1

Introduction: The Microanalysis of Digital Interaction

Joanne Meredith, David Giles, and Wyke J. P. Stommel

In January 2010, a man in the UK was looking forward to flying abroad to meet his girlfriend, whom he had met on Twitter. He woke up about a week before his flight to see that snow has closed the airport he was due to fly from. He went on Twitter and posted the following tweet (Image 1.1):

The question arises—is this a joke or is it a credible threat against the airport? This question took on real-world significance when the author of the tweet was charged with sending a message which was 'grossly

J. Meredith (✉)
Department of Psychology, University of Wolverhampton, Wolverhampton, UK
e-mail: J.Meredith@wlv.ac.uk

D. Giles
Department of Psychology, University of Winchester, Winchester, UK
e-mail: David.Giles@winchester.ac.uk

W. J. P. Stommel
Center for Language Studies, Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands
e-mail: w.stommel@let.ru.nl

J. Meredith et al. (eds.), *Analysing Digital Interaction*, Palgrave Studies in Discursive Psychology, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-64922-7_1

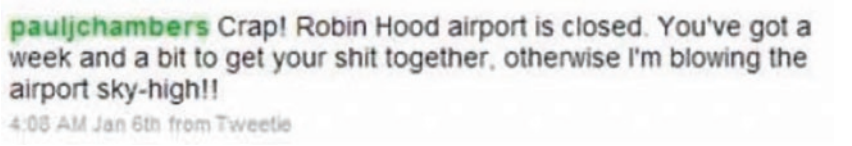

Image 1.1 Original tweet

offensive or of an indecent, obscene or menacing character'. If this same utterance were to be said in a spoken interaction, the meaning could be understood based on the responses to the initial utterance. Yet on Twitter there was no immediate response. This poses challenges for understanding the meaning of the message, both for other users of Twitter and for analysts such as ourselves. How can we understand the meaning of a message when there are no responses? What contextual information could be used to determine whether this is a joke, when things like body language or tone of voice are not available? These are all questions which we seek to explore in this book.

A related issue relevant to digital interaction is the question who counts as a participant in the interaction. Although participation is not necessarily self-evident in co-presence either (e.g. is a person who is reading available as a participant?), the negotiation of who counts as a participant is probably even more tangible in digital interaction and inevitably related to the technology or setting in which the interaction takes place. On social media like Twitter, information pours into users' devices in a continuous stream that, on the surface, bears little resemblance to offline interaction. The table below displays the 'conversation' that appeared below a tweet posted by a British comic actor during a live announcement by the UK's Prime Minister Boris Johnson during the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic. (Bear in mind that five days had elapsed since the tweet was initially posted, and the 'chain' of responses stretches to well over 200). The actor's tweet, a derisory observation of the government's presentation skills, is time-stamped 7.04, but the tweet that immediately follows (R1) was posted over an hour later. Seemingly, R1 and R2 have jumped the queue, because R3 came in at 7.14, just ten minutes after the original (OP). R5 is another interloper.

Extract 1.1 Twitter Thread

OP	7.04	We face a pandemic and we're in the hands of people who couldn't even format PowerPoint slides for their presentation. #Pressconference
R1	8.15	Yes! Needed. Slides that would be clear to a simple layman.
R2	8.23	I didn't see the press conference but unsure if slides would help given that if Johnson's lips are moving, he is not to be trusted on a single thing he says (same for Gove).
R3	7.14	It is always going to get better in two weeks, in a month, sometime in the future. Absolutely no confidence in this man. I really hope my MP[*Twitter handle*] is calling the PM to account.
R4	7.22	I hope ALL MPs call him to account. He's obviously got Steve Baker on side....
R5	8.21	Typical Leftie ! Ha ha get used to it 4 more years [*Hugging face emoticon*]

This chain of tweets is far from unusual. It is typically what you find when retrospectively viewing responses to a popular Twitter user's account (he has nearly half a million followers). The analyst's job might be to somehow sift through all this material to try and reconstruct 'what happened'—who tweeted what, when. But did anyone actually *see* the 'conversation' unfold this way? What are we actually attempting to 'reconstruct' by neatly stacking these fired-off snippets of communication into some chronological sequence? Furthermore, some of these tweets are responses to other tweets in the chain. Do we count these as separate 'conversations'? The only thing we can be sure about is that the original poster has triggered the interaction, while the communication event will be different for each participant—and for each member of the silent audience following it from the outside.

In video-interaction, who counts as a participant plays out differently. Visibility is crucial to whether or not a person is treated as a conversational participant. Hence, appearance on screen is a cue to participation (Licoppe, 2017b). Due to the enormous increase in video-interaction as a result of the Covid 19-pandemic, video-visibility caught the attention of media in cases where it became particularly spicy or embarrassing. Image 1.2 shows a man who appears on screen in underpants while his partner is in the middle of a videoconference. Her hand gesture treats the

Image 1.2 https://images.app.goo.gl/1vg1dcsiLaPgFacPA

visual availability of the man as unwanted. Hence, on-screen appearance may unwillingly invoke participation.

However, in other cases participants may fail to be recognised as a conversational partner as they are invisible on screen for the person on the other side. To further complicate the issue, participants may move off screen and/or cameras may be re-adjusted and thus participants' status with regard to the interaction may shift (repeatedly) during a video call. Appearance on and off screen may seem a futility of video-interaction, but such apparent details of digital interaction may have real-life implications, for instance in institutional settings such as medicine. Companions who sit next to a patient in the consultation room, who are gazed at and talked to by the physician, may be off screen in the case of a video consultation and thus merely be a bystander. Chapter 9 addresses the question how companions of patients participate in oncological video consultations related to their appearance on screen.

These examples demonstrate some of the issues which we seek to address in this book. The ideas in this book are a culmination of many

years of consideration of how best to analyse digital communication using interactional methods which have most commonly been used for spoken interaction. The initial germination of the ideas came from a meeting at the 25th anniversary conference of the Discourse and Rhetoric Group (DARG) at Loughborough University in 2012. It became clear at this meeting that there were a number of researchers who were engaged in analysing digital interaction using 'microanalytic' methods, and yet there still appeared to be some scepticism about the applicability of such methods to digital interaction. This initial meeting developed into the 'microanalysis of online data' (MOOD) network, which has subsequently held a number of symposia in the Netherlands, UK and Switzerland. It has also led to an influential paper on 'digital conversation analysis' (Giles, Stommel, Paulus, Lester, & Reed, 2015) and a special section of the Journal of Pragmatics (Giles, Stommel, & Paulus, 2017).

We are writing this introduction during the Covid-19 global pandemic of 2020, when many countries of the world instigated some form of 'lockdown' with individuals unable to see others in person. In this context, the use of digital platforms for keeping in contact has become not only the norm, but essential for maintaining relationships. In the earliest periods of lockdown, we saw social activities such as pub quizzes, birthday parties or watching films together move into the digital realm. Social media was used to maintain contact with others and to gain information about the pandemic. In a more professional context, education was conducted digitally, academics started attending 'virtual conferences', doctor-patient consultations were held via video-conferencing software, and legal hearings were held remotely.

The increase in the use of online platforms for communication during lockdown highlighted some of the concerns which have been raised previously about digital interaction. One key concern related to the ways in which digital interaction differs from offline interaction, and whether this impacts upon the 'quality' of the interaction (e.g. McKenna & Bargh, 2000; Turkle, 2017; Wen, 2020). This has been seen as particularly relevant for written communication, where paralinguistic cues (facial expressions, body language, tone of voice) are absent. These concerns are not new: there has been research across a variety of fields which has explored the ways in which users have negotiated some of the apparent 'deficits' of

digital (textual) communication, such as the use of smilies, emojis and other punctuation markers to replace the offline cues provided by non-verbal communication (e.g. Crystal, 2006; Derks et al., 2008; Markman & Oshima, 2017; Meredith, 2014; Petitjean & Morel, 2017). There is often a focus on the ways in which the technology itself may lead to negative digital behaviours, such as trolling, abuse, harassment or bullying (e.g. McVittie, Sambaraju, & Bain, 2020; Sambaraju & McVittie, 2020; Suler, 2004). There has also been some concern that you cannot express real empathy in both written and video-mediated digital communication, which may be particularly necessary now (Turkle, 2011, 2020). The apparent deficits in video communication are not related to the difference between writing and speaking but to issues like time lags in the transmission of the video and/or audio channel, the impossibility of mutual gaze and to on-screen visibility. Rather than viewing these issues as merely practical hurdles, scholars working on video-interaction have analysed how these technology-related features actually affect the interaction (Heath & Luff, 1993; Licoppe, 2017b; Licoppe & Morel, 2012).

This book seeks to address the questions of how individuals interact on digital platforms and how the technology itself impacts upon the interaction. This book provides empirical evidence of digital interaction, and brings together research from authors across a range of disciplines who all have one thing in common: they take a microanalytic approach to investigating digital communication. All of them explore the ways in which digital interaction can be studied using microanalytic methods and its associated challenges. The focus of this introductory chapter is to define digital interaction, to provide an overview of what we mean by 'micro-analysis' and the similarities and differences between the different methods. Finally, we provide an overview of the development of digital conversation analysis.

Digital Interaction

For the purposes of this book when we talk about 'digital' interaction we mean any communication which takes place within a digital environment which is designed to facilitate interaction. This can include blogs,

below-the-line responses to news, YouTube comments, video-mediated interaction as well as other social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and so on. These are distinct from sites which are seen as purely informational (such as a university website) or those which have a more commercial function (such as eBay). The platforms focused on in this book vary from digital dating apps, to YouTube, to instant messaging, and each platform has different technological features which are discussed in the chapters.

Interaction can be broadly defined as communication where there are at least two speakers taking alternating turns. To a great extent this is also the case with digital interaction: we are interested in the ways in which people have conversations. In spoken interaction we would examine any responses to explore how an utterance has been understood. Non-responses in offline interaction can be inspected for whether they indicate potential trouble in the interaction. However, as the first example in this chapter showed, the nature of digital interaction is potentially different from offline interaction, as not every message online will get a response. As the second example further demonstrated, responses which are received may be difficult to 'reconstruct' as a coherent thread of interaction. This raises questions for those analysing digital interaction: do we simply ignore a status or blog entry because it is not 'interaction' as we might understand it from the perspective of conversation? How do we inspect responses which may be presented in a different way from how they appeared for later participants? We would argue that by examining digital communication from an interactional perspective we are able to uncover significant insights into how digital interaction occurs. In this sense, our perspective is that any message posted on a digital platform is 'designedly interactional' (Meredith & Potter, 2014). By this we mean that although there may not be a specific recipient, the posts are still *recipient designed*.

Recipient design is a key concept in conversation analysis and refers to the ways in which any specific turn is designed for its recipients (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1974). Some types of digital interaction are designed for recipients who are effectively unknown, such as people who are 'lurkers' on large sites (Nonnecke & Preece, 1999). These 'lurkers' do not tend to engage in the interaction, but rather simply read posts or messages.

Therefore, they are not just anonymous strangers, but they are also invisible. In other contexts, such as in instant messaging or video-mediated chat, the recipients tend to be known, although there may still be multiple recipients. We can, therefore, reconsider the definition of recipient design for the digital context, where interactions are often multi-party and multi-recipient (Giles et al., 2015). In this sense it is important to consider the participation framework (Goffman, 1981) for any digital interaction. Goffman's (1981) framework discusses the idea of ratified or non-ratified participants. Ratified participants may be direct recipients (e.g. the person to whom a message is aimed) or indirect recipients (e.g. others who may be part of the conversation but not the direct recipient of a message). Non-ratified participants may be bystanders or overhearers, those who are not directly engaged in an interaction but have heard parts of the interaction. Digital messages may be designed for a direct recipient, such as when replying to someone's Tweet. They may also be designed for indirect recipients, that is those who have been engaged in the interaction to this point but the message is not directed to them. We can also consider whether messages might be designed for non-ratified participants. Dynel (2014) argues that it is simply not possible to have overhearing participants in digital interaction, as this suggests that it is a non-sanctioned overhearing, whereas reading a post on Twitter which is not directed at you is not non-sanctioned. However, in terms of recipient design we can consider that these overhearing recipients may be important in terms of thinking about designing messages for more general audiences who may be simply reading these messages (Meredith & Potter, 2014). When analysing data which do not seem interactional, then, we can consider who these messages are designed for—who might the audience be?

The Microanalysis of Interaction

This book focuses on the use of microanalytic approaches to studying digital interaction. Microanalysis is not only a method of analysis, but is also a theoretical approach which argues that the details of interaction are relevant to our understanding of social life (Bull, 2013). This approach to

the analysis of communication has been made possible by the widespread availability of video- and audio-recording equipment. Being able to record data and play it back allows for the detailed analysis of interaction. Microanalytic research is interested in *interaction* as the object of analysis. This is in contrast to the way in which interaction might be analysed to make claims about a user's intentions or state of mind.

Microanalysis demonstrates how interaction might orient to, or be shaped by, the context in which it is taking place. Another focus is on how the interaction itself develops in a sequential and rhetorical way. In this section, we will outline the microanalytic approaches used in this book, their underlying approach and some key concepts.

The three key methods of analysis used in this book are conversation analysis (CA), membership categorisation analysis (MCA) and discursive psychology (DP). The three methods are similar in terms of their treatment of interaction, although there are some key differences in their analytic interests. All three methods take the perspective that the analysis of the fine-grained detail of talk allows us insight into the way in which we relate to one another and the ways in which we maintain understanding in interaction. CA was developed in the 1960s by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson (see Maynard, 2012 for more detail on the development of CA). CA aims to 'examine how, through talking, people live their lives, build and maintain relationships and establish who they are to one another' (Stokoe, 2009, p. 81). CA treats talk as not just talking *about* things but also as *doing* things—requesting, inviting, denying, refuting and so on. As analysts we are interested in how any utterance is understood through its design and sequential placement as doing a particular action.

CA finds that every action within a conversation is shaped by the previous interaction, and also provides the context for the rest of the interaction. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) found that sequences are organised as adjacency pairs. Adjacency pairs comprise two utterances which are (in spoken interaction) adjacent to one another and are produced by different speakers. Schegloff and Sacks note that when the first turn in this sequence is delivered (known as a 'first pair part') this makes a second pair part relevant, to be produced by a different speaker. CA research on sequence organisation explores how sequences are built to be coherent

(see Schegloff, 2007). Another interest within CA is in how individuals know who should take the next turn and when they should do so. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) explicated in detail how turn-taking functions in spoken interaction, noting that each turn-at-talk was made up of turn constructional units (TCUs). Each party in a conversation has the rights to a single TCU, which may be a word, a phrase or a sentence, and at the end of this TCU there is a transition relevance place (TRP) where another party in the interaction may take a turn. As such, there are specific positions in spoken interaction where speaker transition occurs.

Like conversation analysis, MCA was first proposed during Harvey Sacks's classic series of lectures in the early 1970s (Sacks, 1992). However, its focus is less on the structural features of talk and more on the use of category labels to frame substantive topics, typically social issues such as gender, race and ethnicity, and how these kinds of social identities are invoked in interaction (Stokoe, 2012). Therefore, whilst CA has a clear focus on the sequential aspects of interaction, MCA focuses on members' methods for categorising the world or displaying their understanding of it. However, MCA still focuses on the ways in which categories are used in specific interactional contexts and so combines an interest in the sequential organisation of talk with the use of categories. A number of key concepts and ideas are relevant for MCA (see Stokoe, 2012 for an extensive list of these). C*ategory-bound activities* are activities which are linked to a particular category (e.g. 'the baby is crying', with the category of baby linked to the activity of crying). *Category-tied predicates* are a characteristic of a category (e.g. 'the politician is a liar', with the category of politician linked to the characteristic of lying). Category-bound activities and category-tied predicates are important as the activities and predicates can be inferred from the context without the characteristic being used (e.g. we may be able to infer the characteristic of 'liar' from the use of the phrase 'typical politician'). At the same time, these tied and bound predicates and activities are not completely context-free, as their meaning is dependent on the context in which they are used. For this reason, it is important to analyse the interaction and discourse around the use of a category to fully understand the inferences which can be drawn from the use of that category in that context.

Discursive psychology (DP) has a different historical trajectory from CA and MCA, although it has been influenced by both. DP explores how speakers construct psychological categories such as personality, disposition, emotions, views and beliefs (see Edwards & Potter, 1992). It shares a similar approach to talk as CA. For example, it treats talk as *action-oriented* and as *situated* in a particular sequence or context. It also treats talk as situated rhetorically: for example that a description may be built to anticipate any potential counter-arguments (see Billig, 1996). Discourse is also viewed as both *constructed* and *constructive.* It is constructed in the sense that it uses a range of resources (e.g. grammar, words, categories, idioms) to build descriptions and accounts. It is constructive in the sense that it is used to build version of the world, such as particular events. Finally, in terms of its methods, DP is not a universal approach to discourse (Tileagă & Stokoe, 2015). Some kinds of DP are very strongly influenced by CA, in that they focus on how psychological concepts are used within the sequence of talk-in-interaction. However, some DP studies focus on written texts, including both traditional and digital media (e.g. newspapers) as well as formal and institutional talk (e.g. parliamentary exchanges, courtroom interaction).

Using microanalytic approaches to analyse digital interaction offers two benefits: (1) it allows us to understand and explore the norms and conventions of digital interaction in depth; (2) through doing so we can offer concrete, empirical evidence of specific aspects of digital interaction and differences between digital and offline communication.

Development of 'Digital CA'

While CA, MCA and DP were developing into the methods and approach we see now, a parallel development was occurring in computing. In the 1960s, the first message was sent from one computer to another. In the 1970s, the first e-mail was sent. And in the 1990s, the World Wide Web was developed, which allowed for the growth of digital communication platforms. These parallel developments of digital communication and microanalytic methods eventually led to digital CA. In this section we will provide an overview of digital CA and of the literature in this area.

The first studies which examined digital interaction using CA and MCA were published in the late 1990s and early 2000s (e.g. Reed, 2001; Rintel, Mulholland, & Pittam, 2001; Werry, 1996). These studies focused on exploring the suitability of CA methods for analysing this kind of data (Reed, 2001), highlighting how the 'naturalness' of this data made it particularly suited for understanding interaction which has not been influenced by the researcher. This early research also investigated empirically how digital interaction is organised (Rintel et al., 2001; Cherny, 1999), with a strong focus on sequence organisation. It was noted that in much digital interaction, the two parts of an adjacency pair were often not actually adjacent in the interaction. This led to the finding that digital modes of communication often led to 'disrupted turn adjacency' (Herring, 1999). There was, then, a focus on how it was that users of these kinds of platforms were able to maintain coherence. It has been found that users make use of addressivity, lexical repetition and grammatical structures in order to maintain coherence in an otherwise seemingly disordered interactional context (Berglund, 2009). As a result, 'disrupted turn adjacency' does not seem to cause considerable communicative issues or breakdowns of understanding (Meredith, 2014). Instead, users appear to have adapted to the interactional constraints and maintain coherence.

Another focus of early studies of digital communication was on turn-taking (e.g. Garcia & Jacobs, 1999). Significant differences between digital and spoken turn-taking have been identified. A key factor in this difference is the fact that it is not possible to mutually coordinate turn-taking in digital written interaction, as interlocutors do not have access to the turn-in-progress as they would with spoken interaction. Users can only post a final, fully completed turn, at which point the recipients are able to respond. As such there are questions about whether terms such as 'turn constructional unit' or 'transition relevance place' are relevant in digital interaction (Meredith, 2019). These challenges in adapting a method which has predominantly been used for spoken interaction and applying it to digital communication have been key in the development of digital CA (Giles et al., 2015).

At this point, it might have been timely to start developing new methods that could better capture the phenomena of online interaction than CA, a method that had predominately evolved out of the study of

landline telephone calls. But then other things happened that dragged digital communication even further away from offline conversation. The emergence of social media in the 2000s (Facebook 2004/Twitter 2006/Instagram 2010 and so on) brought about a new set of interactional interfaces that caused even more problems for academics trying to apply CA to computer-mediated interaction. By this time, many of those academics had moved on, as if the matter had been solved with a few caveats. Furthermore, these differences were not merely technological, but cultural. One of the most interesting aspects of early online interaction was that, in most environments, users were anonymous, at best represented by a choice username. Online interaction tended to remain online. But social media, driven by the possibilities of sharing visual information among intimate friends and relatives, shifted the focus on to the (offline) identity of the individual user. When someone tweets, we see their name, what they look like, what they 'do', how many followers they have and who (some of) their friends are. This is *social* data, not just the content of a text. Each new medium evolved its own culture (just the phenomenon of a 'tweet' needs to be understood in the context of the medium, as a unique communicative act) (Giles, 2018).

How do we address these contextual features in qualitative analysis? One important contribution has been Hutchby's (2001) work on affordances (see also Arminen, Licoppe, & Spagnolli, 2016; Meredith, 2017). The concept of affordances puts forward the possibility that features of the environment (here the specific technology technological/cultural environment) can be perceived as having a number of potential actions for those who share the environment. However, the environment is also shaped by its users and which features those users choose to make use of. Regardless of designers' intentions, features of technology can both afford and constrain the interactional potential (Hutchby, 2001). The concept of affordances moves away from the prospect of a technological deterministic approach, and rather allows for an analysis of digital interaction which also demonstrates how the interaction orients to particular technological features. On a practical level, the concept of affordances allows analysts to examine the interaction itself first and then explore if and how that interaction orients to the relevant technological features of the medium (Arminen et al., 2016; Meredith, 2017).

A second issue is more methodological, and concerns the challenges faced when using terminology that was originally developed for spoken interaction. Previous research has varied to the extent to which it uses such terminology. As noted above, some authors have chosen to talk about turn constructional units (TCUs) as relevant in digital interaction (e.g. Garcia & Jacobs, 1999; Tudini, 2015), whilst others have argued against this (Meredith, 2019). Similarly, there is an argument about the extent to which terms such as 'repair' or 'summons' might be relevant for digital interaction (see Meredith, 2019). These types of issues will be addressed in the empirical chapters of the book.

Studies in the digital CA field have focused on a range of interactional phenomena. A recent review of the literature by Paulus, Warren, and Lester (2016) found a total of 89 articles which used CA to analyse online interaction between 1994 and 2016. They found that as well as sequence organisation and turn-taking, authors have been interested in turn design (Petitjean & Morel, 2017), with a particular interest in how turns are recognisable as doing certain actions when there is a lack of visual, non-verbal and paralinguistic cues. There is some interest in how emoticons, emojis or even gifs are used in interaction to make turns recognisable as doing certain actions (Markman & Oshima, 2017; Tolins & Samermit, 2016). Digital CA research has also focused on how trouble in interaction is managed on digital platform, often referred to using the CA term 'repair'. Studies have found how repair often occurs visibly for participants in digital interaction, such as through correcting misspellings or typos (Collister, 2011; Schönfeldt & Golato, 2003). It has also been demonstrated, through the use of screen-capture software, that writers do repair when constructing their messages (Meredith & Stokoe, 2014). Writers tend to be oriented to similar issues as in spoken interaction, but their repairs are 'hidden' when performed in message construction. However, participants are still oriented to the sequential implications of doing certain actions.

As digital platforms have developed, so digital CA has branched out into analysing these platforms. While multi-party chat rooms such as ICQ or IRC were the focus of much of the early research (e.g. Rintel et al., 2001; Schönfeldt & Golato, 2003), other studies focused on other platforms such as instant messaging (Meredith, 2014) and online forums

(Stommel & Koole, 2010). It was noted by Paulus et al. (2016) that DP tends to be used more commonly for asynchronous interaction, such as online forums, while CA is more typically used with synchronous interaction such as instant messaging. This may be because the latter is less obviously suited to the analysis of written text (Potter & Edwards, 2012). It may also be because interactional issues are often more obvious in instant messaging, and CA explicitly focuses on interaction.

Research which is broadly located within digital CA has also started to investigate social media sites. Housley, Webb, Edwards, Procter, and Jirotka (2017) analysed Twitter data, showing how it is possible to merge microanalytic approaches with big data collection. Other more recent research has explored the organisation of sequences on Periscope (Licoppe & Morel, 2018) and the music sharing service Soundcloud (Reed, 2017). Yet another string of research focuses on video-mediated interaction. With the increasing use of video technology in various domains, interaction scholars examine how the technological features interfere with the social and/or institutional setting and goals (Oittinen, 2018; Seuren et al., 2020; Stommel, Van Goor, & Stommel, 2019). More specifically, such studies tend to focus on both verbal and embodied practices in video-interaction afforded by the technology, such as showing (Licoppe, 2017a; Stommel, Licoppe, & Stommel, 2020). Hence, digital interaction covers a wide range of different types of interaction occurring across a multitude of different platforms. Digital CA and associated microanalytic methods have developed as ways to explore digital interaction in depth. The aim of this book is to demonstrate how these methods can be used, on a variety of data, and to address the opportunities and potential challenges of applying such methods to digital data.

Overview of the Book

This book comprises seven empirical chapters in which the authors all apply microanalytic methods to digital interactions. The focus is on providing an in-depth analysis of some phenomenon of digital interaction on a specific platform. In other words, the authors do not intend to make generalisable claims about how digital interaction functions, but rather

focus on exploring specific aspects of digital interaction. All of the empirical chapters focus on the digital nature of the interaction, and how the interaction may be impacted by being online. The authors also address the challenges of using microanalytic methods for digital interaction, and the considerations that need to be made when applying these methods to such interaction. Although there are similarities in the approaches taken in each chapter, there are also differences. The chapters are, out of necessity, very varied. The empirical chapters are organised so that the platforms studied move from asynchronous platforms in the earlier chapters, through to more synchronous platforms such as instant messaging, with the final empirical chapter examining video-conferencing. Similarly, the methods used in the book move from a more discursive approach, through to MCA approaches, and then finally towards digital CA. The book does not, though, just focus on the *analysis* of digital data. It is acknowledged that the collection of digital data also raises a number of questions, particularly around ethics. Therefore, prior to the empirical chapters we include a chapter on ethical concerns and issues around collecting such data. This chapter introduces some of the key issues which may need to be addressed in order to collect data in an ethical way. A final chapter brings together the findings from all of the chapters and addresses what we know so far, and where we go from here.

This book offers an overview of areas of interest for researchers of digital interaction. At the same time it highlights the potential of the microanalytic approach for understanding contemporary social life. And as the number of platforms and formats increase, so do the possibilities for research investigating the detail of this kind of interaction. Through the meticulous disentangling of the many facets of digital interactions, we can see that communication in these environments is rich, challenging and social in new ways compared to face-to-face communication. The community of researchers in this area is broader than this book is able to capture and is still growing. We hope that this book not only demonstrates the range of research which is being conducted, but also provides inspiration for further exploration in this area.

References

Arminen, I., Licoppe, C., & Spagnolli, A. (2016). Respecifying mediated interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 49*(4), 290–309. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1234614

Berglund, T. Ö. (2009). Disrupted turn adjacency and coherence maintenance in instant messaging conversations. *Language@Internet*, *6*(2). Retrieved from http://www.languageatinternet.org/articles/2009/2106

Billig, M. (1996). *Arguing and thinking: A rhetorical approach to social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bull, P. (2013). *Communication under the microscope: The theory and practice of microanalysis*. London: Routledge.

Cherny, L. (1999). *Conversation and community: Chat in a virtual world*. Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Collister, L. B. (2011). *-repair in online discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(3), 918–921. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.09.025

Crystal, D. (2006). *Language and the internet* (2nd ed.). London: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511487002

Derks, D., Bos, A. E., & Von Grumbkow, J. (2008). Emoticons and online message interpretation. *Social Science Computer Review, 26*(3), 379–388.

Dynel, M. (2014). Participation framework underlying YouTube interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 73*, 37–52.

Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive psychology*. London: Sage.

Garcia, A. C., & Jacobs, J. B. (1999). The eyes of the beholder: Understanding the turn-taking system in quasi-synchronous computer-mediated communication. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 32*(4), 337–367.

Giles, D., Stommel, W., Paulus, T., Lester, J., & Reed, D. (2015). Microanalysis of online data: The methodological development of "digital CA". *Discourse, Context & Media, 7*, 45–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2014.12.002

Giles, D., Stommel, W., & Paulus, T. M. (2017). The microanalysis of online data: The next stage. *Journal of Pragmatics, 115*, 37–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.02.007

Giles, D. C. (2018). *Twenty-first century celebrity: Fame in digital culture*. Bingley: Emerald.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Heath, C., & Luff, P. (1993). Disembodied conduct: Interactional asymmetries in video-mediated communication. In G. Button (Ed.), *Technology in work-*

ing order: Studies of work, interaction, and technology (pp. 35–54). London: Routledge.

Herring, S. C. (1999). Interactional coherence in CMC. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 4*(4). Retrieved from http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol4/issue4/herring.html.

Housley, W., Webb, H., Edwards, A., Procter, R., & Jirotka, M. (2017). Digitizing Sacks? Approaching social media as data. *Qualitative Research, 17*(6), 627–644. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794117715063

Hutchby, I. (2001). Technologies, texts and affordances. *Sociology, 35*(2), 441–456. https://doi.org/10.1177/S0038038501000219

Licoppe, C. (2017a). Showing objects in Skype video-mediated conversations. From showing gestures to showing sequences. *Journal of Pragmatics, 110*, 63–82. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.01.007

Licoppe, C. (2017b). Skype appearances, multiple greetings and 'coucou'. The sequential organization of video-mediated conversation openings. *Journal of Pragmatics, 27*(3), 351–386.

Licoppe, C., & Morel, J. (2012). Video-in-interaction: "talking heads" and the multimodal organization of mobile and skype video calls. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 45*(4), 399–429. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.724996

Licoppe, C., & Morel, J. (2018). Visuality, text and talk, and the systematic organization of interaction in periscope live video streams. *Discourse Studies, 20*(5), 637–665. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445618760606

Markman, K. M., & Oshima, S. (2017). *Pragmatic play? Some possible functions of English emoticons and Japanese Kaomoji in computer-mediated discourse* [Preprint]. SocArXiv. https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/qa764

Maynard, D. W. (2012). Everyone and no one to turn to: Intellectual roots and contexts for conversation analysis. In *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 9–31). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch2

McKenna, K. Y., & Bargh, J. A. (2000). Plan 9 from cyberspace: The implications of the internet for personality and social psychology. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 4*(1), 57–75.

McVittie, C., Sambaraju, R., & Bain, F. (2020). 'I love James blunt as much as I love herpes'–'I love that you're not ashamed to admit you have both': Attempted insults and responses on twitter. *Language & Communication, 76*, 23–34.

Meredith, J. (2014). *Chatting online: Comparing spoken and online written interaction between friends*. Thesis, Loughborough University. Retrieved from https://repository.lboro.ac.uk/articles/thesis/Chatting_online_comparing_spoken_and_online_written_interaction_between_friends/9479531

Meredith, J. (2017). Analysing technological affordances of online interactions using conversation analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics, 115*, 42–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.03.001

Meredith, J. (2019). Conversation analysis and online interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 52*(3), 241–256. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2019.1631040

Meredith, J., & Potter, J. (2014). Conversation analysis and electronic interactions: Methodological, analytic and technical considerations. In *Innovative methods and technologies for electronic discourse analysis* (pp. 370–393). Hershey: IGI Global.

Meredith, J., & Stokoe, E. (2014). Repair: Comparing Facebook 'chat' with spoken interaction. *Discourse & Communication, 8*(2), 181–207.

Nonnecke, B., & Preece, J. (1999). *Shedding light on lurkers in online communities*. Ethnographic Studies in Real and Virtual Environments: Inhabited Information Spaces and Connected Communities, Edinburgh, 123128.

Oittinen, T. (2018). Multimodal accomplishment of alignment and affiliation in the local space of distant meetings. *Culture and Organization, 24*(1), 31–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/14759551.2017.1386189

Paulus, T., Warren, A., & Lester, J. N. (2016). Applying conversation analysis methods to online talk: A literature review. *Discourse, Context & Media, 12*, 1–10.

Petitjean, C., & Morel, E. (2017). "Hahaha": Laughter as a resource to manage WhatsApp conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics, 110*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.01.001

Potter, J. (2012). Discourse analysis and discursive psychology. In H. Cooper (Ed.), *Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological and biological* (Vol. 2, pp. 111–130). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Potter, J., & Edwards, D. (2012). Conversation analysis and psychology. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 701–725). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch35

Reed, D. (2001). *'Making conversation': Sequential integrity and the local management of interaction on Internet newsgroups* (p 10).

Reed, D. (2017). Performance and interaction on Soundcloud: Social remix and the fundamental techniques of conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 115*, 82–98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.01.012

Rintel, E. S., Mulholland, J., & Pittam, J. (2001). First things first: Internet relay chat openings. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *6*(3), JCMC634.

Sacks, H. (1992). *Harvey sacks: Lectures on conversation* (G. Jefferson, Ed.). Blackwell Publishers.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Language, 50*(4), 696–735.

Sambaraju, R., & McVittie, C. (2020). Examining abuse in online media. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 14*(3), e12521.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis I* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G., & Sacks, H. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language, 50*(4), 696–735.

Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica, 8*(4). https://doi.org/10.1515/semi.1973.8.4.289

Schönfeldt, J., & Golato, A. (2003). Repair in chats: A conversation analytic approach. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 36*(3), 241–284. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327973RLSI3603_02

Seuren, L., Wherton, J., Greenhalgh, T., Cameron, D., A'Court, C., & Shaw, S. (2020). Physical examinations via video? Qualitative study of video examinations in heart failure. *using conversation analysis. Journal of Medical Internet Research, 22*(2), e16694. https://doi.org/10.2196/16694

Stokoe, E. (2009). Doing actions with identity categories: Complaints and denials in neighbor disputes. *Text & Talk, 29*(1), 75–97.

Stokoe, E. (2012). Moving forward with membership categorization analysis: Methods for systematic analysis. *Discourse Studies, 14*(3), 277–303.

Stommel, W., & Koole, T. (2010). The online support group as a community: A micro-analysis of the interaction with a new member. *Discourse Studies, 12*(3), 357–378. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445609358518

Stommel, W., Licoppe, C., & Stommel, M. (2020). "Difficult to assess in this manner": An "ineffective" showing sequence in post-surgery video consultation. *Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality, 3*(3), DOI: 10.7146/si.v3i3.122581.

Stommel, W., Van Goor, H., & Stommel, M. (2019). Other-attentiveness in video consultation openings: A conversation analysis of video-mediated versus face-to-face consultations. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, zmz015*. https://doi.org/10.1093/jcmc/zmz015

Suler, J. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior, 7*(3), 321–326.

Tileagă, C., & Stokoe, E. (2015). *Discursive psychology: Classic and contemporary issues*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Tolins, J., & Samermit, P. (2016). GIFs as embodied enactments in text-mediated conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 49*(2), 75–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1164391

Tudini, V. (2015). Extending prior posts in dyadic online text chat. *Discourse Processes, 52*(8), 642–669. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2014.969138

Turkle, S. (2011). *Life on the screen*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Turkle, S. (2017). *Alone together: Why we expect more from technology and less from each other*. London: Hachette.

Turkle, S. (2020, July 9). *Technology and empathy after COVID-19*. American Academy of Arts & Sciences. Retrieved from https://www.amacad.org/events/tech-empathy-covid-19

Wen, T. (2020, April 9). *How coronavirus has transformed the way we communicate*. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20200408-coronavirus-how-lockdown-helps-those-who-fear-the-phone

Werry, C. C. (1996). Internet relay chat. In S. Herring (Ed.), *Computer-mediated communication: Linguistic, social and cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 47–63). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.