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THE INTERACTIVE CONSTRUCTION OF A HUG SEQUENCE

Marjorie Harness Goodwin

1. Introduction

The hug or embrace, entailing in its trajectory a form of intercorporeal intertwining of body and voice, is a haptic configuration used in constituting the activities of both greetings as well as closings (farewells) – “boundary interchanges” in Goffman’s (1971) terms. In performing an embrace, an action critical to the affective life of families (Goodwin and Cekaite 2018) and friends, the display of emotion is a situated practice (Goodwin et al. 2012), as critical as the sequential organization of the activity.

C. Goodwin (1979) demonstrated that the shape of an utterance depends upon the moment-to-moment responses of recipients during its trajectory. Similar practices are involved in interactions entailing hugs. While Goodwin’s analysis chronicled how new segments of talk can be added to a speaker’s emerging sentence, in this chapter I analyze how in the midst of interaction a participant can add new haptic actions to achieve collaborative action. I illustrate how the hug, as a “sequence of action” (Schegloff 2007, 11) entailing corporeal resources rather than talk as its basic units of construction, is produced as an interactive achievement (Schegloff 1987). The hug is often solicited by outstretched arms, an iconic gesture which invites and models a reciprocal action from the addressee. Talk often overlays or laminates the gestural configuration of the hug rather than being the principal medium through which the interchange is carried out.¹

1 Indeed, as Goffman (1971, p. 80) notes with respect to how greetings are performed, “Physical gestures can be used instead of words and a wide range of constraining contingencies will be seen as sufficient reason to allow use of quite atypical equivalents”.

The particular embodied forms that talk and haptic action take during hug sequences are dependent on the participation structure of the encounter. This chapter explores the intercorporeal shapes of hugs within two contexts: greetings and farewells between family members and greetings at a special surprise party for a *festschrift* gathering among friends. In each of these contexts, there are different participation frameworks at play. Hugs in the family occur exclusively within interactions between a parent and child either meeting or taking leave of one another at punctual points during the day (seeing each other for the first time in the morning, dropping off children at school, saying goodnight, etc.) These are primarily dyadic interactions among intimates. Hugs during the surprise party, however, occur in the midst of multiparty participation frameworks. As such, they constitute features of multi-activity encounters (Haddington et al. 2014; Mondada 2011, 2014; Raymond and Lerner 2014) rather than dyadic focused ones. Thus, at the party, the person being honored simultaneously has obligations not only to the specific party greeting him but also to the entire assembly of those gathered *on his behalf*. How the principal manages to participate in the hug while not forsaking the larger group is an achieved accomplishment.

Emotion is interactively achieved in the home and party setting while performing the hug. In the midst of doing things together, participants display how they align towards other parties with whom they are interacting; they make evident their stance or footing (Goffman 1981a). Through situated uses of intonation, gestures, facial expressions, and body posture, participants display their emotion in the performance of stance (Goodwin et al. 2012). While in both settings participants convey heightened affect, there are distinctive “display rules” for the performance of the hug in the two environments (between intimates in the family and between friends). Within the family, intimacy is exhibited through a particular voice quality (creaky voice and lowered volume) during talk in the midst of an embrace, and frequently the parent’s eyes are closed (Goodwin and Cekaite 2018). Hugs routinely involve each participant placing arms around the body of the other. This chapter will show that participants in the more public party setting display an orientation towards a decorum of intimacy and its constraints during the hug. (A public decorum was in fact openly acknowledged by Chuck. After someone delivered a reported hug from a female friend in Japan to Chuck, he humorously commented, “We’re not supposed to hug any more”.) However, in response to verbal expressions of gratitude to the group from the principal character at the party, participants respond with loud affective displays of appreciation through laughter, cheers, and clapping.

In order to introduce the more general ways in which voice, gesture, and touch are closely choreographed in a hug sequence, I will first outline the sequential organization of a hug within a family context. One morning, with arms stretched over her head, Michelle addresses her mom: “I’m *up Mommy*”.

Extract 1

Michelle: I'm **up Mommy**.
(1.5)

Mom: Good **mo::rning Michelle**.

Figure 2.1



Figure 2.2



Figure 2.3



Figure 2.4



Figure 2.5

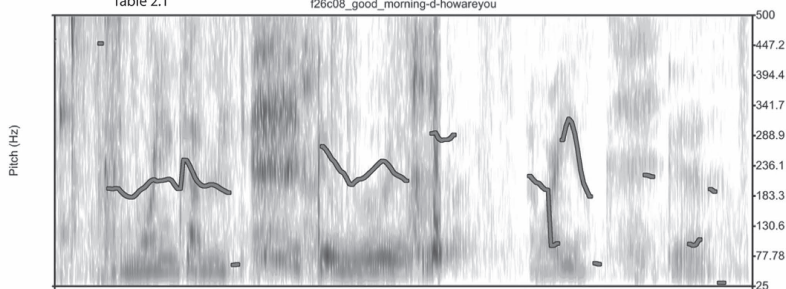


Mom: .hhh Good **morning** [Sweetie Pie. How **are** you. ~Goo::d.~
Michelle: [heh-heh! °Goo(hh)d.°

Ten-year-old Michelle, with outstretched arms, provides the iconic partial of the action she invites her mom to enter into, a hug. Michelle's embodied action follows her announcement of being "up" (out of bed from sleep) and is produced at a point in the daily life cycle when greetings and hugs habitually occur. In response, Mom provides a reciprocal action, extending her arms towards Michelle. The directionality of Mom's outstretched arms, as well as her gaze direction, index the target of the action. The dynamic pitch range of Mom's voice, visible in the next pitch track (Table 2.1), displays the emotion with which the greeting is entered into. Here a tilde (~) is used to indicate creaky voice, making use of Mendoza-Denton's transcription symbols (2011) for this voice quality.

Extract 2

Table 2.1 f26c08_good_morning-d-howareyou



mundane talk in routine activities where people actually carry out their daily lives (Ochs et al. 2006). The names of the participants have been changed to ensure anonymity.

The second data source is several hours' footage from a surprise party held on 2 March 2018, in the home of Chuck and Candy Goodwin, filmed by Don Everhart and Erica Cartmill. Participants included colleagues from around the world who had contributed to a festschrift for Charles Goodwin, as well as colleagues from UCLA, UCSB, and UCSD.

2. Situated studies of embodied action in multimodal conversation analysis²

While units of talk and their sequential organization have typically been the focus of conversation analytic studies of talk-in-interaction (Schegloff 2007),³ in the production of hugs, talk does not take center stage; in fact, hugs can be accomplished with minimal verbal resources (Goodwin and Cekaite 2018, 154–155). At issue, instead, are units of intercorporeal action constructed through the mutual elaboration of multiple semiotic resources (Goodwin 2000, 2003, 2018).

In his recent book, *Co-Operative Action*, Charles Goodwin (2018, 107) argues that “Much of the environment within which language is embedded is constructed through forms of semiosis that do not have the distinctive symbolic attributes of language”. Goodwin (2018, 184) states that in the analysis of human action, it is the job of the researcher to analyze “the particular *contextual configuration of relevant semiotic resources* that are providing organization of the action of the moment”. The visible body of the other is critical to this ongoingly produced and ever-evolving configuration of semiotic fields. Analysis is therefore not focused on the interior life of individuals but instead the bodies of the co-participants and the material/historical semiotic environment that is made appropriate and relevant in the course of activity itself.

2.1. Studies of embodied action

Several recent studies take as their focus a fully embodied form of social interaction. *Embodied Interaction: Language and Body in the Material World* (Streeck et al. 2011) investigates how people organize their body movement and talk when they interact with one another in the material world (including physical settings, artifacts, technologies), coordinating linguistic structures with bodily resources to bring about coherent and intelligible courses of action. Making use of Merleau-Ponty's concepts of intercorporeality, the chapters in *Intercorporeality: Emerging Socialities in Interaction* (Meyer et al. 2017) provide a multidisciplinary perspective on how the body

2 This is a term used by Mondada (2018).

3 Exceptions include C. Goodwin's (1979; 2018) work.

can simultaneously sense and be sensed. Chapters in Meyer and von Wedelstaedt's (2017)'s edited volume *Intercorporeality, Interkinesthesia, Enaction: New Perspectives on Moving Bodies in Interaction* extend the discussion of intercorporeality to investigate the orchestration of practices entailing skilled bodies in motion in a range of sports, showing how bodies merge in joint action. M. H. Goodwin and Cekaite (2018) examine touch (in conjunction with prosody and embodied action) in relation to activities of control, care, and creativity in the family. Katila (2018) explores intercorporeality in mother and children's therapy groups in Finland, with special attention to proprioception and kinesthesia.

This chapter's focus on the affective dimension of touch is inspired by Merleau-Ponty's (1962) concept of intercorporeality. It builds on work of Goodwin and Cekaite (2018) and Goodwin (2017) and aligns with recent research by Cekaite and her colleagues on how touch is employed in multiparty settings to coordinate affectionate, loving engagement and care (Bergnehr and Cekaite 2018; Cekaite and Bergnehr 2018; Cekaite and Kvist 2017). It extends Cekaite's current studies of how touch is used to manage multiple participation frameworks, as, for example, when embodied directives to individual students are overlaid with touch while the teacher shows orientation towards the entire classroom group (Cekaite 2015, 2016).

2.2. *Stance and emotion in studies of talk-in-interaction*

In this chapter, I analyze the way that emotion is critical to the performance of human action in the midst of a particular activity. A range of features – including voice quality, prosody, and facial expression, as well as the enveloping intercorporeal arrangements of bodies touching bodies – mutually inform one another in the performance of the hug. A fully multimodal analysis is critical to investigation of the affective stance (Goodwin et al. 2012) displayed in the performance of the hug. In this chapter, I analyze how the context of dyadic and multiparty/multi-activity settings influences how such embodied stance displays are performed and investigate alternative forms of sociality that are co-constructed in each setting.

With respect to the study of emotion in interaction, recent conversation analytic studies do much to advance an intersubjective rather than subjective perspective on stance taking (Sorjonen and Perakyla 2012) and to counter Ekman and Friesen's (1969) view of emotion as an individual psychological endeavor. Ruusu-vuori (2013, 333) states, “while earlier stance was regarded as a mental position or interior state of the individual speaker, more recently it is argued that stance emerges in interaction in particular sequential contexts” (Karkkainen [2006]; see also Haddington [2006]). Work on *affiliation* (Lindstrom and Sorjonen 2013; Stivers 2008) and *stance* (Karkkainen 2006; Stivers 2008; Couper-Kuhlen 2012; Heritage 2011; Hoey 2013; Jefferson 1988; Pillet-Shore 2012) in conversation analysis has, however, largely focused on linguistic resources, assuming a “mono-modal” (Hazel et al. 2014, 3) orientation to social interaction. For example, in examining the social nature of stance in story telling, Karkkainen (2006) finds that stances often emerge as a result of joint engagement in evaluative activity, with syntactic, semantic, and prosodic resonances between contributions by different speakers. Congruence

and collaboration in aligning vocalized actions is also emphasized by Pillet-Shore (2018) in her study of “arrivals”.⁴

Ruusuvuori (2013, 331) moves beyond the voice to consider various “channels” or “modalities” such as facial expression, prosody, posture, gestures, and verbal utterance design used that form the gestalt of an emotional display.⁵ Kaukomaa et al. (2013) and Ruusuvuori (2013) examine vocal features of interaction in conjunction with how the face is expressively used to convey stance in conversational interaction. While a great deal of detail is visible on the faces of individuals in such studies, we learn little about how the entire body figures in interaction, as, for example, in Heath and Luff’s (2013, 296–299) study of interactions surrounding patients’ response cries expressing pain or suffering in the midst of a doctor’s exam. The premise of this chapter is that a fully embodied study of emotion in interaction entails bodies touching bodies in addition to the investigation of gesture, facial configurations, and bodily visual acts.

2.3. Alignment and intimacy in hugs

Hugs constitute forms of action within sequences of greetings and farewells, “supportive interchanges”, or interactive rituals from Goffman’s (1971) perspective. As Goffman (1971, 62) states, “Ritual is a perfunctory, conventionalized act through which an individual portrays his respect and regard for some object of ultimate value to that object of ultimate value or to its stand-in”. Accordingly, when someone proposes a ritual offering, providing a sign of involvement in and connectedness to another, “it behooves the recipient to show that the message has been received, that its import has been appreciated, that the affirmed relationship actually exists as the performer implies” (Goffman 1971, 63).

In proposals that another participate in a hug, often a component of supportive interchanges, a participant invites the other to enter into a particular alignment: a form of intercorporeal closeness. Kendon (1985) has argued that embraces, like handshakes, provide actions where participants do “the same thing simultaneously”. According to Kendon (1985, 248),

Gestural forms of salutation often include rhythmically organized body contact, such that the two participants come to share directly in the same rhythmical organization of action. This has the consequence of rhythmically aligning the two individuals and in consequence of the simultaneity of action, the salutational exchange is brought to a close simultaneously.

4 Pillet-Shore (2018, 237) states that “after an arriver displays a nonneutral personal state, recipients regularly produce an emphatic response that both mirrors the arriver’s stance toward her/his previous activity experience, and collaborates to expand the topic and sequence”.

5 Ruusuvuori (2013, 330), in her study of emotion and affect in conversation, explains that “emotional aspects of interaction such as laugh tokens, an emotional tone of voice, affective lexical choices and or facial expressions are intertwined with spoken utterances”.

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In this chapter, I problematize the idea that in greetings or intertwining, two individuals routinely do the same thing simultaneously in the midst of organized body contact. I investigate how participants have options for the ways they choose to enter into an embrace (or not), positioning themselves in such a way as not to be fully accepting of the invitation of the other. The limbs of a recipient might be involved in another simultaneous project. The face and the voice can take on affective stances that differ from the body's engagement.

Two contexts will be examined to reveal the contingent, emergent shape of the hug through time. First I will examine how family members intertwine their bodies and voice during supportive interchanges (greetings and farewells) at various junctures during the day. I next turn to a surprise party, when friends who have not seen each other for some time (and some will never see each other again) greet one another and celebrate each other's copresence. I examine the resources with which context-dependent forms of intimacy are built: voice and bodily configurations mutually elaborate one another in bringing off the hug.

3. Hugs between family members

The performance of hugs in the family constitutes and embodies the current states of participants' relationships, indexing how members are attuned with one another. Boundary intertwining punctuates points of the family's daily round. Family members intertwine their bodies and voice in actions that mark not only entering into joyous reunion (when greeting each other in the morning, as in Extract 1) but also preceding extended periods of separation, as in the case of farewells (Goffman 1971, 79).

One period of extended separation between parents and children occurs during the evening when children are put to bed. Among parents and children in the study, hugs are used to display intimacy when saying good night to children (Extract 3).

Extract 3

((after saying good night to older daughter))

- 1 Mom: ~**Gimme** a kiss.~
- 2 M & C: ((kiss))
- 3 Mom: ~I'll~ see you in the morning.
- 4 Cyn: **Hey**-eh-eh eh yo.
Gimme a hug.
- 5 Mom: °Okay.
- 6 M & C: ((hug))
- 7 Cyn: eh **heh**-heh hah-hah!
- 8 Ah: hih-hih-hih! .hh heh-heh!
- 9 Mom: **Go to sleep.**



Figure 2.9

In Extract 3, occurring at bedtime, Mom makes use of a particular voice quality to in asking her daughter Cynthia to give her a kiss in line 1, and the two exchange kisses. Mom's request is uttered in creaky voice (as indicated by tildes), a voice quality that displays heightened affect in situations of intimacy between two people. Mom includes in her farewell message an orientation towards a future reunion with “~I'll~ see you in the morning” (line 3); the first syllable “I'll” is uttered in creaky voice. In her reciprocal move (which functions to extend this goodnight encounter [Sirota 2006]), Cynthia next asks for a hug, and the two embrace, with arms fully wrapped around one another (line 6). The interaction closes when Mom directs her daughter to go to sleep. The creaky voice quality and the intensity of the hug (the arms of each enveloping the body of the other) make the sequence an action intended just for the two of them.

3.1. Alignment and intimacy in hugs at school

Leave takings taking place school are usually less elaborated than those at nighttime. Children are more guarded in public spaces, and time does not often permit extended farewells. As Goffman (1971, 82) argues, leave takings need not be extended if there is an expectation that partners to the interaction can predictably see each other again soon.

In Extract 4, at the school classroom door, Grandpa prompts his grandson to “say ‘good bye’” to his mom.

Extract 4

Figure 2.10



Figure 2.11



Figure 2.12



Gpa: Tell your mother goodbye.
 Mom: Bye. **Love** you.
 Tim: [Bye.

Mom: Mmwah!
Love you.

Mom: [Okay.
 Tim: [Mm.

In this sequence, Grandpa prompts Tim to say goodbye to Mom. Mom next approaches Tim with “Bye” and “**Love** you”. Simultaneously with Mom’s “**Love** you” Tim provides a “Bye” return, so that the two are closely coordinating their goodbyes with one another. Mom, however, shows the more expansive use of specific lexical features of family farewells. As the two embrace, Mom produces a vocalized performed or smacked kiss in her “Mmwah. **Love** you”.

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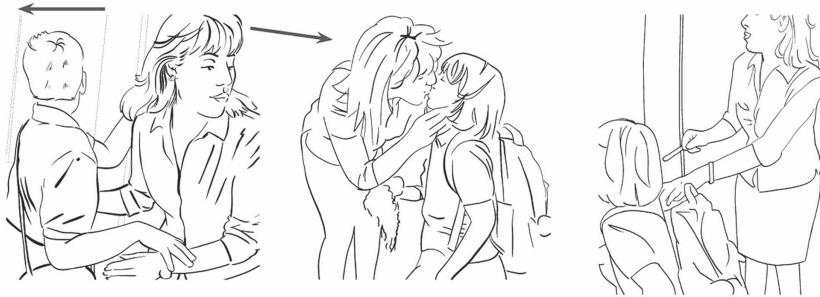
The two do not exit from the embrace, however, at the same time. Tim appears to linger in his grasping of his mother's body (as visible in the wrinkles of Mom's blouse in Frame C); he produces a nasalized "Mm" that expresses pleasure as Mom turns her head towards her next engagement. With her "Okay", Mom exits from her encounter with her son to move towards her daughter Becky. As school is about to begin, goodbyes to the two children must be performed in quick succession. In Extract 5, Figure 2.13, we find Mother bidding goodbye to her two children in rapid succession, with her bodily position in two dyadic participant frameworks simultaneously.

Extract 5

Figure 2.13

Figure 2.14

Figure 2.15



Mom: *Be* a good girl. Becky: Mm: mm.
 Mom: Mm: °wah.

Mom: *See* you at Bubba's.

In Frame D, both son and mother pivot out of their participation framework of joint engagement with one another and move towards the next targets of their attention (arrows indicate the directionality of trajectory: schoolroom door in Tim's case and Becky in Mom's case). While still in bodily contact with her son, Mom states "*Be* a good girl" to her daughter Becky.

After exiting the hug with Tim, Mom next stoops to touch her daughter's face with her right hand. While Becky produces the nasal "Mm" (Figure 2.14), displaying positive affect,⁶ Mom performs a kiss on Becky's mouth ("Mm: °wah".) Becky's arms do not embrace her mom as Tim's had but instead dangle to her side, perhaps displaying an orientation more towards entering the school rather than entering into her mom's embrace.

As Mom closes off the encounter, she taps her daughter's shoulder as Becky walks towards the classroom, Mother links the current moment of separation to the children's future reunion of dinner at Grandma's house: "*See* you at Bubba's". Such a statement is important for fostering intimacy in that it "sums up the consequence of the encounter for the relationship, and bolsters the relationship for the anticipated period of no contact" (Goffman 1971, 79.)

6 Becky's nasal sound constitutes a vocalization which occurs throughout situations of intimate family contact; it occurs also in Extract 4, Figure 2.12, as well as in Extract 6, Figures 2.17–18, and Extract 8, Figure 2.24.

We thus see a rapid serial unfolding of diverse entanglements of touch and language constituting intimacy in farewells at school. The boundary ritual effectively punctuates the separation of parents from children yet looks forward to a future time when they will once again be together. Touch and talk both constitute important features of these moves, as hugs are performed and farewell utterances and expressions of love from mothers overlay them. Not all hugs are performed with the same tactile or haptic configurations. While in both cases, kisses are received, here the son's arms embrace Mom, while her daughter's arms dangle at her side.

3.2. Intimacy in hugs during bedtime

Within the household, in the intimate space of the bedroom, during nighttime farewells, intimacy is displayed through more extended haptic involvement and more elaborated voice quality. When putting a child to bed, creaky voice is employed at the moment of greatest intensity. In Figures 2.17–18 of Extract 6, creaky voice (as indicated by a tilde ~), with lowered pitch in whispered voice (indicated by the degree sign in lines 5, 8, and 10), laminates expressions of endearment:

Extract 6

- 1 Mom: That's **it**. We'll **finish** it up another time.
 2 Okay?
 3 Mom ((kiss)) ~°I **love** you~°.
 4 [((kisses several times))
 5 Mike: ~°I love **you**~°.
 6 Mom: ((slurpy kisses))
 7 Mom: ~Mmmmm~
 8 ((kiss)) ~°With **all** my **heart**~°.
- 9 Mike Put some **on** my **cheeks**.
 10 Mom: ~°Always and **forever**~°.
 11 Mike: **Yep**. The **same** with me.
 12 Mom: °Kay°. ((kiss)) °Mmmmmmm° ((kiss))
 13 Mike: hhhh
- 14 Mom: Mkay. ((kiss)) Sleep you **good**
 my buddy.



Figure 2.16



Figure 2.17



Figure 2.18



Figure 2.19

Finishing her book reading, Mom indicates the completion of one stage of putting her child to bed with “That’s **it**. We’ll **finish** it up another time. Okay?” Leaning over his bed, Mom puts her arms to the side of Mike’s body, and he extends his arms around Mom’s neck. Both produce expressions of love. Mom delivers slurpy kisses to her son, and then, amidst a hug, makes several utterances using first a nasal sound and

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then creaky voice: “~Mmmmmm~ ((kiss)) ~°With all my heart~°”. (lines 7–8) and “~°Always and forever~°” (line 10). Touch and voice quality here clearly mutually elaborate one another. Mom’s creaky voice occurs just at the moment of most intense intercorporeal engagement with her son, as the two embrace. The creaky voice quality provides a vocal elaboration of the form of intimacy expressed by the haptic engagement of enveloping arms and close body contact. This intimate moment is created as an exclusive dyadic unit of the two persons involved in intercorporeal intertwining.

3.3. *Alternative trajectories of hugs in the family*

In inviting another to hug, a participant proposes a form of intercorporeal closeness. The space where the hug occurs influences the shape of the hug. In the extracts examined, we have witnessed congruent forms of leave taking with parties entering into the type of next action the parent projects. However, outstretched arms do not necessarily lead to reciprocal next moves that concur with the projected action of the first participant. Hugs need not run off as interactively attuned (Kendon 1985, 248). A hug invitee has options for how to proceed. A recipient to the request “I want a hug” (heard frequently in the families studied) can either provide engagement in the form of interaction being proposed or, alternatively, distance oneself from what is being put on the table as a projected next move.

When mothers invite sons to hug in public places, such as streets or playgrounds, where their conduct is observable by friends, boys often distance themselves from their mother’s invitation to hug. This occurs in Extract 7, in which mother’s outstretched arms greeting her son after school are met with a punch and a bite on the arm.

Extract 7

Figure 2.20



Mom: Hug?

Figure 2.21



Mike: ((growl))
 Mom: No **punching**

While outstretched arms tacitly invite entry into a hug (just as they had in Extract 1), such a move can be quite defiantly rejected, as we see in Extract 7, with Mike's growl, punching, and biting. Such a move contrasts with Extract 6, in which Mike produced a fully embodied hug in response to his mom's goodnight routine, including kisses, in his bedroom. In Extract 8, Mike initially calibrates his response to his mom's request for a hug with "Just a little one", before engaging in a hug.

Extract 8

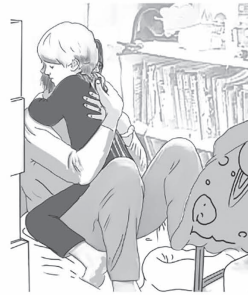
Figure 2.22



Figure 2.23



Figure 2.24



Mom: You ready?
((arms outstretched))

Mom: I need a hug.
Mike: Just a little one.

Mom: °Mmm. I *love* you.

An array of options are available to a participant invited to enter into a hug through outstretched arms. A hug request may be responded to with enthusiasm (Extracts 1, 3, 4, 6), with hesitation (Extract 8), or openly opposed (Extract 7).⁷ The embrace may or may not be symmetrical, with the arms of each participant enveloping the other in congruent ways. Multiple features of the body are in play as someone enters into a hug. Participants can position the arms, the head, or the hands in a range of diverse configurations. Voice quality accompanying the hug may vary as well; parents rather than children produce creaky voice in the midst of hugs (Extract 6). Parents externalize their affective enjoyment and immersion in the event of the hug in semiotic forms that mutually elaborate one another, while children do not (except for nasal sounds). Diverse forms of affective engagement are evident through both body and voice.

4. Hugs among friends

Having examined hugs among family members, we now consider the resources and the optional ways in which hugs may be performed among friends. The hugs that we'll examine took place at a surprise party on March 2, 2018, in the house of

⁷ For a similar typology of kisses, see Mondada et al. (this volume).

Chuck and Candy Goodwin. These hugs among friends are performed with minimal creaky voice (a display of intimacy in the family). Rather than constituting the principal ongoing activity, as in family bedtime hugs, they were often performed in a multiparty, multi-activity (Haddington et al. 2014) setting. At the surprise party celebration, the spatial configuration for activities constantly shifts as activities themselves emerge and change and participants mingle and change their location.

Hugs among friends are performed as joyful openings to the occasion, similar to Extract 1, in which Mom joyfully greeted her daughter first thing in the morning. In the larger context of the occasion, the greetings, like farewells, anticipate future (and permanent) separation, as Chuck's death is imminent. Thus, hugs in greetings at the surprise party have a complex emotional valence.

The occasion of the party, organized by Don Favareau, was the presentation of a festschrift (Favareau 2018) for Chuck that Don, a former student and colleague, had edited. For the book, 49 scholars contributed articles illuminating how Chuck's work had been influential in their own scholarship. The book was produced in record time (3 months) so that Chuck could see and read it before he died. Contributors flew in from Japan and Singapore and various parts of the United States to be there. They came with varying understandings of his physical health, as some wondered if he would even be able to withstand the shock of the surprise. In that the book had only been delivered to editor Don 2 days before the party, there was considerable excitement with respect to having actually pulled off the feat of producing the festschrift.

As a ruse to get Chuck out of the house so that food could be delivered and guests could gather, a friend asked him to have coffee with him to discuss an article they were writing. The event was built as a totally routine encounter of the day. As there were in attendance people who had not seen Chuck in some time, there was both anxiety about his health and considerable excitement about seeing him. Because of Chuck's cancer spreading rapidly, no one was really sure when they would ever see Chuck again.

4.1. Simultaneous engagement in multiple participation frameworks

In the first part of the chapter, I investigated dyadic participation frameworks in families; intense displays of intimacy are displayed through mutual engagement in close haptic arrangements. I now want to describe a different form of affective alignment occurring in a multi-activity. I will describe how a single speaker can engage with parties in two different participant frameworks simultaneously (or in quick succession). While displaying and receiving heightened affect, both dyadic and multiparty participant frameworks (Goffman 1979, 1981b) can be in play at the same time. How is this accomplished?

As Chuck entered the door of his home, was handed a copy of the festschrift in his honor, and saw the array of people gathered to celebrate him, he appeared

overwhelmed with surprise and happiness. He produced a series of exclamations of amazement and gratitude with widened eyes and raised eyebrows.

Extract 9



Figure 2.25

- 1 Chuck: OH MY **GO::D!**
- 2 Group: *((laughter))*
- 3 Don: *((pointing))* And look.
- 4 Don: Everybody's here! *((shepherding Chuck))*
- 5 Chuck OH **WOW:::!** *((opening up arms and smiling widely))*
- 6 Group: *((clapping))* YEAH:::
- 7 Chuck: OH **WOW:::!** *((arms go up higher and down))* WOW!
- 8 Chuck: WOW! WOW! WOW!
- 9 WOW! WOW! OH **WOW! WOW!**
- 10 Chuck: OH MY **GO:D**. THIS IS **INCREDIBLE!** Oh wow! and-

Chuck said “OH MY **GO::D!**” before producing a series of two loud and falsetto “OH **WO:::W!**” response cries followed by five loud “WOW!” assessments; he then provided a coda to the assessments, stating: “OH **WOW!** WOW! OH MY **GO:D**. THIS IS **INCREDIBLE!** oh WOW!” The heightened emotion in the room was palpable, as guests succumbed to the intensity of the occasion. Everyone in the room felt the elation of having collaborated in pulling off the event with the presentation of the finished book as a complete surprise; the party was realized as an achieved accomplishment that had required everyone’s secrecy. Simultaneous with Chuck’s positive assessments those assembled at the party laughed, clapped, and cheered. The huge smile on Chuck’s face, which endured throughout this initial encounter, invited others to enter into the utterly joyful frame of the party which he had established; in response, others mirrored on their faces a similar emotional stance. The heightened affect displayed by Chuck was responded to simultaneously by those present. Facial expressions of joy overlaid Chuck’s talk and party members’ continuous clapping. Here body and talk mutually elaborate one another in a sustained expression of joy.

Participation in both a multiparty participation framework and a dyadic framework can be operative simultaneously; gestures and the body may index one form

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of engagement, while talk and gaze can simultaneously engage those in another participant framework. That is, one may use one's voice to speak to the larger gathering, while engaging haptically with a particular recipient.

Such is the case in Extract 10, in which Chuck involves himself in embracing Satomi while speaking to the larger group. After Chuck expressed his amazement through his "Oh wow" response cries on opening the door, in a second display of appreciation, Chuck, seeing the small child Rory, mentions her and exclaims about all of the people present ("**Oh::** And **Rory. Everybody. Oh:** my gosh. Oh. Oh").

Extract 10

- 1 Chuck: **Oh::** And **Rory. Everybody!**
 2 **Oh:** my gosh. Oh. Oh.
 3 Candy And people from **Japan** even.
 4 Chuck: **Really.**
 5 Don: ((*pointing to Satomi*))
 Satomi came from **Japan.**
- 6 Chuck: Really? **OH: Satomi!**
 7 Thank you. I- I-
- 8 Chuck: Don't know if I can hug
 9 Satomi: ~Oh:::~ °uh heh! heh!°
 10 Chuck: **Everybody.**



Figure 2.26



Figure 2.27



Figure 2.28

To elaborate on the grandeur of the occasion, Candy states, "And people from **Japan** even" (line 3). Don, the major architect of the event, indexes the person referred to by pointing towards Satomi, while stating "Satomi came from **Japan**". As Satomi extends her arms towards Chuck in an invitation to hug, Chuck turns to face Satomi while producing a "**Really?**" acknowledgment and a response cry "**OH: Satomi!** Thank you". As Goffman has argued, non-lexical response cries (1978) ("**OH:**") can be used to express emotion in emphatic ways.

As he enters his hug with Satomi, Chuck begins a comment addressed to the entire group “I- I- don’t know if I can hug *everybody*”. In overlap with Chuck during the embrace, Satomi addresses Chuck with a creaky-voiced undulating “~Oh:::~” (line 9) and small laugh. As we saw in Extract 6, this voice quality, which is used to convey intimacy with the specific party, is produced right in the midst of the intertwining of bodies (Goodwin 2017, 7–8, 148–153).

Subsequently, a bystander, Steve, gestures to Chuck in a humorous move that deflects the idea it is necessary to hug everyone (line 11 in Extract 11). Meanwhile, Chuck continues with his talk to the group stating, “In fact I *can’t*”. (line 12).

Extract 11

- 11 Steve: ((*gestures, palm down*))
- 12 Chuck: In fact I *can’t*.
- 13 Group: ((*laughter*))
- 14 Chuck: **John!** Elinor. San Diego.
- 15 **Sandro!** uh- **John!**
- 16 (): All the way from Brentwood!
- 17 Chuck **WOW! WOW!**



Figure 2.29



Figure 2.30

The entire group laughs (line 13), ratifying the line Chuck proposes, as he then begins to call out the names of people assembled (lines 14–15). Thus the event transforms from one in which a single individual (Satomi) is involved to a move embracing everyone as the addressee. Chuck expresses his stance of gratitude, toggling between individual and group, in haptic and vocal modalities. This ability to be located within two diverse participant frameworks simultaneously demonstrates a certain virtuosity in handling the choreography entailed in being the “principal” (the person for whom the party was planned).

4.2. An interstitial hug

Moments later, Chuck happens to spot another guest whom he has not seen for some time, Numa, who has come from Illinois for the occasion. Chuck delivers an

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enthusiastic greeting: “*Numa! Wow! Wow!*” with his gaze directed towards Numa. The utterance has the shape of [Address term] + [Response cry]. Immediately following this, Chuck turns to address the entire group with an exclamation of appreciation: “*All I can say is-*”.

Extract 12

1 Chuck: ***Numa! Wow! Wow!***



Figure 2.31

2 Chuck: ***All I can say*** { ***is-***
 3 Numa: } ***It's***
 4 ***so good to see you.***



Figure 2.32

5 Chuck: ***I've never*** seen,
 6 Numa: ***hih-hih-hih-hih***



Figure 2.33

Numa, for his part, initiates the second pair part to the greeting Chuck has directed to him in partial overlap with Chuck. Numa turns his body so that he is aligned side by side with Chuck. As he puts his right arm on Chuck's shoulder (his left hand is encumbered with a camera in Frame B), he greets Chuck: “It's *so* good to see you”. The first segment of Numa's hug is thus produced in a small interstice in Chuck talk, at a clause boundary. Throughout this interaction Chuck's smile colors the frame of the interaction. On the next “beat” of Chuck's utterance (“I've *never* seen” in line 5) Numa adds a second segment to his hug; he moves his head down into alignment with Chuck's head while positioning his hand in a tighter configuration on Chuck's shoulder (Frame C.)

Chuck (line 7 in Extract 13) continues with the next segment of his utterance, a cadence equal in rhythmic beats to his first, with “a surprise pa(h)rtly”:

Extract 13

- 6 (): heh-heh
 7 Chuck: A surprise pa(h)rty
 8 Numa: hih-hih-hih



Figure 2.34

- 9 Numa: heh-heh-heh
 10 Group: Ah-hah hah-hah-hah
 11 Chuck: like-
 12 Chuck: Like this.
 13 Chuck: And,
 14 Chuck: **Comple::tely**, successful.
 15 Group: ((clapping, cheering))
 16 Chuck: **Thank you. Thank you.**
 17 **Thank you!**



Figure 2.35

Chuck (line 7) embeds a laugh token in the midst of his talk, which engenders further laughter (Jefferson 1979) from Numa, as well as the entire group. Chuck's next segment, completing his sentence, "Like- like this" (lines 11–12) has an equivalent beat structure to line 7. A final added segment "comple::tely, successful" (line 14) modifies prior talk and provides a coda of appreciation to the group. In response to Chuck's statement of delight in the surprise party, in a form of collective effervescence (Durkheim 1926), the group claps (line 15) and cheers. Participants afterwards reported they felt that at the party, a form of electricity and excitement overcame them. Chuck subsequently provides an additional note of appreciation with "**Thank you. Thank you. Thank you!**" This talk overlaps the clapping appreciation.

We thus see how an initial greeting to Numa is rapidly transformed into an expression of gratitude to the entire assembled gathering. To not interrupt Chuck's ongoing dialogue, Numa uses touch to reciprocate his uptake to Chuck's verbal greeting. Numa and Chuck together produce an on-line, perfectly choreographed set of utterances and haptic actions; Numa's touch of Chuck's body (and subsequent relinquishment of touch) is in synch with the segments of Chuck's utterances. In Figure 2.32 of Extract 12, Numa moves in to be closer to Chuck, putting his unencumbered right arm (his left hand held a camera) around Chuck's shoulder. He lowers his head in Figure 2.33 to the level of Chuck's head, achieving a closer facing formation, and Chuck redirects his gaze towards Numa. With the completion of Chuck's utterance, Numa in Figure 2.34 relinquishes his half hug, or shoulder embrace, and exits his intercorporeal arrangement with Chuck. Numa realigns his body position, so that he is no longer touching Chuck, and positions himself towards other participants in the

party. We thus see how a recipient of a greeting may use touch as a form of ongoing unobtrusive engagement amidst speaker's ongoing talk.

Numa's greeting is interstitially located in the midst of a remark by Chuck addressed to the group: "*All* I can say is-" (Extract 12, line 2). Thus, once again, we see how two different participation frameworks may be simultaneously in play. The haptic configuration initiated by Numa exclusively to Chuck is assembled and dismantled in synch with Chuck's expression of gratitude to the larger assembly.

4.3. Shifting participation frameworks

Participation frameworks may shift effortlessly from multiparty to dyadic and back again. This is evident in Extract 14, in which Chuck shifts from addressing the group to greeting someone he had not noticed before. As he changes participation framework, he shifts his emotional stance as well. Chuck, with a breathy and an almost crying voice, initially is elaborating upon his appreciation of being in the presence of "so: ma:ny (.) lo(hh)ving people" (Extract 14, line 1, Figure 2.36). The expression on his face in Extract 14, line 2, Figure 2.37, displays a depth of feeling matching his crying, breathy voice quality as he turns from addressing those in front of him to people behind him.

Extract 14



Figure 2.36

1 Chuck: **So: ma:ny (.) lo(hh)ving people.**



Figure 2.37

2 **And I- appreciate-**

Turning and finding someone he has not seen in some time, in line 3 of Extract 15, Chuck exclaims “*MORANA!*” loudly.

Extract 15



Figure 2.38

5 **MORANA!** I didn't recognize-



Figure 2.39

6 **OH: OH:(hhh): OH:(hhh)**

On spotting Morana, Chuck produces an address term followed by an explanation for not having greeted her earlier: he had not recognized her before. Enthusiasm is displayed through the amplitude of his speech, as well as the width of his smile and the expansiveness of his extended arms prefiguring an embrace. The address term is then followed by four response cries of “**OH:**” (line 4) produced with an undulating voice quality as Chuck taps Morana on the back multiple times, while she remains silent, smiles, and hugs him.

The hug in Extract 15, Figure 2.39, is produced with full embrace, in comparison to Numa's half hug in Extract 12, Figure 2.33. Chuck then moves from his dyadic encounter with Morana to a multiparty one (lines 5–8), addressing the entire group as he had in Extracts 11 and 13.

Extract 16



Figure 2.40

- 5 And *again*. I could look at Morana.
 6 I could look at many other people
 7 Who at some point were-
 8 ((air quotes)) Supposedly students,

Chuck generalizes from his experience with Morana, someone he had mentored, to other people, stating “And *again*. I could look at many other people who at some point were-” He then produces “air quotes” (line 8) to state “supposedly students”. The air quotes, which have a metalinguistic function, are to be understood as indexing an ironic statement. As with the two previous extracts, with Satomi (Extract 10) and Numa (Extract 13), following the hug, Chuck expresses gratitude to the entire multiparty group. An embodied hug targeting one person is transformed through talk into a more expansive expression of appreciation that others can participate in.

In sum, in these fragments, we observe several instances of simultaneous involvements and multi-activity. Mondada (2011) analyzes how participants in interaction can suspend or abandon one course of action while adapting to the situations of multiple courses of action; Raymond and Lerner (2014) investigate practices for adjusting action in the midst of dual involvements. I have examined the practices of multi-activity through which Chuck could contingently switch his primary involvement within one framework when a previously un-noticed guest was discovered – as, for instance, in Extract 15 in addressing first the group and then the suddenly noticed guest (Morana) and then the group subsequently back again. In addition, he displayed his ability to produce involvement in more than one course of action at the same time. He concurrently engaged in dyadic bodily intertwining with Satomi (and subsequently Numa) while at the same time using talk to address the larger group assembly. Chuck displayed his ability to adjust his actions in tune with evolving trajectories of action. And despite the spontaneity of the moment, dyadic interactions between Chuck and particular others were carefully orchestrated. Numa bodily entered into and out of his greeting to Chuck at clause boundaries in Chuck’s expression of gratitude for the most spectacular surprise party he had ever witnessed. This contingent organization of Numa’s embodied

practices resembles the way in which a speaker in conversation can add new segments to his talk to coordinate his actions with those of his recipients to produce the interactive organization of a sentence (Goodwin 1979).

5. Conclusion

Multimodal features of the hug – voice quality, intercorporeal engagement, and facial expressions – differ in the contexts of family and party interaction. Talk in the midst of supportive rituals co-occurring with hugs between family members is often produced with creaky voice quality, lowered volume, and low pitch (M. Goodwin 2017); this voice quality is an acoustic feature displaying intimacy precisely during the intercorporeal intertwining between intimates. Creaky voice and low volume also characterized Satomi's response cry during the hug with Chuck (Extract 10). However, creaky voice was absent from the other party hug extracts. In his surprise encounter with Morana (Extract 15), Chuck used an undulating voice to produce response cries (“OH: OH:(hhh)”) as he patted her on the back. The public context of friends at a party differs from the more intimate domain of the family with respect to voice quality employed during the hug.

During hugs between family members, eyes are often closed, and the face of adults often displays a dreamy look. By way of contrast, the eyes of party participants were wide open and party members were smiling (as in 8a and 10b), displaying enthusiasm and heightened affect in a different way. The public and collective character of the event and of Chuck's greetings is observable in the fact that participants are gazed at and even photographed. The multiparty gathering provides a setting for analyzing how voice and touch in the hug mutually elaborate one another in ways alternative to creaky voice overlaying the hug. At the party, a participant can demonstrate affection to the person being hugged through the modality of tactile intercorporeality while simultaneously using modal or breathy voice to display appreciation for the occasion in addressing the larger group. At the gathering, Chuck, as the honored participant, endeavored to display gratitude to all who were present. He not only greeted individuals who came from afar to see him with increased volume over address terms preceding a hug; he demonstrated appreciation to the entire body of people who had come to the event and assembled on his behalf. At points, these two activities intersected such that he was accomplishing both simultaneously.

Chuck's expressions of appreciation and pleasure (his “Oh Wow's”) upon seeing his friends and the festschrift in his honor were both loud and high pitched (Extract 9); gestures of pleasure portrayed through smiles were as wide as his outstretched arms anticipating an embrace. Chuck's expressions of gratitude, often produced with breathy voice verging on crying, were answered *simultaneously* and in overlap during his speech with resounding applause and cheers at points (see Extract 13), an audience response interpretable as “quintessentially an expression of approval and affiliation” (Clayman 1992, 35).

Alternative forms of *participation* (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004; Goffman 1978), ways of displaying to one another what one is doing and how someone expects others to align themselves towards the activity of the moment, are used in performing a hug. Participants demonstrate their moment-to-moment forms of involvement through prosody coloring talk and embodied action; actions are modified in concert with the emerging action, taking into account the actions of others. By examining the evolving formation of the hug at a gathering, we can investigate how a participant can make use of the multiple modalities at their disposal to articulate the intimacy of an embrace for the other in the dyad or, alternatively, to simultaneously accommodate a situation of both dyadic and multiparty addressees, targeting different types of audiences at once or in quick succession. And we can discern how the audience collaborates in the simultaneous appreciation of ongoing action, not at a turn boundary but rather in its midst, in a form of collective effervescence – an appropriate response as forms of care (Noddings 1984) are at the core of the interactions between Chuck and his guests.

Within conversation analysis, a monomodal perspective on interaction has meant that actions such as bodily intertwining have received scant attention. Schegloff (2007, 11) has commented that we do not yet have a broad framework for examining the coordinated action of sequences built primarily through units of bodily interactions rather than talk. Here I have demonstrated that hugs, not built primarily from talk, constitute intercorporeal activities built stepwise – beginning with extended arms that invite entry into an intertwining and transitioning to careful eventual dismantling. Attention to affective dimensions of experience, such as expressions of intimacy among family members or joy, surprise, and gratitude among friends, opens up conversation analysis to address what it means to dwell in the world.

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