'Throw one out that's problematic':
Authority and affiliation in design education

Arlene Oak
Department of Human Ecology
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, AB T6G 2N1, Canada,
aoak@ualberta.ca

Peter Lloyd (Corresponding Author)
School of Art, Design and Media,
University of Brighton,
Grand Parade, Brighton, BN2 0JY, United Kingdom
p.a.lloyd@brighton.ac.uk

Abstract

This paper explores interaction in graduate-level industrial design education. We outline two instances of how design reviews are conducted through social contexts and provide a theorized analysis of these instances. In particular, this paper considers how participants in a design review - both an instructor and students - enact aspects of role-oriented authority and affiliation within the context of the review. Through perspectives associated with ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, this paper discusses how a misunderstanding and a request (and the response to that request) are managed through speech, gesture, and gaze direction. We explore how the interactive, co-presence of an instructor and students impacts upon the overall performance of the review and show how some of the pedagogic practices of design education are enacted through the contexts of discourse and embodiment. This paper provides opportunities for design instructors, students, professionals, and researchers to reflect upon the collaborative micro-activities of design education and to consider the impact that these may have upon participants' experiences and perceptions of design education.

Keywords: design assessment, design critique, design education, face, floor, gaze, gesture, interaction.

1. Introduction: delivering assessment

This paper explores social interactions through a micro-level lens in order to consider how such interactions occur in design education in ways that are discursive and embodied; that is, performed through talk and physical actions. The data on which this paper is based is from the DTRS10 corpus of 'industrial design concept reviews', in which a group of graduate-level industrial design students present their ideas to an instructor (Simon) and receive some assessment concerning those ideas. As a pedagogic event these 'concept reviews', involve Simon and his students being co-present as each student's project drawings are discussed (in the DTRS10 data, the project was to design a new product that would assist with the management of laundry). The design reviews were intended to provide an overview of each student's activities to date and to include assessments of the concepts that underpinned each project (hence the term 'concept review'); however, in practice, the reviews also included many judgments of the technical qualities of the drawings through which the students communicated their ideas. This paper asks: how do participants in design reviews use their speech in concert with their bodies (i.e. stance, gesture, gaze direction) to help create and enact the situated, social roles of 'student' and 'instructor'? To answer this we explore two specific instances within the corpus of industrial design concept reviews; two instances that point to issues that concern broader aspects of social order within design education, particularly how assessment is performed in the group-based settings of design education. The topic of sociability and assessment is significant to design because learning how to judge and learning who should judge works of design are central aspects of design education. Donald Schön, for example, outlines the importance of assessment in design (architecture) education, using the performance of judgment as the structure for his theory of reflection-in-action. Schön asserts that the studio setting, in which students and professors discuss problems and solutions, forms the core of reflective practice. In his influential books The Reflective Practitioner (1984), and Educating the Reflective Practitioner (1987) Schön presents a discussion (about the design of an elementary school) that occurs between a female student, Petra, and Quist, her male instructor. Schön uses this discussion to argue that: 'The language of designing is a language for doing architecture, a language game which Quist models for Petra, displaying for her the competences he would like her to acquire' (1984, p. 81). Schön's position is that, through learning to mimic Quist's vocabulary and method of delivering expertise, Petra will explicitly learn aspects of architecture as a design discipline and implicitly learn how to be a reflective practitioner. Schön's work emphasizes the importance of discursivity in education through terms such as 'vocabulary' and 'language'. While, like Schön, we are chiefly concerned with discourse, in this paper we also consider other performative elements such gesture and gaze in order to encourage the reader's reflection upon how performances of authority and group-based affiliation are tacitly embodied within role-appropriate behaviors within design education.

In order to explore aspects of role performance in design education the sequences of talk we consider are: first, an instance where an instructor begins a series of design reviews; and second, an instance where the instructor asks a student to perform a review. By investigating in-depth how these two sequences of review-based interaction unfold, we explore how the participants enact the roles of instructor and students in ways that also

suggest the presentation of what could be perceived by participants as forms of authority and group-based affiliation. In this paper, 'authority' does not simply mean 'power'. While there are many different approaches to understanding the concept of authority across the social sciences, we consider authority from a discourse analytic perspective and so understand it to be context specific (i.e. linked to particular areas of knowledge or action (Bochenski, 1974) and to mean 'the exercise of power that the subject of authority understands as *legitimate* (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012, p. 297: emphasis in original). Authority in interaction involves participants recognizing and orienting to a person's (or group of persons') forms of knowledge, rights, or obligations that both confer authority and enable its performance within a context (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012). By 'affiliation' we mean to belong to a larger group (in this case, a group of students) and to demonstrate that membership through mutual support. Here, to perform affiliation, participants demonstrate solidarity, that is: 'an ability to act in the interest of others [indicating an] understanding of each other's situation' (Cekaite 2013, p. 511). We are not arguing that the circumstances we discuss here are reflective of all design reviews in all institutions; instead, by drawing attention to specific interactional phenomena that occur during specific reviews, we intend our work to contribute to a productive discussion that concerns the social aspects of contemporary design education.

Our exploration of how the social, interactional aspects of the reviews are experienced contributes to the field of design research that is being advanced by scholars such as Tenenberg, Socha and Rot (Proceedings of DTRS10) whose work considers how participants use the stance of their bodies in ways that foster 'Designerly ways of Being'. Further, although the work of Sonalkar, Mabogunje & Leifer (Proceedings of DTRS10) differs from ours through their use of symbolic notation to analyze 'ways of seeing' within the reviews, their interest in 'professional vision responses' connects to our concern with participant embodiment and experience. Others whose work is associated with our qualitative approaches to understanding design include Cardoso, Eris, & Badke-Schaub (Proceedings of DTRS10), and McDonnell (Proceedings of DTRS10), whose interests lie in the nature of questioning during critiques, and the importance of one-on-one interactions between students and instructors for the development of professional knowledge.

2. Theory and methods

The issue of how authority and group-oriented affiliation are performed in specific moments in design reviews is discussed here through a framework that draws on ethnomethodology (EM) and conversation analysis (CA), while also extending these approaches. From EM we adopt an awareness of how participants make sense of what is going on in the situated practice of the review, wherein the social roles of 'instructor' and 'student' are oriented to in specific ways (Garfinkel 1984; Heritage 2005). From the approaches and methods of CA we adopt the Jeffersonian transcription system (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974 (Appendix 1)) and attention to sequential turn taking within the design reviews. In our analyses, we extend a CA approach by drawing on the concept of 'face'. 'Face' is the socially-constituted self image that an individual is aware of and emotionally invested in maintaining. By socially-constituted we mean that all participants in an interaction are invested in maintaining each other's face. Face is not just something

an individual recognizes as a personal concern, face is mutually constituted and managed collaboratively. Accordingly, 'face-threatening acts' are behaviors, such as criticisms and impositions, that risk damaging the esteem of others or oneself and that, if performed, may diminish the sense of mutual support and face-saving that underpins most interactions (Arundale 2010; Brown and Levinson 1987; Goffman 1955). In taking a CA-oriented approach we are building on previous discussions of design, for instance, those that have adopted a fine-grained consideration of: language use (Glock 2009); ethical decision-making (Lloyd 2009), the formation of design concepts (Luck 2009); rule-following (Matthews 2009); social action (Mathews & Heinemann 2012); disagreement (McDonnell 2012); and role construction (Oak 2009, 2012, 2013). While we take a CA-oriented perspective, our work does not follow the CA tradition of eschewing any discussion of the world that exists beyond what is specifically made relevant in the participants' talk (e.g. that social categories such as gender are only salient if participants in a given interaction say something like 'ladies first', that makes the category of gender relevant for others; Schegloff 1997, 181). Instead, we explore how social roles are enacted or indexed (brought to others' attention) through also considering how political realities and social obligations, such as face-saving, may be implicit in the interaction without necessarily being explicit in the talk (Kitzinger 2002; Speer 2005). Finally, as well as aspects of EM and CA, this paper is influenced by visual methodologies and their approaches to the analysis of visual data; however, for the sake of brevity we do not undertake an excursion into the theories, practices, and methodologies of visual analysis (but see, for example: Belhiah 2009; Goodwin 2000; Heath and Luff 2013; Knoblauch, Schnettler, Raab & Soeffner 2009; Rossano 2013).

Characteristically, EM/CA-influenced research begins with an inductive perspective that favors relative disinterest in the data, and this was our method. We approached the analysis of the DTRS data as 'an examination not prompted by pre-specified goals […] but by 'noticings' of initially unremarkable features of talk or other conduct' (Schegloff 1996, p. 172). That is, we avoided imposing onto the data our own preconceived ideas of what was happening, and instead we watched and listened until we noticed a particular set of 'unremarkable features' that caught our attention. The close watching, followed by a frame-by-frame analysis (made possible through the use of digital video data) enabled us to consider the participants' embodied actions as well as their words. Through this attentive watching we noticed several interesting phenomena that were occurring in the reviews.

Once we had identified segments of interest in the graduate-level ID videos, a detailed transcription was made of each, following the Jefferson notation system, which allowed the creation of a highly accurate transcript, in which is included information such as overlapping talk, pause length, intonation, volume, and prosody. Along with the speech data we carried out a frame-by-frame visual analysis of some moments to further determine what was taking place. The search to capture what is going on in interaction is also a search for an adequate representation of that interaction, a far from simple task (Edelsky 1981; Hammersley 2010). As Edelsky notes in her paper, 'Who's Got the Floor?' (1981), a transcription does not necessarily capture the 'feel' of what is happening in a video, particularly the shifting social 'floor' of discussion. In order to better represent the complexities of embodiment as it occurs in the brief instances of interaction that we

analyze, we have included sequenced images of particularly significant moments and noted in the transcripts where these images correspond with the words. (Our more lengthy analysis of all the group-based reviews can be found in the Proceedings from DTRS10, and also in the book from the Symposium). Our argument here draws on both linguistic and visual data, with the visual analysis provided as a supplement to the analysis of the talk.

2.1 Turn-taking and institutional talk

While we focus here on two instances of interaction during two separate design reviews, underpinning our analysis is the broader issue of how taking turns at talk is managed during the reviews, particularly in relation to aspects of the embodied performances of authority and affiliation. Class-based reviews in design education are an interesting pedagogic event to consider for several reasons. First, they usually involve most, if not all, class members and are therefore an assessment event that is at least semi-public: i.e. they are not open to just anyone but usually there are many class members in attendance. Because of this, reviews are instances of assessment wherein the judgments are not private to the instructor's own experience (which would be the case if, for instance if an instructor was alone when grading the students' work) but instead are witnessed by others. Second, reviews are interesting to study because they take place through role-based social performances. That is, the instructor and students perform the reviews and understand them to be meaningful through talk, movement, stance, gesture, etc. As the works of design are being discussed and judged in the reviews the embodied qualities of the students are present to the instructor and the embodied qualities of the instructor are present to the students (Tenenburg, Socha, and Rot, This Issue). In effect, a collaborative reciprocity of meaning and interpretation is ongoing throughout the reviews with each act influencing what happens next. Third, design reviews are interesting because, as a pedagogic event they are somewhat unusual since they often happen in a relatively informal, conversational manner (informal when contrasted with other types of assessment in higher education such as oral exams or written tests). However, despite design reviews seeming to be informal discussions between peers, underpinning the reviews are normative and hierarchical circumstances that impact upon how the interaction unfolds. These circumstances include both the taken-for-granted 'rules' of turn-taking in conversation, and the nature of role performance through institutional talk. Aspects of turn taking and of institutional talk have consequences for how authority and members' solidarity are performed in design reviews, and so these issues are briefly outlined next.

Taking turns during a conversation is a highly organized activity that involves determining who has the current turn and who might take the next one in any given interaction (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). Taking turns involves their allocation, which may occur when a current speaker explicitly chooses the next speaker (e.g. 'Dan, your turn'), when a speaker is implicitly selected (e.g. through a pause that is accompanied by a direct gaze), or when a speaker 'self-selects' and contributes to the interaction without being specifically invited. The interactional turn (whether sentence, word, gesture, etc.) ends when a transitional relevant place occurs (e.g. a brief pause or a change in intonation). At such a place another speaker may self-select or be assigned to

respond. If a turn is taken before such a transitional relevant moment the participants may interpret that talk as an interruption. Generally, in any given interaction, a speaker's intonation, word choice, etc. signals to a potential future speaker that the current speaker's turn is ending and so it is appropriate for the next speaker to begin talking. In this way a conversational 'floor', or a focus for a groups' attention, is shared and passed fluidly from speaker to speaker with little or no hesitation, interruption, or overlap. Because of the structural significance of turn-taking in talk, and its usually seamless choreography, when it does not go as might be expected (for instance, if long pauses occur) then it is interesting to look at what is going on.

While CA attends to turn taking, it also notes how it is performed in specific settings and so distinguishes between talk that occurs between peers in unofficial situations, and 'institutional talk', which involves participants having certain restrictions on their talk as they speak through and thereby accomplish both institutionally-relevant roles (e.g. teacher/student) and institutionally-relevant goals (e.g. assessment) (Heritage 2005). Since the participants perform the graduate-level industrial design concept reviews as occasions through which student work is critiqued with the goal to help students improve that work, the concept reviews can by analyzed as instances of institutional talk. As we show here, the nature of how social roles are enacted through institutional talk has some impact upon how participants perform the design reviews.

3. Analysis: Institutional talk and a misunderstanding

In the first extract of interaction that we consider we see how the instructor, Simon, opens the interaction and uses his role as an institutional authority to explicitly orient the students to his goals for the interaction. Following his presentation of how events are to occur, a misunderstanding takes place that nevertheless enables the review to proceed (see Figure 1 for four images extracted from the eleven-minute review).

3.1 Extract 1: ID-G: Concept Review - Mylie[i][ii] (run time 10:59)

1.	S:	Okay so let's just go through a few of these as a class and
2		talk em out and <then we'll go> I'm not gonna >we're not
3		gonna be able to take time to do everybody's < but um (2.0)
4		throw one out that's problematic (1.4) okay either one of yours or
5		somebody else's where it's like yeah this needs some help what
6		can we do about it? (2.0) no one needs any help? (5.6)
7	(Alexis hands sheet over towards Mylie and Simon takes it, images M1-M4)	
8	S:	That one (0.2) tree pack
9	Al:	ºNo it was for herº
10	S:	Okay
11	D:	I think she was just giving it back to Mylie.
12	(laughter of students and instructor)	
13	S:	Oh okay <hey you volunteered it!>

M1 Alexis hands the sheet to Mylie

M2 Simon & Mylie go to take sheet, Alexis looks at Mylie

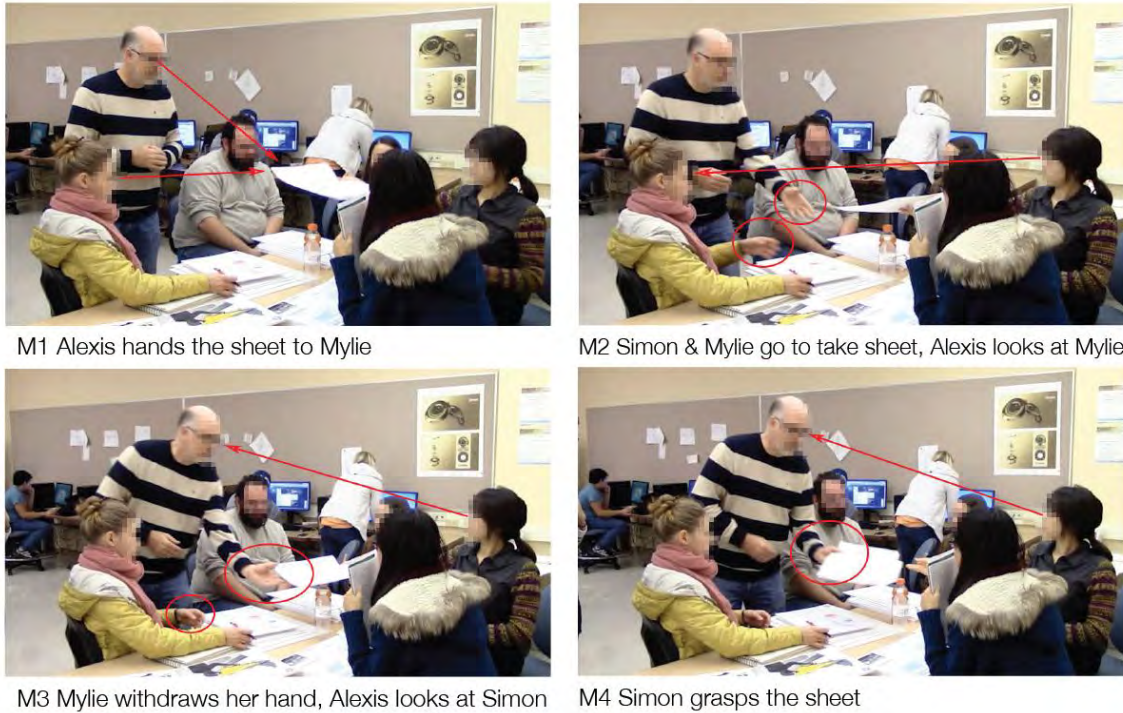M3 Mylie withdraws her hand, Alexis looks at Simon

M4 Simon grasps the sheet

Figure 1. Concept Review - Mylie, images M1-M4

Simon opens this review by speaking as he stands near a table with five seated students. Behind the table other students who are not associated with the review go about their work, mostly on computers (as can be seen in Figure 1). Several characteristics distinguish Extract 1 as institutional talk. For example, through his talk Simon aims to have the students understand the activities of the review through his terms, and to move 'the event forward on that basis' (Heritage 2005; p. 104). Simon's opening words define for himself and the students what should happen in this concept review: i.e. group-based discussion and critique of student work, as initiated by the instructor. First Simon, as instructor, and therefore in the role of institutionally-designated authority figure, self-selects to take an opening turn which he begins with the utterance: 'Okay'. The word 'okay' when used by a teacher/professor indicates that a shift in the talk's focus is about to occur and that others should pay attention to what is said next (Levin and Gray 1983; Schleef 2008). In the design reviews, Simon's use of 'okay' to begin is an informal, yet authoritative act that essentially means: 'listen to me'. As Simon continues to talk, he gestures by holding both hands in front of himself and moves them in an encompassing, circular motion as he says 'as a class' (line 1). This gesture, coupled with a gaze pattern that moves consistently and evenly around each of the five, seated students indicates that he considers all of them to be the receivers of his instructions concerning how events are to unfold. Simon's stance, utterance, gaze, and gestures communicate a level of casualness and familiarity with the students but also enact a clear indication that he is in charge.

Simon continues to speak in a manner that frames the talk as institutional, as he states who will participate in the ensuing discussion (lines 1-3: the 'class' but not 'everybody')

and what will happen (lines 1-2: 'go through a few of these … talk 'em out'). Since this is the first of several reviews Simon's words are particularly significant because they set the scene for all of the talk that will proceed at this meeting. Simon further positions the talk as institutional through his indication that the discussion will involve assessment and guidance; that is, he asks the students to offer up some work (line 4: 'throw one out' (i.e. hand one forward)), particularly work that is 'problematic' and that needs 'help' and advice. Additionally, although his speech is relatively informal (as is communicated by colloquialisms such as 'throw one out' and contractions such as 'gonna'), Simon uses his position as an authority figure to outline for the students who has permission to put work forward (lines 4-5: 'one of yours or somebody else's'). Here, Simon is effectively saying that he not only expects students to judge for themselves whether or not their work needs help but also to judge and announce to others if the work of their classmates needs 'help'.

Simon's opening words serve as the first part of a summons-answer turn-taking sequence (Sawchuk 2003). By saying 'throw one out that's problematic' Simon is claiming the authority to define the kind of work he wants the group to discuss and thereby constraining the students to reply by handing forward a 'problematic' design. However, in this first review, no drawings are handed forward, even after what are, in the context of talk, very long pauses of two and more than five seconds (line 6). After Simon says 'yeah this needs some help, what can we do about it?' (lines 5-6) he pauses, thereby creating a transitionally-relevant opening in which a student could rightfully claim the floor and put a drawing forward for discussion. During this pause and in the next utterance ('no one needs any help?'), Simon looks around the group. His gaze moves to each student but only Alison and Alexis return his glance. The others (Mylie and Dan) do not, perhaps partly because to do so would require them to turn their heads and look up, since Simon is standing directly beside them (since the camera is positioned behind Eva it is not possible to discern her gaze direction).

Eventually Alexis hands a drawing forward (Figure 1, M1). Both Mylie and Simon gesture to take the drawing with Mylie raising her hand to take the sheet (M2). At the same time Simon, still standing, leans forward and moves his hand towards Alexis. Given his stance and body position (effectively in front of Mylie), Simon does not see Mylie's gesture. He is the first to grasp the drawing that Alexis has offered, with Mylie opting to yield to Simon's acquisition of the drawing (M3). As we clearly see in these four frames and their accompanying talk (Extract 1 above) Simon has interpreted Alexis's action as a reply to his request for a drawing since, in conversational talk, it is reasonable to expect that a request is followed by a response to that request (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 2007). In this case, however, a misunderstanding has occurred: Alexis's gesture of handing forward a drawing is not meant to offer it for critique, but instead to return the drawing to Mylie. It is not clear that Alexis has understood Simon's request for students to offer forward 'problematic' work but, once she realizes that Simon has taken the drawing to critique it, she makes a small utterance of surprise indicating that this was not her intention (line 9). Despite the unexpected situation, like Mylie, she does not challenge Simon's authority to take the drawing and begin speaking about it. It is another student, Dan (sitting to the left of Simon and positioned to see Mylie's gesture to take the drawing) who explains the mistake by saying: 'I think she was just giving it back to Mylie' (line 11). All the participants laugh, indicating each member's awareness of, and

their desire to mitigate, the potentially face-threatening embarrassment to Simon caused by his misunderstanding; a mistake that could potentially undermine his role as an authority figure (Billig 2005; Thonus 2008).

Simon admits his error ('Oh okay' line 13) but then immediately accounts for his part of the misunderstanding by making an upward-sweeping hand gesture towards Alexis, and looking at her briefly as he emphatically says: 'Hey, you volunteered it!': i.e. Alexis handed the drawing forward so it is reasonable to begin discussing it. Yet, as the group has just established and acknowledged through talk and laughter, Alexis did not actually volunteer the work. Simon's utterance, while not technically accurate, notes Alexis's role in the misunderstanding, and thereby serves to reestablish Simon's authority (and save face) by both offering a reason for his taking of the drawing and a justification for his interpretation of the situation by (Benwell and Stokoe 2002).

From this analysis of the talk and embodied actions within a single, brief episode of interaction at the opening of a series of design reviews, can see how stance and body position (e.g. standing, seated), hand gestures (e.g. moving in such a way as to indicate 'all persons present' or grasping a drawing), and reciprocity of gaze direction all contribute to the specific performance of the review, and therefore to its character as both a pedagogic and a social event. The postures and actions (gestures, glances, silences) as well as Simon's words combine in ways that show how authority is distributed amongst participants. That is, while it is true that Simon demonstrates overt, institutional authority by setting out the plan for what is to occur in the review, nevertheless, the students also demonstrate authority by not immediately handing forward work to discuss, despite his repeated requests. Indeed, the way that Simon has performed his request for students to submit their work actually militates against them doing so. As will be seen in the following discussion, while the students' silences effectively and consistently thwart Simon's desire to 'go through a few of these', it is likely that the students are exerting their agency to avoid Simon's request more out of affiliation with each other than a desire to pointedly counteract his authority.

3.2 Managing 'face' in the concept review

One feature of Simon's talk that contributes to a scenario wherein Alexis is disinclined to hand over Mylie's drawing is his request for a specific type of work. That is, early in Mylie's review, Simon says 'throw one out that's problematic'. No student offers work, so Simon self-selects to take a further turn at talk in which he more clearly describe what he wants: work that 'needs some help'. After a long pause, Simon asks: 'no one needs any help?'. This question is followed by another long pause of over five seconds, yet still no students speak or submit work. It is during this long pause that the misunderstanding outlined above occurs, effectively enabling the uncomfortably long pause to end with Simon's grasping of Mylie's drawing. Through his opening moments of talk Simon has, albeit unwittingly, put the students into an interactional double bind: i.e. by asking only for work that is 'problematic' and that 'needs some help', Simon effectively asks the students to negatively assess their own work or that of their classmates. The double bind is that students, in their role as students, can be rightly expected (by themselves and others) to reply to their instructor's requests; however, students can also be expected to

show affiliative solidarity with each other as peers, in part by resisting their instructor's requests (Benwell and Stokoe 2002; Attenborough and Stokoe 2012). Simon's invitation to offer only work that has problems constrains the students to respond with a negative judgment of a fellow student's work; a judgment that could be interpreted by that student as a hostile or 'face-threatening act'.

In general, participants in interaction demonstrate connectedness with each other and minimize potentially embarrassing threats to each other's face. Therefore, in the reviews, if a student were to submit another student's work as needing 'help', that student would perform a potential disconnection from their fellow student as an individual and also a potential disconnection from the other students as a group. Further, if a student in a group of classmates offers another student's work as 'needing help' that individual could be understood as overtly affiliating themselves with the instructor, since judging another's work as problematic is an activity associated with the role 'instructor' rather than with the role 'student' (Benwell and Stokoe 2002). Alexis's comment 'no it was for her' (line 9) indicates her desire to disassociate herself from Simon's interpretation of her handing forward of the drawing. Alexis's comments are spoken quietly enough to not directly challenge Simon, but loudly enough for the other students to realize what is going on. Dan's explicit explanation of the misunderstanding positions himself as acting in affiliation with Alexis, who otherwise may be understood to have handed Mylie's drawing forward in response to Simon's request. In this way Dan and Alexis collaborate to save both Mylie and Alexis from the potentially face-threatening acts of: first, having Mylie's work identified by Alexis as needing help; and, second, having Alexis behaviour identified as assuming the role of 'assessing instructor'. The issues of role, relationship, and 'face' may seem distant from the pedagogic aspects of running a design review, but the social context of the review has an impact on what participants feel they can say and so affects the participants' experience of the review.

4. Analysis: Making and responding to a command

Up to this point, we have seen how Simon's institutional authority enables him to outline and direct the proceedings. Despite the apparent power associated with his role as instructor, silence meets Simon's overt requests for the students to offer examples of work that 'needs help'; silence that is eventually interrupted by a misunderstanding that enables the review to begin. We have shown how performances of institutional authority occur through Simon's talk and gestures (seizing a drawing and initiating a discussion about it). However, we have also shown student authority, or at least their ability to enact a kind of interactional power through their resistance to Simon's requests to hand forward problematic work (Benwell and Stokoe 2002; Burroughs 2007). In the following extract of talk from the opening moments of another review (Extract 2, Sydney) we see how talk, silence, and physical gestures again work together to enact Simon's authority and the students' affiliation with members of their group. Here we see how students resist Simon's initial request to speak before one student, Walter, acquiesces to a direct command. Walter manages his talk in such a way that he meets Simon's request while also positioning himself as maintaining affiliation and solidarity with his classmates.

4.1 Extract 2: ID-G: Concept Review – Sydney (run time 6:44)

| 1	S:	Next? (5.2)
2		((Sydney lays her drawing on the table, S1))
3		Okay whose turn? (7.6)
4		((Simon looks from person to person, Figure 2, S2-S10))
5		Walter
6	W:	Huh?
7	S:	You're talking ((points at sheet, S9))
8		it's your turn ((taps table))
9	W:	It's my turn?
10	S:	You critique it what's working [explain the concepts
11	W:	[Yeah
12	W:	Then I'll take a look ((10.7, looks at drawing))
13		Uhh (1.0) so it's uh it's a coat hanger (3.4) and the way
14		you use it (2.3) I think here is a here is a pull up here
15		((points, image S10)) and then ah you use it you can just uh
16		squeeze this (3.2) and then put it through the clothes (2.2) and then
17		kind of open the (1.5) this part and then you got the (2.0) the
18		whole shape
19	S:	Okay
20	W:	Okay make sense?
21	S:	Made it made it [made sense
22	W:	[Makes sense
23	S:	Okay what's good about the drawing or the board and what needs to
24		be fixed?
25	W:	I think the storyboard is making very good sense
26	S:	Okay
27	S:	Yeah I like the [storyboard are the numbers necessary or not?
28	W:	[Yes
29	W:	U::h (4.0) I think it's (not that easy)
30	S:	To me they are a little bit bold they I think they help to know that
31		you start here and go [this way because it could be the other=
32	W:	[Yeah
33	S:	=way even though we usually read left to right it helps to see this
34		the spacing is just this is just a pet peeve <the spacing isn't quite
35		consistent> it's matching with the drawings but this is tighter
36		and this is bigger so even the spacing up and make it a little bit
37		I think smaller so that they're not so bold but they are beautiful
38		drawings really nicely done

S1 Sydney lays down her sheet for critique

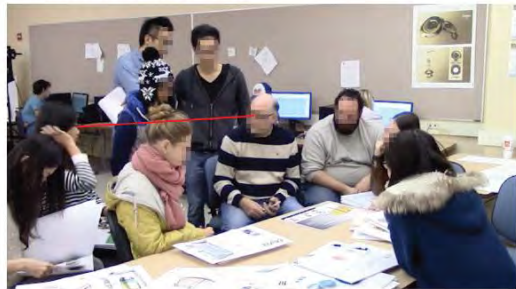S2 Simon looks at Mylie, Mylie avoids Simon
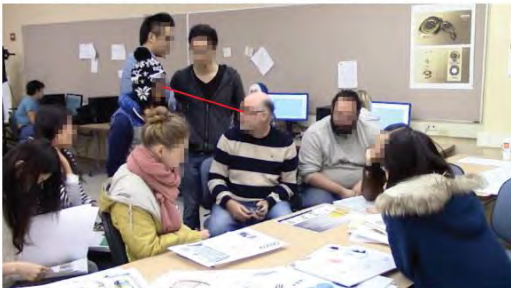
S3 Simon looks at Lynne

S4 Simon looks at Alison
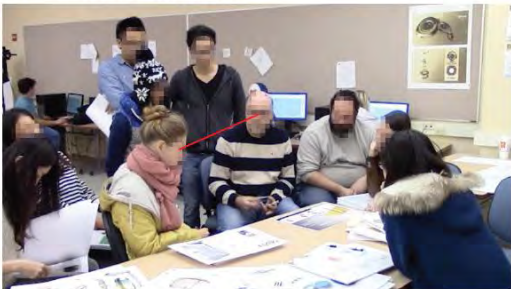
S5 Simon looks back at Mylie, Mylie avoids Simon

S6 Simon looks at Eva

S7 Simon looks at Sydney

S8 Simon looks at Walter

S9 Simon enlists Walter, Mylie moves forward

S10 Walter starts his critique

Figure 2. Concept Review, Sydney S1-S10

Again Simon, as the institutional authority, speaks first at the opening of this review by saying: 'Next', thereby indicating that he controls the sequencing of the reviews - deciding when they end and when they begin. During the ensuing pause of 5.2 seconds, a drawing is handed forward by the student, Sydney, who is standing beside the seated student (Ellen) whose drawings were just reviewed (Sydney's is the third in the series of concept reviews. Due to the requirement of brevity we are not analyzing all of the reviews in this paper). After Sydney reaches forward to place her drawing in front of Simon he asks for a volunteer to begin the review (line 3: 'Okay whose turn?'). It is apparent though that no formal order of speaking has been established since no one speaks up to take their 'turn'. Simon's request is followed by a long, transitionally-relevant pause of over seven seconds where he looks from person to person (S2-S8). Eventually Simon selects the next speaker, Walter, commanding him by abruptly saying: 'Walter – you're talking – it's your turn' (S9; lines 5-8). Walter utters a surprised 'Huh?' then a question ('It's my turn?' line 9) but, after Simon briefly instructs him on what he expects him to talk about, Walter takes up Simon's directive. Simon states that he wants Walter to 'explain the concepts' rather than assess the presentational aspects of the design drawings (which Simon himself has emphasized in his own talk in the previous reviews; for a discussion of how Simon performs his critiques see Oak and Lloyd (2014) and Oak and Lloyd (2015).

Walter steps and leans forward to look at the drawing, uncrossing his arms to point directly to the drawing (S10) while also offering a verbal narrative of how Sydney's product (a collapsible clothes hanger) works (lines 13-18). After he describes the mechanism he judges that the drawing 'makes sense' (line 20). Simon pursues Walter and asks him for a further contribution by saying: 'okay what's good about the drawing and what needs to be fixed?' (lines 23-24). Simon's questions explicitly focus attention on the drawing and thereby sidestep the topic of the design ideas (even though 'the concepts' were what Simon initially Walter to explain). Despite Simon's direct request for Walter to state 'what needs to be fixed' Walter avoids making a face-threatening, negative assessment towards Sydney by talking about the work's shortcomings. Instead Walter offers an upgrade (Heritage and Raymond 2005) of his earlier positive assessment ('it makes sense') by saying that the drawing/storyboard makes 'very good sense'. Simon agrees ('I like the storyboard') and then asks for Walter's opinion about the numbers on the drawing - drawing attention to presentational rather than conceptual issues, and using his authority to coach Walter by suggesting what he should talk about (line 27: 'are the numbers necessary or not?').

Walter's response is hedged as he first offers an extended 'Uhhhh', followed by a long pause of four seconds, both of which indicate uncertainty and the planning of his next utterances (Fox Tree 2002; Tottie 2011). Eventually Walter says 'I think it is not that easy' (line 29) which implies that how the collapsible hanger would actually function is more complex than the drawing indicates. Walter thereby suggests that the drawing is not quite accurate, while avoiding a strongly negative critique of it. In this way, Walter responds to Simon's authoritative command to speak and also to Simon's request to talk about the less successful elements of the product ('what needs to be fixed'). However, Walter also maintains affiliation with Sydney and with the rest of his classmates. After Walter's comment at line 29, Simon takes over the review by offering a somewhat

negative judgment of the numbers (line 30: 'To me they are a little bit bold'). Simon goes on to explain in detail his criticism of the numbers (lines 33-37), finishing his assessment on a positive note as he states that the drawings 'are beautiful - really nicely done' (lines 37-38). In Walter's talk as critic he has not offered either directly negative or exceedingly positive assessment (with his greatest compliment being that Sydney's drawings make 'very good sense'). In contrast, Simon is effusive in his praise of her work. It may seem that a student who wants to avoid making a face-threatening act towards another student might perhaps be more forthcoming with praise, however, in the context of talk within an educational institution, unconstrained positive assessment is generally the preserve of an authority figure such as an instructor (Benwell and Stokoe 2002). This is because stating what is 'really' nice about something requires both the knowledge to recognize what is good and also the confidence to publicly express this recognition in a manner that suggests others would not disagree. It is in the nuances of managing both overtly negative *and* positive assessment that Simon performs aspects of the authority conferred by both his social role as an instructor and by his social role as an experienced designer.

4.2 Gaze direction, affiliation, and authority

While we have outlined how participants perform aspects of affiliation and authority primarily through their talk in Extract 2, an interesting aspect of this interaction is also the way that gaze direction is enacted, as evidenced particularly through the sequence of ten images shown in Figure 2. These images depict what is happening after Simon says 'Okay whose turn?' (line 3), during the very long pause in the talk (7.6 seconds) which follows his question (note Simon's use of 'okay' which, as discussed earlier, is an authoritative utterance that in this context may be understood as 'pay attention'). Simon and six students are seated while three others stand behind him. Immediately after Simon says 'whose turn' he looks directly to his right, at Mylie whose gaze is focused on Sydney's drawing on the table in front of Simon. Her eyes remain on the drawing as she shifts in her chair, placing her arms down and in front of her (rather than in the more open position they were in previously (S2)). Without looking at Simon, Mylie continues her downward gaze, turning her head to look at her own work. Simon then looks directly in front of himself, across the table at Lynne, whose gaze is directed towards the drawing in front of Simon (S3). It is at this point that Simon begins to tap his pen, held in his right hand, against the fingers of his left hand (in which he is holding his cell phone). Simon swivels his head to the left to look directly at Alison (S4), who like Mylie and Lynne, maintains a gaze that is focused on the drawing in front of Simon. Simon (continuing to tap his pen on his hand throughout) does not crane his neck further to the left to look at Dan; instead he turns to the right to again look directly at Mylie (S5) whose gaze remains fixed and lowered. Simon sweeps his head to the right, looking at Eva, who avoids his glance by looking down and then to the middle distance in front of Simon as she gestures to pull her hair back (S6). Simon then looks at Sydney whose eyes remain on the drawing she has just placed in front of Simon. As Simon looks at Eva and then at Sydney, Walter, standing behind Simon, leans towards Julian and whispers something inaudible to the video recording. Simon's glance continues to move up and around, past Sydney, as he shifts to the right and turns in his chair. By now Simon has stopped tapping his pen and is looking towards the students who, when Simon was seated in a forward-looking position, were standing behind him. Walter, standing with arms folded, turns away from Julian (to

whom he was just whispering) and meets Simon's glance (S8); the first of the students to do so. Simon turns further to look more directly at Walter and utters his command that he speaks (lines 5-8: 'Walter ... it's your turn'). Simon then turns his gaze back towards the drawing as Mylie leans forward, towards the drawing (S9). Walter does not seem keen to comply with Simon as he questions that it is his 'turn' (line 9). Here, Simon gestures towards Walter with his right hand (S10), then sweeps his hand forward to point at the drawing, in effect pointing first at Walter and then at the drawing, turning his body as he points, thereby explicitly directing everyone's attention to what Simon wants Walter to address. Mylie leans in attentively to watch as Simon pats the drawing, reiterating with his gesture that he wants the drawing critiqued and that all the students should attend to it. Walter remains standing, arms folded, not immediately taking up the turn he has been allocated. Simon indicates what he wants Walter to say (line 10) and as he speaks he turns back to look at Walter. Dan also shifts to the right to look at Walter, while Sydney turns to her left to look at him. The repositioning of the bodies of the instructor and the students who look towards Walter indicate that they are all collaborating to create an embodied expectation that Walter will speak. As Simon turns in his chair and shifts his gaze back towards the drawing, Walter steps forward, leaning in to look at the drawing, but maintaining his folded-arms stance. Simon gestures upwards with his right hand, and as Mylie and Dan shift their positions to look at the drawing, Walter leans in closer. He maintains his folded arms for over ten seconds of silence, during which he looks at the drawing. Eventually, as he describes what the product is (a coathanger; line 13) he moves forward and uncrosses his arms to point at and touch the drawing with his right hand. From here Walter continues to talk, with the review becoming more interactive between Walter and Simon (lines 13-38).

As we have seen, each of the students to whom Simon looks directly do not return his gaze (except Walter) thereby resisting Simon's attempts to enroll them into performing a critique. Through each student averting their gaze from Simon's, the students are enacting an acceptable behavior that is available to them in their role as students. That is, as students who are 'doing-being-a-student-amongst-other-students' (Attenborough and Stokoe 2012, p. 8) their silence can be understood as affiliative since, by not volunteering to assess a fellow student's work, all of them make it clear to each other that they are reluctant to respond to Simon's original request (as discussed above; that is, to identify work that is 'problematic' or that 'needs help'). Although Simon is specific in his indication to Walter that he does not necessarily have to make a negative judgment (line 10: what's working? explain the concepts), nevertheless even Walter is hesitant to speak, and Simon's subsequent description of what he wants Walter to say (lines 23-24: what needs to be fixed?) indicates to the assembled group that he expects some kind of negative assessment to be made.

Again, and as we saw in Extract 1, the students' silence enables them to avoid make a face-threatening act of criticism towards a fellow classmate, and a face-threatening act towards themselves (i.e. having the arrogance to presume that they should perform the assessing behavior that is typically associated with the role of instructor). In performing a kind of group-oriented solidarity by resisting Simon's request to speak they are, however, enacting a face-threatening act towards him (Benwell and Stokoe 2002, 2010; Burroughs 2007). Yet, for the students, challenging Simon in this way may be less problematic than

challenging each other. That is, given Simon's institutionally-derived role as instructor, he occupies a place within a hierarchy that is different from the position occupied by each member of the group of students. In effect, while it may be uncomfortable to challenge Simon by remaining silent, it is more socially acceptable to challenge him in this way than to critique a fellow student's work, and thereby potentially disrupt the presumption of affiliation and equality that the students share as peers (Attenborough and Stokoe 2012; Benwell and Stokoe 2010). This accords with the findings of Edelson (2000) and also Benwell and Stokoe who note that ''doing being a student' involves displaying ambivalence [and] a lack of enthusiasm' that fosters student-student cohesion. Accordingly, despite the institutionally-derived authority of the instructor, the talk that takes place in small-group tutorials is not 'unproblematically controlled by the tutor' (2002, p. 448)

Simon's selection of Walter to speak only comes after Simon has somewhat awkwardly turned almost 180 degrees in his silent, gaze-driven search for a student who will talk. Simon catches Walter's eye and sees that he has been speaking to Julian, which seems to suggest to Simon that Walter may have something to say about the drawing since Simon says: 'Walter - you're talking - it's your turn' (i.e. the 'you're talking' here is not a demand for Walter to speak, it is instead Simon's observation that Walter has been speaking to Julian). It is Simon's next utterance: 'your turn', that is effectively the command that Walter take up the role of critic. This detailed description of how the embodied co-presence of participants is enacted through bodily position, stance, gesture, gaze, and talk clearly indicates that less than a minute of social interaction contains highly complex and nuanced performances of camaraderie and influence that impact upon the way the review is framed and proceeds.

5. Conclusions

We have closely studied two excerpts of interaction from two concept reviews. Our analyses consider how forms of authority and affiliation that may be associated with the institutional roles of instructor and student are performed in ways that have consequence for: the turn-taking structure of the reviews; the manner in which embodied relationships are enacted; the nature of positive and negative assessment; and, how assessment is delivered. We have shown that the performance, through interaction, of the social aspects of critique (i.e. consideration of participant 'face') is a significant aspect of these reviews for both students and the instructor (Benwell and Stokoe 2010). The management of face contributes both to the students' disinclinations to speak when invited, and also to the particular ways in which they assess their fellow students. As well as discussing talk and its relationship to 'face', we have also outlined important visual aspects of the reviews through highlighting issues such as stance, gesture, and the direction of the participants' gaze.

Accordingly, a recommendation for design education that emerges from our work is that, if an instructor wants students to learn to critique other peoples' works of design it would be effective to have those students begin by judging work other than that of their peers. Perhaps the instructor did do this earlier in the course, we cannot know, since our paper is only based on the data provided; however this would be one strategy that might result in

students' being more willing to speak. Having the students critique the works of others who are not participants in the course would limit the interactional double bind that happens when a student is constrained to respond to an instructor's command to speak, but also constrained to not make potentially the face-threatening acts of (overtly positive or negative) peer-to-peer assessment. If an instructor does want students to critique each others' work it may be useful to indicate as much before the review, rather than changing the nature of the review part way through (i.e. here Simon does some of the critiques himself and then hands over the rest of the reviews to the students). Furthermore, it may be helpful if at some point early in the academic year, instructors and students discussed the general nature of reviews. Together the instructor and students might discuss, for instance, when it is appropriate to assess concepts and when is it more suitable to judge the technicalities of type size. We are not recommending that critiques follow set topics or a rigid structure, we are however suggesting that early in a student's design education, instructors and students might discuss their mutual understandings of work that is 'problematic' or that has 'troubles' and thereby open up a dialogue concerning the terms through which work is evaluated. Perhaps Simon did do this with his students, but, as the data did not include such a discussion, we cannot provide an analysis, only suggest it as a practice that could be effective. By considering how assessment occurs in relation to the authority of the instructor and within the context of supportive relationships between students, our research advocates recognizing the power of the institutional setting and the impact it may have on the ways in which students and instructors assess each other (both explicitly and tacitly, and both in reviews and in other circumstances) and also how they assess works of design. By advocating an awareness of the sociability of design practice our paper is associated with those other DTRS10 contributors who consider how co-presence and participant embodiment is related to the interpretation of meaning and, accordingly, to the acquisition of knowledge (e.g. Cardoso, Eris & Badke-Schaub; Gray & Howard; McDonnell; Sonalkar, Mabogunje & Liefer; Tenenberg, Socha, and Rot).

Learning to judge design work is an important part of graduate-level design education. The significance of learning how to critique is recognized by the UK's Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education, whose benchmarks for graduate-level architectural education include the "ability to evaluate evidence, arguments, and assumptions in order to make and present sound judgments within a structured discourse relating to architectural culture, theory and design" (QAA 2010, p. 9). Achieving such a benchmark is also relevant to graduate-level education in product design. We hope that instructors, students, professionals, and researchers will begin to more thoroughly consider how evaluation takes place through the collaborative enactment of authority and solidarity, since the roles and relationships of design education influence and shape all those who participate in it.

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Appendix 1 – Jefferson Transcription Notation

(0.2)	A number inside brackets denotes pause length in seconds.
[	A square bracket denotes overlapping speech.
> <	Arrows around talk in this direction indicate quickened pace of speech.
< >	Arrows in this direction show slowed down pace.
(( ))	Double brackets with description inserted denotes relevant contextual information.
Under	Underlining denotes raise in volume or emphasis.
↑	Upward arrow indicates rise in intonation.
↓	Downward arrow indicates drop in intonation.
Hum(h)our	A bracketed 'h' within a word indicates laughter within the talk.
=	The equal sign represents latched speech, a continuation of talk.
::	Colons inserted in a word represent elongated speech.

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[i] Key for extracts: S = Simon (Instructor); Al = Alexis; D = Dan; M = Mylie; W = Walter (Students).

[ii] The Jefferson Transcription Notation system is used here to provide detailed transcripts. See Appendix 1.