

57 D ([este])

57 "this one"

58 (0.5)

59 D °mire°

59 "look"

60 A colóquela acá

60 "I'll find it here"

61 (1.1)

62 A pero a ver (1.2) allí

62 "but lets see". "there"

63 D uh

64 (0.5)

65 A no:: (.) no es un video

65 "no, its not a video"

66 (1.0)

67 A no [vid]eo

67 "no video"

68 D [ese] (.) ese (0.4) mire (.) ese es ((D points))

68 "that one, that one, look, that is it"

69 (.)

70 A oy

71 (0.6)

72 D mire=

72 "look"

73 A no (.) no son videos

73 "no, they're not videos"

74 (.)

75 A mire (.) ese es (.) son videos

75 "look, that is, they are videos"

1 D vea (name) (.) es:te?  
 1 "look at this, (Z1)"  
 2 (0.4)  
 3 Z1 que es es:to?  
 3 "what is this?"  
 4 (0.4)  
 5 A un video=  
 5 "a video"  
 6 D =video  
 6 "video"  
 7 (0.6)  
 8 Z1 si (.) de que?  
 8 "yes, of what?"  
 9 (0.6)  
 10 D °um::°  
 10 "um"  
 11 (0.8)  
 12 Z1 que es?  
 12 "what is it?"  
 13 (0.9)  
 14 D °oy:° (0.3) espere (0.3) que lo escoja  
 14 "oy, wait, I'll pick one  
 16 A (h)  
 17 (0.6)  
 18 D ↓°mire° (.) se a:c[abo]  
 18 "look, its finished"  
 19 Z1 [w:o]w  
 19 "wow"  
 20 A (h)

21 D °pere° (0.4) videos (0.3) de comer (.) s'es un huevo (.) se abre  
21 "wait, food videos, that's an egg, opening"  
22 (3.7)

23 D °se abrese°  
23 "its opening"  
24 (1.3)

25 A (h)  
25 (1.8 )

26 D >°a'ora ese°<  
26 "now that"  
27 (.)

28 A A'ORA (.) VEAMOS OTRA (.) otra tele que a:cá (.) ahi  
28 "now, we can watch the other, the other clip that is here, there"  
29 (0.6)

30 A >ay: (.) ¡no:: (.) estos son gatos::< (h)  
31 "ay, no, these are cats"

32 D oy: (.) mire (0.3) mire este (.) ·hhh  
32 "oy, look". "look at this"  
33 (.)

34 A °ay mire (.) chupa teta°  
35 "ay look, suck tit"

36 D ay (0.3) por [que]?  
36 "ay, why?"

37 A [mir]e (.) coloquemo' la camera al tele  
37 "look, we can locate the camera on the clip"  
38 (0.5)

39 A °↑um (0.4) a[ca]°  
39 "um, here"

40 D [pa] que me pegua?  
40 "why did you hit me?"  
41 (0.6)



42 A acá (.) hay (0.3) mi::relo  
42 "here it is, look"  
43 (0.6)  
44 D °↓huh° (1.0) mire  
44 "huh, look"  
45 (5.5)  
46 A °mire (.) (name)°  
46 "look. (Z1)"  
47 D vea (.) (NAME) (0.7) (NAME)  
47 look, (Z1), (Z1)"  
48 (2.4)  
49 D (NAME) ( ) LO [QUIERE VER]?  
49 "(Z1), DO YOU WANT TO SEE IT"  
50 A °[de una vez] coloquemolo=°  
50 "let's find it now"  
51 D =es:pere (.) ↑ah  
51 "wait, ah"  
52 (1.6)  
53 D (NAME) (0.7) [NAME]  
53 "(Z1), (Z1)"  
54 A [NAME]  
55 "(Z2)"  
56 (0.3)  
57 D (NAME)  
57 "(Z2)"  
58 (0.4)  
59 A (NAME)  
59 "(Z3)"  
60 D callese (.) (NAME) (4.4) (NAME)  
60 "shut up, (Z1), (Z1)"  
61 (2.1)

62 A °ay (.) déjelo [ah]i°  
62 "ay, leave it there"  
63 D [no]  
63 "no"  
64 (0.5)  
65 A déjelo a[hi un orita]  
65 "leave it there for a moment"  
66 D [ya (.) lo vio] (,) usted  
66 "you've seen it already"  
67 (0.5)  
68 Z1 como?  
68 "what?"  
69 (0.6)  
70 D espere  
70 "wait"  
71 A espere (.) na[me]  
71 "wait, Z1"  
72 D <[esp]ere que este es a:cábo>  
72 "wait that until this is finished"  
73 (1.0)  
74 D pa[qu]e lo (.) coje  
74 "why did you choose it?"  
75 D [ya]  
75 "here"  
76 (7.4)  
77 Z1 que es?  
77 what is it?  
78 A es un pavo real  
79 "its a peacock"  
80 (.)  
81 D un pavo

81 "a turkey"

82 Z1 †si

82 "ok"

83 (0.4)

84 D déjame ver [ ]

84 "let me see"

85 Z1 [un pavo] real

85 "a real turkey"

86 A si (.) [mire (.) >pa]vo re:::al<

86 yes, look, a real turkey

87 D [ese (.) nada]

87 "that, nothing "

1 A a'ora (.) coloquemos otro video (0.4) si?  
 1 "now let's find another video, yes?  
 2 (.)  
 3 D °arhh::°  
 3 "arhh"  
 4 A mi:re  
 4 "look"  
 5 (1.0)  
 6 D °es:te°  
 6 "this one"  
 6 A >(name) (.) ya por manejar otra vez?<  
 6 "(Z1), now can I take control again?"  
 7 (.)  
 8 D °we::° (.) oy  
 8 "we, oy"  
 9 (3.0)  
 10 D mire (0.3) mire los hue:v[os]  
 10 "look, look at the eggs"  
 11 A °[um]::°  
 11 "um"  
 12 (1.6)  
 13 A °na-° (.) (na:me) (.) ya por manejar?  
 13 "na, Z1, its my turn"  
 14 (1.1)  
 15 A salgamos y veamos otros (.) si?  
 15 "let's leave and see others, yes?  
 16 (1.2 )  
 17 A ¡ah:(.)no no' vamos a salir?(0.7)para ver [otro]?  
 17 "ah, were not going to leave? to see something else

19 D °↑[hum]:::(.) (este es)°  
19 "hum, this is it"  
20 (1.7)  
21 A °todo [en bla]nco°  
21 "its all white"  
22 D °[este]°  
22 "this one"  
23 (1.4)  
24 D ↓ay:: (.) no tiene nada  
24 "ay, it doesn't have anything"  
25 A (h) (.) ya se [(h) ]  
25 "(h), I know"  
26 D ([ya (.) bue]no  
26 "ok, good"  
26 (1.0)  
27 A >ay (.) por eso (.) [er]-<  
27 ay, for that reason, er  
28 D [no] hay nada  
28 "there's nothing"  
29 (0.8)  
30 A salgámanos (0.3) para ver otro (.) ese  
30 "lets leave, in order to see another one, that one"  
31 (0.7)  
32 A a:hi (1.3) otra (0.8) otro (1.1) a:hi (.) veamos este  
32 "there, the other, the other, there, lets look at this one"  
33 (1.3)  
34 D lo que yo quiero  
34 "that's the one I want"  
35 A espere (.) este que son (.) de °los tiburones°  
35 "wait, this is the one with the sharks"  
36 (0.9)

37 D ayss (.) `[pere]se (.) que esto no quiere andar  
37 "ayss, wait, as this one doesnt want to start"

38 A °[aca]°  
38 "here"

39 (.)

40 A ay (.) si? (.) mire=  
40 "ay, yes , look"

41 D =mire=  
41 "look"

42 A =anda=  
42 "come on"

43 D ='spere  
43 "wait"

44 (.)

45 A ay:: (.) mire  
46 "ay, look"

47 D mi::re[lo]  
47 "look at it"

48 A [oy]:: (.) no metemos en un aboba[da ]  
48 "ay, lets no play a silly thing"

49 D >[en] ratones<  
49 "in mice"

50 A (h)

51 D (h) (.) mira este  
51 " look at this"

52 (1.8)

53 A †oy (.) severo  
53 "oy, awesome"

54 (0.6)

55 A <vamos a ver> (.) si te >meter::me< (.) para ver un video  
55 "lets have a look, if I can place you, in order to see a video"

56 (1.0)

57 D >vi::deo<

57 "video"

58 (2.0)

59 D [el]

59 "this one"

60 A [(h)]

61 (0.8)

62 A no:: (1.3) toca colócarlo pa'qui pa'rri:ba

62 "no, you find it up here"

63 (0.9)

64 D ↓quie:to

64 "behave"

65 (0.3)

66 A no (.) arriba

66 "no, above"

67 (0.3)

68 D ↑huh

68 "huh"

69 A >a::ca<

69 "here"

70 D ↑ah

70 "ah"

71 (0.4)

72 A esa fle[cha]

72 "that arrow"

73 D [ve:]te (.) >no lo coga<

73 "go away! dont touch it"

74 (0.4)

75 D uste' (.) con ese (.) hermano (.) de eso

75 "you with that one, brother, from there"

76 (0.4)

77 D huh (.) > ES[ PERESE ]<

77 "huh, WAIT!"

78 A [espere (.) co]loco (.) no con () a:ca

78 "wait I'll find it, not with \* here"

79 (0.7)

80 A >dele< (.) no::

80 "press it, no"

81 (0.4)

82 A no(.)por que(.)[no () ]

82 "no, because, don't \*"

83 D [NO:(.)HAY]QUE(.)YO QUIE[RO]

83 "NO, ONE MUST, I WANT"

84 A [AY] (.) no:: (.) es' es

85 pequeño

84 "ay, no, this

85 is a small thing"

86 (.)

87 A vamos a ver otra cosa

87 "lets look at something else"

88 (.)

89 D †ay (0.3) [dé]jeme a mi

89 "na, let me do it"

90 A [si]?

90 "yes?"

91 (.)

93 A ah: (.) (na::me) (.) por manejar (.) (name)

93 "(Z1), can I take control, (Z1)"

94 (1.4)

95 D †oy (.) mire

95 "oy, look"



96 (.)  
97 A †oy (.) severo  
97 "oy, awesome"  
98 (.)  
99 D oy:: (.) oy  
99 "oy, oy"  
100 (0.5)  
101 A >(NAME)< (.) YA POR MANEJAR?  
101 (ZL), CAN I TAKE CONTROL NOW?  
102 (1.4)  
103 A >otra::< (.) otro  
103 "the other, the other"  
104 (1.3)  
105 D espere que yo (quiero)  
105 "wait for me"  
106 (0.3)  
107 A >los tiburó::nes< (0.9) °ahí°  
107 "the sharks, there"

1 D a:che

1 "h"

2 (1.0)

3 A >yo soy mira:d[o] (.) bru::to<

3 "I am considered, stupid"

4 D [e]::

4 "i"

5 (.)

6 D oy:: (0.3) en que se metio?=  
6 "oy, where you put us?"

7 A =fɥuhɥ (0.5) mire (0.9) (h)

7 "huh, look"

8 (0.5)

9 A e:che (.) la a:che (.) la a:che (.) <°la a:che (.) la [a:che]°>

9 "eche, the h, the h, the h, the h"

10 D °[pere]°

10 "wait"

11 (1.1)

12 A ay[::::]

12 "ay"

13 D <[cual] es?>

13 which is it?

14 A >déjale a [mi]::<

14 "leave it to me"

15 D [oy] (.) esa no es:

15 "oy, thats not it"

16 (0.9)

17 A (h) e:sa me:nos (h)

17 "that less"

18 (0.7)

19 A es:ta (0.3) peor

19 "this, worse"

20 (0.4)

21 D ↓no

21 "no"

22 (.)

23 A °es:ta(.) es:ta(.)es:[::ta] (.)[es]ta (.)[es:ta](.)[esta] (.) es°=

23 "this, this, this, this, this, this, this

24 D [no::] ↓ [oy] [mire] [name]

24 "no, oy, look, Z1"

25 Z1 =que?

25 "what?"

26 (0.5)

27 D no quita se mete (.) entonc' es una lo:ca

28 "he wont leave from here, so its crazy"

29 A (h)

30 D mejor me quito (.) de ahi

30 "I'd better leave from here"

31 A ay (.) ya

31 "ok"

32 (2.3)

33 D que me deje donde esta la (.) otra=

33 "let me be where the other is"

34 A °oy (.) tiene°

34 "oy, it has"

35 (0.8)

36 A no

36 "no"

37 (2.0)

38 A °ti::en (0.6) lo que tiene (0.9) l:a (1.2) >ti::ene°<

38           “(it has), what it has, the, it has”  
39           (3.0)  
40    A       °tiene (1.0) chi°  
49           “it has, chi”  
50           (.)  
51    A       °oy (.) no me mete°  
51           “oy, I don’t want that  
52           (2.0)  
53    A       °chi:::°  
53           “chi”  
54           (0.9)  
55    D       esta (.) la n:ne (0.5) ah:  
56           “here, the n, a”  
57           (0.6)  
57    A       na?=  
58           “na”  
59    D       =e (.) e (.) e (1.7) na:  
59           “i,i,i”. “na”  
60           (5.8)  
61    D       es:ta (2.4) °ese°  
61           “here, that”  
62           (0.8)  
63    A       uh (.) ↑hum::  
63           “uh hum”  
64           (0.3)  
65    D       no:: (.) pero esas arri::ba  
65           “no, but those are above”  
66           (2.6)  
67    A       .hhh  
68           (0.7)  
69    D       es:: (.) lo que hizo es una bobada

"its, what you did is a silliness"

1 D me la presta  
 1 "let me use it"

2 A no:::  
 2 "no"  
 3 (.)

4 D espere (.) que yo voy a [quita esa memoria]  
 4 "wait until I have removed this memory"

5 A ↓°[ah::::: ]°=  
 5 "ah"

6 D =°yo lo cogi°  
 6 "I've got it"

7 Z1 [(h)]  
 8 (.)

9 A °↑ah°  
 9 "ah"  
 10 (4.2)

11 A no (.) dígame que 'sa no sirve  
 11 "no, I'm telling you that that one doesn't work"  
 12 (0.4)

13 D ↑ay (.) si: (.) como va (1.2) ya se (0.3) ese=  
 13 "ay, yes, I know how it works, I know, that one"

14 A =si (.) pero me toca conectar:la  
 14 "yes, but it's my turn to connect it"  
 15 (0.5)

16 C oysh:: (.) no l'aga así tampoco (.) (name)  
 16 "oysh, you dont do it like that either, (A)"  
 17 (.)

18 Q >Y[O QUIERO A:SI ]<  
 18 "I want it like this"

19 C [uste (.) lo que t]ene es que hacerle es esto (.) mire  
19 "you have to do like this, look"  
20 A mire (.) °huh°  
20 "look"  
21 (0.9)  
22 A pai:la=  
22 "bad luck"  
23 C =ay: (.) yo me llevo esta memor[ia]  
23 "ay, I'll take this memory"  
24 A [no] (.) diga ( ) NO::  
24 "no, I said, NO"  
25 D no  
25 "no"  
26 D [entregue]  
26 "hand it back!"  
27 C [heh ]:~::~:[( )]  
28 A [NO (.) POR QUE NO SIRVE] (.) TOMEN SU MEMORIA  
28 "NO, BECAUSE IT DOESN'T WORK, GIVE ME YOUR MEMORY!"  
29 D NO::~:  
29 "NO"  
30 (.)  
31 A [MIRE ] QUE (.) no sir:ve<  
32 "LOOK, it doesn't work"  
32 D [( )lo]  
32 "\* it"  
33 (.)  
34 A >esa sir:ve<  
34 "it works"  
35 (.)  
36 D (na::me) (.) pero no la sirve  
36 "(Z1), but it doesn't work"

37 (0.6)

38 C que no sirve?

38 "what doesn't work?"

39 (0.4)

40 A la memoria?

40 "the memory"

41 (0.3)

42 C us[tedes] (.) no la van a utilizar

42 "you are not going to use it"

43 D [juga]mos

43 let's play

44 Z1 [sirve]

44 "it works"

45 (.)

46 A es que (.) mire

46 its just that, look

47 (.)

48 Z1 no lo sirve (.) para que?

48 it does work, for what?

49 (0.4)

50 A >para colo:car< (.) internet

50 "in order to find the internet"

51 (0.8)

52 A para 'acer las cosas (.) usted [nos dijo hacer]

52 "to do the things that you told us"

53 Z1 °[la tiene que ha]cer°

53 "you have to do it"

54 (1.1)

55 A mire (0.9) mire (.) >conectar< (.) ·hh

55 "look, look, its connecting"

56 (.)



57 A >n- (.) no hay (.) ninguno (0.3) disponible<  
57 "n, there is no available,  
58 (0.8)  
59 'pere (.) PARE (.) para >conectar< (.) por favor  
59 "wait, STOP, to connect, please"  
60 (0.5)  
61 A >insertarlo (0.3) y (0.6) en (0.3) cien (.) relo (0.3) s?i<  
61 "please, insert it, and, and turn it on, yes"  
62 (1.0)  
63 A >se (.) encuentra (.) apagado (0.5) e:sa (.) memoria (.) sirve<  
63 "you find it, switch it off, that, the purpose of the memory"  
64 (0.5)  
65 D sirve (1.9) ↑um (.) no sabia  
65 "that its purpose, um, I didn't know"

1 (2.8)

2 D SALIO A JUGAR ( ) >PEONES::>

2 "THE PAWNS ARE READY TO PLAY"

3 (1.3)

4 A si (.) ʎya me[ti]ʎ

4 "ok, I get it"

5 Q [ES]TAS LOCO?

5 "ARE YOU CRAZY"

6 A YA METI UN PEITO (H)

6 "I'VE DROPPED A LITTLE FART"

7 (2.2)

8 A †oysh::

8 "oysh"

9 (0.3)

10 D †ays:(.) (peon) (.) eso tiene (.) tu tie[ne] (.) que matar un peon

10 "ays, pawn, that one has, you have, to kill the pawn"

11 A [ju]gar

11 "to play"

12 (0.6)

13 A a todo los pe[ones]

13 "all of the pawns"

14 D [a la] tor:re

14 "to the tower?"

15 (1.0)

16 Q A [LA TORRE]?

16 "TO THE TOWER?"

17 D [al otro] (0.5 ) si?

17 "to the other, yes"

18 (0.8)

19 D que la torre (.) mata todos  
19 "because the castle, can kill everything"  
20 (0.8)  
21 D ↓no: (0.3) mate la torre  
21 "no, kill the tower"  
22 (.)  
23 A hum?  
24 (.)  
25 Q °tsst°  
26 (0.3)  
27 D [y]-  
27 "and"  
28 A [a']ora (.) voy a tirar el caballo  
28 "now, I'm going to take the knight"  
29 (0.9)  
30 D y (.) (jaque) (0.5) no (.) si saca eso (0.5) el peon no lo (.) mate  
30 "and, check, no, if you take that, the pawn can't kill it"  
31 (2.8)  
32 D mate mejor un peon  
32 "its better to kill a pawn"  
33 (1.9)  
34 D a la torre  
34 "with the tower"  
35 (1.8)  
36 D la torre (.) mas dificil  
36 "the tower, more difficult"

1 C uhm[:::]  
 1 "uhm"  
 2 G °[con] e:se°  
 2 "with that"  
 3 (0.7)  
 4 C e'pere  
 4 "wait"  
 5 (0.4)  
 6 G [este]  
 6 "this one"  
 7 C [este]  
 7 "this one"  
 8 (.)  
 9 G no::: (.) en (.) [no]  
 9 "no, in, no"  
 10 C °[es] en es[te]°  
 10 "its in this one"  
 11 G [no] (.) e:se  
 11 "no, that one"  
 12 (1.5)  
 13 G °a:hi°  
 13 "there"  
 14 (1.9)  
 15 G a:hi (.) [que]  
 15 "there, what?"  
 16 C †[osh]:::  
 16 "osh"  
 17 (2.0)  
 18 G que tengo 'acer?

18 "what do I do?"  
19 (2.6)  
20 C e:se  
20 "that one"  
21 (9.8)  
22 G †ah:: (.) pegar fotos?  
22 "ah, select photos"  
23 (0.4)  
24 C °si°  
24 "yes"  
25 (.)  
26 G †ah (.) <entonces ven[ga]>  
26 "ah, in which case, come on"  
27 C [ah] (.) pero a:hi (.) dice (.) mire  
27 "ah, but there, it says, look"  
28 (7.4)  
29 G ay (.) no (.) en cambio (.) metámonos en (.) otra  
29 "ay, no, alternatively, let's go to another one"  
30 (0.5)  
31 C °yo se°  
31 "I know"  
32 (0.5)  
33 G es que (.) yo no jugar ese  
33 "so, I haven't played that one"  
34 (2.2)  
35 G no entendiste  
35 "you didn't understand"  
36 (0.5)  
37 G °<otro (.) otro> (0.8) 'pere°  
37 "another, another, wait"  
38 (0.9)



60 C °>mirelo<° (.) si (.) si  
60 "look here, yes, yes"  
61 (0.3)  
62 C pongamole(0.3)re:no(1.0)y el re::no le coloca (.) este (0.4) vale  
62 "let's see it, reindeer". "and the reindeer is here, this one, ok"  
63 (0.7)  
64 C en donde? (.) se cual es el re:no  
64 "which is it? I know which is the reindeer"  
65 (1.6)  
66 C °'pere°  
66 "wait"  
67 (2.8)  
68 C °vea, si ve?°  
68 "look, you see?"  
69 (0.9)  
70 C °>entonces de- <(0.4) hipopotamo°  
70 "so, hippopotamus "  
71 (0.3)  
72 G °y poco hipopotamo°  
72 "and little hippopotamus "  
73 (1.6)  
74 C cual es? (0.5) de todos es::to?  
74 "which is it? of all this?"  
75 (0.6)  
76 G e:se?  
76 that one?  
77 (0.6)  
78 C †°ya (0.3) es:te°  
78 "ok, this one"  
79 (1.3)  
80 C †si (.) a'ora va uste'





1 (1.0)

2 D 'asta (.) van tres (.) le faltan (0.5) siete

2 "until, three have gone, you have left, seven"

3 (0.9)

4 D k[oal]a (.) [mi k]oala

4 "koala, my koala"

5 C [un] dos [tres]

5 "one, two, three"

6 (0.8)

7 C donde sale (.) koala?

7 "where does it go, koala?"

8 (0.9)

9 D cual (0.5) cual es koala? (.) >°en todo estos°<

9 "which is the koala? in all those"

10 (1.1)

11 D °que es 's koala? (.) lo mismo°

11 "what is this koala? the same"

12 (1.2)

13 C [click]

13 "click"

14 D [click] (0.4) click (.) esa (.) °es la del (.) koala°

14 "click, click, that one, it's from the, koala"

15 (0.6)

16 C °um[:::::]°

16 "um"

17 D [cual es]? (0.3) no es?

17 "which is it? its not this one?"

18 (0.5)

19 D [no]

19 "no"

20 C °[uh] hum (0.6) no[::]°

20 "uh hum, no"

21 D [pú]lsela (.) ese (0.7) abajo

21 "hit it, that one, below"

22 (1.1)

23 C mal::

23 "wrong"

24 D mire (0.6) este (0.6) es `s koala (0.7) °koala (1.4) mirelo°

24 "look, here, this is koala, koala, look at it"

25 (.)

26 C >bien<

26 "ok"

27 (.)

28 D °↑si°

28 "yes"

29 (1.5)

30 C >es:: elefante<

30 "its an elephant"

31 (1.8)

32 C °es:te (0.4) elefante°

32 "this one, elephant"

33 (1.8)

34 G fbien::f (.) ·hhh (1.0) °uh:: (.) venado?'°

34 "good, hhh, uh::, venison?"

35 (3.5)

36 G °venado (.) cual es? (.) el venado?°

36 "venison, which is it? the venison"

37 (0.6)

38 D es (.) no (.) cierra::

38 "its, no, close"

39 (0.5)

40 C donde es:ta?

40 "where is it?"

41 (2.2)

42 C si:::?

42 "yes?"

53 (0.3)

54 D °e:se (0.8) si°

54 "that one, yes"

55 (0.3)

56 C °hum::°

56 "hum"

57 (0.4)

58 D °es:te°

58 "this one"

59 (2.4)

60 ves::°[::::]°:::

60 "you see"

61 C [donde]? (1.8) a:qui?

61 "where?". "here?"

62 (0.4)

63 D °no°

63 "no"

64 (0.6)

65 C a:↓qui

65 "here"

66 D °a:hi°

66 "there"

67 (1.6)

68 C £bien:: (.) ·hhh£

68 "ok"

69 (1.3)

70 C °>vi:e (.) †jo<°

70 "old"

71 (1.5)

72 C °um::° (0.4) a:qui?

72 "um, here?"

73 (0.5)

74 C °†um° (0.6) perr::o

74 "um, dog"

75 (0.3)

76 D donde [us]tedes a leer?

76 "where are you reading"

77 C °[()]°

77 "\*"

78 (0.4)

79 C °no:(.) porque (.)no tengo-(.) pereme que no me suena°(0.3) a:hi?

79 "no, because, I don't have, wait this one doesn't sound, there?"

80 (1.4)

81 D †ya::

81 "now"

82 (0.6)

83 C oy:: (.) mal (0.8) [me va] a tocar

83 "oy, that's bad, its my turn"

84 D [perro]

84 "dog"

85 (5.1)

86 C a:si m[ismo]

86 "its the same"

87 D °[listo] (.) a'ora (.) >es:te< (.) es murcielagoa°

87 "ok, now, this is a bat"

88 (1.7)

89 D ↓no  
89 "no"  
90 (1.4)  
91 C si?  
91 "yes"  
92 (.)  
93 D e:se  
93 "that one"  
94 (1.2)  
95 D no  
95 "no"  
96 (0.3)  
97 C °↓uh::°=  
97 "ah"  
98 D =°se era murcielago°  
98 "it was a bat"  
99 (0.7)  
100 C a:ca?  
100 "here"  
101 D si  
101 "yes"

1 C es:te? (.) o es:te?  
 1 "this one? or this one?"  
 2 (1.6)

3 C ah(.) ↑si- (.) ya:: (.) si (.) que le' cambian las formas?  
 3 "ah yes, now, yes, the shapes have changed?"  
 4 (1.5)

5 C oy::  
 5 "oy"  
 6 (1.9)

7 D ↓no::  
 7 "no"  
 8 (.)

9 C es:: (.) 'pere (.) con eso  
 9 "its, wait, with that one,  
 10 (.)

11 C tiene que jugar es con esos primeros  
 11 "you have to play with those first"  
 12 (0.8)

13 D <dele [ese > (.) y tie]ne que buscar  
 13 "hit that one, and you have to search"

14 C °↓[um::::::::::::::::::]°  
 15 (.)

16 C no  
 16 "no"  
 17 (.)

18 D °↓aysh: (0.7) ↑wa-°  
 18 aysh, wa::"  
 19 (2.8)

20 C busque los sonidos de que no hayan visto (0.3) ya

20 "I can search for the sounds that you haven't seen yet"  
21 (1.8)  
22 D si (.) e::ra ↑e:se  
22 "ok, it was that one"  
23 (0.9)  
24 C a'ora si ponemos (.) todos  
24 "now, if we play all"  
25 (1.2)  
26 D uh:: (.) ↑hum  
26 "uh hum"  
27 (0.8)  
28 C hay aire  
28 "there's air"  
29 (2.0)  
30 C un cabello (.) mire  
30 "look, a horse"  
31 (1.3)  
32 C rapido  
32 "quickly"  
33 (2.3 )  
34 C es:te (.) a:ca  
34 "this one, here"  
35 (1.5)  
36 D ya calmese (h) (0.6) zoom:::::::::: (.) <es aya::> (.) es:te  
36 calm down, zoom, its there, this one"  
37 (3.0)  
38 C °ya (.) es:te°  
38 "right, this one"  
39 (3.5)  
40 C °yo (.) ese°  
40 "me, there"

41 (6.2)

42 C es:ta (0.7) esa

42 "this one, that one"

43 (2.0)

44 D mi::re

45 "look"

46 (4.1)

47 C léon (0.4) léon

47 "lion, lion"

48 (0.6)

49 D ↓no::::[::~::~:]:~::~:

49 "no"

50 [léon::::~:]

50 "lion"

51 (0.4)

52 C <que es (.) es un león (.) no puesta me>

52 "what is it, its a lion, don't question me"

53 (0.4)

54 D ay (.) ↓ya:::

54 "ay, ok"

55 (0.5)

56 C este león

56 "this lion"

57 (0.8)

58 D <pa'l juego todo>

58 "for the game everything"

59 (2.3)

60 C °e:se°

60 "that one"

61 (2.9)

62 D <es que l'entendi (.) miralo una ya:::>



62 "I understood you, look at one now"

63 C (h)

1 C yo (miro) [a'oral?]  
 1 "I can look now?"

2 D [otra] ↑si (.) no  
 2 "another yes, no"  
 3 (0.4)

4 D <si (.) yo juego el otro>  
 4 "I'll play the other"  
 5 (2.1)

6 D jugo el mi'mo (.) >ante' es:te<  
 6 "I'll play the same, before this one"  
 7 (1.2)

8 D chán::gos  
 8 "damm it "  
 9 (1.0)

10 C no (.) <pere (.) otra (.) otra>=  
 10 "no, wait, another, another"

11 D =ay (.) ↑no:: (.) ↓°yo°  
 11 "ay, no, me"  
 12 (0.7)

13 D ay (.) cier:to (.) uste ya ju↑go  
 13 "ay, right, you've already played"  
 14 (.)

15 C °`pere (.) `pere°  
 15 "wait , wait"  
 16 (0.9)

17 D ↓°um (0.4) changos °  
 17 "um, dam m it"  
 18 (1.0)

19 D ya (0.3) lis:to

19           "ok, ready"

20    C       °'pere°

20           "be patient"

21           (1.0)

22    D       lo va a agrandar?

22           "are you going to make it bigger"

23           (0.7)

24    C       °no°

24           "no"

25           (3.0)

26    D       e:sa

26           "that one"

27           (.)

28    C       'pere

28           "be patient"

28    D       ya

28           "now"

29           (2.4)

30    D       rayos (1.0) no (.) si (.) no lo era

30           "damm it, no, you see that wasn't it"

31           (1.0)

32    C       °lo mismo (.) mire°

32           "it's the same, look"

33           (0.8)

34    C       mire (.) o usted como para las a:ves (0.4) y ma:míferos

34           "look, you are , for the birds and mammals"

35           (0.4)

36    C       las que son aves (.) [las] que

36           "those which are birds, those"

37    D                    es:[que] (.) yo no entiendo (.) [e:so]

37           "is that, I don't understand, that one"

38 C [mire]:lo  
 38 "look"  
 39 (0.3)  
 40 le voy a explicar  
 40 "I'm going to explain it to you"  
 41 (0.5)  
 42 C °y:usted me sigue°  
 42 "and you follow me"  
 43 (0.5)  
 44 C mire (.) es `s un ave (.) ¡no  
 44 "look, this is a bird, no"  
 45 (0.3)  
 46 C °a ver (.) les pasa por a:hi°  
 46 "lets see, they go there"  
 47 (2.3)  
 48 C °a:hi (0.6) si ve (.) mire°  
 48 "there, you see, look"  
 49 (0.5)  
 50 C °esta `s un ave (2.1) es `s uno (.) mire (.) vale°  
 50 "this is a bird". "this is one, look, ok"  
 51 (0.8)  
 52 C >°ese va (.) a:ca (2.4) e:se (.) v'a:ca (1.3) ese a (0.7) ca°<  
 52 "that one goes, here". "that one, here". "that one, h, ere"  
 53 (5.5)  
 54 C °se va a (3.1) ca°  
 54 "it goes h, ere"  
 55 (11.1)  
 56 C °si?°  
 56 "ok"  
 57 (3.0)  
 58 D ahora (.) yo quiero >los de la o:veja<

58 "now, I want those of the sheep"  
59 (0.5)  
60 D y[o quiero ese de la o:veja]  
60 "I want that one of the sheep"  
61 C [es que mira (.) ay (.) mi]re (.) es:te  
61 "but look, ay, look, this one"  
62 (0.9)  
63 D yo quiero ese de la o:veja  
63 "I want that one of the sheep"

1 C este ((C points))  
 1 "this is it"  
 2 (2.2) ((C→k/b))  
 3 C es (.) e:sta (0.3) e:se ((C changes position))  
 3 "its this one, that one,  
 4 (2.4)  
 5 C mire (.) e:ste ((C points))  
 5 "look, this one"  
 6 (1.6)  
 7 G ↑um:::::  
 7 "um"  
 8 (3.4)  
 9 C la ra:na (1.3) es:te ((C points))  
 9 "the frog, this one"  
 10 (1.7)  
 11 C °'pere (.) todo°  
 11 "wait, everything"  
 12 (4.8)  
 13 C otro (0.9) ↑es:te (.) es:te ((C points))  
 13 "another, this one, this one"  
 14 (2.9)  
 15 C <e lo- (.) es:te> ((C points))  
 15 "e it (.) this one"  
 16 (3.4)  
 17 C ↓es:te ((C points))  
 17 "this one"  
 18 (7.7)  
 19 G bien toda (.) en la saque bien::  
 19 "all correct, my choices were good"

20 (1.1)

21 G pero una mal (.) cierto?

21 "but one incorrect, right?"

22 (1.1)

23 C van a jugar (.) 'pere

23 "they're going to play, wait"

24 G otra vez (.) [e]se

24 "that one, again"

25 C °es[te]°

25 "this one"

26 (0.5)

27 G <otra [vez] (.) [ese]>

27 "that one, again"

28 C [est]e [es]te

28 "this one" "this one"

29 G oy::(.) es otra vez ese (.) [mire] (.) es que [me g]usta mas e:se

28 "oy, that one again, look, it just that I like that one more"

29 ↓°[um:]° °[pere]° ((G point))

30 (1.0)

31 C °e:se (0.4) lo e[s:]°

31 "that one, it is"

32 G [a:]ca (.) yo sigo (.) solo

32 "here, me next, alone"

33 (0.5) ((screen update))

34 C >[en peligro] de< (0.3) ex:: (1.0) [tin:]

34 "in danger of, ex, tin,"

35 G °[espero eso]° °pro[nun]cia ese°

35 "wait for that" "pronounce that"

36 (.)

37 C >extinción< (.) extinction<

37 "extinction, extinction"

38 (0.5)

39 G >es:te [es]<  
39 "this one is"

40 C [un]a'menaza (.) cual (.) >una `menaza< (.) es:te?  
40 "the threat, which, a threat, this one?"

41 (1.0) ((C drags))

42 C °()°  
42 ""

43 (1.0)

44 °no (1.5) mire (.) (el)°  
45 no, look, this"  
46 °`pere° (0.5) ah::

47 (3.3) ((G stands))

48 G cual no' me:naza?  
48 "which ones are dangerous to us?"

49 (1.9)

50 G esas que no' menaza?  
50 "these ones are dangerous for us?"

51 (0.5) ((C reselects))

52 G °no a e:se (1.7) ¡um::::° (.) la cebra (0.5) la cebra  
52 "not that one, um, the zebra , the zebra"  
53 (3.1)

54 G si e- (.) si (.) no lo es ((C reselects))  
54 "you see, you see, thats not it"  
55 (3.2)

56 G tampoco  
56 "that neither"  
57 (3.6)

58 G e:se (.) <la cebra>  
58 "that one, the zebra"  
59 (1.3)



60 C °↓ah::°  
60 "ah"  
61 (0.4)  
62 G <no por que mi campo>  
62 "dont because there is not field"  
63 (1.2)  
64 C °adonde? (.) hagamole a:ca?°  
64 "where? lets do it here?"  
65 (1.0)  
66 G a'ora ↑si ((affirmative audio))  
66 "ok now"

1 D dos:: (.) >en dos< cientos años se formuló china?  
 1 "two, in two hundred years china was created".  
 2 (0.5)  
 3 D ese es el titulo?  
 3 "that is the title?"  
 4 (1.3)  
 5 D mire (.) ya salió  
 5 "look, here it is"  
 6 (3.7)  
 7 C salió todo lo (de .) las fronteras  
 7 "its showing everything about the borders"  
 8 (.)  
 9 D mire  
 9 "look"  
 10 (0.4)  
 11 C son  
 11 "they are"  
 12 (0.8)  
 13 D 'spere(.)luego(0.3)<miro(.) no lo vaya a mover(.)espero le digo a>  
 13 "wait, later, I look, don't move it, I'm going to tell"  
 14 (0.6)  
 15 D mire (.) (name) (.) venga  
 15 "look, Z1, come here"  
 16 (1.3)  
 17 Z1 si (.) sabe (1.0) sabe cuantos fronteras tiene?  
 17 you know? do you know how many borders there are?  
 18 (.)  
 19 C ↑si (.) mire  
 19 "yes, look"

20 (1.5)

21 D oy

21 "oy"

22 Z1 (h)

23 Z2 tienes que leer::

23 "you have to read it"

24 Z1 oy

24 "oy"

25 (.)

26 Z2 la informacion (1.3) cortala

26 "the information". "edit it"

27 (1.2)

28 Z1 si: (.) pero (0.6) donde esta la resp- (.) la:: (.) respuesta

28 "yes, but where is the ans, the, answer"

29 (1.1)

30 Z1 cuantas fronteras tiene?

30 "how many borders are there?"

31 (0.9)

32 C <es que (.) no sale>

32 "its just that, its not here"

33 (2.3)

34 C 'pere ( ) °muy pongale°

35 "be patient, very \*"

36 (1.4)

37 D mire (.) soy es >cli:::::::::::::ck< (.) salió

37 "look, I am click, its there"

38 (1.9)

39 C de[le ] (0.5) subale, seguro (.) que si?

39 " go ahead, go up , I'm sure? yes?"

40 D [s:::]

40 "sss"

41 (1.8)

42 D ↓si: (.) no

42 "yes, no"

43 (0.3)

44 C °↑huh°

44 "uh huh"

45 (3.4)

46 D °s:::: (0.3) [s:]°

46 "sss, sss"

47 C si

47 "yes"

48 (.)

49 Z2 cuando le diga

49 "I'm sure"

50 (8.7)

51 C hay en china (.) cier:to?

51 "its in china, right"

52 (.)

53 Z2 espérate

53 "be patient"

54 (7.6)

55 C um:: (.) es:ta

55 "um, this one"

1 C yo se cuantas fronteras tiene  
 1 I know how many borders it has  
 2 (.)  
 2 Z2 cuantas?  
 2 how many?  
 3 C u:na  
 3 "one"  
 4 (2.0)  
 5 C si (.) mira (.) aqui dice  
 5 "yes, look, it says so here"  
 6 (1.2)  
 7 Z1 cuantas fronteras?  
 7 "how many borders"  
 8 (0.3)  
 9 C u:na (.) mire  
 9 "one, look"  
 10 (0.3)  
 11 Z1 [u:na]?  
 11 "one?"  
 12 C [tiene] u:na >fr:ontera (0.5) terrestre  
 12 "it has one land border"  
 13 (0.4)  
 14 C >de mas de dos(.)um(.) veinte(0.4)vein<(0.7)te dos mil kilómetros  
 14 "of more than two, m, of twenty, twen, ty two thousand kilometers"  
 15 (1.5)  
 16 C mire  
 16 "look"  
 17 (1.0)  
 18 Z1 si (.) ¿ah (.) tiene una frontera¿

18 "yes, ah, it has one border"  
19 (0.3)  
20 Z1 >la frontera< (0.5)tiene veinte:(.) veinte dos mil kilómetros (.)  
21 la verdad  
20 "the border, it has twenty, twenty two thousand kilometers, this  
21 is true"  
22 (0.4)  
23 Z1 pero tiene (.) muchas países a lado  
23 but, it has, many countries on the side  
24 (1.1)  
25 Z1 en [la frontera]  
25 "on the border"  
26 C [tiene cat]orce países  
26 "it has fourteen countries"  
27 (0.4)  
28 Z1 †ah:: (.) es:ta  
28 "ah, thats it,  
29 (1.2)  
30 Z1 es:ta(0.3)es:ta(0.5) entonce' (.)tiene cuan-(.)cuan[tas] fronteras?  
30 thats it, that, it, therefore, it has how, how many borders?  
31 C °[cat]°  
31 "cat"  
32 (0.5)  
33 C catorce  
33 "fourteen"  
34 (0.3)  
35 Z1 y los países (.) cual son?  
35 and the countries, which are they?  
36 (0.7)  
37 C °†um° (0.3) <por eso> (.) catorce  
37 "um, like I said, fourteen"

38 (0.4)

39 z2 cuales son?

39 "which are they"

40 (1.8)

41 C mongolia(.)ruisa(0.4)corea del norte (1.0) >viet (.) hm: (.) nam<

41 "mongolas, russia, north korea, viet, hm, nam"

42 (0.4)

43 C loas (0.5) >myan:mar (0.5) antiqua birmani-(0.8) birmania<

43 C loas, myanmar, old byrmany, burma

44 (0.4)

45 C india (0.6) bután\_(0.5) nepal (.) >pakistán<

45 "india, bhutan, nepal, pakistan,

46 (0.3)

47 C >afganistán<

47 "afghanistan"

48 (.)

49 Z1 (name) [ha encontrado la res]puesta

49 "(C) has found the answer"

50 C >[kazak (.) e (.) stán]<

50 "kazak, e, stan"

51 (.)

52 Z1 very good (0.7) very good (2.0) >very good<

52 (.)

53 Z1 y::: (.) puede encontrar una mapa también?

53 "and, can you also find a map?"

54 (0.3)

55 Z1 [donde] (.) el mapa

55 "where, the map"

56 D [el mapa]

56 "the map"

57 (.)

58 C pere (.) la achiquitamos (1.0) tin-

58 "wait, we will make it smaller"



1 Z1 don[de es:ta] la mapa?  
 1 "where is the map?"  
 2 C ↓[erm:::::]  
 2 "erm"  
 3 (0.4)  
 4 G mírelo (.) alla  
 4 "look, there"  
 5 D son cuatro? (0.5) son cuatro fronteras?  
 5 "there are four? there are four borders?"  
 6 (0.3)  
 7 C °búscaló más[::]°  
 7 "search for it more"  
 8 D [so]n cuatro >fronteras<  
 8 "their are four borders"  
 9 G mire  
 9 "look"  
 10 C mírelo  
 10 "look here"  
 11 D "en china?"  
 11 "in china?"  
 12 (.)  
 13 G ↓mire  
 13 look  
 14 Z1 pregunta a (name)  
 14 "ask (C)"  
 15 (0.4)  
 16 C ah?  
 16 "ah"  
 17 (0.3)

18 G mire  
 18 "look"  
 19 D cuantas fronteras son?  
 19 "how many borders are there?"  
 20 (1.1)  
 21 C fr[ont]eras? (.) una (0.4) y países (.) catorce  
 21 "borders? one, and countries, fourteen"  
 22 G ↑[um]  
 22 "um"  
 23 G catorce?  
 23 "fourteen"  
 24 (0.7)  
 25 C es:e (.) mire (.) a[quí]  
 25 "that, look, here"  
 26 Z1 [y do]nde esta china?  
 26 "and where is china?"  
 27 (0.3)  
 28 G china (.) ga (.) chung::  
 28 "china, ga, chung"  
 29 ( )  
 30 Z1 do[nde e]sta?  
 30 where is it?  
 31 G [china] (.) [china]  
 31 "china, china"  
 32 C °[mirela] a:ca°  
 32 "look at it, here"  
 33 (0.8)  
 34 C °hum:: (.) hum:: (.) h[um:: (.) hu]m::[::::]°  
 34 "hum, hum hum, hum"  
 35 G [hum (.) hum]  
 35 "hum, hum"

36 Z1 [sabe] donde esta china?  
36 "do you know where china is?"  
37 (1.3)  
38 C en la china chupin (.) china  
38 "in the china chupin\*, china"  
39 (0.6)  
40 C no  
40 no  
41 (0.7)  
42 G °↓um::[::]°  
42 "um"  
43 C [no] (.) esa no es (1.0) >busquemos<  
43 "no, that's not it, lets search"  
44 (2.0)  
45 C ↓que:::::::::: (0.5) mapa  
45 "what". "map"  
46 (2.7)  
47 G mapa de:::::::::: (.) china (0.3) si?  
47 "map of china, si?"  
48 (2.8)  
49 C vea esta (.) choco  
49 "look at this, mate"  
50 (3.5)  
51 G por que lo estan borrando?  
51 "why you are deleting it?"  
52 (0.3)  
53 C no (.) mapa de china  
53 "no, map de china"  
54 (3.0)  
55 G °mapa de china (.) mire°  
55 "look, a map of china"

56 (3.5)

57 Z1 °(h)° (1.7) esta buscando?

59 "you're searching?"

60 (0.7)

61 C el mapa de china

61 "the map of china"

62 (1.1 )

63 G °e:sa (.) mire°

63 "that one, look"

64 (4.1)

65 G <que rápido no?>

65 "its fast, isn't it?"

66 (2.7)

67 Z1 (name) (1.2) mira

67 "look, (G)"

68 (3.2)

69 C mirelo (.) >aquí están todas<

69 "look, here they all are"

70 (1.4)

71 Z1 ↑si::=

71 "yes"

72 C =aquí están toda [las::]

72 "here are all the"

73 Z1 >[ muy ] bien< (2.3) muy bien

73 "well done, well done"